

REPORTS  
AND  
RESOLUTIONS

*papers*

# Communist Party of Great Britain

Executive Committee: 16 St. John Street, London, EC1M 4AL telephone: 01-251 4406

General Secretary Gordon McLennan

Sir Geoffrey Howe MP  
House of Commons  
Westminster  
London SW1 1AA

*Mr. Conell MSA*  
*draft pl.*

NBP 243/1	
RECORDED & INDEXED	
18 AUG 1988	
DESK OFFICER	EXTENSION
1-208	24

3 August 1988

Dear Foreign Minister

It has been brought to our attention this morning that it appears that on 20 July 1988 the Iranian regime executed four political prisoners, namely : Kioumars Zarshenas (member of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran and First Secretary of the Tudeh Youth Organisation), Said Azarang and Simin Fardin (members of the Tudeh Party of Iran) and Faramarz Soufi (member of the Organisation of Iranian People's Fedaians/Majority/).

Our information also is that another 55 political prisoners have been transferred to solitary confinement in the so-called "Death Cells". awaiting execution.

Such inhuman acts and violation of basic human rights demand the strongest protests of world opinion.

I am writing on behalf of my Party to ask you to make such a protest on behalf of our government and people. Such a protest in our view would not be incompatible with all our concern for the immediate pressing issue of ensuring an end to the Iraq/Iran conflict, but rather, in many respects, is integral to it.

Yours sincerely

*Ian McKay*

Ian McKay  
National Organiser

*MSA*  
*cf. P/Middlegrave*  
*M. Muma*  
*Sir D. Miles*  
*Memo Dept*

*Control for*  
*release -*  
*probably an*  
*official-level*  
*reply but*  
*check*  
*Sussex*  
*AKL*  
*1/8*

Communist Party of Great Britain

August 3, 1988



INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT  
1 Easton Street London WC1X 8DJ  
United Kingdom

**URGENT  
ACTION**

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

AI Index: MDE 13/13/88  
Distr: UA/SC

UA 219/88

Death Penalty

16 August 1988

IRAN: Political Executions

Amnesty International is concerned by evidence that a new wave of political executions is taking place in Iran.

In recent weeks the official Iranian media have continued to report the execution of government opponents. These include 10 "counter-revolutionaries and Iraqi spies" executed on 10 July, seven members of the outlawed People's Mojahedine Organization of Iran hanged in public in Bakhtaran on 1 August and another member of that organization hanged in public in Ilam on 3 August. Approvals by the Supreme Judicial Council of death sentences on members of opposition groups also continue to be reported.

Amnesty International has also received reports that three leading members of the Tudeh Party, Kiumars Zarshenas, Simin Fardin and Sa'id Azarang, and a member of the People's Fedaiyan Organization of Iran (Majority), Faramarz Sufi, were executed by firing squad in Evin Prison on 20 July. It is alleged that up to eight others were executed at the same time, and that death sentences have been confirmed on 55 more political prisoners who are now awaiting execution.

Amnesty International opposes the death penalty in all cases as a violation of the right to life and the right not to be subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, as proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the case of Iran it is particularly concerned by the lack of provisions for fair trial in political cases, and the lack of any procedure for prisoners sentenced to death to appeal against conviction or sentence.

RECOMMENDED ACTION: Telegrams/telexes/airmail letters:

- expressing deep regret at these executions and asking for details of the procedures by which death sentences are being passed and approved;
- urging the commutation of all outstanding death sentences and an end to executions in Iran.

Telephone 01-833 1771 Telegrams: Amnesty London WC1 Telex: 28502

Amnesty International is an independent worldwide movement working for the international protection of human rights. It seeks the release of men and women detained anywhere because of their beliefs, colour, sex, ethnic origin, language or religious creed, provided they have not used or advocated violence. These are termed *prisoners of conscience*. It works for *fair and prompt trials for all political prisoners* and works on behalf of such people detained without charge or trial. It opposes the *death penalty and torture* or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of all prisoners.

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

AI Index: MDE 13/14/88  
Distr: UA/SC

UA 235/88

Death Penalty

2 September 1988

IRAN: Political executions  
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Amnesty International condemns the political executions carried out in Iran during the last month, which are reportedly still continuing. It is concerned by the continuing ban on family visits to political prisoners in Evin Prison in Tehran and elsewhere which has fuelled speculation that hundreds of political prisoners may have been executed. The executions have reportedly been carried out predominantly on members and supporters of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI), but about 20 supporters of other political opposition groups are also reported to have been executed. Amnesty International does not have sufficient information to estimate the number of political executions, but it is deeply concerned by the apparent escalation.

Following the incursion by the PMOI-led National Liberation Army into Iran between 25 and 28 July 1988, small groups of alleged collaborators with and members of the PMOI were publicly executed in Kangavar, Bakhtaran and Islamebad-e Gharb. The Iranian National News Agency said that 15 PMOI supporters had been executed by 5 August, and pictures of public hangings appeared in the Iranian national press.

In a speech at Friday prayers in Tehran on 5 August Ayatollah Ardebili, the Chief Justice, hinted that many imprisoned PMOI supporters were at risk of execution when he said,

*"The judiciary is under very strong pressure from public opinion asking why we even put them [the PMOI] on trial, why some of them are jailed, and why all are not executed ... The people say they should all be executed without exception."*

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## Iran's revenge on its 'dissidents'

September 16, 1988

• By JOHN HUGHES

OBSERVERS of Iran are concerned by a wave of political executions apparently carried out by the Khomeini regime during the past month. Because access to Iran is denied many Westerners, details are difficult to establish. But enough evidence is accumulating, some of it derived from Iranian radio broadcasts and official reports in the Iranian press, to suggest that hundreds of political prisoners may have been executed. The fear is that the lives of thousands more may be in jeopardy.

Amnesty International has taken up the case, and two members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Mervyn Dymally (D) of California and Donald Lukens (R) of Ohio, have asked for action from the United Nations. In a letter to Secretary-General Javier P'erez de Cu'ellar, they urge sending a UN mission to inspect "Iranian prisons and torture chambers," to investigate the reports of executions, and to publicize the findings internationally.

An Iranian exile set himself on fire outside the UN building in New York last week. He was protesting the execution of dissidents in his homeland.

The Khomeini regime since its accession to power has jailed many thousands of political prisoners. They cover the entire spectrum - communists, supporters of groups who want the monarchy returned to power, members of the Bahai faith, supporters of the Kurds, and members of the People's Mojahedin of Iran.

The latter group has recently been particularly active militarily, mounting large-scale operations against the regime. Its members seem to have been targeted for execution, although Amnesty International says supporters of other political opposition groups are also reported to have been executed.

Family visits to political prisoners in Tehran's Evin prison have been halted, and this has fueled speculation that many of the prisoners may have been executed. A Financial Times correspondent in Iran reported that executed political prisoners were being sent for burial to Lots 91 and 92 in Tehran's Beheshte Zahra main cemetery and that there had been a "traffic jam" of bereaved relatives there.

There seems little question that the Khomeini regime is angered by Mojahedin military operations in the west of the country. Newspapers have published pictures of public hangings in the area, hangings of alleged collaborators with the Mojahedin, and Mojahedin members.

The pressure is on for execution without any kind of trial. For example, in a Friday prayer speech last month, monitored by Western sources, Iran's chief justice, Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili, said the people are so angry at the dissidents that the "judiciary is under great

pressure from public opinion, which questions why we even try them. There is no need for any trial. The crime is clear, the verdict is clear, and the punishment is also clear. There is no need for trial ... the people do not accept it when we say we must have proof, we must have evidence ... the people say they should all be executed."

Amnesty International is opposed to the death penalty. In the case of Iran, it is particularly concerned by the lack of provisions for fair trial in political cases, and the lack of any procedure for prisoners sentenced to death to appeal against conviction or sentence.

In their letter to Mr. de Cuellar, the two American congressmen claim that the Khomeini regime has executed 70,000 people since 1981 and that the recent wave of executions jeopardizes the lives of 140,000 remaining political prisoners.

The Mojahedin has planned demonstrations against the executions in New York, Bonn, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Athens, Amsterdam, and Geneva.



## THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

14

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1988

JOHN HUGHES

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# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1988

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

EDITORIAL

*"First the blade, then the ear,  then the full grain in the ear."*

## Candles into the dark places

**T**HE world isn't getting so much worse, as an old joke put it, it's just that the news coverage is that much better.

The brighter side of this observation is that some of the makers of bad news - specifically, governments around the world limiting human rights - have fewer places to hide. Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization, has been turning its candles on many of the dark places of the earth. Today Amnesty is releasing its annual report for 1987, which catalogs reports of prisoners of conscience, torture, and the death penalty in 135 countries around the globe.

Amnesty is to be commended for its care and tenacity in documenting the "ugly picture" of what governments are still doing to their people 40 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Amnesty does not recognize a world broken into blocs and makes no distinctions between the human rights abuses of "our-side" and "their side," nor does it reduce violations to some sort of rankings whereby one country might claim justification in coming off numerically better than a rival. Rather, the reports are given straightforwardly, with a simple, implicit challenge that the government responsible clean up its act.

Amnesty also ignores claims that any extenuating circumstances, such as national security concerns or inexperience in democracy, can ever justify political imprison-

ment, torture, or capital punishment.

Amnesty lists the 25 executions that took place in the United States in 1987 as breaches of human rights, not as evidence of toughness on crime - as US officials have attempted, unsuccessfully, to convince Amnesty. Nor was Amnesty terribly impressed with glasnost in the Soviet Union, where at least 300 prisoners of conscience were in prison, in exile or involuntarily hospitalized.

The countries in which torture and ill treatment are reported range from Algeria to Zaire. Death squads were a particular problem in Latin America.

In a third of the nations around the world, Amnesty says, government officials torture men, women, and even children. At least half the countries have imprisoned people for simply speaking their minds, often after merely show trials. And scores of countries claim a right to kidnap and murder as an instrument of national policy.

Amnesty, with its reports and with its quiet, polite, but splendidly obstinate letter-writing campaigns on behalf of individual political prisoners, is helping to move the world to a single standard of human rights. Time and again we see that ostensible support for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has not prevented abuses. But worldwide political pressure can be effective in pushing a nation from nominal to real support for that standard. And Amnesty has been an effective agent of that pressure.



# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1988

## Amnesty International reports rights abuses hit record high

By Julian Baum  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

London

Amnesty International reported this week that more countries were charged with human rights abuses last year than at any time in the organization's 27-year history.

Among the 135 countries in which human rights violations were reported, the London-based organization said that torture or ill-treatment of prisoners was reported in 90 countries and prisoners of conscience — who have committed no violent crimes — were being held in 80 countries.

Capital punishment for various crimes is on the law books in 120 states. The most executions reported last year were in South Africa (164), Iran (158), and China (132). The United States was criticized for executing 25 people in 1987 and having another 1,862 on death row.

Despite what Amnesty described as the "ugly picture" of human rights violations worldwide, it was not cynical about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted 40 years ago by the United Nations. In its annual report released this week, Amnesty said that while all members of the UN formally subscribed to the declaration, many considered it "subversive."

Amnesty noted that the human rights movement continues to grow. It includes more than 1,000 organizations in every region of the world, and Amnesty is the largest of its kind. In protecting people against human rights abuses by govern-

ments, Amnesty said that exposure to international publicity is "the greatest weapon we have."

As an example, Amnesty cited the torture and death last year of a South Korean student, Park Chong Chol. International publicity brought pressure on the South Korean government and led to the arrest of police officers and the resignation of government ministers.

Such cases are exceptional, however, Amnesty noted that many governments find it easy to prevent abuses from coming to light by blocking the flow of information, censoring the press, restricting journalists, and keeping prisoners incommunicado.

Another common technique is launching an investigation that fails to reach a conclusion, or which glosses over facts.

As an example, Amnesty criticized Britain for failing to publish the results of an inquiry into three incidents of killing in 1982 by security forces in Northern Ireland. The investigation — known in Britain as the Stalker report after its principal investigator, John Stalker — continues to be a sensitive issue in Anglo-Irish relations.

In Latin America, Amnesty reported the increased use of clandestine forces by governments to terrorize political opposition, and the operations of "death squads" in Brazil, Columbia, El Salvador, and Guatemala, among others. Torture by state security forces was widely reported in the region, and the report cited a "marked deterioration" of human rights

Source: see *RIGHTS*, page 9

## RIGHTS from page 9

in Haiti.

Despite the release of political prisoners in Afghanistan, Vietnam, South Korea and Taiwan last year, additional prisoners were taken without fair trials.

China was cited for trying to halt the "widespread use of torture" by local security forces. However, Amnesty noted the absence of adequate legal protection for prisoners in China and the extensive use of the death penalty, including for a variety of non-violent crimes.

**Governments keep abuses hidden by blocking information flows, censoring the press, and keeping prisoners isolated.**

Some governments in Africa have improved their human rights record, including Togo, Niger, Rwanda, and Zimbabwe.

But torture and ill-treatment of prisoners were reported in 18 countries on the African conti-

nent. Some 4,000 alleged prisoners of conscience were being held in Uganda as opponents of the government and large numbers of such prisoners were also jailed in Angola.

In Europe, large numbers of conscientious objectors to military service are in jail, in France, both Germanys, Italy, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, and the Soviet Union.

Torture was reportedly widespread in Turkey where 17 people died in police custody in 1987. Many prisoners of conscience were released in the Soviet Union last year but some 300 prisoners were still in jail, kept in exile, or held in psychiatric hospitals against their will, according to Amnesty.

## RUGS & ART

## EDITORIAL

"First the blade, then the ear,  then the full grain in the ear"

### LETTERS

## Khomeini's human rights record

As an Iranian who has several family members in Ayatollah Khomeini's prisons, I was encouraged to see John Hughes's column "Iran's revenge on its 'dissidents,'" Sept. 16.

My relatives (a brother and two cousins) seem to have been forgotten recently by the international community. Of course, the United Nations General Assembly has condemned the ayatollah's regime for its disregard of human rights for the last three years, and the United Nations Human Rights Commission has done so for the last seven consecutive years. The press, however, has been lacking in acknowledgment of the Khomeini regime's atrocities.



Iranians are hopeful that international pressure from Amnesty International, the UN, various government officials, and the international press will force Khomeini to end this savage rampage.

M. Javan

Medford, Mass.

It is refreshing to note that there are still some members of the press who show concern for Iranian nationals.

As this column points out, more than 70,000 Iranians have been executed by Khomeini's officials since 1981. Another 140,000 are held captive in his barbaric jails.

Now that Khomeini no longer has the full-force war to keep the people under pressure and the regime is feeling the heat from the Iranian Resistance (the People's Mojahedin), the regime is turning its efforts on the Iranian people.

Iranians worldwide know, however, that this is just a delaying tactic on Khomeini's part. Khomeini's support in Iran has dwindled and the Resistance has grown considerably.

As a representative of the Iranian community abroad, I congratulate the Monitor for bringing forward the facts on this situation. I encourage follow-up of this article and hope to be reading of an end to Khomeini's human rights abuse in the near future.

Shams Parsa

Boston

So much of the recent press coverage has been given to whether Iraq used chemical weapons in its seven-year conflict with Iran that people seem to have forgiven the Khomeini regime for its past and present sins.

We must not forget how Khomeini's followers took over the US

Embassy and held US citizens hostage for so many days. With the era of Khomeini, world terrorism increased tremendously — especially with countries and organizations holding close ties with the Islamic Republic. We cannot forget what Khomeini has done to his own people. Tens of thousands of Iranians have been put to death by Khomeini and his clerics. Many of these people were tortured to death, their only crime being opposition to Khomeini's tyranny.

This column points to the fact that Amnesty International and members of the US Congress are concerned that this cycle is repeating itself. Now that the war is sup-

posedly over, Khomeini has unleashed terror on his own people once again.

If, as Khomeini states, the people of Iran support him wholeheartedly, why is he arresting thousands and sentencing them to death without trial? Could it be that he is afraid?

David Karnes

Sherman Oaks, Calif.

### Examining epithets

My attention has just been drawn to the criticisms of my book "Imperialist Japan: the yen to dominate" made in the "Global Markets" column, "Books examine changing attitudes in US and Japan," Aug. 26.

The column states: "The Montgomery book is a vastly negative history of Japan, as racist in its implications as it accuses the Japanese of being."

"Hysterical!" It was as far back as 1591 that the Shogun Mideyoshi declared that it was "Japan's destiny to be the sole ruler of the world," a claim which was 350 years later inculcated into Pearl Harbor's attackers as "the divine mission to bring the whole world under one roof."

"Racist?" In 1986, Japan's Prime Minister Nakasone asserted that "the level of intelligence in Japan, which is a one-race society, is higher than in America because of the considerable number of blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans there," and only two weeks ago a study of employment patterns in Japanese-owned auto plants in the US found that the percentage of blacks employed was "far below" local averages.

I am happy to let your readers draw their own conclusions as to where those epithets belong.

Michael Montgomery Lechland, England

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and some acknowledged. Please address them to "Readers Write," One Norwazy St., Boston, MA 02115.



## Iranian Rebels Claim Tehran Executes 300 More Dissidents

By ED BLANCHE,

Associated Press Writer

NICOSIA, Oct.22 (AP) - Iran recently has executed hundreds of dissidents because it fears a «popular backlash» at home following the Aug. 20 truce in its war with Iraq, the main Iranian opposition movement claimed Monday.

The Mujahedeen Khalq, or People's Holy Warriors, said 250 political prisoners were executed in Rasht, a Caspian Sea town 140 miles northwest of Tehran. The group made the claim in a statement sent by telex from its headquarters in Baghdad, Iraq, to The Associated Press in Nicosia.

Scores more were executed in prisons in Tehran, the central city of Isfahan and the northwestern city of Tabriz, the statement said.

«Hundreds of other prisoners have been executed en masse by firing squads in prisons» in the northeastern city of Mashhad, the western city of Arak and a half dozen other towns in recent weeks, it said.

No independent confirmation was available of the Mujahedeen report. The movement claimed last month that an estimated 1,200 political prisoners had been killed in Iran since midsummer.

Iran's official news media, monitored in Cyprus, have reported that scores of «counter-revolutionaries and Iraqi spies» were executed by firing squad or publicly hanged in several cities over the last two months.

But the London-based human rights group, Amnesty International, said indications surfaced that hundreds of Iranian political prisoners have been executed since July.

Mujahedeen leader Masoud Rajavi appealed to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar Aug. 26 to help pressure Iran to halt what Rajavi called «the accelerated pace of killings in Iran» amid mass roundups of suspected dissidents.

Western correspondents reported after recent visits to Tehran that many executed prisoners were buried in mass graves.

Amnesty said authorities banned families from visiting political prisoners.

The U.S. House of Representatives last week approved a resolution declaring June 20 a national day of remembrance for political prisoners held in Iran.

The reported wave of executions accelerated after the Mujahedeen's military force, the National Liberation Army of Iran, pushed into western Iran before the Aug. 20 cease-fire took effect and reportedly captured two major towns before withdrawing after fierce fighting.

The Mujahedeen said hundreds of Iranians who welcomed their fighters were later publicly hanged. Some Iranian leaders, including Chief Justice Musavi Ardebili, publicly demanded executing Liberation Army prisoners without trial.

The Liberation Army has had to halt its military operations into western Iran under the truce.

But Mujahedeen officials have said that with political rifts deepened within the Tehran hierarchy by the cease-fire, the government fears the dissidents will pose a growing threat.

Diplomatic sources, speaking on condition of anonymity, have reported that despite political uncertainties triggered by Iran's sudden collapse in the war after a string of major military defeats, no major threat to the Tehran government is apparent.

But internal divisions within the leadership showed clear signs of widening in recent months over the economy and over efforts by some pragmatic leaders, led by House Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani, to end Iran's political isolation.

The Mujahedeen were allied with Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in his Islamic revolution that toppled Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi in 1979. But Rajavi and his supporters fled to France after the fundamentalists turned on their erstwhile liberal and leftist allies in bloody purges in 1980.

Rajavi moved to Iran two years ago after Iran pressured France to expel anti-Khomeini dissidents.

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The Associated Press

October 24, 1988, Monday, AM cycle

Iranian Rebels Claim Tehran Executes 300 More Dissidents

BYLINE: By ED BLANCHE, Associated Press Writer

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 605 words

DATELINE: NICOSIA, Cyprus

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## Rebels Claim 20 Dissidents Executed In Iran

NICOSIA, OCT.30 (AP) - Iranian rebels said Sunday that authorities in Iran have executed 20 dissidents in recent days by firing squad or hanging.

The Iraqi-based Radio Mujahed, run by the opposition group Mujahedeen Khalq, said three dissidents were hanged in the city of Zanjan, 160 miles west of Tehran.

Three Mujahedeen members were hanged in the provincial capital of Hamadan in western Iran, the report said.

Thirteen others were shot by firing squad in Mashhad in northwest Iran and one was shot in the western city of Arak, the radio report said.

There was no independent confirmation of the report. But Iran's official media, monitored in Nicosia, has reported that scores of "counterrevolutionaries and Iraqi spies" have been publicly executed in the last three months.

The Iraqi-based Mujahedeen, who seek to topple Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's fundamentalist government, claim that nearly 2,000 dissidents have been executed and thousands arrested since August.

The radio said the executions and arrests were being carried out because the Tehran authorities "fear being overthrown by the Iranian opposition."

Over the last 18 months, Iranian authorities have publicly acknowledged that the opposition force was becoming a problem. Some Iranian leaders publicly have called for the execution of all Mujahedeen prisoners without trial.

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# The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1988

## U.N. Says Human Rights Abuses Are Continuing Throughout Iran

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Nov. 2 — A United Nations report said today that serious human rights violations were continuing in Iran. It said the violations included a wave of executions of political prisoners in July, August and September after Teheran accepted a cease-fire in the war with Iraq.

The author of the report, Reynaldo Galindo Pohl of El Salvador, the Special Representative for Iran of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, said his findings "justify international concern" about the rights situation in that country. He called on the Iranian authorities "to redress abuses and prevent their recurrence."

The United Nations Human Rights Commission has been examining the human rights situation in Iran since 1985, issuing a series of annual reports, all of which have found evidence of widespread abuses.

The report today drew attention to a "wave of executions" that it said occurred in Iran over the summer and were carried out mainly against "members of various opposition groups" including the Mujahedeen National Liberation Army fighting the Teheran Government from bases in Iraq and other dissident groups.

The report said such executions "justify international concern" that the Iranian authorities are in breach of their obligations under the United Nations Human Rights Covenant. It noted that another United Nations human rights official investigating summary and arbitrary executions sent telegrams to the Iranian Foreign Minister in July and August expressing concern about the executions.

Officials at the Iranian Mission to the United Nations said that they had not

yet received a copy of the report and that they would have no comment at this time.

The new report will be debated this month by the third committee of the United Nations General Assembly, which deals with social, cultural and humanitarian questions.

The report said 200 Mujahedeen supporters were believed to have been killed in Evin Prison in Teheran on July 28. The bodies of 860 more "executed political prisoners" were reported to have been taken from the same prison to the Beheshti Zahra cemetery from Aug. 14 to 16. The report lists numerous other executions of Government opponents in the summer.

The wave of executions described in the report today came after a series of military successes by the Iraqi Army and the Mujahedeen forces that analysts say swung the tide of the Gulf War in Baghdad's favor, prompting Iran to accept the cease-fire urged on both sides by the United Nations.

But Iran's military setback and its decision to accept a cease-fire also appears to have unleashed a backlash of revenge inside the country against anyone suspected of disloyalty to the Government, diplomats say.

The report expressed concern about widespread reports of beatings and torture in Iranian prisons as well as trials at which the prisoner is prevented from offering a defense. It spoke of "poor and insufficient food," lack of medical treatment and "extremely poor sanitary prison conditions."

The report also expressed concern at reports that all family visits to political prisoners in Evin Prison and other detention centres have been suspended since August.

## The Cruelty That Isolates Iran

Perhaps 10,000 political prisoners — or perhaps only 3,000 — may benefit from an amnesty to take effect tomorrow when Iran observes the 10th anniversary of its revolution. The uncertainty is typical of a chaotic, revolutionary society in which no one knows who's in charge of what, and in which the closest thing to decisive power is wielded by a joyless, glowering fanatic.

So relentless is Ayatollah Khomeini's rage that when a radio talk show annoys him, those responsible are flogged (see box). This record cannot be ignored as Washington reconsiders ties with Iran.

Ten years after the Shah's fall, families still flock to prison gates for crumbs of information about missing relatives. Nobody is sure how many people have been shot by firing squads and flung into mass graves since the eight-year Persian Gulf war ended last summer. But Amnesty International has gathered more than 1,000 names of political prisoners believed to have been killed, some for belonging to the armed resistance, others jailed years ago for such offenses as distributing leaflets.

The crackdown on political dissenters has even moved the Soviet Union, normally silent on such matters, to express concern. Similar ferocity is applied to non-political offenders. Hundreds face execution under a new law fixing mandatory death sentences for possessing small amounts of hashish, opium, heroin, methadone and other drugs. Anyone arrested is liable to torture until a confession results; detention occurs without judicial supervision. The execution on Jan. 16 of 56 people for drug offenses thus provokes a shudder.

In Iran, amputating four fingers on the right

hand is a common punishment for theft and other crimes. Those not maimed or shot risk punishment if they are adherents of religions frowned upon by the ruling mullahs, like the Bahai faith. Though the worst repression against them has abated, Bahais

### Fifty Lashes

In January, according to the Iranian news agency, Ayatollah Khomeini was deeply offended by a radio interview in which a woman said she could not accept the prophet Mohammed's daughter as a role model.

As a result, the broadcast director at the Teheran radio, Mohammad Arab Mazar-Yazdi, was sentenced to five years in jail. Three directors of the Teheran radio's Islamic ideology group were sentenced to four years each. All received 50 lashes.

The court levying these penalties held that the broadcast "notoriously misportrayed the ruling mentality of Iranian women." Had the insult been deliberate, said the Ayatollah, the person responsible would have been executed.

are still denied the right to organize, own property and conduct religious schools.

These are all appropriate matters for Washington to consider in debating renewed contacts with Iran. During the years of the Shah, to its cost, the U.S. appeared to shrug off human rights as a lesser matter. That mistake need not be repeated.



INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT  
1 Easton Street London WC1X 8DJ  
United Kingdom

**URGENT  
ACTION**

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

AI Index: MDE 13/20/88  
Distr: UA/SC

UA 293/88 Fear of Torture/Fear of Execution

8 November 1988

IRAN: Fereidoun FAROUGHI  
=====

Amnesty International is concerned by a report it has received that a supporter of the Kurdish opposition group, Komala, is in prison in Saghez in north western Iran, that he may be suffering torture, and that he is at risk of execution. Fereidoun Faroughi was arrested at the end of September 1988 in Saghez. Since his arrest he has not been permitted any visitors and, in common with all political prisoners in Iran, he has not been given the right to legal representation.

There have been substantial numbers of political executions in Iran in the last three months. A ban on visits by family members to their relatives in prison continues to make it very difficult to ascertain the number of executions that have taken place. Some opposition groups put the figure at over 2,000 while a wide range of opposition opinion agrees that hundreds of executions have taken place. The government has made statements apparently advocating the execution of political opponents (see UA 235/88, MDE 13/14/88, 2 September and MDE 13/1/7/88, 20 October). There have been reports from witnesses of large numbers of bodies being discovered in shallow graves in the area of Behesht-e Zahra cemetery in Tehran usually reserved for executed political prisoners, and in other parts of the country.

Amnesty International opposes the death penalty in all cases as a violation of the right to life and the right not to be subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, as proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the case of Iran it is particularly concerned by the lack of provisions for a fair trial in political cases, and the absence of a right to appeal against a death sentence.

**RECOMMENDED ACTION:** Telegrams/telexes/airmail letters:

- expressing concern at the report that Fereidoun Faroughi is at risk of execution in Saghez Prison and calling for the commutation of the death sentence imposed on him;
- asking for the reasons for the arrest of Fereidoun Faroughi and details of the charges brought against him. Also ask for details of his trial;

(recommended actions continue overleaf)

**Telephone 01-833 1771 Telegrams: Amnesty London WC1 Telex: 28502**

*Amnesty International is an independent worldwide movement working for the international protection of human rights. It seeks the release of men and women detained anywhere because of their beliefs, colour, sex, ethnic origin, language or religious creed, provided they have not used or advocated violence. These are termed prisoners of conscience. It works for fair and prompt trials for all political prisoners and works on behalf of such people detained without charge or trial. It opposes the death penalty and torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of all prisoners.*



The Associated Press

November 22, 1988, Tuesday, AN cycle

Hundreds of Political Prisoners Executed In Iran, Opposition Says

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 165 words

DATELINE: NICOSIA, Cyprus

Iran's main opposition group said Tuesday hundreds political prisoners were executed in Iran this month, some hanged from construction cranes.

In the West Azerbaijan province near the Turkish border, 400 prisoners have been executed and buried in mass graves of 10-30 bodies each in a mountain region near the city, said the statement from Mujahedeen Khalq, or People's Holy Warriors.

The Mujahedeen Kalq said from Baghdad, Iraq, that groups of a dozen prisoners were executed at Tehran's Evin jail and relatives lined up every day at the prison gates to search for bodies of loved ones.

In Semnan, east of Tehran, eight opposition supporters recently were "hanged in public from construction cranes," the statement said.

In the cities of Rudsar, Arak, Ahwaz and Astara, 44 prisoners were hanged or shot to death, the statement said.

In a Nov. 3 report, the United Nations said "large numbers of prisoners, members of opposition groups" have been executed in Iran since July.

# Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

## Rash of executions in Iran a warning to Montazeri

CONTRARY to what could have been reasonably expected, the ceasefire in the Gulf war has not put an end to political repression in Iran.

Executions of People's Mujahidin members are continuing unabated. They began in August following an abortive incursion into Iranian territory by Masud Rajavi's Iraqi-financed and supplied National Liberation Army. The rate of executions even seems to have gone up, according to a National Liberation Army release in Baghdad which speaks of "hundreds of political prisoners shot or hanged in recent weeks". Since early October the repression, which is also directed against left-wing organisations — Tudeh or the People's Fedayin — has spread to non-conformist members of the Iranian clergy close to Ayatollah Montazeri, the man who has been named to succeed Imam Khomeini.

Scores of religious and political figures were arrested early in October in Qom and Tehran, without any reasons being given for the measures, which have moreover not been announced officially. Eleven of those arrested — five members of the Islamic clergy and six lay persons attached to Qom's theological centres — were summarily executed. The victims included a former Majlis member, Hojatoleslam Fathollah Ummid Najafabadi, one of Ayatollah Montazeri's aides.

Najafabadi was very actively involved in working among the disadvantaged (*mustazafin*). After the 1979 revolution, he was a judge at the Isfahan revolutionary court, where he made a name for himself through his work for the socially deprived. At the time he earned the enmity of former representatives of the Shah's re-

gime by systematically expropriating their possessions. In 1986 he was arrested along with Ayatollah Montazeri's son-in-law, Mehdi Hashemi, the top man of a hardline dogmatic "Islamic world revolution" movement who was executed in September 1987. Najafabadi was spared only because Khomeini's heir-apparent intervened personally.

The four other religious figures executed — Hojatoleslam Huseini Arab, Sharufeddin Mashkur, Ghayur and Khavari Langerudi — were also part of Montazeri's close circle, as were the six lay persons, most of them former Revolutionary Guards who had been dismissed

By Jean Gueyras

following the Mehdi Hashemi affair.

The executions would appear to be a warning to Montazeri who, taking his role as Khomeini's heir-apparent seriously, sent out on October 1 a series of instructions to the country's top officials in which he made a severe indictment of government action since the ceasefire came into effect. In doing that he was voicing the grievances of a public disappointed that peace with Iraq had not brought with it any relaxation of the system.

In these directives, publication of which was censored by the official media, Montazeri blamed the country's stagnation on leaders in Tehran, whom he accused of "intransigence, incompetence and lack of imagination". He also attacked the Revolutionary Guards, the Martyrs' Foundation and other revolutionary bodies which he accused of being "responsible for the paralysis and disorganisation of economic life".

The ayatollah advocated a degree of economic liberalisation, saying that "even the socialist countries have realised their mistakes and have opted for a policy of opening out in this area." Even more serious was the suggestion that the men in power, "all those who have turned statism into sterile dogma", be fired from their jobs and replaced by new, more "broad-minded" men.

Montazeri also hit out at the intelligence services and security committees and bodies, pointing out that "nothing can be achieved through mindless repression and the proliferation of death sentences", which he said were measures against the spirit of Islam "the religion of pardon and tolerance" and they were "deepening the country's political isolation". In addition, he proposed an "unequivocal" general amnesty which would enable two million Iranians who fled Iran after the revolution to come home "so they could take part in rebuilding the economy by the injection of a new dynamism".

Ayatollah Montazeri finally called for "openness" in government. The Iranians were an "adult people", he said, and "they are entitled to know what's happening in the upper circles of the government. Iranian leaders should stop behaving as if they are above the law. Newspapers should reflect the viewpoints of the various trends present in the country and lawful opponents should have their say in running the country."

But his demands are apparently considered unacceptable by the Iranian authorities who once again appear to have opted for arbitrary repression to silence voices that do not echo the official line.

(November 20/21)

This article was first published in Le Monde on November 20, 1988. The translation appeared in Guardian Weekly on November 27, 1988.



## Iran Says It Will Free Some Prisoners

By ED BLANCHE, Associated Press Writer

NICOSIA, DEC.10 (AP) - Iran's chief justice, who has declared that captured rebels should be executed, said Saturday that Tehran will pardon some political prisoners.

The move apparently was aimed at countering allegations that Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's fundamentalist regime has executed thousands of prisoners since August.

Ayatollah Abdulkarim Musavi Ardebili, the chief justice, said the prisoners would be freed in February, when the Islamic republic celebrates the 10th anniversary of its Islamic revolution, according to the official Islamic Republic News Agency.

"A number of prisoners will be freed after it is certain that they will not break the law afterward," IRNA quoted Musavi as telling a Tehran news conference.

IRNA, monitored in Nicosia, reported that Ardebili did not say how many prisoners would be released, but noted that all had been arrested "in connection with terrorist activities."

He said Iranian authorities in the past have freed "large numbers of convicted terrorists and their sympathizers who have been reformed in prison."

Ardebili denied allegations of widespread human rights violations, including mass executions, made by Iranian opposition groups, the United Nations and the London-based Amnesty International human rights group.

"In response to the negative publicity by world oppressors about human rights violations in Iran, we announce that we

are willing to provide any international body with the necessary documents, statistics and evidence in order to show that this publicity is without basis," he said.

The Iraqi-based rebel group Mujahedeen Khalq, or People's Holy Warriors, has said 12,000 political prisoners, including large numbers of their activists and sympathizers, have been executed in Iranian prisons in recent months.

IRNA has said that scores of "counter-revolutionaries, drug traffickers and Iraqi agents" have been publicly executed in several cities.

Iran's president, Ali Khamenei, last week acknowledged some executions, but said they involved people who were convicted by Islamic tribunals for various crimes.

But the U.N. General Assembly's Third Committee, which deals with human rights, adopted a resolution Dec. 1 accusing Iran of human rights abuses.

It voiced concern at "a renewed wave of executions ... resulting in the death of a large number of persons because of their political convictions."

Iranian dissidents said the latest wave of executions began after Iran unconditionally accepted a U.N.-sponsored ceasefire in the 8-year-old war with Iraq after a string of battlefield defeats.

Before the truce took effect Aug. 20, the Mujahedeen's military arm, the National Liberation Army of Iran, captured two western Iranian towns in an offensive.

The NLA claimed its forces killed or wounded 40,000 Iranians before withdrawing across the border into Iraq. Tehran claims the assault was bloodily repulsed.

The Mujahedeen said the offensive alarmed the Iranians, who launched a bloody purge of NLA supporters and other dissident factions.

Ardebili, along with other leading Iranian figures, publicly called for the execution of "counter-revolutionaries" without trial.

"There is no need for any trial," he said in an Aug. 5 Tehran Radio broadcast. "The crime is clear ... and the punishment is also clear. I pray to God that all of them are destroyed."

Dissident sources have said that many of the victims of recent executions, including Moslem clergymen, were linked to Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, Khomeini's designated successor.

They said this pointed to an intensification of the power struggle within the Tehran hierarchy as rival factions struggle for supremacy after the death of Khomeini, 88 and reportedly in poor health.

NNNN

# The Guardian

December 12, 1988

Fact and fiction mingle in revolutionary Iran: The Tehran rumour-mill has gone into overdrive

Petrosian, Vahé

The Guardian (1959-2003); Dec 12, 1988.

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer  
pg. 11

## Fact and fiction mingle in revolutionary Iran

The Tehran rumour-mill has gone into overdrive. Vahé Petrosian reports

**T**HIS Iranian Prime Minister is under house arrest. His apparent execution, the powerful speaker of parliament, Mr Hashemi Rafsanjani, is also physically eliminating the falsehood of Ayatollah Montazeri, Ayatollah Khomeini's designated successor. Mr Khatami himself has been dodging bullets in two assassination attempts, or so the rumours go.

Meanwhile, thousands of government opponents are reportedly being massacred behind prison walls in a final setting of political accounts. The torturous and so far inconclusive efforts of Iran's leaders to clean up and get together their act after the war with Iraq have sparked a new round of speculation and rumours in the Western media. Some of the stories contain an element of truth; others are pure fantasy.

Contrary to reports, the Prime Minister, Mr Hossein Mousavi, has not been arrested. On the day the report appeared in a newspaper here, he was touring the provinces and issuing official messages. Shortly afterwards, he met the visiting West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans Dietrich Genscher, and has since kept to his usual quota of official functions.

Six low-ranking clergy men were executed November after secret trials on moral corruption charges, but there is no evidence that they supported Ayatollah Montazeri. Insiders believe it was the ayatollah himself who has been prepared for the clergy to be purged of "corrupt and opportunistic" people to show the public that no one is above the law.

Another 20 clergymen are reportedly in prison awaiting trial before a special religious court. They may be executed, imprisoned or simply defrocked.

Few in Tehran are taking seriously the reported assassination attempts on Mr Rafsanjani, who has been working under tight security since a 1979 assassination bid. The Mojibis speaker — who was put in charge of the effort just before Iran's acceptance of a settlement of the Gulf war in July — has kept to his normal schedule of public appearances and trips outside Tehran.

Equally difficult to verify are

the claims by the Baghdad-based Mojibehin Khali guerrillas that 12,000 of their imprisoned supporters and others have been executed in the past four months. Communist groups are alleging a more modest figure of about 1,000.

The Mojibehin have long claimed mass executions by Tehran, the estimate having risen above 10,000 since 1981. These figures are believed to be wildly exaggerated, probably by a factor of 15.

However, there are reliable reports that several hundred Mojibehin supporters were executed in August, soon after the Gulf war ended. The families of the estimated 300 dead were notified only recently.

President Ali Khamenei indirectly admitted last week that unrepentant Mojibehin supporters, imprisoned for some years, had been executed. Such executions were by "divine orders", he said and the authorities had nothing to hide. Sources in Tehran say Ayatollah Khomeini approved the executions after being told that many "repentant" Mojibehin five years ago had rejoined the rebel army for its late July incursion into western Iran.

Ayatollah Khomeini did not indicate how many executions had taken place, but Mr Rafsanjani has rejected the Mojibehin claim as "this false, strange propaganda". The rebels were trying to justify the thousands killed during the July attack, he alleged, by trying to pass off their war dead as victims of execution squads.

Officials claimed last year that more than 4,000 Mojibehin were "destroyed" during the fighting near Bahmanabad (formerly Kermanshah). In early August, they said 1,500 of these had been identified. No figures have been disclosed.

Sufficial accounts from the Bahmanabad region said at the time that the Mojibehin, who were being killed in a final blow, took very few prisoners. These captives were shot on the spot or soon thereafter.

The reports of mass execu-

tion are trying to improve Iran's image abroad and create greater public security at home. The importance of observing the "rule of law" is a priority.

Ayatollah Khomeini said it has had to be bent because of wartime pressures, and it promises there should be a return to the Constitution. The authorities' efforts to arrest arbitrary measures and to prove public security were back a few earlier this month with the mysterious killing of Dr Kader Sami, a widely respected politician and minister in the 1979 Bazargan government. To ally supporters' official involvement in the killing, senior leaders strongly condemned the murder and urged the Interior Ministry to quickly find the killer. Many senior government officials attended Sami's funeral, where mourners had an impromptu protest to demand justice.

The killing most shocked were through Tehran, observers say with even the black marks value of the dollar temporarily soaring. The atmosphere has considerably relaxed in recent months, but government critics and opponents are awaiting the outcome as a test of the authorities' sincerity.

Previous efforts to liberalise have been only partly successful, with the restrictive machine ery installed in 1981 still resisting several efforts to dismantle it. Iran's society is surprising open, but there is always the threat of the arbitrary. Certainly, when it comes to arms opponents — and especially simple critics — few legal niceties seem to apply.

The 121 General Assembly last week again expressed concern about human rights violations in Iran. This brought a response from Rafsanjani that the use of human rights as a political tool by the West and Iran is common.

Meanwhile, the absence of reliable journalists in Tehran the rumour industry in Iran and abroad continues to thrive. The private letter from Ayatollah Khomeini, which recently appeared in the British press, was almost certainly a forgery.

There is at least one more rumour to go: the 1979 report that Ayatollah Khomeini is dead or dying. It is long overdue but has already been revived by several months the last one — a detailed account emanating from the CIA — giving him only three months to live.



Iran's powerful parliamentary speaker, Hashemi Rafsanjani, who opponents say has dodged bullets in at least two assassination attempts. PHOTOGRAPH BY KAZEM GOLDSCHMIDT/REUTERS

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# l'Humanité

MARDI 12 DÉCEMBRE 1988

ORGANE CENTRAL DU PARTI COMMUNISTE FRANÇAIS



12 décembre 1988

## ANDRÉ LAJOINIE INTERPELLE LE GOUVERNEMENT SUR L'IRAN

Au cours de la séance des questions d'actualité, hier, à l'Assemblée nationale, André Lajoinie a interrogé le premier ministre sur l'attitude de la France vis-à-vis de l'Iran, pays avec lequel le ministre des Affaires étrangères, Roland Dumas, qui doit se rendre prochainement à Téhéran a annoncé la reprise de relations normales. Le président du groupe communiste a déclaré :

« Les députés communistes ne cessent de lutter pour imposer le respect des droits de l'homme, partout dans le monde. Ils se sont félicités encore mercredi dernier de l'invitation à Paris de plusieurs personnalités étrangères marquantes pour le 40<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme.

Ce combat les a conduits à dénoncer notamment les violations flagrantes de ces droits en Turquie — dont le premier ministre était en visite officielle, à Paris, fin novembre —, le régime criminel de l'apartheid en Afrique du Sud — avec lequel la France se refuse toujours à rompre ses relations, comme le demande l'ONU —, ou encore la répression israélienne contre le peuple palestinien qui réclame une terre, une patrie, un Etat tout en se prononçant, comme l'a fait Yasser Arafat, pour la sécurité et la paix de tous les Etats du Moyen-Orient. Je puis vous assurer que nous n'aurons de cesse d'agir en ce sens tant que la dignité d'un homme pourra être bafouée, sa vie détruite par l'arbitraire, où que cela se produise, y compris dans notre pays quand les droits des travailleurs dans les entreprises sont foulés aux pieds, les militants syndicaux licenciés par milliers.

Nous voulons, aujourd'hui, attirer votre attention sur l'Iran. M. le ministre des Affaires étrangères vient d'annoncer que les relations France-Iran avaient repris leur rythme normal. Dans ce cadre, il a prévu d'aller dans ce pays pour y représenter la France.

Ma question est la suivante : allez-vous cautionner, par la présence d'une délégation gouvernementale, les assassinats massifs d'opposants politiques auxquels se livrent les dirigeants iraniens ? Comme vous le savez, une vague d'exécutions sans précédent frappe aujourd'hui, dans ce pays, les prisonniers politiques. Plusieurs générations de militants communistes, progressistes et démocrates sont actuellement livrées sans jugement aux pelotons d'exécution ou pendus en public, sur ordre direct de Khomeiny.

Nous attendons de vous une condamnation immédiate et sans ambiguïté de ces crimes, l'annonce d'une action très ferme pour obtenir qu'ils cessent et, si cela n'a pas d'effet, le renoncement au voyage à Téhéran du ministre des Affaires étrangères. »

Mme Edwige Avice, ministre déléguée aux Affaires étrangères, a répondu en affirmant que le « gouvernement a pris connaissance avec beaucoup d'inquiétude et d'émotion d'informations faisant état d'exécutions politiques ». Elle a annoncé « une concertation avec les pays membres de la CEE » pour « trouver les moyens d'une action utile ». Une fois de plus, Paris abandonne ses droits pour se retrancher derrière une hypothétique intervention de l'Europe des Douze.

# The New York Times

December 13, 1988, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

## Amnesty Reports Wave of Executions in Iran

**BYLINE:** Special to the New York Times

**SECTION:** Section A; Page 17, Column 1; Foreign Desk

**LENGTH:** 421 words

**DATELINE:** UNITED NATIONS, Dec. 12

The Iranian authorities have executed hundreds and perhaps thousands of people since June in the largest wave of political executions in Iran since 1980, Amnesty International charged today.

A report by the human rights organization said about 300 executions had been confirmed. The actual number is probably in the thousands, with executions continuing, it said.

Those put to death include supporters of Kurdish groups, members of opposition forces such as the People's Mujahedeen, which fought alongside Iraq's army, and those of other left-wing groups.

At least 11 religious leaders associated with Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, the man designated to succeed Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini as Iran's spiritual leader, have been executed as part of power struggles between political factions, the report said.

The executions mark the most violent political crackdown in Iran since thousands of prisoners were put to death in 1980, in the year or so after the Iranian revolution, Amnesty International reported.

"The evidence for mass executions is now indisputable, with evidence coming from many sources including relatives of executed prisoners and recent statements by the authorities themselves," the report said.

The human rights group links the current wave of killings to the penetration into Iranian territory in July by Iraqi forces, a month before a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq took hold.

The Iranian authorities have reportedly hung dozens of suspected Mujahedeen supporters in retaliation for battlefield setbacks. At the same time, visits to political prisoners were banned and hundreds of political prisoners disappeared, the report said.

One woman told Amnesty International officials that she had dug up the body of an executed man with her bare hands while searching in a cemetery for her husband, who disappeared from Evin Prison near Teheran in August.

She later found her husband's body, and cemetery officials confirmed that he had been executed over allegations of Communist sympathies.

"Groups of bodies - some clothed, some in shrouds - had been buried in unmarked shallow graves in the section of the cemetery reserved for executed leftist political prisoners," the report quoted the woman as saying.

President Ali Khamenei said in a radio broadcast earlier this month that Mujahedeen supporters "are condemned to death and we will execute them," the report stated.

Copies of the report may be obtained from Amnesty International, 322 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001.

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*f.a. Human rights in Iran to 1988*  
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FM : ATH COREU  
TO : ALL COREU PRIORITY  
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NBP 240/1  
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CPE/PRES/ATH/644  
13.12.1988 L.T. 16.00

DIFFUSION RESTREINTE

OBJET : REPORT BY THE AMBASSADORS OF THE TWELVE IN TEHRAN ON  
POLITICAL EXECUTIONS IN IRAN  
REF. : CPE/PRES/ATH 558

FOLLOWING A DECISION BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE (190TH COPO  
ATHENS 8-9 NOVEMBER 1988), THE PRESIDENCY FORWARDS TO PARTNERS  
THE TEXT OF THE REPORT BY THE AMBASSADORS IN TEHRAN CONCERNING  
POLITICAL EXECUTIONS IN IRAN.

QUOTE

FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE,  
THE AMBASSADORS OF THE TWELVE IN IRAN REPORT AS FOLLOWS ON  
THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE POLITICAL EXECUTIONS IN IRAN WHICH  
ARE SUPPOSED TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS,  
STARTING FROM JULY 1988.

ACCORDING TO THE PERSISTING RUMOURS AND PUBLISHED INFORMATION,  
AS WELL AS UNCONFIRMED REPORTS FROM USUALLY RELIABLE SOURCES,  
AN UNDEFINED NUMBER OF PEOPLE WERE EXECUTED ON ACCOUNT OF  
THEIR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING EVEN HERE MEMBERSHIP OF  
OPPOSITION GROUPS. THE MAJORITY OF THOSE EXECUTED ARE REPORTED  
TO BE SUPPORTERS OF THE MOJAHEDIN KHALK ORGANIZATION. ALSO A  
CERTAIN NUMBER OF THE TUDEH PARTY (COMMUNIST) SUPPORTERS, HAVE  
BEEN SUPPOSEDLY EXECUTED. SOME OF THE EXECUTIONS WERE CARRIED OUT  
SECRETLY, AMONG THEM A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER ALLEGEDLY TOOK PLACE  
IN IRANIAN PRISONS.

THE IRANIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE ALSO ANNOUNCED THE EXECUTION OF  
A GROUP OF NINE PERSONS INCLUDING SIX MULLAHS CONDEMNED TO DEATH  
BY A RELIGIOUS COURT. FURTHER EXECUTIONS REPORTED BY THE OFFICIAL  
IRANIAN PRESS AGENCY WERE HOWEVER OF PERSONS CONVICTED FOR MURDER,  
DRUG TRAFFICKING OR ARMED ROBBERY.

PAGE 1  
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MDLIAN 1751

IN THE PREVAILING CONDITIONS IN IRAN, THE EMBASSIES OF THE  
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN TEHRAN, ARE HINDERED IN THEIR EFFORTS TO  
OBTAIN EVIDENCE CONCERNING ALLEGED MASSIVE POLITICAL EXECUTIONS,  
WHICH THEY CAN THUS NEITHER CONFIRM NOR DENY. CONSEQUENTLY IT  
IS UNANIMOUSLY FELT THAT THE ELEMENTS AVAILABLE ARE NOT ENOUGH  
TO JUSTIFY AN OFFICIAL COMPLAINT TO THE IRANIAN AUTHORITIES.

UNQUOTE

ATH COREU  
FIN DE TEXT

Report by the Ambassadors of the Twelve in Tehran on  
Political Executions in Iran, 13.12.1988.



# amnesty international news release

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT  
1 Easton Street London WC1X 8DJ  
United Kingdom

AI Index: MDE 13/31/88  
Distr: SC/PO

INTERNATIONAL EMBARGO:

0001 hrs gmt Tuesday 13 December 1988

## BIGGEST WAVE OF POLITICAL EXECUTIONS IN IRAN SINCE EARLY 1980S, SAYS

### AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

The Iranian authorities have been carrying out the biggest wave of secret political executions since the early 1980s, Amnesty International said today (Tuesday 13 December).

The worldwide human rights organization said the evidence for mass executions was now indisputable, with evidence coming from many sources, including relatives of executed prisoners and recent statements by the authorities themselves.

Amnesty International said it had received information on more than 300 people reported executed since July but that this was almost certainly only the "tip of the iceberg" and the true total could run into thousands.

"Nobody really knows how many people have been put to death - just as nobody knows when the killing will stop, or who will be next to die," Amnesty International said. "Our fears are heightened because thousands of political prisoners are still held in Iran and because many of those executed recently had been imprisoned without trial, or were serving long prison sentences imposed after unfair trials."

Others executed in the latest purge have included suspected political opponents kept in prison after having served their sentences and those who had been re-arrested after release from political imprisonment. Many executed prisoners had been tortured while in detention, Amnesty International said.

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Most victims have been left-wing political activists and sympathizers, predominantly members of the People's Mojahedine Organization of Iran (PMOI) but including other groups and factions, such as Rahe Kargar, the People's Fedaiyan Organization and the Tudeh Party, and members of Kurdish opposition groups.

The men and women put to death have ranged from secondary school students seized in 1981 and 1982, through doctors and social scientists to mullahs suspected of supporting Ayatollah Montazeri, designated to succeed Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

The secret killings have taken place in prisons throughout Iran, including Evin and Gohardasht in Tehran, and in Tabriz, Mashhad and Shiraz.

The authorities initially denied reports of mass hangings and shootings, but Amnesty International said they had in effect been confirmed by public statements made by Iranian authorities in the past few days, including President Sayed Ali Khamenei.

Amnesty International said the evidence was overwhelming. Many details on executions had come from opposition groups and close relatives of those executed. The sources covered a wide range and their information had been cross-checked.

The relatives include a woman who had dug up the corpse of an executed man with her bare hands as she searched for her husband's body in Jadeh Khavaran cemetery in Tehran in August 1988 - the cemetery is known colloquially as Lanatabad, "The place of the damned."

"Groups of bodies - some clothed, some in shrouds - had been buried in unmarked shallow graves in the section of the cemetery reserved for executed leftist political prisoners," she told Amnesty International. "The stench of the corpses was appalling but I started digging with my hands because it was important for me and my two little children that I locate my husband's grave."

She said the face of the body she unearthed had been covered with blood, which she had had to clean off before she could be sure it was not her husband. She had been unable to continue digging because of guards patrolling the cemetery. Several days later other relatives visiting the site had identified her husband's grave for her.

"Once I knew where he was I could leave," she said.

Her husband, a member of a communist group and a political prisoner under the late Shah, was arrested in early 1985, tortured over several months and convicted after a summary trial at which, as a result of his torture, he was barely conscious. He never learned what his sentence was.

Early in August his wife arrived on a regular visit to Evin Prison to see him - and was told he had been moved.

"My world fell apart," she said. "For days I was given conflicting information. Then they gave me his last testament."

Officials at the cemetery confirmed he had been executed but would not say where he was buried.

Amnesty International said the woman was now outside Iran but wished to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals against her family.

Among other prisoners secretly executed in past months are former secondary school students arrested in the early 1980s for distributing political leaflets or disturbing the peace at political rallies. Some had been kept incarcerated although they had been sentenced to only six months' imprisonment.

One recently executed former student had been held without charge or trial since his arrest in 1982 at the age of 16 - his brother and two other relatives were also executed. Another victim was 17 when he was arrested in 1981 and sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment for supporting the PMOI.

Groups of public hangings of alleged collaborators were first reported this year after the PMOI-led National Liberation Army incursion into western Iran at the end of July.

Family visits to prisons were banned for three months and it became more difficult than ever to obtain firm information on what was happening to the thousands of political prisoners in Iran. Although all visits were meant to resume at the end of October, this has been allowed in some cases only, according to Amnesty International.

Amnesty International said today its members had sent tens of thousands of appeals to the Iranian authorities to stop the executions. The organization opposes the death penalty in all cases as a violation of the right to life and to be free from cruel treatment or punishment. It is particularly concerned about the lack of provisions in Iran for the fair trial of political prisoners and the absence of a right to appeal against death sentences.

The organization is sending a list of names of political prisoners executed recently to the Iranian Government for comment.

BT=EMBARGOED FOR 0001 HRS GMT TUESDAY 13 DECEMBER 1988;

3 Human Rights

(a) Joint resolution replacing Docs. B2-1127 and 1149/88

EN

RESOLUTION

on Iran

The European Parliament,

- A. horrified at reports that thousands of opponents of the Khomeini regime, including members of the Fedayeen, the Tudeh Party, the Mojahedin, dissident clergy and others have been executed in Iran over the course of the last four months,
  - B. whereas, Toudesh has just published a list of 41 of its leading members who have been executed,
  - C. appalled that many of the victims had apparently already been imprisoned for a number of years and subjected to ill-treatment and torture and that, in some cases, five or six members of the same family have suffered the death penalty,
  - D. having regard to the appeal launched by the opposition parties to the UN, the Commission on Human Rights, Amnesty International and all humanitarian organizations asking them to intervene to halt the massacres in Iran,
  - E. deeply disturbed at the fact that the Iranian authorities have not been prepared to desist from a policy of physically eliminating opponents, despite protests from many different organizations and individuals throughout the world and the preparation of a U.N. Report by Senor Reynaldo Galindo Pohl which has expressed concern at the violations of human rights,
1. Calls anew upon the Iranian Government immediately to halt the executions and ban the ill-treatment and torture of political prisoners;
  2. Appeals to the United Nations to continue with the efforts made to date to persuade the regime to end the executions;
  3. Urges that an approach be made to the Iranian authorities to admit a team of international observers to visit prisons and investigate the reports of executions;
  4. Calls on the Tehran authorities to provide full information on the mass executions which have been reported by the opposition;
  5. Recalls the duty of every constitutional state to respect the principle of human rights and the consequent obligations for the treatment of political prisoners and opponents;
  6. Demands that urgent consideration be given to the organization and imposition of an international embargo on the supply of all military supplies to Iran;
  7. Requests that the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation and Member States Embassies raise these issues with the Iranian Government and unite their efforts to save the lives of political detainees in Iran by exerting strong pressure on the Iranian Government;
  8. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the Government of Iran and the Secretary General of the United Nations.

European Parliament Joint Resolution replacing Docs. B2-1127 and 1149/88 Resolution on Iran, 15.12.1988, 6 (A).

16 Dec.1988

LE MONDE



**ARRÊTEZ LA TUERIE EN IRAN !** Mercredi soir, des centaines de détractés de toutes origines, parmi lesquels de nombreux exilés iraniens, se sont rassemblés sur le parvis des Droits-de-l'Homme, au Trocadéro, à Paris, pour condamner les exécutions de prisonniers politiques par le régime de Khomeiny et exiger l'arrêt des massacres. L'ambassade de Téhéran a refusé de recevoir une délégation des manifestants. (Photo DRK.)

## BREVES

**ABDELHAMID MEHRI  
SECRETARE GENERAL DU FLN**

Le Comité central du front de libération nationale (FLN), issu du congrès du 27 et 28 novembre dernier à Alger, a désigné mercredi un nouveau secrétaire général, Abdelhamid Mehri, sur proposition de Chadli Bendjedid, président du Front et chef de l'Etat. Abdelhamid Mehri était, en octobre dernier, ambassadeur à Rabat quand il fut appelé pour remplacer Mohamed Chérif Wessouadi à la tête du secrétariat permanent de ce qui était encore le Parti du FLN. A ce titre, il prit en main la préparation du congrès au cours duquel l'appellation de « parti » fut abandonnée, afin de revenir au large front que fut le FLN lors de la lutte de libération. Ce 6<sup>e</sup> congrès entérina les réformes politiques proposées par le président Chadli Bendjedid, notamment la fin de la cooptation des pouvoirs entre l'Etat et le FLN et l'instauration du pluralisme électoral. Abdelhamid Mehri, soixante-quatre ans, fut ambassadeur en France avant d'être nommé au Maroc. Il fut aussi membre du Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne (GPRV) avant l'indépendance et, à ce titre, participa aux accords d'Evian qui mirent fin à la guerre en 1962.

**RDA-FRANCE : 5<sup>e</sup> ANNIVERSAIRE  
DES CENTRES CULTURELS**

Les centres culturels de France à Berlin (RDA) et de la République démocratique allemande à Paris ont été créés il y a cinq ans, 117, boulevard Saint-Germain, à Paris, en bel hôtel particulier construit au siècle dernier par Charles Garnier, l'architecte de l'Opéra, abrite le centre culturel de la RDA. A l'occasion du cinquième anniversaire des deux organismes, les ministres des Affaires étrangères, Oskar Fischer et Roland Dumas, ont échangé des messages. Et une

□ La grève de vingt-quatre heures des employés des transports bretonnels était totale, jeudi, pour appuyer leurs revendications salariales.

□ Le général Mikhaïl Moïssine, quarante-neuf ans, commandant des troupes d'Extrême-Orient, a été nommé chef d'état-major de l'armée soviétique, en remplacement du maréchal Sergueï Akhromiev démissionnaire.

□ L'URSS a informé les Etats-Unis qu'elle avait désigné deux ratons qui, selon Washington, contribuèrent au traité ABM d'interruption des missiles anti-missiles de 1972.

□ Edward Ciampi, ministre des Affaires étrangères suédoises, annonce, lundi, une

Nouveaux témoignages sur les exécutions en Iran

## PRISONS DE LA MORT

Des familles des détenus assassinés ont fait parvenir à Paris des récits accablants. Le régime de Téhéran répond par la terreur au « mécontentement diffus » de la population

LES exécutions massives et secrètes de prisonniers politiques iraniens, depuis l'été dernier, ont abouti à « vider » les prisons du pays d'une grande partie des détenus, selon des témoignages de familles de ces prisonniers reçus à Paris.

Amnesty international avait dénoncé, début décembre, la plus grande vague d'exécutions politiques secrètes en Iran depuis le début des années quatre-vingt.

Selon ces témoignages rapportés par des voyageurs iraniens récemment arrivés en France, une grande partie des exécutions ont eu lieu en août et septembre, mais la nouvelle n'a été connue qu'un ou deux mois plus tard par les familles des victimes.

« Au début, ils ont suspendu les droits de visite », raconte l'épouse d'un prisonnier, membre de l'organisation des Fedayin du peuple, exécuté récemment à la prison de Ghezel-Hessar à Karaj (50 km à l'ouest de Téhéran) et « ce n'est que deux mois après qu'ils m'ont informée de sa mort ».

Une autre raconte que les responsables de la prison lui ont annoncé « sans ménagement » l'exécution de son mari, lui ont remis ses affaires, et, au moment où elle quittait la prison, l'ont rappelée pour lui demander de prendre par la même occasion celles de son beau-frère, également exécuté. L'administration a refusé de remettre les corps aux familles ou de les informer de leur lieu d'enterrement, selon ces témoignages.

Les prisonniers étaient des dirigeants, des militants, parfois même de simples sympathisants de diverses organisations : les Moujaheddine du peuple, le Parti communiste Toudeh, les Fedayin du peuple, la Voie de l'ouvrier et le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan iranien. La plupart de ces militants, arrêtés depuis 1981 ou 1982, avaient déjà été jugés et condamnés à des peines de prison.

Ainsi, deux frères, sympathisants de la Voie de l'ouvrier, condamnés en 1982, l'un à cinq ans et l'autre à dix ans, ont été exécutés en novembre. La famille prévenue par téléphone s'est rendue à la prison pour chercher les affaires et a trouvé une fille d'attente d'une centaine d'autres parents, venus pour les mêmes raisons, selon ces témoignages.

Ces sources font également état d'exécutions d'anciens prisonniers politiques, ayant déjà purgé leurs peines, reconduits en prison, leur dossier ayant été réexaminé, ils ont été passés par les armes.



Condamnés à mort attendant leur exécution dans une prison d'Iran. (Photo SIPA.)

Certains prisonniers libérés sous condition sont tenus de se présenter une fois par mois à la prison où, les yeux bandés, ils doivent rendre compte de leurs contacts et activités en ville, a raconté l'épouse d'un ancien détenu.

Malgré les démentis des responsables iraniens, le chef du pouvoir judiciaire, l'ayatollah Mousavi Ardébili, président de la Cour suprême, a reconnu implicitement, samedi dernier, les exécutions, affirmant que « certains détenus ont refusé de se corriger et ont accentué en prison leur hostilité à l'égard de la République islamique », « en particulier depuis l'opération militaire des Moudjaheddine du peuple », en juillet.

Les véritables raisons de ces exécutions restent inconnues. Le vice-ministre iranien des Affaires étrangères, M. Mohammad Javad Larjani, tout en démentant cette répression, a affirmé mardi : « Pourquoi exécuterions-nous ceux qui critiquent le régime alors qu'ils ne constituent pas une menace pour nous puisqu'ils sont en prison ? »

Des Iraniens, venus récemment à Paris, relèvent que ces exécutions ont

coïncidé avec un mécontentement diffus de la population devant l'absence de toute amélioration des conditions de vie, quatre mois après le cessez-le-feu avec l'Irak.

Ce mécontentement résulte notamment, selon ces témoignages, de la cherté de la vie, des coupures quotidiennes d'électricité, de la dévaluation de fait du rial, alors que le chômage touche officiellement 17 % de la population et que la drogue est devenue un « fléau national ».

(AFP.)

# Die Weltbühne

27. Dezember 1988

Nazis befand, wird die Zentralkartei der NSDAP aufbewahrt. Dort lagern Personalakten von SS und SA sowie des sogenannten Volksgerichtshofes. Der Diebstahl kam Anfang dieses Jahres heraus. Im Dezember gab es den ersten Prozeß, weitere werden folgen. Die Tendenz der Untersuchungen ist schon klar: Es sei nicht darum gegangen, belastende NS-Akten verschwinden zu lassen. „Mich interessierten nicht die Papiere, sondern nur die Hunderte, die ich schnell verdienen konnte“, hatte ein Angeklagter zu sagen.

Peinlich für die regierende CDU, nach den Festivitäten des Jahres, die so schön für Hochstimmung gesorgt hatten, immer wieder in die Niederungen der Affären und Skandale zurückgezogen zu werden. Rund vier Wochen vor den Wahlen zum Abgeordnetenhaus und zu den Bezirksverordnetenversammlungen macht sich das nicht gut.

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## Mein Vater Ahmad Danesh

von Stefan Parvis Töpelmann

Liebe Weltbühne, seit Wochen dringen nahezu täglich Agenturmeldungen über Hinrichtungen politischer Gefangener und Oppositioneller im Iran an die Weltöffentlichkeit. Zu den vor kurzem Hingerichteten gehört auch mein Vater Dr. Ahmad Danesh. Er war Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der Tudeh-Partei (Volks-Partei) des Iran. Doch nicht allein deshalb wurde er politisch verfolgt; Vertreter unterschiedlichster politischer und intellektueller Richtungen traf das gleiche Schicksal. Was meinen Vater in den Augen der iranischen Führung so gefährlich erscheinen ließ, war sein lebenslanges Eintreten für eine menschenwürdige Gesellschaft in seinem Heimatland. Sein Schicksal steht für das Schicksal unzähliger politischer Gefangener im Iran.

Offizielle Vertreter in Teheran vermieden es bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, da ich diesen Brief an die Weltbühne schreibe, die Hinrichtungen zu bestätigen, von einigen wurden sie sogar bestritten. Sicher ist jedoch, daß in Teheran lebende Angehörige meines Vaters ebenso wie zahlreiche Angehörige anderer politischer Gefangener durch die Gefängnisbehörden mündlich über die Hinrichtungen informiert und aufgefordert wurden, die persönlichen Habseligkeiten der Exekutierten abzuholen. Wenn auch keiner die Toten zu Gesicht bekam und aus der Vergangenheit Fälle bekannt sind, in denen von offiziellen iranischen Stellen bewußt Falschmeldungen über Hinrichtungen politischer Sträflinge lanciert wurden, um sie im nachhinein als antiiranische Propaganda darstellen zu können, so ist diesmal wegen des Umfangs dieser tragischen Meldungen sowie der derzeitigen objektiven Situation im Iran nicht daran zu zweifeln, daß die Hinrichtungen vollzogen wurden.

Mein Vater wurde am 5. Januar 1930 im Iran geboren. Bereits während der Schah-Herrschaft engagierte er sich für menschenwürdige Verhältnisse in seinem Heimatland. Schon damals wegen

seiner politischen Überzeugung verfolgt, lebte er zwanzig Jahre lang im Exil, qualifizierte sich in dieser Zeit als Urologe und Chirurg, bevor er 1972, noch während der Schah-Diktatur, unter persönlicher Gefahr in sein Heimatland zurückkehrte. Dort wurde er unter anderem dadurch bekannt, daß er 1978 die erste erfolgreiche Nierentransplantation im Iran durchführte. Nach dem Sturz des Schah im Februar 1979 und dem damit verbundenen Machtwechsel beteiligte sich Ahmad Danesh aktiv, jedoch strikt legal im Sinne der gesetzlichen Bestimmungen der Islamischen Republik Iran an der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung des Landes. Im Frühjahr 1980 kandidierte er offiziell in seiner Heimatstadt Semnan für die ersten Parlamentswahlen in der Islamischen Republik Iran.

Sein Lebensziel bestand darin, als Arzt den medizinischen und sozialen Notstand in seinem Heimatland lindern zu helfen. Bis zu seiner Verhaftung im Jahre 1983 hat er regelmäßig alle ein bis zwei Wochen die Einwohner seiner Heimatstadt kostenlos medizinisch betreut und behandelt. Auch die Kosten der Operationen, die er dabei durchführte, trug er selbst. Die gesellschaftliche Aktivität meines Vaters beruhte auf seiner humanistischen Grundhaltung, die Gewaltfreiheit einschloß; sie stand im Einklang mit den gesetzlichen Grundlagen und der Verfassung der Islamischen Republik Iran und mit der darin festgeschriebenen Führungsrolle der islamischen Gesetze und ihrer geistigen Repräsentanten.

Anfang 1983 wurden die seit dem Sturz des Schah-Regimes zugelassenen Organisationen und Parteien, so auch die Tudeh-Partei, verboten und zahlreiche ihrer Mitglieder verhaftet; mein Vater am 27. Mai 1983. Über ein Vierteljahr erfuhren seine Angehörigen nicht, was mit ihm geschehen war. Es wurde keine individuelle Anklage gegen ihn bekannt, er selbst war sich keines Verstoßes gegen Gesetze des Iran bewußt, er hat dementsprechend auch kein „Geständnis“ abgelegt. Wie unzählige andere war er un menschlichen Haftbedingungen im Teheraner Ewin-Gefängnis ausgesetzt. Er wurde physisch und psychisch gefoltert, ihm wurden alle Zähne herausgeschlagen.

Am 6. April dieses Jahres schrieb er einen persönlichen Brief an den Ayatollah Montazeri, den designierten Nachfolger von Ayatollah Khomeini, in dem er die Lage der politischen Gefangenen im Iran und auch seine eigene Situation schildert. Es ist wohl das erste Mal, daß solch ein erschütterndes ausführliches Zeugnis über das Schicksal politischer Häftlinge im Iran an die Öffentlichkeit gelangt. Darin heißt es:

„... Ich habe so viel Schmerzen und psychische Torturen dulden müssen, die den Rahmen eines knappen, offiziellen und höflichen Schreibens sprengen müssen. Ich habe so viel Gleichgültigkeit, noch schlimmer, so viel Feindseligkeit gegenüber den Menschen hier erlebt, daß ich zutiefst skeptisch und pessimistisch bin, ob irgendwelche Proteste oder Beschwerden eine Verbesserung hervorrufen werden. (...) Nunmehr sitze ich seit fünf Jahren im Gefängnis. Ich bin ein Chirurg, und gemäß dem Eid, den ich geleistet habe, das Leben zu schützen und die Schmerzen der Kranken zu lindern, habe ich hier im Gefängnis den Menschen jede denkbare medizinische Hilfe zukommen lassen. Aufgrund dieser Arbeit kennt mich der überwiegende Teil der Staatsanwaltschaft und des Personals des Ewin-Gefängnisses per-

sönlich. In meiner Akte ist kein einziges schuldhaftes Verhalten zu finden, wozu ich überhaupt vernommen werden könnte. Viele der behördlichen Instanzen hier wissen sehr wohl, daß ich mein ganzes Leben in den Dienst dieses Volkes und dieses Landes gestellt habe. Trotzdem werde ich hier ohne ein Gerichtsverfahren unter harten Bedingungen gefangengehalten. Ich bin es nicht allein, der diese Bedingungen erdulden muß. Unzählige Kinder, Jugendliche, weibliche und männliche Greise verschiedener politischer Richtungen und Gruppen mit unterschiedlichen politischen Standpunkten, unter ihnen viele meiner Genossen, haben dieses Leid zu ertragen. Anstatt diese Menschen dem Grundgesetz gemäß zu behandeln, werden sie den verschiedensten Repressalien ausgesetzt, damit sie ihrer Überzeugung abschwören. Auf der einen Seite höre ich, daß Obszönität mit der islamischen Moral unvereinbar sei, auf der anderen Seite habe ich von denselben Personen die anstößigsten Beleidigungen und Beschimpfungen ertragen müssen. (...) Hier gehört die Verleumdung und Entehrung der Gefangenen zur Tagesordnung. (...)

Ich bin ohne die geringste Veranlassung und Berechtigung geschlagen worden. Ich bin oft Zeuge gewesen, wie andere Gefangene geschlagen und gekränkt worden sind. Dabei hatte ich nicht einmal das elementarste und natürlichste Recht, meinen Folterern ins Gesicht zu sehen. Ich bin unfähig, diese tagtägliche Niedertracht und Obszönität mit meiner Feder aufs Papier zu bringen. Sie waren selbst lange den Mächschaften der Bestien des Schah-Regimes ausgesetzt. Können Sie sich einen Menschen vorstellen, der ständig mit verbundenen Augen, Nacht für Nacht, in einer dunklen Ecke des Gefängnisses die Zeit vergehen spürt, mit dem einsamen Gefühl, keine Rechte zu besitzen, von allen verlassen und den verschiedensten physischen und psychischen Foltern ausgesetzt zu sein?

Während ich immer wieder gehört und in der Verfassung der islamischen Republik gelesen habe, daß Folter verboten sei, bin ich selbst gefoltert worden und war immer wieder Zeuge, wie andere Menschen erbarmungslos gequält worden sind. Ich habe Menschen auf dem Boden kriechen hören, die sich nach der Folter nicht mehr anders bewegen konnten. Ich habe durch meine Augenbinden Gefangene gesehen, die nach der Folter nicht mehr fähig waren zu laufen, die sich nur noch liegend und schiebend bewegen konnten. Wenn ich diese Szenen sah, habe ich meine eigenen Schmerzen vergessen. Oft habe ich mir die Frage gestellt: ‚Wer ist es gerade?‘ Ich spürte immer wieder die Antwort: Es war nicht wichtig, wie er hieß oder welche Überzeugung er hatte. Er war nicht ein einzelner Mensch oder Individuum. Es war die ganze Menschheit, es war die Humanität, die derart niedergeworfen war und so hilflos und erniedrigt auf dem Boden kroch. Ich habe Menschen gesehen, die aufgrund der unerträglichen Schmerzen und Wunden der Folter erbrochen haben. Sie verloren so viel Körperwasser, bis die Haut austrocknete und jeden Moment der Tod eintreten konnte. Um ihr Leben zu retten – obwohl sie lieber sterben wollten – mußte man sie meist mit Infusionen behandeln. Ich habe Menschen gesehen, deren Urin infolge der Ausspeisungen fast nur noch aus Blut bestand und die aufgrund der Funktionsunfähigkeit ihrer Nieren an ‚Eiserne Nieren‘ angeschlossen werden mußten. (...)

So wie es mir ergangen ist, würde ich es nicht einmal meinem ärgsten Feind wünschen. Schließlich, nach zweieinhalb Jahren Gefangenschaft unter harten Bedingungen, wurde ich eines Morgens – wie immer mit verbundenen Augen – von einigen Gefängnisangestellten in ein Zimmer geführt. Zum ersten Mal durfte ich meine Augenbinden abnehmen. Ein junger Geistlicher saß hinter einem Schreibtisch und begann aus einer ihm vorliegenden Akte Fragen zu stellen. Auf seine Fragen habe ich geantwortet. Dabei dachte ich, daß diese Sitzung die Fortsetzung der Vernehmungen sei, um meine Akte zu vervollständigen, da die gleichen Fragen wie während der früheren Verhöre gestellt wurden. Eine dieser Fragen lautete, ob ich noch meine Überzeugung beibehalten habe. Auch äußerlich existierte kein Anzeichen dafür, daß diese Sitzung eine Gerichtsverhandlung sein könne. Später aber erfuhr ich, daß diese Sitzung meine Gerichtsverhandlung war. Ich war in dieser Sitzung mit dem jungen Geistlichen ganz allein. Er befragte mich, und gleichzeitig führte er

Protokoll. Sollte jene Sitzung wirklich meine Verhandlung gewesen sein, so war er sowohl der Vorsitzende, der Staatsanwalt und spielte die Rolle der Geschworenen ebenso, wie er auch als Verteidiger des Angeklagten fungierte – alles in einer Person. Diese Sitzung, die über das Schicksal eines Angehörigen einer politischen Partei – mit einer 40jährigen Vergangenheit der antiimperialistischen Aktivität –, über die Zukunft eines Menschen entscheiden sollte, dauerte nur einige Minuten. Dennoch war ich sehr froh, daß diese Sitzung recht schnell zu Ende war und mir erlaubt wurde, wieder in meine Zelle zurückzugehen, da ich nur dort das Gefühl der Sicherheit hatte.

Ich weiß nicht, ob Sie sich die Atmosphäre jenes Tages im Gefängnis vorstellen können, an dem der Gefangene nur noch froh darüber ist, wenn er in seine Zelle zurückkehren darf? Nunmehr vergingen zwei Jahre seit jener Befragung, die, wie ich meine, meine Gerichtsverhandlung gewesen ist. Ich werde jedoch noch immer ohne irgend ein Urteil festgehalten...

Nach Bekanntwerden dieses Briefes wurde jeglicher Kontakt zwischen meinem Vater und der Außenwelt unterbrochen. Seit langem war bekannt, daß er wie so viele andere akut von der Hinrichtung bedroht war. Demokratische Persönlichkeiten und Organisationen aus aller Welt engagierten sich wiederholt für eine Aussetzung der Todesurteile und für die Freilassung der vom Tode bedrohten politischen Häftlinge. Als sich der iranische Botschafter in der BRD anläßlich zahlreicher auch an seine Adresse gerichteten Proteste genötigt sah, zum Schicksal Dr. Ahmad Daneshs Stellung zu nehmen, räumten er zwar ein: „Diese Schwerststrafe (die Todesstrafe – S.P.T.) wird von den Richtern nur dann verhängt, wenn sich der Betreffende des Mordes schuldig gemacht oder einen für die Sicherheit des Landes schwerwiegenden Landesverrat in Kriegszeiten begangen hat. Ob das, was Herrn Danesh vorgeworfen wird, so weit geht, vermag ich im Augenblick nicht zu beurteilen.“ Gleichzeitig aber erhob er eine pauschale Verurteilung meines Vaters aufgrund seiner politischen Überzeugung und seiner Zugehörigkeit zur Tudeh-Partei. Als Begründung führte er sogenannte „Geständnisse“ von anderen Führungsmitgliedern der Tudeh-Partei an, die – das ist beweisbar – unter unsagbar grausamen Foltern erpreßt wurden. Die Beschaffung solcher Geständnisse sowie die Vorführung der „Geständigen“ im Fernsehen ist im Iran schon seit langem übliche Praxis – die Spuren der Foltern sind oft noch vor der Kamera zu erkennen.

Als der Mord an meinem Vater bekannt wurde, überwachten Sicherheitskräfte die Häuser und Wohnungen seiner Teheraner Angehörigen, um eine Trauerfeier und Beileidsbekundungen zu verhindern. Trotzdem erschienen Hunderte von Menschen, um ihre Anteilnahme zu bekunden, darunter Personen, die keiner seiner Angehörigen je vorher gesehen hatte, ehemalige Patienten, Menschen, die trotz der Gefahr ein letztes Mal Dank sagen und ihrer Achtung für das Wirken Dr. Ahmad Daneshs Ausdruck geben wollten.

Das Schicksal meines Vaters ist nur eines von vielen; unzähligen politischen Gefangenen im Iran droht weiterhin lediglich aufgrund ihrer politischen Überzeugung die Hinrichtung. Nach internationalem Rechtsverständnis ist dieses Geschehen wohl kaum faßbar; um so dringlicher wäre es, dem unverzüglich Einhalt zu gebieten!

# Iran Finds War Was Easier to Make Than Peace

Teheran Finds War Was Easier to Make Than a Stable Peace  
By ELAINE SCIOLOGO

## Teheran Finds War Was Easier to Make Than a Stable Peace

By ELAINE SCIOLOGO

Five months after Iran embraced a cease-fire in the eight-year Iran-Iraq war, the regime is struggling over how to rebuild its economy and recast its goal of "war until victory" to an ideology suited to peace.

As foreign bankers and businessmen rush to Teheran with visions of striking it rich, Iran's largely clerical leadership is arguing over some of the most fundamental decisions facing the country, decisions largely ignored during the war but that have taken on new urgency with peace.

The degree to which these issues have dominated internal debate was illustrated last week after the bombing of a Pan Am jumbo jet. Iran's leaders denied any responsibility, expressed sympathy for the victims and quickly dropped the subject. They dismissed the effort to blame Iran as a plot, and even American intelligence officials doubt the involvement of the little-known pro-Iran group that claimed credit for the blast.

The internal debate — on issues as far-ranging as the wisdom of foreign investment to the degree of individual freedom — is so intense that it has

Continued on Page K, Column 1

Continued From Page J

split off into the open, dominating official speeches, parliamentary debates and radio and newspaper commentaries. The nature of the discourse has shifted from making war to making peace, as the country's leaders seek to accommodate a weary population and prove their maturity and reliability to a somewhat skeptical outside world.

Some governmental actions illustrate the tensions and contradictions that continue to plague the revolution.

Since summer, France and Britain have resumed full diplomatic relations with Iran. Italy, West Germany, Canada, Denmark, Spain, Turkey, Japan and the Soviet Union, among others, have taken steps to increase trade ties. But President-elect George Bush has made no new policy statement on Iran since the election, and his top aides have said he is in no hurry to reach out to Iranian leaders.

### A Spate of Executions

Running counter to the trend toward liberalization, however, is the recent wave of political executions. According to State Department estimates, Teheran executed between several hundred and 2,000 people between late July and early September.

Most of those executed were members of the group known as the Mujahedeen, which parts in an Iraq military offensive last summer. But those executed also included senior officials in the Soviet-backed Tudeh Party who had been imprisoned in Iran since 1982, Kurdish rebels and six clerics.

Although the State Department expressed its "deep concern" about the executions, it has not made an official protest through the Swiss, who represent American interests in Teheran. American officials and Western diplomats said the cease-fire would not hinder a move toward better relations.

### Puritists and Pragmatists

It is difficult to label the factions precisely, but on one side of the debate are revolutionary "puritists" who insist on a state-run economy, self-sufficiency, harsh justice and an end to profiteering. On the other side are "pragmatists" who extol the Persian bazaar tradition and support greater participation of the private sector, more individual freedom and the use of foreign capital and expertise.

The Government controls banking, insurance, major industries, about 80 percent of foreign trade and much urban property and agricultural land.

Hojatolislam Hashem Rahnajani, the speaker of Parliament who has spearheaded the campaign for economic change and expanded foreign

ties, acknowledged the problems in a speech in October that was monitored by the United States Foreign Broadcast Information Service.

"We still have not been able to clarify for people economic benefits as benefits Islam, as we have differences of opinion among ourselves over these issues," he said, adding, "We have not yet tackled the day-to-day aspects of Islamic rule."

### A 'Paralyzed' Economy

Probably the most blistering attack of the "purist" line came in a letter from Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, the protégé of Iran's leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, to Prime Minister Mir Hussein Mousavvi, who has insisted on strong state interventions.

"Shortages, injustices, inflation, lack of sufficient income, extreme price discrepancies — the source of which is the Government itself — lack of expertise and compassion, a miserly attitude, rigidity of certain trade officials in the country's import-export sector, interference and usurpation by many organizations" have "totally paralyzed the country's economic situation," Ayatollah Montazeri wrote in the letter, made public in November.

In a veiled criticism of Prime Minister Mousavvi's unsuccessful resignation attempt in September to protest his diminishing power, Ayatollah Montazeri said, "The actual running of the

## The New York Times

January 2, 1989

country is in the hands of immature children who hold grudges."

Among Ayatollah Montazeri's recommendations were the replacement of "miserly, rigid and inconsistent" officials, in effect ransoming a more merciful use of arrests and punishments, a general amnesty to entice Iranians living abroad to return home and the elimination of duplicate offices and organizations.

Ayatollah Khomeini has done little to resolve the impasse. Since the cease-fire, he has both urged self-sufficiency and approved greater foreign participation in reconstruction. Asked by a member of his secretariat in a letter in November whether socialists or free-traders should prevail, the 86-year-old leader said he "approves both and neither."

### Importing Foreign Goods

"The Iranian state has not pioneered a way out of the dilemma of developing states," wrote Fouad Ajami, professor of Middle Eastern Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, in the current issue of Foreign Affairs. "It remains caught between populist pressures from below and powerful interests in the private sector."

But an important battle in favor of foreign participation and foreign credit was won when Iran's Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and a 112-member delegation visited Iran in November. Iranians said they would accept West German credits over the next two years to pay for a number of projects, and preliminary agreements have been made to help Iran reconstruct its cement, glass, steel and prefabricated housing industries and to train 200 engineers in Germany.

Another barrier fell when the Commerce Ministry recently allowed citizens to import certain goods — from sugar and detergent to machinery and spare parts — as long as they use private sources of foreign exchange.

Iran's internal battles have not deterred foreigners from both the East and West blocs from positioning themselves to do business. The Teheran International Trade Fair in early September, for example, was so popular that Iranian officials had to turn away hundreds of foreign companies.

### 'Bygones Are Bygones'

In the United States, the State and Commerce Departments have received hundreds of inquiries from American businessmen wanting to know about doing business in Iran.

As part of their post-war campaign,

abroad, and adapting revolutionary ideals to the new political reality.

Instead of being portrayed as "ignorant, adventurist terrorists," said Hojatolislam Rahnajani recently, Iranians should export revolution by taking part in every international arena, from the United Nations to the Olympics. In justifying an improvement in relations with Gulf Arab countries that supported Iraq during the war, Deputy Foreign Minister Ali Mohammad Behbahani said in an interview in November: "As the Koran says, bygones are bygones. We should think of the future."

At home, there is a realization among the more pragmatic leaders that repression and economic hardship could easily translate into political opposition.

As part of an overall liberalization effort, the Interior Ministry recently announced it is accepting applications for the first time from people who want to establish legal political parties.

If we do see moderate listening to views opposed to our own, those opposition remarks will soon be turned into bullets," Ayatollah Montazeri said.

### Students Confront the President

The depth of popular discontent was illustrated in a university question-and-answer radio program, when the President, Hojatolislam Ali Khamenei, was confronted by angry students who demanded to know why Iran had a "total disregard" for human rights, why the leaders meekly accepted a cease-fire with Iraq after promising war until victory, what the regime was planning to do about inflation and high prices and why clerics are not banned from government office.

Hojatolislam Khamenei's reply was frank: Iran accepted the cease-fire because of shortages at home and because the hope of achieving victory was "to a great extent weakened." The executions were carried out because those who commit crimes punishable by death "should not be treated with leniency and clemency."

Inflation and high prices will ease with private investment from wealthy Iranians at home and abroad, he said. As for clerical participation in Government, he said clerics occupy only a few high positions in Government, although he called it a "bitter fact" that they often have "moral and political differences."

"In a sense, the goal of overthrowing [the Iraqi regime and the shah] of war until victory has been abandoned for the goal of creating the model society," said Saad Bahabad, an Iranian academic and author who is writing a book on religion and politics in Iran. "Islam by example has replaced Islam by the sword. The problem is that the revolutionary energies are gone, dissipated."



## Khomeini's heir denounces regime over executions

By Ahmed Vahdatkhai and John Bulloch

THE MAN designated the successor to Ayatollah Khomeini as leader of Iran published an open letter yesterday calling the continuing executions of political prisoners 'sins', and declaring his opposition to what was going on.

Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, increasingly the focus of dissent in Iran, wrote in his letter of the 'blood-letting' going on in Iran, where a wave of executions has followed the truce in the Gulf war. Amnesty International has spoken of 600 people killed in the past few months, while the Iranian opposition has claimed more than 2,000 deaths.

In his letter, Ayatollah Montazeri confirmed one of the claims of Iranian exiles. "It appears that in most cases those executed have been serving short prison sentences for minor political offences," he wrote. "I declare my opposition to these sentences, and I am sure there are a good number of people in this country who would share this with me."

Ayatollah Khomeini, whose

grip on reality is slipping as his life fades away, chose his old friend and contemporary Montazeri as a malleable heir. But Ayatollah Montazeri has shown himself to be tougher and more single-minded than expected, and willing to challenge the regime at all levels. It is widely held that Ayatollah Montazeri knew of the violent activities of his kinsman, Mehdi Hashemi, who was executed after his attempts to disrupt the US-Iranian arms-for-hostages deal went astray.

In his letter, addressed to the Minister of Justice as well as to Ayatollah Khomeini himself, Ayatollah Montazeri chose theological as well as practical grounds for his objections to what is going on in Tehran. "If these executions have been carried out in the name of observing the retribution law, then where are the members of the families of those

victims in whose name an act of revenge has been authorised?" he asked. Under Sharia law, the families of victims can choose whether to commute a death sentence for murder to payment of compensation.

"For what valid reasons or on what basis has our judiciary approved these executions, which can result in nothing but damaging the face of our revolution and the system," he wrote.

According to reports from Tehran, and from Amnesty and other organisations, supporters of the left-wing opposition Mujahedin and Fedayin organisations, as well as members of the Tudeh Communist party, have been among the recent victims, many buried in mass graves. Exile sources claimed that hundreds were killed when an explosion was arranged at Evin prison, and say they believe that the aim is to decimate the opposition before an amnesty is declared to mark the tenth anniversary of the Islamic revolution later this year.

The Independent

January 13 1989, Friday

**Khomeini's heir denounces regime over executions**

BYLINE: AHMED VAHDATKHAH and JOHN BULLOCH

LENGTH: 455 words

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## Rebels: Prisoners' Bodies Found In Mass Graves

By JAMAL HALABY,

Associated Press Writer

NICOSIA, JAN.16 (AP) - The bodies of hundreds of Iranian political prisoners executed in recent weeks have been discovered in mass graves, the main Iranian opposition group said Monday.

Also Monday, Iran hanged 56 convicted drug traffickers in what Iran's official news agency called the "latest stage of the toughest crackdown on narcotics rings in Iran's history."

The opposition group Mujahedeen Khalq, or People's Holy Warriors, said that of the political executions, more than 94 people were put to death in Abhar, west of Tehran, in the past few weeks.

The claim came in a statement to The Associated Press in Cyprus from the group's headquarters in Baghdad, Iraq. There was no independent confirmation.

The group has said more than 12,000 political prisoners have been executed since August. A United Nations report in November estimated that 1,100 prisoners had been executed since August.

The London-based Amnesty International human rights organization earlier said it believed more than 300 people had been executed since July and that the total could run into the thousands.

Iran has denied such reports but has said that scores of convicted drug smugglers and "unrepentant" dissidents have

been executed in Tehran, the nation's capital, and other cities.

The Mujahedeen quoted witnesses as saying prison guards dug a large trench near a road in the northern province of Gilan and in one night buried several truckloads of bodies.

The statement accused Tehran's Revolutionary Prosecutor's Office of "secretly burying a large number of execution victims" near an Armenian cemetery on a road north of the city. The graves were "too shallow and stray dogs unearthed some of the bodies, which revealed the site to passers-by," the statement said.

The group also claimed that a large number of victims have been buried in trenches in Tehran's sprawling Behshat-e-Zahra cemetery.

In the central city of Isfahan, prison guards have been taking the bodies of executed prisoners "in batches of 100, 60 and 40" to a city cemetery for burial in mass graves, the Mujahedeen said.

To avoid public attention, prison guards dressed as cemetery employees loaded the bodies on buses whose seats had been removed, the Mujahedeen's statement said.

Dissident Iranians claim that the executions are aimed at eliminating opposition activists amid political uncertainty following the cease-fire Iran agreed to in August in its war with Iraq.

Iran's official Islamic Republic News Agency said the 56 drug traffickers hanged Monday, including three Afghans and a Pakistani, were caught with a total of more than 60 tons of various narcotic.

That was only "a fraction of what these traders of death had distributed," the anti-narcotics headquarters said in a statement carried by IRNA, monitored in Nicosia.

The nationwide crackdown on drugs was launched after the Aug. 20 cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war. IRNA said drug traffick-

ers and addicts currently constitute 67 percent of the prisoners in Iran.

The executions came days before a new narcotics law goes into effect Jan. 21, carrying the death penalty for anyone carrying at least 30 grams (just over one ounce) of heroin, cocaine, methadone or morphine and 11 pounds of any other narcotic.

NNNN

18 Januar 1989

## Erklärung der Volkspartei Irans (Tudeh)

### Parteikader wurden Opfer von Massenhinrichtungen

Paris (ADN). In einer Erklärung, die in Paris herausgegeben wurde, hat das Zentralkomitee der Volkspartei Irans (Tudeh) zu Massenhinrichtungen in Iran Stellung genommen, denen auch viele Mitglieder ihrer Partei zum Opfer gefallen sind. Unter ihnen befinden sich die Mitglieder des Politbüros des ZK Manoucher Behzadi, Esmail Zolghdar und Razaat Mohamedzadeh sowie der bekannte Mediziner Ahmed Danesh, der als erster Arzt in Iran Nierentransplantationen durchführte. Wie aus den Informationen der Partei hervorgeht, gibt es über die tatsächliche Zahl der Hinrichtungen keine genauen Angaben. Die vor sechs Jahren inhaftierte Gruppe von Tudeh-Mitgliedern sei unter Ausschluss der Öffentlichkeit verurteilt worden.

In der Erklärung wird darauf verwiesen, daß hervorragende Vertreter der Volkspartei sowie anderer revolutionärer und pro-

gressiver Organisationen hingerichtet wurden, denen weder ein ordnungsgemäßer Prozeß noch die Möglichkeit der Verteidigung ihrer Anschauungen ermöglicht wurde. Vor der Öffentlichkeit werde der Versuch unternommen, diese Tatsachen und ihre Hintergründe zu verschweigen. Das iranische Volk und die revolutionäre Bewegung des Landes, so stellt die Volkspartei Irans fest, habe eine Anzahl ihrer bewußtesten und erfahrensten Söhne und Töchter verloren. Dies sei zu einem Zeitpunkt erfolgt, als der Waffenstillstand im Golfkrieg zustande kam.

Bei den hingerichteten Kadern der Partei sowie anderer progressiver Kräfte habe es sich um Menschen gehandelt, die aus Liebe zu ihrem Volk den Kampf gegen Imperialismus und Reaktion, für Frieden, Unabhängigkeit und soziale Gerechtigkeit führten.

### Statement of the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh)

#### Party Cadre became Victim of Mass Executions

Paris (ADN). In a statement issued in Paris, the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) commented on the mass executions in Iran. Many of their party members also fell victim to the executions, amongst them we can find Politburo members of the Central Committee such as Manoucher Behzadi, Esmail Zolghdar and Razaat Mohamedzadeh, also the well-known doctor of medicine Ahmed Danesh who was the first to conduct kidney transplant in Iran. According to the party, no precise details about the exact number of executions are available. The [aforementioned] group of Tudeh members that were arrested six years ago was reportedly sentenced to the exclusion of the public.

The statement indicates that eminent representatives of the People's Party, as well as those of other revolutionary and progressive organizations were executed without due process or an opportunity to defend themselves against the charges. There is an attempt to conceal these facts and its history vis-à-vis the public. As the People's Party points out, the Iranian people and the revolutionary movement of the country have

lost a number of their most conscious and experienced sons and daughters. This occurred at a time when the Gulf War ceasefire was accomplished.

Amongst the executed cadres of the Party, as well as those of other progressive forces, there were many people who according to the party acted out of love for their people (Volk), fought against imperialism, reactionary forces and for peace, independence and social justice.

**Weather**  
Today: Partly sunny and mild. High 66. Low 45. Wind S-E 12 mph.  
Tonight: Cloudy and mild. High 64. Low 46. Wind S-E 10 mph.  
Wednesday: Partly sunny. High 65. Low 45-50 mph. Breeze. Page C3.

# The Washington Post

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112th Year ... No. 55

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SUNDAY, JANUARY 29, 1989

Price: Five Cents (Outside Washington Post Office \$1.25)

## Ten Years Later, Iran Struggles to Rebuild

### *Revolution Endures Despite War, Malaise*

By Patrick E. Tyler  
Washington Post Foreign Service

TEHRAN, Jan. 28—The Iranian Revolution, born a decade ago when a religious cleric little known in the West incited a mass revolt with his vision of a benevolent Islamic society, remains an unpredictable movement striving to rebuild from a devastating eight-year war.

Though many Iranians have been demoralized by the effects of the long and bloody conflict with Iraq, by revolutionary excesses at home and by the severe economic strain of the last 10 years, a number of Iranian sources and western analysts interviewed here this week report that a strong resiliency continues to enable this population of 50 million to cope with immense hardship.

The revolutionary bond is fed by religion, nationalism and the shared legacy of having backed Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in an uprising to overthrow Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi and the monarchy that existed here for 2,500 years.

The flags, bunting and posters are going up for what has been entitled the "Ten Days of Dawn"

festival that begins Wednesday to commemorate Khomeini's triumphant return from exile on Feb. 1, 1979, and the collapse of the shah's last government on Feb. 11, 1979.

The occasion of this 10th anniversary comes at a time when the country is struggling to revive itself following Iran's acceptance last July of a cease-fire in its war with Iraq. Some Iranian intellectuals say the government is making the most of the upcoming celebrations to rebuild morale and rekindle the revolutionary pride of the swelling population of young people.

But in a sign of the times, President Ali Khamenei, pointing to the war-damaged electrical system that is straining under the country's postwar power demands, asked Iranian citizens in a message this week not to turn too many decorative lights on during the upcoming anniversary celebrations to avoid overtaxing the system.

For Americans, this anniversary is an uncomfortable reminder of American lives lost and hostages taken as U.S.-Iranian relations disintegrated over the past 10 years. Many political

See IRAN, A32, Col. 1

*On the wall of the old U.S. Embassy compound in Tehran, the slogans of a decade of confrontation still carry Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's defiant threat to the "Great Satan": "We will deliver a severe defeat to America."*



# The Washington Post

**January** 29, 1989, Sunday, Final Edition

## **Ten Years Later, Iran Struggles to Rebuild; Revolution Endures Despite War, Malaise**

BYLINE: Patrick E. Tyler, Washington Post Foreign Service

... This month, in an open letter to Khomeini and the minister of justice, Montazeri decried as “sins” and “blood-letting” the political executions that were carried out in the wake of last summer’s cease-fire. Estimates of the number killed ranged from 300 to 2,400. Sources here say the majority of those executed were members of the Mujaheddin-e-Khalq organization, plus 300 to 400 members of the Communist Tudeh party and the Fedayeen guerrilla organization.

“For what valid reasons . . . has our judiciary approved these executions, which can result in nothing but damaging the face of our revolution and the system?” Montazeri asked.

# The New York Times

MONDAY, JANUARY 30, 1989

## ***Rights Group Reports 1,000 Iran Executions***

LONDON, Jan. 30 (Reuters) — Amnesty International said today that more than 1,000 political prisoners had been shot or hanged in Iran over the past six months in the biggest wave of executions there since the early 1980's.

In a statement to the United Nations' annual review of human rights abuses, Amnesty International said the victims were mostly supporters of the People's Mujahedeen opposition group, but included members of other left-wing groups.

"Among them were a large number of prisoners of conscience and others serving prison terms, imposed after unfair trials, for their nonviolent political activity," the London-based human rights group said.

"The wave of executions began last August and has been the biggest in Iran since thousands of political prisoners were put to death in the early 1980's," it added.

Amnesty also told the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, opening its annual session in Geneva today, that it had evidence of other violations including torture, detention without trial, unfair trials and "cruel, inhuman or degrading" punishment such as the cutting off of thieves' fingers.

## **The New York Times**

**January** 30, 1989, Monday, Late City Final Edition

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BYLINE: Reuters

SECTION: Section A; Page 2, Column 4; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 185 words

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# IRAN WILL RELEASE CERTAIN PRISONERS FOR ANNIVERSARY

## THOUSANDS TO BE FREED

### But Plan Will Exclude Those Political Foes Being Held for Serious Crimes

By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM  
Special to The New York Times

SHIRAZ, Iran, Feb. 8 — Iran announced today that it would release several thousand political prisoners to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Islamic revolution on Saturday. But it said about 900 opponents of the Government accused of murder and other serious crimes would not be freed.

The move came after a series of domestic and international shifts in Iranian policies apparently intended to soften the Government's image as a harsh revolutionary regime.

The decision to free most of the political prisoners is expected to lead to the release of a variety of opponents of the Government of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, including Communists, members of the leftist People's Mujahedeen group, and extremist fundamentalists, all imprisoned over the last few years for their political views. It is also expected that members of the Bahai faith, as well as some followers of Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlavi, will also be freed.

#### A Letter to Khomeini

The exact number of those to be released was not disclosed. But officials and experts here said the amnesty would benefit at least 3,000 prisoners and perhaps as many as 10,000.

The decision was made today by Ayatollah Khomeini, Iran's supreme leader, in response to a request from Iran's Minister of Intelligence Affairs, Mohammad Rayshari.

Iranian television broadcast the text of a letter from Mr. Rayshari to the Ayatollah in which he asked that the amnesty be used to commemorate the anniversary of the 1979 Iranian revolution.

"Since we have reached the stage where we are very stable and all anti-revolutionary groups are at a point of total destruction, I propose that all

Continued on Page A10, Column 1



The New York Times/Paul Heston  
Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, as he spoke with reporters about the nomination of John G. Tower.

#### Continued From Page A1

prisoners of these groups be given amnesty and a chance to reconstruct themselves," Mr. Rayshari was quoted as saying to the Ayatollah in his letter.

#### Executions of Opponents

In a response to the message, Ayatollah Khomeini directed tonight that the prisoners be released, adding in a message broadcast to the nation, "I hope the families of those prisoners will induce them not to start the same things again, and that jobs will be found for them."

The amnesty decision follows strong evidence of many executions carried out since August against hardened political opponents, especially from the Mujahedeen group, which is based in Iraq and has taken part in the war against Iran from military bases near the Iranian border with the support of the Baghdad Government.

Iranian officials here said many of those excluded from the amnesty are members of the Mujahedeen group who have been accused of murder, bombings of civilian and Government sites in Iran, and some members of the group taken prisoner during an armed invasion of Iran from Iraq last year.

#### Liberalization of Policies

Nevertheless, the decision was largely viewed by foreign diplomats and many Iranians as a significant new step in a policy of gradual liberalization in domestic and foreign policy that started last summer.

Iran accepted a cease-fire in the eight-year war with Iraq after rejecting several opportunities to do so in the past. It abandoned its often-declared goal of overthrowing the Iraqi Government of President Saddam Hussein and has taken steps to improve ties with the conservative Arab governments in the Persian Gulf region.

## The New York Times

8 February 1989

## Khomeini's heir asks to quit

David Hirst in Nicosia

**W**ITH disarray gaining ground among Iran's revolutionary leadership, Ayatollah Khomeini's anointed heir yesterday announced that he no longer wanted the post.

According to the official Iranian news agency, Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, whose criticisms of officials and policies have grown increasingly outspoken in recent months, informed Khomeini of his intentions in a letter on Monday.

"I beg your excellency to order the Council of Experts to firmly have in mind the future interests of Islam, the revolution and the country and . . . permit me, as an insignificant and humble theology student, to teach and carry out scholarly activities in the service of Islam and the revolution under your excellency's wise leadership."

The Ayatollah replied: "As you have written, leading the Islamic Republic is a difficult task and a grave responsibility requiring more endurance than yours," adding that he and Montazeri had from the start opposed his appointment as successor.

"But the Assembly of Experts had reached this conclusion and I did not want to interfere in their legal sphere . . . Everyone knows that you are the fruit of my life and I intensely like you," the Ayatollah said. "In order not to repeat the past mistakes I advise you to clean up your house from dishonest people and seriously keep away opponents of the system who

masquerade as supporters of Islam and the Islamic Republic."

"Theological students, prayer leaders, newspapers and radio and television should make this simple fact known to people, that in Islam the interests of the system come first and we should all obey them."

The resignation was made public after Khomeini held a rare meeting with the Assembly of Experts, the august body of Islamic scholars one of whose tasks is to choose his successor.

If no one person is deemed fit to assume the responsibilities of Velayat e-Fakih, or the Guardianship of the Religious Jurisprudent — as the supreme office of the Islamic Republic is known — it can be assigned to a group of three or five persons.

Montazeri had been criticised by hardliners for his pragmatism in foreign policy.

Although he has not much of an organised power-base, he had been growing in moral authority as a scourge of the existing order.

He had made himself a systematic critic of the two principal factions, the "pragmatists" led by the House Speaker, Hashemi Rafsanjani, and the "radicals" typified by the Prime Minister, Mir-Hussein Mousavi, who are now vying for Khomeini's favour, and are likely to engage in an uninhibited power struggle when he finally goes.

Montazeri has made a sweeping arraignment of the corruption and incompetence of the system, and the failure of the revolution to meet people's aspirations.

[German translation of Montazeri's two letters to Ayatollah Khomeini and a letter to the members of the "Death Commission," published in TAZ (Die Tagesszeitung), 28.4.1989]

### **Montaseri: „Massaker ohne Gerichtsverfahren“**

■ Der ehemalige Khomeini-Nachfolger Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montaseri kritisierte in mehreren Briefen die Massenhinrichtungen im Iran

IM

*Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montaseri, designierter Nachfolger des iranischen Revolutionsführers Khomeini, trat Ende März von seinem Posten zurück und kam so seiner Absetzung zuvor. Der Grund: Montaseri hatte seit dem letzten Sommer die Massenhinrichtungen kritisiert. Die Briefe an Khomeini und die Leitung des Evin-Gefängnisses für politische Gefangene, die wir im folgenden dokumentieren, kursierten in Qom und Teheran als Flugblätter und fanden auch den Weg ins Ausland. An Ayatollah Ruollah Khomeini 29. Juli 1988 Im Namen Gottes, des Gnädigen, des Barmherzigen An Seine Exzellenz Großayatollah Khomeini, möge seine Gegenwart erhalten bleiben, Nach Grüßen möchte ich feststellen:*

Betreffs des Befehls seiner Exzellenz über die Hinrichtung der Monafeqin (die oppositionellen Volksmudschaheddin, die das Regime bewaffnet bekämpfen, d. Red.) in den Gefängnissen; Die Hinrichtung der Festgenommenen bei den jüngsten Ereignissen (militärischen Operationen der Volksmudschaheddin, d. Red.) ist von der Nation und der Gesellschaft akzeptiert und hat offenbar keine gegenteilige Wirkung. Aber die Hinrichtung derer, die schon seit langem im Gefängnis sitzen, wird:

1. unter den gegenwärtigen Umständen als Rache interpretiert werden;
2. viele im allgemeinen treue und revolutionäre Familien enttäuschen und ihre Gefühle verletzen.
3. Die meisten dieser Gefangenen sind in ihren früheren

(politischen) Positionen nicht länger konsistent, aber gewisse radikale Autoritäten der Exekutive benehmen sich, als ob sie auf ihren früheren Positionen insistieren. (...)

5. Die plötzliche Hinrichtung der Gefangenen, die von den Gerichten und gemäß der Gesetze zu geringeren Strafen als der der Exekution verurteilt wurden, und die keinerlei neue Taten begangen haben, würde zur Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber allen juristischen Prinzipien und den Urteilen der Richter führen. (...)

7. Bisher gab es keine positiven Folgen der Hinrichtungen und des harten Vorgehens, wir haben nur eine zunehmende Propaganda gegen uns und ein zunehmendes Interesse an den Monafeqin und den Konterrevolutionären festgestellt. Es wäre angemessen, eine Zeitlang Milde und Güte walten zu lassen.

8. Falls Sie auf Ihrer Anordnung bestehen, befehlen Sie bitte zumindest, daß ein Kriterium für die Entscheidung (über die Hinrichtungen) künftig auf der kollektiven Meinung der Richter, des Staatsanwaltes und des Offiziers des Sicherheits- und Geheimdienstes basiert und daß keine Frauen mehr hingerichtet werden, vor allem keine Schwangeren (oder solche mit Kindern).

Die Hinrichtung von mehreren tausend Menschen binnen weniger Tage wäre schließlich keine angemessene Reaktion und Irrtümer wären nicht ausgeschlossen. Einige Richter, gläubige Richter, waren sehr verstört, und es wäre daher angemessen die folgende Hadith zu berücksichtigen (Worte des Propheten Mohammed):

Versuche soweit wie möglich zu verhindern, die islamischen Strafgesetze gegenüber den Moslems anzuwenden, und wenn es eine Möglichkeit gibt, diese Strafen zu vermeiden, versuche sie zu nutzen. So wäre es besser für einen Imam, irrtümlich zu vergeben als irrtümlich zu strafen.

Hussein Ali Montaseri

An Ayatollah Ruollah Khomeini

September 1988

(...)Nach Grüßen und dem Brief vom 29.7. 88, und um meinen religiösen Pflichten nachzukommen, stelle ich hiermit fest:

Vor drei Tagen kam ein religiöser Richter aus einer der Provinzen, der ein vertrauenswürdiger Mann ist, nach Qom. Er war verärgert über die Art, wie Ihre jüngste Anordnung umgesetzt wird, und sagte: „Der Geheimdienstoffizier fragte einen Gefangenen, ob er noch auf seine früheren (politischen) Positionen beharrte. Die Frage lautete: Bist du bereit, die Monafeqin-Organisation zu verurteilen? Er antwortete: Ja. Bist du bereit, das in einem Fernsehinterview zu sagen? - Ja. - Bist du bereit, an die Front zu gehen und gegen den Irak zu kämpfen? - Ja. - Bist du bereit, auf eine Mine zu treten? - Sind alle Leute bereit, auf eine Mine zu treten? Außerdem sollte man von mir nicht so viel erwarten, da ich erst kürzlich ein gläubiger Moslem geworden bin. - Dann ist es klar, daß du noch auf deiner früheren Position beharrst.

Dann benahm sich der Offizier gegenüber dem Gefangenen so, als habe er nicht bereut (als sei er noch ein Unterstützer der Volksmudschaheddin, d. Red.).“

Und der gleiche religiöse Richter erzählte: „Ich bestand darauf, daß eine kollektive Entscheidung (für das Urteil, d. Red.) das Kriterium sein sollte und nicht eine Mehrheitsentscheidung, und sie lehnten das ab. Die entscheidende Rolle bei der Verhängung von Urteilen ist die des Sicherheits- und Geheimdienst-Offiziers und die anderen (Mitglieder seines Teams) stehen unter seinem Einfluß.“

Ihre Exzellenz könnte hier deutlich sehen, welche Sorte von Personen mit welcher Art von Ansichten Ihren Befehl ausführen, der das Leben von Tausenden von Menschen betrifft.

Hussein Ali Montaseri

An Herrn Miri, den religiösen Richter, Herrn Eshraghi, den Staatsanwalt, Herrn Ra'isi, den stellvertretenden Staatsanwalt, Herrn Pour-Mohammadi, den Vertreter des Geheimdienstes im Evin-Gefängnis, um den Befehl des Imam auszuführen:

1. Ich habe mehr unter den Monafeqin gelitten und Schläge von ihnen eingesteckt als ihr alle, sowohl im Gefängnis (vor der Revolution 1979, d. Red.) als auch außerhalb des Gefängnisses. Sie haben meinen Sohn zum Märtyrer gemacht. Wenn einer auf Rache aus wäre, dann wäre ich es, der sie suchen würde. Aber ich berücksichtige das Interesse des Islam, und der Revolution, und des Landes und das Prestige der velayat-e faqih (religiöse Führung, d. Red.) und der Regierung des Islam. Ich berücksichtige das Urteil der Zukunft und der Geschichte.

2. So ein Massaker ohne Gerichtsverfahren, obwohl es um Gefangene und solche in Haft geht, wird ihnen (den Volksmudschaheddin, d. Red.) sicher langfristig zugute kommen und die Welt würde uns verurteilen und sie nur noch mehr zum bewaffneten Kampf ermutigen. Es ist falsch, Ideen und Gedanken durch das Mittel des Tötens zu bekämpfen. (...)

4. Die meisten Gefangenen, die auf ihren früheren Ansichten beharren, sind durch das Verhalten der Verhörenden und der Offiziere im Gefängnis dazu gebracht worden, andernfalls wären sie flexibel und hätten ihre alten Ansichten revidiert.

5. Das Argument, sie würden sich wieder den Monafeqin anschließen, wenn wir sie freiließen, würde nicht dazu führen, sie als „Rebellen und Krieger gegen Gott“ zu charakterisieren und abzustempeln. Auch Imam Ali verurteilte seinen Mörder nicht auf diese Weise, obwohl er genau wußte und sagte, daß er sein Mörder sei. (...)

7. Das Urteil und seine Verkündung müssen in einer gesunden Atmosphäre und ohne Emotionen stattfinden. (Mit dem Wort des Propheten: Ein Richter soll nicht im Zustand der Wut urteilen.) Mit all diesen Parolen und Provokationen ist

die soziale Atmosphäre ungesund. Wir sind verstört über die Verbrechen, die die Monafeqin im Westen (des Iran, d. Red.) begangen haben. Wir haben begonnen, die Gefangenen und die, die schon lange inhaftiert sind, zu bestrafen. Außerdem würde es alle Richter und alle früheren Urteile in Frage stellen, wenn wir sie exekutieren, ohne daß sie neue Aktivitäten gegen uns durchgeführt haben.

Nach welchem Kriterium exekutiert Ihr jemanden, der zuvor zu einer geringeren Strafe als die Hinrichtung verurteilt worden war? Was werdet Ihr morgen den Familien sagen, nachdem Ihr Besuche und Telefongespräche untersagt habt? (...)

10. Schließlich sind die Volksmudschaheddin nicht Personen, sondern eher eine Art des Denkens und des Verstehens. Es ist eine Art von Logik, und die falsche Logik und ihr Argument muß mit der richtigen Logik und dem richtigen Argument konfrontiert werden. Durch Töten würde es sich nicht auflösen und verschwinden, sondern eher ermutigt werden und weiter ausbreiten.

Ich wünsche Ihnen Erfolg! Hussein Ali Montaser

13. August 1988



<https://taz.de/!1813876/>

## La repressione in Iran Feri Fardjad, comunista, è stato assassinato nel carcere di Teheran



■ Feri Fardjad, già responsabile in Italia del partito Tudeh (comunista) dell'Iran e protagonista instancabile della lotta per la libertà del suo paese, è morto, ucciso a sangue freddo nel carcere di Evin a Teheran dopo sei anni di prigionia. La notizia ha suscitato in tutti coloro che lo hanno conosciuto un sentimento di incredulità, prima ancora che di sgomento e di rabbia. Non ci sembrava possibile che Feri non ci fosse più, e ci è impossibile capire per quali «colpe» possa essere stato giustiziato, se non quella appunto di essere comunista.

Nato 43 anni fa, Feri ha vissuto in esilio qui in Italia, per quindici anni. Studente, ha trascurato ben presto le aule universitarie per dedicarsi interamente all'impegno politico, nelle file del Tudeh e negli organismi di solidarietà con la

lotta del popolo iraniano contro la tirannia dello scia. Lo ricordiamo tutti per la sua dedizione, per il suo spirito pratico, il suo sorriso aperto, il suo carattere schivo da ogni esibizionismo, il suo andare subito al sodo con semplicità e con chiarezza, ma con una visione precisa delle cose da fare.

Rientrato in Iran nel 1979, dopo la rivoluzione, nei primi mesi del 1983 è stato travolto anche lui, come tanti altri compagni, dall'ondata repressiva scatenata dal regime integralista. Rinchiuso nel famigerato carcere di Evin, è stato torturato e tenuto per lunghi periodi in isolamento. Ed ora giunge improvvisa - insieme a tante altre - la notizia della sua uccisione, anzi del suo assassinio, perché di questo si tratta: senza specifiche accuse, senza processo, senza che

la sua famiglia potesse almeno rivederlo.

Lo avevo incontrato l'ultima volta a Teheran nel novembre del 1980, due mesi dopo l'inizio del conflitto Iran-Irak, e avevamo parlato a lungo della crudele assurdità di quella guerra e della necessità di un impegno collettivo perché la pace fosse ristabilita al più presto. Adesso la pace sta tornando ma Feri non c'è più, stroncato da un atto di repressione feroce ed insensato, che ha cancellato la sua esistenza ma non potrà mai cancellare le idee per cui egli è vissuto e ha lottato. □ GL

L'Unità - Friday, 2 December 1988, p.4

Author: Giancarlo Lannutti (Main PCI point-man for the Middle East throughout the 1980s).

Sur-title: "The Repression in Iran"

Main title: "Feri Fardjad, A Communist, has been assassinated in the prison of Tehran"

Text:

The former representative in Italy of the Tudeh (Communist) Party of Iran, Feri Fardjad, a tireless protagonist of the fight

for freedom in his country, has been killed in cold blood in Evin prison in Tehran after six years of incarceration. We have met the news with disbelief and then dismay and anger. We cannot fathom the fact that Feri is not amongst us anymore, and it is impossible for us to comprehend what his 'guilt' consisted of, other than being a communist.

Feri was born 43 years ago. He had lived here in Italy for 15 years. Initially a student, he soon left university classrooms to take up full-time political activism within the ranks of the Tudeh and the solidarity groups in favour of the struggle of the Iranian people against the tyranny of the Shah. We all remember his dedication, his practical attitude, his open smile, the lack of any ostentation, his ability to go straight to the heart of any matter with effectiveness and clarity and with a clear vision of what needs to be done.

Feri returned to Iran in 1979, following the revolution. In the first months of 1983, he was overtaken, like many others, by the wave of repression which was launched by the fundamentalist regime. He was locked up in the notorious Evin prison, tortured and held under solitary confinement for long periods of time. We now suddenly receive the news of his killing and that of many others. To be precise, his assassination, because this is what has occurred. There has been no specific indictment or trial, and his family has been unable to ever see him again.

I had met him for the last time in Tehran in November 1980, two months after the start of the Iran-Iraq War. We had talked at length about the absurd cruelty of that conflict, and the need for a collective effort to restore peace as soon as possible. The peace has now returned, but Feri is not with us any longer, struck as he was by an act of fierce and unhinged repression which has erased his existence but which will never erase the ideals for which he had lived and fought for.

**[Translated by Siavush Randjbar-Daemi from Italian into English]**



Parliament of Canada  
House of Commons  
Wednesday, June 5, 2013



Moved by Mr. Paul Dewar (Ottawa Centre, NDP):



That, this House condemn the mass murder of political prisoners in Iran in the summer of 1988 as a crime against humanity, honours the memory of the victims buried in the mass graves at Khavaran cemetery and other locations in Iran, and establishes September 1 as a day of solidarity with political prisoners in Iran.



Motion agreed to, unanimously.



*Paul Dewar*



*Paul Dewar*  
*Member of Parliament*  
*Ottawa Centre*



[Piemonte provincial council in Italy condemning the 1988 massacre, 31.1.2017]

## **Standing Order No.985**

### **The Regional Council [Parliament]**

*After noting the following:*

- In the summer of 1988, the Iranian regime conducted the summarily and extra-judicial execution of tens of thousands of political prisoners who were jailed in prisons across the country, on the basis of a religious decree (fatwa) emitted by the then-Supreme Leader of the regime, Ayatollah Khomeini.

- The details which recently emerged on the massacre, which coincided with the escalation of arbitrary executions which have occurred in recent times in Iran, have shocked Iranian society and the international community.

- On 9 August 2016, relatives of Hossein-Ali Montazeri, the former heir-designate of Khomeini, have published a harrowing audio recording in which Montazeri accuses the members of the 'Death Commission' of committing a crime against humanity.

- In this same recording, Hossein-Ali Montazeri, who will later be struck off as successor to Khomeini because of these remarks, addresses the members of the 'Death Commission' by stating the following:

"You have committed the worst crime of the Islamic Republic period. History will condemn us for it. Your names will be recorded in the annals of History, amongst those of criminals." He adds: "Executing these people in the absence of new initiatives (by the prisoners) means that ... the entire judiciary is guilty".

- The attention given by the international community to this crime against humanity has been limited.

- In 2008, twenty years after the massacre, Amnesty International requested the indictment of those responsible for these crimes once again, adding that those responsible for these killings, one of the worst abuses committed in Iran, must be indicted and prosecuted by a regular and legally-constituted tribunal with due process guaranteed and in full respect of international standards.

*After also taking into consideration*

- That the 1988 massacre in Iran remains one of the darkest moments of recent human history, and one of the lesser known and debated ones.

- That there has been no indictment to this day of those responsible for the 1988 massacre, the existence of which continues to be denied by the Iranian regime.

### **Compels the Italian Government**

- To firmly condemn the 1988 massacre of political prisoners in Iran

- To press for the involvement of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the UN Human Rights Council, the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council in order to bring about an inquiry which will result in justice being meted out against the unpunished perpetrators of this crime against humanity.

The text of this document was voted upon and approved by consensus during the 31 January 2017 session.

**[Translated by Siavush Randjbar-Daemi from Italian into English]**

115TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. RES. 188

Condemning the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the 1988  
massacre of political prisoners and calling for justice for the victims.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 9, 2017

Mr. McCaul (for himself, Mr. Royce of California, Mr. Engel, Mrs. Comstock, Mr. McClintock, Mr. Sessions, Mr. Keating, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Young of Alaska, and Ms. Judy Chu of California) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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## RESOLUTION

Condemning the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran  
for the 1988 massacre of political prisoners and calling  
for justice for the victims.

Whereas over a 4-month period in 1988, the Government of  
the Islamic Republic of Iran carried out the barbaric  
mass executions of thousands of political prisoners and  
many unrelated political groups;

Whereas according to a report by the Iran Human Rights  
Documentation Center, the massacre was carried out  
pursuant to a fatwa, or religious decree, issued by then-  
Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, that tar-  
geted the People's Mojahedin of Iran (PMOI), also  
known as the Mujahedeen-e-Khalq (MEK);

Whereas according to a November 2, 2007, report by Amnesty International, “between 27 July 1988 and the end of that year, thousands of political prisoners [in Iran], including prisoners of conscience, were executed in prisons nationwide”;

Whereas the killings were carried out on the orders of a judge, an official from the Ministry of Intelligence, and a state prosecutor, known to the prisoners as “Death Commissions” which undertook proceedings in a manner designed to eliminate the regime’s opponents;

Whereas those personally responsible for these mass executions include senior officials serving in the current Government of Iran;

Whereas prisoners were reportedly brought before the commissions and briefly questioned about their political affiliation, and any prisoner who refused to renounce his or her affiliation with groups perceived as enemies by the regime was then taken away for execution;

Whereas the victims included thousands of people, including teenagers and pregnant women, imprisoned merely for participating in peaceful street protests and for possessing political reading material, many of whom had already served or were currently serving prison sentences;

Whereas prisoners were executed in groups, some in mass hangings and others by firing squad, with their bodies disposed of in mass graves;

Whereas according to Amnesty International, “the majority of those killed were supporters of the PMOI, but hundreds of members and supporters of other political groups . . . were also among the execution victims”;

Whereas later waves of executions targeted religious minorities, such as members of the Baha'i faith, many of whom were often subjected to brutal torture before they were killed;

Whereas the families of the executed were denied information about their loved ones and were prohibited from mourning them in public;

Whereas in a recently disclosed audiotape, the late Hussein Ali Montazeri, a grand ayatollah who served as Khomeini's chief deputy, noted the regime's efforts to target the MEK and said that the 1988 mass killings were "the greatest crime committed during the Islamic Republic, for which history will condemn us";

Whereas the current Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei was reportedly aware of, and later publicly condoned the massacre;

Whereas in violation of its international obligations, the Government of Iran continues to systematically perpetrate gross violations of the fundamental human rights of the Iranian people; and

Whereas the November 2, 2007, report from Amnesty International concluded "there should be no impunity for human rights violations, no matter where or when they took place. The 1988 executions should be subject to an independent impartial investigation, and all those responsible should be brought to justice, and receive appropriate penalties": Now, therefore, be it

1        *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

2                (1) condemns the Government of the Islamic

3        Republic of Iran for the 1988 massacre, and for de-

1 nying the evidence of this manifest set of crimes  
2 against humanity;

3 (2) urges the Administration and United States  
4 allies to publicly condemn the massacre, and pres-  
5 sure the Government of Iran to provide detailed in-  
6 formation to the families of the victims about their  
7 loved ones and their final resting places; and

8 (3) urges the United Nations Special Rappor-  
9 teur on the human rights situation in Iran and the  
10 United Nations Human Rights Council to create a  
11 Commission of Inquiry to fully investigate the mas-  
12 sacre and to gather evidence and identify the names  
13 and roles of specific perpetrators with a view to-  
14 wards bringing them to justice.

○