



BLOOD-SOAKED SECRETS

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

AMNESTY
INTERNATIONAL



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GLOSSARY

BASIC PRINCIPLES	Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law
<i>BAQI</i>	Taking up arms against the state
FATWA	Religious ruling or decree issued by an Islamic jurist
FADAIYAN KHALQ ORGANIZATION	A leftist organization which split into multiple factions including Ashraf Dehghani, Majority (Aksariat) and Minority (Aqaliat) in 1979 and 1980
<i>HAKEM-E SHAR'</i>	Shari'a judges appointed by Supreme Leader Rouhollah Khomeini after the 1979 revolution
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
KDPI	Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran
<i>MOHAREBEH</i>	Waging war against God, a charge carrying the death penalty under Iranian criminal law
<i>MOHAREB</i>	An individual accused of "waging war against God"
<i>MOLHED</i>	Atheist, heretic
<i>MONAFEQIN</i>	Pejorative epithet for members and supporters of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI)
<i>NEFAQ</i>	Hypocrisy, pejorative reference to the PMOI
NLA	National Liberation Army of the PMOI
PMOI	People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran
SAVAK	National Intelligence and Security Organization (pre-1979)
<i>SHENASNAMEH</i>	National identity booklet
UN	United Nations
UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE	UN Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran
UPDATED SET OF PRINCIPLES TO COMBAT IMPUNITY	Updated Set of Principles for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights through Action to Combat Impunity

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

“More than a quarter of a century has passed since we began the quest for... truth regarding the fate of our loved ones.”

Mothers and Families of Khavaran, speaking in 2014.

In late July 1988, thousands of political dissidents held in prisons across Iran were forcibly disappeared suddenly. They were mostly young men and women, some just teenagers, unjustly imprisoned because of their political opinions and non-violent political activities. Prisons were put on lockdown across the country and the authorities suspended family visits without giving any reasons. For months, nothing was heard.

Gradually, terrifying rumours began to circulate about mass secret executions and the dumping of bodies in unmarked mass graves. Families' worst fears were confirmed from late October 1988 onwards when prison visits resumed and authorities informed many families that their loved ones had been executed. However, over the last 30 years, the authorities have cruelly denied them not only a body to mourn over, but also the truth about when, how and why their loved ones were killed, what happened to them in their last moments and where their remains are hidden.

The authorities have treated the killings as state secrets. Three times in the past three decades, the wall of secrecy has been cracked and each time the authorities have responded with reprisals and accused those who have leaked records related to the preparation, planning and co-ordinated implementation of the mass killings of “disclosing state secrets” and “threatening national security”. In 1989, letters raising concerns about the executions that were addressed to Supreme Leader Rouhollah Khomeini from his deputy, Hossein Ali Montazeri, were leaked. In 2000, a copy of the secret fatwa by which, in July 1988, Rouhollah Khomeini ordered the mass killings was published. In 2016, an audio recording of a high-level official meeting that took place in August 1988 between Hossein Ali Montazeri and the officials responsible for the mass killings in Tehran was posted online.

Building on the sustained campaigning and documentation efforts by survivors, family members of victims and human rights defenders over the last 30 years, Amnesty International has set out to prise open these cracks even further and reveal more of the blood-soaked secrets the authorities have tried to keep with a view to seizing the opportunity of the current renewed debate about these crimes and advance the struggle for truth, justice and reparation.

Amnesty International's focus on one of the most heinous chapters of state violence in Iran's recent history is further prompted by the ongoing official campaign to repress the commemorative efforts of survivors, families and human rights defenders, demonize the victims and distort the facts about the extrajudicial execution of political dissidents in the 1980s. It is all the more relevant as many of those alleged to have been involved in the 1988 enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions hold or have held positions of power in Iran. They benefit from a continuing atmosphere of secrecy and impunity in the country.

Amnesty International's research, conducted from September 2017 to November 2018, analysed the testimonies of 41 survivors, 54 family members of victims, 11 former prisoners, and 10 other witnesses from 28 cities across Iran, obtained either directly or through Justice for Iran, an Iranian human rights organization; examined written materials, including testimonies and memoirs, prepared by survivors, independent researchers and other Iranian human rights organizations; and reviewed media reports and

statements issued by Iranian authorities and UN bodies, as well as the organization's own archives. It analysed the audio recording of the meeting in 1988 where members of the "death commission" in Tehran are heard discussing the killings. It obtained and verified death certificates, profile pictures and images of gravestones of dozens of execution victims and crosschecked and consolidated lists and databases containing thousands of names.

On 19 October 2018, Amnesty International sent the Iranian authorities a summary of its findings and requested related information and clarifications, but has so far received no response. The organization is denied access to the country.

Amnesty International's research leaves the organization in no doubt that, during the course of several weeks between late July and early September 1988, thousands of political dissidents were systematically subjected to enforced disappearance in Iranian detention facilities across the country and extrajudicially executed pursuant to an order issued by the Supreme Leader of Iran and implemented across prisons in the country. Many of those killed were subjected to torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment in the process.

The extrajudicial executions were followed by the authorities' refusal to officially acknowledge the killings; fully disclose the fate of the victims, including the causes and circumstances of the killings; identify the remains; and ensure that they are returned to the families. The systematic concealment of the fate of the victims and location of their remains has also involved not providing families with death certificates and responding to families' requests for death certificates by issuing ones that are in many cases inaccurate, misleading or incomplete about the causes, circumstances and dates of the death and cite "natural" causes or simply "death" as the cause of death or provide no cause.

Such conduct by the authorities amounts to the crime of enforced disappearance under international law. According to the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, the commission of an extrajudicial execution in detention falls within the definition of enforced disappearance if it is followed by the refusal of state officials to disclose the fate or whereabouts of the victim or to acknowledge that the act has been perpetrated at all.

These ongoing enforced disappearances and the continuing uncertainty concerning the fate of their loved ones and the location of their remains have caused anguish to the families.

Their pain is compounded by several additional factors: the ongoing bans that they face on conducting mourning rituals and commemorations; the deliberate desecration and destruction of sites where their loved ones are believed to be buried in mass graves; the knowledge that those who ordered and carried out the executions continue to get away with their crimes; and the persistent threats, harassment, intimidation and attacks that they face for daring to demand truth and justice.

These cruel practices, which have caused great suffering and harm to victims' families for decades, including serious injury to their mental and physical health, violate the absolute prohibition of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Given the widespread and systematic manner in which the authorities have committed enforced disappearances, extrajudicial executions, torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment, as well as other serious human rights violations against political dissidents and their families, Amnesty International considers that they amount to crimes against humanity, including of murder, extermination, enforced disappearance, torture, persecution and other inhumane acts.

The crimes of enforced disappearance continue until the Iranian state fully discloses the truth about the fate of the individuals concerned and the location of their remains.

International law obligates Iran to investigate these crimes under international law and, where sufficient admissible evidence exists, to prosecute those suspected of responsibility before civilian courts in fair trials. It also has an obligation under international human rights law to provide victims with effective remedies, including truth, justice and full reparation. This includes, among other things, returning the bodies to their families, and indisputably identifying the remains, including through DNA analysis.

EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS

In late July 1988, prisons were put on lockdown across Iran. The authorities suspended family visits without giving any reasons, stopped providing newspapers to prisoners, and removed television sets and radios from prison cells. This happened shortly after the end of the Iran-Iraq war and an armed incursion that the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI), an outlawed opposition group, launched into Iran from their base in Iraq. Three days later, on 28 July, Iran's Supreme Leader, Rouhollah Khomeini, used the armed

incursion as a pretext to issue a secret fatwa (religious order) ordering the execution of all prisoners who remained “steadfast” in their support for the PMOI.

The fatwa ordered that, in each province, a three-man committee be established, comprising a Shari’a judge, the prosecutor general or his assistant prosecutor, and a representative from the ministry of intelligence. It specifically ordered that the committee for Tehran should include Hossein Ali Nayyeri as the responsible Shari’a judge and Morteza Eshraghi as the prosecutor general of Tehran. For the representative of the Ministry of Intelligence, the fatwa did not identify any individual by name. However, a leaked letter from August 1988 that Deputy Supreme Leader Hossein Ali Montazeri wrote to members of the Tehran “death commission” stated that Mostafa Pour Mohammadi represented the ministry of intelligence for the committee in Tehran.

Following the Supreme Leader’s fatwa, the Iranian authorities embarked on co-ordinated extrajudicial killings intended to eliminate political opposition. The fatwa had instructed the authorities to proceed with “revolutionary rage and rancour against the enemies of Islam” and not to “show any doubt or concerns” in condemning prisoners to death.

Across the country, on an almost daily basis, groups of prisoners were collected from their cells and brought before “death commissions” involving judicial, prosecution, intelligence and prison officials.

The “death commissions” bore no resemblance to a court and their proceedings were summary and arbitrary in the extreme. They operated outside any existing legislation and were not concerned with establishing the guilt or innocence of defendants in relation to any internationally recognized criminal offence. There was no possibility of appeal at any point during the process. The prisoners were asked if they were prepared to express repentance for their past political beliefs and activities and denounce their political groups in writing. In some cases, they were also asked if they were prepared to execute or inflict harm on fellow dissidents.

Many prisoners did not realize that their answers to these questions could make the difference between life and death. Some thought they were appearing before a pardon committee. Prisoners were not informed that they were condemned to death until shortly before their executions; sometimes they only learned about their impending fate when they were given a pen and piece of paper and told to write down their last wishes. Even then, they did not know when and how they would die until they were lined up before a firing squad or nooses were put around their necks.

Across the country, the victims were primarily supporters of the PMOI, both men and women.

In Tehran province, hundreds of men affiliated with leftist opposition groups were also executed. Their interrogations appeared more like a religious inquisition. They were asked: Are you a Muslim? Do you pray? Did your father pray and read the Qur’an? Those who identified as non-believers and said their fathers prayed were condemned to death for deserting Islam. Others were spared the death penalty but were ordered to be flogged until they agreed to pray. Leftist women were asked similar questions. In their case, the “incorrect” answer led to five lashes every prayer time (that is, 25 lashes a day) until they agreed to pray regularly.

In Kurdistan and West Azerbaijan provinces, the waves of enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings also targeted hundreds of prisoners affiliated with the Kurdish opposition groups Komala and the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI).

EXAMPLES OF QUESTIONS ASKED BY 'DEATH COMMISSIONS' TO DETERMINE THE FATE OF PRISONERS

- Are you prepared to denounce the PMOI and its leadership?
- Are you prepared to express “repentance” about your political opinions and activities?
- Do you declare loyalty to the Islamic Republic?
- Are you willing to walk through an active minefield to assist the army of the Islamic Republic?
- Are you willing to join the armed forces of the Islamic Republic and fight against the PMOI?
- Will you spy on former comrades and “co-operate” with intelligence officials?
- Are you willing to participate in firing squads?
- Are you willing to hang a member of the PMOI?
- Are you a Muslim?
- Do you pray?
- Do you read the Qur'an?
- Did your father pray and read the Qur'an?

Most of the prisoners killed were serving lengthy prison terms imposed because of their political opinions and peaceful activities such as distributing opposition newspapers and leaflets, taking part in demonstrations, collecting donations for prisoners' families or associating with those who were politically active. Others had been held for years without trial or had completed their sentences and were due to be released. Some had served their sentences but were told they would not be released until they were “sufficiently repentant”. In all of these cases, the families knew where they were and had been able to visit them until late July 1988.

Another group of those killed had been released several years earlier but were then rearrested in the weeks leading up to or shortly after the PMOI's armed incursion on 25 July 1988. Many were forcibly disappeared immediately after their arrest and the authorities refused to provide any information on their fate and whereabouts.

To date, the exact number of those killed is unknown but minimum estimates put the death toll at around 5,000. The real number could be higher, especially because little is still known about the names and details of those who were rearrested in 1988 and extrajudicially executed in secret soon after arrest.

Many survivors believe that the mass executions of 1988 were planned long before the armed incursion of the PMOI on 25 July 1988. For example, they note that since late 1987:

- a clear pattern of interrogations and classification procedures applying to imprisoned political dissidents had emerged;
- prisoners faced unexpected interrogations that focused on their political opinions;
- prison officials and interrogators repeatedly threatened prisoners that they would be “dealt with” and that the prisons would be “cleansed”; and
- some prisoners were transferred without explanation from detention facilities near their home city to elsewhere.

Further evidence of the planned nature of the mass executions emerged in 2016 when Ahmad Montazeri, the son of former Deputy Supreme Leader Hossein Ali Montazeri released an audio recording of a high-level official meeting on 14 or 15 August 1988, in which Hossein Ali Montazeri protested against the ongoing killings of prisoners. The recording includes members of the “death commission” in Tehran discussing and defending the mass executions in Evin and Gohardasht prisons in Tehran province, including the arbitrary criteria used to determine who would be executed, and the secret and rushed nature of the proceedings. Hossein Ali Montazeri is heard telling members of the “death commission” that the ministry of intelligence was using the PMOI's armed incursion as a pretext to carry out mass killings that had been under consideration for several years.

CONCEALING THE FATE

In July-September 1988, when rumours began to circulate about the mass executions, desperate families went to prison gates and government offices in search of information, only to be met by silence and abuse. Sometimes they were falsely told that the prisoner had been transferred, so the families embarked on wasted journeys to distant prisons.

From late October 1988 onwards, authorities informed many families that their loved ones had been executed. However, the notification was generally cruel and sudden and included no information about the reasons and circumstances of the killings. Most families were just summoned to prisons or a government office, handed a bag which an official said contained the personal belongings of their dead relative, and were ordered not to hold a memorial ceremony. Some families were not even given these last mementos. Some were told that their loved ones had been executed and then told they were alive. Some were never told anything and only learned the truth about the execution of their loved one months or years later from former prisoners or informal government contacts.

Thirty years on, a burning sense of anguish, uncertainty and injustice continues to haunt the victims' families. Some, particularly elderly mothers, are still in disbelief that their relative is dead or say that their loved ones have remained for them somewhere between life and death. Families are still searching for the truth about when, how and why their loved ones were killed, what happened to them in their last moments and where their remains are hidden. They are denied accurate death certificates stating the place, date and cause of death for each victim, as well as the right to have professional exhumations of the individual and mass graves that are suspected or known to contain the victims' remains.

HIDING THE BODIES

The Iranian authorities did not return the bodies of any of the victims to families. They also refused to tell most families where the bodies were buried.

Amnesty International knows of only five cities - Ahvaz, Ardabil, Ilam, Mashhad and Rudsar - where the authorities ultimately told some families verbally that their loved ones were buried in mass graves and revealed their locations. However, publicly and officially, the authorities have never acknowledged these mass grave sites, which have been subjected to desecration and destruction.

According to information obtained by Amnesty International, in at least seven other cities - Bandar Anzali, Esfahan, Hamedan, Masjed Soleiman, Shiraz, Semnan and Tehran - the authorities gave a few families the location of individual graves and allowed them to install headstones, but many fear that the authorities may have deceived them and that some of these graves may be empty.

In the case of Tehran, which had the largest number of victims in the country, these concerns are reinforced by Amnesty International's finding that 99% of individual gravestones in the Behest Zahra cemetery which Amnesty International understands have been attributed by the authorities the victims of the mass killings of 1988 are not registered in the cemetery's online burial registers. Amnesty International obtained the pictures of 335 such gravestones, searched for their details in the cemetery's online burial registers, and found that only three of them were registered

Amnesty International has also learned that, in at least two cases, two separate graves in different lots of the cemetery have been attributed to the same victim. The authorities have neither offered any explanation for this, nor allowed exhumations to establish the truth, to Amnesty International's knowledge. Amnesty International also received information from an individual in contact with a family in Iran who discovered in June 2017 that the ground beneath the headstone that they had thought for decades contained the remains of their loved one was empty and contained no bones or other remains. The family learned this after they gained permission to bury a recently deceased relative in the same plot.

In the rest of the country, families have either remained in the dark about the whereabouts of their loved one's remains or learnt about their burial in suspected or known mass grave sites through informal contact with prison guards and officials, cemetery workers or locals.

Thirty years on, the Iranian authorities have yet to acknowledge the existence of any mass graves in the country, let alone allow families to request exhumations and search for bodies. In most cases they have kept the location of victims' remains a secret and have destroyed suspected or known mass grave sites by bulldozing, pouring concrete, and constructing new burial plots, buildings or roads over them.

The authorities have also beaten and detained those who have tried to lay flowers at mass grave sites, forced families to sign undertakings that they will not hold commemorations, and destroyed headstones, flowers or other memorials placed there by the families.

As part of their efforts to conceal the location of the remains, and by extension the scale of the killings, the Iranian authorities have also excluded the names of the overwhelming majority of the victims from publicly available burial registers.

Between July and December 2018, Amnesty International searched in the online database of the Organization of Behesht Zahra, a state body, for the names of 4,672 individuals who have been recorded as victims of the mass executions of July-September 1988 by an Iranian human rights group outside Iran known as the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran. Amnesty International found that nearly 99% of the victims recorded in the list of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran are not registered in the online database of the Organization of Behesht Zahra. In the remaining cases, which constitute just over 1%, the names in the list bear a resemblance to the names in the database, but Amnesty International does not have enough information to conclude definitively that they refer to the same person.

Despite the lack of any information about the structure and decision-making powers of the Organization of Behesht Zahra, the fact that nearly 99% of the victims of the mass killings are missing from official online burial records raises serious concerns that the authorities have quietly adopted specific policies and procedures to manipulate burial records. This situation makes the investigation and exhumation of individual and mass graves all the more crucial to the establishment of the truth about the burial location of each victim.

DENIALS AND MISINFORMATION

For three decades, the Iranian authorities have denied and promoted misinformation about the killings both at home and internationally.

Domestically, the authorities have concocted different stories to disguise, distort and “justify” the killings. In particular, some have presented the executions as a just and lawful response to a small group of violent individuals who had somehow colluded with the PMOI from inside prison to support and join its armed incursion on 25 July 1988. Those promoting this narrative fail to explain how thousands of prisoners from across the country could have communicated and co-ordinated from inside Iran’s high-security prisons with an armed group outside the country. Moreover, the testimonies of survivors all confirm that these vague accusations of rebellion and secret collusion were not the focus of the interrogations they faced between July and September 1988 and no information was ever given to them that they were facing renewed prosecution and sentencing on fresh charges.

Other official narratives have deceptively claimed that the executed prisoners had long been on death row for serious crimes involving killing and other violence and that the summary proceedings before their execution in 1988 focused on whether they were adequately “repentant” and therefore qualified for pardon or commutation of their sentence.

All the stories have downplayed the scale of the killings by representing the death toll as “low” or “insignificant”.

On the international stage, from late 1988, the authorities flatly denied the killings, dismissing the reports as “nothing but propaganda”. For example, on 29 November 1988, Iran’s permanent representative to the UN in New York, Mohammad Jafar Mahallati, denied the mass executions in a meeting with the UN Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran, and claimed that “many killings had in fact occurred on the battlefield, in the context of the war, following the invasion of the Islamic Republic of Iran by [the PMOI]”.

On 8 December 1988, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on the situation of human rights in Iran, which expressed grave concern about a renewed wave of executions in Iran in July-September 1988 targeting prisoners for their political convictions. Several days later, on 13 December, Amnesty International issued a briefing stating that “the evidence for mass executions was now indisputable” and that “the true total could run into thousands”. It raised its concerns with the Iranian authorities, including through embassy visits around the world, but met with denials.

On 26 January 1989, the UN Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran challenged Iran’s “global denial” of the wave of executions. He submitted to the authorities a list of 1,084 names, asking for information on their fate and whereabouts and noted that “there were in all probability several thousand victims”.

On 26 June 1989, the UN Special Representative received a letter from Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mohammad Hossein Lavasani which claimed that “140 out of the total list of persons alleged to have been executed in Tehran are forgeries and virtually non-existent individuals”. The letter did not comment on the

fate of the remaining 944 people listed, saying that Iran “cannot, and will not, hold itself committed to answering allegations originated from certain terrorist groups and war-time traitors.”

Amnesty International extracted the names of the individuals whom the Iranian authorities claimed did not exist from the annex of the January 1989 report of the UN Special Representative, which totalled 141 rather than 140. For 117 of the 141 individuals, Amnesty International managed to match their name against the name of one of the recorded victims of the mass executions of 1988, by searching in two lists of execution victims prepared by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran and the PMOI. Amnesty International obtained photographs of 13 of them.

Amnesty International also obtained the pictures of individual gravestones for eight people who were declared as “non-existent” by the Iranian authorities. The Iranian authorities have themselves identified these graves as the victims’ place of burial.

On 2 November 1989, the UN Special Representative spoke of the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 no longer as an allegation but as a verified fact. Despite this, the UN failed to take appropriate action. Not only was there no condemnation from or investigation authorized by the then UN Commission on Human Rights and no referral by the UN General Assembly to the Security Council, the General Assembly did not even follow up on its resolution of 8 December 1988.

This emboldened the authorities to persist in their disavowals of the truth. In a reply submitted in October 1990 concerning 3,620 cases of executions mentioned in the reports of the UN Special Representative between January 1988 to February 1990, the Iranian authorities did not even acknowledge one single execution carried out in 1988. They claimed that “the names of 2,109 persons allegedly executed cannot be recognized.” For the remaining 1,511, they provided vague comments that included claiming the reported execution victims were alive and studying or working, had “sought shelter in foreign countries”, were “held as prisoners of war in Iraq” or were dead due to “natural causes” or on the battlefield.

In a subsequent reply in January 1991, which concerned the fate and whereabouts of an additional 346 individuals, including 47 who were recorded as executed in 1988, the Iranian authorities again refused to acknowledge any of the 1988 executions. For 23 of the cases from 1988, the UN Special Representative recorded “no government reply” and, for the remainder of the 1988 cases, he noted similar official responses to those listed above.

Amnesty International’s research shows that 35 of the 47 reported execution cases that the authorities denied are recorded in one or more of the following sources: the database of such victims produced by the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, and the lists of victims of the mass killings of July-September 1988 compiled by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran, on the one hand, and by the PMOI on the other hand. These include victims whom the authorities declared had been released, were studying in universities, were studying abroad or had escaped to foreign countries. Amnesty International obtained photographs of 11 of them. It also interviewed a sibling of four execution victims whose executions were denied by the authorities: two of them the authorities claimed were studying at university, one of them they claimed had been released and the last one they claimed was studying abroad. Amnesty International also identified the case of a victim about whom the authorities provided no comment to the UN even though they told her family in Iran that she had been executed and directed them to a location where her body was found in an unmarked mass grave along with the bodies of several other women and men.

Given the gravity of the crimes committed in 1988, the Iranian authorities should not have been able to shield themselves from scrutiny by unconvincing blanket denials and mere intransigence. Sadly, that is what happened.

CRISIS OF IMPUNITY

A culture of impunity for state-commissioned human rights violations dominates in Iran. In the case of the enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of 1988, most families have no confidence in the justice system. Those that have been brave enough to pursue justice have faced inaction and reprisals.

SENIOR OFFICIALS LINKED TO 'DEATH COMMISSIONS'

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

- **Alireza Avaei**, Iran's current minister of justice, was the prosecutor general of Dezful in Khuzestan province and was tasked with participating in the "death commission" in that city.
- **Hossein Ali Nayyeri**, who acted as the Shari'a judge in the Tehran "death commission", was promoted to the position of the deputy head of Iran's Supreme Court in 1989 and remained in this post until September 2013. Today, he is head of the Supreme Disciplinary Court for Judges.
- **Ebrahim Raisi**, who was the deputy prosecutor general of Tehran in 1988 and a member of the Tehran "death commission", was the prosecutor general of Tehran between 1989 and 1994, the first deputy head of the judiciary from 2004 to 2014 and the country's prosecutor general from 2014 to 2016. He ran for the presidency in 2017. In a lecture on 1 May 2018, referring to media reports about his role in the 1988 mass killings, he did not dispute his presence in the meeting with Hossein Ali Montazeri, but noted that "during the period [in question], I was not the head of the court... The head of the court issues sentences whereas the prosecutor represents the people". At the same time, using the word "confrontation" in apparent reference to the mass killings, he regarded them as "one of the proud achievements of the system" and praised Rouhollah Khomeini as a "national hero".
- **Mostafa Pour Mohammadi**, who was the representative of the ministry of intelligence in the "death commission" in Tehran, was the minister of justice between 2013 and 2017. On 28 August 2016, referring to media reports about the mass prisoner killings and his involvement in them, Mostafa Pour Mohammadi said: "We are proud to have carried out God's commandment concerning the [PMOI]... I am at peace and have not lost any sleep all these years because I acted in accordance with law and Islam."
- **Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi**, who was the Shari'a judge of Khuzestan province in 1988 and a member of the Khuzestan "death commission", is currently a member of the Assembly of Experts, a constitutional body that has the power to appoint or dismiss Iran's Supreme Leader. For nearly a decade in the 2000s, he was also the head of the body in charge of selecting and appointing judges across the country.

The participation of these and other suspects in senior roles of the government and judiciary understandably undermines the families' confidence in national mechanisms that should provide them with justice and effective remedies.

The crisis of impunity in Iran has become ever more severe since 2016, when the audio recording of the August 1988 meeting of Hossein Ali Montazeri with members of the Tehran "death commission" was released. The audio recording gave rise to an unprecedented wave of publicity around the mass prisoner killings of 1988. In response, the authorities have launched an intensive campaign of disinformation and victim-blaming and issued numerous statements glorifying the perpetrators of the mass killings as "national heroes", likening any criticism of the atrocities to support for "terrorism", and threatening reprisals against anyone seeking to shed light on the mass prisoner killings.

For example, on 15 August 2016, the head of the judiciary, Sadegh Larijani, stated that, by releasing the audio recording, "some have provided the Western media with a subterfuge". He threatened that "the judiciary will act forcefully as always and any disturbance in public opinion with respect to these security issues will for sure lead to judicial investigation and prosecution".

On 13 August 2016, just several days after Hossein Ali Montazeri's son, Ahmad Montazeri, released the audio recording, he was summoned for interrogation by the Special Court for the Clergy and accused of "acting against national security" through "revealing state secrets".

In November 2016, he was sentenced to 21 years' imprisonment after the Special Court for the Clergy convicted him of "spreading propaganda against the system", "forming or running a group composed of more than two people... with the purpose of disrupting national security" and "deliberately and knowingly

providing unauthorized individuals with access to or information about plans, secrets, documents and decisions regarding the state's domestic or foreign policies... in a manner amounting to espionage." The sentence was subsequently reduced to six years and suspended.

TIME FOR ACTION

The enforced disappearance and extrajudicial killing of thousands of prisoners in 1988 have serious repercussions to this day. Victims and their families are anguished at the lack of justice, truth and reparation. Impunity for these crimes has become ingrained into the country's institutional framework, and former and current senior officials have vested interests in concealing and denying the killings.

The authorities have for decades suppressed freedoms of belief, expression, association and peaceful assembly; conducted unfair and predominantly secret trials; committed widespread torture; executed hundreds of people every year; and kept thousands more on death row.

Today, Iran is in the grip of a multifaceted crisis that is rooted in a confluence of severe political, economic, environmental and human rights problems. Protests against poverty, inflation, corruption and political authoritarianism have been on the rise, and intensified expressions of anger and dissatisfaction against the establishment abound on social media. In response, the Iranian authorities have been widening the net of repression. Hundreds of human rights defenders, lawyers, women's rights activists, trade unionists, journalists, students, political activists, environmental activists, and religious and ethnic minorities have been targeted for harassment, interrogation, arbitrary arrests and detention, and prosecution. Many are languishing in jail.

Crimes against humanity are so serious that they are of concern not only to the victims and their families, the survivors and the state in question, but also humanity as a whole. Accountability for such crimes is essential, not only to ensure truth and justice for victims and their families, but also to provide a vital safeguard against the recurrence of such crimes.

Three decades on, the authorities that at all levels committed these crimes under international law are continuing to conceal, condone and even celebrate them today. As a result, there is no immediate domestic possibility for victims to access justice, truth and reparation in Iran and independent, impartial and effective international mechanism(s) to address impunity must be pursued.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In line with these findings, Amnesty International is calling on the Iranian authorities to, among things, take the following actions:

- Publicly acknowledge that thousands of imprisoned political dissidents were subjected to enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions in prisons across Iran in July-September 1988 and make public all available information and records regarding the number of those killed; their identities; the location, cause and circumstances of their disappearance and extrajudicial execution; and the location of their remains.
- Establish a competent, independent and impartial truth commission, commission of inquiry or other appropriate mechanism to establish fully the truth regarding the mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of July-September 1988 and facilitate the return of the remains of deceased victims to family members.
- Protect survivors, the families of victims and others seeking truth, justice and reparations on behalf of the victims of the mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of July-September 1988 against threats, harassment, intimidation, arbitrary arrests and detentions, and other reprisal by state authorities or other actors.
- Ensure that prompt, thorough, independent and impartial criminal investigations are conducted into all allegations of enforced disappearances, extrajudicial executions, torture and crimes against humanity related to the mass killings carried out in July-September 1988. Where sufficient admissible evidence exists, prosecute those suspected of criminal responsibility before civilian courts in proceedings that conform to international fair trial standards and do not involve seeking or imposing the death penalty.

Amnesty International is also calling on UN political bodies and the international community as a whole to:

- Establish an independent, impartial and effective international mechanism(s) to address impunity for the crimes against humanity and other crimes under international law committed including by:

documenting and investigating the crimes, including the extrajudicial executions carried out in 1988, as well as the ongoing enforced disappearance of the victims and the torture and other ill-treatment of victims' families; gathering and preserving evidence; and identifying effective pathways to justice, truth and reparation with a view to ensuring that, where sufficient evidence exists, those suspected of responsibility are prosecuted in fair trials without seeking or imposing the death penalty, including before national courts of states exercising universal jurisdiction, and survivors and victims' families are provided with effective remedies including truth and reparation.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 FRAMEWORK AND SCOPE

This report focuses on one of the most heinous chapters of state violence in Iran's recent history on the occasion of its 30th anniversary: the enforced disappearance and extrajudicial execution of thousands of imprisoned political dissidents over several weeks between late July and early September 1988.

While it may appear that these crimes belong to a distant past, they have serious repercussions to this day. The Iranian authorities are still concealing the fate of the victims and the location of their remains and refuse to acknowledge that mass executions were carried out at all. This means that the enforced disappearance of thousands of political dissidents continues today (see chapter 9). Survivors, families of the victims and others seeking truth and justice on behalf of the victims continue to be ill-treated and face reprisals. The ongoing state denial and systematic intimidation, harassment and abuse of those seeking justice, has further compounded and perpetuated the torturous pain and suffering of the families brought about by the extrajudicial execution of their loved ones.

Amnesty International's focus on these crimes is further warranted by the official misinformation campaign launched in Iran in recent years to suppress reporting of leaked official records that have shed further light on the secret and extrajudicial nature of the executions; counter the commemorative efforts of survivors, families and human rights defenders; dehumanize and demonize the victims; glorify the purge of political opposition in the 1980s; minimize the scale of the mass killings; and distort their causes and circumstances.

The mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions perpetrated in 1988 were the culmination of a decade of gross and systematic human rights violations following the 1979 revolution.

Amnesty International is also concerned by allegations of human rights abuses by some opposition groups, including assassinations and other unlawful killings by the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI) and the use of children as combatants by Komala and the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI), two Kurdish armed opposition groups.

These violations and abuses are beyond the scope of this report. However, Amnesty International emphasizes that they all merit independent and in-depth investigations and, where sufficient admissible evidence exists, all those suspected of criminal responsibility must be prosecuted before civilian courts in proceedings that conform to international fair trial standards and do not involve seeking or imposing the death penalty.

2.2 RESEARCH METHODS

This report is based on research undertaken by Amnesty International from September 2017 to November 2018. It provides a comprehensive record of Amnesty International's documentation of the enforced disappearance and extrajudicial execution of thousands of political dissidents between late July and early September 1988 across Iran, building on reports, urgent actions and press releases that the organization published in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The information gathered by Amnesty International provides a striking picture of the national scale and geographical spread of the mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions, based on the first-hand testimonies of 41 men and women who were imprisoned in 20 cities across the country during the period July-September 1988 and survived the mass prisoner killings. Amnesty International refers to these

witnesses as survivors throughout the report. The organization also gathered the testimonies of 54 family members, 11 former prisoners and 10 other witnesses, collectively from 28 cities. By “former prisoners”, Amnesty International refers to those who were released from prison before July 1988. In total, the cities covered by the research, where Amnesty International knows the mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of 1988 took place, are:

1. Ahvaz in Khuzestan province;
2. Arak in Arak province;
3. Ardabil in Ardabil province;
4. Babol in Mazandaran province;
5. Behbahan in Khuzestan province;
6. Behshahr in Mazandaran province;
7. Bushehr in Bushehr province;
8. Dezful in Khuzestan province;
9. Esfahan in Esfahan province;
10. Ghaemshahr in Mazandaran province;
11. Gorgan in Golestan province;
12. Hamedan in Hamedan province;
13. Ilam in Ilam province;
14. Karaj in Alborz province (but in Tehran province in 1988);
15. Kerman in Kerman province;
16. Kermanshah in Kermanshah province;
17. Khorramabad in Lorestan province;
18. Lahijan in Gilan province;
19. Mashhad in Razavi Khorasan province;
20. Qazvin in Qazvin province;
21. Rasht in Gilan province;
22. Roudsar in Gilan province;
23. Sanandaj in Kurdistan province;
24. Saqqez in Kurdistan province;
25. Sari in Mazandaran province;
26. Semnan in Semnan province;
27. Shiraz in Fars province;
28. Tabriz in East Azerbaijan province;
29. Tehran in Tehran province;
30. Urumieh in West Azerbaijan province;
31. Zahedan in Sistan and Baluchestan province;
32. Zanzan in Zanzan province.

2.2.1 TESTIMONIES

Amnesty International's research analysed the testimonies of 41 survivors, 54 family members, 11 former prisoners and 10 other witnesses, obtained either directly or through Justice for Iran, an Iranian human rights organization that assisted Amnesty International during the research phase of the project.

TABLE 1: NUMER OF TESTIMONIES ANALYSED

Status	Former prisoner	Survivor	Witness	Family member	Total
Female	3	8	2	33	46
Male	8	34	8	20	70
Past political affiliation	Leftist group	PMOI	Kurdish opposition group	N/A	Other
	32	68	7	5	4
Location	Iran	Albania	Rest of Europe	Canada	Australia
	5	50	49	10	2

The selection of the provinces and prisons on which Amnesty International chose to focus was informed by the results of a comprehensive review of written materials prepared to date by survivors, independent researchers and other Iranian human rights organizations. This research showed that the circumstances surrounding the mass prisoner killings in Evin prison in Tehran and Gohardasht prison in Karaj have been well-documented over the past three decades. As a result, Amnesty International focused its resources on obtaining first-hand testimonies from survivors and family members who were from other provinces across the country. This was essential to better understand and document:

- the scale and geographical spread of the mass prisoner killings;
- the categories of prisoners targeted across the country in terms of political affiliation, age and gender;
- the similarities and differences in the decision-making processes leading to the executions, including their secretive and extrajudicial nature; and
- the extent to which the authorities used unmarked individual and mass graves across the country to conceal the fate of victims and the location of their remains and eliminate the traces of their crimes.

The testimonies obtained from Justice for Iran were from 52 individuals: 22 survivors, 14 family members, seven former prisoners and nine other witnesses whom they interviewed between 2015 and 2018. Twenty-one of these interviews were conducted in person and video recorded; 26 were conducted by video or voice call and audio recorded; and five were conducted through written exchanges. The breakdown of the interviewees regarding the past political affiliations of themselves or their deceased relatives is as follows:

- 28 were connected with secular, leftist political groups;
- six had links with Kurdish opposition groups;
- 10 were connected with the PMOI;
- eight were not connected with any political group.

Amnesty International analysed all the interviews conducted by Justice for Iran and followed up with the witnesses directly when necessary to obtain further information. Informed consent was obtained from everyone whose name has been included in the report.

Amnesty International also undertook three field trips to Tirana, Albania, where a substantial number of survivors and family members are based. These trips took place in October and November 2017 and March 2018. Amnesty International was supported in these trips by Justice for Iran, which helped, among other things, with preparing a suggested list of witnesses from specific cities; and recording, filming and professionally transcribing and storing the interviews in a secure and orderly manner.

During these trips, which lasted four days on each occasion, Amnesty International interviewed 49 individuals, comprising 16 survivors, three former prisoners, 30 family members and one other witness. These individuals provided information about the circumstances of the mass prisoner killings in 23 provincial cities.

The survivors and family members interviewed in Tirana, Albania, all identified themselves as members of the PMOI. In approaching this community, Amnesty International followed established principles of independence, impartiality, transparency, objectivity, confidentiality, credibility, integrity, professionalism and consistency.¹ These require, among other things, that human rights investigators collect all relevant information from all relevant sources in an unbiased and impartial manner, objectively examine and analyse each piece of information they receive, irrespective of the source, and continue this process until they have completed a thorough and comprehensive inquiry and obtained a clear understanding of the situation under investigation.²

In addition to its field missions in Tirana, Amnesty International interviewed 10 family members and four survivors who were based in Europe and North America and shared their accounts of the mass killings from six cities in Iran. Two of these interviews were conducted in person and the rest were by video or voice call. In locating these individuals, Amnesty International was assisted by the group Bidaran.³

Amnesty International also used secure messaging applications to ask questions and receive information from witnesses based inside Iran. These individuals requested anonymity due to fear of reprisal. Accordingly, throughout the report, Amnesty International has only included the names of survivors and family members who were outside Iran and who gave their consent. The Iranian authorities systematically subject survivors, family members and others who speak out about the atrocities in the 1980s to serious human rights violations including arbitrary arrest and detention, torture and other ill-treatment and lengthy imprisonment. Given this context, the pool of first-hand witnesses residing in Iran was extremely limited. The majority of potential witnesses were afraid to speak to Amnesty International even on a confidential basis because they were concerned about the safety of themselves and their families and feared that their conduct might be monitored clandestinely by the Iranian authorities.

In assessing the reliability and credibility of the testimonies placed before it, Amnesty International took into account, among other considerations:

- the individual's political and personal interests, potential biases and past record of reliability (if known);
- their apparent capacity to correctly recall events, considering their age, experience of trauma and how far back the events occurred;
- the position that the witness said they had in relation to the subject of the information; and
- where and how the witness said they obtained the information.

Amnesty International additionally considered that all information had to be assessed for its validity by considering, among other factors:

- its relevance to the inquiry;
- its internal consistency and coherence; and
- its logicity and consistency with and corroboration by other information.

All interviewees were informed about the nature and purpose of the research and about how the information they provided would be used. Oral consent was obtained from each interviewee prior to the start of the interview, which was audio or video-recorded. No incentives were provided to interviewees in exchange for

¹ Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions on international human rights and humanitarian law: Guidance and practice*, 2015, www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Col_Guidance_and_Practice.pdf

² Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Commissions of inquiry and fact-finding missions on international human rights and humanitarian law: Guidance and practice*, 2015, www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Col_Guidance_and_Practice.pdf, pp. 33-35.

³ Bidaran was established by a group of former prisoners, survivors, family members and human rights defenders who are committed to seeking truth, justice and reparation for the gross and systematic human rights violations committed by the Iranian authorities, particularly in the 1980s. For more information about the group, see www.bidaran.net/spip.php?article17

their accounts. Individuals were told that they could end the interview at any time. People were explicitly told they could choose not to answer specific questions if they did not want to do so.

Interviews were carried out individually and in private, with just the researchers and interviewee in the room, with the exception of four cases where, respectively, two brothers, a wife and her husband, a mother and her son, and an aunt and her niece wanted to be interviewed together.

All interviews were conducted in Persian.

2.2.2 DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Amnesty International examined a vast body of written materials in order to investigate what happened in Iran's prisons before, during and after the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988; trace the development of official narratives denying and distorting the scale, causes and circumstances of the mass prisoner killings; and assess the extent and adequacy of the actions taken by the UN and international community to address the mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of 1988. These materials included:

- documents and correspondence stored in the archives of Amnesty International from 1988 to 1993;
- reports, testimonies, memoirs and other written materials prepared by survivors, independent researchers and Iranian human rights organizations;⁴
- the judgement of the Iran Tribunal, a non-binding international people's tribunal residing in The Hague, the Netherlands, concerning the violations of human rights and crimes committed by the Iranian authorities in the 1980s, which was issued on 5 February 2013;⁵
- reports of the UN Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran from 1988 to 1997 and the statements of the Iranian authorities to the UN recorded therein;
- resolutions of the UN General Assembly on the situation of human rights in Iran from 1988 to 1997;
- reports of the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances between 1988 and the present day;
- official orders and other correspondence published in the memoirs of then Deputy Supreme Leader Hossein Ali Montazeri;
- diary entries in the memoirs of then Speaker of Parliament Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani;
- official statements and articles published by the state-affiliated newspapers *Keyhan* and *Ettelaat* between July 1988 and March 1989; and
- official statements published by online state-affiliated media outlets in Iran including Fars News Agency, Raja News, Mehr News Agency, Tasnim News, Mashregh News and the Islamic Republic News Agency, particularly since 2016.

⁴ The materials reviewed included: Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, *Deadly Fatwa: Iran's 1988 Prison Massacre*, 2009, www.iranhrdc.org/english/publications/reports/3158-deadly-fatwa-iran-s-1988-prison-massacre.html; Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry conducted by Geoffrey Robertson QC*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry; Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988: An Addendum, Witness testimonies and official statements*, 10 December 2013, www.iranrights.org/library/document/2498/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-an-addendum-witness-testimonies-and-official-statements; Justice for Iran, *Unfinished Tales: Mothers and families of Khavaran, a three decade long search for truth and justice*, September 2015, justice4iran.org/persian/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/unfinishedtale.pdf; Amnesty International also reviewed the relevant articles and interviews available on the following websites which belong to the communities of survivors and family members who seek truth, justice and reparation for the gross human rights violations of the 1980s: Bidaran, www.bidaran.net/; *Prison's Dialogue* (*Goftogoohayeh Zendan*), dialogt.de; and Iran Tribunal, www.irantribunal.com/index.php/en/. For the lists of some of the memoirs written by former prisoners and survivors of the mass prisoner killings of 1988 and other gross human rights violations of the 1980s, see Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *Testimonies of victims and rights abusers: Prison Memoirs*, www.iranrights.org/library/collection/120/prison-memoirs; Monireh Baradaran, "Prison literature", womenpoliticalprisoners.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/daa9d8aad8a7d8a8.pdf *Political prisoners: The art of resistance in the Middle East*, womenpoliticalprisoners.com/resources/books-in-english/.

⁵ Iran Tribunal, An International People's Tribunal, *On the abuses and mass killings of political prisoners in Iran, 1981-1988, Findings of the Truth Commission*, 30 July 2012, www.irantribunal.com/images/PDF/Commission%20Report-Website.pdf; Iran Tribunal, An International People's Tribunal, *Judgement: Prosecutor v. Islamic Republic of Iran (a case concerning the gross violations of human rights and commission of crimes against humanity by the Islamic Republic of Iran)*, 5 February 2013, www.irantribunal.com/images/PDF/Iran%20Tribunal%20Judgment.pdf

Several data sources that provide information on the names and personal details of those reportedly killed during the mass executions carried out in the second half of 1988 were checked and crosschecked throughout the research process for research and corroboration purposes. These included the following:

1. A list compiled by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran, a human rights group outside Iran, which has recorded the names of 4,672 individuals killed during the mass prisoner killings in 1988 who were affiliated with the PMOI or leftist or other political opposition groups. This is a minimum number and does not include the hundreds of arrests that are believed to have taken place in the weeks leading to the armed incursion of the PMOI on 25 July 1988 or shortly after it.
2. Several lists compiled by a survivor from Gohardasht prison in Karaj, Iraj Mesdaghi, who has conducted decades of research on the mass prisoner killings of 1988, particularly in Evin prison in Tehran and Gohardasht prison in Karaj. The lists include one with the names of 380 individuals affiliated with leftist or other groups whom Iraj Mesdaghi has recorded as having been killed during the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Evin and Gohardasht prisons⁶ and another with the names and personal details of 367 reported PMOI victims, and with the location details of individual graves in Behesht Zahra cemetery which the authorities have identified as their place of burial.⁷
3. A list created by the banned opposition group PMOI, which lost several thousand of its members and supporters during the mass prisoner killings of 1988, and entitled "Crimes Against Humanity". The list records the full names of 4,969 individuals who the organization says were killed during the mass prisoner killings, as well as the names of their fathers. Some of the names on the list also appear on an online database on the PMOI's website, which includes, in many cases, photographs of the victim and, where it exists, their individual grave.
4. An online database entitled Omid Memorial, created by the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, an independent human rights organization outside Iran which seeks to record every execution that has been carried out in Iran since 1979. The database collates lists produced by the PMOI, the UN Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran and other groups, and complements the content of these with information from family members of victims and former prisoners.

Amnesty International also searched for the names of 4,672 execution victims recorded by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran in the online burial registers of the Organization of Behesht Zahra in order to investigate whether and how far the authorities have excluded the name of victims from public burial records. The Organization of Behesht Zahra directly manages the Behesht Zahra cemetery in Tehran and also maintains an official database of individual graves. The mandate of the organization is silent about its registration of graves outside Tehran province. However, searches conducted in the database shows that, in addition to the records of graves in Behesht Zahra cemetery, it also includes the records of individual graves in various other cities across the country. For each registered grave, details recorded include the name of the deceased person, their date of birth and death and, in many cases, the name of their father.

Other documentary materials gathered and studied by Amnesty International included 10 death certificates obtained from the families of the execution victims. The organization analysed the date, place and cause of death recorded on each certificate to test whether and how the authorities have denied or distorted the truth about the fate of the victims, including the causes and circumstance of their killings.

2.2.3 AUDIOVISUAL EVIDENCE

In investigating the situation of unmarked mass graves containing the remains of the victims and the desecration and destruction that they have faced, Amnesty International analysed satellite imagery and video footage and photographs, obtained from Justice for Iran or directly from survivors, family members, former prisoners and informed locals. The source of the satellite imagery was Google Earth.

The audiovisual materials received by Amnesty International provided compelling visual evidence of the destructive actions taken by the authorities at suspected or known mass grave sites over the past three decades and enabled the organization to establish a timeline of events for several mass graves.

⁶ This list is published in a book entitled *Dance of the Phoenixes and Song of the Ash (Rags-e Qoqnus-ha Va Avaz Khakestar)*, 2011, pp. 323-328.

⁷ This list is published in a book entitled *Dance of the Phoenixes and Song of the Ash (Rags-e Qoqnus-ha Va Avaz Khakestar)*, 2011, pp. 155-163. The list contains 371 entries. However, in two cases - Sediqeh Ansi and Hossein Safaieezadeh - there are two entries for the same person because two separate graves in different lots of the cemetery have attributed to them. One entry concerns a woman, Rafat Kholdi, whom Iraj Mesdaghi says committed suicide in prison following the mass prisoner killings of 1988. Two other entries containing the names Hamid Haghighi and Mohammad Kadeli Haghighi are said to be referring to the same person.

In total, Amnesty International obtained information on the presence of suspected or known mass grave sites in the vicinity of at least 18 cities across the country. In some cities such as Ahvaz, Karaj, Rasht, Tehran and Mashhad, more than one mass grave site was reported. This is not an exhaustive list and Amnesty International believes that the real number of mass graves scattered across the country which resulted from the mass secret extrajudicial executions of 1988 is far higher. Suspected or known mass grave sites were brought to the attention of Amnesty International in the following cities:

1. Ahvaz in Khuzestan province;
2. Ardebil in Ardebil province;
3. Dezful in Khuzestan province
4. Ghaemshahr in Mazandaran province;
5. Ilam in Ilam province;
6. Karaj in Alborz province (but in Tehran province in 1988);
7. Lahijan in Gilan province;
8. Mashhad in Razavi Khorasan province;
9. Masjed Soleiman in Khuzestan province;
10. Qorveh in Kurdistan province;
11. Rasht in Gilan province;
12. Roudsar in Mazandaran province;
13. Sanandaj in Kurdistan province;
14. Shiraz in Fars province;
15. Tabriz in East Azerbaijan province;
16. Tehran in Tehran province (in Khavaran and Behesht Zahra cemetery);
17. Urumieh in West Azerbaijan province;
18. Zanzan in Zanzan province.

In investigating the exclusion of victims from publicly available burial records, Amnesty International obtained the pictures of 377 individual gravestones that the organization was told were located in Behesht Zahra cemetery in Tehran and belonged to victims of the mass prisoner killings of 1988, and searched the names and other details inscribed on each grave in the online burial registers of the Organization of Behesht Zahra. The pictures came from two sources. Iraj Mesdaghi reproduced the pictures of 372 individual gravestones in his book *Dance of the Phoenixes and Song of the Ash*. Another survivor of the mass killings in Gohardasht prison, Mahmoud Royayee, provided Amnesty International with 190 pictures of gravestones, of which only six were not reproduced in Iraj Mesdaghi's book.

For corroboration purposes, Amnesty International searched the names inscribed on the gravestones in one or more of the following sources: the lists of victims compiled by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran, on the one hand, and the PMOI, on the other, and the database of such victims produced by the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center. Based on this research, the organization excluded 42 of the pictures of the graves from the scope of its work as the names inscribed on them were not found in any of the three sources.

In investigating the secret and extrajudicial nature of proceedings that led to the execution of prisoners and tracing the denial and misinformation that Iranian authorities promoted about the killings in 1988, Amnesty International analysed an audio recording of a high-level official meeting that took place in August 1988 between then Deputy Supreme Leader Hossein Ali Montazeri and the officials responsible for the mass killings in Tehran. The audio recording was published online by Hossein Ali Montazeri's son, Ahmad Montazeri, in August 2016. The organization also obtained and watched a video interview that Iran's then prime minister, Mir Hossein Mousavi, gave to the Austrian national public service broadcaster, ORF, in December 1988 about the mass killings.

2.2.4 COMMUNICATION WITH IRANIAN AUTHORITIES

Despite repeated requests by Amnesty International for access to Iran, the authorities have barred the organization from carrying out research in the country since 1979. Other independent human rights monitoring groups have faced similar obstacles.

Amnesty International sent a letter to the head of the judiciary, Sadegh Larijani, about the subject matter of this report on 19 October 2018, providing a summary of its findings and conclusions and inviting comments and clarifications. The letter asked a series of specific questions seeking information or clarification about a number of issues including: any investigations conducted by the Iranian authorities into the enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of 1988; the number of prisoners executed during the period

July-September 1988; the measures, if any, taken by the authorities to disclose the fate of the victims, including the causes and circumstances of their killings; the measures, if any, taken by the authorities to address the failure to provide families with death certificates including accurate and complete information about the date, location and cause of death; the omission of the names of most victims from official burial records; and the steps, if any, taken by the authorities to officially and publicly disclose information on the location of all individual and mass graves containing the remains of the victims and to stop the destruction and damaging of these sites. Copies were also sent to the Permanent Mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Geneva and the Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Kingdom.

On the same date, Amnesty International sent two separate letters to the National Organization for Civil Registration and the Organization of Behesht Zahra in Tehran, asking for information about issues related to death and burial records and registration systems in Iran.

At the time of publication on 4 December 2018, Amnesty International had received no response from the Iranian authorities.

2.3 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Amnesty International would like to express its deep gratitude to all the survivors, family members of victims and former prisoners who agreed to recount their painful experiences and also connected the organization to other witnesses. Their sense of duty to truth and justice was admirable and inspiring.

Amnesty International is also indebted to the many survivors, family members and human rights defenders, both in Iran and exile, who have kept the flame of remembrance, truth and justice alight through their insightful memoirs, informative interviews, commemorative gatherings and brave demonstrations. They have shown great perseverance in the face of the prevailing impunity and recurring episodes of violence and trauma.

Special thanks go to Justice for Iran for sharing their time, expertise and resources with Amnesty International. By providing Amnesty International with the testimonies, photographs, video materials and satellite images that they had gathered over the years, they enabled the organization to reach a wider pool of witnesses and build a more national and geographically diverse picture. They also spared no effort in assisting Amnesty International with connecting it to witnesses and provided valuable input and technical support. Their support was also crucial for developing a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the situation of mass graves across the country.

Amnesty International also wishes to express its appreciation to Bidaran, a group which has published a vast body of literature on the gross human rights violations of the 1980s, including on the mass executions of 1988, and the struggle of survivors and families for truth, justice and reparation. With their support, Amnesty International was able to promptly connect with and interview several survivors whom the organization would not have been able to access otherwise. Amnesty International similarly acknowledges the generous support it has received from the Iran Research and Documentation Archives in Berlin, Germany (Archiv für Forschung und Dokumentation Iran - Berlin), which holds a wide collection of newspapers and magazines; Amnesty International conducted its historic newspaper research there in September 2018 and was given 24-hour access free of charge.

Amnesty International is also grateful to the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center for its remarkable database, Omid Memorial, and for its ongoing collaboration with Amnesty International to document cases of executions carried out by the Iranian authorities and record related statistics.

3. BACKGROUND

“Our objection is that criminals should not be tried. They should be killed.”

Rouhollah Khomeini, Iran's first Supreme Leader after the 1979 Revolution⁸

3.1 PRE-REVOLUTION REPRESSION

For half a century, Amnesty International has been documenting serious human rights violations in Iran, both during the reign of the Shah and after the revolution of 1979 that led to the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Under Mohammad Reza Shah, who ruled Iran from 1941 to 1979, the violations included severe restrictions on freedom of expression and association;⁹ arbitrary arrest and detentions carried out by the National Intelligence and Security Organization (SAVAK);¹⁰ systematic torture and other ill-treatment; and unfair trials before military tribunals leading to harsh prison sentences.¹¹ Those imprisoned included political dissidents adhering to Marxist or Islamist ideologies, dissident clerics, lawyers, writers, theatre directors, university teachers, student activists and members of ethnic minority groups seeking a degree of autonomy.¹² The death penalty was used against political opponents: between 1972 and 1976, Amnesty International reported the executions of more than 300 people following unfair trials before military tribunals.¹³

In the two years prior to the 1979 revolution, the Shah introduced a number of human rights reforms. These involved, among other things, a reduction in torture,¹⁴ political imprisonment¹⁵ and executions. Despite these reforms, political oppression and other social ills, including corruption, inefficiency and structural inequality, persisted and it was in this context that mass demonstrations erupted in September 1978. This was followed by nationwide industrial action and a general strike in December 1978, which brought the economy to a halt.

The Shah left the country on 16 January 1979. On 1 February, Rouhollah Khomeini returned to Iran from exile as the leader of the revolution and appointed a provisional government. In March 1979, Iran was declared an Islamic Republic following a referendum where people were asked to say yes or no to changing the monarchy to “an Islamic Republic, the constitution of which will be approved by the nation”.

⁸ Amnesty International, *Law and human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (Index: [MDE 13/003/1980](#)), p. 42.

⁹ Amnesty International, *Briefing: Iran* (Index: [MDE 13/001/1976](#)), p. 10.

¹⁰ SAVAK was formed in 1957 “for the purposes of security of the country and prevention of any kind of conspiracy detrimental to public interests”. The head of SAVAK was appointed by the Shah and wielded almost unlimited power.

¹¹ Amnesty International, “Iran” in *Annual Report 1977* (Index: [POL 10/006/1977](#)), pp. 296-297; Amnesty International, *Briefing: Iran* (Index: [MDE 13/001/1976](#)).

¹² Amnesty International, *Briefing: Iran* (Index: [MDE 13/001/1976](#)), p. 6.

¹³ Amnesty International, *Briefing: Iran* (Index: [MDE 13/001/1976](#)), p. 9.

¹⁴ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1978* (Index: [POL 10/001/1978](#)) p. 257; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1979* (Index: [POL 10/001/1979](#)), p. 156.

¹⁵ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1978* (Index: [POL 10/001/1978](#)), p. 256. By the time of the Shah's departure in January 1979, most political dissidents known to Amnesty International had already been released. The few remaining were freed when Prime Minister Mehdi Bazarghan, appointed by Rouhollah Khomeini, took office early in February 1979. See Amnesty International, *Annual report 1979* (Index: [POL 10/001/1979](#)), p. 156.

3.2 POST-REVOLUTION REPRESSION

“The revolutionary courts were born out of the anger of the Iranian people... There is no room in revolutionary courts for defence lawyers because they keep quoting laws to play for time, and this tries the patience of the people.”

Shari’a judge Sadegh Khalkhali¹⁶

During the first post-revolution decade, the already dire situation of human rights degenerated into a full-blown human rights catastrophe. The new authorities arbitrarily imprisoned, systematically tortured and summarily executed thousands of political dissidents who had been involved in the revolution. This was done to consolidate their grip on power and brutally crush leaders, members and supporters of political organizations and groups which opposed theocracy and advocated alternative political visions for post-revolutionary Iran, including secular democracy, communism, socialism and, in the case of ethnic or national minorities, a degree of regional autonomy.¹⁷ Baha’is and Jews were also among those executed, usually on spurious charges of espionage.¹⁸

The deadly crackdown started immediately after the overthrow of the Shah. On the order of Supreme Leader, Rouhollah Khomeini, Revolutionary Courts were set up in most cities across the country. These courts, which were presided over by Shari’a judges (known in Persian as *hakem-e shar’*) appointed by the Supreme Leader, were expected to deliver “revolutionary justice”.¹⁹ Fundamental fair trial guarantees, which Rouhollah Khomeini described as a reflection of the “Western sickness among us”, were to be disregarded.²⁰

In the following months, hundreds of individuals considered “anti-revolutionary” were arbitrarily arrested and summarily executed after flagrantly unfair “trials” that lasted only a few minutes and were so arbitrary and summary that they cannot be considered to constitute judicial proceedings.²¹ The victims included individuals with real or perceived affiliation with the overthrown system; members of Kurdish, Turkmen and Ahwazi Arab minorities seeking a degree of autonomy; sex workers; and people accused of drugs-related offences and sexual “offences” such as adultery and sodomy.²² Trials were often held on camera. Defendants were not given access to a lawyer. They were not informed of specific accusations against them. They were not provided with any opportunity to adequately defend themselves; often, the only defence facility offered to them was to write a defence speech for the court on a piece of paper to charges which were not often known until just before trial. There was generally no possibility of appeal and no effective presumption that defendants were innocent until proved guilty. Executions followed soon after death sentences had been passed.²³

In August 1979, armed conflict broke out between the Revolutionary Guards (a parallel armed force to the army established after the 1979 revolution on Rouhollah Khomeini’s order with the primary task of guarding the Islamic Republic) and armed Kurdish parties and groups seeking a degree of secular autonomy, particularly the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI) and the Marxist group, Komala.²⁴ This followed months of fruitless negotiations, popular unrest and deadly armed skirmishes in various Kurdish cities.²⁵

¹⁶ Amnesty International, *Law and human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (Index: MDE 13/003/1980), p. 52.

¹⁷ Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: MDE 13/021/1990), p. 5.

¹⁸ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1981* (Index: POL 10/0001/1981), p. 355.

¹⁹ Amnesty International, *Law and human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (Index: MDE 13/003/1980), p. 42.

²⁰ Amnesty International, *Law and human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (Index: MDE 13/003/1980), p. 42.

²¹ Amnesty International, “Amnesty International seeks to send mission to Iran in effort to stop executions (communiqué)” (Index: MDE 13/13/81).

²² Amnesty International, *Annual report 1980* (Index: POL 10/0003/1980), p. 329; Amnesty International, *Law and human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (Index: MDE 13/003/1980).

²³ Amnesty International, *Law and human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (Index: MDE 13/003/1980), pp. 40-43.

²⁴ Amnesty International, *Iran: Human rights abuses against the Kurdish minority* (Index: MDE 13/088/2008), p. 4.

²⁵ Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, *The Islamic Republic’s Executions of Kurds in 1979*, September 2011, www.iranhrdc.org/wp-content/uploads/reports_en/Haunted_Memories_266599093.pdf

On 17 August 1979, Rouhollah Khomeini issued a fatwa (religious order), ordering armed forces to advance “with canons and tanks” towards the Kurdish town of Paveh in Kermanshah province, western Iran, to defeat Kurdish fighters who had taken control of the city.²⁶ A brutal military crackdown was subsequently waged to crush Kurdish opposition groups and establish full control over the Kurdish regions. Scores of Kurdish villages and towns were destroyed, and around 10,000 Kurdish men, women and children were reported to have been killed.²⁷

At the same time, Rouhollah Khomeini assigned Shari’a judge Sadegh Khalkhali to travel to various Kurdish cities and order the summary execution of the so-called “anti-revolutionary rebels”.²⁸ Dozens of Kurdish people, including children, were subsequently executed by firing squad after summary trials before Sadegh Khalkhali, who convicted them of “corruption on earth” (*esfad-e fel arz*) and “enmity against God” (*moharebeh*) in connection with their real or perceived support of Kurdish opposition groups. Generally, the entire process of arrest, investigation, prosecution, sentencing and implementation was completed in a single day and sometimes in a matter of hours.²⁹ Families were not notified of the executions in advance. Many were led to believe that their loved ones would be released, only to discover that they had been executed. In many cases, families were forced to search through piles of corpses to identify their loved ones. Some were never able to recover the bodies of their relatives.³⁰



The execution scene of nine men at Sanandaj Airport in Kurdistan province on 27 August 1979. The photograph was taken by Jahangir Razmi and won a Pulitzer Prize in 1980. © Jahangir Razmi/Magnum Photos

In the capital, Tehran, the repression also hit the country’s Bar Association, which was perceived by the authorities as a subversive institution. On 10 June 1980, the Council of the Islamic Revolution (which was established by Rouhollah Khomeini in January 1979 and operated as an executive and legislative body until its dissolution in July 1980) adopted the Law on Purging and Cleansing the Bar Association, which stipulated the establishment of a commission to carry out the purge. While the commission was never formed, its envisioned responsibilities were subsequently taken up by the Revolutionary Courts, which disbarred at least

²⁶ *Keyhan*, “Imam: The army must advance towards Paveh with cannons and tank”, 18 August 1979, pp. 1-2.

²⁷ Amnesty International, *Iran: Human rights abuses against the Kurdish minority* (Index: MDE 13/088/2008), p. 5.

²⁸ Amnesty International, *Law and human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (Index: MDE 13/003/1980), pp. 191-19.

²⁹ Amnesty International, *Law and human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, Appendix C (Index: MDE 13/003/1980), pp. 191-194; Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, *The Islamic Republic’s Executions of Kurds in 1979*, September 2011, www.iranhrdc.org/wp-content/uploads/reports_en/Haunted_Memories_266599093.pdf. See also *Time*, 100Photos, “Firing Squad in Iran, Jahangir Razmi”, www.100photos.time.com/photos/jahangir-razmi-firing-squad-in-iran

³⁰ Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, *The Islamic Republic’s Executions of Kurds in 1979*, September 2011, www.iranhrdc.org/wp-content/uploads/reports_en/Haunted_Memories_266599093.pdf

141 lawyers based on vague political accusations that they supported “anti-revolutionary” ideologies and beliefs such as Baha’ism, Zionism, Communism and imperialism.³¹

The authorities arrested, tortured and imprisoned in 1980, four members of the Board of Directors of the Bar Association.³² Most other members of the Board fled the country, and the activities of the Bar Association effectively ended for the next four years. The Bar Association re-opened in 1984 after Iran’s Supreme Judicial Council³³ appointed a lawyer who had only two years of work experience and was a member of the Guardian Council (a 12-member body consisting of lawyers and Islamic jurists appointed by the Supreme Leader and the head of the judiciary to - amongst other things - supervise laws for the compliance with the Shari’a) as its Supervisor.³⁴

Socio-political publications and political organizations and groups that had been involved in the revolution faced a rapidly shrinking space in which to operate. As early as August 1979, the prosecution authorities ordered the closure of 33 publications on the grounds that they contained “un-Islamic” content. These included both independent publications and the magazines of different political groups and organizations.³⁵

On 8 April 1981, the country’s chief prosecutor, Ali Ghodousi, declared all political meetings and gatherings held without a permit from the ministry of interior illegal and made the permission of the ministry of Islamic guidance mandatory for publishing newspapers and other print materials. The statement also ordered that all political groups who had used arms in the lead-up to the revolution immediately relinquish their weapons and warned that any group that failed to comply would be declared illegal.³⁶ This statement was issued in line with a resolution that had been secretly adopted by government officials and prosecution authorities following two high-level meetings on 29 and 31 January 1981. The resolution stated that “all the leaders and members of organizations [classified as actively hostile] shall be arrested, prosecuted and sentenced to the ultimate punishment [the death penalty] and even all the sympathizers who are arrested while selling newspapers, distributing pamphlets or engaging in another activity in favour of such groups shall be arrested and punished for the purpose of guidance.”³⁷

These moves set the stage for a widespread crackdown that was subsequently waged against various political opposition groups, including people who had not resorted to or advocated the use of violence and who were regarded as guilty merely by association.³⁸

Officials working with Revolutionary Guards and provisional law enforcement forces known as Revolutionary Komitehs³⁹ arbitrarily arrested and detained hundreds of political dissidents affiliated with different

³¹ Mohammad H. Nayyeri, *Iranian Bar Associations: Struggle for Independence*, Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, November 2012, p. 6, www.iranhrdc.org/wp-content/uploads/pdf_en/LegalCom/Iranian-Bar-Associations.pdf; Mohammad Mehdi Hassani, “The history of the independence of bar associations in Iran”, 17 July 2012, www.bit.ly/2IEBGQf; News Gooya, “Oral history of the bar association from the beginning till now; an interview by Aida Ghajar with Abdolkarim Lahidji”, 7 June 2012, www.news.gooya.com/politics/archives/2012/06/141978.php. See also *Ettelaat*, “The licence of 32 Baha’i lawyers was revoked”, 5 September 1983, p. 13; *Jomhouri Islami*, “The Revolutionary Court of Markaz revoked the licences of 57 lawyers”, 21 June 1983, p. 2; *Jomhouri Islami*, “The licences of 32 agents of international Zionism were revoked”, 5 September 1983, p. 2.

³² Amnesty International, *Annual report 1983* (Index: [POL 10/0001/1983](http://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/POL/10/0001/1983)), p. 306.

³³ Iran’s Supreme Judicial Council was established in 1980 as the country’s highest judicial authority. The Council consisted of the Head of the Supreme Court, the country’s Prosecutor General and three judges. The Council was replaced by the head of the judiciary as the highest judicial authority in 1989 following a series of constitutional amendments. See Article 158 of the Constitution prior to its amendment in 1989, www.rc.majlis.ir/fa/content/iran_constitution

³⁴ Mohammad H. Nayyeri, *Iranian Bar Associations: Struggle for Independence*, Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, November 2012, www.iranhrdc.org/wp-content/uploads/pdf_en/LegalCom/Iranian-Bar-Associations.pdf, p. 6; Mohammad Mehdi Hassani, “The history of the independence of bar associations in Iran”, 17 July 2012, www.bit.ly/2IEBGQf; News Gooya, “Oral history of the bar association from the beginning till now; an interview by Aida Ghajar with Abdolkarim Lahidji”, 7 June 2012, www.news.gooya.com/politics/archives/2012/06/141978.php

³⁵ See, for example, *Ettelaat*, “11 more publications are suspended”, 21 August 1979, p. 10.

³⁶ The full text of the statement is available at Abolfazl Shakouri, “Parties as reflected in laws”, *The institute of humanities and cultural studies*, www.ensani.ir/file/download/article/20100929094517-456.pdf, pp. 507-508.

³⁷ The full text of the resolution is available at *Kar Magazine*, No. 112, 3 June 1981, www.iran-archive.com/sites/default/files/sanad/fadaiian_aghalliat-kar_agh_112.pdf, p. 8, para. 6.

Political organizations and groups that were classified as “actively hostile” included: the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI); Komala; the Organization of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class (Peykar); the Minority faction of the Organization of Iranian People’s Fada’i Guerrillas (Aqaliat); and the Iranian People’s Fada’i Guerrillas (Ashraf Dehghani group). Political organizations and groups that were classified as “potentially hostile” included: the People’s Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI); the Organization of Working-Class Freedom Fighters (Razmandegan); the Organization of the Vanguard Fighters of the Oppressed (Arman-e Mostazafin); and the Organization of Revolutionary Workers in Iran (Rah-e Kargar). Political organizations and groups that were classified as “opposing the Islamic Republic system but not currently intent on overthrowing it through armed means” included: the Tudeh Party; the Majority faction of the Organization of Iranian People’s Fada’i Guerrillas (Aksariat); the Labourers’ Party of Iran (Ranjbaran); and the National Front of Iran (Jebhe-ye Melli).

³⁸ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1981* (Index: [POL 10/0001/1981](http://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/POL/10/0001/1981)), p. 357.

³⁹ Revolutionary Komitehs were composed of people with no previous experience of law enforcement. They assumed de facto jurisdiction over a local area, exercised security functions, ran their own detention centres, and saw their duties as “promoting the objectives of the Islamic revolution” and “familiarizing the population with their religious and ethical duties”. Many people who were arrested by revolutionary forces were handed over to Komitehs for interrogation. For more information see Amnesty International, *Law and human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (Index: [MDE 13/003/1980](http://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/MDE/13/003/1980)).

opposition groups. Public outcries over torture in prisons increased.⁴⁰ Members of the Revolutionary Guards and Revolutionary Komitehs also increasingly carried out violent attacks on those selling and distributing dissident publications.⁴¹

The crackdown reached a horrific peak in late June 1981 after an opposition group, the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI), called for street protests all over Iran on 20 June 1981, which turned violent. Members of the Revolutionary Guards and Revolutionary Komitehs attacked the demonstrators. Scores of people were killed in street clashes and thousands were arrested during the protests and in the following days, weeks and months. Many of them were targeted merely for participating peacefully in the protests or possessing PMOI-written materials.⁴²

Three days after the protests, Tehran's prosecutor announced that 400 people had been arrested and 25 executed.⁴³ The next day, the daily newspaper *Ettelaat* published the pictures of 12 young women who had been executed along with a statement from the prosecutor's office in Tehran that called on the women's families to present themselves to Evin prison to collect their bodies.



A copy of the official statement of the prosecutor's office published in *Ettelaat* newspaper on 24 June 1981. The statement announced that "the sentences of the criminals who had been arrested in recent anti-revolutionary demonstrations had been issued and implemented" and called on their parents to present themselves to Evin prison with a copy of their children's national identity certificate and picture to collect the bodies. ©Ettelaat

In response, the PMOI leadership resorted to armed violence, including targeted assassinations. Many government officials were assassinated.⁴⁴ On 28 June 1981, a bomb exploded in the headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party, killing 74 senior officials including member of the supreme judicial council and head of the supreme court, Mohammad Beheshti, 10 ministers and deputy ministers, and 20 members of parliament.⁴⁵ Two months later, on 30 August, a bomb exploded in the office of Prime Minister Mohammad Javad Bahonar, killing him, President Mohammad-Ali Rajai and six other men.⁴⁶ In an interview in 1983 and in response to a question on whether the PMOI accepted responsibility for the attack carried out against the headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party, PMOI leader Masoud Rajavi was quoted as saying, "We have neither accepted responsibility nor denied it. However, we consider the attack a legitimate and necessary response from our tortured nation to the backward killers."⁴⁷

In retaliation, the authorities unleashed a reign of terror, including a sharp rise in executions.⁴⁸ Between June and December 1981, several thousand people were executed either without trial or following flagrantly

⁴⁰ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1981* (Index: POL 10/0001/1981), p. 356.

⁴¹ Justice for Iran, *Crime and Impunity: Sexual Torture of Women in Islamic Republic Prisons*, 2012, www.justice4iran.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/crime_and_impunity.pdf, p. 31.

⁴² Amnesty International, *Annual report 1982* (Index: POL 10/0004/1982), pp. 323-324.

⁴³ Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁴ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1982* (Index: POL 10/0004/1982), p. 323.

⁴⁵ Sandra Mackey, *The Iranians: Persia, Islam and the soul of a nation* (Penguin, 1998), p. 304.

⁴⁶ Sandra Mackey, *The Iranians: Persia, Islam and the soul of a nation* (Penguin, 1998), p. 305.

⁴⁷ *Mojahed*, the Publication of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran, "The Interview of Herald Magazine Published in Pakistan with Mojahed Brother, Masoud Rajavi", Number 172, 6 October 1983, p.4.

⁴⁸ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1982* (Index: POL 10/0004/1982), p. 323.

unfair “trials” that lasted only a few minutes and were so arbitrary and summary that they cannot be considered to constitute judicial proceedings.⁴⁹ Defendants were not informed of any specific accusations against them, were denied access to a lawyer, and were granted no possibility of appeal.⁵⁰ Some were blindfolded during their “trial.”⁵¹ The authorities often did not announce the executions in advance; families learned about the fate of their loved ones through newspapers and the radio.

Most of those killed were targeted for real or perceived affiliation with the PMOI. However, hundreds of individuals affiliated with Kurdish opposition groups and leftist and other political organizations were also among the victims.⁵²

Among the thousands of individuals executed many had been involved in violent opposition to the Islamic Republic system. However, there were also many others who had never used or advocated violence. They had been primarily arrested because of peaceful political or religious activities such as distributing newspapers and leaflets, taking part in demonstrations, collecting funds for prisoners’ families, or in some cases just because they were associated with people actively opposed to the system.⁵³

Hundreds of those executed were children who had been caught up in the turmoil of the post-revolutionary period.⁵⁴ One of them was 13-year-old Fatemeh Mesbah, an apparent PMOI sympathizer, who was arrested in a demonstration in Tehran on 16 September 1981 and shot dead by a firing squad four days later.⁵⁵ On 20 September 1981, Assadollah Lajevardi, the prosecutor of Tehran, was reported to state, “Even if a 12-year-old is found participating in an armed demonstration, he will be shot. The age doesn’t matter.”⁵⁶

Thousands were also sentenced to lengthy prison sentences after grossly unfair “trials” before Islamic Revolutionary Tribunals.⁵⁷ A substantial number of them were prisoners of conscience, imprisoned solely because of their non-violent political or religious activities.⁵⁸ In some cases, many were systematically tortured to recant their political ideology and announce their repentance on TV.⁵⁹ A large number of these prisoners remained in prison until the enforced disappearance and extrajudicial execution of thousands of prisoners in July-September 1988, which is the subject of this report.

From 1982 onwards, the net of repression widened to cover members and supporters of the communist Tudeh Party and the secular leftist Majority faction of the Organization of Iranian People’s Fada’i Guerrillas, political organizations that had up until then largely supported the policies of the Islamic Republic.⁶⁰

On 15 April 1982, the prosecution authorities raided the publishing house of the Tudeh Party and arrested several people.⁶¹ On 6 February 1983, more than 50 leading Tudeh Party members were arrested and accused of espionage for the Soviet Union.⁶² On 27 April 1983, a further 170 members and supporters of the party in Tehran and over 500 others in the provinces were arrested.⁶³ On 10 May 1983, Mohsen Rezaei, the head of the Revolutionary Guards, reportedly said, “We are in no hurry to execute them, they still have much to confess, but by their confessions they have signed their own death warrants.”⁶⁴ The same month,

⁴⁹ Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: [MDE 13/021/1990](#)), p. 31; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1982* (Index: [POL 10/0004/1982](#)), p. 324.

⁵⁰ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1982* (Index: [POL 10/0004/1982](#)), pp. 323-324.

⁵¹ Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, *Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, 13 October 1988, UN Doc. A/43/705, [www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/43/705](#), para. 17.

⁵² Amnesty International, *Annual report 1982* (Index: [POL 10/0004/1982](#)), pp. 323-324. The Abdorrahman Boroumand Center has documented the cases of at least 3,622 individuals who were executed between 20 June and 31 December 1981, including 279 who were under the age of 18 at the time of their execution.

⁵³ Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: [MDE 13/021/1990](#)), p. 37;

⁵⁴ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1982* (Index: [POL 10/0004/1982](#)), p. 324.

⁵⁵ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1982* (Index: [POL 10/0004/1982](#)), p. 324.

⁵⁶ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1982* (Index: [POL 10/0004/1982](#)), p. 324.

⁵⁷ Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: [MDE 13/021/1990](#)), p. 31.

⁵⁸ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1984* (Index: [POL 10/0004/1984](#)), p. 335.

⁵⁹ Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: [MDE 13/021/1990](#)), p. 37.

⁶⁰ Ervand Abrahamian, *Tortured Confessions: Prisons and Public Recantations in Modern Iran* (University of California Press, 1999), p. 150; Peyman Vahabzadeh, “FADĀ’ĪĀN-E KĀLQ”, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 7 December 2015, [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fadaian-e-khalq](#)

⁶¹ Iraj Mesdaghi, “The ebbs and flows of the Tudeh party in the 1980s”, BBC Persian, 23 February 2012, [www.bbc.com/persian/iran/2012/02/120222_110_mesdaghi_toudeh_party](#); Hossein Kavoshi, “The conduct and collapse of the Tudeh Party as narrated by the Islamic Revolution Documents Centre”, *Tarikh Irani*, 14 March 2011, [www.bit.ly/2AuFu3U](#)

⁶² Iraj Mesdaghi, “The ebbs and flows of the Tudeh party in the 1980s”, BBC Persian, 23 February 2012, [www.bbc.com/persian/iran/2012/02/120222_110_mesdaghi_toudeh_party](#); Hossein Kavoshi, “The conduct and collapse of the Tudeh Party as narrated by the Islamic Revolution Documents Centre”, *Tarikh Irani*, 14 March 2011, [www.bit.ly/2AuFu3U](#)

⁶³ Hossein Kavoshi, “The conduct and collapse of the Tudeh Party as narrated by the Islamic Revolution Documents Centre”, 14 March 2011, [www.bit.ly/2AuFu3U](#)

⁶⁴ Amnesty International, *Annual Report 1984* (Index: [POL 10/0004/1984](#)), p. 334.

the authorities began broadcasting a series of televised “confessions” from some high-profile members of the Tudeh Party.⁶⁵

In February 1984, it was officially announced that 10 leading members of the military wing of the Tudeh Party had been executed, and that 87 others had received prison sentences of between several months and life imprisonment. The charges of those executed were reported to include espionage, “misappropriation of arms and ammunition” and “storing them to confront the Islamic Government of Iran”.⁶⁶ Dozens of people arrested in connection with their support for the Tudeh Party remained in prison until the enforced disappearance and extrajudicial execution of thousands of prisoners in July-September 1988. Some of them had vocally denied that they had spied for a foreign power and conspired to overthrow the Islamic Republic system and said that they were subjected to torture and other ill-treatment to make video-recorded “confessions.”⁶⁷

Another wave of mass arrests took place in 1985 and 1986, targeting hundreds of members and supporters of the Majority faction of the Organization of Iranian People’s Fada’i Guerrillas, a secular leftist political organization. Many of them remained in prison until the enforced disappearance and extrajudicial execution of thousands of prisoners in July-September 1988.⁶⁸

The political situation in Iran remained highly repressive throughout the 1980s. The authorities outlawed any remaining political groups not affiliated with the state. Hundreds of individuals affiliated with various political opposition groups were executed every year after summary or arbitrary legal proceedings or, in some instances, after none.⁶⁹ Some were executed after being sentenced to relatively short terms of imprisonment when both the prisoner and the family had been led to believe that release was imminent. Families were generally not informed until after the executions.⁷⁰ Thousands more were imprisoned because of the peaceful exercise of their conscientiously held political or religious beliefs or simply because of their relationship with people who had been politically active.⁷¹ In some cases relatives were imprisoned as hostages when a suspect could not be found.⁷²

For political dissidents imprisoned in Iran during the 1980s, stress and uncertainty were constant pressures. Torture and other ill-treatment could occur at any time, including after arrest, during investigations and afterwards in prison. It was inflicted on individuals held for politically motivated reasons not only for extracting information about political activities, names and addresses of political dissidents and safe houses, but also to break their morale and force them to recant their beliefs and appear on television denouncing their political views.⁷³ Prisoners’ attempts to organize group activities could also lead to torture and other ill-treatment. This applied not only to collective hunger strikes and other non-violent protests against prison conditions, but even to organizing a study group or physical exercise.⁷⁴

Most former prisoners interviewed by Amnesty International, who were imprisoned for politically motivated reasons during the 1980s, have recounted being flogged on the back or the soles of the feet with cables sometimes for hours at a time. Prisoners have described how their legs would be swollen, and their clothing bloodstained, from the feet up to the thighs as a result of such beatings. Some were unable to walk at all when the beating ended and had to drag themselves back to their cells along the floor.⁷⁵ Other methods of torture included kicking, punching, suspension for long periods by the arms or wrists, burnings with cigarettes, irons and electricity, being made to stand without moving for hours or days at a time, being hosed with water, having the heads held under water, being deprived of food and water, and being kept blindfolded

⁶⁵ Ervand Abrahamian, *Tortured Confessions: Prisons and Public Recantations in Modern Iran* (University of California Press, 1999), pp. 177-198.

⁶⁶ Amnesty International, *Annual Report 1985* (Index: POL 10/002/1985), p. 310.

⁶⁷ Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, *Report on the situation of human rights in Iran*, 12 February 1990, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1990/24, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1990/24, para. 143.

⁶⁸ Ervand Abrahamian, *Tortured Confessions: Prisons and Public Recantations in Modern Iran* (University of California Press, 1999), pp. 209-228.

⁶⁹ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1981* (Index: POL 10/0001/1981), p. 355; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1982* (Index: POL 10/0004/1982), pp. 323-324; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1983* (Index: POL 10/0001/1983), pp. 304-305; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1984* (Index: POL 10/0004/1984), pp. 332-334; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1985* (Index: POL 10/002/1985), pp. 309-310; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1986* (Index: POL 10/0003/1986), pp. 327; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1987* (Index: POL 10/0002/1987), p. 340.

⁷⁰ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1985* (Index: POL 10/002/1985), pp. 309-310.

⁷¹ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1983* (Index: POL 10/0001/1983), pp. 309; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1984* (Index: POL 10/0004/1984), pp. 332-335; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1985* (Index: POL 10/002/1985), p. 310.

⁷² Amnesty International, *Annual report 1985* (Index: POL 10/002/1985), p. 310.

⁷³ Amnesty International, *Iran: File on torture* (Newsletter, 31 March 1985), www.iranrights.org/library/document/105/iran-file-on-torture-1985; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1987* (Index: POL 10/0002/1987), p. 343.

⁷⁴ Amnesty International, *Iran: Imprisonment, torture and execution of political opponents* (Index: MDE 13/001/92), p. 6.

⁷⁵ Amnesty International, *Iran: Imprisonment, torture and execution of political opponents* (Index: MDE 13/001/92), p. 6.

for hours or days at a time so that they became disoriented and blindfolded.⁷⁶ Various forms of sexual abuse, including rape of both men and women prisoners, were also reported to Amnesty International.⁷⁷ In many cases, physical torture was accompanied by mental torture including mock executions, threats to arrest or execute relatives, or being forced to watch the execution of other prisoners.⁷⁸

3.3 IRAN-IRAQ WAR

The war with Iraq was a dominant political factor in Iran throughout the 1980s. The conflict began in September 1980, and by 1987, both sides had suffered heavy casualties. On 20 July 1987 the UN Security Council adopted resolution 598 calling for a ceasefire, a withdrawal to internationally recognized borders, and the beginning of peace negotiations. A ceasefire came into effect in August 1988 but thousands of prisoners of war were still held by both countries in the 1990s. Withdrawal to internationally recognized borders, and the beginning of peace negotiations. A ceasefire came into effect in August 1988 but thousands of prisoners of war were still held by both countries in the 1990s.⁷⁹

The state of war had a pervasive influence on Iranian society in the 1980s. The decade was marked by a lack of progress towards the establishment of institutions and procedures that could have provided citizens with safeguards of their fundamental human rights. The authorities also used the war to create a climate in which dissent was not tolerated. Any criticism of state policy, even in fields not directly related to the war, was portrayed as betrayal of the “martyrs” - the tens of thousands who died during the war.⁸⁰

3.4 POLITICAL OPPOSITION GROUPS

During the 1979 revolution, the common goal of overthrowing the Shah united various political parties and movements, with each hoping that its ideology would prevail in post-revolutionary Iran. Most accepted that Rouhollah Khomeini was mobilizing the masses. A few years later, almost all found themselves targets of the system. Some of the key groups, which are referred to in the report and in the witness testimonies, are highlighted below.

3.4.1 PEOPLE’S MOJAHEDIN ORGANIZATION OF IRAN

The People’s Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI), also known as Mojahedin-e Khalq⁸¹ (MEK) and Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization (MKO) was established in the 1960s as a political opposition group that advocated the overthrow of the Shah through guerrilla strategies. For its ideological framework, the organization drew both on Islamic principles and Marxism.⁸²

The PMOI supported the 1979 revolution and initially accepted the leadership of Rouhollah Khomeini. However, its relations with the clerical authorities of the Islamic Republic deteriorated from late 1979 onwards after it boycotted the constitutional referendum of December 1979.⁸³ The group had tens of thousands of members and sympathizers during the 1980s, many of them high school and university students. In January 1980, Rouhollah Khomeini issued a fatwa stating that those who had not voted in favour of the Constitution were not qualified to run as presidential candidates.⁸⁴ This effectively forced the

⁷⁶ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1982* (Index: [POL 10/0004/1982](#)), p. 325; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1983* (Index: [POL 10/0001/1983](#)), pp. 305-306; Amnesty International, *Annual Report 1984* (Index: [POL 10/0004/1984](#)), p. 334; Amnesty International, *Annual report 1985* (Index: [POL 10/002/1985](#)), p. 311; *Annual report 1986* (Index: [POL 10/0003/1986](#)), pp. 328-329; and Amnesty International, *Annual report 1987* (Index: [POL 10/0002/1987](#)), pp. 342-343; Amnesty International, *Iran: File on torture* (Newsletter, 31 March 1985), www.iranrights.org/library/document/105/iran-file-on-torture-1985

⁷⁷ Amnesty International, *Iran: File on torture* (Newsletter, 31 March 1985), www.iranrights.org/library/document/105/iran-file-on-torture-1985, Amnesty International, *Iran: Imprisonment, torture and execution of political opponents* (Index: [MDE 13/001/92](#)), p. 6.

⁷⁸ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1986* (Index: [POL 10/0003/1986](#)), pp. 328-329.

⁷⁹ BBC Persian, “Iran frees last ‘Iraqi prisoners’”, 5 May 2013, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3001751.stm

⁸⁰ Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: [MDE 13/021/1990](#)), pp. 3-4.

⁸¹ Khalq in Persian means the people.

⁸² Nikki R. Keddie, *Roots of Revolution: An interpretive history of modern Iran* (Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 237-239; Ervand Abrahamian, *Radical Islam: The Iranian Mojahedin* 1989, p. 88.

⁸³ Ali Ansari, *Modern Iran since 1921: The Pahlavis and After* 2003, p. 229.

⁸⁴ Mohammad Raja’i Nejad, *The timeline of the social and political life of Imam Khomeini*, www.ensani.ir/storage/Files/20120514173415-9017-84.pdf, p. 12.

leader of the PMOI, Masoud Rajavi, to withdraw his candidacy for the first presidential elections of the Islamic Republic.⁸⁵

The Iranian authorities increasingly resorted to pejorative terms such as *monafeqin* (hypocrites) and *nefaq* (hypocrisy and double dealing) to refer to the PMOI and mobilized their supporters to attack PMOI members and supporters during their demonstrations and when they distributed their publications, leading to the death of multiple PMOI supporters.

The crackdown reached an unprecedented scale following the mass demonstrations that the PMOI called for on 21 June 1981. In response, the PMOI announced armed struggle against the Islamic Republic and assassinated many senior officials. Notwithstanding this development, many sympathizers of the organization were not armed and did not participate in armed conflict (see section 3.2).

In mid-1981, the PMOI leadership fled the country to France, where they founded the National Council of Resistance, together with Iran's first post-revolutionary president, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, who was impeached by parliament in June 1981. In early 1986, after the PMOI leaders were expelled from France, they based themselves in Iraq and organized an armed force called the National Liberation Army (NLA). During the Iran-Iraq war, the NLA launched several armed incursions into Iranian territory from Iraq. The last major offensive was on 25 July 1988, which was subsequently used by the authorities as a pretext to justify the mass killings of prisoners from late July to September 1988. The PMOI calls this armed incursion the Eternal Light (Forough-e Javidan) Operation, while the Iranian authorities generally refer to the incident as the Mersad Operation which was the name of the state's counter operation.

3.4.2 FADAIYAN

The Organization of Iranian People's Fada'i⁸⁶ Guerrillas, also known as Fadaian Khalq Organization (referred to hereafter as Fadaian), was founded in 1971 and adhered to a Marxist-Leninist ideology. In 1979 and 1980 there were several splits within the organization leading to the creations of multiple factions.

Fadaian played an active role in the 1979 revolution,⁸⁷ following which they grew into the country's largest leftist organization, with tens of thousands of members and supporters.⁸⁸ Fadaian boycotted the March 1979 referendum on the creation of the Islamic Republic.⁸⁹

In April 1979, there was a split within the organization that led to a small group leaving and creating the Iranian People's Fada'i Guerrillas, known also as the Ashraf Dehghani group, named after one of its founding leaders.⁹⁰

Some members broadly affiliated with Fadaian joined armed confrontations in March 1979 and February 1980 between the Revolutionary Guards and members of Iran's Turkmen minority in north-eastern Iran, with Fadaian supporting Turkmen demands for self-determination and a degree of regional autonomy.⁹¹ In February 1980, four leading members of Turkmen political groups who sought self-determination and were Fadaian supporters, were executed without trial within hours of their arrest.⁹²

In May 1981, Fadaian split further into the Majority (Aksariat) and Minority (Aqaliat) factions because of fundamental disagreements including over whether to engage in armed struggle and whether to support the Islamic Republic. The Majority faction eschewed armed struggle and moved towards support for the Islamic Republic.⁹³ The Minority faction remained vehemently opposed to the Islamic Republic and supported resorting to armed activities in the context of the demands of Kurdish groups in western Iran for a degree of regional autonomy.⁹⁴

⁸⁵ BBC Persian, "June 1981 as narrated by Mojahedin", 20 June 2011,

www.bbc.com/persian/iran/2011/06/110618_110_30khordad60_mojahedin

⁸⁶ People prepared to sacrifice themselves in the context of political struggle.

⁸⁷ Peyman Vahabzadeh, "FADĀ'ĪĀN-E KĀLQ", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 7 December 2015, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fadaian-e-khalq

⁸⁸ Nozar Alaolmolki, "The New Iranian Left", *The Middle East Journal* 41/2, 1987, pp. 218-233.

⁸⁹ Peyman Vahabzadeh, "FADĀ'ĪĀN-E KĀLQ", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 7 December 2015, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fadaian-e-khalq

⁹⁰ Peyman Vahabzadeh, "FADĀ'ĪĀN-E KĀLQ", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 7 December 2015, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fadaian-e-khalq

⁹¹ Peyman Vahabzadeh, "FADĀ'ĪĀN-E KĀLQ", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 7 December 2015, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fadaian-e-khalq;

Alireza Asgharzadeh, *Iran and the challenge of diversity: Islamic fundamentalism, Aryanist racism and democratic struggles*, 2007, p. 20.

⁹² Iraj Mesdaghi, "Khalkhali calls for a death sentence against himself", Radio Zamaneh, 13 August 2017, www.radiozamaneh.com/354152

⁹³ Peyman Vahabzadeh, "FADĀ'ĪĀN-E KĀLQ", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 7 December 2015, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/fadaian-e-khalq

⁹⁴ Maziar Behrooz, *Rebels with a cause: The failure of the left in Iran 2000*, pp. 112-114.

3.4.3 TUDEH PARTY

The Tudeh⁹⁵ Party was formed in 1941 by a group of Marxist intellectuals. During the Shah's reign, many of its members were imprisoned, tortured and executed.⁹⁶

The Tudeh Party accepted the leadership of Rouhollah Khomeini and voted in favour of the Constitution in the December 1979 referendum. Its leadership also broadly endorsed the policies of the Islamic Republic.⁹⁷ The party remained relatively immune from political persecution until about 1982, when repression expanded to crush all political organizations not connected to the establishment (see section 3.2).

3.4.4 KURDISH DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF IRAN

The Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI), also known as the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, is the oldest Kurdish opposition group in Iran, founded in 1945. In 1946 it proclaimed its own Kurdish state, generally called the Republic of Mahabad after the site of its capital in north-western Iran. The administration collapsed after 11 months. The Iranian authorities then arrested and tried its leaders, executing many of them and banned the KDPI.

In March 1979, after years of clandestine operations, the KDPI officially announced the resumption of its political activities.⁹⁸ In the immediate aftermath of the revolution, in Kurdish towns, power passed to local councils led by individuals affiliated with the KDPI,⁹⁹ which called for secular democracy for Iran and autonomy for Kurdistan.

In the following months, tensions gradually built up as the authorities of the new Islamic Republic and the KDPI, negotiated over the governance and the autonomy of the region. In Mid-1979, armed conflict broke out between the Revolutionary Guards and KDPI fighters.¹⁰⁰ On 19 August, Rouhollah Khomeini denounced the KDPI as "the party of Satan" and ordered that it be crushed (see section 3.2).¹⁰¹

By December 1979, the Revolutionary Guards had established military control over Kurdistan province and forced KDPI fighters to withdraw further into the mountains at the Iran Iraq border. By the late 1980s, the KDPI had moved into exile in the Kurdish region of Iraq, where they have since remained.¹⁰²

In addition to persecuting and executing hundreds of KDPI members and supporters since the 1980s, the Iranian authorities also instigated or carried out the assassination abroad of several prominent Kurds affiliated with the KDPI in the 1990s.¹⁰³

3.4.5 KOMALA

Komala is an armed Kurdish opposition group with Maoist roots that was established in 1979 under the name Komala - the Revolutionary Organization of the Toilers of Iran's Kurdistan (Sazman-e Enqelabi-e Zahmatkeshan-e Kurdistan-e Iran). Following the 1979 revolution, Komala attracted many members and supporters, particularly among workers and peasants in Kurdistan province. Its armed forces engaged in armed activities against the central government and those seen as representing the interests of "capitalists" and "landlords".¹⁰⁴

In 1982, Komala merged with another Marxist group, the Union of Communist Militants (Ettihad-e Mobarezan-e Communist), and established the Communist Party of Iran. Komala subsequently (before

⁹⁵ Tudeh Means the masses in Persian.

⁹⁶ Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions* 1982, pp. 281-326.

⁹⁷ Torāb Haqšenās, "Communism iii. In Persian after 1953", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 15 December 1992, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/communism-iii

⁹⁸ Carol Prunhuber, "QĀSEMLU, 'ABD-AL-RAḤMĀN", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 18 February 2012, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/qasemlu

⁹⁹ Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions* 1982, p. 527.

¹⁰⁰ Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, *The Islamic Republic's Executions of Kurds in 1979*, September 2011, www.iranhrdc.org/wp-content/uploads/reports_en/Haunted_Memories_266599093.pdf, p. 387.

¹⁰¹ Carol Prunhuber, "QĀSEMLU, 'ABD-AL-RAḤMĀN", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 18 February 2012, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/qasemlu

¹⁰² Carol Prunhuber, "QĀSEMLU, 'ABD-AL-RAḤMĀN", *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 18 February 2012, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/qasemlu

¹⁰³ Iran Human Rights Documentation Center, *Murder at Mykonos: Anatomy of a Political Assassination*, March 2007, www.iranhrdc.org/wp-content/uploads/reports_en/Murder_at_Mykonos_Mar07_376572839.pdf

¹⁰⁴ Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988: An Addendum, Witness testimonies and official statements*, 10 December 2013, Appendix C: Political parties and religious denominations referred to in the witness testimonies, www.iranrights.org/library/document/2498/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-an-addendum-witness-testimonies-and-official-statements_pp.385-394.

1988) renamed itself Komala - the Kurdistan Organization of the Communist Party of Iran. In the following decades, the group underwent multiple splits.

Since the mid-1980s, fighters affiliated with the various factions of Komala have been based in northern Iraq and engaged in armed activities against the Islamic Republic of Iran from there. Inside the country, those accused of membership of or sympathy with Komala have consistently faced persecution, including lengthy prison terms and the death penalty.

3.4.6 OTHER GROUPS

After the 1979 revolution, a number of smaller opposition groups were also active in Iran. Most of them adhered to leftist ideologies, including Marxism, Marxism-Leninism and Maoism. They included: the Organization of Revolutionary Workers in Iran (Rah-e Kargar); the Organization of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class (Peykar); the Labourers' Party of Iran (Ranjbaran); the Organization of the Vanguard Fighters of the Oppressed (Arman-e Mostazafin); the Union of Iranian Communists (Ettelahieh Komonisthayeh Iran); and the Organization of Working-Class Freedom Fighters (Razmandegan).¹⁰⁵

As with the larger organizations with which some of them were affiliated, or from which they had split, many members of these smaller groups had also struggled against the monarchy throughout the 1970s and served prison terms during the rule of the Shah.

Throughout the 1980s, the Iranian authorities effectively destroyed the structures of these groups by arresting and executing many of their leading members (see section 3.2).

¹⁰⁵ For more background information on each of these groups, see Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988: An Addendum, Witness testimonies and official statements*, 10 December 2013, Appendix C: Political parties and religious denominations referred to in the witness testimonies, www.iranrights.org/library/document/2498/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-an-addendum-witness-testimonies-and-official-statements, pp. 385-394.

4. CONCEALING THE FATE OF VICTIMS

“The victims of this mass execution were murdered twice, the second time by the silence and anonymity surrounding their executions...”

Azar Nafisi, Iranian writer and professor of English literature¹⁰⁶

4.1 PRISONERS GO MISSING

In late July 1988, thousands of political dissidents held in prisons across Iran went missing. No news of them was received for months.

The prisoners included medical doctors and nurses, engineers, teachers and academics, manual workers, as well as individuals who had been secondary school and university students when arrested.¹⁰⁷ Some had suffered years of unjust imprisonment and torture and other ill-treatment during the rule of the Shah as well.

Most of them were members or supporters of the PMOI who had been imprisoned because of their political opinions and peaceful activities, such as distributing opposition newspapers and leaflets, taking part in demonstrations, collecting donations for prisoners' families or associating with those who were politically active.¹⁰⁸ Others were affiliated with various secular, leftist opposition groups and had been similarly imprisoned because of their peaceful political and religious beliefs.

Some of the prisoners were arbitrarily held without ever having been tried or sentenced; some were serving unjust prison terms ranging from life to as little as two or three years; some had completed their sentences and were due to be released, or had been told that they would remain in prison because they were not deemed “sufficiently repentant”.¹⁰⁹ During the 1980s, the authorities frequently refused to release political dissidents who had served their sentences unless they agreed to make written or televised “confessions” recanting their political ideologies and committing to refrain from political activities. If the prisoner refused to

¹⁰⁶ A. Nafisi, *Reading Lolita in Tehran*, 2003, p. 239.

¹⁰⁷ Amnesty International, *Biggest wave of political executions in Iran since early 1980s*, 13 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/031/88](#)); Amnesty International, *Iran: Political executions* (Index: [MDE 13/029/88](#))

¹⁰⁸ PMOI members who had perpetrated violence in the early 1980s had already been executed. Generally, low-ranking members and supporters of the PMOI had no military training, were not armed and had not participated in armed activities. See Ervand Abrahamian, *Tortured Confessions: Prisons and Public Recantations in Modern Iran* 1999, p. 216; and Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988: An Addendum, Witness testimonies and official statements*, 10 December 2013, Appendix C: Political parties and religious denominations referred to in the witness testimonies, www.iranrights.org/library/document/2498/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-an-addendum-witness-testimonies-and-official-statements, p. 391.

¹⁰⁹ Amnesty International, *Biggest wave of political executions in Iran since early 1980s*, 13 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/031/88](#)); Amnesty International, *Iran: Political executions* (Index: [MDE 13/029/88](#)).

make such a promise, they could be held in unlawful detention indefinitely.¹¹⁰ Some were kept incarcerated for years although they had been sentenced to prison terms of only several months.¹¹¹

The families of these prisoners had known where they were and had been able to visit them until late July 1988.

Others were former prisoners who had been released several years earlier and then re-arrested in the weeks leading up to July 1988 and shortly after the PMOI's armed incursion on 25 July 1988.¹¹² Many were forcibly disappeared immediately after arrest and the authorities refused to provide any information on their fate and whereabouts. Interviews conducted by Amnesty International with survivors and family members show that this wave of arrests took place in various cities across the country.

The mass disappearances raised fears among families that the authorities were planning to use the armed incursion as a pretext to exact revenge against prisoners. A number of other factors exacerbated their anxiety.

Following the armed incursion, more than a dozen individuals had been publicly executed in Kangavar, Bakhtaran and Islamebad-e Gharb, all in western Iran, for allegedly collaborating with the PMOI.¹¹³

High-ranking judicial officials were proclaiming that opposition elements should be dealt with severely and executed. On 5 August 1988, Abdulkarim Mousavi Ardebili, the head of Iran's Supreme Court and a member of Iran's Supreme Judicial Council, is recorded as saying in a sermon at Friday prayers in Tehran:

"The judiciary is under very strong pressure from public opinion asking why we even put them [members and supporters of 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."¹¹⁴

Two waves of executions in May and July 1988, which were carried out without prior notification given to the families, had targeted PMOI and leftist prisoners.¹¹⁵ An unmarked mass grave had been discovered in July 1988 by families in an abandoned area known as Khavaran in the south-east of Tehran where the authorities had buried individuals executed for politically motivated reasons since the early 1980s.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, *Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 40; Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: MDE 13/021/1990), pp. 35-36, 55.

¹¹¹ Amnesty International, *Biggest wave of political executions in Iran since early 1980s*, 13 December 1988 (Index: MDE 13/031/88).

¹¹² Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, *Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 17; Amnesty International, *Iran: Political executions* (Index: MDE 13/029/88); Amnesty International, *Iran: Executions of prisoners continue unabated* (Index: MDE 13/018/92), p. 4. Some survivors believe that the wave of rearrests is another indication that the purge of the opposition was planned long before the armed incursion of the PMOI in July 1988. For more information see 7.2.

¹¹³ Amnesty International, *Annual report 1989* (Index: POL 10/0002/19859), p. 255; Amnesty International, "Iran: Political executions", 2 September 1988 (Index: MDE 13/014/88).

¹¹⁴ *Keyhan*, "Ayatollah Mousavi Ardebili: Iran's forceful response to Iraq shows that we have the power to suppress the enemy", 6 August 1988, p. 9. See also Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, *Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, 13 October 1988, UN Doc. A/43/705, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/43/705, para. 49.

¹¹⁵ On 27 May 1988, several prisoners, including Anoushirvan Lotfi, Hajat Mohammad Pour and Hojatollah Ma'boudi, were executed. They were buried in individual, unmarked graves in an abandoned area known as Khavaran in the south-east of Tehran. Anoushirvan Lotfi was a member of the Majority faction of Fadaian (Askariat); Hajat Mohammad Pour was a member of the Union of Iranian Communists (Ettahadieh Komonisthayeh Iran); Hojatollah Ma'boudi was a member of the PMOI. According to an official announcement on 29 May 1988, a Revolutionary Court in Tehran had sentenced them to death for their work with opposition groups that the authorities branded as "terrorist", "anti-revolutionary" and "anti-Islamic". See *Ettelaat*, "Three terrorists affiliated with *mohareb* [enemy of God] and *molhed* [atheist] grouplets were executed", 29 May 1988, p. 13; Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, *Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, 13 October 1988, UN Doc. A/43/705, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/43/705, para. 27.

In late July 1988, at least another 12 prisoners held for politically motivated reasons were executed and 55 others were placed in solitary confinement in preparation for their execution. Three of those executed, all of whom were affiliated with various leftist groups, were identified as Kioumars Zarshenas, Sayed Azarang, Faramarz Soufi (mistakenly written as "Faramarz Sadeghi" in the October 1988 report of the UN Special Representative) and Rahim Hatefi. See *Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special

Representative of the Commission on Human Rights in accordance with Commission resolution 1988/59 and Economic and Social Council decision 1988/137, 13 October 1988, UN Doc. A/43/705, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/43/705, para. 28; Justice for Iran, *Unfinished Tales: Mothers and families of Khavaran, a three decade long search for truth and justice*, September 2015, www.justice4iran.org/persian/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/unfinishedtale.pdf, pp. 30-32; Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, "One Person's Story: Rahim Hatefi", www.iranrights.org/memorial/story/-7381/rahim-hatefi

Note that the name of Simin Farzin, included in the October 1988 report of the UN Special Representative, has not been included here as other information received by Amnesty International suggests that this execution took place at a later date, in May 1989, and concerned a woman named Fatemeh Modaresi Tehrani whose alias was Simin or Fardin. See Effat Mahbaz, "The execution of the grandchild of Ayatollah Modares Tehrani by a special order", BBC Persian, 28 January 2012, www.bbc.com/persian/iran/2012/01/120118_144_tudeh_party_modaresi_tehrani

¹¹⁶ According to information received by Amnesty International, witnesses have provided different dates when this mass grave was first discovered. Anoushirvan Lotfi's mother, Forough Tajbakhsh, stated in a media interview with a magazine, *Baran*, in 2007 or 2008 that she

Following the suspension of the family visits, distraught families repeatedly went to prisons, various judicial institutions and other state bodies, but were turned away without receiving any concrete information. Some brought clothes, food, medicine and money, hoping to get a signed receipt from their imprisoned relatives as an indication that they were still alive. Prison officials often took the items without indicating whether the prisoner was dead or alive.

In some places, officials falsely told families that their relative had been transferred to a prison in another province, leading the families, in many cases elderly parents, to undertake long and futile journeys. In other cases, the authorities insulted and abused families, and threatened that they would be arrested if they kept asking for information. Some families were detained for hours and interrogated.

In Tehran, families of leftist prisoners tried to gather in front of parliament, but Revolutionary Guards violently dispersed them.¹¹⁷ They appealed to various authorities for information and raised their concerns about possible secret executions through submitting joint letters to the authorities.¹¹⁸ Their pleas were ignored.

On 17 August 1988, a group of families held a sit-in outside the Palace of Justice in Tehran, which housed various judicial bodies. The next day, Mohammad Mousavi Bojnourdi, a member of Iran's Supreme Judicial Council, promised the families that those held in Gohardasht prison in Karaj, near Tehran, would be allowed to receive family visits within one to two weeks; families of those held in Evin prison in Tehran were told that they would receive further information soon.¹¹⁹ Both promises were broken.

'NOBODY HELPED US'



Esmat Talebi © Justice for Iran

Esmat Talebi, who lost her husband, Majid Simiari, and her brother Adel Talebi during the mass killings of 1988, said that the officials approached by the families either provided very little or no information or refused to meet the distraught families at all.¹²⁰ One time, in the prime minister's office, an unknown official told them not to worry as leftist prisoners were safe and only PMOI prisoners would be "dealt with". At this stage, the families had no idea that mass executions were happening.

Majid Simiari and Adel Talebi were serving lengthy terms in Evin prison in connection with their support of the Organization of Revolutionary Workers in Iran (Rah-e Kargar), a leftist opposition organization. Esmat Talebi said:

"We tried to go to all the government bodies we could think of. We went in front of parliament, to the office of [Speaker of Parliament Ali Akbar Hashemi] Rafsanjani. We handed in letters everywhere we went. We went to the office of the prime minister but they turned us away [so] we sat outside on the street and wrote a letter and gave it to [his] office. In the letter, we wrote: 'We are families of political prisoners and we have been barred from having visits with them. We want answers from you. Do something to stop the executions.

"Next, we went in front of the parliament building. There were about 50 of us and we had planned to do a sit-in but they [the officials] treated us so harshly that we couldn't... the Revolutionary Guards violently attacked and dispersed our gathering. There were elderly mothers among us.

discovered the mass grave, along with some other families, on or shortly after 5 July 1988 when she was in Khavaran to mark the 40th day of her son's death; see *Baran Quarterly*, "Saeed Afshar's interview with Forough Tajbakh", Issue 17-18 (2007-2008), p. 21. Human rights defender Reza Moine, who lost his brother, Heibatollah Moine, during the mass killings of July-September 1988, told Amnesty International that he has spoken to three witnesses in Iran who said the mass grave was first discovered on 29 July 1988.

¹¹⁷ Naser Mohajer, "The Movement of the Mothers of Khavaran", *Bidaran*, 7 June 2009, www.bidaran.net/spip.php?article231

¹¹⁸ *Bidaran*, "Text of speech given by Mihan Rosta at a commemorative event in Frankfurt for the victims of the mass killings of 1988", 17 September 2006, www.bidaran.net/spip.php?article117

¹¹⁹ Naser Mohajer, "The Movement of the Mothers of Khavaran", *Bidaran*, 7 June 2009, www.bidaran.net/spip.php?article231

¹²⁰ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Esmat Talebi from Justice for Iran which conducted the interview with her in person.



Esmat Talebi's husband, Majid Simiari, (right) and brother Adel Talebi (left). © Private

“We then decided to go to the office of [Deputy Supreme Leader Hossein Ali] Montazeri in Qom. One group of families went in a bus but they were arrested...

Around 15 of us decided to go in pairs and meet at the [bus] terminal in Qom and then we went to the home of Montazeri... [His] head of security told us that they couldn't see us in person and that, if we wanted, we could write a letter, which they would deliver to him.

We wrote the letter and he told us that one of the mothers and one of the fathers could go in. They went in and, in addition to delivering the letter [to him], they also gave [him] plenty of information about the prisons and executions...

Eventually, we ran out of places to turn to and were left helpless.”¹²¹

4.2 FAMILIES KEPT IN THE DARK

From around late October, early November 1988, prison visits resumed across the country and judicial authorities and prison officials began telling many families verbally that their relatives had been executed. However, they provided no written declaration of death and did not return the bodies. Nor did they provide any information on the causes and circumstances of the killings, such as the details of charges and convictions. In most cases, the exact date of execution was not announced.

In some cities and cases, the blackout lasted much longer. It took families many months, or even years, to find out whether their loved ones were dead or alive. In some cases, it appears that families were never told, even verbally, by the authorities that their loved ones had been killed. Instead, they learned the truth through survivors and other prisoners after they were released from prison. In these situations, prison officials and judicial authorities often claimed that they had no information about the prisoner, gave conflicting information, or said that the prisoner had been transferred to a different city and was banned from having visits until further notice.

This abusive treatment left families in a state of constant anguish, uncertainty and disbelief. One former prisoner and survivor from Mashhad, Rasoul Showkati, told Amnesty International:

“By late October 1988 when prison visits resumed, the news of the mass prisoner killings had spread. However, many families could just not fathom the brutality of the situation - that it was actually possible to suddenly take away and secretly kill a prisoner who had been in prison for seven or eight years serving a lengthy sentence. As a result, in the absence of any official announcement and proof of death, they were not prepared to kill the hope that someone from somewhere may give them some positive news.”¹²²

The agonizing wait caused many family members, especially elderly mothers and fathers, to experience various physical and mental health problems, including panic attacks, heart problems, high blood pressure, depression, delusions and suicidal tendencies.

¹²¹ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Esmat Talebi from Justice for Iran which conducted the interview with her in person.

¹²² Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Rasoul Showkati from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him by voice call. Amnesty International conducted two follow up interviews by voice call in October and November 2018.

'THE MOTHER GRADUALLY LOST HER SANITY'



Asadollah Nabavi © Amnesty International

Asadollah Nabavi survived the mass killings of July-September 1988 in Semnan, Semnan province. In 1988, he was serving a lengthy term in the main prison there, imposed in connection with his support for the PMOI. He told Amnesty International that the suspension of family prison visits left many families on the "edge of a nervous breakdown".¹²³

He said he was transferred to solitary confinement in early August 1988 and held there incommunicado until December 1989,

when he was moved to Evin prison. He described the distress of his family:

"My father suffered a heart attack in late 1988. The prosecutor's office in Semnan would tell him that they had no information about me and direct him to Evin prison in Tehran. But at Evin prison, officials would say that they were not aware of my case and refer him back to Semnan."

Asadollah Nabavi also described the anguish that the mother of one of the victims in the prison in Semnan, Mohammad Reza Ahmadi, suffered:

"Mohammad Reza's mother used to bring him carrots during prison visits because he had told her about his deteriorating eyesight. I want to say this to show you how the system treated the families. For two whole years after the massacre, this elderly mother kept coming to Semnan's prison every Monday, with a bag of carrots. She would come all the way from Rikan village near Garmsar, which was about two hours away by bus. Each time, the prison officials told her that they had no information about her son and that she should go and come back later. As this draining process continued, the mother gradually lost her sanity."

'MY FATHER SUFFERED A FATAL HEART ATTACK'



Ardeshtir Sehat © Amnesty International

Ardeshtir Sehat and his family spent months searching for his brother, Ardavan Sehat, after he was forcibly disappeared around late July 1988 from the main prison in Ardabil, Ardabil province.¹²⁴ Ardavan Sehat was serving a prison sentence imposed in connection with his support for the PMOI. Ardeshtir Sehat told Amnesty International:

"For months, they [the prison officials] lied to my family. Sometimes they said my brother had been transferred to Tabriz' prison; other times

they said he had been transferred to Evin prison. They deliberately kept my family in limbo. My father suffered a fatal heart attack and died in early 1989. My mother continued her desperate search, going from one city to another. In the end, she learned that he had been executed and buried in a mass grave in Ali Abad cemetery in Ardabil, which was about a kilometre away from our house."¹²⁵

Mehdi Abdolrahimi, who survived the mass killings and met with Ardavan Sehat's family after he was released from prison in early 1989, told Amnesty International that the authorities even arrested and detained Ardavan Sehat's mother for several days in order to dissuade her from her search. According to Mehdi Abdolrahimi, Ardavan Sehat's mother did not learn about the execution of her son until April or May 1989.¹²⁶

¹²³ Amnesty International interviewed Asadollah Nabavi in person in October 2017.

¹²⁴ Amnesty International interviewed Ardeshtir Sehat in person in October 2017.

¹²⁵ Amnesty International interviewed Ardeshtir Sehat in person in October 2017.

¹²⁶ Amnesty International interviewed Mehdi Abdolrahimi in person in November 2017.

4.3 CRUEL NOTIFICATION OF DEATH

The manner in which the authorities notified families about the execution of their loved ones was vague, sudden and cruel, and generally included no information about the reasons for the executions or the causes and circumstances of the killings.

Initially, prison officials informed relatives when they tried to visit their loved ones. This led to protests outside the prisons. In an apparent attempt to prevent such gatherings, the authorities began telephoning families to tell them to send a male relative to the prison in their city, the prosecutor's office, the Revolutionary Court or a nearby Revolutionary Guards' office to receive information. There, they were told of the execution by the officials, and generally, they were ordered not to hold a memorial ceremony. Many parents are reported to have collapsed or suffered serious physical and mental health conditions in reaction to this news.

In many cases, relatives were sent from one room to another, forced to wait for long periods, and then suddenly given a bag that an official said contained the personal belongings of their dead relative. Sometimes, the bags contained the belongings of another prisoner or had misleading information written on them, which created uncertainty as to whether their loved ones had indeed died. For example, Rasoul Showkati, who survived the mass prisoner killings in Vakilabad prison in Mashhad, told Amnesty International about the case of Yaghoub Soleimani, who had been punished with "internal exile" and consequently transferred from Vakilabad prison in Mashhad to Gohardasht prison in Tehran prior to July 1988.¹²⁷ After family prison visits resumed in Tehran in late October 1988, Yaghoub Soleimani's mother was given a bag which the authorities said contained her son's belongings. However, on the bag, the name of the execution victim was written as "Yousef" and not "Yaghoub" and the authorities did not provide the man's mother with any information to explain the error. Rasoul Showkati says that when he visited Yaghoub Soleimani's mother in March 1989, she was still in disbelief about the death of her son.

In some cities, including Mashhad, Rasht and Ahvaz, families were not even given these last mementos. This situation aggravated the existing uncertainties of the families about the fate of their relatives and, after 30 years, some of them, particularly elderly mothers, still struggle to believe that their loved ones are indeed dead.

'HERE IS YOUR SON'S BAG; WE HAVE EXECUTED HIM'



Jafar La'li © Amnesty International

Jafar La'li's brother, Jamshid La'li, had been in prison in Khorramabad, Lorestan province, for several years when he was forcibly disappeared in late July 1988 and extrajudicially executed.¹²⁸ He was imprisoned in connection with his support for the PMOI.

Jafar La'li remains struck by the cruel way in which the authorities informed his father of the execution of his brother in late 1988.

He told Amnesty International:

"The Revolutionary Guards summoned my father to their office in Boroujerd [Lorestan province]. There, he was taken into a room and sat on a chair. An official then walked in, put a bag on his desk and said: 'Here is your son's bag; we have executed him. Now take his stuff and get out.' The official also told my father, 'You are not allowed to talk about this anywhere or attempt to locate his grave. You must not hold a ceremony either.' It was really inhumane, the sudden way in which they told my father. I think he passed out in their office for a while."¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Rasoul Showkati from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him by voice call. Amnesty International conducted two follow up interviews by voice call in October and November 2018.

¹²⁸ Amnesty International interviewed Jafar La'li in person in October 2017.

¹²⁹ Amnesty International interviewed Jafar La'li in person in October 2017.

'NO QUESTIONS ALLOWED. GET LOST OR WE WILL ARREST YOU TOO'



Fatemeh Sharif © Amnesty International

Fatemeh Sharif's brothers, Ali and Hassan Sharif, were serving lengthy terms in a prison in Babol, Mazandaran province, in connection with their support for the PMOI.¹³⁰

They were forcibly disappeared in late July 1988. She told Amnesty International that for weeks her mother went to the prison, but each time, officials said the visit had been deferred to the following week.

In early September 1988, a prison official told Fatemeh Sharif's mother that she could no longer have visits, indicating that they were dead.

Fatemeh Sharif said that the official then handed a wristwatch to her mother, saying it was her son's. When she asked for her sons' bodies, the official yelled, "No questions allowed. Get lost or else we will arrest you too."¹³¹

'MY MOTHER ASKED TO VISIT MY FATHER. THEY GAVE HER THE LOCATION OF HIS GRAVE'



Mohammad Mirza Mohammadi © Private

Gholamali Mirza Mohammadi's father, Mohammad Mirza Mohammadi, was serving a lengthy prison term in the main prison in Arak, Arak province, in connection with his support for the PMOI, when he was forcibly disappeared in late July 1988 and extrajudicially executed.¹³² He told Amnesty International that after three decades, his mother remains traumatized by the cruel way in which the authorities informed her of the execution of his father in August 1988. He said:

"In August 1988, my mother went to an office in Arak that was run by the Revolutionary Guards and prisoners' families had to approach to obtain a written permit to visit their relatives in prison. The guards blindfolded my mother before entering the premises of the building, which was at the end of a garden, and took her to an office where she was received by an official sitting behind a dark glass screen. There, my mother asked for a visitation permit. In response, the official gave her from behind the glass screen a piece of paper and said, 'With this paper, you can pay visits to your husband whenever you wish.' On the paper, the location details of a grave in Behesht Zahra cemetery in Arak was written. My mother fainted as soon as this happened. The officials then drove her to a nearby hospital, dropped her there and lied to the nurses there that they had found her in the street."¹³³

¹³⁰ Amnesty International interviewed Fatemeh Sharif in person in October 2017.

¹³¹ Amnesty International interviewed Fatemeh Sharif in person in October 2017.

¹³² Amnesty International interviewed Gholamali Mirza Mohammadi by voice call in October 2018.

¹³³ Amnesty International interviewed Gholamali Mirza Mohammadi by voice call in October 2018.

'30 YEARS ON, HIS MOTHER IS STILL WAITING FOR HIM TO COME BACK'



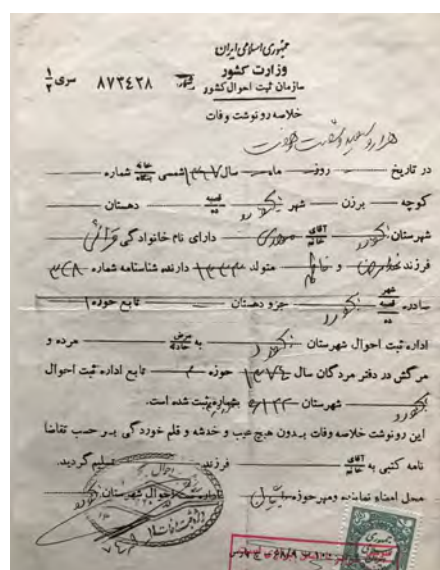
Ezzat Habibnejad with her husband Mehdi Gharaiee and their daughter. © Private

Ezzat Habibnejad's husband, Mehdi Gharaiee, was serving a lengthy prison term in Vakilabad prison in Mashhad in connection with his support for the PMOI when he was forcibly disappeared in late July 1988.¹³⁴ Ezzat Habibnejad said that the family had no information about his fate and whereabouts until early November 1988 when her father-in-law received a call from the prosecutor's office in their hometown, Bojnourd, and told to go there. Once there, she said, an official told her father-in-law that his son had been executed, asked him to sign a paper undertaking not to hold a funeral ceremony, and warned that if they made any noise, it would create "trouble" both for him and his other son. Despite their repeated requests, Ezzat Habibnejad said the authorities refused to reveal where they had buried her husband or return his personal effects.

As a result, she told Amnesty International that her mother-in-law remains in agony and disbelief that her son is dead:

"They gave us nothing, absolutely nothing. Not just to us. None of the relatives in Mashhad received the belongings of their relatives... It was hard for all of us to fathom the news and accept what had happened... Sadly, 30 years on, my mother-in-law is still waiting for Mehdi to come back. Whenever the phone rings, she jumps for it saying it might be Mehdi. When the doorbell rings, she says it might be Mehdi. She just has not been able to accept it [his death]. She still says Mehdi is alive and if he had died, they [the officials] would have returned his body or his belongings."¹³⁵

Ezzat Habibnejad said that in the early 1990s, as the emotional situation of her mother-in-law worsened, her father-in-law appealed to the prosecutor's office in Bojnourd to provide him with a written declaration of his son's death hoping that this would enable his wife to find closure. After several follow-up requests, she said, the prosecutor's office gave her father-in-law a reference letter and referred him to the office of the National Organization for Civil Registration in Bojnourd. Ultimately, in December 1995, a death certificate was issued. However, Ezzat Habibnejad said that this did not provide her mother-in-law with any certainty, particularly because the death certificate was incomplete: it provided no cause of death and recorded 1988 as the date of death without any day or month.



A copy of the death certificate issued for Mehdi Gharaiee. © Private

In some cases, the authorities stirred false hopes in families that their relatives were alive. For example, in Ahvaz, dozens of families received a telephone call from the office of the Revolutionary Guards in Ahvaz in mid-November 1988 and were told that a male relative had to go immediately to their office to receive information about their relative. Cruelly, the families were told to bring food, which raised false hopes that their relatives were alive. Once there, officials of the Revolutionary Guards took them to a barren piece of land outside the city, showed them a concrete slab, and said that their relatives were underneath it. The authorities refused to provide further information. Families believe that the authorities had poured concrete over the mass grave immediately after the burial in order to prevent them digging up the ground to confirm the deaths and identify and recover the bodies of their loved ones.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Amnesty International interviewed Ezzat Habibnejad by video call in February 2018

¹³⁵ Amnesty International interviewed Ezzat Habibnejad by video call in February 2018

¹³⁶ As of October 2018, the Iranian authorities were building a road over this mass grave. Around 20 July 2018, photo and video evidence surfaced that showed that the concrete structure marking the mass grave, as well as dozens of nearby individual graves which belonged to political dissidents executed in the early 1980s, had been smashed to pieces. For more information, see Amnesty International, "Iran: Road to be built over individual and mass graves", 26 July 2018 (Index: [MDE 13/8828/2018](#)).

4.4 MISLEADING INFORMATION

In the months and years following late July 1988, some families were given contradictory information about the fate of their loved ones, with officials first saying that the prisoner had been executed and then declaring them alive, or vice versa. This meant families kept going to different government offices and seeking contacts in their search for accurate information.

Two former prisoners, Asadollah Nabavi from Semnan, central Iran, and Rasoul Showkati from Mashhad, north-eastern Iran, told Amnesty International that, in the years following the mass prisoner killings, some families received false information via mysterious phone calls from men believed to be affiliated with security and intelligence bodies. The men provided various false information, such as that their relatives were alive but had moved abroad, or had been transferred to a remote prison or an infamous island in the Persian Gulf where individuals convicted of drug-related offences were held in squalid camps in the 1980s.¹³⁷ These phone calls aggravated the uncertainty of families and made them doubt that their relatives had indeed died.

Asadollah Nabavi told Amnesty International about two families in Semnan who had received such phone calls in the late 1980s.¹³⁸ The unidentified caller said that their relatives were alive in a remote military camp between Garmsar and Varamin in Semnan province where prisoners of the Iran-Iraq war used to be held. Asadollah Nabavi said: “This was their way of torturing families and preventing them from knowing what exactly had happened. They meant to throw families into uncertainty.”¹³⁹

‘THEY TORTURED FAMILIES MENTALLY’



Ali Mirshahi © Private

Rasoul Showkati was imprisoned in Vakilabad prison in Mashhad during the mass prisoner killings of 1988.¹⁴⁰ He had been in prison since the early 1980s in connection with his support for the Organization of Revolutionary Workers in Iran (Rah-e Kargar), a secular leftist opposition organization.

After his release in March 1989, he contacted the families of some of his former cell mates who he understood had been secretly executed during the July-September prisoner killings. As a result, he realized the authorities were inflicting further pain on the families by giving them conflicting information.

Rasoul Showkati referred to the case of Ali Mirshahi who had been in prison since the early 1980s in connection with his support for the PMOI. He was 19 years old at the time of his arrest.

Rasoul Showkati said that, when he visited Ali Mirshahi's family in March 1989, the authorities had not yet given the family any clear information on whether Ali Mirshahi was dead or alive.

A stranger believed to be affiliated with the intelligence and security bodies had called his family a few times and indicated that their son was alive and had been transferred from Vakilabad prison in Mashhad to a prison in Shahroud in Semnan province.

The family went to Shahroud only to learn that their son was not there.

¹³⁷ Amir Kianpour, “The Islamic Republic of camps: Segments of a four decade long holy fight against addiction”, Radio Zamanah, 27 December 2015, www.radiozamanah.com/252989

¹³⁸ Amnesty International interviewed Asadollah Nabavi in person in October 2017. The names of the families have been withheld to protect their security.

¹³⁹ Amnesty International interviewed Asadollah Nabavi in person in October 2017.

¹⁴⁰ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Rasoul Showkati from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him by voice call. Amnesty International conducted two follow up interviews by voice call in October and November 2018.

'THEY THREATENED TO ARREST HIS MOTHER IF SHE CONTINUED HER SEARCH'



Mohammad Hoshi © Justice for Iran

Mohammad Hoshi survived the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Dastgerd prison in Esfahan.¹⁴¹ He had been in prison since 1981 in connection with his support for the Minority faction of Fadaiyan, a secular leftist political organization. He was 17 years old at the time of his arrest. Following his release in February 1989, he contacted the family of one of his closest friends in prison, Sirous Asgari, and discovered that the authorities had kept his family in the dark as to his fate and whereabouts.

Mohammad Hoshi told Amnesty International that in early September 1988, Sirous Asgari's family had received a call from the prosecutor's office in Esfahan saying that their son had been executed. Several weeks later, they received another call from the same office saying that a mistake had been made and Sirous Asgari was alive. The family spent weeks trying to find more information. Ultimately, they learned through a well-connected contact that Sirous Asgari had been executed.

Over the following months, the family repeatedly went to the prosecutor's office in Esfahan to find out where Sirous Asgari was buried. Mohammad Hoshi said that he last spoke to Sirous Asgari's mother in April 1990 before he left Iran and by then she had been forced to end her search as the authorities had threatened her with imprisonment if she persisted.

4.5 DEATH CERTIFICATES: DENIED OR FALSIFIED

The systematic concealment of the fate of the victims and location of their remains also involved not providing families with death certificates¹⁴² and responding to families' requests for death certificates by issuing ones that are in many cases inaccurate, misleading or incomplete about the causes, circumstances and dates of the death.

The vast majority of families interviewed by Amnesty International said that they did not think of seeking death certificates owing to the climate of fear and shock, and the refusal of the authorities, in general, to provide information. Research conducted by Amnesty International suggests that some relatives also did not seek death certificates as a conscious act of resistance because the authorities had refused to return the bodies and clarify the causes and circumstances of the killings.

Families who applied for death certificates generally did so to resolve administrative and legal difficulties. A few families said they sought death certificates in an attempt to end the debilitating uncertainty that they experienced about whether their imprisoned relative was dead or alive. In these cases, the authorities often included falsified details on the death certificates.

Amnesty International obtained the death certificates of nine individuals who were executed during the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 (see table 2). For one of the victims, Sayed Morteza Mirmohammadi, two contradictory death certificates were issued.

Only two of the 10 certificates record the cause of death as execution; six cite "natural" causes or simply "death", while two provide no cause. Only one of the death certificates records the place of death; the other nine do not even include this as a category. Regarding the date of death, a full date is given in eight cases, while, in one case, only the year is provided and, in another, the date is recorded as "unknown". In at least three of the eight certificates where a full date is given, the recorded dates (20 September, 2 October and 22

¹⁴¹ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Mohammad Hoshi from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him in person. Amnesty International conducted two follow-up interviews with Mohammad Hoshi by voice call in October and November 2018.

¹⁴² See International Committee of the Red Cross, *Guidelines for investigating deaths in custody*, October 2013, www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/publications/icrc-002-4126.pdf, p. 25.

October) are later than the period of late July-early September when survivors say mass executions took place in Evin and Gohardasht prisons in Tehran.¹⁴³ This raises concerns that they may be inaccurate.

International standards require that where a state agent has caused the death of a person in custody, the death must be immediately reported to an independent and impartial body for a prompt, impartial, and effective investigation into the circumstances and causes of the death. This is regardless of whether the relatives of the deceased have requested such an investigation. States are also under the obligation to provide the deceased's next of kin with all relevant documentation including a complete death certificate.¹⁴⁴

TABLE 2: SUMMARY OF INFORMATION IN DEATH CERTIFICATES OF NINE VICTIMS OF MASS PRISONER KILLINGS OF 1988

NO.	NAME	CAUSE OF DEATH	DATE OF DEATH	PLACE OF DEATH
1	Ali Asghar Zighami	Death	20 September 1988	[No such category]
2	Ghorban Ali Shokri	Natural	11 September 1988	[No such category]
3	Sayed Morteza Mirmohammadi [issued two conflicting certificates]	1) Death 2) [Left Blank]	1) 3 September 1988 2) Unknown	1) [No such category] 2) Azna, Lorestan province
4	[Name withheld by Amnesty International]	Execution	31 July 1988	[No such category]
5	[Name withheld by Amnesty International]	Execution	9 August 1988	[No such category]
6	Mahmoud Behkish	Death	22 October 1988	[No such category]
7	Mehdi Gharayee	[Left blank]	1988 [Day and month left blank]	[No such category]
8	Mohsen Delijani	Death	21 August 1988	[No such category]
9	Asghar Mahboub	Natural	2 October 1988	[No such category]

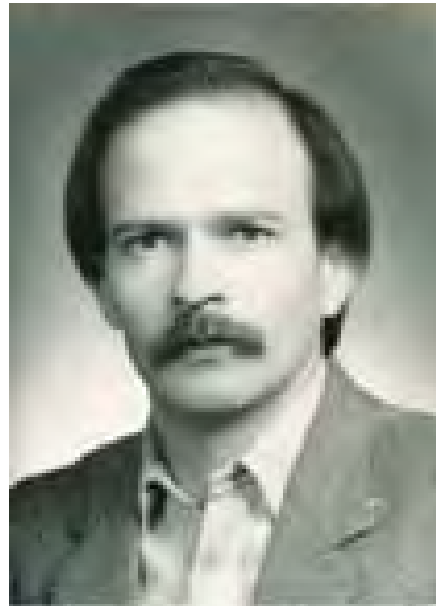
¹⁴³ See Iraj Mesdaghi, *Dance of the Phoenixes and Song of the Ash (Rags-e Qoqnus-ha Va Avaz Khakestar)*, 2011, p. 78, and Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry, p. 4.

¹⁴⁴ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Revision of the UN Manual on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions (the Minnesota Protocol)* 2017, www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/MinnesotaProtocol.pdf, para. 17.

'WE STILL ASK WHY'



A copy of the death certificate issued for Ali Asghar Zighami.
© Private



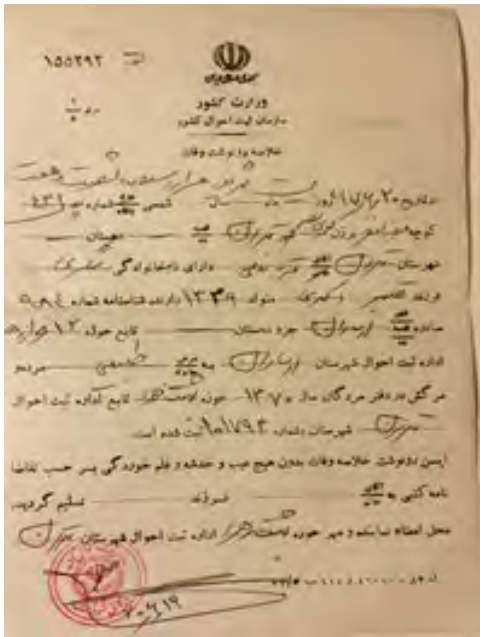
Ali Asghar Zighami © Private

Ali Asghar Zighami was held in Evin prison and executed during the mass killings of July-September 1988. At the time of his enforced disappearance in late July, he was about two months from completing his sentence, which had been imposed in connection with his support for the Majority faction of Fadaian, a secular leftist political organization. In late 1988, the officials at Evin prison told his family that he had been executed. The authorities provided no additional information, nor did they return his body. Several months later, in 1989, the authorities issued a death certificate, which Ali Asghar Zighami's family needed for administrative purposes. The death certificate, which was given to his family in Evin Prison, made no reference to his execution in prison. Instead, it cited the cause of his death as "death". Three decades on, Ali Asghar Zighami's wife and children continue to suffer from physical and mental health conditions brought about by his extrajudicial execution and the authorities' continued refusal to shed light on his fate and reveal the location of his remains.

His wife, Mina Labadi, told Amnesty International: "I need to know the real cause of my husband's death... After all these years, my children and I remain in disbelief. We have not yet been able to come to terms with his loss and still ask why."¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Amnesty International interviewed Mina Labadi by voice call in October 2018.

THE AUTHORITIES CLAIMED HE DIED 'NATURALLY'



A copy of the death certificate issued for Ghorban Ali Shokri.
© Private



Ghorban Ali Shokri © Private



A copy of an official letter stating that Ghorban Ali Shokri was executed in 1988 and his wife had requested social assistance.
© Private

Ghorban Ali Shokri was forcibly disappeared in late July 1988 while in Gohardasht prison in Karaj and extrajudicially executed. At the time, he was serving a sentence imposed in connection with his support for Sahand, a communist group. He had been arrested in August 1985 with his wife and child, who also spent four years in prison.

Following his enforced disappearance, his wife repeatedly wrote to prison officials, asking for information and requesting a copy of his last letter of wishes if he was dead. Her letters remained unanswered.

In the early 1990s, the authorities finally issued a death certificate that noted 11 September 1988 as the date of death. The death certificate stated that he had died "naturally" and made no reference to the fact that he had been executed in prison.

This information contradicts an official letter that his wife had obtained a year earlier as part of her application for social assistance, and that confirmed that Ghorban Ali Shokri had been executed in 1988.

CONFLICTING DEATH CERTIFICATES

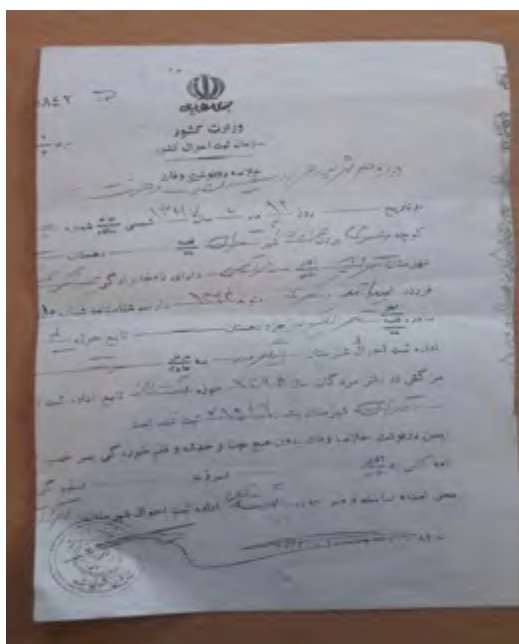


Sayed Morteza Mirmohammadi © Private

Sayed Morteza Mirmohammadi was extrajudicially executed in Evin prison during the mass killings of July-September 1988. At the time of his enforced disappearance in late July, he was serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with his support for the PMOI.

The authorities provided the family with two contradictory death certificates.¹⁴⁶ The first, issued in 1989 or 1990, cited “death” as the cause of death and claimed that it occurred on 3 September 1988 even though survivors from Tehran have said that the wave of mass executions targeting PMOI prisoners in Evin prison took place between late July and mid-August.¹⁴⁷

The second death certificate, issued about 10 years later in 1999 or 2000, left the box related to the cause of death blank and stated that the date of death was “unknown”. It identified the city of Azna in Lorestan province, south-western Iran, as the place of death even though Sayed Morteza Mirmohammadi was known to be in Evin prison in Tehran until late July 1988, when he disappeared.



Copies of the two death certificates issued for Sayed Morteza Mirmohammadi, who was subjected to enforced disappearance and extrajudicially killed during the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Evin prison in Tehran. © Private

In researching the issue of death certification, Amnesty International also obtained information suggesting that, while the Iranian authorities generally refrained from issuing death certificates automatically, in some cases they put pressure on families to hand over the original national identity booklet (*shenasnameh*) of their executed relative to the authorities for annulment and sign statements declaring that the death was caused by illness or natural causes.

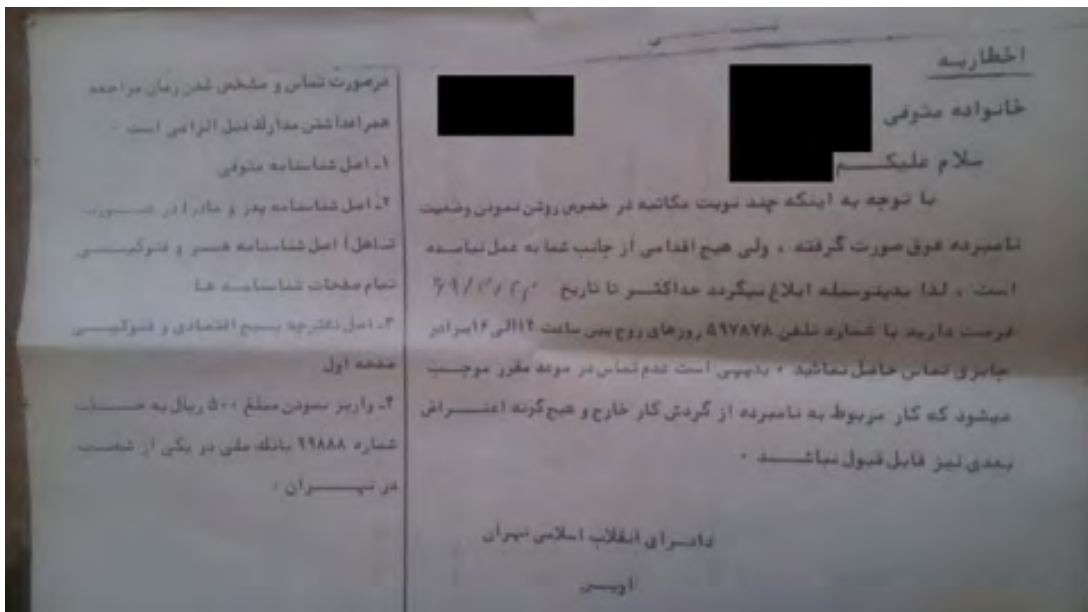
Mohammad Zand's brother Reza Zand was executed during the mass killings in Tehran. At the time of his enforced disappearance in late July 1988, he was serving a prison term imposed in connection with his

¹⁴⁶ The circumstances that led to the authorities issuing two different certificates are not clear to Amnesty International.

¹⁴⁷ See section 7.2. See also Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry, pp. 45-61.

support for the PMOI. He told Amnesty International that, when the prosecutor's office in Evin prison informed his father of the execution of his brother in late 1988, they put pressure on his father to submit his son's national identity booklet to the authorities for nullification and promised that, if he complied with the request, he would be told where his son had been buried. Mohammad Zand said that his father did not comply with the request because the authorities were refusing to acknowledge in writing that the death resulted from execution and wanted him to sign a paper that stated Reza Zand had "passed away."¹⁴⁸ Mohammad Zand said that his father loudly protested against this attempt by the authorities to falsify the details of his brother's death; in response, the authorities arbitrarily detained his father for three days and subjected him to torture and other ill-treatment, including multiple mock executions.

Amnesty International also interviewed the sibling of an execution victim¹⁴⁹ whose father had received several official letters and phone calls from the prosecutor's office in Evin prison in late 1988 and 1989, asking him to call a man by the name of "Jaberi" in the office by a certain date to arrange an appointment for the purpose of "clarifying the status of the deceased" and annulling their national identity booklet. The family member said that, at the prosecutor's office in Evin prison, their father was told to sign a paper that stated his son had died at home from illness. The authorities promised that, if he signed the statement, he would be told where his son had been buried. The father did not accept the request.



Copy of a follow-up letter sent by the prosecutor's office in Evin prison to a family asking them to call "Jaberi" by 14 June 1990 to arrange an appointment to "clarify the status of the deceased". The letter lists several identification documents that the family had to bring, including the national identity booklet of the deceased. The letter threatens that if the family does not act as instructed, the file of the deceased will be closed and no further complaint will be allowed. Names have been redacted by Amnesty International for security reasons. © Private

However, not every family had the option of refusing to accept the falsification of their relative's death record. Some had to accept in order to resolve pressing legal and administrative issues affecting their and their children's access to education, health care, housing, travel documents and other social services. This inflicted additional pain on families.

¹⁴⁸ Amnesty International interviewed Mohammad Zand in person in March 2018 and conducted a follow up interview by voice call in September 2018.

¹⁴⁹ The name of the family member has been withheld to protect their security. Amnesty International interviewed this person through secure messaging applications to ask questions and receive information from witnesses based inside Iran. These individuals requested anonymity due to fear of reprisal.

HIS HOME ADDRESS IS RECORDED AS PLACE OF DEATH



Effat Moridi (known as Mother Moinee) with the picture of her son Heibatollah Moinee. © Private

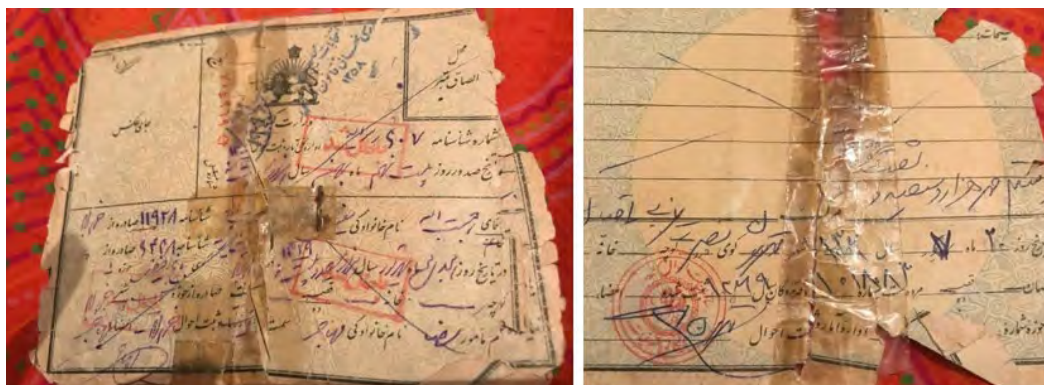
Khatereh Moinee's brother Heibatollah Moinee was executed during the mass prisoner killings in Evin prison in Tehran.¹⁵⁰ At the time of his enforced disappearance in July 1988, he was serving a prison term imposed in connection with his support for the Majority faction of Fadaayan, a secular leftist political organization.

In the late 1980s, his family needed to annul his national identity booklet in order to resolve an administrative issue related to securing a passport for his wife. When referring to the office of the National Organization for Civil Registration in Tehran to file the application for annulment, the family was asked to sign a paper stating that Heibatollah Moinee had died of "natural causes". The annulment identified the address of his home at the time of arrest as the place of death.

Khatereh Moinee told Amnesty International:

"My mother raised her voice and protested, 'What is this? My child was here in your custody.' The official said, 'Do you want the certificate or not?' She said, 'Yes'. He then said, 'So sign here or I will tear it up right now.'"¹⁵¹

Khatereh Moinee remembers her mother crying uncontrollably while leaving the office.



Copy of the annulled national identity booklet of Heibatollah Moinee. © Private

¹⁵⁰ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Khatereh Moinee from Justice for Iran, which conducted an interview with her in person. Amnesty International conducted additional interviews in person and by voice call in October 2018.

¹⁵¹ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Khatereh Moinee from Justice for Iran, which conducted an interview with her in person. Amnesty International conducted additional interviews in person and by voice call in October 2018.

5. HIDING THE BODIES

“We are effectively faced with a situation where thousands of bodies have ‘disappeared’.”

Hassan Golzari, survivor of the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988¹⁵²

5.1 SECRET BURIALS

The Iranian authorities secretly buried the remains of the victims of the enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions in July-September 1988 in unmarked individual or mass graves and, in most cases, refused to inform families about the locations. For the past three decades, those locations have been treated as a state secret.

Amnesty International is aware of only five cities - Ahvaz, Ardabil, Ilam, Mashhad and Rudsar - where the authorities ultimately told some families verbally that their loved ones were buried in mass graves and revealed their locations. However, publicly and officially, the authorities have never acknowledged that any mass graves exist in the country.

In Ilam, families were only able to confirm the information given to them by opening the mass grave discreetly and away from the eyes of intelligence and security services. As a result, they were not able to extract and rebury the bodies individually (see section 5.3).

In Ardabil, the mother of an execution victim, Ardavan Sehat, managed to obtain an exhumation licence. Following the exhumation of the mass grave, which was located in a cemetery called Ali Abad in Ardabil, the bodies of Ardavan Sehat and three or four other prisoners were extracted and reburied individually. Families subsequently installed headstones but Ardavan Sehat's brother, Ardeshtir Sehat, told Amnesty International that intelligence and security officials repeatedly broke and destroyed them. The whereabouts of several other prisoners who were serving prison terms in Ardabil prison prior to the mass enforced disappearances of July 1988 remain unknown.¹⁵³

In Ahvaz, the authorities poured concrete over the mass grave immediately after the burial in an apparent effort to prevent families from digging up the ground.¹⁵⁴ In Mashhad and Rudsar, the sites were placed under strict surveillance, preventing families from even holding a gathering let alone conducting exhumations. As of October 2018, all these three sites were at risk of being destroyed completely by the construction of roads and buildings.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Hassan Golzari from Justice for Iran, which conducted an interview with him in person.

¹⁵³ *Landscape of pain*, “Ardabil”, www.painscapes.com/cities/516

¹⁵⁴ See Amnesty International and Justice for Iran, *Criminal cover-up: Iran destroying mass graves of victims of 1988 killings* (Index: [MDE 13/8259/2018](#)), pp. 9-11.

¹⁵⁵ For Ahvaz and Mashhad, see Amnesty International, “Iran: Road to be built over individual and mass graves”, 26 July 2018 (Index: [MDE 13/8828/2018](#)); Amnesty International and Justice for Iran, *Criminal cover-up: Iran destroying mass graves of victims of 1988 killings* (Index: [MDE 13/8259/2018](#)), pp. 9-15. See *Landscape of pain*, “Rudsar”, www.painscapes.com/city-category/18?city=%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%AF%D8%B3%D8%B1

Amnesty International is also aware of at least seven cities - Bandar Anzali, Esfahan, Hamedan, Masjed Soleiman, Shiraz, Semnan and Tehran - where the authorities referred some families to individual graves that they claimed contained the bodies of their loved ones. However, the organization is aware of concerns among many survivors and family members that the authorities may have deceived them, particularly in Tehran, Shiraz and Bandar Anzali, and the individual graves may in fact be empty (see section 5.2).

In the rest of the country, families have either remained in darkness or managed to identify, through low-level prison guards, informal government contacts, cemetery workers or locals in the area, among others, locations that are suspected of containing the remains of the victims in mass graves.¹⁵⁶ Amnesty International is aware of two cases - Qorveh, in Kurdistan province, western Iran and Khavaran in the south-east of Tehran - where the families were able to confirm the presence of mass graves by digging the ground and extracting body parts (see section 5.3).

The Iranian authorities have never acknowledged the existence of any mass grave in the country, yet they have put most suspected and confirmed mass graves sites under close surveillance and prevented families and members of the public from holding commemorative gatherings at the sites or decorating them with flowers, pictures and memorial messages. In several cases, the authorities have also poured concrete on the site.¹⁵⁷ All this has created a climate of fear where families are too scared to apply for exhumation licences and search for bodies believed to be buried in mass graves.



A suspected mass grave site near the village of Tolbozan near Masjed Soleiman in Khuzestan province, which has been covered in concrete. Locals believe that the graves contain the remains of some of the political dissidents killed during the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988. © Justice for Iran

In more recent years, the climate of fear and secrecy has been reinforced by activities aimed at destroying suspected and confirmed mass grave sites, including by bulldozing the sites; hiding the sites beneath new, individual burial plots; and constructing concrete slabs, buildings or roads over them.¹⁵⁸ In at least one case, Amnesty International is aware that the destruction of the mass grave sites was undertaken by a judicial order (see the case of Qorveh in section 5.3).

¹⁵⁶ For more information on the history and current status of some of these suspected mass grave sites, see *Landscape of pain*, "Khavaran", www.painscapes.com/cities

¹⁵⁷ See, for example, the cases of the suspected mass graves in Bala cemetery in Zanjan; Tolbozan in Masjed Soleiman, and Agha Sayed Morteza cemetery in Lahijan in *Landscape of pain*, www.painscapes.com/cities

¹⁵⁸ For more information, see Amnesty International and Justice for Iran, *Criminal cover-up: Iran destroying mass graves of victims of 1988 killings* (Index: MDE 13/8259/2018); *Landscape of pain*, "Khavaran", www.painscapes.com/city-category/18?city=%D8%AE%D8%A7%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%86

TABRIZ



Three satellite images taken (from top to bottom) in June 2017, August 2017 and September 2017. They show the progress of construction over a suspected mass grave in Vadih Rahmat cemetery in Tabriz, East Azerbaijan province. © Map data: Google, DigitalGlobe, 2017



The suspected mass grave site in Vadih Rahmat cemetery before and after the site underwent destruction in 2017. © People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (top picture). © Shahryar News (bottom picture)

A plot of land near the entrance of Vadih Rahmat cemetery in Tabriz, East Azerbaijan province, is suspected of being a mass grave containing the remains of dozens of political dissidents who were forcibly disappeared from Tabriz prison and extrajudicially executed between July and September 1988. The suspected mass grave is in an area known as the children's block, which also holds individual graves of political dissidents summarily executed in the early 1980s. As in many other cases, the families believe this is a mass grave site largely on the basis of information they obtained unofficially from government contacts and locals in late 1988 and early 1989.

According to local media reports, in June 2017, the Cemeteries Organization of Tabriz, which oversees the management of the city's cemeteries, initiated a project to convert the area suspected of being a mass grave site into an open space for official ceremonies.¹⁵⁹ Since then, the authorities have poured concrete over more than half of the area. Pictures and satellite images obtained by Amnesty International (see above) confirm drastic changes to the area between June and September 2017, when completion of the open space was announced.

¹⁵⁹ Nasle Tadbir, "The site for holding memorial ceremonies for martyrs buried in Vadih Rahmat was officially opened", 29 September 2017, www.nasletadbir.ir/news/100928

RASHT



The suspected mass grave site in Tazeh Abad cemetery before new individual burial plots were developed in 2008.
© PishtazanRaheAzadi



New individual burial plots being constructed over the suspected site of mass graves in Tazeh Abad cemetery. © Akhbar Rooz

According to the testimonies of eyewitnesses obtained by Amnesty International, the bodies of political dissidents killed in July-September 1988 in Rasht, Gilan province, were dumped into three or four trenches dug in an outlying part of Rasht's Tazeh Abad cemetery, the city's main burial ground. Each trench was estimated to measure around 9m². Since 2008, the authorities have constructed new individual burial plots on top of the suspected mass grave site and sold many of them. A family member who talked to several owners of the new burial plots reported that the authorities have not informed the new owners about the potential presence of the mass grave.

5.2 FAKE GRAVES?

Some of the survivors and family members given the location of an individual grave, particularly in Tehran, Shiraz and Bandar Anzali, believe that the authorities may have deceived them and that the graves may in fact be empty. In almost all cases where the authorities provided information about grave locations, the victim had been imprisoned and killed in connection with their support for the PMOI.¹⁶⁰

BEHESHT ZAHRA CEMETERY, TEHRAN

In November 2017, Amnesty International learned that a grave in Behesht Zahra cemetery in Tehran which the authorities had attributed to a victim of the mass prisoner killings in Tehran had been discovered to be empty.¹⁶¹ An individual in contact with the victim's family in Iran told the organization that the family only discovered this in June 2017, when they tried to bury another relative in the same grave. Cemetery workers preparing the plot told the family that the ground beneath the headstone was untouched and contained no bones or other remains. The individual interviewed by Amnesty International said:

"The siblings of the victim did not tell their elderly mother that the grave supposedly belonging to her deceased child was empty as this would have been enough for her to suffer a total mental breakdown. For years, she had visited the grave site every week."

The case highlights the concerns of many survivors and family members that the individual graves in Behesht Zahra cemetery attributed to the victims of the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 may be fake.

¹⁶⁰ Exceptional cases include two individual graves in Behesht Zahra cemetery in Tehran which the authorities have attributed to two prisoners, Mansour Davaran and Ebrahim Najaran, who were executed during the mass killings in Gohardasht prison in connection with their support for leftist organizations. It is possible that they may have had a distant connection to the PMOI in their file. See Iraj Mesdaghi, *Dance of the Phoenixes and Song of the Ash (Raqs-e Qoqnus-ha Va Avaz Khakestar)*, 2011, p. 147.

¹⁶¹ The name of the victim and the source of information have been withheld by Amnesty International in order to protect the safety of the family.

Amnesty International understands that there are several hundred individual graves across the cemetery which the authorities have identified as the burial location of the victims of the mass prisoner killings of 1988, including in lots 87, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 104, 105, 106 and 108 (see annex 4). It remains unclear to Amnesty International on what basis the Iranian authorities decided to identify marked individual graves for a limited number of victims while hiding the burial location of thousands of other victims.

Several factors were brought to the attention of Amnesty International in support of the concern that the individual graves identified by the authorities may be fake. For instance, there are reports that the gravestones marking these sites were erected, mostly in late 1988 and early 1989, without any sign of prior digging and burial in the area.¹⁶² This development was around the time that the authorities were preparing for the first visit of the UN Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran. Some families and survivors suspect that the authorities may have put up the individual gravestones in Behesht Zahra cemetery in an attempt to trivialize the number of those killed and show that the location of their remains were known. They believe that the victims whose names appear on the individual gravestones were actually buried in mass graves along with several thousand other victims whose bodies remain missing.

The authorities have kept the location of these remains a secret, but, in addition to Khavaran, some cemented areas in Behesht Zahra cemetery, notably in lots 99 and 108, and some deserted lands in the vicinity of Behesht Sakineh cemetery near Karaj have been identified as potential mass grave sites. Amnesty International obtained the testimony of a former prisoner, Mina Hashemi, who said that she talked to a woman in August or September 1988 who had seen officials secretly dumping bodies at night in several freshly dug trenches in lot 108.¹⁶³

Another cause for concern is that the vast majority of the individual gravestones in Behesht Zahra cemetery which Amnesty International understands have been attributed by the authorities to the victims of the mass killings of 1988 are not listed in the official burial registers of the cemetery. Amnesty International obtained the pictures of 335 such gravestones. The organization searched for the details of the gravestones in the online burial registers of the Organization of Behesht Zahra and found that only three were registered (see annex 4).¹⁶⁴

The online database of the Organization of Behesht Zahra seeks to record the details of every grave in the cemetery, including the names of all those buried in each grave and their date of birth and death. Amnesty International is unclear how comprehensive the database is and whether and to what extent the irregularities seen with regards to the registration of graves attributed to execution victims are also prevalent in the cases of deaths not caused by execution. Nevertheless, the fact that over 99% of the graves attributed to the victims of the mass killings of 1988 are missing from the cemetery's online burial records raises serious concerns and makes the investigation and exhumation of the individual graves all the more crucial to the establishment of the truth about the burial location of each victim.

Further doubts have been raised by the finding that in at least two cases, two separate graves in different lots of the cemetery have been attributed to the same victim. As far as Amnesty International is aware, the authorities have neither offered any explanation for this, nor allowed exhumations to establish the truth.

¹⁶² Iraj Mesdaghi, *Dance of the Phoenixes and Song of the Ash (Raqs-e Qoqnus-ha Va Avaz Khakestar)*, p. 146.

¹⁶³ The testimony was made available to Amnesty International by Justice for Iran and is available at *Landscape of Pain*, "Tehran, Behesht Zahra, Lot 108", www.painscapes.com/cities/545

¹⁶⁴ Amnesty International obtained the pictures of 377 individual gravestones that the organization was told were located in Behesht Zahra cemetery in Tehran and belonged to the victims of the mass prisoner killings of 1988. The pictures came from two sources. Iraj Mesdaghi, a survivor of the mass killings who has done extensive research on the mass prisoner killings of 1988, reproduced the pictures of 371 such individual gravestones in his book *Dance of the Phoenixes and Song of the Ash*. Another survivor, Mahmoud Royayee, provided Amnesty International with 190 pictures of gravestones, of which only seven were not reproduced in Iraj Mesdaghi's book. In order to corroborate that the 377 pictures that it received were of the individual gravestones of the victims of the mass prisoner killings of 1988, Amnesty International searched the names inscribed on the gravestones in three of the following sources: The first one is the database of the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, which seeks to record every execution that has been carried out in Iran since 1979; the second one is a list compiled by the PMOI entitled "Crimes Against Humanity", which records the names and details of 4,969 PMOI members who the organization says were killed during the mass prisoner killings of 1988; the third one is a list compiled by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran, which has recorded 4,672 individuals killed during the mass prisoner killings in 1988 who were affiliated with the PMOI or leftist or other political opposition groups. Amnesty International excluded 42 of the pictures of the graves from the scope of its work as the names inscribed on them were not found in any of the three sources. Amnesty International searched for the details of the remaining 337 gravestones in the online database of the Organization of Behesht Zahra.

The first case concerns Hossein Safaieezadeh, who has one grave attributed to him in lot 104 and another in lot 98. Both gravestones bear the same dates of birth and death and father's name.¹⁶⁵ The second concerns Sedigheh Ansi, who has two graves attributed to her, one in lot 98 and another in lot 99.¹⁶⁶



Pictures of two gravestones in lots 98 (left) and 104 (right) in Behesht Zahra cemetery in Tehran, which are attributed to the same person, Hossein Safaieezadeh, a victim of the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Tehran. © Private



Pictures of two gravestones in lots 99 (left) and 98 (right) in Behesht Zahra cemetery, which are both attributed to Sedigheh Ansi, a victim of the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Tehran. © Iraj Mesdaghi

¹⁶⁵ This information was obtained through two sources. Mohammad Royayee, a survivor, mentioned the case to Amnesty International and provided it with the pictures of the two individual graves. Another survivor, Iraj Mesdaghi, has included the same information, with a picture taken from a slightly different angle, in his book *Dance of the Phoenixes and Song of the Ash (Raqs-e Qoqnus-ha Va Avaz Khakestar)*, pp. 146, 213, 247.

¹⁶⁶ Amnesty International read about this case in Iraj Mesdaghi, *Dance of the Phoenixes and Song of the Ash (Raqs-e Qoqnus-ha Va Avaz Khakestar)*, pp. 146, 208, 220.

DAROLRAHMEH CEMETERY, SHIRAZ

In Shiraz, nearly 200 imprisoned political dissidents, both men and women, were forcibly disappeared from Adelabad prison in late July 1988 and extrajudicially executed. To date, the location of their bodies remains a secret.

The majority of the victims are believed to have been buried in a mass grave that at the time was on the outskirts of Darolrahmeh cemetery in Shiraz, near the individual grave sites of those executed in the early 1980s. The families identified the location through local contacts and cemetery workers who reported seeing officials making trenches with excavators and secretly dumping bodies at night during the period of July-September 1988.

In the following years, the families put small gravestones and cement structures on the site to mark the names of their loved ones. A local source, whose name has been withheld for security reasons, has said that the authorities repeatedly broke and removed them. They also painted over signs indicating that the area contained the bodies of the victims of the mass prisoner killings of 1988.¹⁶⁷

Satellite images and pictures indicate that, in recent years, new burial plots have been constructed over the suspected mass grave site.¹⁶⁸

A minority of the families were directed by the authorities, after several months of persistent searching, to over a dozen individual graves scattered across Darolrahmeh cemetery and told verbally that their relatives were buried there. It is not clear on what basis a small percentage of the victims were identified, or why the graves are scattered given that the victims were killed during the same period.

Initially, there were no markers on these graves. In the years that followed, families installed headstones. However, many of them doubt that the graves contain the remains of their loved ones.

In a confidential testimony obtained by Amnesty International, a survivor of the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 from Adelabad prison in Shiraz said:



Fatemeh Zarei with her son. © Private

“We [the survivors] and the families have never been sure because no one ever saw the bodies. They [the authorities] would just show some burial spots saying Afsaneh is in this grave, Zahra lies here and Fatemeh is there. Whether this is the truth or not, none of us are certain. What if they [the authorities] had dumped all of them [the victims] into one trench and then shown some burial plots to the families and deceptively claimed that their loved ones were buried there?”¹⁶⁹

Chowra Makaremi, who lost her mother, Fatemeh Zarei, during the mass prisoner killings in the same city, said that her grandmother was told by the owner of a nearby burial plot that the individual grave attributed to Fatemeh Zarei was an old grave belonging to a person who had died years before.¹⁷⁰ Chowra Makaremi said that, after this incident, her grandmother would no longer visit the grave site. To date, she and her family remain uncertain as to where the remains of her mother are buried.

¹⁶⁷ See *Landscape of Pain*, “Shiraz”, www.painscapes.com/cities/790

¹⁶⁸ See *Landscape of Pain*, “Shiraz”, www.painscapes.com/cities/790

¹⁶⁹ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of this survivor from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with them.

¹⁷⁰ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Chowra Makaremi from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with her in person.

5.3 OPENED GRAVES

Of the dozens of confirmed or suspected mass grave sites across Iran, Amnesty International is aware of only four sites where, in 1988, the families were able to secretly exhume and identify the bodies of their loved ones. These sites are near the cities of Ilam, Ardabil, Qorveh and Tehran.

Even in these cases, anguish persists as the families remain unaware of the full circumstances in which their loved ones were killed. Family members interviewed by Amnesty International have also repeatedly voiced their outrage, anger and pain over being deprived of the basic right to bury their loved ones in dignity and in accordance with their cultural and religious traditions and mourn their loss.

ILAM



Pictures of five young women who were extrajudicially executed during the mass killings of July-September 1988 in Ilam. Their bodies were found by their families in a mass grave on the outskirts of Saleh Abad cemetery outside Ilam. Their names are (from top left to bottom right): Jasoumeh Heidarizadeh; Hakimeh Rizehbandi; Nasrin Rajabi; Farah Islami; and Marzieh Rahmati. © Private

In Ilam, prisoners held for politically motivated reasons were denied communication with the outside world in late July 1988 and families did not know if their relatives were dead or alive for several months until the authorities ultimately told them that they had executed their relatives four months earlier, on 9 August 1988.¹⁷¹ The authorities did not return the bodies and initially provided no information about the location of burial. In late November, families received a call from an official asking them to present themselves at the revolutionary court in Ilam. There, the authorities subjected them to threats and forced them to sign undertakings that they would not hold any memorial service for their loved ones. They also handed them an address and a number, saying it was the location where their relatives were buried. The site was on a hill on the outskirts of Saleh Abad cemetery outside Ilam, reachable via an unpaved road. At the site, families found a series of wooden boards on the ground with numbers written on them corresponding to the ones they had been given.

¹⁷¹ Ilam is a rare case where the authorities informed families orally of the exact date of execution.

Amnesty International accessed the testimony of Neda Rahmati who said that her father opened the mass grave discreetly and at night as he struggled to believe that his daughter was in fact buried there. She described the horrific scene after her family opened the mass grave:

“It was a shallow trench containing seven bodies put in a row next to each other... The bodies were wrapped in plastic sheets and a small piece of shroud was just covering the women’s breasts... My father found my sister’s body. There were multiple gunshot wounds on one part of her chest. She had been put in a plastic bag tightly wrapped from head to toe... They [the authorities] claim they are Muslim and bury the dead in an ethical way but there was nothing of the sort here. It was clear that they had just dug a trench and dumped the bodies there.”¹⁷²

Amnesty International understands that the bodies found in the mass grave have been identified as two men – Mohammad Nabi Morovvati and Nosratollah Bakhtiari - and five women - Farah Eslami, Jasoumeh Heidarzadeh, Hakimeh Rizehbandi, Nasrin Rajabi and Marzieh Rahmati.¹⁷³ Near this mass grave, there were two additional wooden boards that marked the place that the authorities said contained the remains of two other victims, Abdollah Naseri and Mousa Ne’mati.

Amnesty International understands that, for many years, the authorities repeatedly broke and damaged the gravestones and commemorative signs that families placed over their loved ones’ graves, but this has stopped in recent years.¹⁷⁴

QORVEH



The mass grave site of the victims of the 1988 prison killings in Qorveh after destruction by bulldozers in July 2016. The banner states that the destruction was undertaken pursuant to a judicial order. © Radio Farda

On the outskirts of the city of Qorveh, about 93km east of Sanandaj, there is a mass grave that is believed to contain the remains of more than 20 people who were executed during the mass killings in Sanandaj in August and September 1988 (see the case box on Sanandaj in annex 1).

The authorities did not disclose the location of burial to any of the families who were told about the executions in September 1988. However, some families found out through low-level prison guards that the bodies had been buried in a barren piece of land on the outskirts of the city of Qorveh. Abdollah Said Moradi, who lost his brothers Kamal and Jabbar in the mass killings in Sanandaj, said

that, after weeks of searching covering hundreds of kilometres, families ran into a local villager in November 1988 who said he had seen officials dumping bodies into a mass grave next to the Baha’i cemetery in September 1988 and offered to take the families to the site. The families subsequently went to the location with the villager, dug up the area with shovels, and discovered a mass grave containing the bodies of more than 20 people, including men, women and at least one child. They extracted the bodies, which had been thrown on top of one another, dug the trench deeper and wider, and then reburied the bodies next to each other.

Over the past three decades, the authorities have persistently damaged the gravestones and commemorative signs that families placed over their loved ones’ graves near Qorveh. In July 2016, the site was bulldozed. A ministry of agriculture official told the families that the grave site had been classified as agricultural land and that the prosecutor’s office in Qorveh had approved the destruction of the graves on the grounds that they constituted “illegal building” on agricultural land.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² See Neda Rahmati’s statement at *Landscape of Pain*, www.painscapes.com/cities/530

¹⁷³ See *Landscape of Pain*, “Ilam”, www.painscapes.com/cities/529

¹⁷⁴ See *Landscape of Pain*, “Ilam”, www.painscapes.com/cities/529

¹⁷⁵ For more information, see Amnesty International and Justice for Iran, *Criminal cover-up: Iran destroying mass graves of victims of 1988 killings* (Index: MDE 13/8259/2018), pp. 22-24.

KHAVARAN



Commemorative gathering at Khavarán mass grave site. © Private

Khavarán is an abandoned area land measuring about 8,600m² in the south-east of Tehran. It is located next to Golestan Javid, an unofficial cemetery where individuals of the Baha'i faith are buried. Since the early 1980s, prison and judicial authorities have referred to this location as "damned land" (*la'nat abad*) and buried there individuals who were detained and executed for politically motivated reasons.

In late 1988, the families of some of the victims of the 1988 prison killings discovered that their loved ones had been buried in a mass grave at this location.¹⁷⁶

Amnesty International has interviewed family members who were in the group of families who visited Khavarán in late 1988 and discovered body parts and torn pieces of clothing protruding from the ground.

A press release issued by Amnesty International on 13 December 1988 quotes a woman who described to Amnesty International how she had dug up the corpse of an executed man with her bare hands as she searched for the body of her husband, also unnamed, in August 1988:

"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 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."¹⁷⁷

She unearthed a body with its face covered in blood, but, when she cleaned it, saw that it was not that of her husband.

Over the past three decades, the authorities have bulldozed the area repeatedly. They have also prevented families from holding memorial ceremonies, trampled the flowers planted by them, and broken or removed their memorial stones.

Reports indicate that the latest round of destruction took place between 9 and 16 January 2009, when the authorities bulldozed the mass grave site and destroyed the numerous ad hoc grave markings made by the families as well as the trees planted by them.¹⁷⁸

5.4 MISSING FROM BURIAL RECORDS

The names of many political dissidents killed between July and September 1988 are not included in publicly available burial registers.

Between July and December 2018, Amnesty International searched in the online database of the Organization of Behesht Zahra, a state body, for the names of 4,672 individuals who have been recorded as victims of the mass executions of July-September 1988 by an Iranian human rights group outside Iran known as the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran. The Organization of Behesht Zahra directly manages the Behesht Zahra cemetery, the main and largest cemetery in Tehran province, and also maintains an official database of individual graves. For each registered grave, details recorded include the name of the deceased person, their date of birth and death and, in many cases, the name of their father. The mandate of the organization is silent about its registration of graves outside Tehran province. However, searches conducted in the database show that, in addition to the records of graves in Behesht Zahra cemetery, it contains the records of individual graves in other provinces across the country. As a result, in addition to the names of those recorded as having been executed in Tehran province, which constitute the

¹⁷⁶ Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: MDE 13/021/1990), p. 12.

¹⁷⁷ The woman wished to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals against her family.

¹⁷⁸ Amnesty International, *Iran: Preserve the Khavarán grave site for investigation into mass killings* (Index: MDE 13/006/2009).

majority of the names appearing in the list of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran, Amnesty International included in its search the names of individuals recorded as having been executed in other provinces.

Amnesty International found that nearly 99% of the victims recorded in the list of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran are not registered in the online database of the Organization of Behesht Zahra. In the remaining cases, which constitute just over 1%, the names in the list bear a resemblance to the names in the database, but Amnesty International does not have enough information to conclude definitively that they refer to the same person. In some cases, there are slight differences in the spelling of the first names or last names. In other cases, the names match, but, as other details such as the father's name and the date of birth are not available, the possibility remains that the registered grave belongs not to the reported execution victim but to a deceased person with the same name.

As discussed in section 5.2, Amnesty International also conducted a separate search in the online official database for the names recorded on 335 gravestones in Behesht Zahra cemetery which Amnesty International understands have been attributed by the authorities to the victims of the mass killings of 1988 and found that only three were recorded in the database (see annex 4).

Amnesty International is unclear how comprehensive the online database of the Organization of Behesht Zahra is and whether and to what extent the irregularities seen with regards to the registration of deaths caused by executions are also prevalent in the cases of deaths not caused by execution. In October 2018, Amnesty International wrote a letter to the executive director of the Organization of Behesht Zahra and sought information on why the names of most victims have not been registered on its database. In its letter, Amnesty International also asked, more generally, about the system that the authorities in Iran have in place to register the details of every grave in the country, including the names of those buried in each grave and their date of birth and death. As of 4 December, no response had been received. Amnesty International understands moreover that, when families have approached the Organization of Behesht Zahra for information on the burial location of their loved ones, they have generally been told that the organization is not in a position to provide them with this information and that they must direct their queries to the prosecution's office.

Despite the lack of any information about the structure and decision-making powers of the Organization of Behesht Zahra, the fact that nearly 99% of the victims of the mass killings are missing from official online burial records raises serious concerns that the authorities have quietly adopted specific policies and procedures to manipulate burial records. This situation makes the investigation and exhumation of individual and mass graves all the more crucial to the establishment of the truth about the burial location of each victim.

6. DENYING THE MASS KILLINGS

“Nothing but propaganda”

*Speaker of Parliament Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani in response to reports that thousands of political dissidents had been executed in recent months, as quoted by Tehran Radio on 2 December 1988*¹⁷⁹

6.1 DENIAL TO INTERNATIONAL BODIES

In 1988, the Iranian authorities worked hard to keep secret the extrajudicial killings of thousands of prisoners carried out between July and September 1988, but information gradually leaked out. Families in Iran and political activists in exile made great efforts to let the outside world know that political dissidents were being killed in prisons around the country.

Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, the UN Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran between 1986 and 1995, reported in January 1989 that, since July 1988, he had received:

“persistent reports... about a wave of executions of political prisoners... by various sources, including non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council and other bodies directly concerned by the alleged wave of executions.”¹⁸⁰

He also noted that he had:

“received hundreds of petitions and letters from private individuals around the world, including members of parliament from Australia, France, Germany, Federal Republic of [the then West Germany], Ireland, and the United Kingdom... as well as members of the European Parliament from several countries, and trade-union and church officials, expressing deep concern at the alleged wave of executions and calling for United Nations intervention to bring such executions to a halt.”¹⁸¹

On 8 December 1988, the UN General Assembly expressed “grave concern... that there was a renewed wave of executions in the period July-September 1988 whereby a large number of persons died because of their political convictions.”¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ This quote was recorded in a letter that Amnesty International wrote to Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani on 12 December 1988. The letter is on file with Amnesty International.

¹⁸⁰ *Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 15.

¹⁸¹ *Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 15.

¹⁸² UN General Assembly, *Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, A/RES/43/137, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/43/137, para. 5.

On 15 December 1988, the European Parliament issued a resolution stating that it was “horrified at reports that thousands of opponents... have been executed in Iran over the course of the last four months.”¹⁸³ The resolution called on the Iranian government to halt the executions immediately and urged 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”.

Amnesty International issued at least 16 Urgent Actions between August and December 1988 and mobilized its activists to send tens of thousands of appeals to the head of Iran’s Supreme Judicial Council and other senior government figures, as well as Iran’s diplomatic representatives in different countries, calling on the authorities to end executions of imprisoned political dissidents immediately.

The Iranian authorities responded by systematically denying the mass killings. Senior Iranian officials repeatedly dismissed the reports concerning the killings of July-September 1988 as propaganda. Similarly, Iranian embassy officials who met Amnesty International delegates in various countries denied that any “massacre” of imprisoned political dissidents had taken place.

In recent years, some former government officials, including Iran’s then prime minister, Mir Hossein Mousavi, have claimed that the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 took place without their knowledge and have invoked the principle of the separation of executive and judicial branches to justify their failure to stop or at least condemn the killings.¹⁸⁴ However, as shown in chapter 7, in addition to prosecutors general, revolutionary court judges and senior prison officials, the ministry of intelligence was actively involved in the extrajudicial executions. Amnesty International also raised its concerns about reports of mass prisoner executions with numerous senior government officials including the minister of justice and the minister of foreign affairs, from as early as 16 August 1988 when the organization issued its first Urgent Action. Moreover, in the months following the extrajudicial executions, senior government officials, including the then prime minister and the then minister of interior, were actively denying the extrajudicial executions both in their media interviews and in their exchanges with the UN.

6.1.1 IRAN’S RESPONSE TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Amnesty International first issued an Urgent Action on 16 August 1988 expressing concern about “evidence that a new wave of political executions is taking place in Iran.”¹⁸⁵ The organization called on its members to send telegrams, telexes and letters to the head of Iran’s Supreme Court and a member of Iran’s Supreme Judicial Council, Abdulkarim Mousavi Ardebili, and the Minister of Justice, Hassan Ebrahim Habibi, and to send a copy of the appeals to the diplomatic representatives of Iran in their respective countries. The appeals urged “the commutation of all outstanding death sentences and an end to executions in Iran.”¹⁸⁶

A second Urgent Action on 2 September 1988 condemned the continuing political executions in Iran¹⁸⁷ and referred to a speech by Abdulkarim Mousavi Ardebili on 5 August 1988 that indicated that many imprisoned PMOI supporters were at risk of execution.¹⁸⁸ Once again, the organization mobilized its membership to send appeals to Iranian authorities, “calling for an immediate end to these political executions” and “asking for details of the procedures by which death sentences are being passed and approved.”¹⁸⁹

A third Urgent Action on 20 October 1988 reiterated Amnesty International’s concerns and stated it believed “that there have been very substantial numbers of political executions in Iran in the last ten weeks.”¹⁹⁰ Once again, members were mobilized to send appeals, calling for “an end to political executions” and “the recommencement of family visits to political prisoners.”¹⁹¹

¹⁸³ European Parliament, Joint resolution replacing Docs B 2-1127 and 1149/88, 15 December 1988.

¹⁸⁴ See, for example, BBC Persian, “Amir Arjomand: Mousavi did not know about 1988 executions”, 19 June 2011, www.bbc.com/persian/iran/2011/06/110618_u02_amirarjomand_mousavi_executions; Iran International, “1988 mass killings; former authorities and officials”, 31 August 2018, www.bit.ly/2C56MRs

¹⁸⁵ Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 219/88 Iran: Death penalty: Political executions”, 16 August 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/013/88](#)).

¹⁸⁶ Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 219/88 Iran: Death penalty: Political executions”, 16 August 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/013/88](#)).

¹⁸⁷ Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 235/88 - Iran: Death penalty: Political executions”, 2 September 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/014/88](#)).

¹⁸⁸ See section 4.1 above for more information on Abdulkarim Mousavi Ardebili’s speech at Friday prayers in Tehran which hinted that many imprisoned PMOI members and supporters were at risk of execution.

¹⁸⁹ Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 235/88 - Iran: Death penalty: Political executions”, 2 September 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/014/88](#)).

¹⁹⁰ Amnesty International, “Iran: Further information on UA 235/88 - Iran: Death penalty: Political executions”, 20 October 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/017/88](#)).

¹⁹¹ Amnesty International, “Iran: Further information on UA 235/88 - Iran: Death penalty: Political executions”, 20 October 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/017/88](#)).

A fourth Urgent Action on 8 November 1988 echoed the same concerns and noted for the first time “reports from witnesses of large numbers of bodies being discovered in shallow graves... in Tehran..., and in other parts of the country.”¹⁹²

Over the rest of November and December, Amnesty International issued 14 more Urgent Actions raising concern about the execution of hundreds of political dissidents, including prisoners of conscience, in secret and noting the names of dozens of individuals whose cases had been brought to the attention of the organization and were feared to be executed or in danger of execution.¹⁹³ The appeals were directed at various authorities including, in addition to Abdulkarim Mousavi Ardebili and Hassan Ebrahim Habibi, President Sayed Ali Khamaneh, Speaker of Parliament Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and the minister of foreign affairs, Ali Akbar Velayati. Copies were also sent to diplomatic representatives of Iran in different countries

The tens of thousands of appeals by Amnesty International’s members were met initially with silence and then with denial. On 2 December 1988, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani was quoted on Tehran Radio as having said that the claims that thousands of imprisoned political dissidents had been executed in recent months are “nothing but propaganda.”¹⁹⁴

In response to the denial, Amnesty International sent a letter to Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani on 12 December 1988, which noted, “The organization has recorded over 300 names of execution victims and it believes that the true figure may run into thousands.”¹⁹⁵ The letter enclosed a list of 325 reported victims and asked the authorities to confirm whether or not these people had been executed and, if so, to provide details including “the date and place of execution; the charges brought against the accused and the nature of any trial and appeal proceedings”. The Iranian authorities did not reply.

On 13 December 1988, Amnesty International issued a press release, accompanied by a briefing paper, saying that “the evidence for mass executions was now indisputable” and that “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.”¹⁹⁶ The organization gathered detailed information about the profile of the execution victims; the concealment of their fate or whereabouts from their relatives; the burial of the bodies in shallow, unmarked mass graves; and the warnings issued against public mourning.

In December, Amnesty International also released four other Urgent Actions, all of which stated:

“Since July, Amnesty International has recorded the names of hundreds of political prisoners, members or supporters of many opposition factions, executed or in danger of execution in Iran. Among them are prisoners of conscience, prisoners serving sentences of imprisonment, or whose terms of imprisonment had expired without their being released, and prisoners who had never been tried or sentenced.”¹⁹⁷

The organization again mobilized its membership to send appeals.

There was no direct response from government officials in Iran. However, on 13 December, the Austrian national public service broadcaster, ORF, televised an interview with Mir Hossein Mousavi, in which he was asked about the executions. He responded saying, “We repressed them”, without explaining what he was

¹⁹² Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 293/88 - Fear of torture/fear of execution: Iran”, 8 November 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/020/1988](#)).

¹⁹³ Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 299 - Iran: Death penalty”, 10 November 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/022/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: Further Information on UA 235/88 - Iran: Political executions”, 10 November 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/021/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: Further Information on UA 299/88 - Iran: Death penalty”, 17 November 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/023/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 315/88 - Iran: Fear of execution”, 25 November 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/024/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 317/88 - Iran: Fear of execution”, 28 November 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/025/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: Further information on UA 317/88 - Iran: Fear of execution”, 29 November 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/026/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: Further information on UA 317/99 and follow up – fear of execution”, 1 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/027/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 326/88 – Iran: fear of execution”, 5 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/028/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: Follow-up to medical letter-writing action – Iran: Mass execution of political prisoners including Drs Ahmad Danesh and Borsu Bagheri”, 14 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/030/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 337/88 – Iran: Fear of execution”, 12 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/033/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 346/88 – Iran: Fear of execution”, 16 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/034/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 351/88 – Iran: Fear of execution”, 21 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/035/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 354/88 – Iran: Fear of execution”, 22 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/036/1988](#)).

¹⁹⁴ This quote was recorded in a letter that Amnesty International wrote to Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani on 12 December 1988. The letter is on file with Amnesty International.

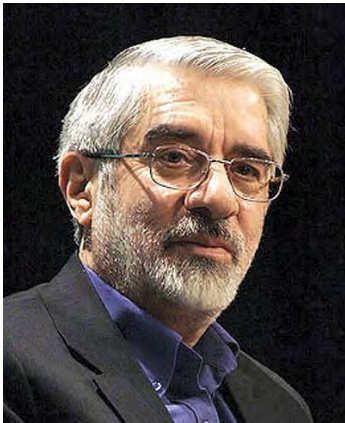
¹⁹⁵ The letter is on file with Amnesty International.

¹⁹⁶ Amnesty International, *Biggest wave of political executions in Iran since early 1980s*, 13 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/031/88](#));

Amnesty International, *Iran: Political executions* (Index: [MDE 13/029/88](#)).

¹⁹⁷ Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 337/88 - Iran: Fear of execution”, 12 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/033/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 346/88 - Iran: Fear of execution”, 16 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/034/1988](#)); Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 351/88 - Iran: Fear of execution”, 21 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/035/1988](#)); ; Amnesty International, “Iran: UA 354/88 - Iran: Fear of execution”, 22 December 1988 (Index: [MDE 13/036/1988](#)).

acknowledging, and avoided any explicit reference to the mass killings. Instead, he focused on criticizing the July 1988 armed incursion of the PMOI in an apparent effort to misrepresent the executions as a legitimate response to an armed attack.¹⁹⁸



Mir Hossein Mousavi © Didar News

“One of the issues we have been criticized for is related to the Mersad Operation [the name of Iran’s counter operation against the PMOI armed incursion of July 1988]. In this operation, a number of Mojahedin [PMOI members] ... worked hand in hand with Saddam [Hussein, Iraq’s former president] to wage an attack to conquer Bakhtaran [in Kermanshah province, Western Iran] and move towards Tehran. They had plans to carry out killings. Well, we repressed them. What else should we have done? Should we have opened ... the gates of Tehran to them so they could establish a presence and kill people? In this context, we have no mercy and our system does not allow itself the right to not defend itself and not take decisive action.”

Prime Minister Mir Hossein Mousavi is asked about the mass executions in an interview with the Austrian national public service broadcaster, ORF, in December 1988¹⁹⁹

Around the same time, the Iranian chargé d’affaires in London, Mohammad Mehdi Akhoundzadeh Basti, gave an interview to the BBC World Service which asked about reports of mass executions published by Amnesty International. The Iranian diplomat said, “These allegations were made purely to damage the sincere and serious efforts by Iran to establish peace and tranquillity in the area.”²⁰⁰ The BBC reporter subsequently asked if he was suggesting the reports were “fabricated”; he replied that Amnesty International had not been in contact with Iranian officials and that those who had taken part in the military incursion had been given fair trials.



Mohammad Mehdi Akhoundzadeh Basti
© JUSSI NUKARI/AFP/Getty Images

“They [Amnesty International] had no contact with the Iranian Embassy in London and no contact with the government. After the ceasefire, certain dissidents were aligned with the enemy and infiltrated the country, some [were] captured and tried. These people were given a fair trial... and brought to justice.”

The Iranian chargé d’affaires in London, Mohammad Mehdi Akhoundzadeh Basti, in an interview with the BBC World Service, mid-December 1988²⁰¹

In the *Tehran Times*, a state-affiliated English-language newspaper, Mohammad Mehdi Akhoundzadeh Basti similarly declared that there was no basis for Amnesty International’s “wild accusations”. The article alleged that Amnesty International’s information was largely based on “propaganda from opposition groups.”²⁰²

In December 1988, Amnesty International also organized a rapid response action, which involved national sections of the organization seeking meetings with Iranian embassies around the world.²⁰³ During these embassy visits, which took place in countries including Canada, France, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the UK and West Germany, Amnesty International delegates presented the names of execution

¹⁹⁸ The video interview, which was broadcast in German, is available with English and Persian subtitles at the following links: www.amnestymedia.org/mousavi-dec-12-with-copyright-english/, www.amnestymedia.org/mousavi-dec-12-with-copyright-farsi-ii/

¹⁹⁹ The video interview, which was broadcast in German, is available with English and Persian subtitles at the following links: www.amnestymedia.org/mousavi-dec-12-with-copyright-english/, www.amnestymedia.org/mousavi-dec-12-with-copyright-farsi-ii/

²⁰⁰ The transcript of this radio interview is on file with Amnesty International.

²⁰¹ The transcript of this radio interview is on file with Amnesty International.

²⁰² Amnesty International made a reference to this interview in an internal campaigning document that it sent to its campaign co-ordinators on 6 January 1989. The document is on file with Amnesty International.

²⁰³ The rapid response action is on file with Amnesty International.

victims. When Iranian officials denied that political executions were taking place, the delegates requested that the officials establish for each name on the list: whether the person had been executed; the date and place of execution; charges brought against the accused and the nature of trial and appeal proceedings followed prior to execution; and whether relatives were informed of the death sentence or execution.

The response of Iranian officials was, by and large, denial. For example,

- At the Iranian embassy in Ottawa, Canada, on 22 December 1988, the chargé d'affaires, Mohammad Ali Mousavi, said that “the only executions which have taken place occurred as self-defensive killings in the context of battle during the July invasion by the PMOI.” The diplomat added that Amnesty International had been unduly influenced by the negative image of Iran created by other bodies, including the PMOI and the media.²⁰⁴
- At the Iranian embassy in Oslo, Norway, on 23 December 1988, the chargé d'affaires referred to “tens of thousands of terrorists” in Iran and said the government was obliged to “defend” the people. However, he denied that any “massacres” had occurred in Iran since the 1979 revolution.²⁰⁵
- At the Iranian embassy in Tokyo, Japan, on 3 March 1989, the first secretary, Raessinia, expressed his concern that the information regarding the mass executions “may have been acquired exclusively from countries in the western block” and that “there are always mistakes in information provided by Western countries.”²⁰⁶

Amnesty International followed up with further action in January 1989, writing letters to Abdulkarim Mousavi Ardebili, Ebrahim Habibi, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and the prosecutor general, Mohammad Mousavi Khoeniha. Copies were also sent to Ali Akbar Velayati and Deputy Supreme Leader Hossein Ali Montazeri, and, in the case of letters highlighting the situation of women victims, to two female members of parliament, Marzieh Hadidchi, also known as Tahreh Dabag, and Maryam Behrouzi, as they had replied to appeals from Amnesty International members in earlier years. The letters expressed “the deepest regret and concern” about the mass executions and asked for details of the charges on which the prisoners had been executed and whether they had been tried and under what procedures.²⁰⁷

The same month, Amnesty International submitted a statement to the 45th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights and “appealed to the international community to bring pressure on Iran to end the wave of political executions there.”²⁰⁸

The authorities, however, continued to deny the mass prisoner killings. In an interview broadcast by Tehran Radio on 13 February 1989, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani stated that, following the armed incursion of the PMOI, some people had been executed for having participated in or collaborated with the invading force, and compared these executions to those of convicted war criminals in Europe at the end of World War II. He also said that the thousands of PMOI supporters executed had in fact been killed or captured during the incursion and that the PMOI was trying to disguise its losses by giving their names as execution victims.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ The records of the meeting are on file with Amnesty International.

²⁰⁵ The records of the meeting are on file with Amnesty International. The name of the chargé d'affaires is not recorded.

²⁰⁶ The records of the meeting are on file with Amnesty International. The first name of the first secretary is not recorded.

²⁰⁷ The letters are on file with Amnesty International.

²⁰⁸ Amnesty International, *New Amnesty International move on executions in Iran*, 30 January 1989 (Index: [MDE 13/008/89](#)).

²⁰⁹ Amnesty International, *Iran: Over 900 executions announced in five months*, 19 June 1989 (Index: [MDE 13/019/89](#)).

Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani's diaries suggest that he repeated the same claim in a meeting that he and Ali Akbar Velayati had with the then French minister of foreign affairs, Roland Dumas, on 5 February 1989. The diary notes that there was a discussion about human rights during the meeting and Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and Ali Akbar Velayati told the French minister, “*Monafeqin* had lost their people during the Mersad Operation and in order to justify their mistake, they had exaggerated the issue of executions.” See *Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani Documents Centre*, “Compensating the Mersad defeat by the news of ‘executions’”, 5 February 1989, www.bit.ly/2Plcgaa

Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani repeated the same claim in an interview with a French television reporter in late 1988 or early 1989.²¹⁰ Asked about Amnesty International's reports about the execution of thousands since July 1988, he made the following statement:



Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani © Jamaran

“This is part of the same hostile propaganda that has been going on against us and we believe that Amnesty International and some other centres move under the influence of our enemies. What has in fact happened here is that... about four or five thousand [members of the PMOI attacked our country from Iraq] with all their resources and very few of them managed to return [to Iraq] alive. Such massive casualties are unbearable for a guerrilla organization which recruits its members with great difficulty outside the country and they must somehow persuade their sympathizers. Therefore, they have made up this issue of mass executions in order to disguise the people whom they lost during this foolish armed confrontation as tragic execution cases.”²¹¹

Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani notably added, “During the incident, we discovered some [PMOI] elements in prison who were connected with the armed incursion and naturally, they were punished.” However, he emphasized that “they were not many”, “they were less than a hundred” and “most of those they allege [were executed] were actually killed during the armed confrontation.”²¹²

On 28 February 1989, the Permanent Mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the UN in New York wrote to Amnesty International. The letter said:

“Indeed, the authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran have always denied the existence of any political executions, but that does not contradict other subsequent statements which have confirmed that spies and terrorists have been executed.”²¹³

In December 1990, Amnesty International issued a report entitled *Iran: Violations of Human Rights 1987-1990*, which included a chapter on the mass killings of 1988.²¹⁴ In response, the Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA), Iran's official news agency, issued a statement on 4 December reiterating the authorities' blanket denial of human rights violations, including the mass prisoner killings of 1988.²¹⁵ The IRNA stated that the abuses reported by Amnesty International were “often repeated and much denied”, citing as an example the mass executions of 1988. It falsely reported that, during his first visit to Iran, the UN Special Representative met four men whose names were among those reported by Amnesty International to have been executed.

In the next few years, Amnesty International issued further public outputs on the mass executions of 1988.²¹⁶ However, as stated in a briefing issued on 1 October 1992, “the Iranian authorities have never acknowledged the mass executions and no new safeguards have been introduced to prevent such mass

²¹⁰ An extract of this interview by Rafsanjani was cited by several state media outlets in 2017. See, for example, Ghased News, “The interesting answers of Hashemi Rafsanjani to a French journalist asking about the 1988 executions”, 30 April 2017, www.bit.ly/2nFdmEQ

²¹¹ Ghased News, “The interesting answers of Hashemi Rafsanjani to a French journalist asking about the 1988 executions”, 30 April 2017, www.bit.ly/2nFdmEQ

²¹² Ghased News, “The interesting answers of Hashemi Rafsanjani to a French journalist asking about the 1988 executions”, 30 April 2017, www.bit.ly/2nFdmEQ

²¹³ Amnesty International, *Iran: Over 900 executions announced in five months*, 19 June 1989 (Index: [MDE 13/019/89](#)); Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: [MDE 13/021/1990](#)), p. 11.

²¹⁴ Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: [MDE 13/021/1990](#)); Amnesty International, Iran: “Relentless and ruthless” abuse of basic human rights; new Amnesty International report cites hanging, torture and jailing of critics, 5 December 1990 (Index: [MDE 13/026/90](#)).

²¹⁵ Amnesty International, *Iran: Amnesty International responds to Iranian government*, 20 December 1990 (Index: [MDE 13/WU 07/90](#)).

²¹⁶ See, for example, Amnesty International, *Iran: Written statement to the 46th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights* (Index: [MDE 13/02/90](#)); Amnesty International, *Iran: Imprisonment, torture and execution of political opponents* (Index: [MDE 13/001/92](#)); Amnesty International, *Iran: Executions of prisoners continue unabated* (Index: [MDE 13/018/92](#)).

killings from happening again. Many relatives still do not know for certain whether missing members of their families were among those killed..."²¹⁷

6.1.2 IRAN'S RESPONSE TO UN HUMAN RIGHTS MECHANISMS

On 26 August and 14 September 1988, the UN Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions sent cables to the Iranian minister of foreign affairs concerning "allegations that since July 1988, a large number of prisoners, said to be members or supporters of groups or organizations opposing the Government, had been executed and several others were facing imminent execution in various parts of the country."²¹⁸ The Special Rapporteur added that, "according to information received, a number of prisoners had their sentences of imprisonment changed to the death sentence or were executed even though their terms of imprisonment had been completed."

On 28 September 1988, the UN Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran similarly wrote to Iran's permanent representative to the UN in Geneva, Sirous Nasser, raising concerns about a "wave of executions" allegedly taking place in Iran and asking for a response.²¹⁹

Records indicate that the Iranian authorities did not provide any substantive reply to these communications. Instead, they simply dismissed the allegations on the grounds that the source of some of the information was politically biased. Specific reference was made to the PMOI, which the authorities accused of broadcasting "political and propaganda material."²²⁰

On 13 October 1988, the UN Special Representative issued an interim report raising concerns about "recent reports of a renewed wave of executions in the period from July to September 1988".²²¹ The report stated that, according to information received by the UN Special Representative in September 1988, "a large number of prisoners, members of opposition groups, were executed during the months of July, August and early September 1988."²²²

On 9 November 1988, the UN Special Rapporteur on Summary or Arbitrary Executions cabled the Iranian government, reiterating the allegation of mass prisoner executions.²²³

It was not until the end of November 1988 that the authorities responded by explicitly denying the wave of executions. During a meeting with the UN Special Representative held on 29 November 1988 concerning the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988, Mohammad Jafar Mahallati, Iran's permanent representative to the UN in New York, denied the mass execution presenting them as "battlefield killings."²²⁴

Mohammad Jafar Mahallati reiterated Iran's denials on 3 December 1988 prior to the adoption of a resolution by the UN General Assembly that expressed "grave concern" about "a renewed wave of executions in the period July-September 1988" targeting prisoners "because of their political convictions."²²⁵ Mohammad Jafar Mahallati called the resolution "unjust" and said "a terrorist organization based in Iraq" was the main source of the "fake information" included in it.²²⁶

²¹⁷ Amnesty International, *Iran: Executions of prisoners continue unabated* (Index: MDE 13/018/92), p. 4.

²¹⁸ Special Rapporteur S. Amos Wako, *Summary or arbitrary executions*, 6 February 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/25, p. 28, para. 142; see also *Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 13 October 1988, UN Doc. A/43/705, para. 69, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/43/705. Note that the former document identifies 24 August and the latter document 26 August as the date when the Special Rapporteur sent his cable.

²¹⁹ Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 13 October 1988, UN Doc. A/43/705, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/43/705, para. 10.

²²⁰ See, for example, *Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 13 October 1988, UN Doc. A/43/705, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/43/705, para. 59; *Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, paras 7 and 72.

²²¹ *Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 13 October 1988, UN Doc. A/43/705, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/43/705, para. 80.

²²² *Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 13 October 1988, UN Doc. A/43/705, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/43/705, para. 47.

²²³ Summary or arbitrary executions, report by the Special Rapporteur, Mr. S. Amos Wako, 6 February 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/25, p. 28, para. 146.

²²⁴ *Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 7.

²²⁵ UN General Assembly, *Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, A/RES/43/137, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/43/137, para. 5.

²²⁶ Ettelaat, "Mahallati's interview about the recent resolution of the UN", 3 December 1988, p. 14.



Mohammad Jafar Mahallati © ISNA

“Many killings had in fact occurred on the battlefield, in the context of the war, following the invasion of the Islamic Republic of Iran by... the National Liberation Army [of the PMOI].”

Claims made by Mohammad Jafar Mahallati, Iran's permanent representative to the UN in New York, as reported by the UN Special Representative²²⁷

The UN Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran challenged Iran's “global denial of the wave of executions” in his next report on Iran on 26 January 1989.²²⁸ While acknowledging that “an invasion of Iranian territory was undertaken by rebel Iranian groups in July 1988”, the UN Special Representative noted that summary or arbitrary executions were reported “in places that were not affected by military operations.”²²⁹ He explained:

“Most of the alleged victims were said to be members or supporters of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran, but members of other opposition groups, such as the Tudeh Party, the People's Fadaian Organization, Rahe Kargar and the Komala Organization in Iranian Kurdistan, as well as at least 11 Mullahs, were also said to be among the alleged victims. Many of the people said to have been executed had been serving prison terms for several years, while others were former prisoners who were rearrested and then executed. It would therefore seem unlikely that these persons could have taken part in violent activities against the Government, such as participation in the [PMOI] incursion into the western part of the Islamic Republic of Iran in July 1988.”²³⁰

The UN Special Representative appended an annex to his report. This listed the names of 1,084 “persons allegedly executed in the Islamic Republic of Iran during [the] period July-December 1988”²³¹, and noted that “there were in all probability several thousand victims.”²³²

The UN Special Representative concluded: “These allegations deserve to be the subject of detailed investigation and information from the Government concerned, in conformity with international practice.”²³³

On 6 March 1989, during the 45th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights, Iran's permanent representative to the UN in Geneva, Sirous Nasseri, said that his government was preparing an official response to the list of names annexed to the January 1989 report of the UN Special Representative.²³⁴ However, in a preliminary reply he claimed that “140 names on that list were false” and concerned “individuals [who] had not been executed but had died in battle during the invasion of Iranian territory in July 1988.”²³⁵

²²⁷ Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 7.

²²⁸ Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 68.

²²⁹ Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 68.

²³⁰ Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 17.

²³¹ Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, pp. 22-42.

²³² Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 16.

²³³ Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 68.

²³⁴ Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights in accordance with Commission resolution 1989/66 and Economic and Social Council Decision 1989/184, 2 November 1989, UN Doc. A/44/620, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/44/620, para. 59.

²³⁵ Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 2 November 1989, UN Doc. A/44/620, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/44/620, para. 59.



Sirous Nasser © ISNA/Morteza Farajabadi

“140... names of the individuals said to have been executed did not appear in the registers of the prisons, hospitals or even cemeteries investigated. That fact indicated that those individuals had not been executed but had died in battle during the invasion of Iranian territory in July 1988.”

Sirous Nasser, Iran's permanent representative to the UN in Geneva, in response to concerns raised by the UN about the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988²³⁶

The full response promised was never submitted. Instead, on 26 June 1989, the UN Special Representative received two evasive letters from the Iranian authorities, one from Mohammad Hossein Lavasani, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, the other from the foreign ministry.

The first letter stated that, “the Islamic Republic of Iran cannot, and will not, hold itself committed to answering allegations originated from certain terrorist groups and war-time traitors” and dismissed the list of execution victims appended to the report of the Special Representative as a list that “could very easily be prepared by any opposition group”. The letter continued:

“Nevertheless, as an indication of its good-will in cooperating with the Special Representative, the Islamic of Republic, having reviewed the list of names annexed to the final report, announces that 140 out of the total list of persons alleged to have been executed in Tehran are forgeries and virtually non-existent individuals, which clearly proves the information provided by the terrorist groups to be purely false and to have been conveyed only for self-serving political purposes. Needless to point out that any single forgery suffices to discredit the source of information.”²³⁷

²³⁶ *Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 2 November 1989, UN Doc. A/44/620, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/44/620, para. 59.

²³⁷ *Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 2 November 1989, UN Doc. A/44/620, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/44/620, p. 6.

"In this connection, it is instructive to refer to 140 forged names and particulars in your annexed list, who prove as false and baseless all allegations of your sources and which, even taken individually, suffice to discredit such sources. These forged names and particulars have been pointed out here (in the attached list) as they had appeared in the annex to your report."

"Annex

Forged Names and Particulars of Persons allegedly executed in the Islamic Republic of Iran during the period of July-September 1988, as they appear in the original report

"Pages Entries

"22	14, 20
"23	19, 20, 25, 29, 30, 31, 34, 46, 48
"24	12, 29, 34, 44, 55
"25	15, 16, 23, 24, 25, 30, 34, 41
"26	1, 22, 25, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 40
"27	4, 8, 24, 35, 39, 42
"28	5, 6, 7, 8, 18, 19, 26, 42, 47, 49, 50
"29	2, 13, 17, 24, 30, 40, 42, 44, 47, 50
"30	1, 5, 19, 20, 30, 31, 40, 49, 54
"31	1, 7, 9, 12, 24, 43, 44, 50, 51, 52
"36	3, 8, 11, 13, 14, 31, 24, 34, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51
"37	6, 12, 17, 19, 23, 25, 26, 31, 37, 38
"38	14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 25, 26, 28, 46, 47, 50
"39	9, 10, 13, 19, 23, 28, 31, 38
"40	8, 9, 38, 44, 48, 49, 53
"41	12, 13, 15, 43, 49, 50, 54, 55
"42	10, 16, 18, 22"

An extract from the reply of the Iranian government to the UN in June 1989, which denied the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 and claimed that there were "140 forged names" in the list of reported execution victims submitted by the UN Special Representative; each of the numbers under the column "Entries" refers to an individual reported to have been executed.

The second letter similarly stated:

"Since the judicial system in each state is enforced independently, the Islamic Republic of Iran, therefore, does not hold itself obliged to answer questions which directly violate this axiom. On the other hand, lists such as the one annexed to Your Excellency's report could very easily be prepared by any opposition group [which bears] no commitment towards the Constitution and the established values in their country. In this connection, it is instructive to refer to 140 forged names and particulars in your annexed list, [which] prove as false and baseless [as] all allegations of your sources and which, even taken individually, suffice to discredit such sources."²³⁸

Neither letter commented on the fate and whereabouts of the remaining 944 people mentioned in the annex of the UN Special Representative's report.

Amnesty International identified the allegedly "forged" names to which the numbers listed by the Iranian authorities refer (which total 141 rather than 140) in the annex of the January 1989 report of the UN Special Representative.²³⁹ It then searched for them in the following two sources: the list of execution victims prepared by the banned opposition group PMOI; and the list compiled by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran (see section 2.2.2). For 117 of the 141 individuals, Amnesty International managed to match their name against the name of one of the recorded victims of the mass executions of 1988 (see annex 2). Amnesty International also obtained profile pictures of 13 of these individuals, shown below.

²³⁸ Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 2 November 1989, UN Doc. A/44/620, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/44/620 p. 9.

²³⁹ The Iranian government's June 1989 reply to the UN refers to the "140 forged names" by listing page numbers and, for each page number, between two and 14 "entry" numbers. The total "entries" mentioned actually add up to 141 rather than 140. The annex of the January 1989 report of the UN Special Representative contains numbered pages with a single column of alphabetically ordered names on each page, but no "entry" numbers. Amnesty International understood the "entry" number to be a reference to the position of the name in the column on the page concerned, such that, for example, "entry" 14 on page 22 is the 14th name from the top in the column of names on page 22.



Pictures of 13 people whom the Iranian claimed were “forgeries and virtually non-existent individuals” after the UN Special Representative received information about their execution and asked the authorities to comment on their fate and whereabouts. Their names are (from top left to bottom right): Jabbar Shabani; Maryam Pakbaz; Abolghassem Zahraei; Nasrin Rajabi; Aghdas Hemmati; Mohammad Reza Sadeghi; Simin Kheyrieh Safaei; Asef Razmdideh; Parviz Salimi; Mahmud Pool-Chi; Amir Hushang Hadikhanlu (misspelled in the Special Representative's report as Hadiknanlu); Seyed Ahmad Seyedian; and Vahid Saeidi Nejad Qomi. (recorded in the Special Representative's report as Vahid Saeidi Nejad). © Private

Amnesty International has also been able to obtain the pictures of individual gravestones for eight people whom were declared as “non-existent” by the Iranian authorities. The denial of the existence of Majid Araghi, Sayed Taher Bazzaz, Aghdas Hemmati, Mohammad Hassan Rahimi Motam, Maryam Pakbaz, Mohammad Safaie (also written as Safaie Fakhoudi), Nasrin Rajabi, and Parviz Salimi has been despite the fact the Iranian authorities have themselves identified these graves as their place of burial.



Pictures of individual gravestones for eight people, Majid Araghi, Sayed Taher Bazzaz, Aghdas Hemmati, Mohammad Hassan Rahimi Motam, Maryam Pakbaz, Mohammad Safaei (also written as Safaie Fakhoudi), Nasrin Rajabi, and Parviz Salimi whom were declared as "non-existent" by the Iranian authorities despite the fact the authorities themselves have identified these graves as the victims' place of burial. © Private

NASRIN RAJABI



Nasrin Rajabi and Tahereh Khorrami at Tahereh's wedding. © Private



Picture of Nasrin Rajabi's grave in Saleh Abad gravesite in Ilam. © Private

Nasrin Rajabi is one of the individuals who the Iranian authorities claimed did not exist in their response to the UN. Amnesty International has, however, obtained the testimony of a former prisoner, Tahereh Khorrami, who specifically remembers Nasrin Rajabi from when they were in prison together in connection with their support for the PMOI in the early 1980s in Ilam, Ilam province.²⁴⁰ She said that she stayed in touch with Nasrin Rajabi after they were both released in the mid-1980s. Tahereh Khorrami left Iran in March 1988, but she learnt that Nasrin Rajabi was rearrested and summarily killed immediately after the armed incursion of the PMOI in 1988.

Amnesty International also accessed the testimony of a family member, Neda Rahmati, who said her sister Marzieh Rahmati and four other women including Nasrin Rajabi were forcibly disappeared and extrajudicially executed during the mass prisoner killings of 1988 in Ilam.²⁴¹ She said several months after the executions, the authorities called the women's families, told them that their loved ones had been executed and gave them an address and a number, saying it was the location where they were buried. The families subsequently found the bodies in a mass grave at the site, which was on a hill on the outskirts of Saleh Abad cemetery outside Ilam. Despite acknowledging the execution of Nasrin Rajabi and the location of her burial in an unmarked mass grave, the authorities claimed that she was a "non-existent" individual in their reply to the UN Special Representative (see section 5.3).

²⁴⁰ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Tahereh Khorrami from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with her in person.

²⁴¹ See Neda Rahmati's statement at *Landscape of Pain*, www.painscapes.com/cities/530

AGHDAS HEMMATI



Aghdas Hemmati and her husband, Hossein Moakaddi, at their wedding. © Private



Picture of Aghdas Hemmati's gravestone in Semnan. © Private

Aghdas Hemmati is another prisoner who the authorities claimed did not exist in their response to the UN. Amnesty International was told by a survivor from Semnan prison, Asadollah Nabavi, that he knew Aghdas Hemmati and her family directly.²⁴² He said that, in August 1988, she was briefly held in a cell adjacent to his in solitary confinement in Semnan prison and that they communicated with each other via Morse code shortly before she was taken away. Asadollah Nabavi told Amnesty International that, in her message sent via Morse code, Aghdas Hemmati told him that she was subjected to prolonged interrogations under torture and other ill-treatment.²⁴³ The next day, she told him that she knew she was going to be executed as she had been interrogated without a blindfold and had seen her interrogators. She was transferred out of solitary confinement after midnight the same night and was never seen again.

In his next report to the UN Commission on Human Rights on 2 November 1989, the UN Special Representative spoke of the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 no longer as an allegation but as a verified fact. He stated:

“The information emanating from various sources, including Iranian sources, and to some degree corroborated by official statements, confirmed that politically motivated mass executions took place in the second quarter of 1988 and that among those executed were prisoners who were serving sentences including some whose sentences were about to be concluded in a few days and others who had been recaptured.”²⁴⁴

Despite this, the UN failed to take appropriate action. Not only was there no condemnation from, or investigation authorized by, the then UN Commission on Human Rights and no referral by the UN General Assembly to the Security Council, the General Assembly did not even follow up on its resolution of 8 December 1988 which had expressed “grave concern” about “a renewed wave of executions in the period July-September 1988” targeting prisoners “because of their political convictions”.²⁴⁵ Prior to its adoption, this resolution had been strongly criticized by Iran’s permanent representative to the UN in New York, Mohammad Jafar Mahallati. He had called it “unjust” and said “a terrorist organization based in Iraq” was the main source of the “fake information” included in it.²⁴⁶

The next UN General Assembly resolution on the situation of human rights in Iran on 15 December 1989 comprised only five brief paragraphs and the word “concern” did not even appear. It does not make a single reference to the violations of human rights that were taking place in the country, including the systematic concealment of the fate and whereabouts of the victims of the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988. It simply states that the UN General Assembly “decides to continue the examination of the situation of

²⁴² Amnesty International interviewed Asadollah Nabavi in person in October 2017.

²⁴³ Amnesty International interviewed Asadollah Nabavi in person in October 2017.

²⁴⁴ *Interim report on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 2 November 1989, UN Doc. A/44/620, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/44/620, para. 110.

²⁴⁵ UN General Assembly, *Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, A/RES/43/137, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/43/137, para. 5.

²⁴⁶ Ettelaat, “Mahallati’s interview about the recent resolution of the UN”, 3 December 1988, p. 14.

human rights in Iran during its forty-fifth session in the light of additional elements provided by the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council.”²⁴⁷

The UN’s failure to act further emboldened the authorities to persist in their disavowals of the truth. In January 1990, in a meeting with the UN Special Representative, Abdollah Noori, the interior minister, denied the mass executions and claimed that the reports of mass killings was a propaganda campaign run by the PMOI in order to conceal their casualties at the battlefield.²⁴⁸



Abdollah Noori © Omidnameh

“In order to conceal the defeat of the invaders, a campaign had been organized abroad alleging that invaders captured on the battlefield had been executed en masse, together with imprisoned members of the same group.”

Abdollah Noori, the interior minister in 1990, denying the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in his meeting with the UN Special Representative on 24 January 1990²⁴⁹

In October 1990, Iran’s deputy foreign minister, Manouchehr Mottaki, submitted a reply to the UN Special Representative concerning 3,620 cases of executions which had been mentioned in the Special Representative’s reports between January 1988 to February 1990. The official reply did not acknowledge a single execution carried out in 1988. The authorities claimed that “the names of 2,109 persons allegedly executed cannot be recognized.” For the remaining 1,511, they provided vague comments that included claiming the reported execution victims were alive, “studying in Iranian universities”, “working in different organizations of the Islamic Republic” or “studying abroad”; that they were dead due “to natural causes” or “street clashes and clashes with border troops”; that they “had achieved martyrdom while confronting the Revolution’s enemies”; that they “were released from prison”; that they had “never been arrested”; that they had “sought shelter in foreign countries”; or that they were “held as prisoners of war in Iraq”.

The Iranian authorities said that the information included in the reply “had been compiled by the Statistics Department of the Minister of Justice, the Police Identification Unit, and the Registry and Statistics Organization”.²⁵⁰

In his next report on 6 November 1990, the UN Special Representative included a supplementary list of 346 additional persons allegedly executed in Iran between 1981 and 1990, 47 of whom were recorded as executed in 1988.²⁵¹ The Iranian government subsequently replied, commenting on the list while refusing to acknowledge any of the reported executions from 1988. Of the 47 executions recorded as having been carried out in 1988, the authorities did not provide any reply on 23. With regards to the remaining 24, they made comments that included claiming that the reported execution victims had been previously imprisoned because of “their opposition to the Islamic Republic of Iran” but were later released; that they were alive and were “studying at universities” or “studying abroad”; that they “lived and worked in the Islamic Republic of Iran”; that they had “escaped to foreign countries” after being released from prison or in order to avoid conscription; that they were “held as prisoners of war in Iraq”; that they had “died due to natural causes”; or that they “had achieved martyrdom while confronting the Revolution’s enemies.”²⁵²

²⁴⁷ UN General Assembly, *Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, A/RES/44/163, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/44/163, para. 5.

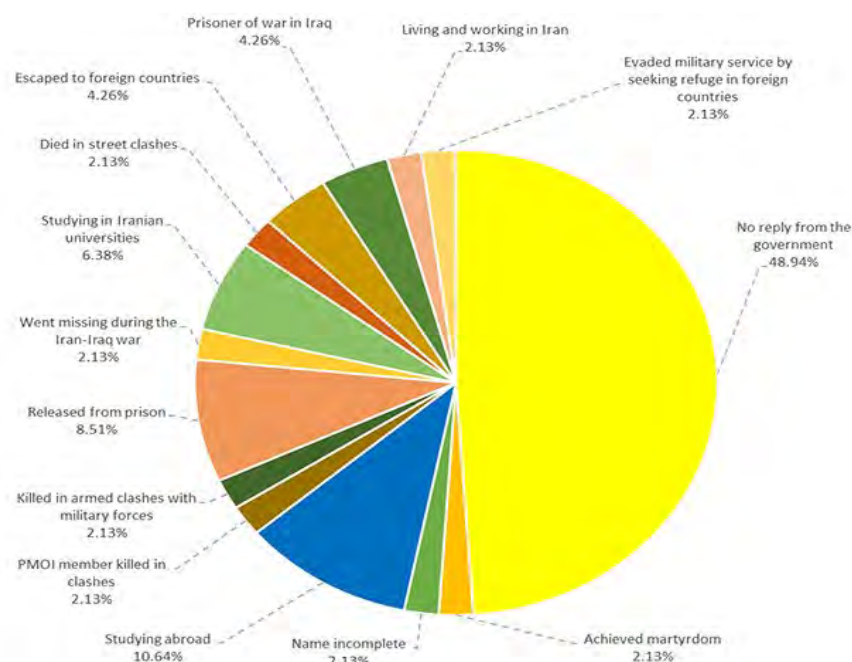
²⁴⁸ *Report on the situation of human rights in Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights*, 12 February 1990, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1990/24, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1990/24, para. 119.

²⁴⁹ *Report on the situation of human rights in Iran, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights*, 12 February 1990, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1990/24, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1990/24, para. 119.

²⁵⁰ *Interim report on the situation of human rights in Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 6 November 1990, UN Doc. A/45/697, Appendix VI, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/45/697, p. 94.

²⁵¹ *Interim report on the situation of human rights in Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 6 November 1990, UN Doc. A/45/697, Appendix I, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/45/697, pp. 69-80. Amnesty International arrived at these numbers by exporting the list of executions included in the November 1990 report of the UN Special Representative into a spreadsheet and filtering the entries that concerned executions carried out in 1988.

²⁵² *Report on the situation of human rights in Iran*, prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, 13 February 1991, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1991/35, Annex 3, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1991/35, pp. 104-114.



Breakdown of the Iranian authorities' responses to the UN about the fate of those killed during the mass prisoner killings of 1988. © Amnesty International

Amnesty International searched the 47 names of those reported to have been executed in 1988 in the lists prepared by the PMOI and the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran as well as the database of the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center and found that 35 are listed in at least one of the three sources as among the victims of the mass executions of 1988. These include victims who the authorities declared had been released, were studying in universities, were living and working in Iran, were studying abroad or had escaped to foreign countries (see annex 3). Amnesty International also obtained profile pictures of 11 of them, shown below.



Pictures of 11 reported execution victims whose executions the Iranian authorities refused to acknowledge to the UN. In five cases - Shokrollah Meshkinfam, Gholam Reza Kia Kajoury (misspelled in the Special Representative's report as Klakjory), Marzieh Rahmati, Nasrin Shojaie and Mohammad Said Haddadi (spelled in the Special Representative's report as Mohammad-Saïd Haddadi) - they provided no comment. In four cases, Fariba Ahmady, Farahnaz Ahmady, Mansour Ahmady and Gholam Reza Torkpour, they claimed the reported victims were "studying at universities" or "studying abroad". In the remaining cases concerning Bijan Bazargan and Mohammad Ahmady, they claimed that the former "had escaped to a foreign country" and the latter was released. The names are, from top left to bottom right: Mohammad Ahmady, Shokrollah Meshkinfam, Fariba Ahmady, Mansour Ahmady, Farahnaz Ahmady, Gholam Reza Kia Kajoury, Nasrin Shojaie, Bijan Bazargan, Marzieh Rahmati, Mohammad Said Haddadi, and Gholam Reza Torkpour. © Private

FARAHNAZ, FARIBA, MANSOUR AND MOHAMMAD AHMADY



Masoud Ahmady, holding the pictures of his siblings, four of whom were executed during the 1988 mass executions. © Amnesty International

→ Farahnaz Ahmady (top left), Fariba Ahmady (top right), Mohammad Ahmady (bottom left) and Mansour Ahmady (bottom right). © Private



Siblings Farahnaz, Fariba, Mansour and Mohammad Ahmady were among prisoners forcibly disappeared and extrajudicially executed in the mass prisoner killings of 1988. Yet, Iran, in its response to the UN, claimed that Farahnaz and Fariba were alive and studying at university, that Mansour Ahmady was studying abroad and that Mohammad Ahmady had been released. Amnesty International has, however, spoken to their brother, Masoud Ahmady²⁵³ and he said that his sisters, Farahnaz and Fariba had been arrested in the mid-1980s in Esfahan when they were 17 and 19 years old respectively. They were serving sentences of several years' imprisonment when they were executed in Esfahan prison in 1988. Masoud Ahmady also told Amnesty International that his brother Mohammad had been arrested in the early 1980s and was serving a 15-year prison term when he was executed. Mansour Ahmady was arrested in 1988 and executed in Shiraz prison in the same year. Masoud Ahmady said that the authorities warned his family not to hold a memorial service for their loved ones and, when they learned that the family had defied their order, they raided their house and disrupted the ceremony.

MARZIEH RAHMATI



Marzieh Rahmati © Private



Picture of Marzieh Rahmati's gravestone in Ilam. © Private

Marzieh Rahmati was forcibly disappeared and extrajudicially executed during the mass prisoner killings of 1988 in Ilam, western Iran, after spending about seven years in prison. Several months after her

²⁵³ Amnesty International interviewed Masoud Ahmady in person in October 2017.

execution, the authorities called her family, told them that she had been executed and gave them an address and a number, saying it was the location where she was buried. Marzieh Rahmati's family were able to find her body, along with several other bodies, in a mass grave at the site, which was on a hill on the outskirts of Saleh Abad cemetery outside Ilam. Despite acknowledging to her family that she had been executed and buried in an unmarked mass grave, the authorities provided no comment about her in their reply to the Special Representative.

Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Marzieh Rahmati's sister, Neda Rahmati, who told the organization that her sister had finished her prison sentence and was due to be released when she was executed.²⁵⁴ Marzieh Rahmati's family was looking to secure a property deed as the authorities had conditioned her release upon posting a property deed as bail. She said that her family owned a property, but it did not have a registered deed and were thus unable to secure the bail order. Marzieh Rahmati was shot by firing squad two or three months after her release order.

These evasive and distorted responses from the Iranian authorities in 1991 are the last formal exchanges between Iran and the UN on the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 that are cited in the reports of the UN Special Representative.

Given the gravity of the crimes committed in 1988, bearing all the hallmarks of crimes against humanity (see chapter 9 for the legal analysis), and the credibility of the reports and evidence related to them, the Iranian authorities should not have been able to shield themselves from scrutiny by unconvincing blanket denials and mere intransigence. Sadly, that is what happened.

As a result of this, the Iranian authorities have been emboldened to continue the concealment of the truth about the fate of the victims and the location of their remains and maintain a strategy of deflection and denial regarding enforced disappearances and arbitrary, summary or extrajudicial executions that continues to this day.

6.2 DENIAL AND DISTORTION IN IRAN

While internationally the Iranian authorities were issuing blanket denials, domestically, in the second half of 1988 and early 1989, they made statements that implicitly confirmed the executions but sought to disguise and distort their nature and scale and "justify" them.

Some of the statements presented the executions as a just and lawful response to a small group of violent individuals who had stirred up "riots" and somehow colluded with the PMOI from inside prison to support and join its armed incursion. Others claimed that the executed prisoners had all been on death row for several years. All the reactions downplayed the scale of the mass killings by representing the death toll as "low" or "insignificant".

For example, on 7 December 1988, Sayed Ali Khamenei, Iran's then president and current Supreme Leader, was quoted in an official newspaper saying:

"Do you think we should hand out sweets to a person who has been involved from inside prison with the activities of *monafeqin* who launched an armed attack within the borders of the Islamic Republic? If his relationship with that apparatus has been made clear, what should we do to him? He is punishable by the death penalty and we would certainly execute him."²⁵⁵

On 8 December 1988, Speaker of Parliament Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani said in an interview with the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB):

"... there are some cases where individuals commit treason and they deserve punishment. Well, their punishment is announced. For example, take this recent incident of the Mersad Operation. We found out through those of them [PMOI combatants] who were taken as captives that some inside the country were in contact with them [PMOI combatants]. It is only natural that they are punished for co-operating with an aggressor against the

²⁵⁴ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Neda Rahmati from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with her by voice call.

²⁵⁵ BBC Persian, "Official statements about the executions of the 1980s", 12 September 2013, www.bbc.com/persian/mobile/iran/2013/09/130912_25_anniversary_authoriteis_speech_nm.shtml

territory of Iran given this crime that Iraq and *monafeqin* jointly committed after the announcement of the ceasefire and [the fact that] they intended to carry out large-scale destructive acts in the country.”²⁵⁶

On 11 December 1988, the head of Iran’s Supreme Court and a member of Iran’s Supreme Judicial Council, Abdulkarim Mousavi Ardebili, was quoted as saying:

“Before and after the Mersad Operation, *monafeqin* had some stirs [*taharokat*] inside the prisons. I should recall that members of [opposition] grouplets are tried after arrest and some of them are sentenced to execution... However, the implementation of the sentence is avoided for a period in consideration of the situation of the prisoner and with the hope that, through the teachings that they receive in prison, they would be punished, return to the bosom of Islam healthy and enjoy pardon. However, in the days of the Mersad Operation, these stirs [*taharokat*] reached their peak. Accordingly, the crimes of convicts who were involved in these events became heavier. However, many individuals still benefited from [a stay of execution] and a second opportunity at the request of the prosecutor shortly before the execution or their names were placed in the list of pardon.”²⁵⁷

Abdulkarim Mousavi Ardebili added that he had recently met with the foreign minister about the “propaganda” of human rights organizations and the media, and emphasized during the meeting that they “were prepared to provide international bodies with evidence and documentation... provided that it is established for us that they are genuine about working for the discovery of the truth and [that this is] not a political issue.”

In February 1989, the then minister of foreign affairs, Ali Akbar Velayati, stated:

“In this country, those who resort to armed struggle must be killed and this is the law. Prisoners, who have been executed in recent months, were [members or supporters of] Mojahedin-e Khalq [PMOI] who had sought to advance into Iranian territory. The other people executed had confessed to having murdered political figures.”²⁵⁸

Regarding the number of victims, Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani stated in February 1989 that the number of prisoners executed in the last few months was “less than a thousand.”²⁵⁹ In May 1989, the head of the State Prisons Organizations, Majid Ansari, was quoted in an official newspaper as saying that the number of prisoners executed was “very little” and they were executed for “running networks in prison which were discovered after the Mersad Operation.”²⁶⁰

In the following years and decades, as survivors, families, human rights defenders and historians worked valiantly to preserve the memory of the mass killings and seek truth and justice, the official statements evolved into an intense disinformation campaign, inundating the public with narratives promoting a mix of untruths and victim-blaming.

Broadly speaking, the official disinformation campaign still centres on two narratives that are inconsistent but jointly seek to demonize the execution victims and divert attention from the unjust proceedings that led to their executions.

The first narrative reiterates the completely unsubstantiated position first taken by Abdulkarim Mousavi Ardebili in December 1988 that those executed were already on death row and the summary proceedings before their executions focused on whether they were adequately “repentant” and, therefore, qualified for pardon or commutation. For example, Ebrahim Raisi, who participated in the Tehran “death commission, was quoted in a state media outlet in May 2018 saying that this was analogous to the situation of “several thousand drug traffickers today whose sentences have been finalized but a decision has not yet been made to have them carried out.”²⁶¹

Similarly, Ali Fallahian, a high-profile cleric and politician who served as the minister of intelligence from 1989 to 1997, said in a well-publicized interview in August 2017:

²⁵⁶ *Ettelaat*, “The statements of the Speaker of Parliament about human rights”, 8 December 1988, p. 2.

²⁵⁷ *Ettelaat*, “The Judiciary will be absolutely firm in dealing with drug-traffickers”, 11 December 1988, p. 2.

²⁵⁸ BBC Persian, “Official statements about the executions of the 1980s”, 12 September 2013, www.bbc.com/persian/mobile/iran/2013/09/130912_25_anniversary_authoriteis_speech_nm.shtml

²⁵⁹ Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: MDE 13/021/1990), p. 11; Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry, p. 2. Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani became President of Iran later that year, a position he held until 1997.

²⁶⁰ BBC Persian, “Official statements about the executions of the 1980s”, 12 September 2013, www.bbc.com/persian/mobile/iran/2013/09/130912_25_anniversary_authoriteis_speech_nm.shtml

²⁶¹ Iranian Students’ News Agency, “The explanations of Raisi about the events of 1980s”, www.bit.ly/2JlosGN, 1 May 2018.

“It was arranged that a committee made up of three persons from the Ministry of Intelligence, the prosecutor’s office and those who were judges and knew the issue well, are formed and they examine and decide if some are pardonable and may be spared execution. The task of this committee was this and not issuing fresh death sentences.”²⁶²

The second narrative claims that those executed were subject to fresh prosecutions in 1988 for engaging in criminal communications and co-ordination with the PMOI from inside prison in order to stir up “riots” and join the armed incursion once it had advanced and liberated the prisons. For the past three decades, articles promoting this narrative have featured heavily in Iranian state media even though it has never been explained how thousands of prisoners from across the country could have possibly communicated and co-ordinated from inside Iran’s high-security prisons with an armed group outside the country.²⁶³ Moreover, the testimonies of survivors all confirm that these vague accusations of rebellion and secret collusion were not the focus of the interrogations they faced between July and September 1988 and no information was ever given to them that they were facing renewed prosecution and sentencing on fresh charges (see chapter 7 and annex 1).

In an apparent effort to deviate attention from flaws in their narratives, some Iranian officials have claimed that the “retrials” were only for prisoners who had previously engaged in “carnage” and “bloodshed”, and the aim was to identify those who were bent on re-engaging in such acts in the future and execute them as a pre-emptive measure.

For example, the top advisor to the country’s prosecutor general, Mohammad Ebrahim Nekounam, stated in a media interview in September 2016:

“I can say this with absolute certainty that those individuals [the execution victims] were formally put on trial. Their cases were studied and reviewed and there was awareness of their past profiles when they were asked many questions. These were questions such as: Why are you in prison? How long have you been in prison? What is your sentence? Where were you arrested? What were your previous charges? What is your position on *monafeqin*? This extended to a discussion about their current thinking about the organization [the PMOI], their positions on current affairs and whether or not they regretted the acts that they had previously committed.”²⁶⁴

He added:

“The trials were lengthy and occasionally consisted of multiple sessions... Sometimes, an individual was talked to for five to 10 hours until a conclusion could be reached, and the process was premised on accepting ‘declarations of repentance’ and maintaining the original conviction and sentence... In fact, the committee was there to decide on exceptional cases concerning individuals who would state their loyalty again to a series of actions taken by *monafeqin*. And not even all such individuals but those of them specifically who had been previously involved with atrocities and bloodshed.”

This description is refuted by corroborated testimonies of survivors about the summary nature of the proceedings leading to the mass prisoner killings of 1988 (see chapter 7 and annex 1). In any case, the official narrative concedes that the “retrials” bore little resemblance to judicial proceedings aimed at establishing the guilt or innocence of prisoners regarding an internationally recognizable criminal offence. Instead, they were formalized interrogation sessions designed to discover the political opinions of the prisoners and order the execution of those not willing to “repent”.

²⁶² Jamejam Online, “The account of Ali Fallahian about executions of 1988”, 19 August 2017, www.bit.ly/2BOunFN

²⁶³ See, for example, Mohammad Mahboubi, “A passing overview of the unclarity surrounding the executions of *monafeqin* in 1988”, Raja News, 15 August 2016, www.bit.ly/2GenOER; Yahya Rezvani, “What happened in the most dangerous decade of the Revolution’s life?”, Fars News Agency, 17 June 2017, www.bit.ly/2BQA3zB; Tasnim News, “Thousands of *monafeqin* were pardoned in 1988”, 24 July 2017, www.bit.ly/2woFTXp; Abbas Kolahdouz and Mohammad Ali Safli, “Behzad Nabavi openly insulted martyred Beheshti”, Tasnim News, 17 July 2017, www.bit.ly/2wpOaW1; Mehr News Agency, “Nategh Nouri’s firm defense of the executions of *monafeqin* in 1988”, 3 January 2018, www.bit.ly/2NnrOfR

²⁶⁴ Mashreghnews, “The truth of 1988 executions”, 24 September 2016, www.bit.ly/2MP16Pv

7. THE KILLINGS: WHAT REALLY HAPPENED

“Wrap yourselves in these white shrouds”

Mohammad Reza Ashough, who escaped while being transported to a firing squad, describing what guards ordered him and his companions to do before execution²⁶⁵

7.1 SURVIVORS' ACCOUNTS

The reality of what happened inside Iran's prisons during July-September 1988 gradually came to light in the late 1980s and early 1990s when survivors of the enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings were released from prison, fled Iran and spoke out about the horrors they had witnessed.

These accounts, available in memoirs, articles and testimonies, reveal the modus operandi of enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions in different cities.²⁶⁶ They recount how a few days after the PMOI's armed incursion in July 1988, in prisons across the country, the authorities suspended family visits without giving any reasons, stopped providing prisoners with newspapers, removed television sets from prisons, and systematically collected groups of prisoners from their cells around the country. Most were never seen again.

7.1.1 'DEATH COMMISSIONS'

Survivors consistently said that, after they were rounded up, prisoners were blindfolded and paraded before and interrogated by senior prison officials and committees made up of the Shari'a judge presiding over the Revolutionary Court in their city²⁶⁷ and senior representatives from the prosecutor's office and the ministry of intelligence (for more information on the composition of the committees, see section 7.3). In many cases, they said the process of collection was accompanied by insults, yelling, beatings and other ill-treatment. The committees, which survivors refer to as “death commissions”, bore little resemblance to a court:

²⁶⁵ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Mohammad Reza Ashough from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him in person. Amnesty International conducted two follow up interviews in person in August 2018.

²⁶⁶ For the lists of some of the memoirs written by former prisoners and survivors of the mass prisoner killings of 1988 and other gross human rights violations of the 1980s, see Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *Testimonies of victims and rights abusers: Prison Memoirs*, www.iranrights.org/library/collection/120/prison-memoirs; Monireh Baradaran, “Prison literature”, www.womenpoliticalprisoners.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/daa9d8aad8a7d8a8.pdf; *Political prisoners: The art of resistance in the Middle East*, www.womenpoliticalprisoners.com/resources/books-in-english/

²⁶⁷ After the 1979 revolution, in most cities across the country, a Revolutionary Court was set up by the order of Supreme Leader Rouhollah Khomeini. According to the Regulations Governing Revolutionary Courts and Prosecution Offices, adopted in 1979, each Revolutionary Court comprised a Shari'a judge recommended by the Islamic Revolutionary Council and approved by the Supreme Leader, a judge appointed by the Shari'a judge, and a person “trusted by the people in their righteousness who has knowledge of the requirements of the Islamic Revolution”, who was appointed by the Revolutionary Council. The regulations provided that the court was presided over by the Shari'a judge. See Regulations Governing Revolutionary Courts and Prosecution Offices, www.rc.majlis.ir/fa/law/show/98140, Articles 4-5.

- the proceedings were so summary and arbitrary that they could not be considered to constitute an actual judicial proceeding;
- they did not operate within existing legislation;
- they were not concerned with establishing the guilt or innocence of “defendants” regarding an internationally recognized criminal offence;
- In the case of PMOI prisoners, the questions focused on whether they were prepared to:
 - denounce the PMOI and its leadership;
 - express “repentance” about their political opinions and activities; and
 - declare loyalty to the Islamic Republic through written and/or televised “confessions”;
- In the case of leftist prisoners, the interrogations appeared like a religious inquisition as the questions focused primarily on their attitudes towards Islam. Prisoners were mainly asked questions such as:
 - Are you a Muslim?
 - Do you pray?
 - Do you read the Qur’an?
 - Did your father pray and read the Qur’an?

Prisoners were not told why they faced these questions or that their answers could condemn them to death. Some in fact misunderstood the purpose of the session, believing that they were appearing before a pardon committee.

In many cases across the country, the questions also tested how far the prisoners were prepared to demean their humanity and inflict harm on themselves and others. The questions (see case boxes in annex 1) included:

- Are you willing to walk through an active minefield to assist the army of the Islamic Republic?
- Are you willing to join the armed forces of the Islamic Republic and fight against the PMOI?
- Are you willing to provide information on former comrades, identify fake “repenters” (*tawwab*) and “co-operate” with intelligence officials?
- Are you willing to participate in firing squads?
- Are you willing to hang a *monafeq* (a pejorative epithet for members and supporters of the PMOI)?

When most of the prisoners did not give the responses required by those on the commissions, they were consequently dispatched for execution.

Survivors have said that prisoners were not informed that they were condemned to death until shortly before their executions; sometimes they only learned about their impending fate when they were given a pen and piece of paper and told to write down their last wishes. Even then, they did not know when and how they would die until they were lined up before a firing squad or nooses were put around their necks. There was no possibility of appeal at any point during the process.

The minority who managed to give the “correct” answers were taken back to their cells either immediately or after a period in solitary confinement. They said that, in some prisons, they faced threats, overheard conversations or saw puzzling signs that suggested that the prisoners who had been taken away had been executed.

For example, in Gohardasht prison in Karaj, some prisoners said that they saw large refrigerated trucks, usually used for transporting meat, entering the prison. They described hearing the noises of bodies being thrown at the back of empty trucks and realized that they were being loaded with bodies of those executed in order to transport them out of prison. Some said they saw guards carrying wheelbarrows full of ropes or wearing gas masks and spraying what they believed was disinfectant on the area where the trucks were parked.²⁶⁸ Some said they caught a glimpse of a “huge pile of rubber slippers which numbered maybe

²⁶⁸ See for example statements by survivors Mehdi Aslani, Akbar Sadeqi, Ebrahim Mohammad Rahimi and Iraj Mesdaghi in Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, pp. 48, 54, 56-57, 68, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry

1,000".²⁶⁹ In Evin prison, some prisoners learned through prisoners convicted of non-political crimes that barrels of slippers were being taken out of the prison every day.²⁷⁰ In Rasht, a survivor said she overheard guards telling each other cheerfully that they had "finished everyone" overnight.²⁷¹ In Zanjan, a survivor said they caught a glimpse of a room in which the authorities had put the belongings of all the prisoners taken away.²⁷²

Several survivors said they or their companions, some of whom were later killed, were taken by the authorities to the gallows and made to watch or participate in the executions²⁷³ or caught a glimpse of the room where nooses were dangling.²⁷⁴ Some of them thought the authorities confronted them with the executed bodies of relatives or fellow prisoners in order to provoke them into making angry statements that could then be used to condemn them to death.²⁷⁵

In many prisons, prisoners remained largely unaware that most of their cell mates had been executed until prison visits resumed in late October, early November 1988 and the authorities began breaking the news of the executions to families (see the case boxes in annex 1, which provide an overview of the circumstances surrounding the mass killings of July-September 1988 in prisons of 16 cities across Iran).

7.1.2 VICTIMS

In provincial prisons outside Tehran province, with the exception of Kurdistan province, the victims were primarily members or supporters of the PMOI, both men and women. In Kurdistan and West Azerbaijan provinces, the waves of enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings also targeted hundreds of prisoners affiliated with the Kurdish opposition groups Komala and the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI).

According to survivors, in prisons in a few provincial cities, one or several male prisoners affiliated with leftist or other groups and, in the case of at least one prison in Esfahan, a female prisoner affiliated with a leftist group, were also executed, but these categories of prisoners were not targeted systematically for execution. Nevertheless, Amnesty International's research indicates that many of them were taken away for interrogation, either during the height of the killings between late July and early September 1988 or later in September and October, and that some were placed in prolonged solitary confinement, lasting in some cases until early 1989, and were led to believe that they too would be killed.²⁷⁶

The pattern was starkly different in Evin prison in Tehran and Gohardasht prison in Karaj. Here, in addition to PMOI supporters, hundreds of prisoners affiliated with leftist and other political groups were systematically targeted for execution.

A first wave of executions, between late July and mid-August, targeted several thousand members and supporters of the PMOI, both men and women.²⁷⁷ According to survivors, interrogations always started with a fateful question: "What is your political affiliation?" Those who proudly answered that they were "Mojahedin" (the appellation members of the PMOI preferred for themselves) were immediately ordered to join a line which meant they would be executed. Those who answered that they were "*monafeqin*" or members of "the

²⁶⁹ Amnesty International, *Iran: Executions of prisoners continue unabated* (Index: MDE 13/018/92), p. 3; Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, pp. 48, 54, 56-57, 68, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry

²⁷⁰ See for example statements by Ebrahim Fatemi, Reza Shemirani and another anonymous survivor in Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, pp. 48, 55, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry; Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988: An Addendum, Witness testimonies and official statements*, 10 December 2013, www.iranrights.org/library/document/2498/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-an-addendum-witness-testimonies-and-official-statements, p. 114.

²⁷¹ See the statement made by Shayesteh Vandoost in the case box on Rasht in annex 1.

²⁷² See the statement made by Rahmat Gholami in the case box on Zanjan in annex 1.

²⁷³ See for example the statements made by Asqar Mehdizadeh from Gohardasht prison in Karaj, Jahangir Esmailpour from Adelabad prison in Shiraz, and Javad Abdollahi from Vakilabad prison in Mashhad below.

²⁷⁴ See the statement made by Shahab Shokuhi from Gohardasht prison in Karaj in Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry, p. 50.

²⁷⁵ See the statements made by Asqar Mehdizadeh from Gohardasht prison in Karaj and Jahangir Esmailpour from Adelabad prison in Shiraz below and the statement made by Hamid Saidian in the case box on Mashhad in annex 1.

²⁷⁶ See for example statements made by Rasoul Showkati in the case box on Mashhad and Mohammad Hoshi in the case box on Esfahan, both in annex 1.

²⁷⁷ The sequence of executions is known through survivors as well as Hossein Ali Montazeri, who writes in his memoirs that the authorities first targeted PMOI prisoners based on a secret fatwa that Rouhollah Khomeini issued in July 1988 and then turned their attention to "non-religious and communist" prisoners based on a second secret order issued by Rouhollah Khomeini. See section 7.3 and Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs* (Sherkat Ketab, 2001), pp. 351, 357.

organization”, the euphemism used by PMOI supporters in prison to avoid beatings, were asked additional questions designed to uncover if they remained “steadfast” in their opposition to the Islamic Republic. A wide range of responses qualified as being “steadfast”, ranging from ideological support for the PMOI to a mere refusal to express “repentance” and denounce opposition groups in writing. Most of the prisoners were deemed not to have given the required responses and were executed.

At the end of August 1988, in a second wave, the “death commission” operating in Evin and Gohardasht prisons turned its attention to political dissidents imprisoned in connection with their support for various leftist political groups.²⁷⁸

Many prisoners did not realize the significance of these questions. Male prisoners, who said their fathers prayed and indicated that they had been brought up in a practising Muslim family were categorized as an “innate apostate” (*mortad fetri*) and condemned to death. Those who said they were brought up in non-practising families and had never practiced the religion themselves, were spared the death penalty, but they were ordered to be flogged until they agreed to pray.²⁷⁹

For women, the “incorrect” answer led to a flogging sentence amounting to torture - five lashes every prayer time (that is, 25 lashes a day) - until they agreed to pray regularly or die under torture.²⁸⁰

A survivor of the mass killings in Gohardasht prison in Karaj said the following to Amnesty International in March 1992 about the torture that was systematically inflicted for a period on leftist prisoners who survived the mass killings for refusing to pray:

“Immediately after the massacre... they lined us up and asked each of us if we were ready to pray. I was in the middle of the queue... Most of the ones in front of me said that they were Muslims but would not pray. They had put a steel bedstead in one part of the room, and each one who refused was put on the bed and a guard would sit on him and a prison official would order them to be lashed. Each prisoner was lashed until he said he would pray. Some had ten lashes others 20... There was a prisoner who was given 50-70 lashes and almost fainted. The guards let him fall down. When they asked him if he would pray, he was unable to speak; he just nodded... When we saw this brutality, most of us said we would go and pray... The next morning at 5 a.m., about 20 guards came into the section, knocked on all the doors, shouting and swearing at us to get up and pray. Again, they had a bedstead behind the door. Five who refused were taken and beaten until they agreed to pray. We could even hear the cries of other prisoners in neighbouring sections who were suffering similar treatment. This became the routine 5 a.m. practice - each day they beat those who refused. Some decided to commit suicide, as they could not stand the pressures.”

Another survivor, who was in the women’s ward, told Amnesty International:

“We were aware of the massacre of the men prisoners and assumed that the Mojahedin [PMOI] women prisoners had also been executed. We discussed this [issue of refusing to pray] among ourselves and decided to stick it out to the end... We could not see the future clearly. We thought at that time that we were in a world of death. There was no contact with the world of the living...”²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: MDE 13/021/1990); *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry, pp. 61-75; Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs* (Sherkat Ketab, 2001), pp. 351, 357.

²⁷⁹ See, for example, statements made by Shahab Shokuhi, Mehrdad Neshati Malekians and Nima Parvaresh in Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry, pp. 66-67, 69-70.

²⁸⁰ See, for example, statements made by Mahiar Maki, Fariba Sabet, Shahla Azad and Monireh Baradaran in Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry, pp. 71-70.

²⁸¹ Amnesty International, *Iran: Imprisonment, torture and execution of political opponents* (Index: MDE 13/001/92), p. 7.

'WRAP YOURSELVES IN THESE WHITE SHROUDS'



Mohammad Reza Ashough © Amnesty International

Mohammad Reza Ashough survived the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 by escaping en route to the firing squad. In 1988, he was serving a lengthy prison sentence in what informally used to be referred to as UNESCO prison in Dezful,²⁸² imposed in connection with his support for the PMOI.²⁸³

He recalled that on 30 July dozens of PMOI prisoners were told that an “amnesty commission” had come to reconsider their cases. The PMOI prisoners were taken in groups to the main prison office. There, he

said, they were ordered to lift their blindfold one by one and faced a “commission” comprising the Shari’a judge who presided over the cases of political activists in Khuzestan province, Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi; the prosecutor of Dezful, Alireza Avaei; and several senior prison and intelligence officials.

He said that two prisoners before him were asked if they were prepared to fight against Iraq. They replied “yes”. They were then asked if they were prepared to fight the *monafeqin*. They replied, “No, we are sentenced to imprisonment and we shall not go.”

Mohammad Reza Ashough said that he was first asked if he was a Muslim, and he replied “yes”. He continued:

“They said: ‘If you are a Muslim, will you now fight for Islam?’ I replied, ‘Well, I don’t know what that means.’ They said, ‘Will you fight for Iran?’ I replied, ‘Yes, I will fight for Iran. If something happens to Iran, I will fight for Iran’... They ultimately asked, ‘You say that you are a Muslim. Are you now prepared to walk through a minefield and die for Islam?’ I objected to the question and said that I should be crazy to walk on mines as soon as I become a Muslim.”

Mohammad Reza Ashough said that at this point members of the “commission” looked embarrassed and so asked if he was prepared to fight the PMOI. He replied, “No, I have a prison sentence and I will not go to fight.” In response, he said the intelligence official ordered the note taker to put Mohammad Reza Ashough’s name on “the other list” and the session ended.

Mohammad Reza Ashough said that, of the eight people in his group, six were put on the list and two who said they would fight against the PMOI were not. They did not know what the purpose of the list was.

The next day, dozens of other prisoners who had gone through the questioning process were told to collect their belongings in preparation for a transfer to Ahvaz. However, they were then lined up, blindfolded and taken to the prosecutor’s office. There, they were told that they no longer needed their belongings. They were taken to a corner one by one, given a pen and piece of paper and told that they had 10 minutes to write their last wishes. That was the first moment the prisoners learned they were to be put to death. Some prisoners, including Mohammad Reza Ashough, protested, which led to guards beating them. Others wept or remained silent, lost in their thoughts.

Mohammad Reza Ashough said that the prisoners were then taken to the prison courtyard, blindfolded with their hands tied behind their back. They were made to sit there for several hours until it got dark. Then they were forced aboard two minibuses, which they were told were going to Ahvaz. However, after a while, the vehicles stopped at a military barracks, which Mohammad Reza Ashough believes was called Valiasr in the 1980s. The prisoners were taken to an area with showers and ordered to wash and put on white shrouds. Mohammad Reza Ashough said the scene was harrowing, with prisoners screaming and shouting out their names to let each other know who was there. He says that he refused to wear the shroud and as a result guards tied his hands behind his back and beat him.

²⁸² Prior to the 1979 Revolution, the site used to function a school run by UNESCO. Following the revolution, it was transformed into a prison and was informally called the UNESCO prison by the prisoners.

²⁸³ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Mohammad Reza Ashough from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him in person. Amnesty International conducted a follow-up interview with him in person in August 2018.

After this, he said prisoners were returned to the minibuses. Mohammad Reza Ashough managed to free his hands from the ropes. In the darkness and amid the screams he escaped by throwing himself out of the window and miraculously did so without attracting the guards' attention.

Mohammad Reza Ashough said he ran into the darkness, climbed over the barbed wire surrounding the military base and swam in the Karkheh river. He said that he had travelled about 1km when he heard repeated gunshots and understood that his fellow prisoners had been executed by firing squad. He eventually found his way to the city of Andimeshk, where he sought refuge in an acquaintance's house. He subsequently went to Tehran and from there, fled Iran.

Mohammad Reza Ashough's account is corroborated by a letter sent by Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi, the Shari'a judge who presided over his questioning, to Rouhollah Khomeini on 14 August 1988. A copy of the letter was also sent to dissident cleric Hossein Ali Montazeri. The letter expresses concern that some prisoners in Dezful, including Mohammad Reza Ashough, were selected for execution even though they had declared that they were prepared to denounce the PMOI. The letter also notes that Mohammad Reza Ashough had escaped as he was being taken to be executed.²⁸⁴

'HE HAD TAKEN A JOURNEY TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD AND HIS GHOST HAD RETURNED'



Jahangir Esmailpour © Justice for Iran

Jahangir Esmailpour survived the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Adelabad prison in Shiraz. In 1988, he was serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with his support for the Minority faction of Fadaiyan, a secular leftist political organization.²⁸⁵

Jahangir Esmailpour recalled that in late July the authorities called out the names of dozens of prisoners and took them away. He said that, for several weeks, they had no information about these prisoners until one of them, Abbas Mira'iyani, came back.

According to Jahangir Esmailpour, Abbas Mira'iyani looked devastated:

"It felt like he had taken a journey to the land of the dead and his ghost had returned. For five days he was so distressed that he would not speak to anyone. Then we finally managed to get him to talk and he explained that all the others who had been taken away had been hanged. He had been warned not to tell us, but he thought that he had been brought back on purpose to see what our reaction would be to this news."

Jahangir Esmailpour continued, saying that Abbas Mira'iyani told them that he had been taken to the detention centre of the Revolutionary Guards in Shiraz and brought before a "commission" that asked him if he recognized the Islamic Republic, would be willing to "co-operate" with the authorities, and declare himself "repentant". He said that he replied "yes" to every question. Then the "commission" asked him if he was willing to hang a "*monafeq*". Abbas Mira'iyani said that he answered "yes", thinking that the authorities were not serious. However, he was then blindfolded, taken to another area, given a rope and told to pull it. He said he started to cry and say he could not. Several days later, he was returned to Adelabad prison.

Jahangir Esmailpour said that several weeks later Abbas Mira'iyani's name was again called and, as he was being taken out, he yelled at the guards, "Kill me sooner! Relieve me!" He did not survive.

Jahangir Esmailpour said that the height of the killings in Shiraz was in August and early September, when every day a group of 15 to 20 PMOI prisoners were taken away. Most never returned. Some briefly came back but were then taken away again. Only a small number of those who returned were not called

²⁸⁴ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs* (Sherkat Ketab, 2001), Annex No. 157, p. 602.

²⁸⁵ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Jahangir Esmailpour from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him in person.

back and, according to Jahangir Esmailpour, these prisoners were visibly broken: “You could see it on their faces that they had returned from the land of the dead. I mean they had gone and seen death and then returned.”

‘THE GUARDS PULLED AT THE LEGS OF DANGLING PRISONERS’



Asqar Mehdizadeh © Amnesty International

Asqar Mehdizadeh survived the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988. He was serving a lengthy prison term in Gohardasht prison in Karaj in 1988, imposed in connection with his support for the PMOI. He described to Amnesty International²⁸⁶ a horrific execution scene that he was made to watch on 9 August 1988:

“It was a Tuesday near noon when [a prison official] summoned and handed me over to two guards and they took me to the hall [where the gallows had been set up]. I saw a great many number of prisoners who were standing outside the hall. I tried to see if I could recognize anyone from under my blindfold. A prisoner next to me turned around and said, ‘Do you know why they have brought you here?’ I said no. He said, ‘They [prison officials] will soon take [us] inside for execution.’ Some of the people there had been given a piece of paper to write their last wishes; others had torn the papers up. Some were breaking their watches [to make them stop on the date and time of their execution].

“After a short while, a guard came and took me inside the hall. Once there, he pulled down my blindfold for a few moments and I saw numerous bodies strewn on the ground. There were about 12 chairs with 12 ropes hanging above them. The guards were busy quickly bringing in the prisoners and putting nooses around their necks and the guards pulled at the legs of dangling prisoners until they died... I saw some prisoners who were chanting, and this made the guards very hysterical. [One of the senior prison officials] attacked and hit them and yelled, ‘Kill all of these quickly! Finish them off!’ I do not know what happened next. I was not able to stand up any more and I passed out. The next thing I felt was that they were sprinkling water at my face and a guard dragged me out.”

Asqar Mehdizadeh thinks that he survived the mass killings because, during his interrogations in 1988, he used the pejorative term “*monafeq*” when he was asked about his charge and consistently said, including in writing, that he did not support the PMOI any more and just wanted to go back to having a normal life. He believes that the prison officials took him to the gallows to provoke him into making an angry statement in support of his PMOI companions that they could then use to condemn him to death.

²⁸⁶ Amnesty International interviewed Asqar Mehdizadeh in person in November 2017.

'I BUMPED INTO THE TWITCHING BODIES OF THE DYING PRISONERS'



Javad Abdollahi © Private

Javad Abdollahi survived the mass killings of July-September 1988 in Vakilabad prison in Mashhad. In 1988, he was serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with his support for the PMOI.²⁸⁷

He recalled that in late July he was taken, along with dozens of other PMOI supporters, to a detention centre in Mashhad run by the Revolutionary Guards and known as Kouh Sangi. The prisoners were divided into several rooms, with about 60 in each room. In the following days, he said, the prisoners held in other rooms were all taken away. He said that for some time they had no information about the fate of those taken away until three men, Mohsen Hanayee, Javad Tousi and Akbar Delsouzi, were returned to the room he was in. The men recounted that they had been taken by the guards to a parking area and confronted with a harrowing scene of many dead bodies hung from the roof. Several days later, Javad Abdollahi said that he and all the other prisoners in his room were called and taken, while blindfolded, before the “death commission”:

“They [the officials] made us sit in a row blindfolded. Then, they called our names one by one and asked each of us a series of questions including: Are you prepared to give a media interview? Are you prepared to denounce your organization? Do you support the Islamic Republic system? Are you prepared to participate in a firing squad? We were about 60 people and it took about an hour and a half to question everyone...

“They [the officials] then took us to the same parking space that Mohsen, Javad and Akbar had previously described and this time they were also with us. There, they made each one of us go up and stand on a stepladder, blindfolded, and then they put the noose around our neck. After that, while the noose was around our neck, an intelligence official approached each of us, noted that these were the last minutes of our life and asked again if we were prepared to ‘repent’, give a media interview, denounce the PMOI and accept the Islamic Republic system... I was one of the last people in the row who he approached. I answered no to all his questions. He asked me why. I said that I did not want to lie to them and explained that I had suffered a lot in my earlier years of imprisonment in Tabriz and that I had been severely tortured and even lost one of my kidneys. At this point, the official removed the noose and ordered me to come down off the stepladder while swearing at me. I don’t know why he did that exactly...

“After he brought me down, I heard him telling the driver of a minibus that was parked near the stepladders to move forward. All the stepladders had been tied by a rope to the minibus. The vehicle moved, and the prisoners were all dangled from the roof. Then, cruelly, the official made me walk, while blindfolded, around the area where the bodies were dangling. As he walked me, I bumped into the twitching bodies of the dying prisoners. The intelligence official told me, ‘Don’t think that I had mercy on you. I know that watching this scene is harsher than execution.’”

Javad Abdollahi continued, saying that, after this harrowing experience, he was transferred to solitary confinement. He was held there for about 20 days and then was returned to Vakilabad prison. He said that he knew of a few other PMOI prisoners in Vakilabad prison who were treated the same way. He told Amnesty International that to this day he remains haunted by his memories: “After 30 years, most of my dreams are still about executions. I am either being executed or there is this gruelling wait where my execution looms in the future.”²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷ Amnesty International interviewed Javad Abdollahi by voice call in October 2018.

²⁸⁸ Amnesty International interviewed Javad Abdollahi by voice call in October 2018.

7.2 A PRE-PLANNED MASSACRE?

Former prisoners from Evin and Gohardasht prisons refer to a pattern of threats, interrogations, classification procedures and transfers of prisoners between Evin, Gohardasht and other prisons in the months leading up to July 1988, well before the PMOI's armed incursion on 25 July. In hindsight, many are certain this was a prelude to the mass prisoners killings.²⁸⁹

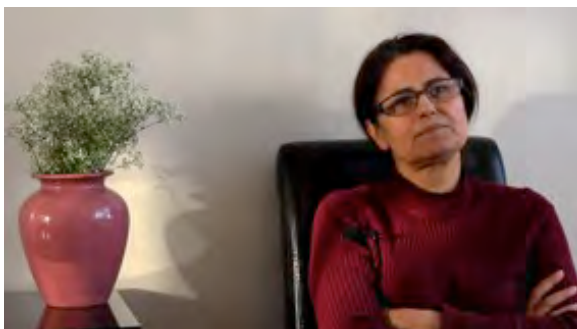
Amnesty International's research has revealed a similar pattern in various provincial prisons. Survivors from these prisons told the organization that, between late 1987 and mid-July 1988, prisoners faced unexpected interrogations, either orally or through extensive written questionnaires, which focused on their political opinions and continued commitment to opposition groups. Survivors also reported that, during the same period, prison officials and interrogators threatened that, at some point, they would be "dealt with" and that the prisons would be "cleansed".

Another pattern that some survivors believe indicates the pre-planned nature of the mass prisoner killings is a massive wave of arrest of hundreds of prisoners, who had been released several years earlier, during the weeks leading up to July 1988 and shortly after the PMOI's armed incursion on 25 July 1988.²⁹⁰

Amnesty International's research also points to a nationwide pattern of transferring prisoners unexpectedly and without explanation from their home city to elsewhere, sometimes far from their provinces, in the months preceding July 1988.²⁹¹ Many former prisoners believe these transfers were part of a classification exercise aimed at identifying prisoners who were "steadfast" in their political beliefs and marking them for continued imprisonment and possible elimination.

The prisoners also said that the transfers enabled the authorities to restrict the flow of information during the mass killings in small towns and cities where there was a greater likelihood of families knowing judicial officials and prison guards through local networks and extended families.

RASHT



Shayesteh Vatandoost © Justice for Iran

Shayesteh Vatandoost survived the mass killings in Nirouyeh Daryaei prison in Rasht, Gilan province.²⁹² She recalls that in late 1987 and early 1988, a renewed round of interrogations started unexpectedly; prisoners were summoned one by one without knowing why and asked to complete a lengthy interrogation form.

She was called for this interrogation on 6 February 1988. She said that her memory of the questions has faded, but remembered that they included: Why were you arrested? What was your crime? Do you accept the Islamic

²⁸⁹ See, for example, the following memoirs by Nima Parvaresh, *An Unequal Battle: a report of 7 years imprisonment 1982-1989* 1995, www.iran-archive.com/sites/default/files/sanad/nima-parvaresh-nabardi-nabarabar.pdf, pp. 99-106; Iraj Mesdaghi, *Neither Life nor Death, Volume 3: Restless Raspberries* (Alfabet Maxima Publishing, 2006), second edition, www.ketabfarsi.org/ketabkhaneh/ketabkhani_4/ketab4893/ketab489300001.pdf, pp. 65-100; and Reza Ghaffari, *Memoirs of a Prisoner in the Prisons of the Islamic Republic of Iran 1998*, www.iran-archive.com/sites/default/files/sanad/ghaffari-xaterate-zendan.pdf, pp. 233-239. See also the statements made by survivors Manuchehr Es'haqi and Mehdi Aslani in Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry, p. 34; and the statements made by survivors Mehdi Aslani and Amir Atiabi in Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, *Deadly Fatwa: Iran's 1988 Prison Massacre*, 2009, pp. 10-14, www.iranhrdc.org/deadly-fatwa-irans-1988-prison-massacre/

²⁹⁰ Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, *Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, 26 January 1989, UN Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=E/CN.4/1989/26, para. 17; Amnesty International, *Iran: Political executions* (Index: MDE 13/29/88); Amnesty International, *Iran: Executions of prisoners continue unabated* (Index: MDE 13/018/92), p. 4. See also statements by Azad Zamani in the case box on Sanandaj and Mohammad Hoshi in the case box on Esfahan both in annex 1.

²⁹¹ In the interviews conducted by Amnesty International, transfers of prisoners between the following locations were mentioned: Boroujerd to Khorramabad, both in Lorestan province; Astara, Fouman, Anzali, Roudbar and Langaroud to Rasht, all in Gilan province; Ilam and Kermanshah to Tehran or Karaj; Babol and Sari to Ghaemshahr and vice versa, all in Mazandaran province; Urumieh in East Azerbaijan province to Tabriz in West Azerbaijan province; and Zahedan in Sistan and Baluchestan province to Ahvaz in Khuzestan province and Mashhad in Razavi Khorasan province.

²⁹² Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Shayesteh Vatandoost from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with her in person.

Republic system? What is your view of the Islamic Republic system? She also remembered that, after she completed the form, the interrogator threatened that she would regret her answers. Shayesteh Vatanidoost recalls that several months later, between 9 and 17 July 1988, prisoners, both men and women, were lined up, brought one by one while blindfolded before two or three officials sitting behind a desk, and asked two questions: What is your name and what is your crime? Shayesteh Vatanidoost says that as far as she knows, most prisoners affiliated with leftist groups responded to the second question by saying they were a leftist and most of the PMOI prisoners said they sympathized with the “organization”. If the official insisted on asking them to clarify which organization, most responded using the pejorative term “*monafegin*” to avoid reprisal and only a few said they were “Mojahedin”. Following these interrogations, prisoners were returned to their wards. She said nothing further happened until 27 July 1988, when the prison was put on lockdown and prisoners were removed never to be seen again.

SEM NAN



Asadollah Nabavi © Amnesty International

Asadollah Nabavi survived the mass prisoner killings of 1988 in Semnan.²⁹³ He said that in late 1987 all the 50 or so PMOI prisoners in their ward including himself were taken to solitary confinement and given half a day to complete an interrogation form with about 100 questions. He said they were told that they must complete the form or would be held in solitary confinement.

Asadollah Nabavi recalled that the form started with questions about the prisoner’s family background, including details of any

relative who had been imprisoned or executed. They were then asked about the reason for their arrest, whether they thought their sentence was fair, if they accepted the Islamic Republic and its Supreme Leader, and what they planned to do if released. He said they were also asked if they would co-operate with intelligence bodies, fight on the front lines of the war with Iraq, inform on PMOI contacts or continue political activism. Asadollah Nabavi said:

“The questions were designed in a way that, however you answered them, you would fall into a trap... In short, they wanted to know where you stood in terms of your opinions and beliefs. I felt that... a full inquisition had been made into my conscience.”

TABRIZ AND URUMIEH



Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian © Amnesty International

Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian survived the mass prisoner killings of 1988 in the main prison of Tabriz, East Azerbaijan province.²⁹⁴ He had been transferred there from the central prison of Urumieh in West Azerbaijan province in March 1988 along with around 40 other PMOI prisoners, after a prolonged hunger strike.

Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian said that, in Urumieh prison from early 1987, the authorities intensified their surveillance to identify prisoners who were “steadfast” in their political beliefs and placed them in an isolated

ward where they were under constant surveillance and denied regular family visits and access to newspapers and television. These prisoners, about 60 in total, included both PMOI supporters and people affiliated with Kurdish opposition groups. He said that, when he complained about these repressive

²⁹³ Amnesty International interviewed Asadollah Nabavi in person in October 2017.

²⁹⁴ Amnesty International interviewed Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian in person in November 2017.

conditions, he was told by a senior prison official, “They should have executed all of you from the beginning. We have burdened ourselves with extra mouths to feed.”

Abdolrasoul Ebrahimiyan recalled that a month after his transfer to the prison in Tabriz, all the PMOI prisoners in his ward were brought before two intelligence officials and interrogated about their current political stance and the PMOI. In his session, he said that he no longer had anything to do with the PMOI or politics in general; he just wanted to live an ordinary life. He said he was blindfolded during the interrogation but realized that one of the two officials was taking notes. After these interrogations, he said, nothing changed until the prison was put on lockdown in late July 1988 and prisoners were removed never to be seen again.

ESFAHAN



Mohammad Hoshi © Justice for Iran

Mohammad Hoshi survived the mass prisoner killings in Dastgerd prison in Esfahan.²⁹⁵ In this prison, he said, the classification procedures started in 1986. He said a team from the ministry of intelligence in Tehran conducted a series of interrogations of all the prisoners, including through forcing prisoners to complete a lengthy interrogation form, which contained questions about their own political views as well as those of their families, any trips abroad, their plans for the future, and their willingness to fight on the front line and do intelligence work inside prison.

Mohammad Hoshi said that, later in 1986, the same team returned with a new series of questionnaires. This time, the questions focused more on the personal life of the prisoners, such as their marriage status and their participation in the prison’s cultural activities.

Mohammad Hoshi said that, throughout 1986 and 1987, the authorities relied on these interrogations to divide up prisoners into different wards. Prisoners who were deemed most “steadfast” in their opposition to the system were grouped together. He believes that by 1988, the authorities had completed the categorization in preparation for the mass killings.

In 2009, the Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, a human rights organization, published a report that analysed the pattern of interrogations and classification procedures and concluded that “there is ample evidence that the regime planned and prepared for the massacre well before [July 1988].”²⁹⁶ The report noted that “the late-1987 interrogations differed from those of the past. Suddenly emphasis was placed on prisoners’ personal beliefs and political positions, including their views on the Supreme Leader and political organizations.”²⁹⁷

By contrast, international criminal law expert Geoffrey Robertson stated in a 2011 report commissioned by the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center that:

“There remains doubt... as to whether, prior to July 1988, the officials of the regime were determined to kill men and women they had corralled in their prisons for up to seven years since 1981.”²⁹⁸

He noted:

“No direct evidence has emerged after twenty years, from prison officers or from the factions within the government (including Montazeri himself) to suggest that these developments were part of any long-brewing

²⁹⁵ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Mohammad Hoshi from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him in person. Amnesty International conducted two follow-up interviews by voice call in October and November 2018.

²⁹⁶ Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, *Deadly Fatwa: Iran’s 1988 Prison Massacre*, 2009, www.iranhrdc.org/deadly-fatwa-irans-1988-prison-massacre/, p. 10.

²⁹⁷ Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, *Deadly Fatwa: Iran’s 1988 Prison Massacre*, 2009, p. 12.

²⁹⁸ Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry, pp. 34-35.

conspiracy to massacre prisoners, although there are indications that... the Ministry of Intelligence surveillance and classification of prisoners was undoubtedly an ongoing classification exercise related to their eventual disposal, whether by release or continued incarceration or by some form of “final solution.”²⁹⁹

However, in the intervening years, a contemporaneous piece of evidence has surfaced to support the survivors' belief that the mass prisoner killings of 1988 had been planned long before the PMOI's armed incursion. In August 2016, Hossein Ali Montazeri's son, Ahmad Montazeri, released an audio recording of a high-level official meeting on 14 or 15 August 1988 in which members of the “death commission” in Tehran can be heard addressing each other by name and discussing and defending their actions in connection with the mass killings in Evin and Gohardasht prisons.

Hossein Ali Montazeri can be heard telling members of the “death commission” in Tehran that the ministry of intelligence was using the PMOI's armed incursion as a pretext to carry out mass killings that had been long under consideration. He says:

“In my view, this is something that the Ministry of Intelligence had in mind and invested in and Mr Ahmad [Khomeini], the son of Mr [Rouhollah] Khomeini, was persistently saying from three or four years ago that Mojahedin [PMOI members and supporters] must all be executed, including those of them who read [PMOI] newspapers, magazines and pamphlets. This is the thought that they had, and now, they are taking advantage of the opportunity presented by the events related to the attack of the *monafeqin* on us.”³⁰⁰

This statement is the only evidence that has emerged to date from an official source to support the theory that the mass prisoner killings of 1988 were pre-planned.

7.3 LEAKED OFFICIAL RECORDS

7.3.1 MONTAZERI'S LETTERS

The Iranian authorities have sought to keep secret official documents and records related to the preparation, planning and co-ordinated implementation of the killings, as well as the lines of authority and responsibility for ordering them and transmitting the order down the chain of command to those who executed it. In at least one case, the case of Ahmad Montazeri, Hossein Ali Montazeri's son, the authorities prosecuted and sentenced him imprisonment for disclosure of an audio file which they specifically mentioned was considered as secret and classified information by the ministry of intelligence.³⁰¹

Three times in the past three decades, the wall of secrecy has been cracked.

The first time was on 25 March 1989 when the Persian service of BBC Radio broadcast three leaked letters written by then Deputy Supreme Leader, Hossein Ali Montazeri, who criticized the mass executions of PMOI prisoners as “malicious” and “vengeful”.³⁰² The first two letters, dated 31 July and 4 August 1988, were addressed to Rouhollah Khomeini and the third letter, dated 15 August 1988, was addressed to Shari'a judge Hossein Ali Nayyeri, the prosecutor general of Tehran, Morteza Eshraghi, the prosecutor general of Tehran, Ebrahim Raisi, the deputy prosecutor general of Tehran, and a representative of the ministry of intelligence, Mostafa Pour Mohammadi.

The first letter revealed that Rouhollah Khomeini had ordered the execution of individuals who were imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI and mandated a three-member panel composed of a Shari'a judge, the prosecutor general and a representative from the ministry of intelligence to carry out the order. The letter raised concern that the order would lead to the execution of thousands of men and women who had already been sentenced to prison terms and had engaged in no new activity in prison. Hossein Ali Montazeri urged Rouhollah Khomeini to bring the executions to a halt or at least order that women,

²⁹⁹ Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, pp. 30.

³⁰⁰ The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamaneh, “Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri's meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988”, 9 August 2016, 2:56, soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8jded

³⁰¹ The full text of the verdict is available on the Telegram channel of Ayatollah Montazeri, www.t.me/Ayatollah_Montazeri/539

³⁰² Copies of the letters were first obtained by former president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, who fled Iran in 1981. In addition to sending them to the BBC, he published them in issues No. 198 and 199 of his magazine *Engelabe Eslami* in March and April 1989. See Mehran Mostafavi, “The publication of Ayatollah Montazeri's letters from 1988 and inhumane reactions”, *Engelabe Eslami*, 25 September 2013, www.Engelabe-eslami.com/component/content/article/19-didgaha/maghalat/4269-2013-09-25-19-34-18.html

See also Euronews, “Ahmad Montazeri's interview with Euronews: Bani-Sadr should introduce the author of the March 1989 letter”, 19 October 2018, www.fa.euronews.com/2018/10/19/exclusive-itw-euronews-montazeri-1988-executions-of-iranian-political-prisoners

particularly mothers, were exempted and that the panel would decide by consensus rather than a majority vote.³⁰³

The second letter recounted that a Shari'a judge of one of the provinces³⁰⁴ had come to Qom to meet with Hossein Ali Montazeri and express concern about the way Rouhollah Khomeini's order was being implemented.³⁰⁵ Hossein Ali Montazeri quoted the judge saying:

"In order to determine whether or not a prisoner was steadfast in their position, the ministry of intelligence representative or the prosecutor general - the doubt is mine - asked him, 'Are you prepared to denounce the organization of *monafeqin*?' [The prisoner] replied, 'Yes'. [The official] asked, 'Are you prepared to do an interview?' [The prisoner] replied, 'Yes'. [The official] asked, 'Are you prepared to go to fight on the front lines of the war with Iraq?' [The prisoner] replied, 'Yes'. [The official] asked, 'Are you prepared to walk through a minefield?' [The prisoner] replied, 'Are all people prepared to walk through a minefield! Moreover, one should not expect this much from a new Muslim like me.' [The official] said, 'This makes it clear that you are still steadfast in your position'..."

Hossein Ali Montazeri continued, saying that the judge told him that he objected to the decision to condemn that prisoner to execution, but the other members of the panel ruled otherwise. He ended his letter by reminding Rouhollah Khomeini that his order affected the lives of thousands.

The third letter, addressed to Tehran's "death commission", consisted of 10 points that Hossein Ali Montazeri said he had raised, both in writing and in person, with officials who were responsible for implementing Rouhollah Khomeini's order in Tehran in order to urge them to stop.³⁰⁶ The letter called the executions "mass murder" and protested that they were carried out "without trial" and were motivated by revenge:

"We are upset by the crimes of *monafeqin* in the west [of the country] and we are taking this out on captives and former prisoners. However, executing them when they have not engaged in any new activity means undermining all our judges and past judgements. On what basis do you execute someone whom you have already sentenced to a punishment lesser than the death penalty?"

The letter also protested that the authorities were finding prisoners guilty of "enmity against God" (*moharebeh*) and "taking up arms against the state" (*baqi*) simply based on their opinions and the presumption that, if released, they would join the PMOI. It wrote:

"Opinion by itself does not make an individual fall within the definition of *moharebeh* or *baqi*... Such mass murder, without trial, of prisoners and captives... is certainly in their [PMOI's] long-term interest and the world will condemn us... Fighting a thought or opinion by killing is wrong."

The publication of these three leaked letters in the media sent shock waves across Iran and globally, and exposed the Iranian authorities, who had worked hard to keep the nature and scale of the mass killings secret. A day after they were published, Rouhollah Khomeini wrote a harsh letter to Hossein Ali Montazeri, dismissing him as his successor and rebuking him for criticizing the executions. Rouhollah Khomeini wrote:

"*Monafeqin* used what you wrote and said to portray a limited number of [cases] concerning those sentenced to death for waging armed war against Islam and revolution as thousands [of cases] and you see what a great contribution you have made to Imperialism [Estekbar]... From now on, do not write to me and do not allow *monafeqin* to pass on every state secret that there is to foreign radios." ³⁰⁷

³⁰³ The full text of the letter is published in Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, pp. 353-354. It is also available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/629

³⁰⁴ The letter did not mention the name of the judge but, in his memoirs, Hossein Ali Montazeri has written that the judge was a Shari'a judge from Khuzestan province named Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi. See Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, pp. 354. The same content is available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/632

³⁰⁵ The full text of the letter is published in Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, pp. 354-355. It is also available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/633

³⁰⁶ The full text of the letter is published in Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, pp. 355-356. It is also available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/635

³⁰⁷ The full text of the letter is available at Fars News Agency, "Imam's letter dismissing Mr Montazeri", 26 March 2017, www.bit.ly/2RIPcPf

7.3.2 THE FATWA

A decade later in 2000, Hossein Ali Montazeri published his memoirs and revealed therein a copy of the secret fatwa (religious order) that Rouhollah Khomeini had issued in late July 1988³⁰⁸ ordering the execution of all prisoners who remained “steadfast” in their support for the PMOI.³⁰⁹

The revelation of Rouhollah Khomeini’s fatwa confirmed the testimonies of survivors about the composition of the committees (the “death commissions”) and that they had been instructed to be ruthless in their approach. The fatwa ordered that in each province, a three-man committee be established, comprising a Shari’a judge, the prosecutor general or their assistant prosecutor³¹⁰, and a representative from the ministry of intelligence.³¹¹ It specifically ordered that the committee for Tehran should include Hossein Ali Nayyeri as the designated Shari’a judge and Morteza Eshraghi as the prosecutor general. On occasions, it is reported that his deputy prosecutor Ebrahim Raisi replaced him on the “death commission”.³¹²

For the representative of the ministry of intelligence, the fatwa did not identify any individual by name. However, Hossein Ali Montazeri’s letter to the members of the Tehran “death commission”, which was first leaked in 1989 and then published in his memoirs in 2002, shows that Mostafa Pour Mohammadi represented the ministry of intelligence on the committee in Tehran.³¹³ He became Iran’s minister of justice during President Rouhani’s first term between 2013 and 2017, and since 2017 has been an advisor to the head of the judiciary. He was also recorded, in Hossein Ali Montazeri’s audio file, participating in a conversation regarding the operation of the Tehran “death commission” (see below).

³⁰⁸ The fatwa is undated, but the sequence of events described in Montazeri’s memoirs including his statement that the fatwa was issued on a Thursday indicates that it was issued on 28 July 1988. See Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, p. 351. The same information is available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/623

³⁰⁹ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, pp. 351-352. The same information is available the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/624

³¹⁰ While the fatwa refers to assistant prosecutors, in Tehran, the official accompanying the prosecutor general was deputy prosecutor general.

³¹¹ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, pp. 351.

³¹² Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry conducted by Geoffrey Robertson QC*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry, p. 42.

³¹³ The full text of the letter is published in Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, pp. 355-356. It is also available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/635

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 در آنجا که منافقین حاضر می‌شوند به اسلیم معتقد نبوده و می‌گویند که در حید و ذوق کینایت و در آیه مرثیه تنها
 در اسلیم در آیه پیدا کرد آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن و حکمتی که در آن است که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن
 با طریقی که در آن است که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن و طریقی که در آن است که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن
 است که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن و طریقی که در آن است که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن
 سر بر کوه بر روضه فدای خود با فخر کرد و می‌گوید محراب و کعبه به اهدام می‌باشند و تسخیر روضه نیز در
 مدون با امر اکبریت قیام که هر اسلیم نیز می‌باشد و در آنجا که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن
 با امر حید طر در جماعت است و در این طر در آنجا که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن
 در آنجا که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن و طریقی که در آن است که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن
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 قیام که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن و طریقی که در آن است که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن
 با امر اکبریت قیام که هر اسلیم نیز می‌باشد و در آنجا که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن
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 در آنجا که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن و طریقی که در آن است که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن
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 با امر اکبریت قیام که هر اسلیم نیز می‌باشد و در آنجا که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن
 با امر حید طر در جماعت است و در این طر در آنجا که در آن دو تعبیر محراب بودن آن

A scanned copy of Rouhollah Khomeini's July 1988 fatwa decreeing the execution of all prisoners who remained "steadfast" in their support for the PMOI.
© Hossein Ali Montazeri

“In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Since the treacherous *monafeqin* do not believe in Islam and whatever they say stems from their deception and hypocrisy, and since, as per the admissions of their leaders, they have deserted Islam, and since they wage war against God and are engaging in classical warfare on the western, northern, and southern fronts with the collaboration of the Baathist Party of Iraq, and also they are spying for Saddam [Hosseini, Iraq's former president] against our Muslim nation, and since they are tied to the World Arrogance [US and Western powers] and have inflicted foul blows on the Islamic Republic since its inception, it follows that those who remain steadfast in their position of *nefaq* in prisons throughout the country are considered to be *mohareb* [waging war against God] and are condemned to execution. In Tehran, this determination shall be made based on a majority opinion by gentlemen, Hojjatoleslam [honorific used for certain clerics] Nayyeri, Mr Eshraghi and a representative of the Ministry of Intelligence, even though a unanimous decision is more cautious. In the prisons of provincial capitals in the country, the

views of a majority of [a trio consisting of] the Shari'a judge, the revolutionary prosecutor general or assistant prosecutor, and the ministry of intelligence representative must be obeyed. It is naive to show mercy to *moharebs*. The decisiveness of Islam before the enemies of God is among the unquestionable tenets of the Islamic system. I hope that you satisfy Almighty God with your revolutionary rage and rancour against the enemies of Islam. The gentlemen who are responsible for making the decisions must not hesitate, nor show any doubt or concerns and they must endeavour to be the 'harshes on non-believers'. To hesitate in the judicial process of revolutionary Islam is to ignore the pure and holy blood of the martyrs."³¹⁴

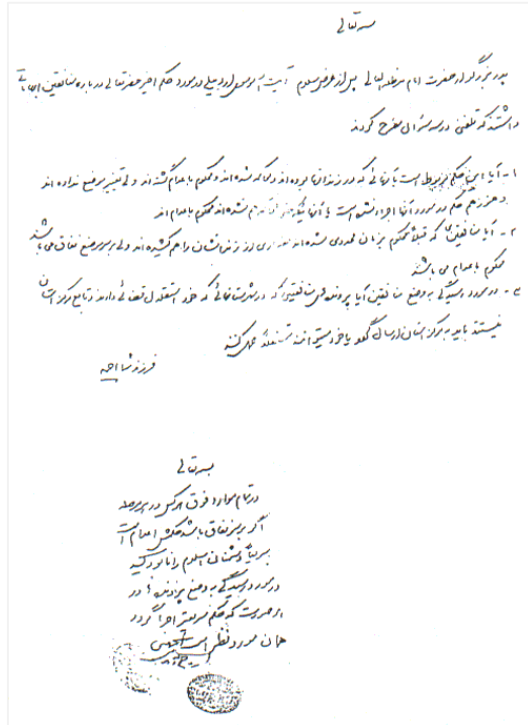
In his memoirs, Hossein Ali Montazeri also published a copy of a letter that was written by Rouhollah Khomeini's son, Ahmad Khomeini, to his father and conveyed the questions that the head of Iran's Supreme Court and a member of Iran's Supreme Judicial Council, Abdulkarim Mousavi Ardebili, had raised with him in a phone call about the fatwa. The questions sought clarification from Rouhollah Khomeini as to whether the execution order applied only to prisoners who had been previously tried and sentenced to death and had not changed their positions while on death row, or whether it also included those who had not yet been tried as well as those who had been sentenced to imprisonment, had served their sentence and still remained "steadfast" in their support for the PMOI.³¹⁵ The questions also asked whether provincial authorities had to refer the cases of prisoners to the judicial organ in the capital of the province or could act independently.

³¹⁴ The scanned copy of the original handwritten fatwa, which was first published in Hossein Ali Montazeri's memoirs, is available at www.archive.is/7s8C

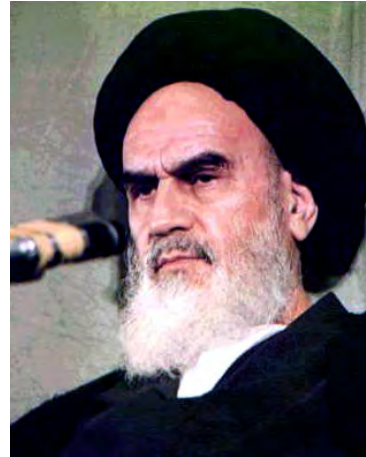
³¹⁵ The full text of the note is published in Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, p. 352. It is also available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/625. The scanned copy of the handwritten note, which was first published in Montazeri's memoirs, is available at www.archive.is/9sCk.

At the bottom of the letter, a handwritten note provided Rouhollah Khomeini's unequivocal response to the questions:

“In all the above cases, if anyone at any stage maintains his position on *nefaq* [a pejorative reference to the PMOI], the sentence is execution; annihilate the enemies of Islam immediately; regarding the [process] of dealing with cases, [adopt] whichever way that ensures the order is implemented more quickly.”³¹⁶



A copy of the written exchange between Rouhollah Khomeini and his son, Ahmad Khomeini, concerning the questions raised by the head of Iran's Supreme Court, Abdolkarim Mousavi Ardebili, about the scope of Rouhollah Khomeini's execution order. © Hossein Ali Montazeri



Rouhollah Khomeini © Shahed.Isaar

“Annihilate the enemies of Islam immediately.”³¹⁷

Rouhollah Khomeini

The fatwa uses the word “*nefaq*”, which indicates that it was specifically targeted at prisoners affiliated with the PMOI. However, as mentioned above (section 7.2), the mass prisoner killings of 1988 in Evin and Gohardasht prisons consisted of two waves, with the second one systematically targeting members and supporters of leftist political groups. In other prisons across the country, many leftist prisoners were taken away for interrogation. Some were placed in prolonged solitary confinement, lasting in some cases until early 1989, and were led to believe that they too would be killed.³¹⁸ However, they were not systematically targeted for executions.

In his memoirs, Hossein Ali Montazeri states that, sometime after the first fatwa, Rouhollah Khomeini issued a second order that allowed for the execution of “non-religious and communist” prisoners.³¹⁹ He writes that Iran's then president and current Supreme Leader, Sayed Ali Khamenei, subsequently came to him with a copy of this second order and expressed concern that leftist prisoners were being rushed to execution. Hossein Ali Montazeri says that he asked Sayed Ali Khamenei why he had not reacted sooner when the first order had been issued and Sayed Ali Khamenei acted surprised that there was another order. Hossein Ali Montazeri adds, “I do not know if he really did not know or said so in front of me.”³²⁰

³¹⁶ The full text of the note is published in Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, p. 352. It is also available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/625. The scanned copy of the handwritten note, which was first published in Montazeri's memoirs, is available at www.archive.is/9sCk

³¹⁷ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, p. 352.

³¹⁸ See for example statements made by Rasoul Showkati in the case box on Mashhad and Mohammad Hoshi in the case box on Esfahan, and the anonymous survivor in the case box in Zanjan, all in annex 1.

³¹⁹ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, p. 357. The same information is available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/639

³²⁰ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, p. 357.

To date, a copy of the second order has not surfaced.

The Iranian authorities continue to invoke the armed incursion of the PMOI whenever they are questioned about the mass prisoner killings of 1988. They generally exclude from their public statements the fact that several hundred prisoners held for association with leftist political groups were also executed.

However, on 15 December 2012, *Baztab*, a state-affiliated media outlet founded by senior Revolutionary Guards official Mohsen Rezaee, published an article that quoted an “informed source” confirming that, after the first order concerning “members of the PMOI”, Rouhollah Khomeini issued a second “similar order about members of leftist and Marxist organizations”.³²¹ This confirms Hossein Ali Montazeri’s suggestion that the execution of leftist prisoners in Tehran were carried out pursuant to a second order.

Another indication that the authorities had turned their attention to leftist prisoners came in late August. On 31 August, state media reported that in its recent session, Iran’s Supreme Judicial Council, presided over by Abdulkarim Mousavi Ardebili, had called on all revolutionary courts and prosecutor offices to “take decisive measure against *mohareb* (those waging war against God) and *molhed* (heretic) mini-groups” and “endeavour to be the harshest on non-believers”.³²² The order’s use of the word “*molhed*”, which means atheist and heretic, suggests that it was specifically aimed at prisoners affiliated with leftist and Marxist groups. What remains unanswered is why leftist prisoners in other prisons across the country were not systematically targeted for executions and whether this related to the content of the second order that according to Hossein Ali Montazeri was issued by Rouhollah Khomeini.

Information received by Amnesty International indicates that in several prisons across the country, prisoners who had survived the mass killings of late July- early September were subjected to a renewed round of interrogations around late September.³²³ This may have been related to a proposal pushed by some in the establishment to continue the mass executions and eliminate all remaining political dissidents who had survived the mass killings. In his memoirs, Speaker of Parliament Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, states that, on 27 September 1988, the Expediency Council held a session to discuss the punishment of “anti-revolutionaries”.³²⁴ He writes that the Supreme Leader had delegated the authority of decision-making on this issue to the council and the body decided that the authorities had to revert to the practice that was common before the “recent incidents”. The phrase “recent incidents” in this context is believed to be a reference to the mass executions that had been carried out. Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani adds that the ministry of intelligence supported the decision but “the judges in Evin prison held a harsher view.”³²⁵ It appears that the following the Expediency Council meeting, the pace of secret execution of dissidents slowed down and by early October prison visitations resumed in many prisons across the country.

7.3.3 RECORDS OF MEETINGS

Hossein Ali Montazeri has also summarized in his memoirs the meetings that he had with several authorities in late July and August 1988 about the mass prisoner killings. These records corroborate the testimonies of survivors regarding the cruel, arbitrary and summary nature of “death commission” proceedings that led to the execution of prisoners.

The most famous meeting is one he held with members of the Tehran “death commission” who dealt with prisoners held in Evin and Gohardasht prisons.³²⁶ In his memoirs, Hossein Ali Montazeri identifies the men as Shari’a judge Hossein Ali Nayyeri; the prosecutor general of Tehran, Morteza Eshraghi; the deputy prosecutor general of Tehran, Ebrahim Raisi; and the representative of the ministry of intelligence, Mostafa Pour Mohammadi. Hossein Ali Montazeri writes that he summoned the men and urged them to halt the

³²¹ The original article, which was entitled “How did Ayatollah Khamenei prevent the execution of thousands of Marxists and Toudeh [members]?” is no longer available on the website of Baztab. However, the key claims of the article are quoted in Iraj Mesdaghi, “Was Khamenei against the execution of Marxists?”, *Pezhvake Iran*, 17 December 2012, www.pezhvakeiran.com/maghaleh-47929.html; Hossein Mohammadi, “The execution order of three thousand people had been issued”, *Roos Online*, 15 December 2012, www.roosonline.com/persian/news/newsitem/article/-afd900d219.html; Shadi Amin, “Khamenei and the summer of 1988”, *Shahrvand*, 27 December 2012, www.shahrvand.com/archives/34946; *Iran Tribunal*, “The mass killings of political prisoners in the 1980s; from denial to justification”, 4 September 2016, www.irantribunal.com/index.php/news/2012-12-29-18-55-53/490-kustar-zendanian-enkar-tujih

³²² *Ettelaat*, “On the order of the Supreme Judicial Council courts will show more decisiveness in dealing with *mohareb* mini-groups and drug traffickers”, 1 September 1988, p. 14.

³²³ Iraj Mesdaghi, *Dance of the Phoenixes and Song of the Ash (Raqs-e Qoqnus-ha Va Avaz Khakestar)*, p. 79-80.

³²⁴ *Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani Documents Centre*, “Daily diaries of Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani from the year 1988 - the end of defence, the beginning of reconstruction”, 27 September 1988, www.bit.ly/2zH44gw

³²⁵ *Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani Documents Centre*, “Daily diaries of Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani from the year 1988 - the end of defence, the beginning of reconstruction”, 27 September 1988, www.bit.ly/2zH44gw

³²⁶ The audio file is available on the Soundcloud page of Radio Zamaneh: soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8jded (in Persian). The transcript is available at: www.hamneshinbahar.net/article.php?text_id=418

executions to at least show their respect for the religious month of Moharram. The Iranian authorities generally refrain from carrying out executions during this month. Hossein Ali Nayyeri is recorded replying that they had already executed 750 prisoners in Tehran and had only 200 to go: “Once we finish off this lot then [we follow] whatever you order.”³²⁷ Hossein Ali Montazeri writes that he was deeply dismayed by this answer and read the four officials the ten points which he also later shared with them through the written note dated 15 August 1988 (see section 7.3.1).

Other meetings that Hossein Ali Montazeri recounts in his memoirs include those with an unnamed judicial official from Qom; with the Shari’a judge in Khuzestan province, Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi; with the prosecutor general of Fars province; and with one of his prison representatives.

Hossein Ali Montazeri writes that the judicial official from Qom came to him and complained about the ministry of intelligence representative in Qom. According to Hossein Ali Montazeri, the judicial official said:

“The Minister of Intelligence representative says, ‘Let’s kill these [prisoners] quickly and get rid of them.’ I tell him, ‘Let’s examine the cases of these [prisoners] and review their sentences.’ He says, ‘The Imam has already issued the sentence of these [prisoners]; all we have to do is to determine the issue [of whether they are steadfast in their position].’ They [the authorities] ask some individuals [prisoners], ‘Are you steadfast in your position?’ The [prisoner], who does not know what is happening, responds, ‘Yes’. They then quickly take him/her away and execute him/her.”³²⁸

Hossein Ali Montazeri writes that the Shari’a judge from Khuzestan province, Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi, similarly came to him between 31 July and 4 August 1988 and expressed concern about the way Rouhollah Khomeini’s order was being implemented. According to Hossein Ali Montazeri, the judge said: “They are carrying out executions with great speed... They are upset by the operation of *monafeqin* and they are venting their rage on the prisoners.”³²⁹

In his letter to Rouhollah Khomeini, Hossein Ali Montazeri writes that Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi also reported that a prisoner had been condemned to death in Khuzestan based on his refusal to walk through a minefield (see section 7.3.1).

Hossein Ali Montazeri recorded a meeting with the prosecutor general of Fars province, who told him about the execution of a young woman who had urged her parents, in her last letter of wishes, to read the Qur’an and keep believing in the revolution. Hossein Ali Montazeri quotes the prosecutor general saying, “I opposed her execution, but she was executed based on the opinion of the majority.”³³⁰

Hossein Ali Montazeri also writes in his memoirs that one of his prison representatives reported to him the cases of five or six men who had said they opposed the PMOI, but they were executed because they were not prepared to state this on television. The authorities had said this meant they must still be “steadfast in their position”.³³¹

7.3.4 THE AUDIO RECORDING

“The greatest atrocity in the Islamic Republic, for which history will condemn us, has been committed at your hands, and in future your names will go down in history as criminals.”

Deputy Supreme Leader Hossein Ali Montazeri, speaking to members of the “death commission” in Tehran in a secret, high-level meeting in August 1988, which was recorded and later leaked³³²

³²⁷ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, p. 635. The same information is available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/635

³²⁸ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, pp. 352-353. The same information is available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/628

³²⁹ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, p. 354. The same information is available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/632

³³⁰ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, p. 357. The same information is available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/638

³³¹ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, p. 357. The same information is available on the website of Hossein Ali Montazeri at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/638

³³² The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamanah, “Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri’s meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988”, 9 August 2016, soundcloud.com/radiozamanah/yakydru8jded

The wall of secrecy sustained further cracks in August 2016 when Hossein Ali Montazeri's son, Ahmad Montazeri, released an audio recording of the high-level meeting that Hossein Ali Montazeri held with members of the "death commission" in Tehran on or around 14 August 1988 to express his deep concerns about the mass prisoner killings and to call for it to stop.³³³

In the audio recording the members of the "death commission" in Tehran can be heard addressing each other by name discussing and defending their actions in connection with the mass killings in Evin and Gohardasht prisons.

The identities of the men were further recognizable because, as stated earlier, in 2000, Hossein Ali Montazeri had already provided a summary of this infamous meeting in his memoirs and noted therein the names and titles of the officials with whom he had met.³³⁴ The first two men, Hossein Ali Nayyeri and Morteza Eshraghi, who were named in the fatwa as being entrusted with implementing the decree in Tehran, had never challenged Hossein Ali Montazeri's account. The third man, Ebrahim Raisi, had kept silent.

The fourth, Mostafa Pour Mohammadi, had denied that he was involved in the killings or had ever held "a sensitive national security-related post in the ministry of intelligence."³³⁵ However, following the release of the audio recording in 2016, which created a wave of publicity around the mass prisoner killings of 1988, he retracted his earlier denials. In a lecture on 28 August 2016, referring to media reports about the mass prisoner killings and his involvement in them, he boasted about his role saying, "We are proud to have carried out God's commandment concerning the [PMOI]", and openly declared that he had not "lost any sleep all these years" over the killings.³³⁶



Mostafa Pour Mohammadi © ISNA

"We are proud to have carried out God's commandment concerning the *monafeqin* and to have stood with strength and fought against the enemies of God and the people... I am at peace and have not lost any sleep [over this] all these years because I acted in accordance with the law and Islam."

Mostafa Pour Mohammadi, member of the Tehran "death commission" and minister of justice between 2013 and 2017³³⁷

Ebrahim Raisi also broke his silence and publicly defended the mass killings albeit in a coded language. In a lecture on 1 May 2018, referring to media reports about his role in the 1988 prisoners mass killings, he did not dispute his presence in the meeting with Hossein Ali Montazeri but noted that "during the period [in question], I was not the head of the court... The head of the court issues sentences whereas the prosecutor represents the people". At the same time, using the word "confrontation" in apparent reference to the mass killings, he regarded them as "one of the proud achievements of the system" and praised Rouhollah Khomeini as a "national hero".³³⁸

³³³ The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamaneh, "Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri's meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988", 9 August 2016, www.soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8ided

³³⁴ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs*, p. 355. The same information is available at www.amontazeri.com/book/khaterat/volume-1/635

³³⁵ "Pour Mohammadi: My alleged involvement in the executions of the 1980s is a lie", *Entekhab.ir*, 4 May 2013, www.bit.ly/2L7v9xL

³³⁶ BBC Persian, "Pour Mohammadi on the executions of 1988: We are proud to have carried out God's commandment", 28 August 2016, www.bbc.com/persian/iran/2016/08/160828_126_pormohammadi_iran_executions_67_mojahedin_mko; Farzin Mansouri, "Pour Mohammadi and executions; from denial to pride", BBC Persian, 29 August 2016, www.bbc.com/persian/iran/2016/08/160829_pourmohammadi_montazeri_1367_reax

³³⁷ Farzin Mansouri, "Pour Mohammadi and executions; from denial to pride", BBC Persian, 29 August 2016, www.bbc.com/persian/iran/2016/08/160829_pourmohammadi_montazeri_1367_reax; Tasnim News, "The monafeqin live in disgrace. We are proud to have carried out God's instructions for the monafeqin", 28 August 2016, www.bit.ly/2FLN8u3

³³⁸ Iranian Students' News Agency, "The explanations of Raisi about the events of 1980s", 1 May 2018, www.bit.ly/2JlosGN



Ebrahim Raisi © Mizan

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

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

Ebrahim Raisi, deputy prosecutor general of Tehran in 1988 and a member of the “death commission” in Tehran, the prosecutor general of Tehran from 1989 and 1994, the first deputy head of the judiciary from 2004 to 2014, the country’s prosecutor general from 2014 to 2016, and member of the Assembly of Experts since 2006³³⁹

In the audio recording, Hossein Ali Montazeri and the four officials can be heard discussing in detail the extrajudicial killings including the criteria used by the “death commissions” in Tehran and elsewhere to select prisoners for execution and the secret and rushed nature of the proceedings. They also discuss the execution of young women, including a pregnant woman, and people who were under the age of 18 at the time of arrest. Hossein Ali Montazeri is also heard commenting on the vengeful, politically motivated and premeditated nature of the killings, which he says had been considered for several years and were now being carried out under the pretext of confronting the armed incursion of the PMOI.

DECISION-MAKING CRITERIA

Hossein Ali Nayyeri states on the recording:

“Since day one when we received the message... we brought them [the prisoners] one by one into the room... We ensured that we would not sign [the death sentence] so long as we were not 100 per cent sure that the prisoner fitted the description provided by Imam [Khomeini].”³⁴⁰

He says that the determination as to whether the prisoner was “steadfast” was based on whether they made written “confessions” denouncing the PMOI and renouncing their opposition to the Islamic Republic:

“For us, it was sufficient as long as the prisoner agreed to write even something along the lines that, as the treacherous organization of *monafeqin* is fighting against the system, I hereby - we would tell them to write this - announce that, while I do not believe in the system, I do not believe in fighting against the system either and I, therefore, leave the organization. If they would write this, we would let them be.”³⁴¹

Hossein Ali Montazeri responds that he is aware of multiple cases in which the request went beyond asking the prisoner to renounce their opposition to the system and involved asking if they were willing to fight with the forces of the Islamic Republic against Iraq and if they were willing to walk through an active minefield to assist the army of the Islamic Republic.

The statements by Hossein Ali Montazeri are consistent with the testimonies of survivors.

SECRET AND RUSHED PROCEEDINGS

The recording corroborates testimonies of survivors regarding the secret nature of the extrajudicial killings and that prisoners were not informed of why they were being questioned.

Hossein Ali Montazeri specifically asks the men: “Didn’t you tell them [the prisoners] that we want to execute you?” One of them responds, “No, no, no, this couldn’t be [done]. No, we didn’t say that.”

³³⁹ Iranian Students’ News Agency, “The explanations of Raisi about the events of 1980s”, 1 May 2018, www.bit.ly/2Jl0sGN

³⁴⁰ The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamaneh, “Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri’s meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988”, 9 August 2016, www.soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8jded

³⁴¹ The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamaneh, “Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri’s meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988”, 9 August 2016, www.soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8jded

Hossein Ali Montazeri addresses Hossein Ali Nayyeri: “Mr Nayyeri, tomorrow, if you are asked why you executed someone who you yourself had previously sentenced to 10 years’ imprisonment, you will have to be able to give an answer.” Mostafa Pour Mohammadi is heard intervening at this point saying, “We will have to say that Mr Khomeini wrote so.”

Towards the end of the recording, Hossein Ali Montazeri says the religious month of Moharram has started and urges the men to halt the executions to at least show their respect for the holy period. In response, the men say that they have been working long hours and “rushing to finish whatever remains”. They then try unsuccessfully to persuade Hossein Ali Montazeri that they must carry out the execution of 200 more prisoners who had already been transferred to solitary confinement in preparation for their execution. Hossein Ali Montazeri replies forcefully, “I am even opposed to one of them.”

VENGEFUL AND POLITICALLY MOTIVATED KILLINGS

Hossein Ali Montazeri stresses several times that the armed incursion of the PMOI had given the authorities the motive to take reprisals against prisoners who had been held in prisons for years. He says:

“We are upset by the crimes of *monafeqin* in the west [of the country] and we are taking this out on captives and former prisoners. However, executing them when they have not engaged in any new activity means undermining all our judges and past judgments. On what basis do you execute someone whom you have already sentenced to a punishment lesser than the death penalty?”³⁴²

Hossein Ali Montazeri also protests that the authorities are finding prisoners guilty of “enmity against God” (*moharebeh*) and “taking up arms against the state” (*baqi*) simply based on their opinions and the presumption that if released, they would join the PMOI. He tells the men:

“Punishment before crime is not right... Opinion by itself does not make an individual fall within the definition of *moharebeh* or *baqi*... Such mass murder, without trial, of prisoners and captives... is certainly in their [PMOI’s] long-term interest and the world will condemn us... Fighting a thought or opinion by killing is wrong.”³⁴³

EXECUTION OF THOSE ARRESTED AS A CHILD

The audio recording confirms that many of the prisoners executed were aged under 18 when arrested (see annex 1). Hossein Ali Nayyeri states at the meeting that some of those condemned to death were as young as 15 at the time of their arrest. He adds:

“We have about 20-something of these [people] who were 16 or 17 years old when they first entered prison and now they are 23 or 24... We have not carried out their [executions]... only due to the consideration that we said that, up until the last day, an ultimatum would be given so that, if there was really no way to reverse it, then the decision would be taken.”³⁴⁴

Later, he claims that with regard to “those who were 15 or 16 when they entered prison... God knows that we acted with caution and all their documents are now filed in a separate envelope.”

EXECUTION OF YOUNG WOMEN

Hossein Ali Nayyeri is heard saying that, on some days, all the prisoners they interrogated and sent to execution were young women. He says:

“About the girls, God is my witness that we negotiated as much as we could. This brother [colleague] can vouch for me when I say my nerves are very strong, really my nerves are very strong. The day before yesterday when we were only seeing girls though, I was broken after all. I mean we ended up begging that this [the prisoner] writes only two lines so that we would order her return to prison.”³⁴⁵

³⁴² The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamaneh, “Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri’s meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988”, 9 August 2016, www.soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8jded

³⁴³ The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamaneh, “Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri’s meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988”, 9 August 2016, www.soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8jded

³⁴⁴ The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamaneh, “Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri’s meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988”, 9 August 2016, www.soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8jded

³⁴⁵ The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamaneh, “Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri’s meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988”, 9 August 2016, www.soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8jded

Hossein Ali Montazeri adds that he also knows of one woman in Esfahan who was pregnant at the time of her execution.

PREMEDITATED KILLINGS

Hossein Ali Montazeri can be heard telling members of the “death commission” in Tehran that the ministry of intelligence was using the PMOI’s armed incursion as a pretext to carry out mass killings that had been long under consideration. He says:

“This is something that the Ministry of Intelligence had in mind and invested in and Khomeini’s son, Ahmad Khomeini, was persistently pushing from three or four years ago that all Mojahedin, even those of them who had just read [the PMOI’s] newspapers, magazines and pamphlets, must be executed. This is something that they were already thinking about, and now, they are taking advantage of the opportunity presented by the attack of the *monafeqin* [PMOI] on us.”³⁴⁶

This statement is the strongest evidence to have surfaced that supports the survivors’ belief that the mass prisoner killings of 1988 were planned long before the PMOI’s armed incursion.

COVER-UP

The audio recording sheds light on the authorities’ deliberate efforts to carry out the mass killings in secret, keep families in the dark and dribble out the news in a vague and misleading manner to avoid a further outcry. Hossein Ali Montazeri asks the men:

“For now, you have cut the visitations and phone calls. Tomorrow how are you going to answer the families? ... Now that the families have got some small clues, they are putting this much pressure on us. They don’t have access to Mr Khomeini. The Supreme Judicial Council is not letting anyone in. All come and put pressure. When these families come, what answer do you give them?”³⁴⁷

The men respond that there have been meetings to discuss these matters with senior prison officials and that a decision has been made to “resume the visitations within the next few days so that a large section [of people whose loved ones] are in prison... are relieved from their worries through visits. As for the rest, it [the news of the executions] must be somehow presented.” The men say that they think the resumption of prison visits will “greatly break the tension”.

Hossein Ali Montazeri replies:

“No, it will become worse. Ultimately, the visits of those [whose loved ones were executed] will also come. In provincial towns, they [the officials] would say that they [the executed prisoners] have been taken to Tehran. Then in Tehran, how are you going to answer them?”³⁴⁸

On the broader issue of maintaining secrecy, Hossein Ali Montazeri says, “If it was not for the Imam [Khomeini] and the revolution, I would have publicized my letter [of protest] now. You know how much this would have benefited the enemies.” Hossein Ali Nayyeri responds, “Yes, it would have very unfortunate consequences.”

7.3.5 REPRISAL FOR REVEALING ‘STATE SECRETS’

Ahmad Montazeri was forced by the ministry of intelligence to remove the audio file from his father’s website one day after its publication. Several days later, on 13 August 2016, he was summoned for interrogation by the Special Court for the Clergy and accused of “acting against national security” through “revealing the secret documents of the state”. In November 2016, he was sentenced to 21 years’ imprisonment after the Special Court for the Clergy convicted him of “spreading propaganda against the system”, “forming or running a group composed of more than two people... with the purpose of disrupting national security” and “deliberately and knowingly providing unauthorized individuals with access to or information about plans, secrets, documents and decisions regarding the state’s domestic or foreign policies... in a manner

³⁴⁶ The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamaneh, “Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri’s meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988”, 9 August 2016, www.soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8jded

³⁴⁷ The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamaneh, “Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri’s meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988”, 9 August 2016, www.soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8jded

³⁴⁸ The audio file is available, in Persian, on Radio Zamaneh, “Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri’s meeting with the officials responsible for the executions of the summer of 1988”, 9 August 2016, www.soundcloud.com/radiozamaneh/yakydru8jded

amounting to espionage.” However, the court said that, considering his personal and family background and lack of prior criminal record, he should only serve six years of his sentence. Ahmad Montazeri was imprisoned on 22 February 2017 to begin serving his sentence but was granted temporary prison leave the next day. He was informed several days later that his prison sentence had been suspended.

Ahmad Montazeri’s conviction stemmed directly from the publication of the audio file, which the court said had been “classified as secret by the ministry of intelligence”.³⁴⁹ The court verdict stated:

“It is obviously clear that the accused’s act of releasing the audio file has had many negative effects on the society and given a pretext to the foes, anti-revolutionaries, agents of *nefaq* and enemies... to not only weaken the system but also provoke and encourage [acts aimed] at defying and overthrowing it... With which legal, religious and moral permit has the accused kept in his possession records and documents that are related to the state and have no personal and private aspect to them, and then published, at a specific juncture and with certain intentions, one of them and by doing so, inflicted upon the system and the society an irreparable blow?”³⁵⁰

The audio recording that was published by Ahmad Montazeri on his father’s website is about 40 minutes long and it ends abruptly, which suggests that it is not of the full meeting. It is not known how and why the meeting was recorded and if all such official meetings were recorded at the time. In an interview published on 15 December 2016, Ahmad Montazeri revealed that some of the other meetings that his father had attended were also audio recorded but he said, “in the toxic atmosphere that has now been created, there is no possibility to release the records.”³⁵¹ He further said:

“All these records are extremely valuable. I feel that if some of them came into the hands of hardliners, they would ask for the records to be destroyed... These historical events are a lesson for future generations. However, now is not the time. If the state ever becomes ready for the truth to be discovered, then it should actually encourage us and request that we publish the remaining records.”³⁵²

In March 2017, while Ahmad Montazeri was in detention, his son, Hamed Montazeri, reported in a media interview that the ministry of intelligence had put pressure on his father to return all the other files that were in the possession of the office of Montazeri (which has been run by his family since his death) and refrain from publishing them. Hamed Montazeri reiterated his father’s position that they would not release any of the remaining files for now. He stressed that “they will remain in the family’s possession and we will not submit them to anyone.”³⁵³

³⁴⁹ The full text of the verdict is available at the Telegram channel of Ayatollah Montazeri, www.t.me/Ayatollah_Montazeri/539

³⁵⁰ The full text of the verdict is available at the Telegram channel of Ayatollah Montazeri, www.t.me/Ayatollah_Montazeri/539

³⁵¹ Mohammad Heydary, “For now, there is no possibility to release new records”, United for Iran, 15 December 2016, www.united4iran.org/persian-interviewmontazeri1

³⁵² Mohammad Heydary, “For now, there is no possibility to release new records”, United for Iran, 15 December 2016, www.united4iran.org/persian-interviewmontazeri1

³⁵³ Center for Human Rights in Iran, “Ayatollah Montazeri’s grandchild: The Ministry of Intelligence has asked that the unpublished files are relinquish; my father has refused”, 7 March 2017, www.persian.iranhumanrights.org/1395/12/hamed-montazeri-no-pledge/

8. FAMILIES' ONGOING TORMENT

“The oppressors... threaten, summon and detain us. They vehemently oppose any effort to come together and remember our loved ones... They deny us the right to lay a flower or a sign on their unmarked graves. Despite all these expressions of violence and persecution, we remain unwavering in our quest to learn the truth...”

Mothers and Families of Khavaran during an acceptance speech of the Gwangju Human Rights Prize in 2014³⁵⁴

8.1 SUSPENDED LIVES

Three decades on from the enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings of thousands of prisoners in 1988, the burning sense of anguish, uncertainty and injustice continues to haunt the families. Their questions about how and why their loved ones were killed and where they are buried remain largely unanswered. Their pain is compounded by the lack of accountability for those responsible for ordering and carrying out the crimes.

Victims' families interviewed by Amnesty International say that their lives are dominated by uncertainty and confusion, characterized by anxiety, grief and pain. They yearn for the truth, with some still imagining impossible scenarios where their loved ones turn up alive. Many say that, without a body to mourn over, their loved ones have remained for them somewhere between life and death.

'AS LONG AS YOU HAVE NOT SEEN THE BODIES, YOU CAN NEVER FULLY BELIEVE THEY ARE GONE'

Shayesteh Vatandoost was in a prison in Rasht, Gilan province, during the mass prisoner killings in 1988 (see section 7.3 and annex 1) when her husband, Farzan Babry, who was in the same prison, was

³⁵⁴ Justice for Iran, “Mothers of Khavaran’s call: Never again!”, 18 May 2014, www.justice4iran.org/publication/articles/mothers-of-khavaran-call-of-never-again/ Mothers and families of Khavaran is a group consisting of families seeking truth and justice for their loved ones who were executed in the mass prisoner killings of the 1980s.

forcibly disappeared and extrajudicially executed. In an interview obtained by Amnesty International, she spoke of how she has never had closure about what happened to him.³⁵⁵

Shayesteh Vatandoost recalled how, on the night of 31 July 1988, prison authorities came to the women's ward and called out a list of names of people they were taking away. The next morning, she said that she overheard one prison guard say to another, "They finished them all by morning." She said this filled her with fear, including about the fate of her husband:

"I had a feeling inside me that something terrible was going to happen but they [my friends and fellow cell mates] kept trying to comfort me by saying that nothing was going to happen and that [the authorities] were just transferring the prisoners who had been taken away to another location... and that there was no way that they would do something like that... We all felt a great deal of stress and anxiety, but we tried to comfort each other. None of us was prepared to believe that something like this [mass killings] could happen."



Shayesteh Vatandoost and Farzan Babry on their wedding day.
© Private

Shayesteh Vatandoost said that she learned about the mass killings in mid-October 1988 when family visits resumed and one of her cell mates was told by her family that those taken away had been executed. The family said they had been told this by two close relatives who were Revolutionary Guard officials. However, Shayesteh Vatandoost said that she was not convinced and made repeated requests to visit her husband. Each time, the prison authorities promised to arrange a visit but then made mocking innuendos and mildly obscene jokes that filled her with fear.

She did not receive any information about him until March 1989, when she was called to the interrogator's office. After receiving a long lecture about the PMOI's "anti-revolutionary" activities, she said that she was told her husband had been executed. She said: "Excruciating pain plunged through my heart. I could not believe it. I could not understand why this fate had befallen my husband whose only wish was the happiness of the people."

The authorities never handed over Farzan Babry's body to his family. Shayesteh Vatandoost said that, instead, his family was shown a series of individual graves in a remote burial ground in a town called Koulivar, outside the city of Anzali, and told that he and some other prisoners executed in Rasht prison had been buried there.

She only visited the burial ground in 2001 after she was released. She said the visit did not provide any certainty. She doubted whether her husband's body was actually buried there because she had heard reports of families from various cities who had secretly excavated graves and discovered them to be empty.

She explained how the situation plunged her into a state of constant yearning for the truth and fantasy that her husband may turn up alive. She said:

"I really wish I had had someone back then who could have helped me excavate the grave so that I could have known the truth but, unfortunately, I never had this opportunity... After all these years, many families still remain in agony and disbelief... Sometimes, I am even gripped by doubt, and wonder if my husband could be alive... [In 2001] someone told me that a prisoner in Urumieh prison said he had been transferred there from Anzali prison. I felt confused but hopeful, and thought to myself, 'What if [this prisoner is my husband]?' I mean, as long as you have not seen the bodies, you can never fully believe they are gone."

³⁵⁵ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Shayesteh Vatandoost from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with her in person.

Numerous individuals interviewed by Amnesty International have said that the disappearance of their sibling caused their parents to suffer fatal or chronic health problems, including heart attacks. Several said the lives of their mothers, in particular, were thrown into limbo, leading them to oscillate between hope and despair for decades.

Fatemeh Sharif, the sister of two young men who were forcibly disappeared from a prison in Babol, Mazandaran province, in July 1988, described her mother's anguish:

"My mother's mental and emotional health severely deteriorated. She deeply loved Ali, her first son, and Hassan, her youngest son. For years, she would sit in our front garden and talk to their pictures while crying. She would say: 'My sons, I do not know where you are... I wish I could at least see your bodies. I wish I could kiss you one final goodbye.'"³⁵⁶

Abdollah Said Moradi described the toll that the disappearance of his brother, Jaber Said Moradi, took on his mother:

"For almost a decade, my mother would say, 'Maybe a piece of news about my child will reach us, maybe he is still alive, and in a prison that no one knows about.' She was waiting like this for up to a decade and retained some hope."³⁵⁷

8.2 MOURNING RITUALS AND COMMEMORATIONS FORBIDDEN

"It is my civil right to be able to visit the grave site of my loved ones... We are not even allowed to hold memorial ceremonies for [them]. They [the authorities] are even afraid of us placing flowers on their burial site. We tell them these are only flowers. They tell us your flowers are even more dangerous than guns and hand grenades."

Mansoureh Behkish, a human rights defender who lost a sister, four brothers and a brother-in-law during the mass prisoner killings of the 1980s³⁵⁸

In 1988, when the authorities notified families about the executions of their loved ones, they systematically told them that they were not allowed to hold private funeral or memorial ceremonies - even in their homes - and threatened that, if they did so, they or their other children would be in danger.

Some families were forced by the authorities to sign undertakings that they would not hold any form of funeral ceremony.

Consequently, the authorities have punished the families twice: once by executing their loved ones, and a second time by cruelly depriving them of their right to honour their dead by giving them proper burials in accordance with their cultural and religious traditions, thus compounding their grief and inability to find closure.

In an interview obtained by Amnesty International, Neda Rahmati, whose sister Marzieh Rahmati was forcibly disappeared and extrajudicially killed in Ilam, said: "The most painful part was that we could not even voice our grief out loud. They [the authorities] were not even allowing our poor families to hold memorial ceremonies in our own houses."³⁵⁹

In defiance, many families gathered at individual and mass grave sites in which they believed their loved ones had been buried, and left makeshift memorials of small stones, flowers and pictures on top of mounds of earth. In reprisal, intelligence and security officials subjected many of them to intimidation, harassment, beatings, arbitrary arrests and detention.

³⁵⁶ Amnesty International interviewed Fatemeh Sharif in person in October 2017.

³⁵⁷ See the case box on Sanandaj in annex 1.

³⁵⁸ Persianbanoo, "Interview With HR Activist Mansoureh Behkish, Sentenced To 4 1/2 Years In Prison", 10 April 2012, www.persianbanoo.wordpress.com/2012/04/10/interview-with-hr-activist-mansoureh-behkish-sentenced-to-4-12-years-in-prison/

³⁵⁹ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Neda Rahmati from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with her by voice call.



Commemorative gathering at Khavaran mass grave site. © Private

In Tehran, a group of mothers and other relatives of executed prisoners who later became known as the Mothers and Families of Khavaran persistently defied the authorities by visiting Khavaran mass grave site, a desolate piece of land where unmarked mass graves believed to hold the remains of many prisoners executed in 1988 were found (see section 5.3).

Family members interviewed by Amnesty International repeatedly voiced their outrage, anger and pain over being deprived of the basic right to bury their loved ones in dignity and mourn their loss.

Khatereh Moeini, whose brother Heibatollah Moeini was extrajudicially executed in 1988, recalled how the authorities refused to show any respect for the needs of families to mourn their loved ones, and threatened and beat those who gathered at Khavaran instead:

“The most aggressive and insulting encounters were in Khavaran. They would push families and beat them. The scene I will never forget is when my elderly father was beaten. They [the authorities] beat and kicked my father and tried to snatch the picture frame of my brother that he was holding from his hands, but he was gripping it so tight, as if he was holding onto my brother himself. I told my father to let go of the picture frame, that I would get him a better one. They kept breaking families’ picture frames [of their loved ones] but families kept bringing more picture frames. Each time, they would take us to the office of the [Revolutionary] Komiteh [post-revolutionary committees with security functions], make us sign an undertaking, and ask, ‘It’s you again?’ I would reply, ‘I have come to my brother’s grave. Is it a crime? Do you not visit the graves of your loved ones?’ They would detain us for a few hours and then let us go. This scenario repeated itself over and over again.”³⁶⁰

Some relatives also regularly gathered in Behesht Zahra cemetery in Tehran on Fridays to commemorate their executed family members (see section 5.2). The mother of a 42-year-old man who had been arrested in 1983 and sentenced to 12 years’ imprisonment before being forcibly disappeared and extrajudicially executed in Gohardasht prison in Karaj wrote to her daughter outside Iran about one of these gatherings:

“On Friday, all the mothers, along with other family members, got together and we went to the graveyard. What a day of mourning! It was like Ashura [a religious festival of particular importance to Shi’a Muslims, commemorating the martyrdom of the Prophet Muhammad’s grandson Hossein]! Mothers came with pictures of their sons; one had lost five sons and daughters-in-law. Finally, the Komiteh came and dispersed us.”³⁶¹

According to reports from relatives of executed prisoners in Iran, prior to the visit to Tehran by of the UN Special Representative on Iran in January 1990, the makeshift monuments erected by the families, consisting of a few stones and flowers, were removed from Behesht-e Zahra cemetery by the authorities. This was apparently an attempt to remove visible evidence of the mass killings from the sight of any possible inspection of the cemetery by the Special Representative.³⁶²

Since then, the authorities have exacerbated families’ anguish by repeatedly desecrating grave sites in many cities, including through bulldozing over them, turning them into rubbish dumps, deliberately flooding them, destroying erected memorial signs and stones, and trampling on flowers left by families.³⁶³

³⁶⁰ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Khatereh Moeini from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with her in person. Amnesty International conducted two further interviews with her, one in person and one by voice call, in October 2018.

³⁶¹ Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: MDE 13/021/1990), pp. 13-14.

³⁶² Amnesty International, *Iran: Violations of human rights 1987-1990* (Index: MDE 13/021/1990), pp. 13-14.

³⁶³ See Amnesty International and Justice for Iran, *Criminal cover-up: Iran destroying mass graves of victims of 1988 killings* (Index: MDE 13/8259/2018).

8.3 ILL-TREATMENT OF FAMILIES ATTENDING COMMEMORATIONS

Not only have the Iranian authorities spent the last 30 years systematically trying to stop families and others including human rights defenders from holding commemorative ceremonies for their loved ones, they have also sought to silence them and hinder their efforts to seek truth and justice by subjecting them to threats, harassment, intimidation, violence, and arbitrary arrests and detention.

The authorities have persistently suppressed commemorative gatherings at suspected or known mass grave sites across the country. Gatherings at Khavaran mass grave site, which has over time gained a highly symbolic meaning in the families and survivors' three-decade long struggle and quest for truth and justice, have been particularly targeted. The authorities' attempts to suppress gatherings at Khavaran thus could be seen as an indicator of a larger policy of blocking the growth of a truth and justice seeking movement in the country.

According to information received from victims' families and human rights defenders over the years, the various methods which the authorities have deployed to keep them away have included:

- photographing and recording family members and others visiting the mass grave site;
- threatening, beating and arresting families and others at the site;
- telephoning families and threatening them not to visit the site;
- raiding the homes of families who defiantly hold memorial ceremonies;
- chaining off the main entrance to the site; and
- closing off the roads leading to the site and deploying a significant security presence to deter commemorative gatherings.

While these abuses have been constant, family members have pointed to certain periods in which the state has heightened its attacks against them. Notable examples of this over the past 15 years include:

- In September 2005, the authorities violently suppressed the annual commemorative gathering of families at Khavaran to mark the anniversary of the 1988 mass prisoner killings. From about a week before the gathering, the authorities warned families known for their activism that they were not allowed to go to Khavaran and blocked all roads leading to the cemetery. After brave families ignored the threats and held a gathering, the authorities arrested several people and confiscated their mobile telephones and cameras.³⁶⁴
- In 2006, the authorities telephoned some families before the annual commemoration and warned that they had to finish the ceremony quickly or else they would "suffer the consequences".³⁶⁵ Although the main entrance to Khavaran had been closed, around 1,000 family members attended but did so under a stifling security presence with security forces taking pictures and filming those present, as well as arresting and temporarily detaining a number of the participants.
- In 2007, at least five individuals were arrested after attending the annual commemorative gathering in Khavaran and held for months in solitary confinement in Evin prison, where they said they were tortured and otherwise ill-treated. Four of them were later sentenced after separate unfair trials before Revolutionary Courts to between one and 17 years in prison in connection with their attendance at the gathering.³⁶⁶ The fifth individual, Ali Saremi, who had previously spent many years in prison both before and after the 1979 revolution, was sentenced to death for "enmity against God" (*moharebeh*) in connection with his alleged membership of the PMOI, which he denied. Ali Saremi and his lawyer were never provided with a copy of the court verdict condemning him to death and were given no information as to whether his sentence had been sent to the Supreme Court for review. He was

³⁶⁴ Justice for Iran, *Unfinished Tales: Mothers and families of Khavaran, a three decade long search for truth and justice*, September 2015, www.justice4iran.org/persian/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/unfinishedtale.pdf, pp. 144-145.

³⁶⁵ Justice for Iran, *Unfinished Tales: Mothers and families of Khavaran, a three decade long search for truth and justice*, September 2015, www.justice4iran.org/persian/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/unfinishedtale.pdf, pp. 144-145.

³⁶⁶ Asr-e Nou, "17 years for gathering at Khavaran", 10 November 2008, www.asre-nou.net/php/view_print_version.php?objnr=1078; Justice for Iran, *Unfinished Tales: Mothers and families of Khavaran, a three decade long search for truth and justice*, September 2015, www.justice4iran.org/persian/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/unfinishedtale.pdf, p. 146.

executed without prior notice being given to his lawyer or family on 28 December 2010 in Evin prison. In May 2010, his wife Mahin Saremi said in an interview with Voice of America television:

“My husband... has not done anything for them [the authorities] to execute him. How is it possible to receive a death sentence for visiting the grave of a friend at a cemetery? He did not have a weapon nor did he kill anyone to request a pardon.”³⁶⁷

In their attempts to enforce a culture of silence about the mass prisoner killings of 1988 and to keep their crimes a state secret, the authorities have also targeted human rights defenders who have stood with families and survivors in their quest for truth and justice. Those targeted include the younger generation of human rights defenders in Iran, born after the 1979 revolution, who have taken to social media and other platforms to discuss the past atrocities and attended memorial gatherings held at Khavaran.

For example, anti-death penalty campaigner Atena Daemi is serving a seven-year prison sentence in part for a post that she wrote on her Facebook page in 2014 stating “We have not forgotten the massacres [of the] 1980s”.³⁶⁸

Human rights activist Amir Amirgholi was sentenced to 19 years and six months in prison at the beginning of 2016 on charges in connection with his peaceful human rights activities, including participating in commemorative gatherings at Khavaran. The sentence was subsequently reduced on appeal to eight years in prison. He was released from prison in May 2017 after serving five years of his sentence. Amir Amirgholi had previously been arrested, along with 18 other people, in September 2008 after attending a gathering in Khavaran to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the mass prisoner killings.³⁶⁹

Another human rights defender, Shahin (Ja’far) Eghdami, served ten years in prison after being convicted of spurious national security charges imposed in connection with his participation in a commemorative event in Khavaran in 2008.

Since the release in 2016 of the audio recording of a high-level official meeting that took place in August 1988 between Hossein Ali Montazeri and the officials responsible for the extrajudicial executions in Tehran (see section 7.3.4), which revived calls for an inquiry into the killings, the authorities have renewed their crackdown on those seeking truth and justice. Several family members have faced reprisals or prosecution on vague national security-related charges for their peaceful efforts to learn the fate and whereabouts of their loved ones.

The threats, harassment, intimidation and attacks against victims’ families signal renewed efforts by the authorities to silence all public discussions about the mass prisoner killings with a view to erasing the collective memory of them.

³⁶⁷ Amnesty International, *From protest to prison: Iran one year after the election* (Index: MDE 13/062/2010), pp. 46-47.

³⁶⁸ Amnesty International, *Caught in a web of repression: Iran’s human rights defenders under attack* (Index number: MDE 13/6446/2017), p. 23.

³⁶⁹ Amnesty International, *Caught in a web of repression: Iran’s human rights defenders under attack* (Index number: MDE 13/6446/2017), p. 12.



Piles of rubbish at a mass grave site in Ahvaz. The location of the remains is believed to be beneath the concrete slab in the foreground.
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'YOUR FLOWERS ARE EVEN MORE DANGEROUS THAN HAND GRENADES'



Top: Mansoureh Behkish; Bottom: Six family members of Mansoureh Behkish who were executed in the 1980s. © Private

Mansoureh Behkish lost six members of her family during the mass executions of the 1980s. For over three decades, Mansoureh Behkish, who is active with the Mothers and Families of Khavaran, has been subjected to repeated harassment, arbitrary arrest and periods of detention by intelligence and security forces in attempts to silence her.

In December 2011, she was given a suspended sentence of four years and six months relating to her human rights work, particularly with the Mothers of Laleh Park, which largely comprises women whose children were killed, detained or forcibly disappeared in the post-presidential election violence in 2009, and the Mothers and Families of Khavaran.

In October 2016 she was interrogated twice - on 22 and 24 October - by ministry of intelligence officials about her peaceful human rights activities. She was

denied the right to a lawyer during her interrogations. She was subsequently informed on 29 October that she had been charged with "gathering and colluding to commit crimes against national security" and "spreading propaganda against the system". The charges stemmed solely from her peaceful human rights activities to seek truth and justice, including: holding commemorative gatherings at her home for those forcibly disappeared and extrajudicially executed in the 1980s, including her sister, four brothers and brother-in-law; visiting the families of victims; and taking flowers to Khavaran, where two of her brothers are believed to be buried in unmarked graves.

In January 2017, Mansoureh Behkish was convicted and sentenced by Branch 26 of the Revolutionary Court in Tehran to seven and a half years in prison. The court also ruled in favour of the activation of the December 2011 suspended sentence. In its verdict, the court wrote that Mansoureh Behkish no longer deserves the suspension of her previous sentence as she "has continued to engage in unlawful activities

against national security” and “according to the reports of the ministry of intelligence and the surveillance undertaken, she is incapable of being rehabilitated”. Mansoureh Behkish’s 2017 conviction and sentence were upheld on appeal by Branch 54 of the Court of Appeal in January 2018.

In an open letter written in November 2016 and symbolically addressed to her deceased mother, she wrote:

“My dear mother, this is an upside-down world [we live in] and the roles of the victim and perpetrator have been exchanged. Instead of accounting for the hardship they have inflicted on us all these years, they [the officials] continue to harass and abuse us... In your view, can a state’s national security ever be threatened by paying visits to bereaved families?... What kind of a state is this that the act of some families going together to a flower market to purchase flowers for the unmarked graves of their loved ones at Khavaran is held to amount to gathering and colluding against national state?”³⁷⁰

³⁷⁰ Amnesty International, “Iran: Spurious charges for human rights defender: Mansoureh Behkish” (Index: [MDE 13/5207/2016](#)).

9. CRIMES UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW

The human rights violations documented by Amnesty International for this report and by other human rights organizations³⁷¹ demonstrate that the Iranian authorities forcibly disappeared and extrajudicially killed thousands of prisoners between late July and September 1988 for their political opinions and religious beliefs. Since then, the authorities have systematically concealed the truth about the fate of these prisoners and the location of their remains. They have denied survivors and victims' families their rights to justice, truth and reparation and subjected them to other ill-treatment, including threats, harassment, intimidation and attacks. As explained below, such conduct amounts to crimes under international law, which the government of Iran and all states have a duty to investigate and, where sufficient admissible evidence exists, prosecute before ordinary civilian courts those suspected of responsibility in fair trials without recourse to the death penalty.

9.1 EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS

Extrajudicial killing is the unlawful and deliberate killing of a person carried out by order of a government or with its complicity or acquiescence.³⁷² It is a serious violation of the right to life and a crime under international law. The deliberate unlawful killing of prisoners by state actors in Iran pursuant to at least one fatwa issued by Rouhollah Khomeini, the then Supreme Leader, and following non-judicial "death commission" processes to determine whether they should be executed based on their political opinions or religious beliefs, clearly meets this definition. To the extent that some of those prisoners executed may have been sentenced to death by Revolutionary Courts following unfair "trials" that violated international human rights law, these killings also amount to extrajudicial executions. The UN has consistently condemned and called on all governments to investigate and punish extrajudicial executions since the 1970s.³⁷³ In 1989, the UN Economic and Social Council adopted the Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of

³⁷¹ Iran Human Rights Documentation Centre, *Deadly Fatwa: Iran's 1988 Prison Massacre*, 2009, www.iranhrdc.org/deadly-fatwa-irans-1988-prison-massacre/; Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry conducted by Geoffrey Robertson QC*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry; Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988: An Addendum, Witness testimonies and official statements*, 10 December 2013, www.iranrights.org/library/document/2498/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-an-addendum-witness-testimonies-and-official-statements; Iran Tribunal, An International People's Tribunal, *On the abuses and mass killings of political prisoners in Iran, 1981-1988, Findings of the Truth Commission*, 30 July 2012, www.irantribunal.com/images/PDF/Commission%20Report-Website.pdf; Iran Tribunal, An International People's Tribunal, *Judgement: Prosecutor v. Islamic Republic of Iran (a case concerning the gross violations of human rights and commission of crimes against humanity by the Islamic Republic of Iran)*, 5 February 2013, www.irantribunal.com/images/PDF/Iran%20Tribunal%20Judgment.pdf; Justice for Iran, *Unfinished Tales: Mothers and families of Khavaran, a three decade long search for truth and justice*, September 2015, www.justice4iran.org/persian/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/unfinishedtale.pdf

³⁷² See International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), *Prosecutor v. Kayishema and Ruzindana*, ICTR-95-1-T, Trial Chamber, Judgement, 21 May 1999, para. 140.

³⁷³ See for example Seventh UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, 26 August-6 September 1985, Resolution 11: Extra-legal, arbitrary and summary executions, para. 2: "Calls on all governments to take urgent and incisive action to investigate all such acts, wherever they may occur, to punish those found guilty and to take all other measures necessary to prevent those practices".

Extra-Legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions, which set out in detail the obligations of all states to investigate allegations of suspected extrajudicial execution and prosecute those responsible.³⁷⁴

9.2 ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCE

Enforced disappearance is the “arrest, detention, abduction or any other form of deprivation of liberty by agents of the State or by persons or groups of persons acting with the authorization, support or acquiescence of the State, followed by a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or by concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person, which place such a person outside the protection of the law.”³⁷⁵

Enforced disappearance violates a number of human rights, including:

- the right to security and dignity of the person;
- the right not to be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;
- the right to life; and
- the right to family life.

As set out in this report, in the weeks leading up to July 1988 and shortly after the PMOI’s armed incursion of 25 July 1988, there was a wave of arrests across the country of individuals who had previously been convicted of political offences and had been released after serving their prison terms. These persons went missing immediately after arrest and the authorities refused to provide their families with any information regarding their fate or whereabouts. Such conduct by the authorities amounts to the crime under international law of enforced disappearance.

Prisoners who were already in detention that had been acknowledged by the authorities were also subjected to the crime of enforced disappearance because the authorities clearly sought to place them outside the protection of the law by seeking to execute them through non-judicial secret proceedings; in many cases, the authorities removed them from the prison facilities to secret locations for the purposes of execution and concealed their fate and whereabouts. As the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances has explained, the commission of an extrajudicial execution in detention falls within the definition of enforced disappearance if it is followed by the refusal of state officials to disclose the fate or whereabouts of the victim or a refusal to acknowledge that the act has been perpetrated at all.³⁷⁶

The UN General Assembly has condemned such practices and has called on states to investigate and prosecute them since the 1970s.³⁷⁷ In 1992, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, which set out the obligations of all states to investigate allegations of enforced disappearances and prosecute those responsible, as well as provide effective remedies to victims and their families.³⁷⁸

Enforced disappearance is a crime that continues until the state releases information pertaining to the fate or whereabouts of the individual.³⁷⁹ As the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances has stated, this requires, when the disappeared person is found to be dead, returning the remains of the victims to their families and allowing them to dispose of those remains according to their own tradition, religion or culture. The remains of the person should be clearly and indisputably identified, including through DNA analysis.³⁸⁰ The Inter-American Court of Human Rights has stated that enforced disappearance continues

³⁷⁴ UN Economic and Social Council, *Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions*, Resolution 1989/65, 24 May 1989, UN Doc. E/1989/89 (Annex), www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/executions.pdf

³⁷⁵ International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, Article 2.

³⁷⁶ Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, *General comment on the definition of enforced disappearance*, March 2007, UN Doc. A/HRC/7/2, www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Disappearances/Pages/GeneralComments.aspx, para. 10.

³⁷⁷ For example, General Assembly Resolution 33/173, adopted on 20 December 1978, called on governments “to ensure that law enforcement and security authorities or organizations are fully accountable, especially in law, in the discharge of their duties, such accountability to include legal responsibility for unjustifiable excesses which might lead to enforced or involuntary disappearances...” See UN General Assembly, *Disappeared Persons*, 20 December 1978, UN Doc. A/RES/33/173, www.un.org/documents/ga/res/33/ares33r173.pdf

³⁷⁸ UN General Assembly, *Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance*, 18 December 1992, UN Doc. A/RES/47/133, www.un.org/documents/ga/res/47/a47r133.htm

³⁷⁹ Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, *General Comment on enforced disappearance as a continuous crime*, www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Disappearances/GC-EDCC.pdf

³⁸⁰ Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, *General Comment on the Right to the Truth in Relation to Enforced Disappearances*, www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Disappearances/GC-right_to_the_truth.pdf, para. 6.

“while the whereabouts of the disappeared person is not known or until their remains are identified with certainty”.³⁸¹

In all of the cases documented in this report, although the authorities told many families verbally that their loved ones had been killed, they failed to full disclose the fate of the victim (including failing to issue death certificates and clarify the circumstances and reasons for their execution) or identify the remains with any certainty and ensure that they were returned to the families. Most families remain uncertain about where the remains are located and some still struggle to believe that their loved ones are indeed dead. Three decades later, these crimes continue.

9.3 TORTURE

Torture means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as punishing them for an act that they have committed or are suspected of having committed, or intimidating them or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind.³⁸² Amnesty International opposes the imposition of the death penalty in all cases as a violation of the prohibition of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. The reported treatment of many prisoners during the process of the 1988 extrajudicial executions amounts to the crime under international law of torture. In particular, the authorities committed torture by rendering prisoners incommunicado and removing them from the protection of the law; subjecting them to opaque discriminatory non-judicial processes to determine whether they would be executed; subjecting them to beatings and other ill-treatment before, during and after interviews with “death commissions”; informing execution victims that they would be executed with short or no notice because of the answers they gave to questions about their political opinions and religious beliefs; and extrajudicially executing them.

The UN General Assembly has consistently condemned torture and other ill-treatment has called on states to investigate and prosecute them for over 40 years. In 1975, it adopted a Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, setting out the obligations of all states to investigate allegations of torture and prosecute those responsible, as well as provide redress to victims.³⁸³

A strong case can also be made that victims’ families have been subjected to torture and other ill-treatment as a result of the enforced disappearance of their loved ones, including the manner in which many of them were informed of the executions and the subsequent refusal of the state to fully disclose their fate and the location of their remains, as well as the threats, harassment, intimidation and attacks against them relating to their efforts to seek truth and justice.

The UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances has recognized that the anguish and suffering caused to the family by the disappearance of their loved one and by the continuing uncertainty concerning their fate or whereabouts “reaches the threshold of torture”.³⁸⁴

The UN Human Rights Committee has similarly recognized that the anguish and stress caused to the family by the disappearance of their loved ones and by the continuing uncertainty concerning their fate and whereabouts constitutes a form of torture or other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment against the families.³⁸⁵

In at least one case, the Human Rights Committee has also recognized that “complete secrecy surrounding the date of execution, and the place of burial and the refusal to hand over the body for burial have the effect of intimidating or punishing families by intentionally leaving them in a state of uncertainty and mental

³⁸¹ Inter-American Court of Human Rights, *Case of González Medina and Family Members v. Dominican Republic*, Series C No. 240, Judgment, 27 February 2012, para. 50.

³⁸² UN General Assembly, *Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*, 9 December 1975, UN Doc. A/RES/30/3452, Article 1(1), www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/declarationtorture.aspx

³⁸³ UN General Assembly, *Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*, 9 December 1975, UN Doc. A/RES/30/3452, Article 1(1), www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/declarationtorture.aspx

³⁸⁴ Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, *General Comment on the Right to the Truth in Relation to Enforced Disappearances*, UN Doc. A/HRC/16/48, www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Disappearances/GC-right_to_the_truth.pdf, para. 4.

³⁸⁵ Human Rights Committee, *María del Carmen Almeida de Quinteros et al. v. Uruguay*, Communication No. 107/1981, 21 July 1983, UN Doc. CCPR/C/OP/2, www.hrlibrary.umn.edu/undocs/newscans/107-1981.html, para. 14.

distress” amounting to a violation of the absolute prohibition on torture or other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment.³⁸⁶

9.4 CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Certain acts, including extrajudicial execution and enforced disappearance, when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack against a civilian population pursuant to a state or organizational policy, amount to crimes against humanity. Following the 1979 revolution, the Iranian authorities targeted political opposition groups and their supporters, summarily executing thousands and imprisoning thousands more because of their political beliefs and activities, in most cases following unfair “trials”. In 1988, thousands of these prisoners were extrajudicially executed pursuant to a fatwa issued by the Supreme Leader of Iran and implemented across prisons in the country. This was followed by more than 30 years of state authorities refusing to publicly acknowledge the killings and fully disclose the fate of those killed and the location of their remains to victims’ families, and subjecting families to threats, harassment, intimidation and attacks. Amnesty International considers that such acts clearly demonstrate a widespread and systematic attack against civilians pursuant to policies of the state. In particular, the organization considers that the following crimes against humanity have been committed:

9.4.1 PERSECUTION

The crime against humanity of persecution involves the widespread or systematic intentional and severe deprivation of fundamental rights contrary to international law of a group, such as a political or religious group. Amnesty International considers that persecution applies to this situation as thousands of members of political opposition groups were clearly targeted by the authorities for over almost a decade following the revolution in 1979 and subjected to a range of severe violations of their rights, including arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, summary or extrajudicial executions, and imprisonment (in many cases for non-violent political offences) following unfair “trials”. In 1988, thousands of those prisoners were then subjected to enforced disappearance and extrajudicial execution determined on their political and religious opinions.

9.4.2 MURDER

The crime against humanity of murder involves the widespread and systematic intentional killing of persons, which (as set out in section 9.1) clearly took place in 1998 when thousands of prisoners were extrajudicially executed in the course of several weeks pursuant to at least one fatwa issued by the Supreme Leader of Iran.

9.4.3 EXTERMINATION

The crime against humanity of extermination includes the unlawful and intentional killing of persons based on discriminatory grounds, including political and religious grounds. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda has noted that it “differs from murder in that it requires an element of mass destruction which is not required for murder.”³⁸⁷ Amnesty International considers that, based on the research in this report, there exists substantial information which shows the extrajudicial killings of thousands of prisoners by Iranian authorities in 1988 were committed on political and religious grounds.

In so far as the killings of prisoners affiliated with the PMOI are concerned, the authorities’ determination of who to execute was based on political grounds, as demonstrated by the fatwa issued by Rouhollah Khomeini and other evidence. The killings were clearly intended to extinguish political opposition to the Islamic Republic and eliminate all PMOI-affiliated prisoners across the country who were not willing to “repent”.

As for the killings of prisoners affiliated with leftist political groups, the second fatwa that Hossein Ali Montazeri says Rouhollah Khomeini issued has yet to emerge publicly. However, testimonies of survivors regarding the manner in which the authorities determined who to execute strongly indicate that the decisions were based on a mixture of political and religious grounds. Leftist prisoners were asked if they were prepared

³⁸⁶ Human Rights Committee, *Mariya Staselovich v. Belarus*, Communication No. 887/1999, 3 April 2003, UN Doc. CCPR/C/77/D/887/1999, www.hrlibrary.umn.edu/undocs/887-1999.html, para. 9.2.

³⁸⁷ International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, *The Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu*, ICTR-96-4-T, Trial Judgement, 2 September 1998, paras 591-592.

to make public statements criticizing the political organization with which they had been associated. They were also asked about their faith in God and Islam, and whether they were prepared to renounce their atheism, practise Islam and pray regularly. This strongly indicates that the extrajudicial killings were intended to eliminate political opposition and exterminate a group of “non-believers” deemed to pose a challenge to the theocratic system due to their attitudes towards Islam and God.

9.4.4 ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCE

Amnesty International considers that the enforced disappearance of thousands of people in 1988, as set out in section 9.2, was widespread and systematic and pursuant to a state policy, as demonstrated by the manner in which victims were placed outside the protection of the law and the 30 years of refusal by the state to fully disclose to victims’ families the fate of their loved ones and the location of their remains. Some definitions of the crimes against humanity of enforced disappearance require that the intention of perpetrators must be to remove victims from the protection of the law “for a prolonged period of time”,³⁸⁸ but, given that the authorities have failed to fully disclose the fate or whereabouts of the victims 30 years later, this requirement would be met in these circumstances.

9.4.5 TORTURE

Amnesty International considers the commission of torture against many prisoners in the process of committing the extrajudicial executions in 1988 (see section 9.3) formed part of the widespread and systematic attack by the state against political dissidents and was consistent with the policy advocated by the Supreme Leader in the fatwa not to show any mercy in implementing it.

Amnesty International also considers that the ill-treatment of victims’ families amounts to torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment as defined in international law. Although some definitions of the crime against humanity of torture require that victims must be in the custody or under the control of the accused, such acts would still amount to the crime against humanity of other inhumane acts.

9.4.6 OTHER INHUMANE ACTS

Amnesty International considers that, to the extent that the ill-treatment of victims’ families do not fall under other prohibited acts of crimes against humanity, in many cases they should fall under the crime against humanity of other inhumane acts. This crime recognizes that acts other than those expressly listed in the definition of crimes against humanity may apply if they are similarly inhumane and cause serious harm. The Iranian authorities’ refusal to fully disclose the fate of the victims and the location of victims’ remains; their failure to allow exhumations to identify the remains of victims and permit burials in accordance with Iranian culture; their destruction of graves and tributes placed there by families; and their threats, harassment, intimidation and attacks against victims’ families for seeking to visit grave sites and conduct mourning rituals - over the last 30 years - are acts that form part of the widespread and systematic attack against political opposition that has caused great suffering and anguish to victims’ families, including serious injury to their mental and physical health.

The serious harm that such actions cause is supported by the UN Human Rights Committee, which has recognized that “complete secrecy surrounding the date of execution, and the place of burial and the refusal to hand over the body for burial have the effect of intimidating or punishing families by intentionally leaving them in a state of uncertainty and mental distress”.³⁸⁹ The Inter-American Court of Human Rights has recognized that the concealment of the corpses of victims and the obstacles created by the authorities to the attempted exhumation procedures generate considerable suffering and anguish.³⁹⁰ It has also noted, “the significant emotional, psychological, [and] spiritual... hardship” that members of a community endure when they attach particular importance to the need to offer a dignified burial to the dead but are not allowed “to know what has happened to the remains of their loved ones, and, as a result, they cannot honor and bury them in accordance with their culture.”³⁹¹

³⁸⁸ See for example Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Article 7(2)(i).

³⁸⁹ Human Rights Committee, *Mariya Staselovich v. Belarus*, Communication No. 887/1999, 3 April 2003, UN Doc. CCPR/C/77/D/887/1999, www.hrlibrary.umn.edu/undocs/887-1999.html, para. 9.2.

³⁹⁰ Inter-American Court of Human Rights, *Case of Bámaca-Velásquez v. Guatemala*, Judgment, 25 November 2000, para. 165.

³⁹¹ Inter-American Court of Human Rights, *Case of the Moiwana Community v. Suriname*, Judgment, 15 June 2005, paras 98-103.

10. CRISIS OF IMPUNITY

Iran is facing a crisis of impunity that goes beyond the lack of accountability for the enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of 1988. Survivors and victims' families have no prospect of justice, truth or reparation nationally. Many of those allegedly involved in the 1988 killings still hold positions of power. As more information has emerged about the killings, authorities have sought to demonize the victims as “terrorists” and portray their deaths as a major achievement.

10.1 IRAN'S OBLIGATIONS TO ADDRESS IMPUNITY

International law obligates the government of Iran and all states to investigate crimes recognized under international law (including those identified in chapter 9) and, where sufficient admissible evidence exists, prosecute those suspected of responsibility before civilian courts in fair trials. This should be without recourse to the death penalty.

Fulfilling these obligations requires pursuing criminal responsibility against all those alleged to have directly committed the crimes and/or to have been complicit in their commission, including those who ordered, solicited, induced, planned, instigated, conspired to commit or aided or abetted or otherwise assisted or facilitated their commission.³⁹² The UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearance has specifically noted that the active concealment of the fate and whereabouts of the victims is a form of participation in the crime of enforced disappearance.³⁹³

The documentation of crimes in this report shows that state actors, at all levels, participated in the commission of crimes under international law. The initial order to extrajudicially execute prisoners was issued as a fatwa by the Supreme Leader of Iran. It appointed provincial Shari'a judges, prosecutors general, or their assistant prosecutors, and representatives of the ministry of intelligence to participate in “death commissions” in which they selected those who would be killed in full knowledge that they were removing prisoners from the protection of the law. Prison officials around the country co-operated fully with the “death commission” process, often seriously ill-treating victims in the process and participating in carrying out thousands of killings. Some of the extrajudicial executions were conducted at military facilities run by the Revolutionary Guards, indicating the knowledge and involvement of Revolutionary Guards officials. Government officials, members of “death commissions” and prison officials deliberately withheld information about the extrajudicial executions from the families. Despite eventually informing many families, verbally and in cruel circumstances, that their loved ones had been executed, for 30 years generations of state officials have concealed or refused to fully disclose the fate of the victims and the location of their remains, including by denying or falsifying death certificates and excluding victims from burial records.

All those involved in this large web of criminality should be investigated and, where sufficient evidence exists that they have committed crimes under international law, they should be prosecuted.

³⁹² See for example International Law Commission, “Draft Code of Crimes Against the Peace and Security of Mankind”, *Yearbook of the International Law Commission*, 1996, vol. II, Part Two, Article 2.

³⁹³ Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, *Best practices on enforced disappearances in domestic criminal legislation*, 28 December 2010, UN Doc. A/HRC/16/48/Add.3, paras 29-32.

10.2 CELEBRATING MASS KILLINGS

Since 2016, when Hossein Ali Montazeri's audio file was released, the Iranian authorities have celebrated the mass prisoner killings as a "major achievement" and a cause of "national pride" while still denying their scale and distorting their causes and circumstances. They have glorified those who ordered and carried out these crimes under international law as "national heroes". Simultaneously, they have demonized the victims as "mass murderers" and "terrorists", and ill-treated families and others who seek information on the fate and whereabouts of their loved ones.

The highest authorities, including the Supreme Leader and the head of the judiciary, have likened any criticism or documentation of the mass prisoner killings to support for "terrorism" and the armed activities of the PMOI.

The release of Hossein Ali Montazeri's audio file in August 2016 gave rise to an unprecedented wave of publicity around the mass prisoner killings of 1988. In response, the authorities launched an intensive campaign of disinformation and victim-blaming to deflect criticism and reinforce impunity. This has involved issuing numerous official statements and producing countless articles and video clips in the state media. These have sought to:

- deflect attention away from the grossly unjust nature of the proceedings leading to the mass prisoner killings and the individual profiles of the execution of victims by focusing on the armed violence of the PMOI in the 1980s;
- reverse the roles of victims and perpetrators, demonizing the execution victims as a small group of "mass murderers" and "terrorists" and glorifying those who ordered and carried out the mass prisoner killings as "national heroes" and "martyr" supporters; and
- trivialize the scale of mass killings and defend them under the pretext of countering "terrorism" and protecting "national security" and the "Islamic Revolution".

The authorities have also issued warnings that any effort to shed light on the mass killings of 1988 will be punished.

'DEVILISH MELODIES WILL BE NIPPED IN THE BUD'



Iran's head of the judiciary, Sadeq Larijani. © ILNA

One of the first high-profile reactions to the release of Hossein Ali Montazeri's audio-recording came from the head of the judiciary Sadeq Larijani.

On 15 August 2016, he stated: "The atrocities of *monafeqin* are not sanitizable and it is regrettable that by distributing audio files, some have provided the Western media with a subterfuge."

He accused critics of the executions of "distorting the history of the Islamic Revolution... creating security vacuums, polarizations and divisions within the revolutionary and religious society of Iran... and disturbing public opinion".

He threatened that "these devilish melodies will be nipped in the bud... and that the judiciary will act forcefully as always and any disturbance in public opinion with respect to these security issues will for sure lead to judicial investigation and prosecution."³⁹⁴

³⁹⁴ Fars News Agency, "The head of the judiciary: The atrocities of *monafeqin* are not sanitizable", 15 August 2016, www.farsnews.com/printable.php?nn=13950525000961

DEMONIZATION OF EXECUTION VICTIMS AS 'CRIMINALS WHO COMMITTED GREAT CRIMES'



Iran's prosecutor general, Moahammad Jafar Montazeri © ILNA

On 17 August 2016, the country's prosecutor general, Mohammad Jafar Montazeri, similarly commented that the release of the audio file was aimed at "sanitizing the atrocities of *monafeqin*". He said:

"We are seeing some people inside the Islamic Republic of Iran who are in concert with the enemy and in harmony with the same tune that Israel, the US, the West and their regional elements are playing, and they are after clearing *monafeq* criminals who committed great crimes in the early years after the Revolution."³⁹⁵

GLORIFICATION OF 1988 MASS KILLINGS AS A GREAT SERVICE TO IRAN



Tehran's Friday prayer leader, Ahmad Khatami
© ILNA

On 19 August 2016, Friday prayer leader in Tehran, Ahmad Khatami, said in a sermon: "What the late Imam [Khomeini] did in 1988 was a religious, Qur'anic and revolutionary act and a great service to the Muslim nation of Iran."

He repeated the unsubstantiated claims that the prisoners were colluding with the PMOI from inside prison and said that this amounts to "enmity against God" (*moharebeh*).

He added:

"Qur'an provides the severest penalties for *moharebin*. Here, both those who waged war on your children and those

who cooperated [with them] from inside prison are *mohareb*... If then, Imam [Khomeini] had not done that incredible service, today we would have had numerous difficulties; we would not have had security. We owe our today's security to that revolutionary action of Imam."³⁹⁶

DEMONIZATION OF EXECUTION VICTIMS AS 'CRIMINALS WHO SLEW THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE'



Iran's Supreme Leader, Sayed Ali Khamenei. © ILNA

Official remarks in support of the mass prisoner killings of 1988 have been endorsed by Iran's Supreme Leader, Sayed Ali Khamenei.

On 25 August 2016, he said in a meeting with President Rouhani and his cabinet that the release of the audio file was part of "attempts for clearing disgraced *monafeqin*".

He added:

"Unfortunately, certain individuals are making efforts to create a space of innocence for these criminals who slew thousands of people, ranging from ordinary people to officials and prominent figures, and harm the brilliant

³⁹⁵ Iranian Students News Agency, "The reaction of the country's prosecutor general to the release of the audio file: Publish the evidence of the crimes committed by Sayed Mehdi and the crimes in Esfahan and Ghahdrijan", 17 August 2016, www.bit.ly/2OgPWjZ

³⁹⁶ Iranian Students News Agency, "The prisoners of 1988 were *Mohareb*", 19 August 2018, www.bit.ly/2Qj6ZSF

reputation of the late Imam [Khomeini], but these mischievous and spiteful hands shall not achieve their [desired] goals and they will fail like they did in the past.”³⁹⁷

On 4 June 2017, Supreme Leader Sayed Ali Khamenei stated:

“The roles of the martyr and the murderer should not be reversed... The 60s [corresponding to the 1980s in the Western calendar] is the decade of major honours and the decade of combating separatism, and the Iranian nation, particularly the youth, succeeded in prevailing over all the plots and hostilities with tough resistance.”³⁹⁸

Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei’s messaging about the “reversal of the roles of the martyr and the murder” has since been strongly reflected in state media with proliferation of articles portraying the victims of the mass executions of 1988 as “murderers” and “executioners” and presenting the state and its officials as victims of violence. These articles often use phrases such “the events of 1988” or “what took place in the summer of 1988” for referring to the mass prisoner killings of 1988. They praise the authorities for taking “decisive and appropriate measure” to “cleanse the disgraced stain of *monafeqin* from the country” and liken criticisms of the authorities’ actions in 1988 to support for “acts of treasons committed by *monafeqin*”. Disturbingly, those responsible for the mass killings are described as worthy of earning “a medal of honour”.³⁹⁹

GLORIFICATION OF 1988 MASS KILLINGS AS ‘A HISTORIC AND REVOLUTIONARY DECISION’



Assembly of Experts for Leadership. © Fars News Agency/Mehdi Bolourian

On 28 August 2016, the Assembly of Experts for Leadership issued a statement saying:

“Perhaps for some it is still hard to grasp the historic and revolutionary decision of His Eminency Imam Khomeini in confronting *monafeqin* in a decisive and uncompromising manner and fairly prosecuting the leaders and some members of the grouplet of *monafeqin* in 1988... The late Imam aborted the sedition through his timely decision at that critical juncture.”⁴⁰⁰

The statement proceeded to “condemn” the publication of the audio-recording:

“Which earnest human being and awakened conscience would not concur that the publication of the contents of a meeting after nearly three decades is taking place with evil goals?... Is it not the case that the criminal US tries every once in a while and with various excuses to instigate its agents and mercenaries so that it could succeed in its false ambitions to undermine the Islamic system... and at the same time redeem the current of *nefaq* [the PMOI] by presenting them as victims. Yet they are blind to the fact that resuscitating a failed and isolated current through claims such as defending human rights is a sloppy plot and one that is doomed to fail.”⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁷ The Office of the Supreme Leader, “Ayatollah Khamenei gives 7-point recommendations to Rouhani admin”, 25 August 2016, www.leader.ir/en/content/16138/Ayatollah-Khamenei-meeting-with-the-cabinet-members-of-president-Rouhani

³⁹⁸ The Office of the Supreme Leader, “Leader: Revolutionarism is refusal to give in to bullying”, 5 June 2017, www.leader.ir/en/content/18420/leader.ir

³⁹⁹ See *The Persecuted Decade of 80s: Why the 80s is a Persecuted Decade and How the Roles of Executioners and Martyrs are Reversed?*, 2017; Fars News, “The Story of Fatally Shooting an 18 Year Old Teenager in ‘the Executioner of the 80s’”, 3 July 2017, www.bit.ly/2RwMgg; Basij News, “The Book ‘Executioner of the 80s Published’”, 3 July 2017, www.bit.ly/2QharBv

⁴⁰⁰ The Secretariat Assembly of Experts for Leadership, “The statement of the Assembly of Experts for Leadership on condemning the publication of Mr. Montazeri’s audio file and the activities of *monafeqin*”, 28 August 2018, www.majlesekhobregan.ir/fa/NewsView.html?ItemID=1967&SearchText=%D9%86%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B1%20%D8%B5%D9%88%D8%AA%DB%8C&LPhrase=

⁴⁰¹ The Secretariat Assembly of Experts for Leadership, “The statement of the Assembly of Experts for Leadership on condemning the publication of Mr. Montazeri’s audio file and the activities of *monafeqin*”.

10.3 INACTION AND REPISALS IN RESPONSE TO FAMILIES COMPLAINTS

“Time and again we have sought response from our government authorities, but there has been none... We seek no revenge... What we do seek is justice. What we do demand is a transparent and fair court that will openly try those involved in this crime against humanity.”

Mothers and Families of Khavaran during an acceptance speech of the Gwangju Human Rights Prize in 2014⁴⁰²

Despite the release of the Hossein Ali Montazeri audio recordings in 2016, the systematic impunity continues to prevail. Survivors and family members of the victims of the mass prisoner killings and enforced disappearances of 1988 still have no prospect of accessing truth, justice and reparations in Iran.

Survivors and family members, including those interviewed by Amnesty International, have consistently expressed a strong desire to see the perpetrators charged, arrested, tried and sentenced to appropriate penalties. At the same time, they have decried the impossibility of bringing the perpetrators to account in the Iranian justice system as it lacks independence and impartiality, and includes individuals who were allegedly involved in or supported the mass prisoner killings and see any effort for truth, justice or reparation as a “criminal activity” meriting severe punishment.

The families’ struggle to seek truth, justice and reparation began soon after they learned about the mass execution and secret burial of their loved ones. A group of families in Tehran first tried to submit a letter of complaint to the minister of justice on 26 December 1988. The families gathered in front of the Department of Justice in Tehran but were forcibly dispersed by the authorities. The families subsequently published the complaint as an open letter.

They wrote:

“As the parents, spouses, children, siblings and relatives of the victims, we are left wondering why our loved ones were so mercilessly and brutally killed. The absurd accusations that the political prisoners were in communication and working with various military groups along the borders are completely unfounded given the strict conditions prevailing in prisons.”

The families then asked a series of questions, including:

- If the executions were lawful, why were they hidden from the public?
- If the executions were justifiable, why weren’t they announced?
- Why were prison visits cancelled?
- Which court, based on what charge and on what date sentenced our loved ones to death?
- Which law allowed an order of mass executions to be issued?

The letter concluded with a series of demands, including:

- Announce, for every victim, the date of their trial, the length of time taken by the court to consider each file, the justification for a retrial, and the location where the trial took place.
- Notify families of the burial location and the execution date of all the victims.
- Return to families the last letters of wishes written by the victims.
- Announce the total number of those killed and their names.

⁴⁰² Justice for Iran, *2014 Gwangju Award for Human Rights Presented to Mothers of Khavaran in South Korea*, 19 May 2014, www.justice4iran.org/reports/2014-gwangju-award-for-human-rights-presented-to-mothers-of-khavarar-in-south-korea/ Mothers and families of Khavaran is a group consisting of families seeking truth and justice for their loved ones who were executed in the mass prisoner killings of the 1980s.

- Arrest and prosecute those responsible for these serious crimes in a public trial.⁴⁰³

The authorities did not acknowledge the complaint.

On the 10th anniversary of the mass prisoner killings, a group of families published another letter of complaint, addressed to then President Mohammad Khatami. The letter recalled that the majority of the victims had already been convicted and sentenced, and noted that “the only conceivable reason for their retrial was their political beliefs and convictions.”⁴⁰⁴

It reiterated the grievances of the families about the secret nature of the mass prisoner killings, the refusal of the authorities to inform them about the burial location of the victims, and the issuance of death certificates that listed “fake reasons for the death” of their loved ones.

The letter concluded with a list of demands, including the prosecution of those responsible in a public trial and with the presence of the victims’ families as plaintiffs; the posthumous exoneration of those executed; and the recognition of the burial location of the victims as memorial sites. This letter also went unacknowledged.

More recently, Amnesty International learned of the efforts of two family members who submitted complaints regarding specific cases to the authorities. Neither complaint was answered or processed by the Iranian authorities.

MARYAM AKBARI MONFARED



Maryam Akbari Monfared © Private



Roghayeh Akbari Monfared and Abdolreza Akbari Monfared. © Private

Prisoner of conscience Maryam Akbari Monfared submitted a complaint to the prosecutor’s office in Tehran from inside prison on 14 October 2016.⁴⁰⁵ The complaint concerns the extrajudicial execution and enforced disappearance in 1988 of her sister Roghayeh Akbari Monfared and her brother Abdolreza Akbari Monfared, who was 17 years old at the time of his arrest in 1980.

In her complaint, Maryam Akbari Monfared requested “an official investigation into the extrajudicial execution of her siblings” and sought “detailed information about the executions including the location of the mass graves, and the identity of the perpetrators. To date, the authorities have not processed her complaint. Instead, they have subjected her to reprisals. They have refused to take her to medical appointments outside prison to receive adequate treatment for her rheumatoid arthritis and thyroid problems. As a result, she has suffered severe pain in her legs. They have also repeatedly threatened to stop her family visits. On 13 May 2017, her husband Hassan Jafari Hatam was summoned to the ministry of intelligence office in Tehran and told that his

wife would face an additional three-year prison term and exile to a remote prison in Sistan-Baluchestan province, southeastern Iran, if she did not stop writing open letters about her complaint and pursuing the fate and whereabouts of her siblings.

⁴⁰³ The full text of this letter of complaint is available in English at Jafar Behkish, *I never forget you... Complaint in General Courts and to Hassan Rouhani*, 1 September 2018, Appendix B: Letter of Complaint to Mr. Hassan Habibi, www.jbehkish.blogspot.com/2018/09/i-never-forget-you-complaint-in-general_16.html, pp. 45-48.

⁴⁰⁴ Jafar Behkish, *I never forget you... Complaint in General Courts and to Hassan Rouhani*, 1 September 2018, www.jbehkish.blogspot.com/2018/09/i-never-forget-you-complaint-in-general_16.html, p. 56.

⁴⁰⁵ A copy of the complaint is published in *Justice for Iran*, “Maryam Akbari Monfared’s complaint to the judiciary about executions of 1988”, 17 October 2016, www.justice4iran.org/persian/reports/akbari-monfared-shekayat/

Maryam Akbari Monfared has been imprisoned since December 2009, serving a 15- year prison sentence for “enmity against God” (*moharebeh*). Her conviction is solely based on the fact that she had made phone calls to her relatives, who are members of the PMOI, and had visited them once in Iraq.⁴⁰⁶

JAFAR BEHKISH



Jafar Behkish © Private

Iranian-Canadian human rights defender Jafar Behkish, who lost six members of his family during the mass executions of the 1980s, submitted a complaint to the prosecutor’s office in Tehran on 1 June 2018.⁴⁰⁷ He had to submit the complaint by mail as no lawyer in Iran was willing to take the risk to file the complaint in person.⁴⁰⁸

The complaint concerns the extrajudicial execution and enforced disappearance of his brothers Mahmoud Behkish and Mohammad Ali Behkish, and brother-in-law Mehrdad Panahi Shabestari, during the mass prisoner killings of 1988; the arbitrary execution and enforced disappearance of his brother Mohsen Behkish in 1985; and the enforced disappearance of his sister Zahra Behkish in 1983 and his brother Mohammad Reza Behkish in 1982.



Jafar Behkish's deceased mother, Omolbanin Jalali Mohajer, and his siblings and brother-in-law who were unlawfully killed and forcibly disappeared in the 1980s, Mohsen Behkish, Mohammad-Reza Behkish, Siyamak Asadian, Zahra Behkish, Mahmoud Behkish and Mohammad-Ali Behkis (from left to right). © Private

The complaint also addresses the decades-long harassment, intimidation, arrest, detention, interrogation and persecution of his family members, including his deceased mother, Omolbanin Jalali Mohajer, his deceased mother-in-law, Najiyeh Peyvandi, his deceased father, Ali-Asghar Behkish, and his sister, Mansoureh Behkish, who was sentenced to seven and a half years in prison in January 2017 for “gathering and colluding to commit crimes against national security” and “spreading propaganda against the system” stemming solely from her peaceful human rights activities (see section 8.3).⁴⁰⁹

This complaint followed three letters of grievance that Jafar Behkish had sent to President Rouhani and the Permanent Mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the UN on 1 September 2017, 1 March 2018 and 1 June 2018. In these letters, he asked President Rouhani to establish “a public and independent inquiry under the supervision of the Human Rights Council of the UN”. He stressed that:

“... the head and members of this public inquiry should be independent individuals and should not be affiliated with the State. The inquiry should be accepted by International human rights advocacy organizations such as Amnesty International and of course, families of the victims of state brutalities. The findings of such an inquiry

⁴⁰⁶ Amnesty International, “Iran: Further information: Reprisal for speaking out against 1988 massacre: Maryam Akbari Monfared” (Index: MDE 13/6267/2017)

⁴⁰⁷ Jafar Behkish, *I never forget you ... Complaint in General Courts and to Hassan Rouhani*, 1 September 2018, www.jbehkish.blogspot.com/2018/09/i-never-forget-you-complaint-in-general_16.html, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁰⁸ Jafar Behkish, “The mass killings of the summer of 1988 and the Bar Association of Tehran (the report of an experience)”, *Gooya News*, 26 August 2018, www.news.gooya.com/2018/08/post-17986.php

⁴⁰⁹ Jafar Behkish, *I never forget you ... Complaint in General Courts and to Hassan Rouhani*, 1 September 2018, www.jbehkish.blogspot.com/2018/09/i-never-forget-you-complaint-in-general_16.html, pp. 38-43.

should be publicly published in full and will serve as a base for a thorough and fair trial of the masterminds and main perpetrators.”⁴¹⁰

On 1 September 2018, Jafar Behkish sent a follow-up letter to President Rouhani for the fourth time, which included the details of his complaint. As before, he also sent a copy of the complaint to the Permanent Mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the UN in New York and asked that it be referred to the Head of the Judiciary, Sadegh Amoli Larijani. However, in the second week of September, the package was returned to him by mail, with a note from Canada Post indicating that the recipient had refused to accept it.



The Permanent Mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the UN in New York City refused to accept Jafar Behkish's complaint about the mass killings and enforced disappearances of the 1980s. © Private

The systematic refusal of the Iranian authorities to conduct independent investigations into the extrajudicial killings and enforced disappearances of 1988, and respect the rights of victims to truth, justice and reparations, constitutes a serious and separate violation of their human rights obligations.⁴¹¹

10.4 SUSPECTS IN POSITION OF POWER

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

- **Alireza Avaei.** He was tasked with participating in the Dezful “death commission” as the prosecutor general of Dezful and is currently the minister of justice.⁴¹²

⁴¹⁰ Jafar Behkish, *I never forget you ... Complaint in General Courts and to Hassan Rouhani*, 1 September 2018, www.jbehkish.blogspot.com/2018/09/i-never-forget-you-complaint-in-general_16.html, pp. 18-24.

⁴¹¹ Human Rights Committee, *General Comments No. 31 on the Nature of the General Legal Obligation Imposed on States Parties to the Covenant*, 26 May 2004, UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.13, para. 15.

⁴¹² Deutsche Welle, “Protests at the introduction of a ‘person accused for crimes against humanity’ for the post of ministerial post”, 11 August 2017, www.bit.ly/2XPI0Lv; BBC, “The Minister of Justice: Who is Alireza Avaei?”, 20 August 2017, www.bbc.com/persian/iran-

- **Hossein Ali Nayyeri.** He acted as the Shari'a judge in the Tehran "death commission". He was promoted to the position of the deputy head of Iran's Supreme Court in 1989 and remained in this post until September 2013. He was subsequently appointed as the head of the Supreme Disciplinary Court for Judges, a position which he holds today.
- **Ebrahim Raisi.** He was the deputy prosecutor general of Tehran in 1988 and a member of the Tehran "death commission". He was later the prosecutor general of Tehran between 1989 and 1994, the first deputy head of the judiciary from 2004 to 2014 and the country's prosecutor general from 2014 to 2016.
- **Mostafa Pour Mohammadi:** He was the representative of the ministry of intelligence in the "death commission" in Tehran. He was later the minister of justice between 2013 and 2017.
- **Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi.** He was the Shari'a judge of Khuzestan province in 1988 and a member of the Khuzestan "death commission". He is currently a member of the Assembly of Experts. For nearly a decade in the 2000s, he was also the head of the body in charge of selecting and appointing judges across the country.

The participation of these and other suspects in senior roles of the government and judiciary understandably has effectively left families with no prospect of receiving justice and effective remedies inside Iran.

[features-40994024](#); Voice of America, "Protests and walking out during the speech by the Iranian Justice Minister at the Human Rights Council", 28 February 2018, www.ir.voanews.com/a/un-iran-human-rights/4273926.html; Radio Farda, "A number of diplomats walked out during the speech by the Minister of Justice for Iran", 28 February 2018, www.radiofarda.com/a/avaei-iran-human-rights/29066818.html The fact that he was the Prosecutor of Dezful in the 1980s has also been cited by numerous state media outlets and is included in his biography: Radio Zamaneh, "Changing seats between executives: Who will sit as the Minister of Justice?", 10 August 2017, www.radiozamaneh.com/353708; Hamshahri Online, "Biography: Seyyed Alireza Avaei" (1335-), 23 August 2017, www.hamshahronline.ir/news/380039/; Islamic Republic News Agency, "Avaei from the Prosecutor's office in Dezful to candidate for Minister of Justice", www.irna.ir/fa/News/82624797; Young Journalists Club, "The Biography of Alireza Avaei + Pictures", 8 August 2017, www.yjc.ir/fa/news/6195350/%D8%A8%DB%8C%D9%88%DA%AF%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%81%DB%8C-%D8%B9%D9%84%DB%8C%D8%B1%D8%B6%D8%A7-%D8%A2%D9%88%D8%A7%DB%8C%DB%8C-%D8%AA%D8%B5%D8%A7%D9%88%DB%8C%D8%B1

11. VICTIMS' RIGHT TO EFFECTIVE REMEDIES

As a state party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Iran is obliged under Article 2(3) to provide victims of human rights violations with effective remedies.⁴¹³ This obligation includes three elements:

- justice: investigating violations and, if enough admissible evidence is gathered that crimes under domestic or international law have been committed, prosecuting those suspected of responsibility;
- truth: establishing the facts about violations of human rights;
- full reparation: taking measures to address the harm suffered by victims and their families, including, as appropriate, restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition.⁴¹⁴

The right to effective remedies applies to all victims of human rights violations in the ICCPR. Victims are recognized in international standards as “persons who individually or collectively suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions”.⁴¹⁵ This includes the immediate family or dependants of the direct victim and persons who have suffered harm in intervening to assist victims in distress or to prevent victimization.⁴¹⁶

11.1 THE RIGHT TO TRUTH

Victims and their families, as well as other members of society, have the right to know the truth about human rights violations.⁴¹⁷

According to Principle 24 of the Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law (Basic Principles): “victims and their representatives should be entitled to seek and

⁴¹³ See Human Rights Committee, *General comment no. 31, The nature of the general legal obligation imposed on States Parties to the Covenant*, UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.13, 26 May 2004.

⁴¹⁴ See UN General Assembly, *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, 21 March 2006, UN Doc. A/RES/60/147, Principle VII, www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/remedyandrepairation.aspx; Commission on Human Rights, *Independent study on best practices, including recommendations, to assist states in strengthening their domestic capacity to combat all aspects of impunity*, by Diane Orentlicher, 27 February 2004, UN Doc. E/CN.4/2004/88, www.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=E/CN.4/2004/88

⁴¹⁵ UN General Assembly, *Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*, 29 November 1985, UN Doc. A/RES/40/34, Principle 1, www.un.org/documents/ga/res/40/a40r034.htm; *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation*, Principle 8.

⁴¹⁶ UN General Assembly, *Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*, Principle 2; UN General Assembly, *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, Principle 8; Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances*, 28 January 2013, UN Doc. A/HRC/22/45, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/22/45, p. 10, para. 51.

⁴¹⁷ Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Study on the right to the truth*, 8 February 2006, UN Doc. E/CN.4/2006/91, www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/RuleOfLaw/Pages/RightToTheTruth.aspx

obtain information on the causes leading to their victimization and on the causes and conditions pertaining to the gross violations of international human rights law and serious violations of international humanitarian law and to learn the truth in regard to these violations.”⁴¹⁸ Principle 4 of the Updated Set of Principles for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights through Action to Combat Impunity (Updated Set of Principles to Combat Impunity) states: “Irrespective of any legal proceedings, victims and their families have the imprescriptible right to know the truth about the circumstances in which violations took place and, in the event of death or disappearance, the victim’s fate.”⁴¹⁹

The UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances has stated that the right to the truth in relation to enforced disappearances “means the right to know about the progress and results of an investigation, the fate and whereabouts of the disappeared persons, and the circumstances of the disappearances, and the identity of the perpetrators”.⁴²⁰ It emphasizes that “[t]he right to know the truth about the fate and whereabouts includes, when the disappeared person is found to be dead, the right of the family to have the remains of their loved ones returned to them, and to dispose of those remains according to their own tradition, religion or culture. The remains of the person should be clearly and indisputably identified, including through DNA analysis.”⁴²¹

The right to truth has both an individual and a collective dimension. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights has stated: “The right to know the truth is a collective right that ensures society access to information that is essential for the workings of democratic systems, and it is also a private right for relatives of the victims, which affords a form of compensation”.⁴²² Principle 2 of the Updated Set of Principles to Combat Impunity states: “Every people has the inalienable right to know the truth about past events concerning the perpetration of heinous crimes and about the circumstances and reasons that led, through massive or systematic violations, to the perpetration of those crimes. Full and effective exercise of the right to the truth provides a vital safeguard against the recurrence of violations.” Both in its individual and collective dimensions, the right to truth is an inalienable and non-derogable right, which stands alone and should not be limited.⁴²³

In terms of how states fulfil their obligations to give effect to the right to truth, Principle 5 of the Updated Set of Principles to Combat Impunity states: “States must take appropriate action, including measures necessary to ensure the independent and effective operation of the judiciary, to give effect to the right to know. Appropriate measures to ensure this right may include non-judicial processes that complement the role of the judiciary. Societies that have experienced heinous crimes perpetrated on a massive or systematic basis may benefit in particular from the creation of a truth commission or other commission of inquiry to establish the facts surrounding those violations so that the truth may be ascertained and to prevent the disappearance of evidence.”

11.2 THE RIGHT TO JUSTICE

Article 2 of the ICCPR requires states to conduct prompt, thorough, effective, independent and impartial investigations in relation to alleged violations and to bring those responsible to justice, including in cases of torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment; summary, arbitrary and extrajudicial killings; and enforced disappearances.⁴²⁴ International standards confirm that ensuring victims have access to justice is a

⁴¹⁸ UN General Assembly, *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, 21 March 2006, UN Doc. A/RES/60/147, Principle 24, www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/remedyandreparation.aspx

⁴¹⁹ Commission on Human Rights, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, 8 February 2005, UN Doc. E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1, www.undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1

⁴²⁰ Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, *General Comment on the Right to the Truth in Relation to Enforced Disappearances*, www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Disappearances/GC-right_to_the_truth.pdf, para. 1.

⁴²¹ Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, *General Comment on the Right to the Truth in Relation to Enforced Disappearances*, www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Disappearances/GC-right_to_the_truth.pdf, para. 6.

⁴²² Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Report No. 136/99, case 10.488, *Ignacio Ellacuría et al. (El Salvador)*, 22 December 1999, para. 224.

⁴²³ Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Study on the right to the truth*, 8 February 2006, UN Doc. E/CN.4/2006/91, www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/RuleOfLaw/Pages/RightToTheTruth.aspx, para. 38 and summary.

⁴²⁴ Human Rights Committee, *General Comment No. 31 on the Nature of the General Legal Obligation Imposed on States Parties to the Covenant*, 26 May 2004, UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.13, para. 18.

vital component of states obligations to provide effective remedies.⁴²⁵ They are also essential elements of the state's positive obligation to prevent the arbitrary deprivation of life and ensure human rights.⁴²⁶

An effective investigation must give due attention to the rights and needs of victims.⁴²⁷ This includes the rights to:

- file a complaint;
- be informed of the progress of the investigation;
- name and interrogate witnesses;
- receive legal and psychological support;
- be informed of the outcome of the investigation;
- protection of privacy;
- protection against threats and intimidation; and
- full reparation.

The investigation results should be transparent and open to the victims' families and the general public.⁴²⁸

Article 2 of the ICCPR requires that, where investigations reveal violations of certain Covenant rights, states parties must ensure that those responsible are brought to justice. The UN Human Rights Committee has emphasized that "these obligations arise notably in respect of those violations recognized as criminal under either domestic or international law, such as torture and similar cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, summary and arbitrary killing and enforced disappearance".⁴²⁹ Moreover, all states have a duty under international law to investigate and, where sufficient evidence exists, prosecute crimes under international law, including extrajudicial execution,⁴³⁰ enforced disappearance,⁴³¹ torture⁴³² and crimes against humanity.

Such prosecutions should seek to bring all of those responsible for such crimes to justice, where sufficient admissible evidence exists.⁴³³ This includes superiors who ordered, aided or abetted, or were otherwise complicit in, the commission of such crimes, as well as superiors who knew or should have known that a subordinate was committing or about to commit a crime and did not take all the reasonable and necessary measures within their power to prevent, repress or punish the crime.⁴³⁴

Inappropriate defences - such as invoking superior orders⁴³⁵ as a defence to such crimes - or other barriers to justice prohibited by international law - such as prescription and amnesties for crimes under international law⁴³⁶ - must not be applied.

⁴²⁵ UN General Assembly, *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, 21 March 2006, UN Doc. A/RES/60/147, Principle 12, www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/remedyandrepairation.aspx; Commission on Human Rights, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, 8 February 2005, UN Doc. E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1, Principle 32, www.undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1; UN General Assembly, *Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*, 29 November 1985, UN Doc. A/RES/40/34, Principle 5, www.un.org/documents/ga/res/40/a40r034.htm

⁴²⁶ Amnesty International, *Amnesty International's preliminary observations on the proposed general comment on the right to life* (Index: IOR 40/1644/2015), p. 29.

⁴²⁷ UN General Assembly, *Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*, 29 November 1985, UN Doc. A/RES/40/34, www.un.org/documents/ga/res/40/a40r034.htm

⁴²⁸ Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *The Minnesota Protocol on the investigation of potentially unlawful death*, 2016, www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/MinnesotaProtocol.pdf, para. 32.

⁴²⁹ Human Rights Committee, *General Comments No. 31 on the Nature of the General Legal Obligation Imposed on States Parties to the Covenant*, 26 May 2004, UN Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.13, para. 18.

⁴³⁰ See for example UN Economic and Social Council, *Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions*, Resolution 1989/65, 24 May 1989, UN Doc. E/1989/89 (Annex), Principles 9 and 18, www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/executions.pdf

⁴³¹ See for example UN General Assembly, *Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance*, 18 December 1992, UN Doc. A/RES/47/133, Articles 13 and 14, www.un.org/documents/ga/res/47/a47r133.htm

⁴³² See for example UN General Assembly, *Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*, 9 December 1975, UN Doc. A/RES/30/3452, Articles 9 and 10, www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/declarationtorture.aspx

⁴³³ See for example UN General Assembly, *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, 21 March 2006, UN Doc. A/RES/60/147, Principle 4, www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/remedyandrepairation.aspx

⁴³⁴ See for example Commission on Human Rights, *Updated Set of principles for the protection and promotion of human rights through action to combat impunity*, 8 February 2005, UN Doc. E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1, Principle 27(b), www.undocs.org/E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1

⁴³⁵ See for example *Updated Set of Principles to Combat Impunity*, Principle 27(a).

⁴³⁶ See for example *Updated Set of Principles to Combat Impunity*, Principles 23 and 24.

Beyond fulfilling the rights of victims to effective remedies, bringing perpetrators to justice is essential if states are to uphold the rule of law and protect the human rights of all persons.

11.3 THE RIGHT TO REPARATION

Victims of human rights violations have the right to full and effective reparation to address the harm they have suffered, including measures of restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition.⁴³⁷ In determining such measures, authorities should consult with victims and their representatives to fully assess the harms they have suffered and to identify the most appropriate and effective measures to address them.⁴³⁸ Victims should be treated with humanity and respect for their dignity and human rights throughout the process.⁴³⁹ Reparation can be provided through judicial and administrative mechanisms.⁴⁴⁰ In situations where violations have been committed on a large-scale, the state should establish an accessible and effective national reparation programme.

11.3.1 RESTITUTION

Restitution is the act of restoring the victim, to the extent possible, to the original situation before the violation occurred. The Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances has underlined that, as full restitution is normally not possible in the case of enforced disappearance owing to the irreversible nature of the harm suffered (which will in many cases also apply to other human rights violations), other forms of reparation, such as compensation, rehabilitation and satisfaction, should complement restitution.⁴⁴¹

11.3.2 COMPENSATION

Compensation should be provided for any economically assessable damage, appropriate and proportional to the gravity of the violation and the circumstances of each case.⁴⁴² Economically assessable damage may include: (a) physical or mental harm; (b) lost opportunities, including employment, education and social benefits; (c) material damages and loss of earnings, including loss of earning potential; (d) moral damage; or (e) costs required for legal or expert assistance, medicine and medical services, and psychological and social services.⁴⁴³ In most cases, financial compensation is not sufficient in itself to address the harm caused by human rights violations and should be accompanied by other forms of reparation.

11.3.3 REHABILITATION

Rehabilitation measures should include medical and psychological care as well as legal and social services to address physical and mental harms caused to victims.⁴⁴⁴

11.3.4 SATISFACTION

Measures of satisfaction should include, where applicable, any or all of the following:

⁴³⁷ See for example UN General Assembly, *Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*, 29 November 1985, UN Doc. A/RES/40/34, Principles 8-17, www.un.org/documents/ga/res/40/a40r034.htm; Human Rights Committee, *General Comments No. 31 on the Nature of the General Legal Obligation Imposed on States Parties to the Covenant*, para. 16; *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, Principles 18-23; *Updated Set of Principles to Combat Impunity*, Principle 31.

⁴³⁸ See for example *Updated Set of Principles to Combat Impunity*, Principle 32.

⁴³⁹ See for example *Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*, Principle 4; *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, Principle 10.

⁴⁴⁰ See for example *Updated Set of Principles to Combat Impunity*, Principles 32.

⁴⁴¹ Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances*, 28 January 2013, UN Doc. A/HRC/22/45, 55, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/22/45, p. 11, para.

⁴⁴² *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, Principle 20.

⁴⁴³ *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, Principle 20.

⁴⁴⁴ *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, Principle 21.

- a) effective measures aimed at the cessation of continuing violations;
- b) verification of the facts and full and public disclosure of the truth to the extent that such disclosure does not cause further harm or threaten the safety and interests of the victim, the victim's relatives, witnesses, or persons who have intervened to assist the victim or prevent the occurrence of further violations;
- c) the search for the whereabouts of the disappeared, for the identities of the children abducted, and for the bodies of those killed, and assistance in the recovery, identification and reburial of the bodies in accordance with the expressed or presumed wish of the victims, or the cultural practices of the families and communities;
- d) an official declaration or a judicial decision restoring the dignity, the reputation and the rights of the victim and of persons closely connected with the victim;
- e) a public apology, including acknowledgement of the facts and acceptance of responsibility;
- f) judicial and administrative sanctions against persons liable for the violations;
- g) commemorations and tributes to the victims; and
- h) inclusion of an accurate account of the violations that occurred in international human rights law and international humanitarian law training and in educational material at all levels.⁴⁴⁵

11.3.5 GUARANTEES OF NON-REPETITION

Guarantees of non-repetition should include, where applicable, any or all of the following measures, which will also contribute to prevention:

- a) ensuring effective civilian control of military and security forces;
- b) ensuring that all civilian and military proceedings abide by international standards of due process, fairness and impartiality;
- c) strengthening the independence of the judiciary;
- d) protecting persons in the legal, medical and health-care professions, the media and other related professions, and human rights defenders;
- e) providing, on a priority and continued basis, human rights and international humanitarian law education to all sectors of society and training for judicial and law enforcement officials as well as military and security forces;
- f) promoting the observance of codes of conduct and ethical norms, in particular international standards, by public servants, including law enforcement, correctional, media, medical, psychological, social service and military personnel;
- g) promoting mechanisms for preventing and monitoring social conflicts and their resolution; and
- h) reviewing and reforming laws contributing to or allowing gross violations of international human rights law.

⁴⁴⁵ *Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*, Principle 22.

12. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“I have a grievance against the UN because they [Iranian authorities] killed so many of our children yet there was no sound from the UN... [The Iranian authorities] killed six of my children and the UN did not even raise its voice. It is still not raising its voice while they are persecuting my daughter. Enough is enough. How much more cruelty? How much longer? I expected the UN to hear my words, to record my voice, to note the names of my children.”

Omolbanin Jalali Mohajer (known as Mother Behkish), who lost her children during the mass killings and enforced disappearances of the 1980s⁴⁴⁶

12.1 CONCLUSION

The enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of thousands of political dissidents in Iran in 1988, as well as the decades of cover-up involving the denial of truth and ill-treatment of victims' families, form part of a widespread and systematic attack against civilians by the Iranian authorities aimed at persecuting and eliminating political dissidents, silencing dissent and erasing all voices that promoted a different political vision for post-revolutionary Iran.

The Iranian authorities perpetrated thousands of secret extrajudicial executions in 1988 pursuant to at least one fatwa issued by the Supreme leader. Those killed were subjected to enforced disappearance - they were removed from the protection of the law in order to be executed - and, 30 years later, the authorities continue to refuse to fully disclose the fate of the victims, including the causes and circumstances of the killings, and locate unmarked individual and mass graves containing the remains of the victims so that they are identified and returned to the families. As a result, the enforced disappearances continue to be committed today. The untold anguish caused to the families by this situation, as well as the other ill-treatment to which they have been subjected, violates the absolute prohibition of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Given the widespread and systematic manner in which these crimes have been and continue to be committed, Amnesty International considers that they amount to crimes against humanity, including of murder, extermination, enforced disappearance, torture, persecution and other inhumane acts (see chapter 9).

Official documents and statements confirm that these crimes have been ordered, overseen and approved by the highest authorities within the establishment and the authorities responsible at all level are continuing to conceal, condone and even celebrate them today. Indeed, ministry of intelligence officials, Shari'a judges, prosecutors general and assistant prosecutors who participated in the “death commissions” have held and, in some cases, continue to hold senior positions in the judiciary or the government. Since 2016, the authorities have increasingly made statements glorifying the perpetrators of the mass killings as “national heroes” and likened any criticism of the atrocities to support for “terrorism”. As a result, there is no immediate domestic possibility for victims to access justice, truth and reparation in Iran.

⁴⁴⁶ A video-recorded statement by Omolbanin Jalali Mohajer addressed to the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation on Iran and published in November 2011 at www.youtube.com/watch?v=R2je_pd6oM&feature=player_embedded

In this situation, it is essential that an effective international mechanism(s) are established to address the impunity.

Although the politics of the UN may result in some states opposing such measures, the international community as a whole must no longer ignore these crimes against humanity and allow them to go unaddressed and unpunished.

Crimes against humanity are exactly what the term suggests: crimes so serious that they concern not only their victims, survivors and the state in question but also humanity as a whole. Accountability for such crimes is essential, not only to ensure truth and justice for victims and their families, but also to provide a vital safeguard against the recurrence of such crimes.

The international community has grossly failed the survivors and families of the victims of the mass extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances of 1988 in Iran. This failure has had a devastating impact not only on survivors and victims' families but also on the rule of law and respect for human rights in the country.

In August 2017, after decades of silence by the international community, the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Iran dedicated a section of her report to the issue of the "1988 massacres". The report criticized the Iranian authorities for failing to "ensure that a thorough and independent investigation into these events is carried out" and highlighted the harassment, intimidation and prosecution that families risk facing for seeking the truth about the fate of their loved ones and demanding justice. The Special Rapporteur concluded with a call for "effective investigation of the facts and public disclosure of the truth".⁴⁴⁷

The gravity of the crimes committed, the clear unwillingness of the Iranian authorities to investigate them in order to deliver justice, truth and reparation, and the ongoing suffering of survivors and victims' families demands that the international community, through the UN, step up its efforts to address the injustice.

The enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions perpetrated in 1988 were the culmination of a decade of gross and systematic human rights violations following the 1979 revolution. They were followed by a series of extrajudicial executions that targeted intellectuals, writers, artists and dissidents between 1988 and 1998 and came to be known in Iran as the "Chain of Murders" for which the ministry of intelligence claimed responsibility.⁴⁴⁸

These crimes and violations have been perpetrated in a broader context where for decades the authorities have heavily suppressed the rights to freedoms of belief, expression, association and peaceful assembly; conducted systematically unfair and predominantly secret trials; committed torture and other ill-treatment on a widespread basis; executed hundreds of people every year; and kept thousands more on death row.

Today, Iran is in the grip of a multifaceted crisis that is rooted in a confluence of severe political, economic, environmental and human rights problems. Protests against poverty, inflation, corruption and political authoritarianism have been on the rise, and intensified expressions of anger and dissatisfaction against the establishment abound on social media. In response, the authorities have been widening the net of repression. Hundreds of peaceful political dissidents, journalists, online media workers, students, filmmakers, musicians and writers, members of religious and ethnic minorities as well as human rights defenders including lawyers, women's rights activists, trade unionists, minority rights and environmental activists, and anti-death penalty campaigners have been targeted for harassment, interrogation, arbitrary arrests and detention, and prosecution. Many are languishing in jail.

The succession of atrocities in Iran is intractably linked to the impunity that has been enjoyed by the Iranian authorities since 1979, leading them to believe that they can commit human rights violations without repercussions.

The damage caused to Iranian society by this legacy is an open wound that can only be healed if the state commits to adopt a comprehensive strategy to address impunity, at the insistence and with the support of the UN. That strategy must combine effective, fair and human rights compliant accountability measures as well as effective remedies for victims, including full and effective reparation, independent and effective truth-seeking measures, profound institutional reforms, and comprehensive history learning and human rights education campaigns. Only then can Iran break with its tragic and painful past, satisfy the right of the victims to truth, justice and reparation, and ensure that such crimes will never happen again.

⁴⁴⁷ *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, 14 August 2018, UN Doc. A/72/322, www.ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?m=183, paras 71-74, 109.

⁴⁴⁸ Amnesty International, "Iran: Detainees arrested at commemoration for murdered writers must be released" (Index: [MDE 13/5267/2016](#)).

The brave survivors, family members and human rights defenders who are struggling for this vision deserve to know that they are not alone.

12.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

12.2.1 TO THE AUTHORITIES IN IRAN

TRUTH

- Publicly acknowledge that thousands of imprisoned political dissidents were subjected to enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions in prisons across Iran in July-September 1988 and make public all available information and records regarding the number of those killed; their identities; the location, cause and circumstances of their disappearance and extrajudicial execution; and the location of their remains.
- Establish a competent, independent and impartial truth commission, commission of inquiry or other appropriate mechanism to establish fully the truth regarding the mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of July-September 1988, including the number of those killed; their identities; the date, location, cause and circumstances of each disappearance and extrajudicial execution; and the location of their remains. The mechanism should have effective powers to conduct its investigations, including to: compel co-operation from all government authorities; compel testimony from those suspected of involvement in the enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions and other witnesses; exhume grave sites; and conduct autopsies and DNA analysis in order to facilitate the return of the remains of deceased victims to family members.
- Protect survivors, the families of victims and others seeking truth, justice and reparations on behalf of the victims of the mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of July-September 1988 against threats, harassment, intimidation, arbitrary arrests and detentions, and other reprisal by state authorities or other actors.
- Grant independent international monitors, including NGOs, unhindered access to the country.
 - More specifically in this regard, grant the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Iran unhindered access to the country and respond favourably, without further delay, to the requests made by the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, and the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, to visit the country. Invite the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence to carry out a visit.
- Publicly acknowledge and identify all individual and mass grave sites that contain the remains of the victims of the mass extrajudicial executions of July-September 1988.
- Ensure the preservation of archives including information relating to the mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of July-September 1988 and facilitate access to them in the interest of historical and human rights research, subject to reasonable restrictions aimed at safeguarding the privacy and security of victims and their families.
- Publish all reports and findings of any and all internal investigations into the mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of July-September 1988 and other allegations of abuses.
- Provide to victims' families statements of the last wishes written by victims before their execution.
- Establish an accessible registry that accumulates and centralizes data on the victims of the mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of July-September 1988 to assist in the process of establishing their identities, the location and circumstances of their disappearances and executions, and the location of their graves. The data entered into the registry should be subject to independent, impartial and thorough verification of their accuracy.
- Ensure that for every victim of the extrajudicial executions of July-September 1988, a declaration of death and a death certificate is issued, setting out accurately the date, location and cause of death.

JUSTICE

- Ensure that prompt, thorough, independent and impartial criminal investigations are conducted into all allegations of enforced disappearances, extrajudicial executions, torture and crimes against humanity relating to the mass killings carried out in July-September 1988. Where sufficient admissible evidence exists, prosecute those suspected of criminal responsibility before civilian courts in proceedings that conform to international fair trial standards and do not involve seeking or imposing the death penalty. Any independent and impartial investigation would preclude state agencies accused of involvement in alleged violations from investigating their own personnel or affiliates.
- Ensure that investigations, and any prosecutions, are not limited to direct perpetrators but also address the criminal liability of those suspected of ordering, soliciting, planning, instigating, conspiring to commit, aiding or abetting, or otherwise assisting or facilitating the commission of such crimes (including the concealment of the fate of those disappeared and the location of their remains), as well as superiors who knew or should have known that a subordinate was committing or about to commit a crime but did not take all the reasonable and necessary measures within their power to prevent, repress or punish the crime.

EXHUMATIONS, IDENTIFICATIONS AND REBURIAL

- Immediately disclose information on the location of individual and mass graves containing the remains of the victims of the mass enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions of July-September 1988.
- Immediately stop the destruction and damaging of sites that are suspected or known to contain the remains of the victims of the mass extrajudicial executions of July-September of 1988. Ensure that the sites are preserved and protected until proper, independent investigations can be carried out to determine the identity of the remains and the cause and circumstances of death.
- Ensure that all suspected and confirmed individual and mass grave sites related to the mass extrajudicial executions of July-September 1988 are marked and registered.
- Ensure that grave sites are protected against desecration, vandalism and sacrilege.
- Publicly recognize and treat mass graves as crime scenes that require professional forensic expertise to undertake exhumations, preserve evidence and accurately identify remains.
- Where exhumations and autopsies are required, consult with and inform families of victims and ensure that the human remains are treated with respect and dignity and the identity and cause of death are determined and recorded with due diligence by fully qualified forensic specialists in accordance with international standards.
- Facilitate the return of the human remains of deceased victims to family members and allow for the performance of funeral and cultural rites for the dead.
- Support and facilitate other forms of memorialization requested by relatives.
- If the remains of a person are found but not identified, a record should be kept active to allow for future identification and subsequent notification to relatives and interested parties.

REPARATION

- Establish a competent, independent and impartial reparation mechanism to ensure that the survivors of the mass extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances of 1988 and victims' families are provided with full and effective reparation in accordance with international standards to address the harm they have suffered, including restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition (see section 11.3).
- Issue an official declaration or a judicial decision restoring the dignity, reputation and rights of the victims of the mass extrajudicial executions and enforced disappearances of 1988 and of people closely connected with the victim.
- Issue a public apology, including acknowledgement of the facts and acceptance of state responsibility.
- Hold commemorations for the victims of mass extrajudicial killings and enforced disappearances of 1988 and other gross human rights violations committed during the 1980s.

- Publish and publicly disseminate the report of the truth commission or commission of inquiry recommended above and ensure that it is reflected in human rights training and educational material.
- Establish a vetting system to ensure that, pending investigation, public officials and employees who are suspected of committing serious violations of human rights and crimes under international law, in particular those involved in the security, police, intelligence and judicial sectors, do not remain, or are not placed, in positions where they could repeat such violations.
- Ensure that no one may be detained or imprisoned solely for the peaceful exercise of the human rights guaranteed under the ICCPR, including the rights to freedom of expression, association, peaceful assembly, belief, religion and privacy, and release immediately and unconditionally anyone so detained.
- Repeal or amend, with a view to bringing into conformity with international law, vaguely worded provisions of the penal code that unduly restrict the rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly.
- Ensure that measures are taken to ensure justice, truth, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence for victims of other crimes under international law and human rights violations committed in Iran since 1979.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

- Sign and ratify the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty; the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance; the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and its Optional Protocol; and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.
- Enact legislation making enforced disappearance and disappearances by non-state actors crimes in Iranian law, in accordance with Articles 2 and 3 of the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.
- Enact legislation making crimes against humanity, as defined in customary international law, crimes in Iranian law.
- Enact legislation criminalizing torture, as defined in the Convention Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, ensuring that the prohibition of torture is not restricted to when it is “for the purpose of extracting confession or acquiring information” as it currently is under the Constitution, and encompasses pain or suffering that is inflicted on an individual as a form of punishment or intimidation or for any reason based on discrimination.
- Preclude the application of amnesties, statutes of limitations, immunities and other barriers to justice, truth and reparation.

ASSISTANCE AND CO-OPERATION

- Seek assistance and co-operation from states, international bodies and relevant expert bodies in support of the above objectives.
- Request technical assistance from the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, justice and reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence consistent with the Rapporteur’s mandate.

12.2.2 TO UN POLITICAL BODIES

- Establish an independent, impartial and effective international mechanism(s) to address impunity for the crimes against humanity and other crimes under international law identified in this report including by: documenting and investigating the crimes; gathering and preserving evidence; and identifying effective pathways to justice, truth and reparation with a view to ensuring that those suspected of responsibility are prosecuted in fair trials without imposing the death penalty, including before national courts of states exercising universal jurisdiction and victims are provided with effective remedies.

12.2.3 TO INDIVIDUAL UN MEMBER STATES

- Devote increased multilateral attention and focus to the issue of extrajudicial killings and enforced disappearances in Iran, including in collaboration with UN human rights processes and mandates, with a view to acknowledging and supporting the victims of these crimes and the right to truth, justice and reparation.
- Use all available bilateral, multilateral and regional platforms to urge the Iranian authorities to address mass enforced disappearances and the extrajudicial killings of 1988 and accept and implement the recommendations directed at it, and, where appropriate, to provide all technical assistance and support in fulfilment of these objectives related to truth, justice, and reparations.
- Support the establishment of an independent, impartial and effective international mechanism(s) by the UN to address impunity for the crimes against humanity and other crimes under international law identified in this report.
- Exercise extra-territorial, including universal, jurisdiction to investigate the crimes against humanity and other crimes under international law, identified in this report and, where there is sufficient admissible evidence, issue arrest warrants and seek to prosecute those suspected of responsibility before national courts in proceedings that meet international standards of fairness and do not involve seeking or imposing the death penalty, or extradite a suspect to a jurisdiction that will do so.

ANNEX 1 – ACCOUNTS OF KILLINGS FROM PROVINCES

The case boxes in this annex provide an overview of the circumstances surrounding the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in 16 cities across Iran, presented in the following 15 sections:

1. Ahvaz in Khuzestan province
2. Dezful in Khuzestan province
3. Esfahan in Esfahan province
4. Hamedan in Hamedan province
5. Khorramabad in Lorestan province
6. Lahijan in Gilan province
7. Mashhad in Razavi Khorasan province
8. Rasht in Gilan province
9. Sanandaj in Kurdistan province
10. Sari in Mazandaran province
11. Semnan in Semnan province
12. Shiraz in Fars province
13. Tabriz in East Azerbaijan province and Urumieh in West Azerbaijan province
14. Zahedan in Sistan and Baluchestan province
15. Zanjan in Zanjan province.

The information below is based on the first-hand testimonies of 26 men and women who were imprisoned in these cities during the period July-September 1988 and survived the mass prisoner killings. Amnesty International refers to these witnesses as survivors throughout the annex.

For a few cities such as Semnan, Zahedan, Hamedan and Dezful, Amnesty International was able to identify only one survivor. For other cities, Amnesty International had access to a greater body of information as there were more survivors available for interview and some had already shared their stories in memoirs, articles and interviews, including on the website of Bidaran, which is run by a community of survivors and family members and human rights defenders who are committed to seeking truth, justice and reparation for the gross and systematic human rights violations committed by the Iranian authorities, particularly in the 1980s.⁴⁴⁹ In these cases, the legacy of documentation provided Amnesty International with an invaluable source of corroboration. The specific testimonies included in the annex with respect to these cities were selected for illustrative purposes.

The case boxes provide a striking picture of:

- the national scale and geographical spread of the mass prisoner killings;
- the categories of prisoners targeted in terms of political affiliation, age and gender; and

⁴⁴⁹ For more information about the group, see www.bidaran.net/spip.php?article17

- the similarities in the decision-making processes leading to the mass executions, including their secretive and extrajudicial nature.

The annex does not include any of the wealth of information about the mass prisoner killings in 1988 in Evin prison in Tehran and Gohardasht prison in Karaj, as these have been well-documented elsewhere.⁴⁵⁰

In addition to Tehran, Karaj and the cities covered by this annex, Amnesty International understands that the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 targeted prisoners in at least 14 other cities across the country: Arak in Arak province; Ardabil in Ardabil province; Babol, Behshahr and Ghaemshahr in Mazandaran province; Behbahan in Khuzestan province; Bushehr in Bushehr province; Gorgan in Golestan province; Ilam in Ilam province; Saqqez in Kurdistan province; Kermanshah in Kermanshah province; Kerman in Kerman province; Roudsar in Gilan province; and Qazvin in Qazvin province. They do not feature in the annex because Amnesty International was not able to identify any former prisoners from these cities who were in prison at the time of the mass killings in 1988 and survived the mass killings. It bears noting that, in some cases, the political activists held in prisons in these cities were transferred to a different location prior to their enforced disappearance and execution.

1. AHVAZ

'WE WILL ELIMINATE ALL OF YOU'

Mehri Abbasi survived the mass killings of July-September 1988 in Fajr prison in Ahvaz.⁴⁵¹ In 1988, she was serving a lengthy prison term in connection with her support for the Minority faction of Fadaiyan, a secular leftist political organization. She and other survivors from Ahvaz estimate that, in their prison, several dozen prisoners, both men and women, were forcibly disappeared and extrajudicially executed between July and September 1988. All of those executed had been imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI.

Mehri Abbasi said that Fajr prison was put on lockdown in late July 1988; family visits were suspended and radios and televisions were removed. At night, she said prison guards were heard marching on the roof and firing machine-guns in the air. A senior prison official then came over the public address system at night, referring to PMOI prisoners as “infidels” and yelling “we will destroy all of you, we will eliminate all of you”.

The day after the lockdown, she said, prisoners were taken one by one or in groups before several prison and judicial officials and were interrogated. Both PMOI and leftist women prisoners were taken for interrogation while handcuffed and blindfolded, and then returned to their cell. She says she was asked in her session if she believed in Islam, if she still supported her political group and if she accepted the Islamic Republic.

Similar interrogations were carried out in the men’s ward of the prison. Ebrahim Dela, who was imprisoned there, was serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with his support for the Organization of the Vanguard Fighters of the Oppressed (Sazeman-e Razmandegan-e Peshgam-e Mostazafin, also known as Arman-e Mostazafin). He said that, in the men’s ward, many PMOI prisoners taken for interrogation did not return and were moved to solitary confinement. He said some prisoners were asked to chant “death to Rajavi [the PMOI leader]”, “death to the *mojahedin*”, and “long live Khomeini” in the prison yard. Those who refused were taken to solitary confinement. Ebrahim Dela said that officials would deceive prisoners about the conclusion of their interrogations and, when marking a prisoner for execution, loudly told their assistants to write down the prisoner’s name for release.

Leftist prisoners from Ahvaz who survived the mass killings have said that, several days after these interrogations, they were put on a bus which they later learned was going to Dastgerd prison in Esfahan.⁴⁵² They were held there, without access to their families, for about two months. They were then

⁴⁵⁰ See Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988, report of an inquiry*, 18 April 2011, www.iranrights.org/library/document/1380/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-report-of-an-inquiry; Abdorrahman Boroumand Center, *The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988: An Addendum, Witness testimonies and official statements*, 10 December 2013, www.iranrights.org/library/document/2498/the-massacre-of-political-prisoners-in-iran-1988-an-addendum-witness-testimonies-and-official-statements

⁴⁵¹ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Mehri Abbasi from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with her in person.

⁴⁵² Mehri Abbasi mentioned in her testimony the exceptional cases of two PMOI women who were moved to Dastgerd prison in Esfahan with leftist prisoners for reasons that are not clear. After being returned to Fajr prison in Ahvaz, one of the two women, Fatemeh Hajian, was immediately separated from her companions and later executed.

returned to Fajr prison, only to discover that none of their former PMOI cell mates was there. Only in December 1988 when family visits resumed did they find out that the PMOI prisoners had been executed.

Mehri Abbasi said:

“We were all speechless. It was completely unbelievable. We could not believe how they [the authorities] could have killed them so easily.”

Mehri Abbasi said that the executions were doubly shocking because all the victims had already been sentenced to imprisonment, not death, and some had even completed their sentences. She mentioned the case of her friend Zeynab Bagheri:

“Zeynab was once due to be released in June. We had held a celebration for her the night before she was expected to be released. The next day, we had hugged and said goodbye and divided all her clothes and belongings among us. However, after half an hour of leaving, she returned. We asked, ‘Why did you return?’ She said, ‘I don’t know. They said I should stay for now.’ She stayed and two months later she was executed.”

In Ahvaz, the authorities told the families that they had buried the victims in a mass grave on a barren piece of land 3km east of Behesht Abad cemetery. The authorities poured concrete over the site immediately after the burial in an apparent effort to prevent families digging up the ground to identify and recover the bodies of their loved ones. In July 2018, photo and video evidence surfaced that showed that the concrete structure marking the mass grave as well as dozens of nearby individual graves, which belonged to political dissidents executed in the early 1980s, had been smashed to pieces. According to an official board placed at the site, the authorities plan to build a “boulevard” running over the mass grave site and create a 21-acre park.⁴⁵³

2. DEZFUL

‘WRAP YOURSELVES IN THESE WHITE SHROUDS’



Mohammad Reza Ashough © Amnesty International

Mohammad Reza Ashough survived the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 by escaping en route to the firing squad.⁴⁵⁴ In 1988, he was serving a lengthy prison sentence imposed in connection with his support for the PMOI in a prison in Dezful that was informally referred to as the “UNESCO prison”.⁴⁵⁵ Mohammad Reza Ashough estimates that several dozen prisoners, including at least three women, were executed during the mass killings in Dezful.⁴⁵⁶ As far as he is aware, the victims were all imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI.

He recalled that, on 30 July, dozens of PMOI prisoners were told that an “amnesty commission” had come to reconsider their cases. The PMOI prisoners were taken in groups to the main prison

office. There, he said, they were ordered to lift their blindfold one by one and faced a “commission” comprising the Shari’a judge who presided over the cases of political activists in Khuzestan province, Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi; the prosecutor of Dezful, Alireza Avaei; and a ministry of intelligence

⁴⁵³ For more information, see Amnesty International, “Iran: Road to be built over individual and mass graves”, 26 July 2018 (Index: [MDE 13/8828/2018](#)); *Landscape of Pain*, “Ahvaz”, [www.painscapes.com/cities/151](#)

⁴⁵⁴ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Mohammad Reza Ashough from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him. Amnesty International conducted a follow-up interview with him in person in August 2018.

⁴⁵⁵ Prior to the 1979 revolution, the site used to function as a school run by UNESCO. Following the revolution, it was transformed into a prison and informally called the “UNESCO prison” by the prisoners.

⁴⁵⁶ The names of two of the women, as remembered by Mohammad Reza Ashough, were Shahin Heydari and Fatemeh Ghalavand.

official. He noted that several senior prison, Revolutionary Guards and ministry of intelligence officials were also present.

He said that two prisoners before him were asked if they were prepared to fight against Iraq. They replied “yes”. They were then asked if they were prepared to fight the *monafeqin*. They replied, “No, we are sentenced to imprisonment and we shall not go.”

Mohammad Reza Ashough said that he was first asked if he was a Muslim and replied “yes”. He continued:

“They said: ‘If you are a Muslim, will you now fight for Islam?’ I replied, ‘Well, I don’t know what that means.’ They said, ‘Will you fight for Iran?’ I replied, ‘Yes, I will fight for Iran. If something happens to Iran, I will fight for Iran’... They ultimately asked, ‘You say that you are a Muslim. Are you now prepared to walk through a minefield and die for Islam?’ I objected to the question and said that I should be crazy to walk on mines as soon as I become a Muslim.”

Mohammad Reza Ashough said that, at this point, the “commission” looked embarrassed and so asked if he was prepared to fight the PMOI. He said he replied, “No, I have a prison sentence and I will not go to fight.” In response, he said the intelligence official ordered the note taker to put Mohammad Reza Ashough’s name on “the other list” and the session ended.

Mohammad Reza Ashough said that, of the eight people in his group, six were put on the list and two who said they would fight against the PMOI were not. They did not know what the purpose of the list was.

The next day, dozens of other prisoners who had gone through the questioning process were told to collect their belongings in preparation for a transfer to Ahvaz. However, they were then lined up, blindfolded and taken to the prosecutor’s office. There, they were told that they no longer needed their belongings. They were taken to a corner one by one, given a pen and piece of paper and told that they had 10 minutes to write their last wishes. That was the first moment the prisoners learned they were to be put to death. Some prisoners, including Mohammad Reza Ashough, protested, which led to guards beating them. Others wept or remained silent, lost in their thoughts.

Mohammad Reza Ashough said that the prisoners were then taken to the prison courtyard, blindfolded with their hands tied behind their back. They were made to sit there for several hours until it got dark. Then they were forced aboard two minibuses, which they were told were going to Ahvaz. However, after a while, the vehicles stopped at a military barracks, which Mohammad Reza Ashough believes was called Valiasr in the 1980s. The prisoners were taken to an area with showers and ordered to wash and put on white shrouds. Mohammad Reza Ashough said the scene was harrowing, with prisoners screaming and shouting out their names to let each other know who was there. He says that he refused to wear the shroud and as a result guards tied his hands behind his back and beat him.

After this, he said prisoners were returned to the minibuses. Mohammad Reza Ashough managed to free his hands from the ropes. In the darkness and amid the screams he escaped by throwing himself out of the window and miraculously did so without attracting the guards’ attention.

Mohammad Reza Ashough said he ran into the darkness, climbed over the barbed wire surrounding the military base and swam in the Karkheh river. He said that he had travelled about 1km when he heard repeated gunshots and understood that his fellow prisoners had been executed by firing squad. He eventually found his way to the city of Andimeshk, where he sought refuge in an acquaintance’s house. He subsequently went to Tehran and from there, fled Iran.

Mohammad Reza Ashough’s account is corroborated by a letter sent by Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi, the Shari’a judge who presided over his questioning, to dissident cleric Hossein Ali Montazeri on 14 August 1988. The letter expresses concern that some prisoners in Dezful, including Mohammad Reza Ashough, were selected for execution even though they had declared that they were prepared to denounce the PMOI. The letter also notes that Mohammad Reza Ashough had escaped as he was being taken to be executed.⁴⁵⁷

The whereabouts of the remains of dozens of prisoners who were executed during the mass killings in Dezful is still unknown. Mohammad Reza Ashough said he knows that the authorities referred the families of at least two victims to graves, which the families later discovered were empty.⁴⁵⁸ He thinks that the

⁴⁵⁷ Hossein Ali Montazeri, *Memoirs* (Sherkat Ketab, 2001), Annex No. 157, p. 602.

⁴⁵⁸ The names of these victims have been withheld to protect the security of their families.

victims of the mass killings were most likely buried in a mass grave in the premises of the same military barracks where the victims were executed by firing squad.⁴⁵⁹

3. ESFAHAN

‘ARE YOU WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN FIRING SQUADS?’

Mohammad Hoshi survived the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Dastgerd prison in Esfahan.⁴⁶⁰ In 1988, he was serving a lengthy prison sentence imposed in connection with his support for the Minority faction of Fadaiyan, a secular leftist political organization.



Mohammad Hoshi © Justice for Iran

Mohammad Hoshi and other survivors from Esfahan estimate that dozens of prisoners, both men and women, were executed during the mass killings of July-September 1988 in Esfahan. They were predominantly imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI. However, several men and women who had been imprisoned in connection with their support for leftist political organizations were also executed.⁴⁶¹ Mohammad Hoshi said that at least 200 former PMOI prisoners who had been released in earlier years were also rearrested, forcibly

disappeared after arrest and extrajudicially killed during this period. He told Amnesty International that he learned about this wave of re-arrests after he was released from prison in February 1989 and saw a copy of a petition that the families of 200 such victims had signed and submitted to the Friday prayer leader of Esfahan.

Mohammad Hoshi said that Dastgerd prison was put on lockdown in late July. Family visits were cancelled and access to television, radio and newspapers was cut. All PMOI prisoners, both men and women, were then taken away. The remaining leftist prisoners were collected and put in one room. They did not find out about the fate of the PMOI prisoners until early October 1988 when several of them returned.

According to Mohammed Hoshi, these prisoners reported that, while held in solitary confinement, they had been presented to a “commission” that had come from Tehran and consisted of three clerics and two people in plain clothes. The prisoners said that, in their sessions, a ministry of intelligence official and the head of Dastgerd prison, Hossein Tootian, were also present. Mohammad Hoshi said:

“During these sessions, which lasted no longer than a few minutes, the prisoners were faced with several conditions [to stay alive]. They included repenting publicly during a Friday prayer; writing a letter to their family proclaiming their repentance; co-operating with intelligence officials in prison and encouraging others to do the same; and participating in firing squads... The vast majority of the prisoners were killed as they refused to give the desired responses.”

Mohammad Hoshi said that he was taken before the same commission in late September or early October 1988 and subjected to similar questions:

⁴⁵⁹ See *Landscape of pain*, “Dezful”, www.painscapes.com/cities/743

⁴⁶⁰ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Mohammad Hoshi from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him in person. Amnesty International conducted two follow-up interviews with him by voice call in October and November 2018.

⁴⁶¹ They included at least four men, Esfandiar Ghasemi, Ghader Jarar, Mojtaba Hassani and Ali Akbar Moradi, and two women. According to Mohammad Hoshi, leftist prisoners were not systematically targeted during the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Esfahan, and it was not clear why the leftist prisoners mentioned above were selected for execution. He said that the hostile views of the head of the prison towards them, their outspoken characters and the fact that some of them were in prolonged pre-trial detention may have played a role in their fate.

"They asked me, 'Do you know why we have brought you here?' I said, 'No, I don't.' They asked, 'Do you know that they [the authorities] are executing people?' I said, 'Yes, I had heard something.' They asked from where I had heard this. I said, 'Well, everyone is talking about executions these days.' They said, 'But do you know someone who has been taken away and executed.' I said, 'Many have been taken away and not returned. Where are they? They are nowhere.' They then listed the five demands and asked if I was prepared to do them. I clearly remember my reply to them. I said, 'I have been imprisoned for seven and a half years. If I were to do such acts, I would have returned to my home [been released] 10 times before. I cannot accept this.' They said, 'This will not end well for you.' I said, 'Let it be.'"

After this session, Mohammad Hoshi said that he was taken to solitary confinement and led to believe that he would soon be executed. The names carved into the walls of his cell indicated that some of the prisoners who had disappeared had been held there before. After four or five hours, a guard came in and blindfolded him. Mohammad Hoshi said that, to torture him, the guard first directed him towards the staircase that prisoners knew led to the gallows but, after a few minutes, the guard ordered him to turn around and return to the general ward.

Prisoners in Dastgerd prison learned the truth about the mass scale of the executions in early November 1988 when prison visits resumed. Mohammad Hoshi said that he heard from some prison guards that in Esfahan the mass killings had been carried out by firing squad.

Mohammad Hoshi said that there are a number of individual graves in a remote section of Bagh-e Rezvan, the main cemetery in Esfahan, where the authorities told families in 1988 that they had buried the victims of the mass killings. However, the whereabouts of the remains of most of the victims in Esfahan are still unknown.

4. HAMEDAN

'SURVIVORS PLUNGED INTO DEEP SARROW AND GRIEF'

Hadi Aminian survived the mass prisoner killings in the main prison in Hamedan.⁴⁶² In 1988, he was serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with his support for Workers' Path (Rah-e Kargar), a secular leftist political organization. Hadi Aminian estimates that several dozen prisoners, including at least two women, were executed during the mass killings in Hamedan.⁴⁶³ He believes that, except for one leftist prisoner, all the other victims were imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI.⁴⁶⁴

Hadi Aminian recalled that on 30 July a number of judicial, prosecution and prison officials made an unexpected visit to their section, which housed about 60 political dissidents. The officials asked the prisoners to introduce themselves and state their charges. Most of the prisoners said they were supporters of the PMOI. The remainder said they supported leftist political organizations. The officials also asked the prisoners to express their demands and grievances.

Hadi Aminian said that, at that stage, everything appeared normal. However, the next day, the prison guards took away three prisoners unexpectedly. Prisoners held in other sections reported that they saw the guards beating the three men while shoving them into a car and then drove them away.⁴⁶⁵ Subsequently, he said that a series of interrogations were held in the prison on 31 July and 1 August; the authorities summoned a large number of prisoners and brought them one by one before a "commission" composed of a Shari'a judge, a prosecution official and a representative from the ministry of intelligence. He said several senior prison and intelligence and security officials were also present. Hadi Aminian said

⁴⁶² Amnesty International interviewed Hadi Aminian by voice call in October 2018. It also reviewed an interview that was conducted with Hadi Aminian by Bidaran, "The mass killings of political prisoners in 1988 – Hamedan prison", 5 June 2008,

www.bidaran.net/spip.php?article155&fbclid=IwARQwLRRPXT4PvgKU5gXISX1Fti4prUVn_cSOP1SfvRSX0V6Ut2gHeNTkFiE

⁴⁶³ The women's names were Masoumeh Mirzayee and Zahra Sharifi.

⁴⁶⁴ Hadi Aminian identified this prisoner as Hamid Akhzari and said that he had been transferred from Tehran to Hamedan in early 1988 and held in solitary confinement in the weeks leading to the mass prisoner killings. Hadi Aminian told Amnesty International that, in some interviews he had given earlier, he had mistakenly identified this leftist prisoner as Saeed Dadkhah. He clarified that there was indeed a victim called Saeed Dadkhah in Hamedan, but that he was imprisoned in connection with his support for the PMOI and had been moved there from Sistan and Baluchestan province.

⁴⁶⁵ Hadi Aminian identified the three men as Mostafa Izadi, Mehdi Izadi and Arzhang Ramaghi. He believes that they were all under the age of 18 at the time of their arrest several years earlier.

that most of the prisoners interrogated had been imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI, but several leftist prisoners, including him, were also interrogated.

According to Hadi Aminian, each interrogation session lasted about 10 minutes. In his session, the questions focused on his political and religious views, including whether he identified as a Muslim; whether he prayed regularly; what he thought about the revolution; and what he planned to do if he was released.

Following the interrogations, Hadi Aminian said, several dozen prisoners were collected from their cells and most were never seen again. The prisoners were not told where they were going and their belongings were left behind.⁴⁶⁶ Shortly afterwards, the authorities removed the televisions, suspended prison visits, cut prisoners' access to the prison yard, and welded the doors and windows of the sections housing political activists. From then on, Hadi Aminian said, "we received no information about what was happening... we had no connection with the outside world."

He said this situation continued for about a month. Then two prisoners who had been taken away in late July were returned. The prisoners said that they had been held in solidarity confinement but revealed no more details about what had happened to them. On 11 October 1988, these two prisoners along with Hadi Aminian and two other prisoners were moved to a separate area where they were held together in isolation. After more than a month, Hadi Aminian said, the other men were returned to the general ward and he was moved to a detention centre in Hamedan run by the Revolutionary Guards. He was held there in solitary confinement until early January 1989.

Hadi Aminian said that, in solitary confinement, he was initially threatened with execution and told by his interrogator that, like his other cell mates, he would soon be executed. This was the first time he realized that many of the prisoners taken away had been executed. After several days, the interrogator came back and said that he would not be executed. Hadi Aminian was subsequently granted a visit with his family who had been kept in the dark until then about his fate and whereabouts and feared that he had been executed. On 5 January 1989, Hadi Aminian was transferred back to the general ward to find that many of his former cell mates and friends were no longer there. He described the atmosphere as quiet and heavy, with survivors plunged into deep sorrow and grief.

In Hamedan, the authorities referred families to individual graves that they claimed contained the bodies of their loved ones. However, some families have expressed concern that the graves may in fact be empty. Effat Rajabi, who lost her aunt Masoumeh Mirzayee during the mass killings in Hamedan, told Amnesty International:

"We are not sure at all if there are any remains in those graves... It was always a question mark for us because the graves were scattered across the area. We wondered why they were not next to each other in one section considering that the victims were all executed together."⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁶ Hadi Aminian knows that at least two prisoners were transferred to prisons in other cities and killed there; they were Houshang Ahmadi, who was transferred to Qom, Qom province, and Hadi Hadian, who was transferred to Nahavand, Hamedan province.

⁴⁶⁷ Amnesty International interviewed Effat Rajabi in person in October 2017.

5. KHORRAMABAD

'WE DID NOT KNOW WHAT WAS HAPPENING'



Gholam Hossein Goudarzi © Amnesty International

Gholam Hossein Goudarzi survived the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Khorramabad, Lorestan province.⁴⁶⁸ In 1988, he was held in a detention facility in the basement of Falak-ol-Aflak castle in Khorramabad, serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with his support for the PMOI. He had been transferred there from a prison in Boroujerd, also in Lorestan province, several years earlier, along with several dozen other prisoners.

Gholam Hossein Goudarzi said he could not give a minimum estimate as to how

many prisoners were taken away from his prison during the mass killings as he was held in a room with 12 other prisoners and they had minimal contact with other areas of the prison. Most of the prisoners in his room were affiliated with the PMOI but there were also at least two who were affiliated with leftist groups.

He said that their room was in a hallway that had five to six rooms on each side. One side housed the prisoners who had been transferred from Boroujerd and the other housed prisoners who had been detained in Khorramabad for longer. He recalled that all the prisoners held in this hallway had been identified by the authorities as being “steadfast” in their political beliefs. Above them, a floor housed prisoners who had “repented”.

Gholam Hossein Goudarzi recalls that Falak-ol-Aflak detention facility was put on lockdown in late July, with family visits cancelled. He said that, in the following days, many prisoners – first from the other side of the hallway and then from their side – were told to collect their belongings and taken away. Most were never seen again. He says that, at that time, he did not know what was happening:

“We had some guesses that they [the officials] were up to something and a conspiracy was under way. However, we did not know what it was exactly... Once I overheard two guards who were telling each other that the prisoners taken away would not return. I guessed that maybe some were going to be executed...”

Gholam Hossein Goudarzi said his turn came a few weeks later:

“I was ordered to collect my belongings and leave my cell. They [the prison guards] then blindfolded me, put me in a car and took me to Setad [a prison in Khorramabad run by the Revolutionary Guards]. There, while blindfolded, I was taken into a room where I could hear the voices of several officials... They asked me if I was a sympathizer of the PMOI and if was prepared to ‘co-operate’ with them. I replied, ‘I have nothing to do with the PMOI.’ I did not want to get into a confrontation with them. I said, ‘I want to go back to having a normal life and I don’t want to deal with anyone’... The session was brief and only a few minutes long. After that, I was taken into solitary confinement and held there for two weeks. I was subsequently returned to Falak-ol-Aflak. After a couple of weeks, I was again taken to Setad prison for interrogation, asked the same questions, and then returned to Falak-ol-Aflak.”

Gholam Hossein Goudarzi added that, in both interrogations, the authorities yelled at and insulted him but did not explain the purpose of the interrogation, let alone that his answers could make the difference between life and death. Gholam Hossein Goudarzi said that he did not find out that prisoners taken away had been executed until November 1988 when family visits resumed.

To date, it is not known where the authorities carried out the mass killings in Khorramabad and buried the bodies.

⁴⁶⁸ Amnesty International interviewed Gholam Hossein Goudarzi in person in November 2017.

6. LAHIJAN

'SOME WERE AS YOUNG AS 14 WHEN ARRESTED'



Akbar Kazemi © Amnesty International

Akbar Kazemi was imprisoned in Malek Ashtar prison in Lahijan, Gilan province, between 1981 and 1988 in connection with his support for the PMOI.⁴⁶⁹ He was released on 3 July 1988 shortly before the start of the mass prisoner killings. Akbar Kazemi knows several dozen prisoners, both men and women, who were taken away from their cells in Malek Ashtar prison in late July 1988 and never seen again. Some of them, he said, were under the age of 18 and as young as 14 at the time of their arrest.⁴⁷⁰ He said the majority of those executed had been classified by the

authorities as “steadfast” since early 1988 and held together in section 1 of the prison on this basis. He mentioned that most of those killed were linked to the PMOI but at least five of the victims were linked to leftist political organizations.⁴⁷¹

Amnesty International was unable to locate a survivor from Malek Ashtar prison who could provide more information about exactly when prisoners were taken away for execution in August and September 1988.

To this day, the authorities have not revealed the whereabouts of the remains of those executed in Lahijan. However, local people have identified two suspected mass grave sites in Agha Sayed Morteza cemetery in Lahijan. The larger site is believed to contain the remains of the male victims and the smaller one the remains of female victims. Akbar Kazemi said that this belief is based on observations by locals who reported seeing trucks dumping bodies into shallow trenches at night and dogs rushing to the site and digging to uncover the corpses; they also said that the authorities poured concrete over the mass grave site soon after burial. Currently, this suspected mass grave site is believed to be under constant surveillance by cemetery workers and individuals affiliated with security and intelligence bodies.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁹ Amnesty International interviewed Akbar Kazemi in person in November 2017.

⁴⁷⁰ According to Akbar Kazemi, these included: Parviz Dalili; Reza Alipour; brothers Reza Amineh and Mousa Amineh; and brothers Mousa Hosseinpour and Eisa Hosseinpour, who were executed with their father, Khodadad Hosseinpour.

⁴⁷¹ According to Akbar Kazemi, these included: Mahmoud Moinee (Union of Iranian Communists), Siros Zirak (Union of Iranian Communists), Rasoul Razavi (Peykar), Fariborz Eilbeygi (an unknown Marxist group) and Hamzeh (Ashraf Dehghani group).

⁴⁷² See *Landscape of pain*, “Lahijan”, www.painscapes.com/cities/900

7. MASHHAD

'THE SIGHT OF EMPTY ROOMS FILLED ME WITH PAIN AND WORRY'



Rasoul Showkati © Private

Rasoul Showkati survived the mass killings in Vakilabad prison in Mashhad, Razavi Khorasan province.⁴⁷³ In 1988, he was serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with his support for Workers' Path (Rah-e Kargar), a secular leftist political organization. Survivors from Mashhad have recalled the names of at least 178 prisoners who were executed during the mass killings.⁴⁷⁴ The real number of victims may be higher. Several of the victims are believed to have been under the age of 18 at the time of their arrest.⁴⁷⁵

All of the victims were targeted in connection with their real or perceived support for the PMOI, but some of them, according to Rasoul Showkati and Reza Fani Yazdi, had changed their political views in prison and expressed support for leftist political groups.⁴⁷⁶ Prisoners who had been imprisoned in connection with their support for leftist political groups were not executed in Mashhad during the mass killings of July-September 1988, but some of them, including Rasoul Showkati, were interrogated, held in prolonged solitary confinement and threatened with execution.

Rasoul Showkati said that, in late July 1988, Vakilabad prison was put on lockdown, radios and televisions were removed, and a series of interrogations started. He said that, the first morning after the lockdown, a guard came and took him out of his ward without giving any explanation. About 10 minutes later, he said he heard officials read out the names of dozens of prisoners and order that they similarly leave the ward. The majority of them were PMOI prisoners but a number of leftist prisoners were also summoned.

The prisoners were then lined up in a queue and the authorities began handing out a questionnaire to each prisoner to complete. However, as soon as this process started, Rasoul Showkati said, the head of the interrogation team yelled at the guards that leftist prisoners should not have been brought at this stage. Rasoul Showkati believes that this was not an inadvertent mistake, and the authorities had deliberately set up the scene in order to create a climate of fear, including among leftist prisoners.

The guards subsequently separated the leftist prisoners and returned them to their rooms. Nevertheless, Rasoul Showkati said that he was able to catch a glimpse of the questions on the questionnaire as he was the first person in the queue. He described the questions as "truly repulsive". They included: "How can you establish that you are a true 'repenter' (*tavyab*)?", "Have you shot any member of your family?", "Have you reported any member of your family and were they arrested?" and "Have you participated in firing squads and if not why?".

Rasoul Showkati said that the interrogation of the PMOI prisoners took several hours and they were then returned to their rooms. Later that same evening, officials read out the names of over two dozen PMOI

⁴⁷³ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Rasoul Showkati from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him by voice call. Amnesty International conducted two follow up interviews by voice call in October and November 2018.

⁴⁷⁴ See the list compiled by former prisoner and survivor Amir Mirzayian, "The names of political prisoners executed during the mass killings of 1988, Vakilabad prison (Mashhad)", Gozareshgaran, [www.gozareshgar.com/10.html?&tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=23225&tx_ttnews\[backPid\]=23&cHash=c536f3d420a0cab156533bdcc44dbc3d](http://www.gozareshgar.com/10.html?&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=23225&tx_ttnews[backPid]=23&cHash=c536f3d420a0cab156533bdcc44dbc3d)

⁴⁷⁵ Amir Mirzayian remembered specifically the names Ali Agah, Ali Saidi and Behnam Ghahreman. Another former prisoner from Mashhad Reza Fani Yazdi has recalled the names Mohammad Heydari, Javad Keshavarz, Hassan Ghafouri, Siamak Ramezani, Majid Akbarian, Mohammad Fani Disfani, Masoud Vakili and Mohammad Moghadam. See Bidaran, "The mass killings of political prisoners in 1988 – Mashhad prison", 6 June 2008, www.bidaran.net/spip.php?article153; *Landscape of pain*, "Mashhad", www.painscapes.com/cities/705

⁴⁷⁶ Rasoul Showkati and Reza Fani Yazdi mentioned, in relation to this, Gholamreza Taghipour, Alireza Aminian and Mohammad Heydari, but said that there were several others whom they could not remember by name. See Bidaran, "The mass killings of political prisoners in 1988 – Mashhad prison", 6 June 2008, www.bidaran.net/spip.php?article153

prisoners and took them away. In the following days, more prisoners were collected from their rooms and taken away. Rasoul Showkati said:

“Within three or four days, our floor became completely quiet. We still did not know what was happening... However, the sight of empty rooms filled me with pain and worry. I just stopped leaving the room that I was in to somehow distract and calm myself.”

In late September, Rasoul Showkati said that officials collected him and other remaining prisoners and transferred them to two rooms in the “quarantine” section of the prison.⁴⁷⁷ They were held there for about two months and then returned to the section where they had been held previously. Rasoul Showkati described the atmosphere of the section upon their return as deeply gloomy:

“The section was filled with dust. It was terrifying for us to see the rooms [where those taken away used to occupy]. The doors of those rooms had been closed and locked and only the two rooms that we were in were open.”

Soon after, in late November, Rasoul Showkati said that they were all transferred to a detention centre in Mashhad, run by the Revolutionary Guards and known as Kouh Sangi. There, a new round of interrogations started. Every day, a number of people were called and taken away and, after several weeks, he was the only one left in the room. He said he had no idea what was happening and feared that all those taken away would be executed.

Ultimately, in late December, he said he was taken away for interrogation and brought, while blindfolded, before several officials. The session focused on his political opinions and religious beliefs. He was asked if he was a Muslim and he replied “no”. The authorities then spent some time questioning him about why he did not identify as a Muslim. Next they asked for his views on the Islamic Republic and put him under pressure to do a video-recorded interview, repenting for his past beliefs and declaring his loyalty to the Islamic Republic. Rasoul Showkati said that, when he refused, the officials threatened him with execution and said, “Think about this carefully. This is not a joke.”

Following the interrogation session, Rasoul Showkati said he was taken to an area with two rooms that faced each other and, to put him under mental pressure, the authorities placed a video camera and projector in the opposite room.

For the next few weeks, he said an interrogator repeatedly came and checked on him to see if he had changed his mind and would agree to do the video-recorded interview. During this period, he said he was brought one more time before the committee that had questioned him earlier and put under pressure to co-operate with intelligence officials in exchange for being released from prison and allowed to leave the country.

Rasoul Showkati remains struck by the anguish that he experienced during this period:

“The whole time, I wondered about what would happen next and when they would come to take me away and put the noose around my neck. Every hour went by with these thoughts and the anticipation that they could come for me any minute. I had no day or night.”

Rasoul Showkati recalls that this torturous situation continued until about late January when he was moved to another room in the same detention centre which housed 10 to 15 other prisoners. However, he said he still feared that he might be executed.

Ultimately, after several days, he was returned to Vakilabad prison. This is when he said he realized that the majority of the PMOI prisoners taken away had been executed but leftist prisoners who were with him in Kouh Sangi detention centre in late November and early December had all survived.

Also among those who had survived were some PMOI prisoners who had disappeared in late July and August 1988. Amnesty International interviewed two of these survivors, Javad Abdollahi and Hassan Maghsoudi. Both were imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI.

⁴⁷⁷ The “quarantine section” is where detainees are often held shortly after arrest and subjected to checks to see if they are carrying drugs or infections before transfer to a general ward. Rasoul Showkati estimates that he was one of about 40 to 50 prisoners in the “quarantine section” at this time.

'I BUMPED INTO THE TWITCHING BODIES OF THE DYING PRISONERS'

Javad Abdollahi recalled that in late July he was taken, along with dozens of other PMOI supporters, to Kouh Sangi detention centre.⁴⁷⁸ He said the prisoners were divided into several rooms, with about 60 in each room. In the following days, the prisoners held in other rooms were all taken away. He said that for some time they had no information about the fate of those taken away until three men, Mohsen Hanayee, Javad Tousi and Akbar Delsouzi, were returned to the room he was in. The men recounted that they had been taken by the guards to a parking area and confronted with a harrowing scene of many dead bodies hung from the roof. Several days later, Javad Abdollahi said that he and all the other prisoners in his room were called and taken, while blindfolded, before the "death commission":



Javad Abdollahi © Private

"They [the officials] made us sit in a row blindfolded. Then, they called our names one by one and asked each of us a series of questions including: Are you prepared to give a media interview? Are you prepared to denounce your organization? Do you support the Islamic Republic system? Are you prepared to participate in a firing squad? We were about 60 people and it took about an hour and a half to question everyone..."

"They [the officials] then took us to the same parking space that Mohsen, Javad and Akbar had previously described and this time they were also with us. There, they made each one of us go up and stand on a stepladder, blindfolded, and then they put the noose around our neck. After that, while the noose was around our neck, an intelligence official approached each of us, noted that these were the last minutes of our life and asked again if we were prepared to 'repent', give a media interview, denounce the PMOI and accept the Islamic Republic system... I was one of the last people in the row who he approached. I answered no to all his questions. He asked me why. I said that I did not want to lie to

them and explained that I had suffered a lot in my earlier years of imprisonment in Tabriz and that I had been severely tortured and even lost one of my kidneys. At this point, the official removed the noose and ordered me to come down off the stepladder while swearing at me. I don't know why he did that exactly...

"After he brought me down, I heard him telling the driver of a minibus that was parked near the stepladders to move forward. All the stepladders had been tied by a rope to the minibus. The vehicle moved, and the prisoners were all dangled from the roof. Then, cruelly, the official made me walk, while blindfolded, around the area where the bodies were dangling. As he walked me, I bumped into the twitching bodies of the dying prisoners. The intelligence official told me, 'Don't think that I had mercy on you. I know that watching this scene is harsher than execution.'"

Javad Abdollahi continued, saying that, after this harrowing experience, he was transferred to solitary confinement. He was held there for about 20 days and then was returned to Vakilabad prison. He said that he knew of a few other PMOI prisoners in Vakilabad prison who were treated the same way. He told Amnesty International that to this day he remains haunted by his memories: "After 30 years, most of my dreams are still about executions. I am either being executed or there is this gruelling wait where my execution looms in the future."⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁸ Amnesty International interviewed Javad Abdollahi by voice call in October 2018.

⁴⁷⁹ Amnesty International interviewed Javad Abdollahi by voice call in October 2018.



Hassan Maghsoudi © Private

Hassan Maghsoudi recounted similar horrific scenes in their testimony. He was similarly transferred to Kouh Sangi detention centre in late July.⁴⁸⁰ While there, he said, every night officials read out the names of prisoners and took them before a “death commission” while blindfolded. He said most did not return and, by early September, of about 60 people who were in his room, only four prisoners remained.

Hassan Maghsoudi said that, in his session before the “death commission”, which lasted about 10 minutes, he was asked if he was willing to fight against Iraq on the front line, if he would participate in a firing squad, and if he remained “steadfast” in his political beliefs. He said that he answered no to the first two questions, but said that he was prepared to write a written “confession” denouncing his previous political beliefs and affiliations.

Hassan Maghsoudi noted that he had suspected that his life was on the line because, shortly after they had been transferred to Kouh Sangi and the first few groups of prisoners had been taken

away, one of his friends, Javad Tousi, had been taken by the guards to a basement room and confronted with a harrowing scene of many dead bodies hung from central heating pipes. Hassan Maghsoudi said that Javad Tousi returned to their room and recounted the threats made by the guards that anyone who remained “steadfast” would meet this fate. Javad Tousi was taken away soon after and executed.

Another survivor, Hamid Saidian, quoted a survivor who had also been in Kouh Sangi for a while and had said that, in several cases involving siblings, the prison officials first executed one brother and then showed his hanged body to his sibling in an apparent effort to provoke him.⁴⁸¹ The survivor mentioned Ebrahim Khalili, who was shown the body of his brother Esmail Khalili and told that he would be spared if he spat on or otherwise disrespected the body. He refused and was executed.

The exact whereabouts of the remains of the victims of the mass killings in Mashhad remain unknown. However, there are three sites on the outskirts of Behesht Reza cemetery near Mashhad which are believed to be mass graves containing the remains of some of the victims. One is in the southern corner of the cemetery, another in its south-eastern corner and a third on its eastern side.⁴⁸² Victims’ families learned about these sites in August 1988 informally through cemetery employees and officials in the Revolutionary Court in Mashhad.

Over the past three decades, these reported mass grave sites have been desecrated and destroyed. Satellite images obtained by Amnesty International indicate that, between July and August 2016, a construction project started at the site in the southern corner. Images from 7 August 2017 showed that a major area of the site was covered by new structures. The reported mass grave site in the south-eastern corner has similarly been desecrated and at least partially destroyed. In March 2017, one part that was previously flat was covered with mounds of soil and eyewitnesses have since reported that the authorities are constructing new burial plots there.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸⁰ Amnesty International interviewed Hassan Maghsoudi by video call in February 2018.

⁴⁸¹ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Hamid Saidian from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him in person.

⁴⁸² See Amnesty International and Justice for Iran, *Criminal cover-up: Iran destroying mass graves of victims of 1988 killings*, pp. 12-15 (Index number: MDE 13/8259/2018); *Landscape of pain*, “Mashhad”, www.painscapes.com/cities/680

⁴⁸³ See *Criminal cover-up: Iran destroying mass graves of victims of 1988 killings*, pp. 12-15; *Landscape of pain*, “Mashhad”.

8. RASHT

'EXCRUCIATING PAIN PLUNGED THROUGH MY HEART'



Shayesteh Vatandoost © Justice for Iran

Shayesteh Vatandoost survived the mass killings in Rasht, Gilan province.⁴⁸⁴

In 1988, she was serving a lengthy term in a prison known as Nirouyeh Daryaei in Rasht. Her imprisonment was in connection with her perceived support for the PMOI at that time.

She remembers the names of at least 26 women from her prison who were executed during the mass killings in Rasht, including two who were under the age of 18 at the time of their arrest.⁴⁸⁵

The real number may be higher, particularly because Shayesteh Vatandoost said that, before the mass killings, the authorities rearrested some former prisoners who had been released several years earlier. All of the victims in the women's ward were imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI.

Shayesteh Vatandoost recalled how, on the night of 31 July 1988, prison authorities came to the women's ward and called out a list of people they were taking away. The next morning, she overheard a prison guard laugh and say to another, "They finished them all by morning." She said this filled her with fear, including about the fate of her husband, Farzan Babry. He was in the men's ward serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with his support for the Organization of the Vanguard Fighters of the Oppressed (Sazeman-e Razmandegan-e Peshgam-e Mostazafin also known as Arman-e Mostazafin). Shayesteh Vatandoost said:

"I had a feeling inside me that something terrible was going to happen, but they [my friends and fellow cell mates] kept trying to comfort me by saying that nothing was going to happen and that [the authorities] were just transferring the prisoners taken away to another location... and that there was no way that they would do something like that... We all felt a great deal of stress and anxiety, but we tried to comfort each other. None of us was prepared to believe that something like this [mass killings] could happen."

Shayesteh Vatandoost said that she learned about the mass killings in mid-October 1988 when family visits were resumed and one of her cell mates was told by her family that those taken away had been executed. The family had been told this by two close relatives who were Revolutionary Guard officials. However, Shayesteh Vatandoost said that she was not convinced and made repeated requests to visit her husband. Each time, the prison authorities promised to arrange this, but then made mocking innuendos and mildly obscene jokes that filled her with fear.

In March 1989, she was called to the interrogator's office and told that her husband had been executed. She said:

"Excruciating pain plunged through my heart. I could not believe it. I could not understand why this fate had befallen my husband whose only wish was the happiness of the people."

Ahmad Mousavi was held in the men's ward of the prison in Rasht during the same period. He was serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with his support for a leftist political organization.⁴⁸⁶ He said that the prison was put on lockdown around 27 July and televisions and radios were removed. He said that on 29 July a senior prison official walked through the prisoners' rooms and yelled, "All of you must be killed." The next morning, one prisoner, Farzan Babry, was summoned. Ahmad Mousavi said

⁴⁸⁴ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Shayesteh Vatandoost from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with her in person.

⁴⁸⁵ The victims who Shayesteh Vatandoost believes were aged below 18 when arrested were Shahin Sami and Zari Dadsetan. For the complete list of the names, see *Landscape of pain*, "Rasht", www.painscapes.com/cities/879

⁴⁸⁶ Amnesty International has relied on the account of Ahmad Mousavi published in *Bidaran*, "The mass killings of political prisoners in 1988 – Rasht prison", 5 June 2008, www.bidaran.net/spip.php?article151. See also Ahmad Mousavi, *Goodnight Comrade*, 2007.

that they thought he was being taken away for questioning, but he never returned. Later that evening at around 9pm, a guard read out the names of 16 more people and took them away. About half an hour later, another guard came and collected 10 more men. Ahmad Mousavi said that, in the following days, this process continued until, out of about 120 prisoners in their ward, only 25 remained. He believes that dozens of men from other sections of the prison whom he did not know by name were also taken away during this period. According to Ahmad Mousavi, the majority of those taken away and executed were affiliated with the PMOI but at least 10 had been imprisoned in connection with their support for leftist or other groups.⁴⁸⁷

Ahmad Mousavi said that on 1 August the guards ordered them to put the belongings of the prisoners taken away in bags, write the names of the prisoners on the bags and leave them in the hallway for the authorities to remove. He said that, after a few days, they caught a glimpse of a room in which the authorities had put all the bags:

“The thought that [the authorities] might have executed our fellows was suffocating. We were choked up with tears. It did not seem possible that an event like this could happen. Such a tragedy was beyond our imagination and we simply could not and did not want to believe it.”

Of all the prisoners who were taken away, Ahmad Mousavi knows of only one man who came back. He said he was told by this survivor that he had been taken before a “commission” involving judicial, prosecution, intelligence and prison officials. The survivor was asked if he still supported the PMOI and if he was willing to “co-operate” with authorities. When the interrogation finished, he saw that the authorities put a “minus sign” next to his name. He thought this meant he was to be executed, but he later realized that those selected for execution had a “plus sign” next to their name.

Prison visits in Nirouyeh Daryaee prison resumed in October 1988 but some families were not informed of the execution of their loved ones until much later.

The whereabouts of the remains of the victims in Rasht are still unknown. Some family members, including Shayesteh Vatandoost, were directed to individual graves in a remote burial ground in a town called Koulivar, outside the city of Anzali, and told that their relatives were buried there. Shayesteh Vatandoost visited the burial ground in 2001 after she was released. She said the visit did not provide certainty: she doubted whether her husband’s body was actually buried there, given the accounts of families from various cities who had secretly excavated the graves and discovered them to be empty. She explained how the situation plunged her into a state of constant yearning for the truth and imagining her husband turning up alive:

“I really wish I had had someone back then who could have helped me excavate the grave so that I could know the truth. But, unfortunately, I never had this opportunity.”

Families and survivors in Rasht believe, based on the reports of some eyewitnesses, that the bodies of the victims were dumped in three or four trenches dug in an outlying part of Tazeh Abad cemetery, the main burial ground in Rasht. Since 2008, the authorities have constructed new individual burial plots on top of this site and sold many of them. According to a family member who has talked to several owners of the new burial plots, the authorities have not informed the owners about the reported mass graves lying beneath the plots they have bought.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁷ Ahmad Mousavi remembers the following names specifically: Abdollah Lichaei, Masoud Babri, Saeed Babri, Iraj Babri, Farhad Soleimani, Aramaees Darbians, Shahbaz Shahbazi, Mousa Ghavami, Mehdi Mahjoub and Javad Mashouf.

⁴⁸⁸ For more information, see Amnesty International and Justice for Iran, *Criminal cover-up: Iran destroying mass graves of victims of 1988 killings*, pp. 18-21; *Landscape of pain*, “Rasht”, www.painscapes.com/cities/873

9. SANANDAJ

'EVERY NIGHT, WE WERE WAITING FOR THEM TO COME AND TAKE US AWAY FOR EXECUTION'



Azad Zamani © Private

Azad Zamani survived the mass killings of July-September 1988 in Sanandaj, Kurdistan province.⁴⁸⁹ During this period, he was held in a prison in the premises of the Revolutionary Court in Sanandaj (referred to hereafter as the Revolutionary Court prison) in connection with his perceived support for Komala, a Kurdish opposition group. Azad Zamani and other survivors from Sanandaj estimate that a few hundred prisoners were executed during the mass killings of July-September 1988 in Kurdistan province. They included men, women and children as young as 16. Some of the victims were also elderly and in their 70s. According to Azad Zamani, the victims were predominantly imprisoned in connection with their real or perceived support for Kurdish opposition groups KDPI and Komala. However, among them were also some men and women

who had been imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI and leftist groups.⁴⁹⁰

Azad Zamani said that in the case of Sanandaj, unlike in the rest of the country, some of the execution victims were serving lengthy prison terms, but most of them had been arrested since March 1988 as part of a massive crackdown targeting people for their real or perceived support for Kurdish opposition groups; this included not only individuals who had sympathized with these groups or supported their political and promotional activities but also, in many cases, their family members. He recalls that the Revolutionary Court prison became severely overcrowded in the months leading to July and infectious diseases ran rampant.

Azad Zamani said that the conditions in prison turned “abnormal” soon after the armed incursion of the PMOI on 25 July 1988. Authorities started a series of interrogations and prison visits were suspended. Prisoners were summoned group by group, taken to a room where they were fingerprinted and then brought, while blindfolded, before a “death commission” involving Revolutionary court judges and prosecution, intelligence and prison officials. Azad Zamani said:

“They [the officials] lined us up facing the wall. We could not see anything as we were blindfolded. We could just hear several [officials] asking questions from behind us. These were questions such as: What is your name? Do you pray? Do you accept the Islamic Republic? How many people in your family belong to ‘anti-revolutionary’ Kurdish groups?... We did not know why they were interrogating us. Everything seemed confusing and the climate was one of fear.”

Azad Zamani said that, sometime after these interrogations, the wave of killings started. Every few days, the authorities called out a list of people and took them away. Most were never seen again. When summoning prisoners, the authorities either did not give any reasons or claimed that they were taking the prisoners to the prison medical clinic for treatment or transferring them to a different prison. Azad Zamani said that they did not know what was happening but feared that the prisoners were being dispatched for execution as they could hear the sound of multiple gunshots in the evenings. He said that their fears were confirmed after a prisoner who had been taken away returned and reported that the authorities had taken him to the gallows and put a noose around his neck in order to frighten him and force him to “confess” and disclose the information that the authorities claimed he had on fellow activists. Azad Zamani said that

⁴⁸⁹ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Shayesheh Vatandoost from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with her in person.

⁴⁹⁰ They included at least four men, Esfandiar Ghasemi, Ghader Jarar, Mojtaba Hassani and Ali Akbar Moradi, and two women. According to Mohammad Hoshi, leftist prisoners were not systematically targeted during the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Esfahan, and it was not clear why the leftist prisoners mentioned above were selected for execution. He said that the hostile views of the head of the prison towards them, their outspoken characters and the fact that some of them were in prolonged pre-trial detention may have played a role in their fate.

the prisoner did not survive and, after a few days, he was taken away again and executed. Azad Zamani quoted the prisoner describing the harrowing scene as follows:

“The prison told me that he had been taken to a room in the basement of the Revolutionary Court prison where they [the officials] had set up the gallows. He had seen a row of hooks on the ceiling from which nooses were hanging and, under each noose, there was a box. He said there were blood spots on the walls and the floor... He had been kept in that room for about two days... He was sobbing while describing the scene to me and was visibly shaken.”

Mahmoud Hossein Panahi, another prisoner who survived the mass killings of July-September 1988 in Sanandaj, said:

“Throughout late August and early September, there were three or four rounds of executions... It was not clear who would be taken away for execution, who would survive, and who would be transferred to a different location... Every night, we were waiting for them [the authorities] to come and take us away for execution. No one could know what was going to happen [to them]. Some were put on a bus and transferred to Saqqez [another city in Kurdistan province]. Some were taken to Kamyaran [another city in Kurdistan province] and executed there.”⁴⁹¹



Abdollah Said Moradi © Justice for Iran

Among the prisoners taken away in August and September 1988 and executed were at least 11 Iranian Kurds who had been arrested by the Iranian armed forces on 17 March 1988 near the Kurdish city of Halabja in Iraq; the names of one child, three women and seven men have been recorded.⁴⁹² These individuals were members of a Komala battalion called Showan, which was based in the Kurdish region of Iraq and had been ambushed by Iranian forces shortly after the chemical attack by the Iraqi government on Halabja in March 1988. At the time of the ambush, many members of the battalion were

suffering from severe injuries, including loss of sight, due to the chemical attack and were waiting to be rescued. According to a member of the battalion who survived, Nasrin Ramezanali, Iranian forces killed at least 60 members of the battalion on the spot and arrested 11. Abdollah Said Moradi, whose 16-year-old brother Jaber was among those arrested near Halabja, said that the families initially did not know about the fate and whereabouts of their relatives.⁴⁹³ They subsequently learned that they had been transferred to Shahrbanī prison in Sanandaj and were allowed to have brief visits. He said that this situation continued until early August 1988 when their imprisoned relatives were suddenly rendered incommunicado. In the following weeks, he said, families regularly sought information from the authorities about their relatives, but were not told anything. He described how his mother learned about the execution of Jaber and his other brother, Kamal, who was also imprisoned in Sanandaj in 1988 in connection with his perceived support for Komala:

“After prison visits were suspended, families gathered in front of Shahrbanī prison in Sanandaj almost every day from morning to evening. Ultimately, one day [in September 1988], they [the prison officials] called my mother to go in. There, a prison official gave her the clothes of my brother Kamal. As soon as this happened and without hearing even a further word, she passed out because people understood then that, when the clothes of a prisoner were returned, this meant that they had been executed. The officials took my mother out and some acquaintances who were there in front of the prison brought her home. Several days later, my father went to prison and asked what had happened to their other child, Jaber, and where he was. Initially, they did not tell him anything. This torture of not saying anything continued for several days until one day my

⁴⁹¹ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Mahmoud Hossein Panahi from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him by voice call.

⁴⁹² The name of the child, who is believed to have been 16 years old at the time of his arrest, is Jabbar Said Moradi. The names of the women are Shahla Kolah Ghouchi, Atieh Sharifi (alias Atieh Ghazan) and Zamaneh Ghaderi (alias Jaleh Naseer). The names of the men are Jamal Eskandarian, Jamil Ahmadi (alias Aram), Ali Moradi, Farhad Hajimirzayee (alias Farhad Bavriz), Naser Hadi, Houshang Zandi (alias Ghadee) and Kamal Nazari Moghadam (alias Iraj).

⁴⁹³ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Abdollah Said Moradi from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him.

father was told to go in again. There, my father was told that Jaber had been executed but that he should not search for where and when Jaber and others had been executed.”

Abdollah Said Moradi said that the authorities did not disclose the location of burial to any of the families who were told about the executions in September 1988. However, some families found out through low-level prison guards that the bodies had been buried in a barren piece of land on the outskirts of the city of Qorveh, about 93km east of Sanandaj. He said, that after weeks of searching covering hundreds of kilometres, families ran into a local villager in November 1988 who said he had seen officials dumping bodies into a mass grave next to the Baha'i cemetery in September 1988 and offered to take the families to the site. The families subsequently went to the location with the villager, dug up the area with shovels, and discovered a mass grave containing the bodies of more than 20 people, including men, women and at least one child. They extracted the bodies, which had been thrown on top of one another, dug the trench deeper and wider, and then reburied the bodies next to each other. Abdollah Said Moradi said that his mother was able to identify his brother Kamal because of a mole on the right side of his face. However, the body of his brother Jaber was never found. He said:

“For years, my mother said, ‘Who knows, maybe some news will arrive about my child, maybe he is still alive in a prison where no one knows him. For a decade, my parents, particularly my mother, were waiting like this and had some hopes, but after that they lost all hope.’”

10. SARI

‘YOU WILL BE DEALT WITH’

Amnesty International learned the details of the mass killings in the main prison in Sari, Mazandaran province, through several sources. These include: an article by Hossein Sarvazad, who was imprisoned in Sari in 1988 in connection with his support for the PMOI and survived the mass killings;⁴⁹⁴ an article by Kaveh Banaiee, who was imprisoned in Abbas Abad prison in Behshar, Mazandaran province, in 1988 in connection with his support for the communist Tudeh party and was transferred to the prison in Sari shortly after the mass killings;⁴⁹⁵ and the testimony of an anonymous survivor who was also imprisoned in 1988 in connection with a leftist group (his name has been withheld for security reasons).⁴⁹⁶

According to these sources, over 100 political activists were in the main prison in Sari in 1988. Several dozen of them imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI were taken away in late July 1988. About 35 of them were never seen again. Around the same time, the prison was put on lockdown; access to television and radio was cut; and family visits were suspended. The anonymous survivor said that leftist prisoners were not targeted during this period, but that there may have been one or two individuals among the disappeared who were imprisoned in connection with their support for the Organization of the Vanguard Fighters of the Oppressed (Arman-e Mostazafin).

According to the article by Hossein Sarvazad written before his death in 2015, on 19 July 1988, a five-person delegation from the ministry of intelligence in Tehran made an unexpected visit to the sections of the prison that housed political dissidents and questioned them about their charges. When the prisoners said they were supporters of the PMOI, Hossein Sarvazad wrote, the officials expressed rage and warned that they would soon “deal with” them. Hossein Sarvazad recalled that the same day several guards attacked a group of PMOI prisoners in section 6, hit them with batons, pushed them to the ground and forcibly shaved their heads. On 31 July, the first group of prisoners, who included Hossein Sarvazad, were collected from their rooms and taken away. He wrote:

⁴⁹⁴ Hossein Sarvazad was killed in 2015 during a rocket attack on Camp Liberty in Iraq, which was home to around 2,250 unarmed members and supporters of the PMOI. Amnesty International received a copy of the memoir from another survivor of the mass killings, Mahmoud Royayee, also a member of the PMOI.

⁴⁹⁵ See Kaveh Banai, “The mass killings in Mazandaran; in memory of a national catastrophe”, *Asre Nou*, 9 August 2013, www.asre-nou.net/php/view.php?obinr=27784

⁴⁹⁶ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of this survivor from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him.



Hossein Sarvazad © Private

“On the evening of 31 July, we heard some noises from the prison’s corridor. After listening carefully, we realized that they [the guards] were beating our fellow inmates in section 6 as they were taking them out. From their voices we could tell that they were not even allowed to take their clothes. We heard Hamid Afsary [one of the PMOI prisoners executed during the mass killings] asking: ‘Why are you beating us? What have we done? Where are you taking us? Why don’t you let us take our stuff?’ The prisoners were forcefully handcuffed and bound by the legs and taken

away. Then came the turn of our ward and one by one we were taken out in the same [violent] way. They [the guards] did not even let us take our personal belongings. They put handcuffs and leg shackles on us, and then shoved us into the back of a roofed pick-up truck and took us all away.”

Hossein Sarvazad wrote that the same night they were taken to an undisclosed location and brought one by one while blindfolded before a “commission” composed of a Shari’a judge, a representative from the prosecutor’s office, and several intelligence and security officials. The committee asked him several questions without explaining the purpose of the interrogation, including: “What is your charge?” “Do you believe in armed confrontation?” “Are you prepared to give a media interview denouncing your past political beliefs and activities?” Soon after the interrogations, many of the prisoners were given a pen and piece of paper and told to write down their last wishes. That was the first moment the prisoners learned they were to be put to death. Some protested and asked why they should write such letters, which led to guards beating them.

In his article, Hossein Sarvazad said that, soon after this, a number of the prisoners were taken away and he heard repeated gunshots, indicating that they were executed by firing squad. Several days later, on 3 August, two more prisoners from their group were collected and never seen again.⁴⁹⁷ The rest were held for a further week and again interrogated. The questions included: “Are you prepared to give public interviews denouncing your past beliefs and activities?” “What is your view of Rouhollah Khomeini?” and “Are you prepared to take revenge against the PMOI?”

Hossein Sarvazad wrote that, a week later, some of the prisoners were returned to the main prison in Sari. He and a few others were moved to solitary confinement and held there incommunicado for six months. During this period, he did not know what was happening to his fellow inmates; he only learned that many of them had been executed after he was returned to the main prison in Sari in late 1988.

Family visits in the prison in Sari were resumed in late 1988, which is when the surviving prisoners learned about the mass scale of the killings.

To this day, it is not known where and how all the victims of the mass killings in Sari were executed. It appears that, in the second half of 1988, there were multiple prison transfers between different cities in Mazandaran province, including to and from Sari, Ghaemshahr, Babol, Amol and Behshahr. Kaveh Banaiee knows of at least two prisoners who were imprisoned in Sari before their disappearance in July 1988 and whose names are inscribed on individual graves in Behesht-e Fatemeh cemetery in Behshahr, approximately 40km from Sari.⁴⁹⁸

The whereabouts of the remains of most victims in Sari are unknown.

⁴⁹⁷ In his article, Hossein Sarvazad identified them as Ahmad Gholami and Mohammad Ramesh. Hossein Sarvazad mentions hearsay reports that the authorities executed these two men in public and falsely announced that they were convicted of drug-related charges. Amnesty International was not able to obtain any evidence to assess the veracity of these reports.

⁴⁹⁸ According to Kaveh Banaiee, their names are Mohammad Esmail (also known as Behzad) Kordjazi and Mohammad Reza Kord Rostami.

11. SEMNAN

'YOU ARE THE LAST ONE'



Asadollah Nabavi © Amnesty International

Asadollah Nabavi survived the mass killings in Semnan, Semnan province.⁴⁹⁹ In 1988, he was serving a lengthy term in the main prison there, imposed in connection with his support for the PMOI.

He estimates that several dozen prisoners, both men and women, were killed in Semnan and he knows of only two men other than himself who survived. He says that the real number may be much higher as the authorities also rearrested and executed some former prisoners who had been released several years earlier during the July-September

period.⁵⁰⁰ Asadollah Nabavi said that, as far as he knew, all of the execution victims were imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI and that at least one victim, Akbar Zolfaghari, was under the age of 18 at the time of his arrest.

Asadollah Nabavi recalls that on 28 or 29 July a number of Revolutionary Guards suddenly attacked a group of prisoners who were exercising in the prison courtyard and beat them. They then forcibly shaved the heads of some of them and took some away. After a while, he said, the guards raided the ward next to theirs and took away several more prisoners. He said:

"After this incident, we became more suspicious about what was happening. Our ward was near the cells used for solitary confinement... and we could find out to some extent through careful listening and Morse code if the prisoners taken away had been moved there. The strange thing for us was that the area was quiet and it did not seem that many had been taken there. This raised our doubts... and made us quite anxious and puzzled as to what was happening."

Asadollah Nabavi said that, in the following days, the guards came to his ward and read the names of more prisoners they were taking away. Concerned about what was happening, some of the prisoners asked if they should bring their belongings with them. They were told that it was not necessary, that they should only take with them their towel and toothbrush and that they would return within one or two days. They never returned.

Several days later, Asadollah Nabavi said he received a message in Morse code from a prisoner who had been taken away earlier and was held in a solitary cell next to their ward, Mohammad Reza Ahmadi. The man informed Asadollah Nabavi that he had been taken before a "commission" and asked several questions about his political opinions. He said that he did not know why he had been asked these questions and that he would keep Asadollah Nabavi updated. However, he soon disappeared and was never heard from again. Several days later, Asadollah Nabavi said that he and the last few prisoners remaining in their ward were called and taken away. He said he was subsequently transferred to solitary confinement and held there, without access to the outside world, for the next one and a half years.

During this period, Asadollah Nabavi said that an interrogator came to his cell several times and put him under pressure to "confess" that prisoners had created some sort of a network inside prison with a view to colluding with the PMOI outside. In late September or early October 1988, Asadollah Nabavi said he was brought before a three-member "commission" composed of judicial, prosecution and intelligence officials. He described the session as follows:

"When I went in, the officials said, 'We have brought the last person.' [One of the officials] said, 'You know that we have dispatched all your friends to the other world, don't you?' I said, 'No, I don't.' He said, 'Yes, you

⁴⁹⁹ Amnesty International interviewed Asadollah Nabavi in person in October 2017.

⁵⁰⁰ Asadollah Nabavi mentioned the cases of two women who were executed shortly after being rearrested in August 1988, Nasrin Khanjani and Aghdas (also known as Parvin) Hemmati. He said that he communicated with them briefly by Morse code while they were in solitary confinement and before they were taken away for execution.

are the last person... Now make your decision. What do you want to do?' I asked, 'What should I decide?' He said, 'Do you want to stay alive or do you want to go where your friends have gone?'"

Asadollah Nabavi said that the "commission" subsequently put him under pressure to do a video-recorded interview denouncing the PMOI and threatened that he would be executed if he refused. Asadollah Nabavi said that he refused but told the commission that he had nothing to do with the PMOI anymore and just wanted to finish his sentence and go back to having a normal life. A couple of weeks later, he was informed by the head of the prison in Semnan that he had been sentenced to a further 15 years in prison. Asadollah Nabavi remained in solitary confinement for the next one and a half years, without any contact with the outside world. During this period, his family were given no information about his fate and whereabouts and were in constant fear that he had been executed.

In December 1989, Asadollah Nabavi was moved to Evin prison and stayed there until 1999, when he was released. He said that when he was first moved to Evin prison, fellow inmates were shocked by his appearance as his beard had grown long and he was severely underweight. He told them his story and what he heard from them in response horrified him:

"They asked me shockingly if I had been in solitary confinement since the events of August 1988. I said, 'How do you know about those events?' They said, 'Well, we mean the massacre of 1988?' I said, 'Do you mean there was a massacre here too?' That was the first moment I learned that the mass killings of 1988 had taken place on a national scale."

12. SHIRAZ

'HE HAD TAKEN A JOURNEY TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD AND HIS GHOST HAD RETURNED'



Jahangir Esmailpour © Justice for Iran

Jahangir Esmailpour survived the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Adelabad prison in Shiraz, Fars province.⁵⁰¹ In 1988, he was serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with his support for the Minority faction of Fada'iyān, a leftist political organization. He estimates that at least 250 to 300 prisoners, both men and women, were executed in Shiraz during the mass killings. All the victims were imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI.

Jahangir Esmailpour recalled that in July the authorities read out the names of dozens of

prisoners who had mostly been in jail since the early 1980s regarding their support for the PMOI, and gave them a questionnaire to complete. The questions asked them about their past activities, charges and marital status and what they would do if they were released. Jahangir Esmailpour said that, at that time, most of the prisoners thought they were being considered for release. However, about one or two weeks later, the authorities called out their names and took them away. Jahangir Esmailpour said that, for several weeks, they had no information about these prisoners until one of them, Abbas Mirayian, came back.

According to Jahangir Esmailpour, Abbas Mirayian looked devastated: "It felt like he had taken a journey to the land of the dead and his ghost had returned." Jahangir Esmailpour said that Abbas Mirayian began weeping and told him that they had been taken to the detention centre of the Revolutionary Guards in Shiraz, where they were shown a newspaper article that included photos of hanged bodies and claimed that members of the public were hanging those involved in the PMOI's incursion into Iran on 25 July

⁵⁰¹ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Jahangir Esmailpour from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him in person. Amnesty International also reviewed the following article that was published based on an interview with Jahangir Esmailpour by Bidaran, "The mass killings of political prisoners in 1988 – Shiraz prison", 25 July 2008, www.bidaran.net/spip.php?article159&fbclid=IwAR2OgtYXsFvxfNKCL0iVIF3aE4lQtOgZ7koVvY9i6wKrJZ9naSwn3esvXE4. See also Jahangir Esmailpour memoirs, *Persistent Suffering*, 2010.

1988. He had added that they were then taken one by one before a commission that included a Shari'a judge, a prosecution official and a ministry of intelligence representative.

Jahangir Esmailpour reported that Abbas Mirayian had said that he was asked if he recognized the Islamic Republic, would be willing to "co-operate" with the authorities, and declare himself "repentant". He said that he replied "yes" to every question. Then the "commission" asked him if he was willing to hang a "*monafeq*". Abbas Mirayian said that he answered "yes", thinking that the authorities were not serious. However, he was then blindfolded, taken to another area, given a rope and told to pull it. He refused. Several days later, he was returned to Adelabad prison.

Jahangir Esmailpour said that, several weeks later, Abbas Mirayian's name was again called and as he was being taken out, he yelled at the guards, "Kill me sooner! Relieve me!" He did not survive.

Jahangir Esmailpour said that the height of the killings in Shiraz was in August and early September, when every day a group of 15 to 20 PMOI prisoners were taken away. Most never returned. Some briefly came back but were then taken away again. Only a small number of those who returned were not called back and, according to Jahangir Esmailpour, these prisoners were visibly broken:

"You could see it on their faces that they had returned from the land of the dead. I mean they had gone and seen death and then returned."

Amnesty International also obtained the testimony of a survivor who was held in the women's ward in Adelabad prison in Shiraz around the same period (her name has been withheld for security reasons).⁵⁰² She was serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with her support for the Majority faction of Fadaiyan. She estimates that there were about 40 to 50 women in her prison before the mass killings and less than a dozen survived.

She recalled that, in late July, after the armed incursion of the PMOI, the authorities started a series of interrogations; for several days, prisoners were transferred, group by group, to the detention centre of the Revolutionary Guards in Shiraz and taken, while blindfolded, before several officials who interrogated them. PMOI prisoners were taken for interrogation first and then came the turn of her and another leftist prisoner. She said:

"In my interrogation session, they [the authorities] asked me, 'Are you prepared to carry out executions?' This is one of the questions that was commonly asked. Another [version] of the question was, 'Are you willing to execute a monafeq?' People gave different answers. I responded, 'I cannot execute anyone. It is difficult for them. I cannot. However, I have nothing to do with any of them [PMOI members and supporters].'"

The survivor continued, saying that, after these interrogations, all prisoners were returned to Adelabad prison and described to each other what they had been asked. The questions commonly included: "What is your view of *monafeqin*?" and "Are you willing to execute *monafeqin* if you know they have attacked the country?" She said these interrogations gave rise to "an atmosphere of horror and fear and no one knew what was going on". Several days after these interrogations, she said, the authorities came back to their ward and took away most of the women. They never returned.

The survivor said that for months, even after they were released in 1989, those who survived thought that their fellow prisoners had been transferred to a different location:

"It was perhaps my wish or dream and I wanted to hope that my friends had not all gone in this way... We [former prisoners and survivors] thought perhaps they [the victims] had not been executed, perhaps they had been transferred to a different location."

The majority of the victims are believed to have been buried in a mass grave that at the time was on the outskirts of Darolrahmeh cemetery in Shiraz, near the individual grave sites of those executed in the early 1980s. The families identified the location through local contacts and cemetery workers who reported seeing officials digging trenches with excavators and secretly dumping bodies at night in July-September 1988. Satellite images and pictures indicate that, in recent years, new burial plots have been constructed over the suspected mass grave site.⁵⁰³

A minority of the families were directed by the authorities, after several months of persistent searching, to over a dozen individual graves scattered across Darolrahmeh cemetery and told verbally that their relatives were buried there. It is not clear on what basis a small percentage of the victims were identified

⁵⁰² Amnesty International obtained the testimony of this survivor from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with her.

⁵⁰³ See *Landscape of Pain*, Shiraz, online: www.painscapes.com/cities/790

by the authorities, or why the graves are scattered given that the victims were killed during the same period.

Initially, there were no markers on these graves. In the years that followed, families installed headstones. However, to this day, many of them doubt that the graves contain the remains of their loved ones. The anonymous survivor said:

“Survivors and families have never been sure because no one ever saw the bodies. They [the authorities] had just directed the families to some burial spots saying Afsaneh is in this grave, Zahra lies here and Fatemeh is there. Whether this is the truth or not, none of us is certain. What if they [the authorities] had dumped all of them into one trench and then shown some burial plots to the families and deceptively claimed that their loved ones were buried there?”

13. TABRIZ AND URUMIEH

‘FOR MONTHS, WE WERE EAGERLY WAITING FOR THEM TO RETURN’



Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian © Amnesty International

Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian survived the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in Tabriz, East Azerbaijan province, and Urumieh, West Azerbaijan province.⁵⁰⁴ Between 1981 and early 1988, he was imprisoned in the main prison in Urumieh in connection with his support for the PMOI. He was then transferred, along with several dozen prisoners, to the main prison in Tabriz, apparently in reprisal for staging a hunger strike.

These prisoners, who were identified by the authorities as being “steadfast” in their political beliefs, were placed in section 3 of a

ward known as “Seh Ganeh”. The conditions in this section were described as suffocating and isolating. Prisoners were not allowed to talk to each other and had to spend most of their time lying on their beds in silence while being watched by informants. Most of them were in prison in connection with their support for the PMOI; the rest were affiliated with various leftist and Kurdish opposition organizations, including the Minority faction of Fadaïyan, the Tudeh party and Komala.

Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian recalled that, in late July, prison guards started becoming more violent; they yelled at prisoners constantly, and punched and kicked them when taking them to the toilet. He also heard a senior prison official threatening some of the prisoners that they should stop complaining about lack of access to television and newspapers as they would soon be executed.

Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian said that, on 31 July, the guards collected all the PMOI prisoners from their room except him and his friend Sirous Taghizadeh. In the following days, they learned through prisoners who assisted with food delivery that the authorities were also collecting prisoners from other sections of the prison and taking them away.

On 20 August, Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian and Sirous Taghizadeh were transferred back to Urumieh prison. The first night, they were held in a reception room with several other prisoners who reported that the authorities had also been collecting prisoners in Urumieh prison and taking them away. The next day, they were transferred to the detention centre of the Revolutionary Guards in Urumieh. There, Sirous Taghizadeh was separated from Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian and never seen again.

For the next eight months, Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian was held in the detention centre with several other prisoners; most of them were affiliated with the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran, while a few, who had been arrested shortly before, were affiliated with the PMOI. During this period, he discovered personal objects in the detention centre that bore the names of prisoners who had disappeared in Tabriz; this

⁵⁰⁴ Amnesty International interviewed Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian in person in November 2017.

indicated to him that at least some of those prisoners had been brought to Urumieh before execution. It is still not known where and how these prisoners were executed. Some former prisoners believe they were hanged in the basement of a detention centre run by the Revolutionary Guards in Urumieh. Others refer to widely circulated rumours that the prisoners were taken to a remote, hilly area near Bagh-e Rezvan cemetery in Urumieh, stabbed and shot to death and buried there in an unmarked mass grave.⁵⁰⁵

Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian noted that, after he was returned from the detention centre of the Revolutionary Guards to the main prison in Urumieh in 1989, he discovered that some of the prisoners in Urumieh whom he knew from before his first transfer to Tabriz in early 1988 had also been executed. They included PMOI prisoners and others affiliated with Komala and the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran.

Abdolrasoul Ebrahimian was released in January 2000 after spending 17 years in prison. He told Amnesty International that he remains puzzled by why he was spared execution in 1988:

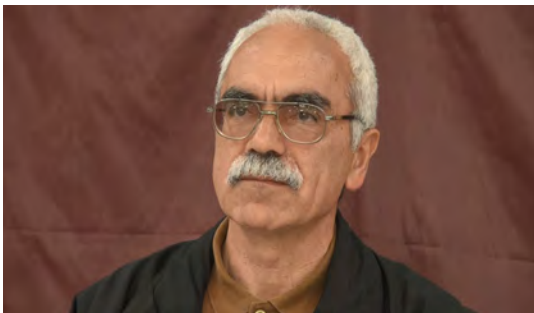
“This was always my question. I asked them [the authorities] several times why they did not execute me. I have come to believe that perhaps God kept me alive so that I could bear witness to all the bloodshed.”

Mohammad Reza Matin was also imprisoned in the main prison in Tabriz in 1988.⁵⁰⁶ His imprisonment was in connection with his support for the Tudeh party. He had been transferred there, along with dozens of PMOI and other leftist prisoners, from the main prison in Urumieh in 1986, and put in a section notorious for its extremely harsh conditions.

Mohammad Reza Matin recalled that all the prisoners who were held in section 4 were rounded up in late July 1988. Many of them, including him, were put in solitary confinement and over a dozen, who were imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI, were transferred to Urumieh. Mohammad Reza Matin was held in solitary confinement, without access to his family, for about two and a half or three months. He said that, during this period, the authorities did not even take them out for a shower as they wanted to block the flow of information completely.

He recalled that sometime around July 1988, a number of officials, including from the ministry of intelligence, gave him a questionnaire to complete. The questions asked him about his views on the Islamic Republic, whether he self-identified as a Muslim and if he observed Islamic practices such as praying. Mohammad Reza Matin was not told the purpose of the questionnaire.

In October 1988, a guard came to his cell, blindfolded him and took him out. He feared that he was about to be taken to the gallows. However, he soon found himself in the shower rooms of the prison. He was ordered to take a shower and then taken to the visitors’ room for a visit from his mother. This is when he discovered that many of the PMOI prisoners in Tabriz prison had been executed. His family were kept in the dark about his fate and whereabouts for months and feared that he was among those executed.



Hamid Taheri © Amnesty International

Mehdi Abdolrahimi and Hamid Taheri were also imprisoned in the main prison in Tabriz in 1988.⁵⁰⁷ Their imprisonment was connected to their support for the PMOI. They were held, together with about 200 other prisoners in section 2 of a ward known as “Seh Ganeh”. Conditions were relatively more relaxed in this section, as most of the prisoners had not been classified as strictly “steadfast”. Nevertheless, they recalled that around May 1988, a Shari’a judge had come to their section and stated that they wanted to reduce the number of imprisoned political opponents by executing some and releasing others.

Mehdi Abdolrahimi and Hamid Taheri recalled that their section was put on lockdown on 29 July.⁵⁰⁸ In the days that followed, the authorities called out the names of over two dozen prisoners from their section and took them away. The authorities provided no information about where they were taking the prisoners and ordered them to leave behind their personal belongings.

⁵⁰⁵ See *Landscape of pain*, “Urumieh”, www.painscapes.com/cities/1277

⁵⁰⁶ Amnesty International has relied on the account of Mohammad Reza Matin published by Bidaran, “The mass killings of political prisoners in 1988 in Tabriz”, 8 December 2008, www.bidaran.net/spip.php?article190

⁵⁰⁷ Amnesty International interviewed Mehdi Abdolrahimi and Hamid Taheri in person in November 2017.

⁵⁰⁸ Amnesty International interviewed Hamid Taheri and Mehdi Abdolrahimi in person in November 2017.

He said that in 1987 he and several other political activists were transferred from the section housing dozens of political activists to a section where hundreds of those convicted of non-political crimes were held. He said that as a result he did not know what exactly happened to most of the political activists who stayed behind; they included both PMOI and leftist prisoners. However, he learned months later and especially after he was released in May 1989 that the section which housed political dissidents was closed by 1988 and that some of the prisoners there had been transferred to other locations and executed during the mass prisoner killings.⁵¹²

Abbas Torabi said that he also learned about the execution of several dozen people in Zahedan who had been arrested several weeks or months before the mass prisoner killings.⁵¹³ He said that a considerable number of them were in their teens or early twenties and had either been arrested in other cities and transferred to Zahedan after being punished with “internal exile” or arrested while trying to cross the border into Pakistan.

Abbas Torabi said that, on 6 August 1988, prison guards collected him and several other PMOI prisoners from their cells and took them, one by one, into a room where they were interrogated by several judicial and intelligence officials. He said the officials did not introduce themselves and he could not identify them as he was blindfolded. He described the interrogation session as extremely aggressive and nerve-racking:

“When I entered the room, they [the authorities] asked my name and then began swearing at me. While yelling and throwing insults, they asked me what I was doing and I said I was serving my prison sentence. They said, ‘You were a sympathizer of monafeqin. What are you now?’ I said, ‘I was arrested as a sympathizer of the Organization [PMOI], but I have no idea where they are and what they are up to now because I have been in prison for eight years and have no information from the outside.’ They then said that I must go to one of the sections which housed ordinary [non-political] prisoners and [urinate on] the picture of brother Masoud [Rajavi, the leader of the PMOI] in front of everyone. I said that this act is not in accord with human dignity and I would not do so with any picture and this has nothing [to do] with my imprisonment. They kept throwing insults and swear words at me, the Organization [PMOI] and brother Masoud. I understood that they had gone wild, but I did not know what had happened.”

Abbas Torabi said that, after this session, he was transferred to solitary confinement and held there for several months, without access to his family. During this period, he did not know what had happened to the other PMOI prisoners who had been taken away around the same time as him. After several months, he was returned to the general ward and there he discovered that some of his former cell mates had survived while at least one of them, Samad Keshavarz, had been executed.

15. ZANJAN

‘WE HAD NO CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD’

Rahmat Gholami survived the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988 in the main prison in Zanjan, Zanjan province.⁵¹⁴ At that time, he was serving a lengthy prison term imposed in connection with his support for the Minority faction of Fadaiyan, a secular leftist political organization.

Rahmat Gholami recalled that, on 27 or 28 July 1988, prison officials read out the names of over two dozen people, ordered them to pack their belongings, and took them away. They were all imprisoned in connection with their support for the PMOI. The next day, the prison was put on lockdown. Televisions,

⁵¹² For example, Abbas Torabi mentioned the cases of Hamid Amiri, who was transferred to and executed in Vakilabad prison in Mashhad; Said Soleimani, who was transferred to and executed in Evin prison in Tehran; Rasoul Saljoughi, who was transferred to and executed in the main prison in Urumieh; and Mahmoud Dourandish, who was transferred to and executed in Towhid prison in Zahedan.

⁵¹³ In relation to this, Abbas Torabi specifically remembered the cases of two brothers, Ghasem and Hassan Aligolshahi; Mahmoud Rouhender; Alireza Arabmojahed; and Gholam Rasoul Donyavi. He also mentioned talking to a family member who was desperately searching for a relative in August 1988 and was taken by a government contact to a mortuary and shown the bodies of about 29 execution victims. The name of this individual has been withheld by Amnesty International for security reasons.

⁵¹⁴ Amnesty International obtained the testimony of Rahmat Golami from Justice for Iran, which conducted the interview with him. Amnesty International conducted a follow-up interview by voice call in October 2018.

radios and newspapers were removed, and family visits were suspended. He said that, a few days later, another group of prisoners were collected and taken away:

“We were wondering where all these prisoners had been taken to... We knew for sure that they were not in the prison. We thought that maybe they [the authorities] had built a new prison and moved the prisoners there. The wardens did not tell us anything and we had no contact with the outside world... We only found out about the catastrophe that had occurred in early November 1988 when family visits were resumed. Up until then, we had discussed amongst ourselves that the situation was horrendous, but we had never thought that they [the authorities] would just collect a group [of prisoners who were serving prison terms] and kill them.”

Rahmat Gholami noted that, around the time when family visits were resumed, a small number of prisoners who had been taken away were returned. However, he said that due to the terrifying atmosphere in the prison, the prisoners were not willing to speak about what they had seen and gone through.

Rahmat Gholami and another survivor, whose name has been withheld for security reasons, believe that no leftist prisoners were executed during the mass killings in Zanjan. However, the anonymous survivor, who was imprisoned in connection with his support for a leftist political organization, said that he was among the second group of prisoners taken away. He said that, for several weeks, he was held in solitary confinement in an undisclosed location. He suspects that it was a military barracks called Malek Ashtar, which was run by the Revolutionary Guards. He said that, during this period, he repeatedly overheard guards speaking about the executions and describing how the bodies of the prisoners were dangling from the gallows. The survivor said that, towards the end of his stay in solitary confinement, an interrogator told him that the authorities' plans had changed and that they would not target leftist prisoners for execution at that stage.

The authorities have not revealed where they buried the victims of the mass prisoner killings in Zanjan. However, in 1988, some families identified, through a local cemetery worker, a site in a cemetery in Zanjan called Bala, which they believe contains the remains of their loved ones in a mass grave.⁵¹⁵ A political activist, Batoul Faghehatai, told Amnesty International that she had talked to a local source who said that she discovered body parts and torn pieces of clothing protruding from the ground in 1988 and saw the authorities covering the site with limestone. Batoul Faghehatai said that, since early 2002, the authorities have built new burial plots over the suspected mass grave site while keeping the new owners unaware about the land's harrowing past.

⁵¹⁵ See *Landscape of pain*, “Zanjan”, www.painscapes.com/cities/861

ANNEX 2 – REPORTED VICTIMS DECLARED ‘NON-EXISTENT’ BY IRAN

The following table lists the names of 141 individuals whom the Iranian authorities claimed were “forgeries and virtually non-existent individuals” in a reply submitted to the UN in June 1989 (see section 6.1). The 141 names had appeared in a list published in the annex of the January 1989 report of the UN Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran; the list included 1,084 individuals who were reported as executed during the period July-December 1988. For 117 of the 141 individuals, Amnesty International managed to match their name against the name of one of the recorded victims of the mass executions of 1988, by searching in two sources:

- The first one is a list compiled by the PMOI entitled “Crimes Against Humanity”, which records the names and details of 4,969 PMOI members who the organization says were killed during the mass prisoner killings of 1988. Many of the names are also included in an online database on the PMOI’s website, which in some cases provides additional text and images. The hyperlinks on the word “Yes” in the “PMOI” column are to entries in the online database. For cases in which the name appears in the PMOI list but not in its online database, the reference number of the case in the “PMOI” list appears in brackets after the word “Yes”.
- The second one is a list compiled by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran (CDHRI), which has recorded 4,672 individuals killed during the mass prisoner killings in 1988 who were affiliated with the PMOI or leftist or other political opposition groups. The numbers appearing in brackets after the word “Yes” in the “CDHRI” column denote the number under which the victims are listed in the CDHRI source.

Of the 141 names, 84 appear in both lists, 31 appear only in the PMOI list, while two appear only in the CDHRI list.⁵¹⁶ This is a total of 117 matches, indicated by a “Yes” in one or both of the two relevant columns in the table.

⁵¹⁶ These include Ahmad Ekrami and Asef Razmdideh. The latter does not appear in the PMOI list because he was executed in connection with his support for the Toudheh party, a secular leftist organization. For more information on him, see www.iranrights.org/fa/memorial/story/-4126/asef-razmdideh

Amnesty International has found seven names in the PMOI or CDHRI list that bear a high resemblance to names in the annex of the January 1989 UN report, but does not have enough information to conclude that they are matches.⁵¹⁷ These possible matches are indicated by the word “Maybe” in the table.

In four other cases, the last name is the same, but the first name is different;⁵¹⁸ in one case, the first name is the same, but the last name, while similar, is different.⁵¹⁹ Of the remaining 12 names, two – Simin Ol Karizi and Amir Afshar Kabir Hosseini – were misreported as execution victims; they were, in fact, killed during the armed incursion of the PMOI in July 1988. In the 10 other cases, Amnesty International has no additional information on the name appearing in the UN list.⁵²⁰

No.	Iranian government reference to UN report ⁵²¹		Annex of January 1989 UN report	Lists of execution victims	
	Page	Entry		PMOI	CDHRI
1	22	14	Sirus Abdi	<u>Yes</u>	No
2	22	20	Reza Agha Hosseini	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (45)
3	23	19	Majid Araghi	<u>Yes</u>	No
4	23	20	Behzad Araghi	<u>Yes</u>	No
5	23	25	Heshmatollah Arian	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (20)
6	23	29	Majid Asgar Khani	Yes (00466)	Yes (1932)
7	23	30	Zahra Asgar Shahi	Yes (00468)	Yes (1933)
8	23	31	Ahmad Asgari	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1945)
9	23	34	Ali Reza Asgari	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1939)
10	23	46	Vahid Asqarzadeh	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (223)
11	23	48	Jalal Assadpour	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (168)
12	24	12	Hushang Babakhani	<u>Yes</u>	No

⁵¹⁷ In the PMOI list, Farangis Kathani is written as Farangis Kahyani (02104), Mehrdad Fani as Mehrdad Fanai (01159), Elaheh Ziaei Mirzaei as Allah Zia Mirzai Allah (04942), Sedigheh Kamali as Sedigheh Kamal Kani (02022), Hassan Khaleghi as Mohammad Hassan Khaleghi Zadeh (02205), Vahid Saeidi Nejad as Saeidi Nejad Qomi (03963), and Haji Zare as Zahra Falahati Haj Zare'e (01144).

⁵¹⁸ These include the following names: Ahmad Ekrami, Mohammad Qoreishi, Mohsen Qoreishi and Seyed Ahmad Qoreishi. Ahmad Ekrami is written in the PMOI source as Mahmoud Ekrami (01067). Mohammad Qoreishi, Mohsen Qoreishi and Seyed Ahmad Qoreishi do not appear in the PMOI lists. However, five other entries with the same last name but a different first name do (03543-03547). They are Hassan Qoraishi, Jalal Qoraishi, Mahin Qoraishi, Massiha Qoraishi and Seyyed Abul Fazl Qoraishi.

⁵¹⁹ The name is written in the PMOI list as Leyla Hajinejad (01511).

⁵²⁰ These include Nasrin Baqerzadeh, Vazir Fathi, Asghar Ghashghaeian, Hamidzadeh, Davood Hasani, Seyed Esmaeil Hosseinpour, Behnam Khodadadi, Sasan Sadeghi, Shahin Saeidifar and Siroos Yoosefnejad.

⁵²¹ The Iranian government's June 1989 reply to the UN refers to “140 forged names” by listing pages and, for each page, between two and 14 “entries”. The total “entries” mentioned actually add up to 141 rather than 140. The annex of the January 1989 report of the UN Special Representative contains numbered pages with a single column of alphabetically ordered names on each page, but no “entry”. Amnesty International understood the “entry” to be a reference to the position of the name in the column on the page concerned, such that, for example, “entry” 14 on page 22 is the 14th name from the top in the column of names on page 22.

13	24	29	Soheila Bahador	<u>Yes</u>	No
14	24	34	Bakhshi ⁵²²	Yes (00693-00697)	Yes (413-414)
15	24	44	Nasrin Baqerzadeh	No	No
16	24	55	Taher Bazzaz	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (443)
17	25	15	Fatemeh Zahra Biku Eqbal	Yes (03215)	Yes (3027)
18	25	16	Kamran Booini	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (462)
19	25	23	Ali Bushehri	<u>Yes</u>	No
20	25	24	Hashem Buzar Jomehri	Yes (00871)	No
21	25	25	Yazadan Chahar Bashlu	<u>Yes</u>	No
22	25	30	Amir Chenari	Yes (00886)	Yes (742)
23	25	34	Kurosh Chubiyani	Yes (00895)	Yes (745)
24	25	41	Sa'id Daniali	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1037)
25	26	1	Ramin Dezfully	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1060)
26	26	22	Hosein Edalat	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1904)
27	26	25	Mohammad Reza Eftekhari	Yes (01057)	Yes (235)
28	26	28	Eivaz-Zadeg	<u>Yes</u>	No
29	26	29	Eivaz-Zadeh	<u>Yes</u>	No
30	26	32	Ahmad Ekrami ⁵²³	No	Yes (272)
31	26	33	Mina Ekzia ⁵²⁴	Yes (00616)	No
32	26	34	Seyed Taher Emadi	Yes (01075)	Yes (2001)
33	26	40	Mohammad Emami	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (289)

⁵²² In the PMOI list, there are five entries with the last name Bakhshi. Their names are Abdul Rahman Bakhshi, Bakhsh Ali Bakhshi, Hossein Bakhshi, Ismail Bakhshi and Jahan Bakhshi.

⁵²³ In the PMOI list, this name does not appear. However, an entry with the same last name and a different first name, Mahmoud Ekrami, does (01067). Amnesty International has assumed them to be two separate individuals.

⁵²⁴ In the PMOI list, this name is written as Mina (Qamar) Azkeya. Ezkia and Azkeya are alternative transliterations and we have considered Ekzia to be a misspelling of Ezkia as we are not aware of any name resembling Ekzia in Persian.

34	27	4	Fakhar	<u>Yes</u>	No
35	27	8	Mehrdad Fani ⁵²⁵	Maybe (01159)	No
36	27	24	Vazir Fathi	No	No
37	27	35	Majid Formgah	Yes (01278)	Yes (2110)
38	27	39	Mariam Ghadiani	Yes (03422)	No
39	27	42	Ghadiri ⁵²⁶	Yes (03425-03428)	Yes (2192-2195)
40	28	5	Simin Ol Karizi ⁵²⁷	No	No
41	28	6	Morad Ghashghaei	Yes (03490)	No
42	28	7	Asghar Ghashghaeian	No	No
43	28	8	Reza Ghashghaeian	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2215)
44	28	18	Ghobadian ⁵²⁸	Yes (03530-03533)	Yes (2181-2183)
45	28	19	Ghobadian	Yes (03530-03533)	Yes (2181-2183)
46	28	26	Behrooz Ghomian	<u>Yes</u>	No
47	28	42	Khosro Gorji	Yes (01419)	Yes (2417)
48	28	47	Habib Rad	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (785)
49	28	49	Hamid Reza Hadian	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3058)
50	28	50	Amir Hushang Hadiknanlu	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3060)
51	29	2	Monazer Haghighi	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (874)
52	29	13	Leila (Sepideh) Hajizadeh ⁵²⁹	No	No
53	29	17	Hamidzadeh	No	No

⁵²⁵ In the PMOI list, this name is written as Mehrdad Fanai. Fani and Fanai could refer to the same or different Persian words, depending on how they were transliterated.

⁵²⁶ In the PMOI list, there are four entries with the last name Ghadiri. The entries do not have a first name.

⁵²⁷ In the PMOI database, Simin Ol Karizi is recorded as having been killed during the armed incursion of the PMOI in July 1988.

⁵²⁸ In the PMOI list, there are four entries with the last name Ghobadian. The names in these entries are written as: (Hamid's sister - 1) Qobadian; (Hamid's sister - 2) Qobadian; Hamid Qobadian; and Marzieh Qobadian Marzieh (Hamid's wife). Amnesty International has considered the name Ghobadian in line 44 and the name Ghobadian in line 45 to be matches.

⁵²⁹ In the PMOI list, this name does not appear. However, a similar name with a slightly different last name, Leyla Hajinejad, does (01511).

54	29	24	Ahmad Hariri	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (797)
55	29	30	Masoud Hariri	Yes (01584)	Yes (799)
56	29	40	Davood Hasani	No	No
57	29	42	Mohammad Taghi Hassani	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (819)
58	29	44	Hamid Reza Hassani Zadeh	Yes (01646)	Yes (822)
59	29	47	Ghodsi Havakeshian	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3097)
60	29	50	Hamed Heidardoost	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (782)
61	30	1	Karim Heidari Nejad	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3868)
62	30	5	Aghdass Hemamati	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3090)
63	30	19	Mohammad Hossien Hosseini	Yes (01735)	Yes (850)
64	30	20	Seyed Esmail Hosseinpour	No	No
65	30	30	Jabbarian	Yes (01875)	Yes (672)
66	30	31	Jabbarian ⁵³⁰	No	No
67	30	40	Jalalian ⁵³¹	Yes (01921-01924)	Yes (703-705)
68	30	49	Akbar Javani	Yes (01965)	Yes (3794)
69	30	54	Robert Jestan	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (681)
70	31	1	Amir Afshar Kabir Hosseini ⁵³²	No	No
71	31	7	Sedigheh Kamali ⁵³³	Maybe (02022)	No
72	31	9	Kani	Yes (02031)	No
73	31	12	Shahriar Karimi	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2306)

⁵³⁰ In the PMOI and CDHRI list, Jabbarian only appears once. Amnesty International has considered the name Jabbarian in line 65 to be a match and the name Jabbarian in line 66 not to be.

⁵³¹ In the PMOI list, there are four entries with the last name Jalalian. They are Ali Reza Jalalian, Hadi Jalalian, Mehdi Jalalian and Vali Jalalian.

⁵³² In the PMOI list, Amir Afshar Kabir Hosseini is recorded as having been killed during the armed incursion of the PMOI in July 1988: martyrs.mojahedin.org/i/martyrs/8265

⁵³³ In the PMOI list, this name is written as Sedigheh Kamal Kani.

74	31	24	Farangis Kathani ⁵³⁴	Maybe (02104)	NO
75	31	43	Hassan Khaleghi ⁵³⁵	Maybe (02205)	No
76	31	44	Mohsen Khaleqi	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (921)
77	31	50	Hamid Khatibi ⁵³⁶	Yes (02258)	No
78	31	51	Simin Kheyrieh Safaei	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1019)
79	31	52	Behnam Khodadadi	No	No
80	36	3	Mahnaz Noor	Yes (03242)	Yes (4626)
81	36	8	Mahnaz Noori	Yes (03274)	No
82	36	11	Ali Noori	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2994)
83	36	13	Esmail Noroozi	Yes (03225)	Yes (2969)
84	36	14	Kazem Noroozi	Yes (03226)	Yes (2974)
85	36	31	Mohsen Piri	Yes (03369)	Yes (3758)
86	36	24	Pakbaz ⁵³⁷	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (517)
87	36	34	Mahmud Pool-Chi	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (562)
88	36	44	Mostafa Qahremani	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2251)
89	36	45	Morteza Qahremani	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2250)
90	36	46	Mohammad Ali Qajar	Yes (03444)	Yes (2163)
91	36	49	Mohammad Qoreishi ⁵³⁸	No	No
92	36	50	Mohsen Qoreishi ⁵³⁹	No	No

⁵³⁴ In the PMOI list, this name is written as Farangis Kayhani. Amnesty International considers that the “t” in Kathani is likely to be a typo.

⁵³⁵ In the PMOI list, this name is written as Mohammad Hassan Khaleghi Zadeh and therefore may or may not refer to the same person.

⁵³⁶ In the PMOI list, this name is written as Hossein Ali (Hamid) Khatibi.

⁵³⁷ In the PMOI list, there is one entry with this last name. The full name is written as Maryam Pakbaz. Amnesty International has considered this to be a match with Pakbaz.

⁵³⁸ In the PMOI list, this name does not appear. However, five other entries with the same last name but a different first name do (03543-03547). They are Hassan Qoraishi, Jalal Qoraishi, Mahin Qoraishi, Massiha Qoraishi and Seyyed Abul Fazl Qoraishi.

⁵³⁹ In the PMOI list, this name does not appear. However, five other entries with the same last name but a different first name do (03543-03547).

93	36	51	Seyed Ahmad Qoreishi ⁵⁴⁰	No	No
94	37	6	Mehrdad Rahbari	Yes (03595)	No
95	37	12	Hassan Rahimi ⁵⁴¹	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1182)
96	37	17	Rahmatian	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3974)
97	37	19	Nasrin Rajabi Nejad	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1151)
98	37	23	Ramesh ⁵⁴²	Yes (03676-03677)	Yes (1127)
99	37	25	Ranjbar ⁵⁴³	Yes (03692-03699)	Yes (1268-1272)
100	37	26	Abbas Rashid	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1205)
101	37	31	Saeed Rasouli	<u>Yes</u>	No
102	37	37	Asef Razmdideh	No	Yes (3258)
103	37	38	Mehrdad Razzaqi	Yes (03758)	Yes (2983)
104	38	14	Kazem Sabeti	Yes (03879)	No
105	38	15	Reza Sabeti	Yes (03880)	No
106	38	18	Sasan Sadeghi	No	No
107	38	20	Mohammad Reza Sadeghi	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1657)
108	38	21	Vahid Sadeghi	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1659)
109	38	25	Vahid Saeidi Nejad ⁵⁴⁴	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (4075)
110	38	26	Shahin Saeidifar	No	No

⁵⁴⁰ In the PMOI list, this name does not appear. However, five other entries with the same last name but a different first name do (03543-03547).

⁵⁴¹ In the PMOI list, the name is written as Mohammad Hassan Rahimi Motam and in the CDHR list, it is written as Hassan Rahimi Motam. Amnesty International has considered this a match as it is common for the second part of last names such as Rahimi Motam to be dropped.

⁵⁴² In the PMOI list, there are two entries with the last name Ramesh. One does not have a first name (03676) and another is written as Mohammad Ali Ramesh (03677). Amnesty International has considered that at least one of them is a match.

⁵⁴³ In the PMOI list, there are eight entries containing the last name Ranjbar. The name Hadi Ranjbar appears twice and there are two entries where no first name is provided. The entries: Ali Ranjbar, Hadi Ranjbar, Hadi Ranjbar, Ibrahim Ranjbar, Reza Ranjbar, Sadeq Ranjbar, Ranjbar and Ranjbar. Amnesty International has considered that at least one of them is a match.

⁵⁴⁴ In the PMOI list, the name is written as Vahid Saeidi Nejad Qomi. Amnesty International has considered this a match as it is common for the second part of last names such as Nejad Qomi to be dropped.

111	38	28	Mohammad Safaei ⁵⁴⁵	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1734)
112	38	46	Saivosh Salehi Zadeh	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1689)
113	38	47	Parviz Salimi ⁵⁴⁶	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1451)
114	38	50	Mahmud Samandar	Yes (04116)	Yes (4086)
115	39	9	Zohreh Say yar	Yes (04205)	No
116	39	10	Fatemeh Say Yar	Yes (04204)	No
117	39	13	Taqi Sedaqt	Yes (04211)	4184
118	39	19	Bahman Seyed Ahmadi	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (4096)
119	39	23	Seyed Ahmad Seyedian	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1486)
120	39	28	Jabbar Shabani	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (4134)
121	39	31	Mohammad Shah Karimi	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1510)
122	39	38	Shahidi ⁵⁴⁷	Yes (04335-04336)	Yes (1612)
123	40	8	Changiz Sharifi ⁵⁴⁸	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (4130)
124	40	9	Farhad Sharifi	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1556)
125	40	38	Taheri-Zadeh	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1803)
126	40	44	Jafar Tajadod	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (582)
127	40	48	Hamid Taleghani	Yes (04634)	Yes (1793)
128	40	49	Davood Talesh Sharifi	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1791)
129	40	53	Tavakkoli ⁵⁴⁹	Yes (04681-04688)	Yes (638-639)
130	41	12	Majid Teimuri	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (649)

⁵⁴⁵ In the PMOI list, the name is written as Mohammad Safaei Faskhoodi. Amnesty International has considered this a match as it is common for the second part of last names such as Safaei Faskhoodi to be dropped.

⁵⁴⁶ In the PMOI list, the name is written as Parviz (Mohsen) Salimi.

⁵⁴⁷ In the PMOI list, there are two entries with the last name Shahidi. The first one is Hossein Shahidi (04335) and the second one does not include a first name (04336). Amnesty International has considered that at least one of them is a match.

⁵⁴⁸ In the PMOI list, the name is written as Changiz (Sadegh) Sharifi (Dashtaki).

⁵⁴⁹ In the PMOI list, there are seven entries with the last name Tavakoli, which is an alternative transliteration to Tavakkoli. They are Ali Tavakoli (04681), Hamid Tavakoli (04682), Mohammad Tavakoli (04683), Naser Tavakoli (04684), Rajab Tavakoli (04685), Shapour (Shahpour) Tavakoli (04686) and Mostmand Tavakoli (04687).

131	41	13	Mohsen Teimuri	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3775)
132	41	15	Mohsen Tiri	Yes (04728)	No
133	41	43	Morteza Yazdani	<u>Yes</u>	3119
134	41	49	Siroos Yoosefnejad	No	No
135	41	50	Heidar Yoosefi	Yes (04855)	No
136	41	54	Seyed Mehdi Zahirol Eslam Zadeh	Yes (04872)	Yes (1843)
137	41	55	Abolghassem Zahraei	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1350)
138	42	10	Haji Zare ⁵⁵⁰	Maybe (01144)	Maybe (2142)
139	42	16	Sepideh Zargar ⁵⁵¹	Yes (04931)	Yes (1329)
140	42	18	Alireza Zarin Ghalam	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1332)
141	42	22	Elaheh Ziaei Mirzaei ⁵⁵²	Maybe (04942)	No

⁵⁵⁰ In both the PMOI and CDHRI sources, the name Zahra Falahati Haj Zare'e appears. This may or may not refer to the same person.

⁵⁵¹ In the PMOI list, the full name is written as Sadiqeh (Sepideh) Zargar.

⁵⁵² In the PMOI list, this name does not appear. However, a similar name, Allah Zia Mirzai does (04942); this may or may not refer to the same person. Two entries with the last name Ziaee Mirzai also appear. They are Farzaneh Ziaee Mirzai (04948) and Parvaneh Ziaee Mirzai (04949).

ANNEX 3 – CONCEALMENT OF VICTIMS’ FATE IN REPLIES TO UN

The following table lists 47 individuals whom the Iranian government, in its response to the November 1990 report of the UN Special Representative on the human rights situation in Iran, refused to acknowledge had been executed during the mass prisoner killings of 1988. The 47 names had appeared in a list published in the annex of the November 1990 report of the UN Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran (see section 6.1).

Of the 47 individuals recorded by the Special Rapporteur as having been executed in 1988, the authorities did not provide any comment on 23. With regards to the remaining 24, they made comments that included claiming that the reported execution victims had been previously imprisoned because of “their opposition to the Islamic Republic of Iran” but were later released; that they were alive and “studying at universities” or “studying abroad”; that they “lived and worked in the Islamic Republic of Iran”; that they had “escaped to foreign countries” after being released from prison or in order to avoid conscription; that they were “held as prisoners of war in Iraq”; that they had “died due to natural causes”; or that they had “achieved martyrdom while confronting the Revolution’s enemies”.

For 35 of the 47 individuals, Amnesty International managed to match their name against the name of one of the recorded victims of the mass executions of 1988, by searching in three sources:

- The first one is the database of the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center (ABC), which seeks to record every execution that has been carried out in Iran since 1979. The hyperlinks on the word “Yes” in the “ABC” column are to entries in that database.
- The second one is a list compiled by the PMOI entitled “Crimes Against Humanity”, which records the names and details of 4,969 PMOI members who the organization says were killed during the mass prisoner killings of 1988. Many of the names are also included in an online database on the PMOI’s website, which in some cases provides additional text and images. The hyperlinks on the word “Yes” in the “PMOI” column are to entries in the online database. For cases in which the name appears in the PMOI list but not in its online database, the reference number of the case in the “PMOI” list appears in brackets after the word “Yes”.
- The third one is a list compiled by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran (CDHRI), which has recorded 4,672 individuals killed during the mass prisoner killings in 1988 who were affiliated with the PMOI or leftist or other political opposition groups. The numbers appearing in brackets after the word “Yes” in the “CDHRI” column denote the number under which the victims are listed in the CDHRI source.

Amnesty International is aware that the database of the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center and the list of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran have drawn information from the PMOI’s list in the case of many of the PMOI victims. However, the database of the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center has, in some cases, complemented the content with information from family members of victims and former prisoners.

Amnesty International found that 35 of the 47 individuals whom the Iranian government refused to acknowledge had been executed are listed in at least one of the three sources as victims of the mass executions of 1988. These include victims who the authorities declared had been released, were studying in universities, were living and working in Iran, were studying abroad or had escaped to foreign countries. Of the 47 names, 16 appear in all three sources; four appear in both the database of the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center and the list of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran, but not in the PMOI list; seven appear only in the database of the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center; and three appear only in the PMOI list.

No.	Name as recorded by UN report	Status according to Iranian government	ABC	PMOI	CDHRI
1	Abrandi	Name incomplete	No	No	No
2	Fariba Ahmady ⁵⁵³	Studying at university	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (110)
3	Mohammad Ahmady ⁵⁵⁴	Released	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (171)	Yes (111)
4	Farahnaz Ahmady ⁵⁵⁵	Studying at university	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (109)
5	Mansour Ahmady ⁵⁵⁶	Studying abroad	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (167)	Yes (114)
6	Abdolmajid Aimiari	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	No	No
7	Abdolghader Ali-Nejad ⁵⁵⁷	Prisoner of war in Iraq	No	No	No
8	Masoud Alidoust	[No comment]	No	No	No
9	Akbar Esna Ashar ⁵⁵⁸	Martyrdom	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
10	Bijan Bazargan ⁵⁵⁹	Escaped to foreign countries	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (365)
11	Yafar Dahangiri ⁵⁶⁰	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (732)
12	Mohammad-Hosein Daryai ⁵⁶¹	[No comment]	No	No	No

⁵⁵³ This name is written in English as Fariba Ahmadi in the ABC database. Ahmady and Ahmadi are alternative transliterations of the same Persian word.

⁵⁵⁴ This name is written in English as Mohammad Ahmadi in the ABC database and PMOI list. Ahmady and Ahmadi are alternative transliterations of the same Persian word.

⁵⁵⁵ This name is written in English as Farahnaz Ahmadi in the ABC database. Ahmady and Ahmadi are alternative transliterations of the same Persian word.

⁵⁵⁶ This name is written in English as Mansour Ahmadi in the ABC database and PMOI list. Ahmady and Ahmadi are alternative transliterations of the same Persian word.

⁵⁵⁷ In the PMOI database, Abdolghader Ali-Nejad is recorded as having been killed during the armed incursion of the PMOI in July 1988.

⁵⁵⁸ This name is written as Akbar Esna Ashari in the ABC database. It is written as Esna Ashari in the PMOI list. Amnesty International has considered all three names to refer to the same person.

⁵⁵⁹ In the CDHRI list, the name Bazargan appears without a first name. The CDHRI has recorded his place of execution only as Tehran. The ABC has recorded his execution as having taken place in Gohardasht prison in Karaj, north-west of Tehran, but, at the time, in Tehran province.

⁵⁶⁰ This name is written as Jafar Jahangiri in all three sources. Amnesty International has considered that the “y” in Yafar and the “D” in Dahangiri are typos as we are not aware of any name resembling Yafar Dahangiri in Persian.

⁵⁶¹ This name does not appear in the PMOI list. In the PMOI database, the name Mohammad Daryayi is recorded, but not explicitly as an execution victim.

13	Hamid Dinkhah	Killed in armed clashes with military forces	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
14	Mohammad Farahmand	Prisoner of war in Iraq	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2118)
15	Farhad	[No comment]	No	No	No
16	Mousa Ghavami ⁵⁶²	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	No	No
17	Gholam Reza Klakjory ⁵⁶³	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2155)	Yes
18	Mohammad-Saiid Haddadi ⁵⁶⁴	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	No	Yes (3427)
19	Hosein Haj Mohsen	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	No	No
20	Mansoor Hariry ⁵⁶⁵	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3828)
21	Ai Hoseini ⁵⁶⁶	Died in street clashes	No	<u>Yes</u>	No
22	Farideh Hoseini ⁵⁶⁷	PMOI member killed in clashes	No	No	No
23	Rasoul Jabarzadeh ⁵⁶⁸	Released from prison	<u>Yes</u>	No	No
24	Mehdi Mahjoub	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	No	No
25	Aref Mahmodi	[No comment]	No	No	No
26	Bijan Makvandi	Released from prison	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2734)
27	Maryam Maleki	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2747)
28	Javad Mashouf	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
29	Bahieh Mazji	[No comment]	No	No	No
30	Shokrollah Meshkinfam	[No comment]	No	<u>Yes</u>	No

⁵⁶² This name is written as Musa Qavami in the ABC database. Musa Qavami and Mousa Ghavami are alternative transliterations of the same Persian name.

⁵⁶³ This name is written as Gholam Reza Kia Kajoury in all three sources. Amnesty International has considered that the “I” in Klakjory is a typo. Kjory and Kajoury are alternative transliterations of the same Persian name.

⁵⁶⁴ This name is written as Mohammad Said Haddadi Moqadam in the ABC database. Mohammad Said and Mohammad-Saiid are alternative transliterations of the same Persian name. Amnesty International has considered this to be a match as it is common for the second part of last names such as Haddadi Moqadam to be dropped.

⁵⁶⁵ This name is written as Mansur Hariri in all three sources. Mansur Hariri and Mansoor Hariry are alternative transliterations of the same Persian name.

⁵⁶⁶ This name is written as Ali Hosseini in the PMOI source. Hosseini and Hoseini are alternative transliterations of the same Persian word. Amnesty International has considered Ai to contain a typo, namely a missing “I”.

⁵⁶⁷ This name does not appear in the PMOI list. In the PMOI database, the name Farideh Hosseini is recorded, but not explicitly as an execution victim.

⁵⁶⁸ In the ABC database, the name Jabarzadeh appears without a first name. Amnesty International has considered this to be a match.

31	Amir Mir-Arab ⁵⁶⁹	Studying abroad	<u>Yes</u>	No	No
32	Fakhri Mojtabaie ⁵⁷⁰	Living in Iran	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2508)
33	Ziaoddin Naderi	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	No	No
34	Zahra Nazemi	Studying at university	No	Yes (3132)	No
35	Moussa Nemati ⁵⁷¹	Went missing during the Iran-Iraq war	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
36	Hadi Poladi ⁵⁷²	[No comment]	No	No	No
37	Marzieh Rahmati	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1165)
38	Behrouz Rezaian ⁵⁷³	Studying abroad	<u>Yes</u>	No	No
39	Hasan Sadaghi ⁵⁷⁴	[No comment]	No	<u>Yes</u>	No
40	Khamran Saferi	Released from prison	No	No	No
41	Mohamadtaghi Sedaghat	Escaped to foreign country	<u>Yes</u>	No	Yes (1703)
42	Nasrin Shojaie	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1532)
43	Masoud Taati-Asil ⁵⁷⁵	Evaded military service by seeking refuge in foreign country	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (4225)
44	Bahram Taherpour	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	No	Yes (3528)
45	Ali Reza Tashayyod	[No comment]	<u>Yes</u>	No	Yes (3517)
46	Gholam R. Torkpour ⁵⁷⁶	Studying abroad	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (597)
47	Habib Valizadeh	Studying abroad	No	No	No

⁵⁶⁹ This name is written as Amir Mir-Arab Baigi in the ABC database. Amnesty International has considered this to be a match as it is common for the second part of last names such as Mir-Arab Baigi to be dropped.

⁵⁷⁰ This name is written as Fakhri Mojtabaii in the ABC database. Mojtabaii and Mojtabaie are alternative transliterations of the same Persian word.

⁵⁷¹ In the ABC database, this name is written as Moosa Nemati Zadeh in English. Moosa and Moussa are alternative transliterations of the same Persian word. Amnesty International has considered this to be a match as it is common for the second part of last names such as Nemati Zadeh to be dropped.

⁵⁷² In all three sources there is Hadi Fouladi. Amnesty International has not considered this to be a match but notes that the "p" in Poladi may be a typo. In that case, Fouladi and Fouladi would be alternative transliterations of the same Persian name. Amnesty International has considered Fouladi and Poladi to be alternative transliterations of the same Persian word.

⁵⁷³ This name is written as Behruz Rezaian in the ABC database. Behrouz Rezaian and Behruz Rezaian are alternative transliterations of the same Persian name.

⁵⁷⁴ In the PMOI database, this name is written as Hasan (Nasir) Sadaghi.

⁵⁷⁵ This name is written as Masoud Taati-Asl in the CDHRI list. Amnesty International has considered Asl and Asil to be alternative transliterations of the same Persian word.

⁵⁷⁶ This name is written as Gholam Reza Torkpour in all three sources.

ANNEX 4 – MISSING FROM BURIAL REGISTERS

The following table lists details related to 377 individual gravestones in Behesht Zahra cemetery in Tehran that Amnesty International was told were attributed by the authorities to the victims of the mass killings of July-September 1988. Amnesty International obtained the pictures of the 377 individual gravestones from two sources. Iraj Mesdaghi, a survivor of the mass killings who has done extensive research on the mass prisoner killings of 1988, reproduced the pictures of 371 such individual gravestones in his book *Dance of the Phoenixes and Song of the Ash*.⁵⁷⁷ Another survivor, Mahmoud Royayee, provided Amnesty International with 190 pictures of gravestones, of which only seven were not reproduced in Iraj Mesdaghi's book.

According to information received by Amnesty International, in late 1988 and 1989, the authorities indicated to several hundred families in Tehran the burial locations of their relatives in Behesht Zahra cemetery and the families were then able to erect a gravestone in the cemetery. These gravestones are scattered across the cemetery, including in lots 87, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 104, 105, 106 and 108. It remains unclear to Amnesty International on what basis the Iranian authorities decided to identify marked individual graves for a limited number of victims while hiding the burial location of thousands of other victims. According to Iraj Mesdaghi and Mahmoud Royayee, the date of death recorded on the gravestone is the date that the authorities provided when informing families of the place of burial.

In order to corroborate that the 377 pictures that it received were of the individual gravestones of the victims of the mass prisoner killings of 1988, Amnesty International searched the names inscribed on the gravestones in three sources, identified in the table by columns entitled ABC, PMOI and CDHRI:

- The first one is the database of the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center (ABC), which seeks to record every execution that has been carried out in Iran since 1979. The hyperlinks on the word “Yes” in this column are to entries in that database.
- The second one is a list compiled by the PMOI entitled “Crimes Against Humanity”, which records the names and details of 4,969 PMOI members who the organization says were killed during the mass prisoner killings of 1988. Many of the names are also included in an online database on the PMOI's website, which in some cases provides additional text and images. The hyperlinks on the word “Yes” in this column are to entries in the online database.
- The third one is a list compiled by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran (CDHRI), which has recorded 4,672 individuals killed during the mass prisoner killings in 1988 who were affiliated with the PMOI or leftist or other political opposition groups. The numbers in this column denote the number under which the victims are listed in the CDHRI source.

Amnesty International was aware that the database of the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center and the list of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Iran had drawn information from the PMOI's list in the

⁵⁷⁷ Iraj Mesdaghi's book contains the pictures of 372 gravestones. However, one picture concerns a woman, Rafat Kholdi, whom Iraj Mesdaghi says committed suicide in prison following the mass prisoner killings of 1988.

case of many of the PMOI victims. However, the database of the Abdorrahman Boroumand Center had, in some cases, complemented the content with information from family members of victims and former prisoners.

Amnesty International excluded 42 of the pictures of the graves from the scope of its work as the names inscribed on them were not found in any of the three sources. These pictures are included in the table below and have the word “No” in all three columns entitled ABC, PMOI and CDHR for them. Amnesty International searched for the details of the remaining 335 gravestones in the online database of the Organization of Behesht Zahra, a state body, and found that only three were registered.

The online database of the Organization of Behesht Zahra seeks to record the details of every grave in the cemetery, including the names of all those buried in each grave and their dates of birth and death. Amnesty International is unclear how comprehensive the database is and whether and to what extent the irregularities seen with regards to the registration of graves attributed to execution victims are also prevalent in the cases of deaths not caused by execution. Nevertheless, the fact that over 99% of the graves attributed to the victims of the mass killings of 1988 are missing from the cemetery’s online burial records raises serious concerns and makes the investigation and exhumation of the individual graves all the more crucial to the establishment of the truth about the burial location of each victim.

Regarding the date of death inscribed on the gravestones, Amnesty International noted 106 cases in which the date of death was recorded as between October and November 1988 and four cases in which the year of death was written “1368” (corresponding to March 1989 – March 1990 in the Gregorian calendar), even though the reported victims were identified by one or more sources as among the victims of the mass prisoner killings of July-September 1988. Amnesty International also noted that 10 gravestones only recorded “1367” (corresponding to March 1988 – March 1989 in the Gregorian calendar) as the date of death without giving the month or day. These anomalies reinforce concerns raised in the report about the refusal of the authorities to fully disclose the fate of the victims including by issuing written documentation that accurately cites the date of death as well as its causes and circumstances.

	Names as inscribed on gravestones	Date of death as inscribed on gravestone	Lot	Row	No.	Recorded in official burial records	ABC	PMOI	CDHRI
1	Mahshid Hossein Razaqi	1988	87	2	45	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1185)
2	Seyed Abdohossein Banani	1988	94	134	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (450)
3	Morteza Yazdi	1988	98	89	55	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3121)
4	Asadollah Bani Hashemi	1988	105	152	2	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (460)
5	Abolfazl Masud Moqbeli ⁵⁷⁸	1988	106	30	40	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2721)
6	Mohammad Hassan Lari Lavasani	1988	106	95	39	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2465)
7	Ahmad (Mohsen) Razaghi	1988	106	116	33	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1184)
8	Fazilat Allameh	1988	106	189	6	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1972)
9	Seyed Morteza Madani	1988	106	256	10	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2610)
10	Tayebah Khosro Abadi	1988	108	70	30	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (955)

⁵⁷⁸ In the ABC and CDHRI sources, this name is written as Masoud Moqbeli.

11	Farah Jamali Mousavi	2 May 1988	87	75	45	No	No	No	No
12	Abolhassan (Majid) Abdollahi ⁵⁷⁹	24 July 1988	108	24	26	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1893)
13	Gholamhossein Eskandari	26 July 1988	106	28	5	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (181)
14	Jafar Hushmand	28 July 1988	106	35	2	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3099)
15	Farahnaz Mosli	28 July 1988	106	55	34	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2681)
16	Amir Pashaei	29 July 1988	104	7	168	No	No	No	No
17	Saeed Abbassi	29 July 1988	104	12	7	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	No
18	Abbass Naderi	29 July 1988	105	159	5	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	No
19	Akbar Ali Gholizadeh	29 July 1988	105	172	10	No	No	No	No
20	Abbas Firuzi	29 July 1988	108	63	22	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2153)
21	Abbas Fathi	30 July 1988	99	196	20	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2078)
22	Amirhossein (Hamid) Safavi ⁵⁸⁰	August 1988	87	76	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1745)
23	Seyed Massiha Gharashi ⁵⁸¹	2 August 1988	106	103	22	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (2210)
24	Ahmadreza Nooramin	3 August 1988	106	11	9	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2961)
25	Mahmoud Zaki ⁵⁸²	11 August 1988	87	81	19	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (1334)
26	Hamid Reza Darabi Tajar ⁵⁸³	11 August 1988	26	7	45	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1026)
27	Afshin Memaran Kashani	11 August 1988	99	19	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2712)
28	Reza Soleimanifar ⁵⁸⁴	11 August 1988	99	112	46	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (1448)
29	Elmaz Azizi Kazgh	11 August 1988	99	184	21	No	No	No	No
30	Jahanbakhsh Amiri	11 August 1988	106	7	12	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (303)

⁵⁷⁹ In all three sources, this name is written as Abolhassan Abdollahi, without the name Majid.

⁵⁸⁰ In all three sources, this name is written as Hamid Safavi.

⁵⁸¹ The surname is written as Qoraishi in all three sources. In the ABC and PMOI sources, the full name is written as Massiha Qoraishi. In the CDHRI source, the full name is written as Massiha (Seyed Massih) Qoraishi.

⁵⁸² This name appears slightly different in all three sources. In the ABC source, the name is written as Bahram Zaki. In the PMOI source, it is written as Mahmoud (Bahram) Zaki Pour. In the CDHRI source, it is written as Mahmoud (Bahram) Zaki.

⁵⁸³ This name is written as Hamid Reza Darabi in all three sources. The last part of the surname, Tajar, does not appear.

⁵⁸⁴ The surname is written as Soleimanifard in all three sources.

31	Baqer Qandehari Alvicheh ⁵⁸⁵	11 August 1988	108	15	49	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2239)
32	Ebrahim Habibi	11 August 1988	108	54	38	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (786)
33	Mahmoudreza Nasserian ⁵⁸⁶	11 August 1988	108	57	66	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2865)
34	Mohammad Talebi	11 August 1988	108	68	63	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1787)
35	Abolghasem Kamali Khosravi	11 August 1988	108	259	11	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	No
36	Mohammadkazem Karimi Khorasani	12 August 1988	87	5	46	No	No	Yes	No
37	Mohammad Ali Hossein Borojerdi	12 August 1988	108	59	25	No	No	No	No
38	Nasser Zarrin Ghalami ⁵⁸⁷	12 August 1988	108	63	34	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1333)
39	Mohammad Noparavar	12 August 1988	108	142	42	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2999)
40	Fatemeh (Nahid) Tahsili	12 August 1988	108	192	29	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (584)
41	Hamid Tahsili	12 August 1988	108	221	22	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (583)
42	Mohammad Rajabi Hosseini ⁵⁸⁸	14 August 1988	87	81	25	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
43	Abbas Poorsaheli Langeroodi ⁵⁸⁹	14 August 1988	91	40	49	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (547)
44	Zahra Kiaii ⁵⁹⁰	15 August 1988	108	83	18	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2387)
45	Nahid Zargani	15 August 1988	108	154	39	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1327)
46	Amir Abdollahi	15 August 1988	108	162	37	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1894)
47	Manuchehr Qandehari Alvijeh	16 August 1988	98	5	9	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2240)
48	Morad Bahadori Ghashghaei	16 August 1988	98	137	50	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (467)
49	Zahra Falahati ⁵⁹¹	16 August 1988	99	178	28	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2142)
50	Daryoosh Hanifeh Pourziba	16 August 1988	108	31	40	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (893)

⁵⁸⁵ This name is written as Baqer Qandehari in the ABC and CDHRI sources; the second part of the surname, Alvicheh, does not appear.

⁵⁸⁶ This name is written as Mahmoud Nasserian in all three sources.

⁵⁸⁷ In the ABC source, this name is written as Nasser Zarrin Ghalam.

⁵⁸⁸ In the ABC and PMOI sources, this name is written as Mohammad Hosseini Rajabi. In the CDHRI source, it is written as Mohammad Hossein Rajabi.

⁵⁸⁹ The last part of the surname, Langeroodi, does not appear in any of the three sources.

⁵⁹⁰ This name is written as Zahra (Mahboubeh) Kiaii in all three sources.

⁵⁹¹ This name is written as Zahra Falahati Haj Zare in all three sources.

51	Mehdi Ahmadi	16 August 1988	108	35	36	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (115)
52	Ali Arang	16 August 1988	108	80	27	No	<u>Yes</u>	No	Yes (18)
53	Behrooz Behnamzadeh	16 August 1988	108	228	20	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (489)
54	Mostafa Esfandiari	17 August 1988	106	109	46	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (178)
55	Davood Tamadonifar	17 August 1988	106	180	29	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (620)
56	Kourosh Rashidi Jazani	18 August 1988	87	70	42	No	No	No	No
57	Mohammad Karimi	18 August 1988	91	183	56	No	No	Yes	Yes (4406)
58	Zia Zaghi ⁵⁹²	18 August 1988	104	68	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1983)
59	Ali Ashraf Namdari ⁵⁹³	18 August 1988	105	1	22	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2877)
60	Amir Satarian	18 August 1988	105	2	42	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
61	Mohammad Safai Faskhoodi ⁵⁹⁴	18 August 1988	105	6	44	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1734)
62	Aliakbar Ali Yazdan Panah Kojani ⁵⁹⁵	18 August 1988	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1986)
63	Mohammad Tayari ⁵⁹⁶	19 August 1988	108	11	71	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1838)
64	Mahbobeh Safaei	19 August 1988	108	13	57	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1726)
65	Bijan Shabanpor	19 August 1988	108	33	49	No	No	No	No
66	Seyed Hossein Bahri	19 August 1988	108	78	3	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (401)
67	Mehri Derakhshaninia	19 August 1988	108	88	57	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1047)
68	Alireza Vafa	19 August 1988	108	244	15	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3046)
69	Farideh Sedghi Sarab ⁵⁹⁷	20 August 1988	94	124	49	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1706)
70	Roghayeh Hanifi	21 August 1988	87	76	41	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (894)

⁵⁹² This name is written as Zia Alizaghi in the ABC and PMOI sources.

⁵⁹³ The surname is written as Namdar in the CDHRI source.

⁵⁹⁴ The last part of the surname, Faskhoodi, does not appear in any of the three sources.

⁵⁹⁵ In the ABC source, this name is written as Ali Akbar Ali Yazdan Panah.

⁵⁹⁶ This name is written as Mohammad Tayari Ashtiani in all three sources.

⁵⁹⁷ The last part of the surname, Sarab, is not written in the CDHRI source. The last part of the surname is written as Sarabi in the PMOI source.

71	Zahra Shabzendehtdar	21 August 1988	91	41	52	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1521)
72	Matin Shokofeh Abkenari ⁵⁹⁸	21 August 1988	98	143	34	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
73	Asadollah Tayebi	21 August 1988	108	23	71	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1839)
74	Farshad Mirjafari	22 August 1988	87	75	44	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2810)
75	Amir Rashidi Jazani ⁵⁹⁹	22 August 1988	99	136	33	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1206)
76	Mohammad Noura'i Javan ⁶⁰⁰	22 August 1988	106	7	15	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2960)
77	Shirin Reshnoo	22 August 1988	108	12	51	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1204)
78	Kazem Sana'tfar	22 August 1988	108	70	14	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1755)
79	Alireza Amiri	23 August 1988	87	76	53	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (305)
80	Ramin Ghasemi	23 August 1988	94	14	46	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2168)
81	Manzar Moridi	23 August 1988	94	167	42	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2638)
82	Ali Jalalikhah	23 August 1988	106	148	23	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (701)
83	Abdollah Doroudi	24 August 1988	94	191	38	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1050)
84	Hojatollah Saghafian	24 August 1988	97	4	55	No	No	No	No
85	Reza Tarshizi	24 August 1988	98	149	17	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (595)
86	Hamdirez Bakhshi Tari	24 August 1988	99	198	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (416)
87	Farshad Sedghi Sarab	24 August 1988	87	75	38	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	No
88	Jafar Khosravi	25 August 1988	99	106	44	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (966)
89	Nasser Mansouri Aghazadeh ⁶⁰¹	25 August 1988	99	108	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (4555)
90	Hamidreza Ebrahimian ⁶⁰²	25 August 1988	106	21	7	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (83)
91	Mahbubeh Haj Ali	26 August 1988	98	88	50	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (761)

⁵⁹⁸ In the ABC and PMOI lists, this name is written as Matin Shokofeh Merza. In the CDHRI list, it is written as Matin Shokofeh Zibakenari.

⁵⁹⁹ In all three sources, the last part of the surname, Jazani, is not written. In the list of the PMOI (number 3,711), the father's name, Ali, matches the name of the father inscribed on the gravestone.

⁶⁰⁰ In the ABC source, this name is written as Mohammad Nourani Javan. In the PMOI source, it is written as Mohammad Nourayi Javan.

⁶⁰¹ The last part of the surname, Aghazadeh, is not written in the ABC sources.

⁶⁰² This name is written as Hamid Ebrahimian in the ABC and CDHRI sources.

92	Majid Marandi	26 August 1988	99	201	40	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2633)
93	Abdollah Saeedi	26 August 1988	99	234	30	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1407)
94	Kiomars Sedighi	26 August 1988	108	6	70	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1714)
95	Amel Bagheri	27 August 1988	87	67	50	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (378)
96	Seyed Esmail Mirbagheri Tabatabaei ⁶⁰³	27 August 1988	87	76	28	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (4573)
97	Faramarz Delkesh	27 August 1988	98	152	11	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1074)
98	Simin Taj Nankali Shahri ⁶⁰⁴	27 August 1988	99	262	15	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2888)
99	Mansour Sabaghian Khameneh	28 August 1988	99	125	39	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1692)
100	Mosa Mosakhani	28 August 1988	99	267	11	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2777)
101	Khosro Amini	28 August 1988	104	178	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (319)
102	Ahmad Karami	28 August 1988	106	85	27	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2287)
103	Hassan Tayari ⁶⁰⁵	29 August 1988	106	205	22	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1837)
104	Mohammad Reza Ostad Rahimi	30 August 1988	99	136	34	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (163)
105	Maryam Pakbaz	30 August 1988	99	248	16	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (517)
106	Mohammad Saeed Tiori	31 August 1988	99	267	10	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1840)
107	Mohammad Shirkhanbeik ⁶⁰⁶	31 August 1988	99	269	2	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1632)
108	Mansour Davaran ⁶⁰⁷	31 August 1988	108	233	18	No	<u>Yes</u>	No	Yes (3343)
109	Khosro Amjadi Tusi	1 September 1988	87	91	2	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3664)
110	Abdolahad Mahmudifar	1 September 1988	92	2	52	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2602)
111	Saeed Maleki Anaraki	1 September 1988	99	133	34	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2748)

⁶⁰³ In the ABC list, the last part of the surname, Tabatabaei, is not written. In the CDHRI list, the name is written as Esmail Mirbagheri.

⁶⁰⁴ This name is written as Simin Nankali in the ABC and CDHRI sources.

⁶⁰⁵ This name is written as Hassan Tayari Ashtiani in all three sources.

⁶⁰⁶ This name is written as Mohammad Shirkhanbeigy in the PMOI source. However, the PMOI's database of victims contains a picture of the headstone which is inscribed with the full name, Mohammad Shirkhanbeik.

⁶⁰⁷ Mansour Davaran was imprisoned in connection with his support for the Majority faction of Fadaayan and is one of the two leftist victims who have headstones in their name in Behesht Zahra cemetery.

112	Mohammad Reza Majidi	1 September 1988	99	143	41	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2515)
113	Kamal Kalanaki	1 September 1988	99	162	33	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2356)
114	Babak Salehi Darjazini ⁶⁰⁸	1 September 1988	99	175	29	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1674)
115	Amir Ali Hatami kia	1 September 1988	99	200	2	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (753)
116	Forouzan Abdi Pirbazari	1 September 1988	99	222	18	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1901)
117	Sasan Mahmudi	1 September 1988	105	1	15	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2596)
118	Ali Gholami	1 September 1988	106	70	30	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (2047)
119	Alireza Eivazi Alamdari ⁶⁰⁹	1 September 1988	106	121	17	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2014)
120	Nader Kheyr Safei Manesh	1 September 1988	106	243	13	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (974)
121	Zohreh Heydari Ardestani ⁶¹⁰	2 September 1988	99	106	14	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (904)
122	Bahram Tarzali	2 September 1988	106	7	37	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1819)
123	Changiz Yousefnejad ⁶¹¹	2 September 1988	106	285	1	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	No
124	Seyed Morteza MirMohammadi	3 September 1988	99	136	30	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2811)
125	Ali Akbar (Manoochehr) Bozorg Bashar	3 September 1988	104	78	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (444)
126	Akbar Mohammadi	3 September 1988	106	137	27	No	No	No	No
127	Abbas Yeganeh Jahed	3 September 1988	108	273	8	No	Yes	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3130)
128	Samad Ranjbar Shouredel	4 September 1988	99	104	49	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1274)
129	Hossein Niakan	4 September 1988	105	176	26	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3002)
130	Hamidreza Taherian	4 September 1988	108	10	52	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1805)
131	Mohammadreza Mohajeri ⁶¹²	4 September 1988	108	43	33	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2785)

⁶⁰⁸ The last part of the surname, Darjazini, is not written in any of the three sources.

⁶⁰⁹ The last part of the surname, Alamdari, is not written in the ABC and CDHRI sources.

⁶¹⁰ The last part of the surname, Ardestani, is not written in any of the three sources.

⁶¹¹ The name Changiz Yousefi appears in the ABC source (see www.iranrights.org/fa/memorial/story/2102/changiz-yoosefi) and the CDHRI source.

⁶¹² In the ABC source, this name is written as Ali M. Reza Mohajeri. In both the CDHRI and PMOI sources, the name is written as Ali (Mohammad Reza) Mohajeri.

132	Fereydon Bahrami Eivanki	5 September 1988	94	150	45	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (471)
133	Zahra Asgari Shahi ⁶¹³	5 September 1988	105	1	35	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1933)
134	Hassan Ebrahimi ⁶¹⁴	5 September 1988	108	123	46	No	No	No	Yes (75)
135	Manijeh Taj Akbari	6 September 1988	91	1	27	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (574)
136	Karim Khosh Afkar ⁶¹⁵	6 September 1988	99	169	31	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1004)
137	Jamshid Aminpour	6 September 1988	99	232	34	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (315)
138	Reza Tolo Sefat	6 September 1988	105	1	32	No	No	Yes	No
139	Naser Ebrahimi	6 September 1988	106	178	1	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (79)
140	Ali Taheri	6 September 1988	106	204	3	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1800)
141	Homayun Solati Dehkordi ⁶¹⁶	7 September 1988	94	170	34	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1760)
142	Mohammad Ali Dorodian	7 September 1988	106	7	29	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1052)
143	Yahya Khan Mohammadi	7 September 1988	106	103	37	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (927)
144	Siavash Taghinejad	7 September 1988	108	81	58	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (617)
145	Tahmineh Sotudeh Haghighi	8 September 1988	87	87	11	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1382)
146	Naser Noruzi	8 September 1988	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2978)
147	Rasoul Raisirad	9 September 1988	87	75	30	No	No	No	No
148	Farhad Atrak	9 September 1988	106	23	42	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (90)
149	Shirin Feizi Shandi ⁶¹⁷	9 September 1988	106	63	46	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2159)
150	Asghar Masjedi	10 September 1988	106	231	46	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2648)
151	Latiff Hassanpour Arjestani ⁶¹⁸	11 September 1988	91	12	27	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (808)

⁶¹³ This name is written in the ABC and CDHRI sources as Zahra Asgar Shahi.

⁶¹⁴ The name Hassan Ebrahimi appears in the source of ABC, but the place of death is recorded as Shiraz.

⁶¹⁵ The ABC source has two different versions of the surname on its website; the surname is written as Khosh Fekr on the web page and as Khoshafkar in the URL (www.iranrights.org/fa/memorial/story/17354/karim-khoshafkar).

⁶¹⁶ All three sources have a longer version of this name: Homayun Solati Dehkordi Haqqani.

⁶¹⁷ In the CDHRI and PMOI sources, the name is written as Shirin Feiz Shandi. In the ABC source, the name is written as Nasrin Feiz Shandi.

⁶¹⁸ The last part of the surname, Arjestani, is not written in any of the sources.

152	Gholam Hossein Mashhadi Ebrahim	11 September 1988	94	197	37	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2670)
153	Fahimeh Jame Kalkhoran ⁶¹⁹	11 September 1988	98	10	55	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (662)
154	Sedigheh Ansi ⁶²⁰	11 September 1988	98	104	25	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (331)
155	Sedigheh Ansi	11 September 1988	99	104	25	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (331)
156	Aliasghar Kohandani	11 September 1988	99	267	9	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2377)
157	Mehran Hosseinizadeh	11 September 1988	99	269	6	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (860)
158	Shahrokh Rezaei	11 September 1988	104	44	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1234)
159	Mansour Paydar Arani ⁶²¹	11 September 1988	105	1	26	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (519)
160	Mabood Sokoti	11 September 1988	106	35	2	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1421)
161	Mohammad Farjad	11 September 1988	106	125	30	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2098)
162	Amir Taavoni Ranji	12 September 1988	87	59	30	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (609)
163	Jalal Kozazi	12 September 1988	94	36	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2324)
164	Jamshid Davachi	12 September 1988	99	149	38	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1082)
165	Rouhollah Hedavand Mirzaei ⁶²²	14 September 1988	99	234	26	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (4656)
166	Shekar (Mehri) Mohammadzadeh ⁶²³	15 September 1988	94	194	37	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2549)
167	Hassan Keyvanfar	15 September 1988	99	104	16	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2408)
168	Kheirollah Nilghaz ⁶²⁴	15 September 1988	106	163	32	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3029)
169	Gholam Ali Ostad Hassan	15 September 1988	108	135	44	<u>Yes</u>	No	No	No
170	Leili Hosseini ⁶²⁵	16 September 1988	87	3	2	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (857)
171	Mohammadreza Faroghi	16 September 1988	87	65	54	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2063)

⁶¹⁹ The last part of the surname is written in the ABC source as Kalhoran.

⁶²⁰ Sedigheh Ansi has two gravestones attributed to her, one in lot 98 and another in lot 99. Both bear the same dates of death and the same father's name.

⁶²¹ The last part of the surname, Paydar, is not written in the PMOI source.

⁶²² The last part of the surname, Mirzaei, is not written in the CDHRI source. The name is spelled Rouhollah Hadouvand Mirzaei in the ABC source.

⁶²³ This name is written as Shekar Mohammadzadeh in the CDHRI and PMOI sources. In the ABC source, the first name is written slightly differently as Shekaar, with a long second vowel in Persian (as opposed to Shekar with a short second vowel).

⁶²⁴ In the ABC source, this name is written as Kheirollah Rashid Nilghaz. In the CDHRI and PMOI sources, it is written as Kheirollah (Rashid) Nilghaz.

⁶²⁵ In the ABC source, there is a victim named Leila Hosseini (see www.iranrights.org/fa/memorial/story/-2970/leyla-hosseini).

172	Seyyed Hassan Hosseini	16 September 1988	94	203	29	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (845)
173	Mohammad Hassan Monfared	16 September 1988	99	122	41	No	No	Yes	No
174	Ali Arbabzadeh	16 September 1988	99	152	37	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (141)
175	Mojgan Latifi	16 September 1988	99	201	39	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2483)
176	Hassan Jolokhani Niaraki	16 September 1988	105	1	11	No	No	No	No
177	Davood Karim Abadi	16 September 1988	105	1	40	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2293)
178	Zeinab Bagheri Chimeh	16 September 1988	106	144	24	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (377)
179	Mahmoud Babazadeh	16 September 1988	106	174	12	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3678)
180	Alireza Rajai	17 September 1988	106	7	43	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1147)
181	Ramin Tahmassian ⁶²⁶	18 September 1988	106	137	39	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
182	Hossein Sharifi	18 September 1988	108	3	68	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1551)
183	Behrooz Mehrpour	19 September 1988	108	86	15	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2799)
184	Farah Vafaeizadeh	20 September 1988	91	36	38	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (3048)
185	Ghasem Arbab Ali Asgar Tehrani	20 September 1988	98	20	2	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (142)
186	Farhad Soltani	20 September 1988	99	10	43	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1435)
187	Mitra Eskandari Tazkie'i	20 September 1988	99	127	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (184)
188	Javad Taheri Kadkhoda	20 September 1988	106	186	8	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1804)
189	Effat Esmaili Eyvanaki	21 September 1988	87	169	3	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (208)
190	Azadeh Tabib	21 September 1988	94	44	47	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1815)
191	Mohammadreza Alirezania	21 September 1988	94	56	45	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1993)
192	Mohammad Hossein (Foad) Tavasolian	21 September 1988	94	152	37	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (632)
193	Fatemeh Reza Soltani	21 September 1988	98	129	55	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1216)

⁶²⁶ This name is written as Ramin Tahmasebi in both the CDHRI and PMOI sources.

194	Ahmad Rashed Marandi ⁶²⁷	21 September 1988	99	5	40	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1124)
195	Ghasem Alooki	21 September 1988	99	136	24	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (283)
196	Mina Lotfi	21 September 1988	106	88	47	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2478)
197	Mohammadreza Kazerounian ⁶²⁸	22 September 1988	87	13	50	No	No	Yes	No
198	Nasser Rahmanzadeh	22 September 1988	94	195	30	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1155)
199	Khosro Majlesi	22 September 1988	108	87	13	No	No	No	No
200	Mohammad Izadi	23 September 1988	94	200	1	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (349)
201	Hamid Shobehei	23 September 1988	98	N/A	N/A	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1524)
202	Abdollah Khiali	23 September 1988	99	7	1	No	No	No	No
203	Mohammad Reza Asgari Nejad ⁶²⁹	23 September 1988	99	15	35	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1941)
204	Abbas Rezaei	23 September 1988	99	180	22	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (1236)
205	Mostafa (Morteza) Mardani	23 September 1988	104	39	48	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2627)
206	Iraj Mayeli Esfandani ⁶³⁰	23 September 1988	106	161	18	No	<u>Yes</u>	No	Yes (2498)
207	Farangis Kalantar Hormozi	23 September 1988	108	294	2	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
208	Mashallah Ghazi Lavasani	24 September 1988	94	189	31	No	No	Yes	No
209	Biuk Babasahaf	24 September 1988	98	88	1	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (358)
210	Ali Taykandi	24 September 1988	106	264	8	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (580)
211	Homayoun Soleimani Ruzbehani ⁶³¹	24 September 1988	108	49	68	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1447)
212	Saeed Hashemi Kochak Saraei ⁶³²	24 September 1988	108	77	5	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3067)
213	Nasser Salimi	24 September 1988	108	107	4	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	No

⁶²⁷ In the ABC sources, this name is written as Ahmad Rashid Marandi, with the Persian spelling of Rashid containing a short first vowel and a long second vowel (as opposed to Rashed with a long first vowel and a short second vowel).

⁶²⁸ A similar name, Mohammadreza Kazerouni, appears in both the ABC source (see www.iranrights.org/fa/memorial/story/17255/mohammad-reza-kazerouni) and the CDHRI source (2258).

⁶²⁹ In all three sources, this name is written as Mohammad Reza Asgari.

⁶³⁰ This name is written as Iraj Mayeli in the ABC and CDHRI sources. In the PMOI source, the name Iraj Mayel Eskandani is recorded (see <https://martyrs.mojahedin.org/i/martyrs/22870>).

⁶³¹ This name is written as Soleimani Ruzbehani in the ABC and CDHRI sources. In the PMOI source, it is written as Hamyoun Solmani Ruzbehani.

⁶³² In all three sources, this name is written as Saeed Hashemi.

214	Farshid Sedghi Sarab	25 September 1988	93	No	No	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	No
215	Parviz Taghizadeh	25 September 1988	99	2	2	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (615)
216	Hadi Jalal Abadi ⁶³³	25 September 1988	99	233	17	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (696)
217	Razieh Ayatollahzadeh Shirazi ⁶³⁴	25 September 1988	108	41	34	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (66)
218	Simin Ghodsi Nia	26 September 1988	94	145	46	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2186)
219	Hassan Tarkhorani	26 September 1988	98	153	6	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1818)
220	Mohammad Mamooli Karegar	26 September 1988	99	106	39	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2713)
221	Parviz Salimi	26 September 1988	99	144	40	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1451)
222	Reza Azali	26 September 1988	99	199	44	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (160)
223	Ali Sedighi	26 September 1988	106	136	13	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1712)
224	Mehrdad Fanaei	27 September 1988	94	122	49	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2144)
225	Mohammad Mohsen Vazin	27 September 1988	94	162	43	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
226	Sepideh (Sedigheh) Zargar Baboldashti ⁶³⁵	27 September 1988	108	42	70	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (1329)
227	Majid Zahiri	27 September 1988	108	212	24	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1844)
228	Kiumars Zavareh ⁶³⁶	28 September 1988	94	138	39	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1348)
229	Rahim Sefat Bagha	28 September 1988	106	76	44	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1735)
230	Hassan Farsi	28 September 1988	106	129	29	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2062)
231	Soheila Hamidi	29 September 1988	87	9	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (886)
232	Hamidreza Sattarian	29 September 1988	105	167	45	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1379)
233	Haj Seyed Ali Naqi Saheb Ol-Zamani	29 September 1988	106	69	31	No	No	No	No
234	Ali Zar'e	29 September 1988	106	102	37	No	No	Yes	Yes (4029)
235	Osman Khiali	30 September 1988	87	156	38	No	No	No	No

⁶³³ In all three sources, this name is written as Hadi Jalal Abadi Farahani.

⁶³⁴ In the ABC and PMOI sources, this name is written as Fatemeh (Razieh) Ayatollahzadeh Shirazi.

⁶³⁵ In the ABC source, this name is written as Sepideh Zargar. In the CDHRI and PMOI sources, it is written as Sedigheh (Sepideh) Zargar.

⁶³⁶ In the ABC and CDHRI sources, the surname is written Zavarei.

236	Narges Shamszadeh Khatib	30 September 1988	94	27	49	No	No	Yes	No
237	Heydar Sadeghi Tirabadi	30 September 1988	105	1	23	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1662)
238	Hassan Shokrollahi ⁶³⁷	30 September 1988	105	161	6	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (4140)
239	Mohammad Vazirian Sani	1 October 1988	91	22	1	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3040)
240	Nader Hamed Heydardoost	1 October 1988	99	104	29	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (782)
241	Mehdi Saidian	1 October 1988	99	118	43	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (1419)
242	Hossein Kafashian	1 October 1988	105	8	9	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2346)
243	Hamidreza Mehrizi	1 October 1988	105	174	21	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2804)
244	Ghamar Azkia ⁶³⁸	2 October 1988	91	41	55	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (159)
245	Seyed Karim Safavi	2 October 1988	94	79	51	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1746)
246	Asghar Abootorab	2 October 1988	94	179	40	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (86)
247	Ebrahim Najjaran ⁶³⁹	2 October 1988	97	200	10	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2894)
248	Asdollah Deljouii Sabet ⁶⁴⁰	2 October 1988	99	197	47	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1070)
249	Parvin Salehi	2 October 1988	104	86	48	No	No	No	No
250	Hamid Haghighi	2 October 1988	106	90	41	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	No
251	Mohammad Kadeli Haghighi ⁶⁴¹	2 October 1988	106	90	41	No	No	No	No
252	Mostafa Mohammadi Moheb	3 October 1988	87	81	14	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
253	Shahnaz Aqanur	3 October 1988	91	5	9	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (47)
254	Mohammad Fadavi Isfahani	3 October 1988	106	125	15	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2093)

⁶³⁷ In the ABC and PMOI sources, this name is written as Hassan Shokrollahian Cheshmeh.

⁶³⁸ This name is written as Mina (Ghamar) Azkia in all three sources.

⁶³⁹ The surname is written as Najjarian in all three sources.

⁶⁴⁰ This name is written as Mohammad Reza Deljouii Sabet in all three sources. In the PMOI source, the father's name is listed as Abul Ghassem, which is the same as the name of the father written on the gravestone, indicating that it is the same person.

⁶⁴¹ The name Mohammad Kadeli Haghighi has not been recorded in any of the three sources. The pictures of the two gravestones bearing the names Mohammad Kadeli Haghighi and Hamid Haghighi (mentioned above it) have the same location details. According to Iraj Mesdaghi, in this location, there was originally a gravestone engraved with the name Mohammad Kadeli Haghighi, but the headstone was later replaced by one that bears the name Hamid Haghighi. The name Mohammad Kadeli Haghighi does not appear in any of the three sources and Iraj Mesdaghi believes that it was actually an incorrect reference to the name of Hamid Haghighi. In the PMOI source, the name Hamid Kaboli (Haghighi) is recorded.

255	Mohammad Hassan Rahimi Mat'am ⁶⁴²	4 October 1988	99	118	44	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1182)
256	Shahin Panahi	4 October 1988	99	128	36	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (534)
257	Habibollah Hossieni	4 October 1988	99	188	25	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (841)
258	Mohammad Ghaderi	4 October 1988	104	89	48	<u>Yes</u>	No	Yes	No
259	Haj Abbas Ali Jan Zamini	4 October 1988	104	180	46	No	No	No	No
260	Mohammad (Manouchehr) Mahyayi ⁶⁴³	5 October 1988	87	2	3	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (4568)
261	Alireza Mehdizadeh	5 October 1988	87	77	26	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2794)
262	Ali Mobaraki	5 October 1988	94	167	34	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2500)
263	Hamid Reza Vosough Abkenar	5 October 1988	98	145	28	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3034)
264	Mohammad Reza Keshaei	5 October 1988	99	210	19	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	No
265	Mohammad Ghodrat Abadi	6 October 1988	106	125	42	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2184)
266	Ardeshir Nosrat Nezami	7 October 1988	94	76	44	No	No	No	No
267	Mohsen Abdolhosseini Ruzbehani	7 October 1988	99	200	41	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1888)
268	Faramarz Farahani	7 October 1988	105	173	44	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2095)
269	Seyed Hamid Khezri	7 October 1988	105	175	36	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (976)
270	Maliheh Eghvami	7 October 1988	106	40	1	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (257)
271	Mekabez Shafiee ⁶⁴⁴	7 October 1988	106	171	4	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1571)
272	Saber Karimzadeh	7 October 1988	108	78	60	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2295)
273	Zahra Rezakhani	08 October 1988	87	166	14	No	No	No	No
274	Faramarz Eyvazi Alamdari	08 October 1988	99	134	44	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2015)
275	Mohammad Yousefi	08 October 1988	99	136	32	No	Yes	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3143)
276	Majid Shams Abadi	08 October 1988	106	277	5	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1593)

⁶⁴² In the CDHRI and PMOI sources, this name is written as Hassan Rahimi Matam.

⁶⁴³ This name is written as Mohammad Mahyayeh in the CDHRI source. It is written as Mohammad Mahyayi in the ABC and PMOI sources.

⁶⁴⁴ In the CDHRI and PMOI sources, this name is written as Hassan (Makabez) Shafiee.

277	Abdolrahman Darvishi	08 October 1988	108	47	42	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1058)
278	Mansour Rahi	09 October 1988	106	170	15	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1136)
279	Mohammad Rood	09 October 1988	106	220	19	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (1286)
280	Mojtaba Naghinejad	10 October 1988	87	21	54	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2952)
281	Ali Haghverdi Mamghani	10 October 1988	99	132	45	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (863)
282	Aliasghar Reza	10 October 1988	108	15	53	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1215)
283	Samad Chartabi Asl	11 October 1988	87	86	8	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (738)
284	Haj Mohammad Haji Bandeh	11 October 1988	104	45	48	No	No	No	No
285	Parivash Hashemi	12 October 1988	99	191	24	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3066)
286	Mohammad Haj Abdolazim Naraghi	12 October 1988	99	263	1	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (760)
287	Sorour Mashadi Ali Estarabadi ⁶⁴⁵	12 October 1988	106	145	37	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2669)
288	Safar Ali Piroozram	12 October 1988	108	49	40	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (566)
289	Hamid Ardestani ⁶⁴⁶	13 October 1988	94	198	50	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (149)
290	Mohammad Mahdavi Hamed	13 October 1988	104	21	48	No	No	No	No
291	Mohammad Zamiri Saeed	13 October 1988	105	137	1	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1769)
292	Mahyar Hassanzadeh (Moghadam Rashti)	13 October 1988	108	239	17	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (810)
293	Mohsen Mohammad Baqer	13 October 1988	108	352	13	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2538)
294	Mohammad Jafar Semsarzadeh	14 October 1988	105	28	1	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1455)
295	Alireza Fazl Ali	15 October 1988	91	188	11	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2130)
296	Mostafa Ravan Danesh	15 October 1988	104	5	48	No	No	Yes	No
297	Reza Zokaei	15 October 1988	106	77	29	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1109)
298	Shahla Kohestani	16 October 1988	106	7	20	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2371)

⁶⁴⁵ In all three sources, the middle part of this name, Ali, does not appear. All three sources name the victim as Sorour Mashadi Astarabadi.

⁶⁴⁶ In all three sources, this name is written as Hamid Reza Ardestani.

299	Simindokht Kiani Dehkordi	16 October 1988	106	157	19	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2399)
300	Abdolhamid Ghobadian	16 October 1988	106	198	24	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2181)
301	Mansoureh Moslehi	16 October 1988	108	127	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2680)
302	Masud Keshavarz	17 October 1988	87	91	1	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2335)
303	Mojtaba Asghar Khani Farahani ⁶⁴⁷	17 October 1988	99	230	38	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1931)
304	Hojatollah Jaz Sarkardeh	17 October 1988	99	132	35	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (679)
305	Majid Maleki Anaraki	17 October 1988	106	141	25	No	No	No	Yes (2749)
306	Karim Ebrahimi	17 October 1988	108	66	32	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (78)
307	Seyed Asqar Khezri	18 October 1988	105	174	15	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (975)
308	Iraj Khodabakhsh Majd ⁶⁴⁸	18 October 1988	106	43	37	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	Yes (933)
309	Iraj Jafarzadeh	19 October 1988	104	85	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (684)
310	Seyed Mahmoud Samandari	19 October 1988	104	98	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1456)
311	Nasser Saber Bacheh Mir	19 October 1988	105	29	45	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1641)
312	Javad Malekian	19 October 1988	106	162	6	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2750)
313	Eskandar Nazem Albaka	19 October 1988	108	249	14	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2872)
314	Hamidreza Moayeri	19 October 1988	108	267	9	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2715)
315	Maryam Saghari Khodaparast	20 October 1988	106	63	47	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1362)
316	Saber Esmailzadeh	20 October 1988	106	175	30	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (196)
317	Jamshid Aminnia	20 October 1988	108	65	19	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (327)
318	Ahmad Salehi	21 October 1988	108	43	44	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1673)
319	Manouchehr Rezai ⁶⁴⁹	21 October 1988	108	119	3	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1241)

⁶⁴⁷ In the ABC and CDHRI sources, the last part of the surname, Farahani, is not written.

⁶⁴⁸ In the ABC and PMOI sources, this name is written as Iraj Khodabakhsh.

⁶⁴⁹ This name is written as Manouchehr Rezai Jahromi in all three sources. The name is listed twice in the CDHRI source, with varying degrees of detail. The first time it is listed (at number 1241 in the source), the details about the victim state that he was 28 years old, was born in Abadan and killed in Gohardasht during the month of Mordad in the Persian calendar (23 July - 22 August). The second time it is listed (at number 4000), no details are provided.

320	Ali Babaii	22 October 1988	91	180	7	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (360)
321	Masoud Sabet Raftar	22 October 1988	98	134	54	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (653)
322	Mohammad Reza Abbassi	22 October 1988	98	147	24	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1878)
323	Mohammadreza Aghvami Panah	22 October 1988	108	19	45	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (259)
324	Seyed Taher Bazaz Haghighat Talab	22 October 1988	108	41	45	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (443)
325	Anoosheh Azarkeyvan	22 October 1988	108	53	29	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (9)
326	Monireh Abedini	22 October 1988	108	129	45	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1854)
327	Nasrollah Bakhshaei Golpaygani ⁶⁵⁰	23 October 1988	105	1	17	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (410)
328	Mahmoudreza Khosro Gorji ⁶⁵¹	23 October 1988	106	149	9	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (963)
329	Ali Ahmadi	24 October 1988	108	37	47	No	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (107)
330	Hassan Rezai	24 October 1988	108	46	32	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1231)
331	Hossein Safaieezadeh ⁶⁵²	25 October 1988	98	152	1	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1724)
332	Hossein Safaieezadeh ⁶⁵³	25 October 1988	104	105	48	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1724)
333	Youssef Emadzadeh	25 October 1988	106	214	1	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2000)
334	Mohammadali Moezi	26 October 1988	91	169	2	No	No	Yes	No
335	Mohammad Ismaeil Beiglari ⁶⁵⁴	26 October 1988	104	130	48	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (507)
336	Mehri Sadat Qanat Abadi ⁶⁵⁵	28 October 1988	99	234	24	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2229)
337	Mostafa Igei	30 October 1988	87	76	46	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (353)
338	Soheila Fatahian	30 October 1988	87	84	18	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2070)
339	Mohammad Mehdi Rah Shabdiz	30 October 1988	87	165	1	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (3966)

⁶⁵⁰ The last part of the surname, Golpayegani, is not written in the ABC and CDHRI sources. However, the CDHRI and PMOI sources list his place of birth as Golpayegan, which is a city in Esfahan province.

⁶⁵¹ In all three sources, this name is written as Mahmoud Khosro Gorji.

⁶⁵² In the CDHRI and PMOI sources, this name is written as Hossein Safaiee. Two separate graves in different lots of the cemetery have been attributed to Hossein Safaieezadeh. As far as Amnesty International is aware, the authorities have neither offered any explanation for this, nor allowed exhumations to establish the truth. As seen in this entry and the next one, one grave is in lot 104 and another in lot 98. Both gravestones give the same date of birth and death and father's name.

⁶⁵³ In the CDHRI and PMOI sources, this name is written as Hossein Safaiee. This name has two different gravestones.

⁶⁵⁴ In all three sources, this name is written as Ismail Beiglari.

⁶⁵⁵ In the ABC and CDHRI sources, this name is written as Mehri Qanat Abadi. In the PMOI source, it is written as Mehdi Ghanat Abadi.

340	Reza Davoodi	30 October 1988	99	1	4	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1044)
341	Mohsen Shekhan	2 November 1988	87	83	15	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1619)
342	Abbass Liravi	2 November 1988	108	53	38	No	No	No	No
343	Zahra Zia'i Mirzaei ⁶⁵⁶	3 November 1988	99	184	26	No	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1774)
344	Bahman Ebrahimezhad Balouchi ⁶⁵⁷	4 November 1988	87	72	37	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (82)
345	Hossein Mahboubi Nieh	5 November 1988	87	77	33	No	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	No
346	Masoud Naghashzadeh	6 November 1988	99	3	2	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2949)
347	Mohammadreza Shahir Eftekhari	6 November 1988	106	117	44	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1613)
348	Jamshid Keyvanfar	7 November 1988	98	1	44	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2407)
349	Reza Firouzi	10 November 1988	91	171	3	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2152)
350	Behrooz Ghahremanian	10 November 1988	104	168	98	No	No	No	No
351	Hadi Azizi Ghasem Abadi ⁶⁵⁸	11 November 1988	87	89	7	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1928)
352	Ali Reza Izadi	11 November 1988	106	116	18	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (351)
353	Seyed Ahmad Mousavi	12 November 1988	108	95	51	<u>Yes</u>	No	No	No
354	Mohammad Reza Mashat ⁶⁵⁹	13 November 1988	106	88	26	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2660)
355	Qolam Hassan (Qasem) Javan Shoja ⁶⁶⁰	18 November 1988	99	8	1	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (722)
356	Roshan Bolbolian	18 November 1988	106	173	1	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (449)
357	Seyed Hassan Mirabdollah Ghomi	20 November 1988	87	1	27	No	No	No	No
358	Mohammad Reza Yaghobizadeh Vanini	6 December 1988	104	181	12	No	No	No	No
359	Reza Yazdi	17 January 1989	108	57	26	No	No	No	No
360	Reza Golbandi	17 January 1989	108	69	18	No	No	No	No

⁶⁵⁶ In the CDHRI and PMOI sources, this name is written as Farzaneh (Zahra) Zia'i Mirzaei.

⁶⁵⁷ This name is written as Bahman Ebrahimezhad in the ABC and CDHRI sources.

⁶⁵⁸ In all three sources, the last part of the surname, Ghasem Abadi, is not written.

⁶⁵⁹ In the ABC and CDHRI sources, this name is written as Mohammad Mashat.

⁶⁶⁰ In the ABC and CDHRI sources, this name is written as Ghasem Javan Shoja. In the PMOI source, it is written as Gholam Hassan Javan Shoja Mofrad.

361	Soleyman Mollazadeh Asl	18 April 1989	94	196	30	No	No	No	No
362	Kiomars Baba Keshzadeh	5 May 1989	98	155	3	No	No	No	No
363	Mohammad Rasoul Bayat ⁶⁶¹	9 May 1989	97	1	52	No	No	<u>No</u>	No
364	Khaled Taheri	18 June 1989	94	149	45	No	No	No	No
365	Ali Akbar Banddar	26 June 1989	98	1	37	No	No	No	No
366	Rahim Rajoli	23 August 1989	97	1	38	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1153)
367	Dariush Estakhr ⁶⁶²	23 August 1989	98	1	35	No	No	Yes	No
368	Khodaverdi Panahi	23 August 1989	99	234	29	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (533)
369	Alireza Momeni	23 August 1989	108	1	33	No	No	No	No
370	Ashraf Fadaei Tabrizi	11 September 1989	94	1	46	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (2089)
371	Mohammadreza Jolokhani Niaraki	11 September 1989	97	1	29	No	No	No	No
372	Ali Akbar Baghjari	17 September 1989	98	88	8	No	No	No	No
373	Mehrdad Derakhshan Hooreh	17 September 1989	99	1	242	No	No	No	No
374	Abbass Sabahi Miab	17 September 1989	99	111	48	No	No	No	No
375	Ali Almasi	10 October 1989	94	124	42	No	No	No	No
376	Hamid Ansari	26 November 1989	97	1	45	No	No	No	No
377	Hesamodin Savabi	N/A	108	5	60	No	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (1745)

⁶⁶¹ Mohammad Rasoul Bayat's name is recorded in the online database on the PMOI's website. However, the date of execution recorded is 1989. As a result, Amnesty International has excluded him from the scope of its search in the database of the Organization of Behesht Zahra.

⁶⁶² This name is recorded in the list of the PMOI (01104).

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BLOOD-SOAKED SECRETS

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

Between July and September 1988, the Iranian authorities forcibly disappeared and extrajudicially executed thousands of imprisoned political dissidents in secret and dumped their bodies, mostly in unmarked mass graves. Since then, the authorities have treated the killings as state secrets, tormenting the relatives by refusing to tell them how and why their loved ones were killed and where they are buried. No official has been brought to justice and, in some cases, those involved hold or have held positions of power in Iran.

Building on documentation efforts over the last 30 years, Amnesty International has uncovered more blood-soaked secrets in support of the struggle for truth, justice and reparation. It has collected scores of testimonies, analysed a recently revealed audio recording of a meeting of officials responsible for the mass killings in Tehran, and crosschecked and consolidated lists containing thousands of victims' names. The organization's renewed focus has been further prompted by the authorities' ongoing official campaign to repress families' demands for truth and justice, destroy mass grave sites and glorify the mass killings.

Given their widespread and systematic nature, Amnesty International considers that the enforced disappearances resulting from the extrajudicial executions amount to ongoing crimes against humanity and is calling on the UN to set up an independent investigation to help bring those responsible for these abhorrent crimes to justice.