



Mass grave locations identified across Iran

The 1988 Massacre in Iran

Evidence of a Crime Against Humanity

Justice for the Victims of the 1988 Massacre in Iran (JVMI)

SECOND REPORT
OCTOBER 2017
www.iran1988.org

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Report prepared by Tahar Boumedra and Azadeh Zabeti
assisted by a team of representatives of the families of the victims

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Contents

Abbreviations.....1

Time for Accountability.....2

Confessing to the Crime Against Humanity.....3

Civil Society Calling for Accountability and Justice.....5

Official Statements Acknowledging Mass Executions of 1988.....8

Iran Fails to Investigate the 1988 Massacre.....16

The UN Special Procedures’ Failed Appeals.....18

The Way Forward is an International Commission of Inquiry.....21

Death Decree: Formation of Death Commissions.....26

Suspect Perpetrators of the 1988 Extra-Legal Mass Executions of Political
Prisoners in Iran.....32

Mass Grave Locations.....136

Annexes.....208

Abbreviations

Bassij	Bassij-e Mostaz'afin - paramilitary force affiliated to the IRGC
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
Dadyar	Assistant Prosecutor
Evin	Evin Prison, northern Tehran
Fatwa	Religious edict
FFM	Fact-Finding Missions
Ghezelhessar	Ghezelhessar Prison, Karaj
Gohardasht	Rajai-Shahr Prison, Karaj
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
IRGC	Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps
IRP	Islamic Republican Party
Komite(s)	Committees of the Islamic Revolution
MEK	People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran / Mujahedin-e Khalq
MOIS	Ministry of Intelligence and Security / Vezarat-e Ettela'at va Amniyat-e Keshvar
NCRI	National Council of Resistance of Iran
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
OHCHR	Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights
PMOI	People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran / Mujahedin-e Khalq
Rajai-Shahr	Rajai-Shahr Prison, Karaj
UN	United Nations
UPR	Universal Periodic Review
Vali-e Faqih	Supreme religious leader
Velayat-e Faqih	Supreme religious rule
VEVAK	Ministry of Intelligence and Security / Vezarat-e Ettela'at va Amniyat-e Keshvar

Time for Accountability

So monstrous are the crimes allegedly committed by the regime in the Islamic Republic of Iran during the summer of 1988 in violation of the most elementary norms of human rights, fair trial and the due process of law. The extra-legal mass executions of political prisoners in Iran had been documented in the first Report of *Justice for the Victims of the 1988 Massacre in Iran* (JVMI), published in March 2017. More events and revelations have come to light since the first edition of the JVMI's Report. In the absence of an independent commission of inquiry to probe into this heinous crime, JVMI, representing families of the victims will continue to compile and disseminate all information that is likely to shed further light on the crime, the suspect perpetrators, the victims and the applicable laws.

The current United Nations Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ms Asma Jahangir, in a report to the UN General Assembly, on 14 August 2017¹, stated:

“Between July and August 1988, thousands of political prisoners, men, women and teen-agers, were reportedly executed pursuant to a fatwa issued by the then Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khomeini. A three-man commission was reportedly created with a view to determining who should be executed. The bodies of the victims were reportedly buried in unmarked graves and their families never informed of their whereabouts. These events, known as the 1988 massacres, have never been officially acknowledged.”

As early as January 1989, the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, expressed concern over the “global denial” of the executions and called on the Iranian authorities to conduct an investigation. “Such an investigation has yet to be undertaken”, said Special Rapporteur Jahangir.

¹ <http://undocs.org/A/72/322>, United Nations, 14 August 2017 (A/72/322): ‘Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran’

Special Rapporteur Jahangir concluded her report saying:

“Over the years, a high number of reports have been issued about the 1988 massacres. If the number of persons who disappeared and were executed can be disputed, overwhelming evidence shows that thousands of persons were summarily killed. Recently, these killings have been acknowledged by some at the highest levels of the State. The families of the victims have a right to know the truth about these events and the fate of their loved ones without risking reprisal. They have the right to a remedy, which includes the right to an effective investigation of the facts and public disclosure of the truth; and the right to reparation.”

She then concludes by making another call on the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to ensure that a thorough and independent investigation into these events is carried out.

Confessing to the Crime Against Humanity

The massacre of the political prisoners in Iran occurred in the summer of 1988². At the time, the events were surrounded with total blackout. Only the families of the victims tried in vain to inquire about their loved ones. The extent of the crime was kept as a state secret. The first indication that the murder machine had started operating came out on 6 August 1988 in a public statement by Abdulkarim Moussavi Ardabili, the then President of the Supreme Judicial Council. Referring to opponents, he said: *“They must all be executed... There will be no more of sentencing and appeals...people are asking for a tougher response”* (Tehran radio, 6 August 1988).

The news of the executions was first published in the Financial Times and the New York Times on 17 August 1988³. On 2 September 1988, Amnesty International put out an *Urgent Action* telegram expressing its deep concern that “hundreds of political prisoners may have been executed”. On 25 August 1988, the Iranian opposition informed the UN Secretary

² For details see the first edition of “Inquiry into the 1988 mass executions in Iran”, published by Justice for the Victims of the 1988 Massacre in Iran (JVMI), March 2017 at www.iran1988.org

³ UA235/88, 02/09/1988 in: The Massacre of Political prisoners in Iran, 1988: Report of an Inquiry Conducted by Geoffrey Robertson QC, June 29, 2011.

General that according to reliable information, Khomeini had issued a decree ordering the execution of PMOI affiliates in prisons and that on 14, 15 and 16 of August at least 860 bodies were transferred to Behesht Zahra Cemetery from Evin Prison. The Iranian opposition also informed the UN that thousands of their supporters have been arrested and that on 28 July some 200 political prisoners were executed in Evin prison.

A few months later Ali Khamenei, the then President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, had reportedly said at a meeting in Tehran University: *“As regards the mass executions... those in prisons who had contacts with the Monafeqin [PMOI], who mounted an armed incursion against the Islamic Republic ... are condemned to death and must be executed”* (Tehran radio, 5 December 1988).

The French daily *Le Monde* wrote in March 1989: *“Imam Khomeini summoned the Revolutionary Prosecutor, Hojjat ol-Islam [Mohammad Moussavi] Khoehiniha, to instruct him that henceforth all of the PMOI, those in prisons or anywhere else, should be executed for waging war on God. The executions followed summary trials. The trial consisted of various means of pressuring the prisoners to confess and repent ... Cases of young PMOI who were executed included some who were jailed about eight years earlier, when 12 to 14 years old, for taking part in public demonstrations to denounce crime against humanity”* (Le Monde, 1 March 1989).

For reasons that are beyond the scope of this report, Western governments, the UN and the world community as a whole decided to turn a blind eye, while the Iranian authorities refused to publically acknowledge the issuance of Khomeini's *fatwa* for the mass executions of political prisoners affiliated to the opposition. In Iran it was considered a red line. No one was allowed to talk about it. Some of the families of the victims had however dared to go to the Khavaran mass graves to mourn for their loved ones and to prevent the event from being buried away forever. According to Amnesty International: *“Ali Saremi (or Sarami), aged 62, was sentenced to death for moharebeh on 29 December 2009 after being convicted of membership of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI)... He was arrested in September 2007 after speaking at a commemoration at the Khavaran cemetery in Tehran for the victims of the*

1988 “prison massacre” and had been held since. Amnesty International issued an urgent action on his and six other’s behalf in November 2007.⁴

Civil Society Calling for Accountability and Justice

Every summer since 1988, families of the victims and many political groups outside Iran held memorials to pay tribute to those who were executed. The summer of 2016 seems to have been a turning point. Many of the families inside Iran began to rally behind a call for justice. The call for justice was followed by the revelation of a 28-year-old audio tape of the then Deputy Supreme Leader Ayatollah Hossein-Ali Montazeri talking to four members of the “Death Commission” in Tehran. In the audio file, top current officials of the regime could be heard discussing and defending the massacre. The publication of the tape led to widespread public outrage, with the call for justice spreading among other sectors of Iranian society.

Modern means of communication and social media, made it impossible for the Iranian authorities to effectively silence the families of the victims who rapidly transformed their call for justice into a nationwide social movement. Even some elements within the system publicly supported the call for the truth to come to light and an apology be given to the families of the victims.

Since the summer of 2016, Iranian civil society decided to speak out in defiance of the government by demanding justice for the victims and their families. In a report published on 2 August 2017, Amnesty International highlighted a campaign by Iran’s younger generation seeking an inquiry into the mass executions of political prisoners in 1988.

The AI report⁵ said: *"Human rights defenders targeted for seeking truth and justice include younger human rights defenders 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."* It added that there has been *"a chain of unprecedented reactions from high-level officials, leading them to admit for the first time that the mass killings of 1988 were planned at the highest levels of government."*

⁴ See <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE13/128/2007/en>

⁵ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde13/6446/2017/en/>, 2 August 2017, Index number: MDE 13/6446/2017.

Dr. Mohammad Maleki, the first chancellor of Tehran University after the 1979 revolution and a prominent dissident in Iran, who spent many years in prison under torture, testified in an interview with *Dorr TV* on 14 August 2016 that more than 30,400 political prisoners were executed in 1988 because of their affiliation to the PMOI and 2000-3000 were from leftist movements.

The call for the truth and justice reached a new level during the campaign for the presidential elections of May 2017. One of the approved candidates was Ebrahim Raisi⁶, a member of the “Death Commission” in Tehran in 1988. His candidacy gave a momentum to the movement calling for justice, accountability and an end to impunity.

In Qom in May 2017, demonstrators chanted against Presidential candidate Raisi: “*He is the murderer of 1988.*”⁷ According to reports by Iranian civil society and the social media, similar protests were held in other parts of the country denouncing Raisi and demanding accountability. Simultaneously, there was much discussion in the social media about Mostafa Pour-Mohammadi, Minister of Justice in Hassan Rouhani’s first cabinet, who was also a member of the Death Commission in Tehran in 1988.

On 15 October 2016, Iranian political prisoner Maryam Akbari-Monfared made a complaint to the Iranian judiciary over the execution of her siblings in the 1988 massacre. According to Amnesty International, Ms Akbari-Monfared was consequently subjected to maltreatment and deprivation from access to medical treatment.⁸

On 17 March 2017, the UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Iran presented a comprehensive report to the Human Rights Council and criticized the Iranian authorities for repressing the families of the victims of the 1988 massacre.⁹

⁶ Full name is Seyyed Ebrahim Rais al-Sadati (a.k.a. Ebrahim Raeessi)

⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l-msOGhX2D0>

⁸ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde13/5090/2016/en/>, 3 November 2016, Index number: MDE 13/5090/2016.

⁹ http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session34/Documents/A_HRC_34_65_AEV.docx

By September 2017, JVMI had received copies of more than 100 letters of complaints by families of victims addressed to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, urging him to set up a commission of inquiry into the 1988 extrajudicial executions in Iran. JVMI has provided copies of such complaints to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and to the concerned Special Procedures.

The 1988 massacre was a taboo that was never publicly acknowledged by the authorities. However, since the summer 2016, state media started covering issues related to Khomeini's *fatwa*, which ordered the mass executions of members of the opposition. The current public awareness regarding this issue has now forced the government to change strategy by arguing that they had implemented the divine will as decreed in the supreme leader's *fatwa*.

Regrettably, there is no sign of remorse on the part of the authorities for what had happened in 1988 and indeed throughout the 1980s. Since many of the suspect perpetrators of the 1988 massacre remain today in key positions within the Iranian administration, they fear that any official retreat on this issue might lead to certain undesirable political consequences. Under domestic and international pressure, Mostafa Pour-Mohammadi was not reappointed as Rouhani's Minister of Justice but was subsequently shifted to become advisor to the Head of the Judiciary. Ironically, his replacement is Alireza Avaie, another member of the Death Commissions of 1988, who is on the lists of sanctions of the European Union for violation of human rights.

It is unprecedented in contemporary history that perpetrators of a crime, at the 1988 massacre scale, publically admit and defend their crimes. Remarks such as being "proud" to have implemented "God's command", calls for awarding the perpetrators "medal of honour" or stating that "today too if we find [PMOI members], we will do the same to them" provide undeniable evidence of the crimes committed. From a purely human rights perspective, such systematic state support for crimes against humanity is a serious alarm to the international community as it undermines the most basic international norms and human rights principles. It requires immediate action by the UN Special Procedures and by the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Below are examples of statements made by various officials acknowledging the mass executions of 1988.

Official Statements Acknowledging Mass Executions of 1988

Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei, official website, 24 August 2016

“Unfortunately, some people are trying to create an atmosphere of innocence for criminals who have killed thousands of ordinary people and officials and renowned dignitaries and distort the radiant image of the late Imam (Khomeini). But these evil hands will not succeed and they will fail as they have done before.”¹⁰

Ali-Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, former President and Head of the State Expediency Council, state-run Fars News Agency, 27 August 2016

“The wave has embraced virtually all foreign opposition media to the extent that the Mayor of Paris recently held an exhibition which recreated the scenes of executions in those days. The extent of support for this terrorist group at this time merits being pondered. The main objective of our international and domestic enemies is to take revenge from the unprecedented role and status of Imam [Khomeini] in the contemporary history of Iran and the world. We must act vigilantly and describe the Imam's path in a way that could not be abused by opponents.”¹¹

Mostafa Pour-Mohammadi, Justice Minister, state-run Tasnim News Agency, 28 August 2016

“God commanded show no mercy to the non-believers because they will not show mercy to you either, and there should be no mercy to the [PMOI] because if they could, they would spill your blood, ...We are proud to have carried out God's commandment with regard to the [PMOI] and to have

¹⁰ <http://www.leader.ir/fa/content/16135/>

¹¹ <http://www.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=13950606001372>; Rafsanjani made the remarks after members of the Iranian opposition held an exhibition in the Town Hall of Paris's 2nd District.

stood with strength and fought against the enemies of God and the people.”¹²

Assembly of Experts, official website, 28 August 2016

“Perhaps, for some, it is still hard to grasp the historic and revolutionary decision of His Eminence Imam Khomeini in his decisive and uncompromising action toward the [PMOI] and the prosecution of the leaders and some members of the [PMOI] in 1988, and the deep understanding and foresightedness of that heavenly man in saving the Islamic regime which is the fruit of the struggle and efforts of the old and the young in this country. The late Imam arrested the sedition through his timely decision at that critical juncture.

Isn't it the case that the heartless [PMOI], whose crimes and treachery against this land are a well-known fact, have from time to time with the various support of the Arrogance (the West) and reactionary states sought to revive their evil and corrupt existence?

While condemning the crimes of the evil [PMOI] grouplet in Iran and Iraq, the Assembly of Experts condemns the publication of this audio tape by the supporters of this grouplet, which only adds fuel to the fire of the enemy, and it warns the wise and aware people, in particular the dear youths of the Islamic Iran, that the [PMOI], with those crimes and its fragmented state of organization, is on the brink of complete destruction and will get nowhere through such hopeless attempts to stain the truth about His Eminence the Imam (Khomeini) and the holy regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and they will not reduce by an iota the firm belief of you, the wise and pious people, in the path of the Imam and the revolution.”¹³

¹² Pour-Mohammadi was a member of the Tehran ‘Death Commission’ and can be heard on the Montazeri tape.

<https://www.tasnimnews.com/fa/news/1395/06/07/1170966>

¹³ <http://www.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=13950607000396>

Ahmad Khatami, Tehran Friday Prayers Leader and Board Member of the Assembly of Experts, 19 August 2016

“Those who had collaborated in prisons and said that we were steadfast, they too are *Mohareb* [at war with God]...What the late Imam did in 1988 was a religious, Quranic and revolutionary act, and it was a great service to the Iranian Muslim nation. If the Imam had not done that brave act, we would have had big issues today; we wouldn’t have security. We owe our security today to the Imam’s revolutionary measure...People should not believe whatever is broadcast from foreign satellite networks.”¹⁴

Mohsen Rafiqdoost, former Minister of the IRGC, 28 August 2016

“The Imam wrote in his will that he would go to an eternal place with a calm and certain heart because, if he had not resolved the problem of the [PMOI], the revolution would have faced problems.”¹⁵

Sadeq Larijani, Head of the Judiciary, 15 August 2016

“Western countries and their regional proxies try to support the PMOI by inviting them to Paris and holding rallies, and, unfortunately, some inside the country also try to somehow go along with this movement and disturb public opinion, but they must know that the Judiciary will act forcefully as always, and any disturbance in public opinion on these security issues will certainly face prosecution by the Judiciary...What has been done based on the sentences of the courts cannot be compromised, and the verdict for *Mohareb* groups is very clear, but, unfortunately, some go the crooked way and say strange things.”¹⁶

Ali Razini, President of Branch 41 Supreme Court, 16 August 2016

“Unfortunately, there are lines active inside and outside the country to somehow revive the Mojahedin...Those whose verdict was ‘*moharebeh*’ [enmity with God], had their sentences carried out, and the basis for other problems was annihilated. The security that we have now in Iran, which shines as a stable island among all insecure countries in the region, is

¹⁴ <http://kayhan.ir/fa/news/83162/795>

¹⁵ <https://www.tasnimnews.com/fa/news/1395/06/07/1170993/>

¹⁶ <http://www.ensafnews.com/36154/> / <http://www.farsnews.com/newstext.php?nn=13950525000961>

because Imam Khomeini did not neglect to carry out the sentence...We are thankful to the founder of the Islamic revolution who has dealt with such decisiveness and prevented the penetration of insecurity.”¹⁷

Mehdi Khazali, former official in the Office of the President, Dorr TV, 26 August 2016

“The largest and most populous group which opposed the state was the People's Mojahedin Organization...It could be annihilated only by authorization from the Imam [Khomeini]. In fact, they wanted to uproot this group while the Imam was still alive. They said that if anyone was released, he/she would become a renegade; then we would be entangled in a situation where we would be facing many people. So, we execute these people, and these executions would terrify the families and no one would dare to become a renegade...nearly 33,000 people were hanged in a matter of a month or so.”¹⁸

Ali Khamenei, Iran's Supreme Leader, official website, 3 June 2017

“Recently, there have been some voices and advocates of those voices attacking [the incidents of] the 1980s. My advice is, [especially] to all those thinkers and intellectuals who judge [the incidents of] the 1980s, not to exchange the place of martyr and executioner. The people of Iran were the subject of oppression in the 1980s. The terrorists and the hypocrites (PMOI) and their supporters and the powers that created them and boasted about them treated the people of Iran with cruelty. The people of Iran were in a defensive posture.”¹⁹

(Khamenei's remarks were in defence of Ebrahim Raisi, member of Tehran's Death Commission and his favoured candidate in the 2017 Presidential election).

Ahmad Khatami, Tehran Friday Prayers Leader and board member of the Assembly of Experts, Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting, 21 July 2017

“We see some people who on their websites switch the place of martyrs and murderers. Confronting them (imprisoned dissidents) and wiping out

¹⁷ <http://www.mashreghnews.ir/fa/news/618892/>

¹⁸ <http://www.dorrnews.com/?p=6261>

(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J0okdDyHDMY>)

¹⁹ <http://farsi.khamenei.ir/speech-content?id=36745>

the *Monafeqin* (PMOI) was one of the Imam's most righteous and valuable actions, and all of the persons who complied with his edict should be awarded a Medal of Honour. ... However, those who on their websites have switched the place of martyrs and murderers should repent and beg for forgiveness."²⁰

Mohsen Rafiqdoost, former Minister of the IRGC, state-run Mehr News Agency, 18 July 2017

"If the arrested [PMOI] elements were not executed, it was feared that they would deviate the revolution ... The wisest person in recent centuries was the Imam (Khomeini) who ordered that anyone who stands with his hypocritical choice (supporting the PMOI) should be killed. Today too, the order remains valid, if we find [PMOI members], we will do the same to them."²¹

Ali Fallahian, former Intelligence Minister of Iran, state-affiliated Tarikh Online website, Aparat online video platform, 9 July 2017

In an interview with the state-affiliated Tarikh Online website (aired by the state-affiliated Aparat online video platform on 9 July 2017), Fallahian acknowledges that Khomeini's fatwa called for the eradication of all affiliates of the PMOI. Defending the fatwa, Fallahian said that even PMOI supporters whose only 'crime' was to distribute the group's literature or buy bread or other provisions for them were found guilty of waging war on God and executed. Below is a translation of parts of Fallahian's interview.²²

Fallahian: The Imam (Khomeini) decreed, 'At least execute those who say this and who maintain their belief. It doesn't make sense to release them.' Then some continued to put pressure and moan that these people are this and that in prison, so it was decided that a committee be formed. Some

²⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w68jLrWJ8i4> IRIB, <http://www.iribnews.ir/fa/news/1727704/>

²¹ <http://www.mehrnews.com/news/4032488/>

²² A 3-minute video of parts of his interview related to the massacre:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TXCtDzTqzHU>; full interview:

<http://www.tarikhonline.com/public/video-share.php?id=206>

Text on JVMI website: <http://iran1988.org/ali-fallahian-former-intelligence-minister-iran-says-khomeini-ordered-execution-pmoi-affiliates-1988-massacre/>

people say that these officials handed down sentences for a collective massacre. They did not do such a thing. It was decided that this 3-man committee, whose members were from the (Intelligence) Ministry, the Prosecutor's office and knowledgeable judges, would evaluate to see if anyone was pardonable from execution. That was the task of this committee; they were not tasked with issuing death sentences.

Tarikh Online (Interviewer): Excuse me, I want to make sure if I have understood correctly or not. The basis was that everyone would be executed, right?

Fallahian: That's correct.

Tarikh Online: ... but this committee was tasked with pardoning some people from execution, right?

Fallahian: They were supposed to be careful and follow up and speak with the person and check to see if he or she is really still maintaining their stands. That was the criterion: maintaining your stand.

Tarikh Online: What were the criteria for judging someone to be maintaining their stand?

Fallahian: Maintaining one's stand is if someone said I believe in the Organisation (PMOI or MEK), I don't believe in you, and if I am set free I'd fight against you.

Tarikh Online: That's crazy (for someone to say that).

Fallahian: They were crazy. (...)

Tarikh Online: You mentioned that these people were not executed or those who had tertiary sentences, so what was Mr. (Hossein-Ali) Montazeri's mistake?

Fallahian: Mr. Montazeri had another problem, and he found differences with the Imam (Khomeini). At the beginning he too agreed (with Khomeini's position). But he became of the view that these executions would eventually lead to history judging against us and against Islam so it's better that we don't do this so that in the future when our enemies take up their pens they would not write appallingly about us. But the Imam said, 'No, you carry out your religious duties and don't wait for history's judgment'.

Tarikh Online: We want to move forward from this topic, but just for my own knowledge, I'd like to ask, were all those who were executed armed when they had been arrested?

Fallahian: No.

Tarikh Online: Had they all carried out armed rebellion?

Fallahian: They had all carried out armed rebellion. But many were arrested in team houses where we only found one or two guns or for example some were arrested on the streets and many of them were unarmed.

Tarikh Online: So how did this qualify as armed rebellion?

Fallahian: Because they were part of that organisation.

Tarikh Online: So, it's not necessary for that person to personally carry out that action?

Fallahian: No. When someone is a member of a group or army, and when that army has taken up arms, then it makes no difference if that person is armed or unarmed.

Tarikh Online: Even if they were arrested with only a (PMOI) newspaper in their possession?

Fallahian: Yes. They were part of that organisation. They were prepared to carry out operations. Maybe today someone goes and buys bread for the people in the team house, or someone might go provide other provisions... (but they are all part of it).

Tarikh Online: What if for example someone is not part of the (group's) operational (military) force; is just part of their propaganda force?

Fallahian: Well, that person is still part of them. When a unit is fighting, it has everything. It doesn't just have arms. They have support units.

Tarikh Online: Do they qualify as prisoners of war?

Fallahian: No.

Ali Razini, President of Branch 41 of the Supreme Court, state-run Tasnim News Agency, 2 July 2017

Excerpts from an exclusive interview with Tasnim:

Tasnim: What is your view about the executions of 1988 of the *Monafeqin* (PMOI) and the doubts that have been raised recently by some of their supporters?

Razini: Officials involved in this affair were Messrs Nayyeri, Raisi, Reyshahri, Eshraqi and Pour Mohammadi and you should put the question to them since we were not involved in this affair. But in general I must say that if Imam [Khomeini] wanted to issue death sentences without any considerations, as suggested by counter revolutionaries, then there was no need to set up commissions comprised of three persons. It would have been announced in prison to execute these [prisoners] there and then.

They were religious judges who were not appointed by high ranking religious leaders but were the same religious judges who had previously been appointed in various cities. For instance, the person who headed the revolutionary court in Semnan or Mashhad, the revolutionary prosecutor in the same city, plus the representative of the intelligence [ministry] in that city, who formed the three-man commissions. The trial sessions sometime lasted about an hour and in the end some were sentenced to death and some were not.

Although the revolutionary courts at that time were managed by only one person, but these courts were managed collectively and the decisions were made by consensus although they could go by majority vote - that is two out of three votes. The sentences were only implemented when all three were united in the decision. In any case, all the procedures in 1988 were fair and conducted entirely in accordance with law.²³

Mohammad-Reza Naqdi, Head of the Para-military Bassij Mostazafan Organization Affiliated to IRGC, IRNA official news agency, 30 August 2016

In an interview with IRNA, Commander Mohammad-Reza Naqdi, said: "The execution of the *Monafeqin* that took place in 1988 for collaboration with Saddam and organising to bring down the Islamic Republic of Iran was

²³ <https://www.tasnimnews.com/fa/news/1396/04/11/1438610/>

in full compliance with all judicial, religious, legal, Islamic, international and domestic standards... Fatwas issued by Imam [Khomeini] are based on solid religious and judicial foundations.”²⁴

Ebrahim Raisi’s Presidential Campaign

Ebrahim Raisi's campaign in the weeks leading to the May 2017 Presidential election continuously sent out messages via the social network *Telegram* defending the 1988 massacre.

During a rally held on 12 May 2017 in support of Raisi’s Presidential campaign, Yasser Mousavi, the Friday prayers' leader in Varamin, with Raisi standing by his side said: *“This grand figure who is standing next to me is proud to have executed the members of the PMOI.”*

Iran Fails to Investigate the 1988 Massacre

UN Special Rapporteur Underlines the Failure of the Government of Iran to Investigate

On 14 August 2017, the UN Secretary General circulated to Member States the latest report by the Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Iran (Document A/72/322)²⁵, which stated that the government of Iran has failed to carry out an investigation into the 1988 massacre.

The report said in part:

“In January 1989, the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, expressed concern over the “global denial” of the executions and called on Iranian authorities to conduct an investigation. Such an investigation has yet to be undertaken.”

“74. In August 2016, an audio recording of a meeting held in 1988 between high-level State officials and clerics was published. The recording revealed the names of the officials who had carried out and defended the executions, including the current Minister of Justice, a current high court judge, and the head of one of the largest religious foundations in the country and candidate in the May presidential elections. Following the publication of the audio recording, some

²⁴ <http://www.irna.ir/fa/News/82210739/>

²⁵ <http://undocs.org/A/72/322>

clerical authorities and the chief of the judiciary admitted that the executions had taken place and, in some instances, defended them.”

[Emphasis added.]

The Iranian Administration Unwilling and Unable to Investigate: Appeals to the Iranian Authorities Proven to be Futile

It is to be recalled that the families of the victims of the 1988 massacre have for the last 29 years made a number of appeals to Iranian authorities to provide them with information such as the number and names of those executed, their wills, where they are buried, when they were executed, when they were tried, on what charges and how long the trials lasted—but have received no answers.

International NGOs continued to monitor developments related to the 1988 massacre in Iran. On 1 June 2017, Amnesty International said in a statement that

“The desecration of a mass grave site in Ahvaz, southern Iran that contains the remains of at least 44 people who were extra-judicially executed would destroy vital forensic evidence and scupper opportunities for justice for the mass prisoner killings that took place across the country in 1988.”²⁶

In a joint statement, 20 human rights groups called on the Iranian authorities:

“to stop the harassment, intimidation and prosecution of human rights defenders seeking truth and justice on behalf of individuals who were summarily executed or forcibly disappeared during the 1980s and their families. Over the past few months, several human rights defenders have been subjected to harassment, reprisals or prosecution on vague national security-related charges for their peaceful efforts to learn the fate and whereabouts of their loved ones.”²⁷

²⁶ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/06/iran-desecrating-mass-grave-site-would-destroy-crucialforensic-evidence/>

²⁷ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde13/5840/2017/en/>

All appeals so far for an independent investigation of the 1988 mass executions fell on deaf ears in Iran.

The UN Special Procedures' Failed Appeals

1) As early as 26 January 1989, the **Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Reynaldo-Galindo Pohl** recommended to the Islamic Republic of Iran:

74. ... investigation of abuse of power at all levels of the administration and in particular at the level of law enforcement units would have to be undertaken as a matter of urgency and priority, punishing violators and compensating victims.

77. ... the Special Representative considers it timely and appropriate to plead with the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as a matter of urgency, to take measures such as the followings (a) to extend full co-operation to the Special Representative for a total fulfilment of his mandate, including a visit to the country; (b) to investigate all allegations of human rights violations and to report in detail on the result of such investigations; (c) to take legislative and administrative steps to ensure fair trials; (d) to ensure that the prison regime conforms to international standards and that prisoners are not subjected to unjustified or unnecessary hardships; (e) to suppress ill-treatment and torture, during both investigation and imprisonment; (f) to limit use of the death penalty strictly to the most serious crimes, to exempt from the death penalty those under 18 years of age and to replace punishments involving torture by punishments compatible with international standards; and (g) to ensure that a firm policy of compliance with international instruments on human rights is adopted and enforced by the highest competent officials.²⁸

Special Representative Mr. Reynaldo Galindo Pohl's pleading with the Government of the Islamic Republic was ignored and he was later barred from visiting Iran.

²⁸ Report on the human rights situation in the Islamic Republic of Iran by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights; Mr. Reynaldo-Galindo Pohl, pursuant to Commission resolution 1988/69, Doc. E/CN.4/1989/26

2) Special Rapporteur on Summary or Arbitrary Executions (1982-1992)

Mr. S. Amos Wako reported on the 23 January 1990 the following:

245. On 24 July 1989, the Special Rapporteur sent a letter to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran stating that, since August 1988, a large number of prisoners allegedly detained for their opposition or suspected opposition to the Government had reportedly been executed without trial or after a summary trial. It was also alleged that several prisoners had been executed after having already served or while serving sentences of imprisonment. The Special Rapporteur had received lists of executed prisoners containing a total of over 1,000 names, including women and minors.

247. On 14 November 1989, the Special Rapporteur sent another letter to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran transmitting allegations that, during the past year, in various parts of Iran, several thousand persons had been executed without trial or with a trial of an extremely summary nature ... Many of the executions had allegedly been carried out secretly, with no announcement of their date or place or the place of burial of the executed. Allegedly, no bodies had been returned. Among those executed were allegedly prisoners who had been serving prison terms or persons whose sentences had expired but who had remained in detention, as well as prisoners who had never been tried or sentenced. Several victims were said to have been rearrested after they had been released. The executed allegedly included women and minors below 18 years of age.

248. Among the prisoners for whom the Special Rapporteur had made appeals in his previous communications in 1988 and early 1989, the following were reported to have been executed: Youssef Ab-Khun, Houshang Aziami, Mahmoud Faraji, Zohref Ghaeni, Kiumars Goodarzi, Jafar Jahangiri, Sadegh Karimi, Mohammad Khan Mohammadi, Zahra Mirzai, Malekeh Mohammadi, Jalal Noori, Mohammad Pasha, Lohrasb Salavati, Majid Sorouri, Najaf Zarei, Khosro Assiabani, Fariborz Eskandari, Hadi Fooladi, Salman Ghassemi, Fatemah Izadi, Ghassem Javanshoja, Mohsen Kazemi-Zadeh, Hossein Mahiguir, Hassan Moezi, Bahman Moussapoor, Shahrokh Noori, Mohsen Piri, Shahriyar Sanjabi and Asghar Vakhshouri.

252. On 24 July 1989, a reply was received from the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Special Rapporteur's cables of 14

September 1988 and 26 August 1989, (E/CN.4/1989/25, para. 142). The reply stated that the propaganda campaign carried out by enemies and dissidents of the Islamic Republic of Iran seemed to have created the impression that punishments in the country were not being carried out in accordance with law, and that the accused were punished without recourse to legal procedures.²⁹

Once again the call of the Special Rapporteur on Summary or Arbitrary Executions (1982-1992) Mr. S. Amos Wako was ignored.

3) In his Report of 16 January 2002 on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran³⁰, **Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Maurice Danby Copithorne** stated:

46. The most eminent of the dissenters, Grand Ayatollah Hossein-Ali Montazeri, was very much present, in spirit at least, throughout the year. Despite being under house arrest, he managed to make public his memoirs in December 2000, which confirmed important details of some of the blackest events in the history of the Islamic Republic, such as the mass executions of political prisoners. Shortly after their publication, Mortazeri's eldest son was detained and as of July, while no charges had been laid he was still in custody.

With a tone of desperation, Special Representative Copithorne stated:

107. ...The current intransigence [of the Government of the Islamic Republic], which if anything has become more pronounced since the body of this report was completed, is a costly distraction but cannot be allowed to cloud the goal or the path to it.

In turn the call of Maurice Danby Copithorne to investigate had been ignored by the administration of the Islamic Republic Iran.

4) **Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ahmed Shaheed** reported on 26 May 2016:

34. In addition to problems with the laws themselves, the Special Rapporteur notes that many of the reports he receives regarding due process and fair trial violations involve a failure on the part of the

²⁹ E/CN.4/1990/22, <http://undocs.org/E/CN.4/1990/22>

³⁰ E/CN.4/2002/42, <http://undocs.org/E/CN.4/2002/42>

authorities to simply implement existing laws. He continues to receive reports of individuals who are arrested without being presented with a warrant, and he has documented cases during the current reporting period where individuals and their families were not provided with adequate information regarding the circumstances of their arrest. He also continues to receive reports alleging that security officials, especially those affiliated with the Intelligence Ministry and the intelligence unit of the Revolutionary Guards, continue to arrest and detain individuals for prolonged periods without allowing contact with family members or legal counsel. The Special Rapporteur has repeatedly noted that this period of incommunicado detention renders detainees vulnerable to various forms of abuse, including torture.³¹

In his report to the UN General Assembly in 2016, the UN Secretary General regretted that no visit by the Special Procedures had taken place since 2005 and encouraged the Government to facilitate their requested visits to the country as a matter of priority in order that they might conduct more comprehensive assessments. The Secretary General said he was also concerned about the low rate of reply to the large number of communications sent by the Special Procedures, alleging very serious human rights violations and called upon the Government to strengthen its collaboration with the Human Rights Council in this particular area.

The Human Rights Council also had repeatedly called upon the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to cooperate fully with the Special Rapporteur and to permit access to visit the country, and to provide all information necessary to allow the fulfilment of the mandate. All these calls fell on a deaf ear.

The Way Forward is an International Commission of Inquiry

It is now becoming futile and contrary to the fundamental principles of criminal law to call on the perpetrators of a crime to investigate themselves, thus making of them judge and party. The self confessing perpetrators of the 1988 mass murder are currently in the top of the pyramid of the State. It is unconceivable to expect the Islamic Republic of

³¹ A/HRC/31/69, <http://undocs.org/A/HRC/31/69>

Iran to undertake an independent inquiry at a time top officials of the State are openly calling to decorate those who took part in the massacre. It is therefore time for the High Commissioner and Human Rights Council to face their mandate and responsibility.

The families of the victims of the 1988 massacre have the right to know the truth about what happened to their loved ones. They have the right to be officially notified of their deaths and to be provided with death certificates and to learn the place of their burials if they are dead or to be told of their whereabouts if they are still alive. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran had failed to investigate and is refusing to cooperate with the UN Special Procedures. Therefore the only way forward towards the truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence is the establishment of an **independent international commission of inquiry**.

DEATH DECREE

Formation of Death Commissions

In the summer of 1988, Ruhollah Khomeini issued a decree³² stating that all political prisoners affiliated with the PMOI must be executed if they remain loyal to the organisation. Soon the decree was extended to cover political prisoners affiliated to other political groups.

The decree reads:

“As the treacherous Monafeqin [PMOI] do not believe in Islam and what they say is out of deception and hypocrisy, and as their leaders have confessed that they have become renegades, and as they are waging war on God, and.... It is decreed that those who are in prison throughout the country and remain steadfast in their support for the Monafeqin [PMOI] are waging war on God and are condemned to execution. The task of implementing the decree in Tehran is entrusted to Hojjatol-Islam Nayyeri, the religious judge, Mr. Eshraqi, the Tehran prosecutor, and a representative of the Intelligence Ministry. Even though a unanimous decision is better, the view of a majority of the three must prevail. In prisons in the provinces, the views of a majority of a trio consisting of the religious judge, the revolutionary prosecutor, and the Intelligence Ministry representative must be obeyed. It is naive to show mercy to those who wage war on God. The decisive way in which Islam treats the enemies of God is among the unquestionable tenets of the Islamic regime. I hope that with your revolutionary rage and vengeance toward the enemies of Islam, you would achieve the satisfaction of the Almighty God. Those who are making the decisions must not hesitate, nor show any doubt or be concerned with details. They must try to be ‘most ferocious against infidels.’ To have doubts about the judicial matters of revolutionary Islam is to ignore the pure blood of martyrs.”

³² See Annex 1

The decree was so ruthless even by the standards of the Islamic Republic of Iran, that the Chief Justice sought clarification with the following questions:

1. *Does the decree apply to those who have been in prison, who have already been tried and sentenced to death, but have not changed their stance and the verdict has not yet been carried out, or are those who have not yet been tried also condemned to death?*
2. *Those Monafeqin [PMOI] prisoners who have received limited jail terms, and who have already served part of their terms, but continue to hold fast to their stance in support of the Monafeqin [PMOI], are they also condemned to death?*
3. *In reviewing the status of the Monafeqin [PMOI] prisoners, is it necessary to refer the cases of Monafeqin [PMOI] prisoners in counties that have an independent judicial organ to the provincial centre, or can the county's judicial authorities act autonomously?*

Khomeini's response³³ was even more ruthless:

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

³³ <https://iran1988.org/letter-of-ahamd-khomeini-to-his-father-and-the-latters-response/>

In his decree, Khomeini, ordered the formation of three-member panels, known as "Death Commissions" throughout the country to implement his order of executing all political prisoners remaining loyal to their belief and political affiliation. It was not limited to Tehran or provincial capitals; every county with a judicial system implemented the decree. Thus, a systematic murder machine began operating all over the country with unprecedented speed. It took only a few minutes for the Death Commissions to determine each case brought before them.

Amnesty International in a report published in 1990³⁴ described the determination process of each case by the Death Commissions as follows:

In Gohardasht Prison those detained for their alleged support for the PMOI were reportedly the first to go before the commission. Other prisoners received information about the "trials" from PMOI prisoners by way of messages tapped on walls in Morse code from room to room inside the prison. According to one prisoner held there at that time, the first question asked by the commission was: "What is your political affiliation?" Those who answered "Mojahedin" were sent to their deaths. The "correct" answer was "monafeqin" (hypocrites). Those prisoners who survived this first phase of interrogation were then subjected to a second series of questions. These included questions such as:

- Are you willing to give an interview on television to condemn and expose the monafeqin?*
- Are you willing to fight with the forces of the Islamic Republic against the monafeqin?*
- Are you willing to put a noose around the neck of an active member of the monafeqin?*
- Are you willing to clear the minefields for the army of the Islamic Republic?*

³⁴ Amnesty International, "IRAN: VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS 1987-1990" <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/200000/mde130211990en.pdf>

The majority of prisoners were reportedly unwilling to give the desired responses and were consequently sent for execution.

There is no other case in contemporary history of such systematic extrajudicial executions of political prisoners ordered by the highest authority of the state and implemented at such speed. In an interview in July 2017, Ali Fallahian, who was Deputy Minister of Intelligence in 1988 and later promoted to the position of Minister of Intelligence, said with Khomeini's decree all political prisoners who refused to renounce their beliefs were condemned to execution and there was no need for due process. The commissions were only tasked with determining if the prisoners remained loyal to the PMOI.

In his decree, Khomeini had named the original members of the commission in Tehran. Due the high number of political prisoners in the capital, a few other officials also joined that commission.

Despite the explicit letter of the decree, for many years there was an incorrect perception by the international community that only one commission was entrusted with the task of implementing Khomeini's order. In reality, several dozen Death Commissions across the country simultaneously sent political prisoners to their deaths. Even in Tehran, in addition to those named by Khomeini, other senior officials acted as substitutes for the original members of the Death Commission in order to expedite the process of exterminating the political prisoners.

The true number of perpetrators of the 1988 massacre may never be known; however, during the second half of 2016 and first half of 2017, with the resurgence of a public movement demanding accountability and justice for the victims of the massacre, more information became available. Many families of victims who had remained silent in fear of persecution began providing their information. The political dispute among various factions of the regime also led to the revelation of new information.

JVMI has collected the relevant information regarding the perpetrators and has hereby collated a list of 96 individuals who acted as members of the Death Commissions in 1988 or supervised their operations. It is shocking that many of the perpetrators continue as of the summer of 2017 to hold key positions in various branches of the Iranian government.

The current Minister of Justice, Alireza Avaie, was a member of the Death Commission in Khuzestan. His two predecessors, who held office in the past eight years, Mustafa Pour-Mohammadi and Morteza Bakhtiari, were also members of the Death Commissions. In addition, the Minister of Justice from 1989 until 2005 was Mohammad Esmail Shushtari who in 1988 headed the state Prisons Organisation and was an active member of the Death Commission in Tehran.

Seventeen other members of the Death Commissions are currently holding judicial offices including the post of Supreme Court judges. Two Members of Parliament, seven members of the Assembly of Experts and two members of the powerful State Expediency Discernment Council are also among the members of the 1988 Death Commissions.

The following are the names of perpetrators of the massacre currently holding key positions:

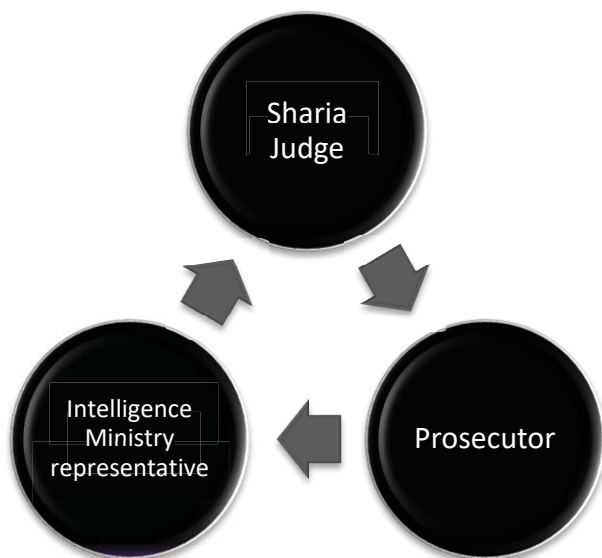
1. Alireza Avaie, Minister of Justice (since September 2017)
2. Mustafa Pour-Mohammadi, Advisor to the Chief of the Judiciary
3. Morteza Bakhtiari, Deputy Custodian of Astan Quds Razavi conglomerate
4. Hossein-Ali Nayyeri, Head of the Supreme Disciplinary Court for Judges and Vice President of the Supreme Court
5. Yadollah Alizadeh, Deputy Prosecutor General of Iran
6. Ali Razini, Head of the 41st Branch of the Supreme Court
7. Gholamreza Khalaf Rezai-Zare', Supreme Court judge
8. Gholam-Hossein Mohseni-Ejei, First Vice Chief and spokesperson of the Judiciary; member of the State Expediency Council
9. Ebrahim Raisi, Head of Qods Razavi Endowment Foundation and President of Governing Board of the Fifth Assembly of Experts
10. Ali Mobasheri, Supreme Court judge

11. Mohammad Moghisseh, President of the 28th branch of the Revolutionary Court
12. Mukhtar Heydarzadeh, Head of the logistics section of the Administrative Justice Court
13. Mir-Naghi Ghazipour, Head of the second branch of the Administrative Justice Court
14. Akbar Feiz Einoddin, Judge in Branch 16 of the Supreme Court
15. Abbasali Alizadeh, Appeal court judge
16. Mohammad Sadegh Gholami, Expert in the Supreme Court
17. Haj Khalil Norouzi, Head of Inspections in the Judiciary in Zanzan
18. Morteza Moqtadaee, Member of Assembly of Experts
19. Mohammad Mohammadi Reyshahri, Member of Assembly of Experts
20. Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi Shahroodi, Member of Assembly of Experts
21. Assadollah Imani, Member of Assembly of Experts and Supreme Leader's representative in Fars province
22. Zeinolabedin Qorbani Lahiji, Member of the Assembly of Experts and representative of the Supreme Leader in Gilan Province
23. Abbas-Ali Soleimani, Member of Assembly of Experts and the Supreme Leader's representative in Zahedan
24. Salman Khodadadi, Member of Parliament and Chair of its Committee on Social Affairs
25. Abdolreza Mesri, Member of Parliament
26. Mohammad Salimi, Head of the high court for determining judges' competence
27. Mohammadreza Saber, Supreme Court judge
28. Ali Abdollahi Ali-Abadi, Coordinator of the Headquarters of the Armed Forces
29. Brig. Gen. Ahmad Nourian, Coordinator of the Tharallah Garrison in Tehran

**SUSPECT PERPETRATORS OF THE
1988 EXTRA-LEGAL MASS EXECUTIONS OF
POLITICAL PRISONERS IN IRAN**

This section includes the names and short biographies of members of the Supreme Judicial Council and officials of the Ministry of Intelligence who were involved in setting up the Death Commissions across the country and supervising the implementation of the decree. Thereafter, the names and short biographies of members of the Death Commissions are listed.

Make-up of the Death Commissions



Death Commissions across Iran were each comprised of a Sharia judge, Intelligence Ministry representatives and Prosecutor. Some of the Commissions also included substitute members, including the local or provincial prison chief.

Supreme Judicial Council



Name: **Seyyed Abdolkarim Mousavi Ardabili**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: President of the Supreme Judicial Council

Present position: Deceased (2016)

He was first to receive Khomeini's fatwa (death decree) and initially asked for clarification on the implementation of the fatwa. As the President of the Supreme Judicial Council, he was responsible for setting up the three-member commissions ordered by Khomeini to implement the fatwa.

Grand Ayatollah Hossein-Ali Montazeri in his memoir explains that he had subsequently written to Mousavi Ardabili reminding him of his responsibility. He wrote: "Weren't they your judges who condemned these prisoners to five or ten years in jail? Weren't you responsible? How is it that you telephone Haj Ahmad and ask him should we execute them (political prisoners) in Kashan or in Isfahan? You should have gone to the Imam (Khomeini) and told him how can we execute someone who had been sentenced to five years and had been in jail for some time, and was not aware of the Monafeqin's (PMOI) activities? These people (serving

prison terms) had not committed any new crimes for which we could try them (again).”

Referring to the political prisoners, Mousavi Ardabili said, “They must all be executed... There will be no more of this sentencing and appeals” (Tehran radio, 6 August 1988).

Mousavi Ardabili was the highest judicial authority during the mass executions of some 30,000 political opponents of the regime in 1988. He was head of the *Mofid* Seminary and a religious authority until he died in November 2016.



Name: **Mohammad Mousavi Khoeiniha**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Member of the Supreme Judicial Council; Prosecutor-General

Present position: Member of the Association of Combatant Clerics

During the US Embassy occupation in Tehran, he was Khomeini's representative among the "Muslim Student Followers of the Imam". He was appointed in 1985 as the country's Prosecutor-General by Khomeini and remained in that post until 1989.

In his capacity as the Prosecutor-General and member of the Supreme Judicial Council, he was directly involved in the implementation of the *fatwa*, including in setting up the three-member commissions known as the "Death Commissions".

The French daily *Le Monde* wrote on 1 March 1989, "Imam Khomeini summoned the Revolutionary Prosecutor, Hojjat al-Islam Mohammad Mousavi Khoeiniha, to instruct him that henceforth all PMOI members, whether held in prisons or anywhere else, must be executed for waging war on God. The executions followed summary trials. The trial was nothing more than a coercive process to extract confessions and forced repentance ..."

Mohammad Mousavi Khoeiniha, allegedly, bears personal responsible for the mass extra-legal executions during the summer of 1988 in Iran.



Name: **Morteza Moqtadaee**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Member and spokesperson of the Supreme Judicial Council

Present position: Head of Qom Seminary; member of Assembly of Experts

He joined the Judiciary in March 1979 when appointed as a judge in the revolutionary courts and served in Tehran, Qom, Khorramshahr, Abadan, Malayer and Zanjan.

As a member of the Supreme Judicial Council, he was engaged in the decision making process for the setting up of the three-member "Death Commissions" around the country and in supervising their activities.



Name: **Seyyed Mohammad Mousavi Bojnourdi**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Member of the Supreme Judicial Council

Present position: Member of the Association of Combatant Clergy

He started working in 1979 in Khomeini's office in a section responsible for providing interpretation to legal issues according to *shari'a* rules. In 1981, he launched the Supreme Court for Judges upon Khomeini's order. He was a member of the Supreme Judicial Council from 1982 until 1990. In this capacity, he took part in the decision making process setting up the three-member "Death Commissions" around the country and supervised their activities to ensure that Khomeini's fatwa was implemented.



Name: **Seyyed Mohammad Hassan Marashi Shushtari**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Member of the Supreme Judicial Council

Present position: Deceased

He was known to be one of the main founders of the Islamic Republic's Judiciary. He served in 1983 in Ahwaz, provincial capital of Khuzestan, first as a *Shari'a* Judge, and then as head of the revolutionary court until 1985. According to reliable sources, he was involved in trials and executions of opponents in Khuzestan province between 1983 and 1985. After leaving the Supreme Judicial Council, he served in the National Supreme Court and was also a member of the Assembly of Experts.

As a member of the Supreme Judicial Council he took part in the setting up of the three-member "Death Commissions" around the country and in supervising their activities.

He died in 2009.

Intelligence Ministry



Name: **Mohammad Mohammadi Reyshahri** (A.K.A. *Mohammad Mohammadi-Nik*)

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Intelligence Minister

Present position: Member of Assembly of Experts; Head of Shah Abdul-Azim Endowment

All representatives of the Ministry of Intelligence and Security (MOIS) in the “Death Commissions” were appointed by him. Following the 1979 revolution he was the head of Army Revolutionary Court. He was also Revolutionary Prosecutor and Special Prosecutor for the Clergy. He allegedly issued death sentences as a Revolutionary Court judge for Sadeq Qotbzadeh, Omid Najafabadi, and Mehdi Hashemi. He was the first Intelligence Minister when the post was established in 1984.

According to Khomeini’s *fatwa*, one of the members of the three-member “Death Commission” is drawn from the Ministry of Intelligence (MOIS). Reyshahri and his deputy Fallahian were both responsible for appointing the representative of the MOIS to the “Death Commissions”. According to reliable witnesses, representatives of the MOIS played a major role in deciding the executions.

Ayatollah Montazeri wrote in his memoir “One of the judicial officers in Qom came to me and complained about the head of the Intelligence

Department in Qom saying: 'The man says let us kill them off as quickly as we can and get rid of them once for all'. In his complaint, the judicial officer said: 'Let us at least look at the file and review the sentence'. The Intelligence officer replied: 'The Imam has issued the verdict; all we have to do is to ascertain that the prisoner is holding fast to his views'..."

It is well documented that Mohammad Mohammadi Reyshahri was personally involved in the massacre of the political prisoners just as the members of the "Death Commissions" he appointed.



Name: **Ali Fallahian**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Deputy Intelligence Minister

Present position: No official position

Before 1985 he was a *Shari'a* Judge in Khuzestan courts and was allegedly directly involved in the executions. He served as Intelligence Minister from 1989 to 1997. He was a member of the Assembly of Experts from 2007 until 2016. Since 7 November 2007 he has been on the wanted list of Argentina's Judiciary for his role in the 1994 terrorist bombing of a Jewish community centre in Buenos Aires. Interpol also issued a red notice for his alleged role in the terrorist attack.

There is also an international warrant for his arrest for having planned the assassination of Kurdish leaders at the Mikonos Restaurant in Berlin on 17 September 1992. In its 10 April 1997 ruling, a German court issued an international arrest warrant for Ali Fallahian after declaring that the assassination had been ordered by him with the knowledge of Khamenei and Rafsanjani. As Deputy Minister of Intelligence he was responsible, along with the Minister, of setting up the three-member "Death Commissions" around the country.

In an interview with the state-affiliated *Tarikh Online website* (aired by the state-affiliated *Aparat* online video platform on 9 July 2017), Fallahian acknowledged that Khomeini's *fatwa* called for the eradication of all affiliates of the PMOI. Defending the *fatwa*, Fallahian said that even PMOI supporters whose only 'crime' was to distribute the group's literature or to buy bread or other provisions for them were found guilty of waging war on God and executed.



Name: **Javad Ali-Akbarian**

Province: Tehran

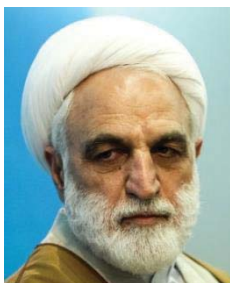
City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Deputy Minister of Intelligence

Present position: Deputy Head of Shah Abdul-Azim Endowment

In the early days after the Revolution he was in charge of investigation in the office of the revolutionary General Prosecutor and also served as revolutionary prosecutor in Gonbad and Isfahan.

He was also in charge of the planning directorate, admin and finance of foreign intelligence of the Intelligence Ministry under Reyshahri. After leaving the Intelligence Ministry in 1989, he was appointed as deputy international head of the Islamic Culture and Communications Organization and vice-chair of this organization.



Name: **Gholam-Hossein Mohseni-Ejei**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: The Judiciary's representative in the Intelligence Ministry

Present position: First Vice Chief of the Judiciary since 23 August 2014 and Spokesperson for the Judiciary since 16 September 2010; member of the State Expediency Discernment Council

He was Attorney General from 2009 to 2014. He was Intelligence Minister of Iran from 2005 until 2009. While he was Intelligence Minister during the 2009 election, intelligence agents under his command were responsible for detention, torture and extraction of false confessions under duress from hundreds of activists, journalists, dissidents, and reformist politicians.

In addition, political figures were coerced into making false confessions during interrogations by the use of intimidation, blackmail, torture and the threatening of family members.

In 1988, he allegedly played an active role in the decision making circle responsible for implementation of extra-legal death sentences.

Human Rights Watch called for him to be put on trial for crimes against humanity committed during the mass executions.³⁵

In 2011, the European Union put him on its sanctions list for his role in serious violations of human rights and persecution of the opposition.

³⁵ Ministers of Murder: Iran's New Security Cabinet
<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounders/mena/iran1205/iran1205.pdf>

See Council Regulation (EU) No 359/2011 of 12 April 2011 concerning restrictive measures directed against certain persons, entities and bodies in view of the situation in Iran, in [Eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A02011R0359-20170413].

Death Commissions

Tehran Province



Name: **Hossein-Ali Nayyeri**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of Tehran's Islamic Revolutionary Courts; *Shari'a* judge; and head of the "Death Commission" in Tehran

Present position: Head of the Supreme Disciplinary Court for Judges and Vice President of the Supreme Court

He was appointed as the Head of the "Death Commission" in Tehran upon Khomeini's order. According to Iran's former deputy supreme leader Hossein-Ali Montazeri, the order was issued on 26 July 1988 and states in part: "[T]hose in prisons throughout the country who remain steadfast in their support for the Monafeqin [PMOI] are waging war on God and are condemned to execution... The task of implementing the decree in Tehran is entrusted to Hojjatol-Eslam Nayyeri, the *Shari'a* Judge, Mr. Eshraqi, the Tehran prosecutor, and a representative of the Intelligence Ministry".

Reliable sources indicate that the “Death Commission” started its work in Tehran’s Evin prison on 28 July 1988. The commission operated in both Evin and Gohardasht prisons. It is reported that they used helicopters to commute rapidly between Evin and Gohardasht to issue death sentences.



Name: **Ali Mobasher**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge, also acting as substitute to Hossein-Ali Nayyeri in the "Death Commission"

Present position: Supreme Court judge

He joined the Judiciary in 1981 and was responsible for murdering the regime's opponents in Evin Prison. He reportedly described Assadollah Lajevardi, the infamous governor of Evin Prison who was widely known as the "butcher of Evin", as a great man representing unique values.



Name: **Mostafa Pour-Mohammadi**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Representative of Intelligence Ministry in the “Death Commission” in Tehran

Present position: Advisor to Chief of the Judiciary; Iran’s Minister of Justice until August 2017

All those executed in Tehran and Karaj were sentenced to death under his ruling. In 2005, Human Rights Watch accused him of committing crimes against humanity for his role in the “Death Commission” and described him as a Minister of Murder.³⁶

Pour-Mohammadi was quoted on 28 August 2016 by the state-run *Tasnim news agency* as saying: *“God commanded to show no mercy to the nonbelievers because they will not show mercy to you either and there should be no mercy to the [PMOI] because if they could, they would spill your blood, which they did. ... We are proud to have carried out God’s commandment with regard to the [Mojahedin] and to have stood with strength and fought against the enemies of God and the people.”*

³⁶ Ibid,

<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounder/mena/iran1205/iran1205.pdf>



Name: **Morteza Eshraqi**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Tehran's Prosecutor; member of "Death Commission" in Tehran

Present position: Lawyer practicing in Tehran

The task of issuing death sentences in Tehran was entrusted to him directly by Khomeini. Death sentences for thousands of prisoners affiliated with the PMOI and other opponents were signed by him.



Name: **Seyyed Ebrahim Rais al-Sadati** (A.K.A. *Seyyed Ebrahim Raisi, Ibrahim Raeessi and Ebrahim Raeesi*)

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

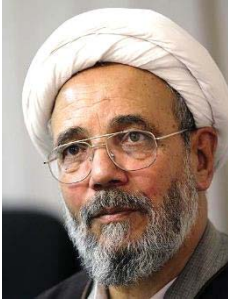
Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Tehran's Deputy Prosecutor; member of "Death Commission" in Tehran

Present position: Head of Qods Razavi Endowment Foundation; President of Governing Board of the Fifth Assembly of Experts; member of the State Expediency Discernment Council; he was a Presidential candidate in 2017

At the time of the 1988 mass executions, he headed the revolutionary court dealing with political prisoners. Allegedly, he instructed the arrests, torture, and execution of members of political groups.

Raisi's campaign in the weeks leading to the May 2017 election continuously sent out messages via the social network Telegram defending the 1988 massacre.

With Raisi standing by his side, Yasser Mousavi, the Friday prayers' leader in Varamin, said at a Raisi campaign rally on 12 May 2017: *"This grand figure standing next to me is proud to have executed the members of the PMOI"*.



Name: **Mohammad Esmail Shushtari**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of the state Prisons Organization; member of “Death Commission” in Tehran

Present position: Retired

He served as Iran’s Minister of Justice for 16 years under Ali-Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and Mohammad Khatami. He was head of the Presidency’s Inspectorate Office until August 2016.



Name: **Ali Razini**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of the Judicial Organization of the Armed Forces; member of “Death Commission” in Tehran

Present position: Head of the 41st Branch of the Supreme Court

Khomeini’s assigned him on 24 July 1988 to “set up special courts to deal with war offences in all war zones and deal with offenders in accordance with *Shari’a*, disregarding rules and regulations that can be restrictive and troublesome; and to ensure that any act that may lead to the failure of the Islamic front is punished to death”.



Name: **Seyyed Hossein Mortazavi Zanjani**

Province: Tehran

City: Tehran

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Governor of Evin Prison; member of “Death Commission” in Tehran

Present position: businessman; owner of a publicity firm

He began his career in the cultural section of Evin Prison, working under the butcher of Evin, Assadollah Lajevardi. After Lajevardi’s departure in 1985, he was first appointed as Governor of Gohardasht (Rajai-Shahr) Prison and then Evin Prison.



Name: **Mohammad Moghisseh (a.k.a. Nasserian)**

Province: Tehran

City: Karaj (*now part of Alborz Province*)

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of Gohardasht (Rajai-Shahr) Prison; member of “Death Commission” in Tehran

Present position: President of the 28th branch of the Revolutionary Court

According to survivors of the 1988 mass executions, Moghisseh was directly and personally involved in the executions of political prisoners in the 1980s. Using the pseud name “Haj Nasserian” he was a prosecutor in Evin Prison. In the 1988 mass executions, after trials that would last only a few minutes, he would take the prisoners personally to the prison’s boiler room for execution.

On 13 April 2011, the European Union decided to ban him from entering the EU **for being responsible in serious human rights abuses in Iran**. The decision was renewed by on 11 April 2017 by Council Implementing Regulation (EU) 2017/685.³⁷

³⁷ http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.L_.2017.099.01.0010.01.ENG

Eastern Azerbaijan Province



Name: **Mirza Najaf Aghazadeh**

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

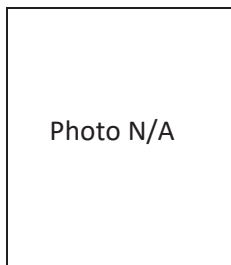
City: Tabriz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* judge; head of the "Death Commission" of Eastern Azerbaijan Province

Present position: Administrative secretary of Grand Ayatollah Makarem Shirazi in Eastern Azerbaijan

Mandated by Khomeini and Mousavi Ardabili, he was a provincial *Shari'a* judge in charge of the final ruling on death penalty in the cities of Tabriz, Ardabil and Maragheh.

During the 1988 mass executions, he signed the death sentences of at least 250 prisoners in Tabriz and 70 prisoners in Ardabil.



Name: **Mukhtar Heydarzadeh**

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Tabriz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Provincial Prosecutor and member of the “Death Commission” of Eastern Azerbaijan Province

Current Position: Head of the logistics section of the Administrative Justice Court

He was the Prosecutor of the Islamic Revolutionary Court in Tabriz, Eastern Azerbaijan during the 1988 mass executions. He allegedly was involved in repression, torture, and execution of opponents of the regime as well as the mass executions of political prisoners held in Tabriz in 1988.



Name: **Khalil Abedi**

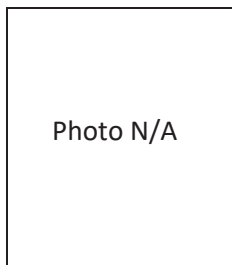
Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Tabriz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge in city of Tabriz; member of Tabriz "Death Commission"

Present position: Runs a law firm in Tabriz

During the 1980s he was a *Shari'a* Judge in Tabriz.



Name: **Mahboubi**

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Tabriz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Representative of the Ministry of Intelligence in East Azerbaijan "Death Commission".

Present position: Unknown



Name: **Ali Dadizadeh**

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Tabriz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Deputy Prosecutor;
member of Tabriz “Death Commission”

Present position: Ethics teacher in Tabriz

He was the Friday prayer leader in Jolfa for a while. He currently serves
as professor of ethics in Tabriz.

Photo N/A

Name: **Haj Seyyed Abol-Hassan Chapari** (*A.K.A Sheikh al Modir*)

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Tabriz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Director General of the Prisons Organization in East Azerbaijan Province; member of Eastern Azerbaijan “Death Commission”

Present position: Unknown



Name: **Mohammad Ali Nosrati Zaglujeh**

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Tabriz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Director of Tabriz Prison; member of Tabriz “Death Commission”

Present position: Secretary of the Drug Coordination Council of East Azerbaijan

After Khomeini’s *fatwa* ordering the mass executions, he allegedly turned the prison carpentry workshop, originally launched for the prison income generating activities, into an execution chamber.

Eyewitness accounts reported that he once was seen comfortably sitting on a sofa supervising the collective hanging of the prisoners. He has long been one of the police chiefs in Western and Eastern Azerbaijan provinces. He also played a major role in suppressing the 2006 uprising of the people of Tabriz.



Name: **Mir-Naghi Ghazipour (Ghazi Tabatabai)**

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Ardabil

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge; member of Ardabil "Death Commission"

Present position: Head of 2nd branch of Administrative Court

As a *Shari'a* judge, he was responsible for the execution of dozens of PMOI-affiliated prisoners. Allegations pointed out that no prisoner that came under his jurisdiction survived. Other allegations indicated that at least 11 previously-released political prisoners were rearrested under his orders and were executed.



Name: **Mirza Biuk Khalilzadeh Moravej**

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Ardabil (*Ardabil city is now situated in Ardabil province*)

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Friday prayers leader; member of Ardabil “Death Commission”

Present position: Deceased (2001)

He gave advice for executions to Khomeini’s representative in the city of Ardabil (*Shari’a* judge called Tabatabai). He was later Friday prayers leader and Khamenei’s representative until his death. It is alleged that he had moral authority and influence on the commander of the IRGC and the representative of the Intelligence Ministry.

He was personally involved in the execution of three PMOI members, Mahmoud Yahyavi, Afshin Nourani and a third person known as Sirous. He was also directly involved in the mass executions of 14 PMOI members in a venue called Refrigerator Room of Ardabil ‘Post’ Prison in July 1981.

During the 1988 mass executions he was one of the main instigators of the execution of PMOI prisoners in the city of Ardabil.



Name: **Salman Khodadadi**

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Ardabil

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Representative of the Intelligence Ministry in the Ardebil "Death Commission"

Present position: MP and Chair of the Social Affairs Committee

He was the head of the Ardabil city Intelligence Bureau. After the separation of Ardabil from Eastern Azerbaijan Province and the formation of Ardabil as an independent province, he became the director general of the Ardabil Province Intelligence Bureau.



Name: **Hossein Mirsadeghi**

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Ardabil

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Prosecutor of the city of Ardabil; member of Ardabil “Death Commission”

Present position: Unknown

Mirsadeghi was a native of Zanjan. He was appointed as Ardabil Prosecutor in 1981. Together with two others under the name of Akbari and Bayat (Prosecutor and the Deputy Prosecutor), he was directly involved in the torture and the execution of prisoners between 1981 and 1988. Mirsadeghi was one of the main instigators of the 1988 mass executions who travelled to Ardabil with the “Death Commission”.



Name: **Akbar Feiz Einoddin**

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Maragheh

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge in the Maragheh "Death Commission"

Present position: Judge in Branch 16 of the Supreme Court

Maragheh's "Death Commission" reviewed the cases of PMOI and other opposition activists and after confirmation of their death sentences by the visiting provincial "Death Commission", the prisoners were sent to the provincial capital Tabriz for execution.



Name: Yadollah Alizadeh

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

City: Maragheh

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Maragheh Prosecutor;
member of Maragheh “Death Commission”

Present position: Deputy Prosecutor General of Iran

Yadollah Alizadeh became later a judge of the Supreme Court. He has a
doctorate in law and gives university lectures.

Western Azerbaijan Province



Name: **Hojjatoleslam Gholamreza Hassani (Mullah Hassani)**

Province: Western Azerbaijan

City: Urmia (*Orumieh*)

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Representative of the Supreme Leader and *Shari'a* Judge of Urmia; member of Urmia "Death Commission"

Present position: Retired due to illness



Name: **Gholamali Rezai Chianeh**

Province: Western Azerbaijan

City: Urmia

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Revolutionary Prosecutor of Western Azerbaijan Province; member of Western Azerbaijan “Death Commission”

Present position: Member of Tehran Bar Association

During 1988 he was the Revolutionary Prosecutor of Urmia. Until 2010 he was both General and Revolutionary Prosecutor of Western Azerbaijan Province. In 2011 he was appointed by the Chief of the Judiciary, Sadegh Larijani, as the Chairman of Ardabil Province Justice Department. In December 2014, he left the chairmanship of Ardabil Province Justice Department, and he has been working in the Tehran Bar Association since then.



Name: **Bahman Taherian Mobarake**

Province: Western Azerbaijan

City: Urmia

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Representative of the Intelligence Ministry in Urmia; member of Urmia “Death Commission”

Present position: Member of Tappico Oil Investment Company Board of Directors

Bahman Taherian Mobarake, nicknamed “Haj Habib”, was in charge of the Western Azerbaijan province’s Intelligence Ministry. Even before 1988, he reportedly was an interrogator and torturer. He later became Iranian Ambassador to Nigeria, Brazil and Ukraine. He served as a security adviser for the president during the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. In July 2010, he became the secretary of the International Conference on the Fight against Terrorism. In 2015, he was proposed to take up the position of ambassador to Syria. For undisclosed reasons he had not been dispatched to the post.

Photo N/A

Name: **Seyyed Jaleddin Hosseini** (cleric)

Province: Western Azerbaijan

City: Urmia

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of Urmia Prison;
member of Urmia “Death Commission”

Present position: Unknown

As head of Urmia Prison, according to eyewitnesses, he would come personally to the ward to abuse and humiliate the prisoners and lead them to the “Death Commission” to be sentenced to death.

Isfahan Province



Name: **Mohammad Ali Zanjirei**

Province: Isfahan

City: Isfahan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of Prison in Isfahan; member of Isfahan “Death Commission”

Present position: Senior advisor to the head of the Prisons Organisation

He is alleged to have had an active role in the mass executions of political prisoners in 1988 in the city of Isfahan. In 2011, the EU imposed sanctions on him for human rights violations as “Deputy Head of Iran’s Prisons Organisation, responsible for abuses and deprivation of rights in detention centre. He ordered the transfer of many inmates into solitary confinement” (Council Decision 2011/235/CFSP, of 12 April 2011, concerning restrictive measures directed against certain persons and entities in view of the situation in Iran).³⁸

³⁸ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2011:100:0051:0057:EN:PDF>

Bushehr Province



Name: **Johari Moghadam**

Province: Bushehr

City: Bushehr

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge; member of Bushehr "Death Commission"

Present position: Unknown

Khorasan Province



Name: **Hassan Mesbah**

Province: Khorasan (*north eastern Iran. Note: Khorasan Province was subsequently divided into three smaller provinces*).

City: Mashhad

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge of Khorasan Province, member of Khorasan "Death Commission"

Present position: Lawyer in Tehran

He was the *Shari'a* Judge of the city of Babol (northern Iran) from 1979 till 1984. He then moved to Mashhad where he became the *Shari'a* Judge of Khorasan province and was also head of the Khorasan prosecution office until 1990. At the same time, he was the *Shari'a* Judge-at-large for Zahedan (southeast Iran) where he travelled on missions. During the 1988 massacres apart from his role as provincial *Shari'a* Judge, he also supervised the implementation of the executions in the cities of Bojnurd, Birjand and Quchan. He later came to Tehran as deputy head of the Supreme Court. He currently lives in Qom (south of Tehran) and has a law firm in Tehran's Yousefabad area which he reportedly visits once a week.



Name: **Habib Mogheisi** (cleric)

Province: Khorasan

City: Mashhad

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Revolutionary Prosecutor, member of Mashhad "Death Commission"

Present position: Deceased

He was nicknamed "Sheikh Habib". Allegedly, he had an active role in the 1988 massacre in Khorasan province. After 1988 he worked in one of the foundations of the regime. He was then transferred to the general inspection office in Tehran. He later got lung and throat cancer and died in 2007.



Name: **Abbasali Alizadeh**

Province: Khorasan

City: Mashhad

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Revolutionary Prosecutor of Mashhad; member of Mashhad “Death Commission”

Present position: Judge of appeal court

He was the Revolutionary Prosecutor of Mashhad. He is reported to have been the prosecutor of the Mashhad prisoners in 1988. He then became the head of the Mashhad Justice Department, and was later transferred to Tehran and was Director General of Tehran Justice Department. After that, he became one of the deputy heads of the Judiciary.



Name: **Hossein Valipour** (cleric)

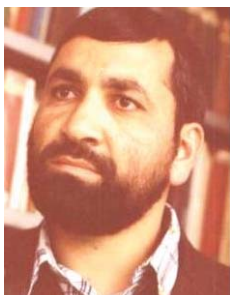
Province: Khorasan

City: Mashhad

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Deputy Prosecutor of Mashhad (representative of the Prosecutor); member of Mashhad "Death Commission"

Present position: Retired

He, allegedly, was actively involved in mass executing prisoners in Mashhad during the 1988 massacre.



Name: **Hassan Zarif-Jalali**

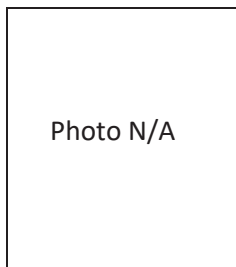
Province: Khorasan

City: Mashhad

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of the IRGC Prison; member of Mashhad “Death Commission”

Present position: Deceased (1999)

He was the prison’s director during the 1988 mass executions. He was involved in running various prisons of Khorasan since the beginning of the 1979 revolution and had an active role in the repression of the opposition.



Name: **Mahmoud Haeri**

Province: Khorasan

City: Birjand

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge in Birjand;
member of Birjand "Death Commission"

Present position: Unknown



Name: **Seyyed Morteza Bakhtiari**

Province: Khorasan

City: Birjand

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Birjand Prosecutor; member of Birjand “Death Commission”

Present position: Deputy Custodian of Astan Quds Razavi conglomerate (Deputy of Ebrahim Raisi)

As prosecutor, he was one of the key people in the “Death Commission” in Birjand during the 1988 mass executions.

He has been an official of the regime’s judicial system since the 1980s, holding top posts, including chief of the regime’s prisons, Iran’s Minister of Justice (2009-2013) and Deputy Chief Prosecutor under Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

The European Union put sanctions on Bakhtiari and another two ministers in the form of a visa ban and asset freeze in October 2011 due to human rights abuses. *[Council Implementing Regulation (EU) No 371/2014, of 10 April 2014 implementing Article 12(1) of Regulation (EU) No 359/2011 concerning restrictive measures directed against certain persons, entities and bodies in view of the situation in Iran].*

The Treasury of the United Kingdom also put him among asset freeze targets in October 2011 for the same reason *(Consolidated List of Financial Sanctions Targets in the UK, as last Updated on 13/04/2017).*

Khuzestan Province



Name: **Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi Shahroodi**

Province: Khuzestan

City: Ahvaz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of the Revolutionary Court and *Shari'a* Judge of Khuzestan Province; member of Khuzestan "Death Commission"

Present position: Member of the Assembly of Experts from Khuzestan

As *Shari'a* Judge of Khuzestan, he was the one who wrote to Ayatollah Montazeri and informed him about Khomeini's Decree on the mass executions. He was Deputy Head of the Supreme Court until 2016, Director General of the Committee for Selection and Recruitment of Judges throughout the country, and Secretary and member of the executive board of legal advisers and experts of the Judiciary.

In an interview published by the state-run Tasnim News Agency³⁹ on 8 August 2017, he said: *"In the middle of the 1983, I replaced Mr Araki as the Shari'a Judge of Khuzestan province. My position as Shari'a Judge lasted until the end of 1988. At that time, I used to visit different cities of Khuzestan every day from Ahvaz to Dezful, Masjed Soleyman, Behbahan, Shoosh and Abadan. Since I was still single at the time, I was working fulltime and I would handle maybe 100 cases a day."* In the same interview, he defended the 1988 massacre and said: *"We definitely defend the Imam's ruling"*.

³⁹ <https://www.tasnimnews.com/fa/news/1396/05/17/1474271/>



Name: **Mohammad Mola'i**

Province: Khuzestan

City: Ahvaz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Revolutionary Prosecutor of Ahvaz; member of Ahvaz "Death Commission"

Present position: Lawyer in Tehran

After the 1988 massacre he held various posts in the judicial system and worked for some of the foundations of the regime. He has been running a law firm in Tehran since 2013. His firm's address: Pasdaran Street, Sixth Boustan, Nama building, Office No. 10.



Name: **Reza Sarami**

Province: Khuzestan

City: Ahvaz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Director of Khuzestan prisons; member of Khuzestan "Death Commission"

Present position: Retired

He was the director of Khuzestan's prisons from 1985 to 1996. He, allegedly, took part in decisions leading to the executions that took place in Khuzestan prisons. Prior to the 1988 mass executions, according to surviving witnesses, he gathered PMOI affiliated prisoners and told them "you are all hypocrites and will be executed". He had also called the leftist prisoners apostates who should receive the death sentence.

In later years, he became Iran's Deputy Inspector General, a position he held until 2016.



Name: Alireza Avaie (Alireza Avaee, a.k.a. Seyyed Ali-Reza Avaee, Seyyed Alireza Avaei, Alireza Avayi)

Province: Khuzestan

City: Dezful

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Prosecutor; member of the Dezful “Death Commission”

Present position: Minister of Justice (from September 2017); Head of the Presidency’s Inspectorate Office (until September 2017)

After receiving Khomeini’s *fatwa*, he reportedly was the main person in charge of executions in the UNESCO Prison in Dezful (A school facility built during the Shah’s regime by UNESCO to help children. It was transformed into a prison operating under the same name by the current regime).

He has been described by witnesses as one of the cruellest murderers of the prisoners during the 1988 mass executions. According to eye-witness accounts, teenage prisoners were executed in the area behind the prison yard.

The European Union put sanctions on Alireza Avaee and another two ministers in the form of a visa ban and asset freeze in October 2011 due to human rights abuses (*Council Decision 2011/235/CFSP of 12 April 2011 concerning restrictive measures directed against certain persons and entities in view of the situation in Iran*).

He is described as, “Director of the special investigations office. Until July 2016 deputy Minister of Interior and head of the Public register. Advisor to the Disciplinary Court for Judges since April 2014. Former President of the Tehran Judiciary. As President of the Tehran Judiciary he has been

responsible for human rights violations, arbitrary arrests, denials of prisoners' rights and an increase in executions."⁴⁰

The Treasury of the United Kingdom also put him among asset freeze targets in October 2011 for the same reason.

⁴⁰ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A02011R0359-20170413>



Name: **Hamidreza Shokoohi**

Province: Khuzestan (south western Iran)

City: Andimeshk

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Representative of the Intelligence Ministry; member of Andimeshk "Death Commission"

Present position: Unknown (*lives in Tehran*)



Photo N/A

Name: **Mohammadreza Saber (Hardavane)**

Province: Khuzestan

City: Masjed Soleyman

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Prosecutor of Masjed Soleyman; member of Masjed Soleyman “Death Commission”

Present position: Supreme Court judge

At the time of the massacre, his name was Mohammadreza Hardavane. He had since changed his name to Mohammadreza Saber.

Photo N/A

Name: **Gholamreza Khalaf Rezai-Zare'**

Province: Khuzestan

City: Dezful

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Assistant Prosecutor;
member of Dezful "Death Commission"

Present position: Supreme Court judge

Gholamreza Khalaf Rezai-Zare' was allegedly promoted to chief justice for several provinces due to his compliance and active role during the 1988 mass executions. He was later assigned as deputy of the regime's Supreme Court.



Name: **Shamsedin Kazemi**

Province: Khuzestan

City: Dezful

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of Dezful Prison;
member of Dezful "Death Commission"

Present position: Unknown

He reportedly was a member of the "Death Commission" in Dezful UNESCO prison during the 1988 mass executions. He allegedly, together with the prosecutor Alireza Avaee and the representative of the Intelligence Ministry Naser, held martial court style interrogations by asking the prisoners whether they were ready to fight against the PMOI or not, and executed those who gave a negative response.

Photo N/A

Name: **Hamid Moussavi**

Province: Khuzestan

City: Masjed Soleyman

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Representative of the Intelligence Ministry; member of Masjed Soleyman “Death Commission”

Present position: Unknown

He reportedly was interrogator of the Intelligence Ministry in the “Death Commission” which was allegedly responsible for the execution of 31 people in this city.

Zanjan Province



Name: **Seyyed Hossein Naseri**

Province: Zanjan (north western Iran)

City: Zanjan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge; member of Zanjan "Death Commission"

Present position: Retried head of Islamic Seminary

In 1988, he reportedly was the Judge of the Revolutionary Court and *Shari'a* Judge. Later when the Revolutionary Court merged with the Judiciary he went to the court of appeal.

Photo N/A

Name: **Mohammad Sadegh Gholami**

Province: Zanjan

City: Zanjan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Revolutionary Prosecutor;
member of Zanjan “Death Commission”

Present position: Expert in the Supreme Court

After the 1988 massacre he reportedly held a post in the Judiciary in Arak. He was away from the judicial system for a while. When Ebrahim Raisi became the Prosecutor General he returned and held a post in the Supreme Court.



Photo N/A

Name: **Salman Senobari**

Province: Zanjan

City: Zanjan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of the IRGC Prison; member of Zanjan “Death Commission”

Present position: Retired from the Prisons Organization. Head of the Board of Directors of Zanjan Ettihad company

He reportedly was head of the IRGC prison in Zanjan where PMOI and other opposition prisoners were held in the 1980s and one of the IRGC intelligence agents. He allegedly worked for a while as an interrogator.

Photo N/A

Name: **Haj Khalil Norouzi**

Province: Zanjan

City: Zanjan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of the provincial state Prisons Organisation; member of Zanjan “Death Commission”

Present position: Head of Inspections in the Judiciary in Zanjan

He allegedly took part in the extra-legal sentencing of some of the political prisoners held in Zanjan Central Prison.

Semnan Province



Name: **Mohammad-Ali Alemi Damghani**

Province: Semnan (east of Tehran)

City: Semnan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge; member of Semnan "Death Commission"

Present position: Deceased

From 1979 to 1989 he was head of the Revolutionary Court and *Shari'a* Judge of Semnan. He was a member of the Semnan provincial "Death Commission" in 1988. Allegedly, all executions of PMOI and opposition activists from 1981 in Semnan were ordered by him. In 2008 he died in Semnan while he was a member of the Assembly of Experts.



Photo N/A

Name: **Abolfazl Mazinanian**

Province: Semnan

City: Semnan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Revolutionary Prosecutor;
member of Semnan “Death Commission”

Present position: Retired

It is alleged that he was one of the main persons involved in the 1988 executions in Semnan prison. His last post was advisor of the Administrative Court of Justice until 2009.



Name: **Hadi Naghibi**

Province: Semnan

City: Semnan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Prison chief; one of the 1988 massacre perpetrators in Semnan

Present position: Retired (lives in Semnan)

Hadi Naghibi was the head of the prison in Semnan for 25 years from 1988. Allegedly, he is one of the main persons responsible for the execution of prisoners in Semnan. He was removed from his post as Semnan Prison Chief in October 2013 and is retired.

Fars Province



Name: **Assadollah Imani**

Province: Fars

City: Kazeroun

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge of Kazeroun; member of Kazeroun "Death Commission"

Present position: Member of the Assembly of Experts, Shiraz Friday Prayers leader and Representative of Khamenei in Fars province

He served as Kazeroun's *Shari'a* Judge during 1988 and held that post for several years.



Photo N/A

Name: **Ramazani** (cleric)

Province: Fars

City: Shiraz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge of Shiraz;
member of Shiraz "Death Commission"

Present position: Unknown

He was the *Shari'a* Judge in the city of Shiraz. He was known as a notorious judge. According to very few survivors of Shiraz, nearly all political prisoners in Shiraz were executed in 1988 while he was in service as member of the "Death Commission".



Photo N/A

Name: **Eslami** (cleric)

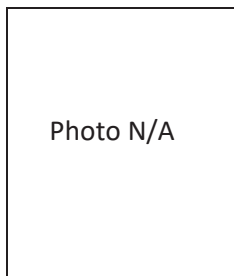
Province: Fars

City: Shiraz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Shiraz Prosecutor; member of Shiraz “Death Commission”

Present position: Unknown

Eslami was the prosecutor in the “Death Commission” during the 1988 mass executions in Adel Abad Prison in Shiraz. The executions were carried out in the same prison.



Name: **Majid Torabpour**

Province: Fars

City: Shiraz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of the state Prisons Organisation in Fars and Kohkiloye and Boyer Ahmad provinces (based in Shiraz); member of Shiraz “Death Commission”

Present position: Unknown



Photo N/A

Name: **Khalil Torabpour**

Province: Fars

City: Shiraz

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of Adel Abad Prison in Shiraz; member of Shiraz “Death Commission”

Present position: Unknown

Kermanshah Province



Name: **Zekrollah Ahmadi**

Province: Kermanshah (western Iran)

City: Kermanshah

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge; member of Kermanshah "Death Commission"

Present position: Head of religious seminary

During the 1988 mass executions he acted as the *Shari'a* Judge and had allegedly issued the execution orders in accordance with Khomeini's decree.



Photo N/A

Name: **Mahmoud Soleimani**

Province: Kermanshah

City: Kermanshah

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Intelligence Ministry representative in the Kermanshah “Death Commission”

Present position: Works in the Intelligence Ministry

He used the pseudonym of “Emami”. He was for a while Director General of Gilan Province Intelligence Department.



Name: **Abdolreza Mesri**

Province: Kermanshah

City: Kermanshah

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Prosecutor of Kermanshah; member of Kermanshah “Death Commission”

Present position: Member of Parliament

In 1984-1985, he was chief interrogator and acted as deputy prosecutor. In this capacity, he was allegedly involved in implementation of Khomeini’s order to execute non-repentant political prisoners.



Name: **Brig. Gen. Ahmad Nourian**

Province: Kermanshah

City: Kermanshah

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of Dizel-Abad Prison in Kermanshah; member of Kermanshah Province “Death Commission”

Present position: Coordinator of the Tharallah Garrison in Tehran (one of the main garrisons responsible for the protection of Tehran)

In 1988 as head of the prison, he was a member of the “Death Commission”. Along with Abdolreza Mesri, another member of the “Death Commission”, he allegedly was notorious for ruthlessness in interrogation and torture of the political prisoners.

Gilan Province



Name: **Allah-Verdi Moqaddasi-Far**

Province: Gilan

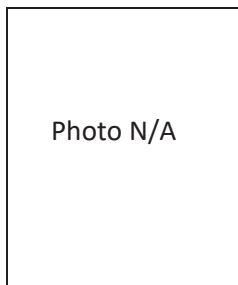
City: Rasht

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge; member of Rasht "Death Commission"

Present position: Runs a law firm

At the time of the mass executions, he was the *Shari'a* Judge of Rasht and a top member of the "Death Commission" in that city. With the help of another mullah by the name of Heydari and other members of the "Death Commission" in court sessions that lasted only a few minutes, he had allegedly ordered the execution of large numbers of political prisoners.

Allegedly, he was active in suppression and execution of dissidents in Mazandaran and Gilan Provinces throughout the 1980s as a *Shari'a* Judge.



Name: **Hossein Moayed Abedi**

Province: Gilan

City: Rasht

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Director General of the Ministry of Intelligence in Gilan Province; member of Rasht "Death Commission"

Present position: Member of executive board of a construction company in Bandar Anzali (adjacent to Rasht)

He was the prison warden of Bandar Anzali from 1981 to 1985. He was transferred to the prosecutor's office in 1985 and subsequently to the Ministry of Intelligence. He was Director General of the Ministry of Intelligence in Gilan Province in 1988 at the time of the mass executions.

Ms Shayeste Vatandoost, a political prisoner, has testified that Hossein Moayed Abedi, as the representative of the Intelligence Ministry, was one of the individuals in charge of mass executions of political prisoners in the Naval Prison of Rasht.

Regarding the mass executions in the women's ward of the Naval Prison of Rasht, Ms Vatandoost said: *"Only two inmates were summoned for the 'tribunal': Faranak Tavoosi and Maryam Vahedi. They were summoned at 9 and 10 am of 30 July 1988. When they returned to the ward they said that Abedi and two other individuals whom they could not establish the identity, asked them three questions without being blindfolded. The two girls thought the questions were raised for their release. The questions were as follows: What is your view of Monafeqin Organization? (Monafeqin is the regime's derogatory term for the PMOI). What is your view of Islamic Republic? Are you willing to repent before television? Faranak was supposed to be released in a month on 7*

September 1988. Mahnaz was just arrested and was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment.”

According to Ms Vatandoost, the two were executed alongside 24 others, including Shahin Samai, who was not summoned before this court or the ‘Death Commission’.



Photo N/A

Name: **Mohsen Khodaverdi**

Province: Gilan

City: Rasht

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Revolutionary Prosecutor of Rasht; member of Rasht “Death Commission”

Present position: Deceased

At the time of the mass executions, he was the Revolutionary Prosecutor and had allegedly signed off the execution of prisoners in Rasht Prison during the mass executions period.



Name: **Brig. Gen. Ali Abdollahi Ali-Abadi**

Province: Gilan

City: Rasht

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of Naval Prison; member of Rasht “Death Commission”

Present position: Coordinator of the Headquarters of the Armed Forces

According to an eyewitness, the “Death Commission” in Rasht consisted of the local prosecutor, the representative of the Intelligence Ministry as the interrogator and Brig. Gen. Abdollahi as the prison warden. According to various testimonies, about 120 prisoners were held at the Naval Prison. Only two prisoners survived the mass executions. According to eyewitnesses, Ali-Abadi played a key role in implementing the massacre of the political prisoners in the Naval Prison.



Name: **Alimorad Heydari**

Province: Gilan

City: Rasht

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Deputy *Shari'a* Judge of Rasht and *Shari'a* Judge of eastern cities of Gilan Province; member of "Death Commission" of cities in eastern Gilan

Present position: Deceased

He was a member of the "Death Commission" of Gilan Province. He assisted mullah Moghadassifar, the *Shari'a* Judge of Rasht, in issuing death sentences. He also acted as the *Shari'a* Judge of the eastern cities of Gilan Province.



Name: **Zeinolabedin Qorbani Lahiji**

Province: Gilan

City: Lahijan & Astaneh-ye Ashrafiyeh

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge; member of "Death Commissions" in Lahijan and Astaneh-ye Ashrafiyeh

Present position: Member of the Assembly of Experts; representative of the Supreme Leader in Gilan Province; Friday prayers Imam of Rasht

Zeinolabedin Qorbani Lahiji was the *Shari'a* judge and the Friday prayers Imam in Lahijan in 1988. From the 2nd term of the regime's Assembly of Experts, he has been a member of the Assembly. During the 1988 mass executions he was the *Shari'a* Judge for both Lahijan and Astaneh-ye Ashrafiyeh cities.



Name: **Seyyed Ahmad Ghatilzad**

Province: Gilan

City: Bandar Anzali

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge for Bandar-Anzali and west of Gilan; member of "Death Commission" of Bandar-Anzali and western Gilan

Present position: Deceased (2013)

He was assigned as *Shari'a* Judge to the following cities by direct orders from Khomeini: Some'e Sara, Abkenar, Fuman, Pare-sar and Anzali in Gilan province. He had allegedly issued death sentences while transiting between these cities. He was the chief prosecutor in Gilan for 16 years and a Supreme Court judge for many years. Because of his crimes, he was infamously known among the prisoners as "ghatelzadeh" (born to kill).

He was also the Friday Prayers leader for Bandar-Anzali.



Name: **Ahmad Kamranzadeh Fumani**

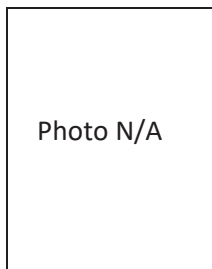
Province: Gilan

City: Fuman

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Fuman Prosecutor;
member of Fuman “Death Commission”

Present position: Retired

In 1988, Ahmad Kamranzadeh Fumani was prosecutor of Fuman. He later served as revolutionary prosecutor in Bandar Abbas (southern Iran) and then as the head of Hormozgan revolutionary court. He retired in 2013.



Name: **Seyyed Taghi Badavam**

Province: Gilan

City: Fuman

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Representative of the Intelligence Ministry in Fuman; member of Fuman “Death Commission”

Present position: Retired agent of the Ministry of Intelligence; took up industrial activities, factory owner

Allegedly, he was involved in the interrogation and torture of the prisoners during the 1980s. During the 1988 mass executions, he was the representative of the Ministry of Intelligence in the “Death Commission”.



Name: **Nasser Ashuri Qal'e Roudkhan**

Province: Gilan

City: Fuman

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of IRGC Prison in Fuman; member of Gilan Province "Death Commission"

Present position: Managing director of the Atieh Damavand Investment Company

Allegedly, he was part of the "Death Commission" during the 1988 mass executions. He had a lot of influence on the "Death Commission". He is a former Member of Parliament (Majlis). Atieh Damavand Investment Company's main investor is the Bank of Industry and Mining.

Lorestan Province



Name: **Abbas-Ali Sheikh Sadeghi Ghahareh**

Province: Lorestan (Western Iran)

City: Khorramabad

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge and Head of Revolutionary Court of Lorestan Province; member of Khorramabad "Death Commission"

Present position: Head of Khorramabad's Kamalieh Seminary

Photo N/A

Name: **Mojtaba Tavoosi**

Province: Lorestan

City: Khorramabad

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Deputy Head of Khorramabad Intelligence Ministry Department, Intelligence Ministry Representative in Khorramabad “Death Commission”

Present position: Retired after working in bank in Tehran



Photo N/A

Name: **Mohammad Sarshoq**

Province: Lorestan

City: Khorramabad

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Revolutionary Prosecutor;
member of Khorramabad “Death Commission”

Present position: Unknown

He currently lives in Arak city. He was Revolutionary Prosecutor in the
“Death Commission” of Khorramabad. After the massacre he worked in
one of the local branches of the Judiciary in Arak.



Photo N/A

Name: **Ali Shams**

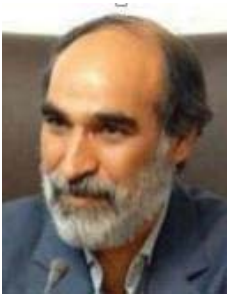
Province: Lorestan

City: Khorramabad

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of the Prisons Organisation in Lorestan Province; member of Lorestan “Death Commission”

Present position: Retired

He is originally from Ahvaz. He previously worked in prisons of Mashhad (north eastern Iran). Until 2014 he was the inspector of the National Retribution Commission “blood money” Council and cultural advisor to the Judiciary.



Name: **Mohammad Mehrabi**

Province: Lorestan

City: Khorramabad

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of IRGC Imam Hossein Garrison Prison in Khorramabad; member of Khorramabad “Death Commission”

Present position: Retired

Mehrabi was the head of IRGC’s Imam Hossein Garrison Prison in Khorramabad, where political prisoners were held. All PMOI and other opposition activists in this prison were executed in the 1988 massacre. He had been transferred to Lorestan Prisons organization in 1986.

In 1991, he was sent on a mission by the IRGC to Iranian Kurdistan and worked as the deputy head of the Sanandaj Prison for five years and after that he was head of the Parlison Prison of Khorramabad. He became member of Khorramabad City Council in 1998 and Mayor in 2014. In 2015, he was dismissed as Mayor by the City Council following internal disputes.

Mazandaran Province



Name: **Ali Shahrokhi Qobadi**

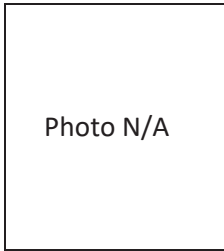
Province: Mazandaran

City: Sari

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge in the Revolutionary Court; member of Sari "Death Commission"

Present position: Head of Lorestan's Paydari Front

He was the *Shari'a* Judge of Sari that also covered Qaemshahr and Jooybar cities. He is originally from Lorestan. In his public records, it is stated that he was head of Revolutionary Courts of Mazandaran province, the deputy judge of the Administrative Justice Court, Advisor to the Supreme Court, Prosecutor of the Disciplinary High Court for Judges, head of the Second Branch of the Disciplinary High Court for Judges. He was a Member of Parliament from Kouhdasht and Chair of Parliament's Judicial Committee from 2007-2012.



Name: **Saeidi Heydari**

Province: Mazandaran

City: Sari

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Sari Prosecutor; member of Sari "Death Commission"

Present position: Deceased



Photo N/A

Name: **Kiomars Niaz-Azari**

Province: Mazandaran

City: Sari

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Representative of the Intelligence Ministry in Sari “Death Commission”

Present position: Unknown

He was the representative of the Intelligence Ministry in the “Death Commission” and later became Director General of Intelligence Ministry’s local branch.



Photo N/A

Name: **Reza Nasiri**

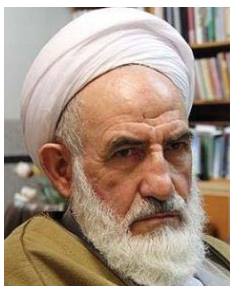
Province: Mazandaran

City: Sari

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Governor of Sari Prison;
member of Sari “Death Commission”

Present position: Retired

He was head of Mazandaran Province Prisons General Administration.
He joined the IRGC in the early days of the revolution.



Name: **Abbas-Ali Soleimani**

Province: Mazandaran

City: Babolsar

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Friday Prayers Leader; member of Babolsar “Death Commission”

Present position: Member of Assembly of Experts and Khamenei’s representative in Zahedan

As Friday prayers leader he allegedly was actively engaged in the 1988 mass executions. The judicial system in Babolsar was operating under his supervision. He has written in his auto-biography that he was appointed as Friday prayers leader of Babolsar to confront the PMOI’s activities in that city.



Name: **Iman Khoshkhoo**

Province: Mazandaran

City: Babol

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Revolutionary prosecutor of Babol; Member of Babol "Death Commission"

Present position: Unknown

Hormozgan Province



Name: **Ayatollah Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi Faghih Yazdi**

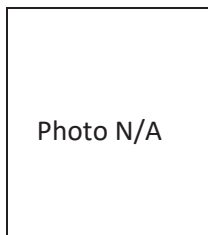
Province: Hormozgan

City: Bandar Abbas

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge and Friday Prayers Leader of Bandar Abbas; member of Hormozgan "Death Commission"

Present position: Currently teaching in Qom Seminary

In 1980, he was appointed by Khomeini as his representative in the province of Hormozgan and Friday Prayer leader of Bandar Abbas. During the 1988 massacre, he acted as the *Shari'a* judge of the Province. He resigned in 1990 and is currently teaching in a seminary in Qom.



Name: **Seyyed Abolhassan Hashemi**

Province: Hormozgan

City: Bandar Abbas

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Revolutionary Prosecutor of Bandar Abbas; member of Bandar Abbas "Death Commission"

Present position: Unknown

Hamedan Province



Name: **Mohammad Salimi**

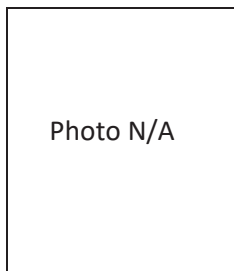
Province: Hamedan

City: Hamedan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: *Shari'a* Judge in Hamedan and western border areas of Iran; member of Hamedan "Death Commission"

Present position: Head of the high court for determining judges' competence

He was dispatched to Iran's western border area upon the order of Khomeini at the request of the then president of the Supreme Court to deal with the files related to the prisoners affiliated to the PMOI. He also held the presidency of the revolutionary court in Hamedan and was the *Shari'a* Judge during the 1988 mass executions. He was a member of the Guardian Council until mid-2016.



Name: **Seyyed Mahmoud Moussavi**

Province: Hamedan

City: Hamedan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Representative of the Intelligence Ministry in Hamedan "Death Commission"

Present position: Retired

After the 1988 massacre, he became Khamenei's representative in the IRGC. For a while he was engaged in training the new intelligence agents.



Name: **Mohammad Javadi**

Province: Hamedan

City: Hamedan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Representative of the Prosecutor; member of Hamedan “Death Commission”

Present position: Provisional Friday’s prayer leader of Hamedan City



Name: **Hamid Afkari**

Province: Hamedan

City: Hamedan

Position at the time of 1988 mass executions: Head of the Prisons Organisation in Hamedan Province; member of Hamedan Province "Death Commission"

Present position: Retired

MASS GRAVE LOCATIONS

Tehran Province

Location of the mass grave: Khavaran Cemetery

City: Tehran

Province: Tehran

Address: Khavaran Street, Aramaneh (Armenian) cemetery.

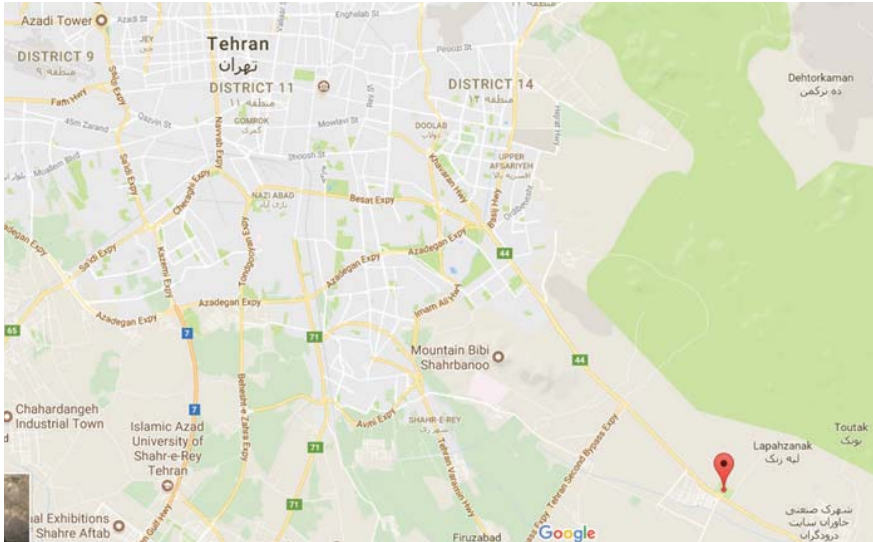
Latitude: 35.5574, longitude: 51.57067

Estimated date of burial: August 1988

Notes: The entire area consists of mass graves. One of the most famous and perhaps the largest mass grave discovered to date is in southern Tehran at a place called Khavaran. In 1996 during a routine soil sampling carried out by a road construction company (Avand Construction Company), a large mass grave was discovered. The grave contained the corpses of what is estimated to be thousands of political prisoners. The publication of this news led to families flocking to the site of the mass grave in Khavaran, however the regime's security forces fired in the air, forcing people to disperse. The following day, a number of employees of the construction company were arrested and charged with publishing the news.



Mass Grave Locations



Mass Grave Locations

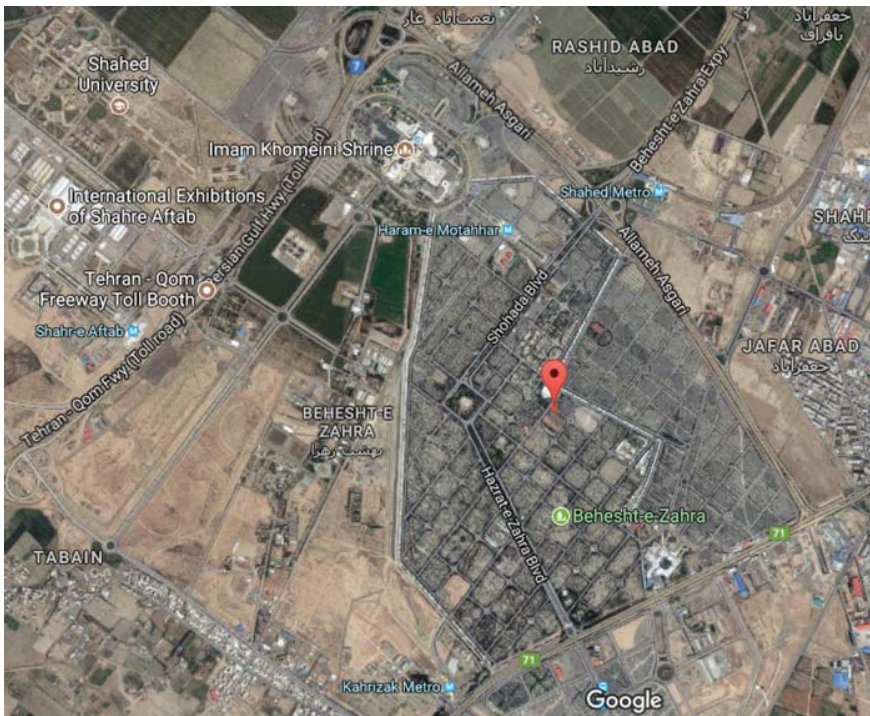
Location of the mass grave: Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery (Blocks 93 / 103)

City: Tehran

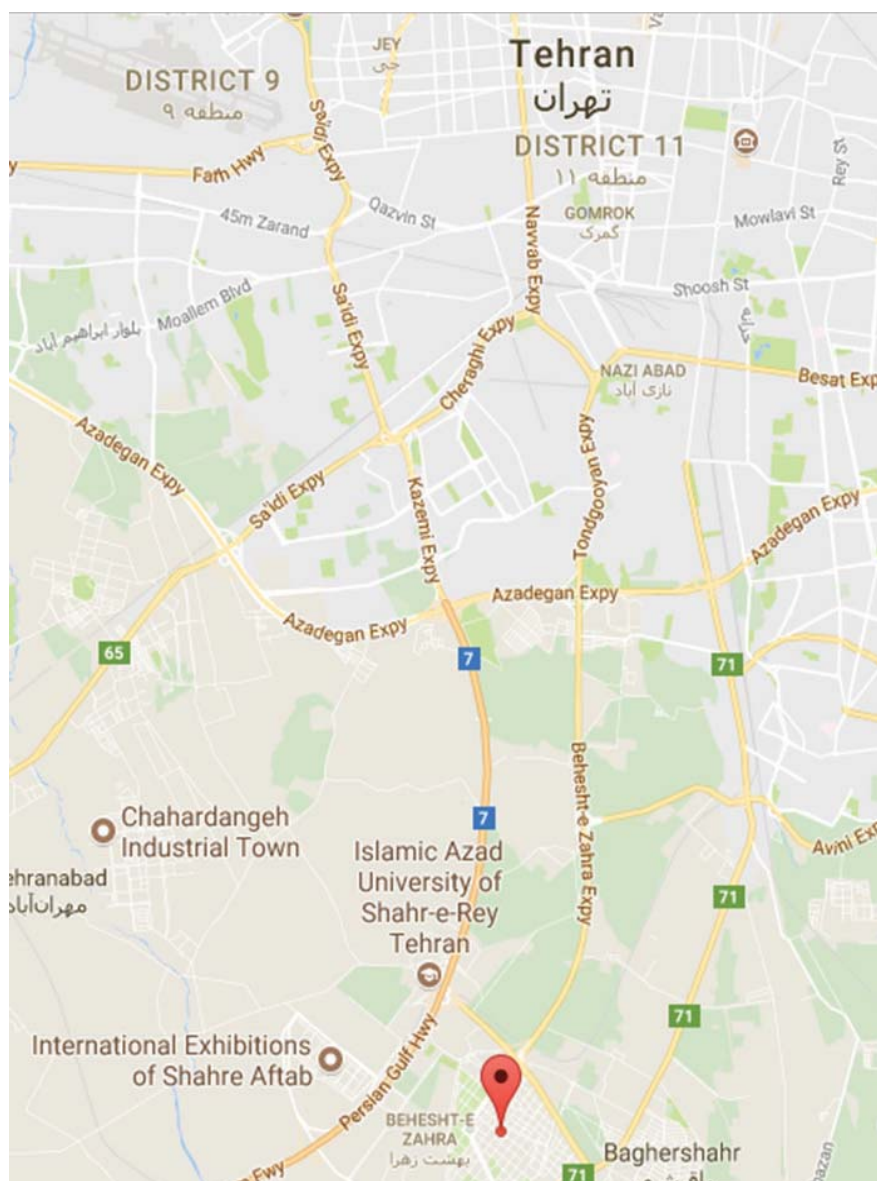
Province: Tehran

Latitude: 35.53596, longitude: 51.37592

Estimated date of burial: 1988



Mass Grave Locations



Bushehr Province

Location of the mass grave

City: Borazjan

Province: Bushehr

Address: 2 km from Borazjan-Ganaveh highway, on the right side of the road, near a shrine

Latitude: 29.292480, longitude: 51.110441

Estimated date of burial: August 1988

Notes: Map coordinates are approximate.



Eastern Azerbaijan Province

Location of the mass grave: Vadi-Rahmat Cemetery

City: Tabriz

Province: Eastern Azerbaijan

Address: Rah Ahan Street, Vadi-Rahmat Cemetery and the cemetery behind Tabriz expressway.

Latitude: 38.041004, longitude: 46.216127

Estimated date of burial: October 1988

Notes: Sections in Tabriz cemetery have been named as “La’nat Shodeh” (damned) and “Nefrin Shodeh”. The families have put some tomb stones which were vandalized by the Guards. According to information from Iran, on 22 June 2017, authorities using heavy machinery destroyed grave stones.



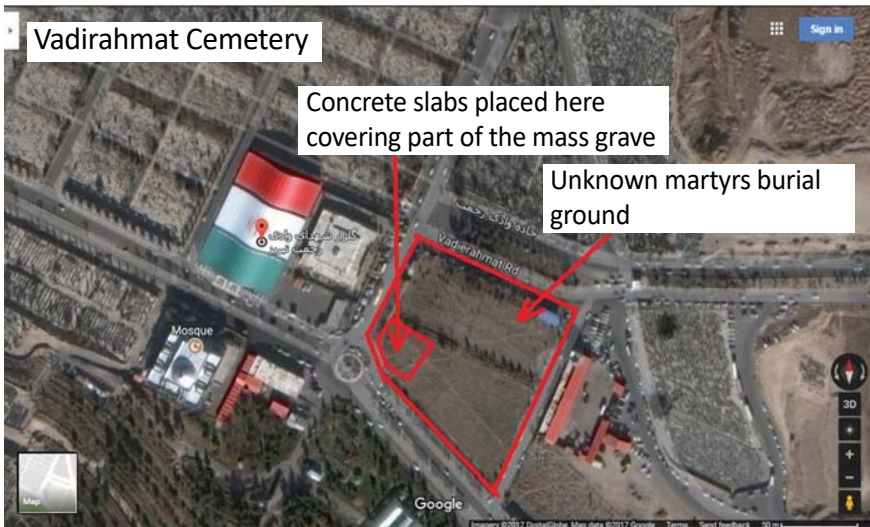
Mass Grave Locations



Mass Grave Locations



Mass Grave Locations



Mass Grave Locations



Gilan Province

Location of the mass grave: Kalvir Cemetery

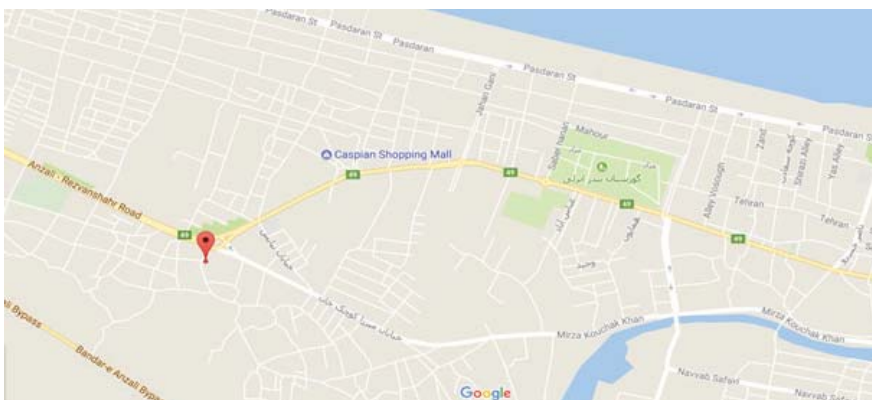
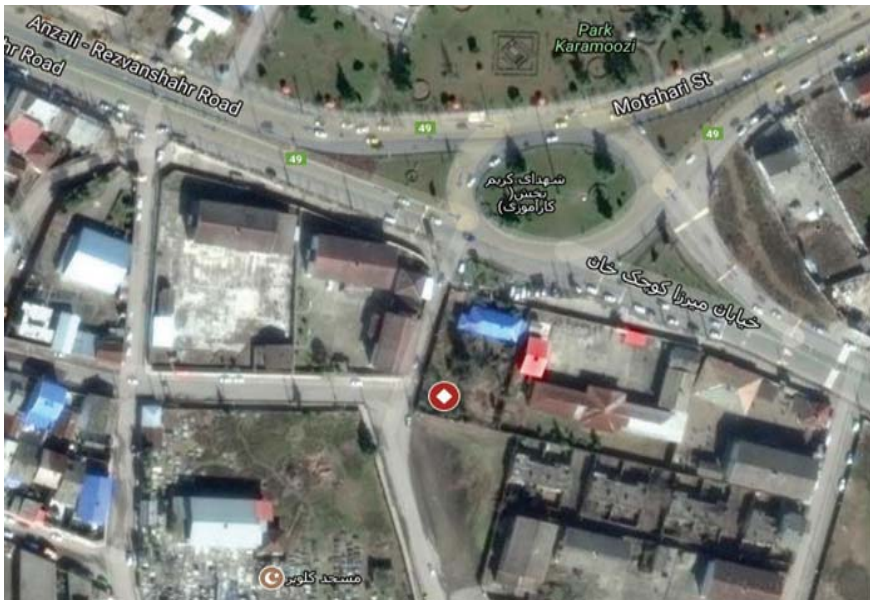
City: Bandar Anzali

Province: Gilan

Latitude: 37.474714, longitude 49.422604

Estimated number of victims: A group of 20 and a group of 30 (possibly all women)

Estimated date of burial: Aug 1988



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave

City: Bandar Anzali

Province: Gilan

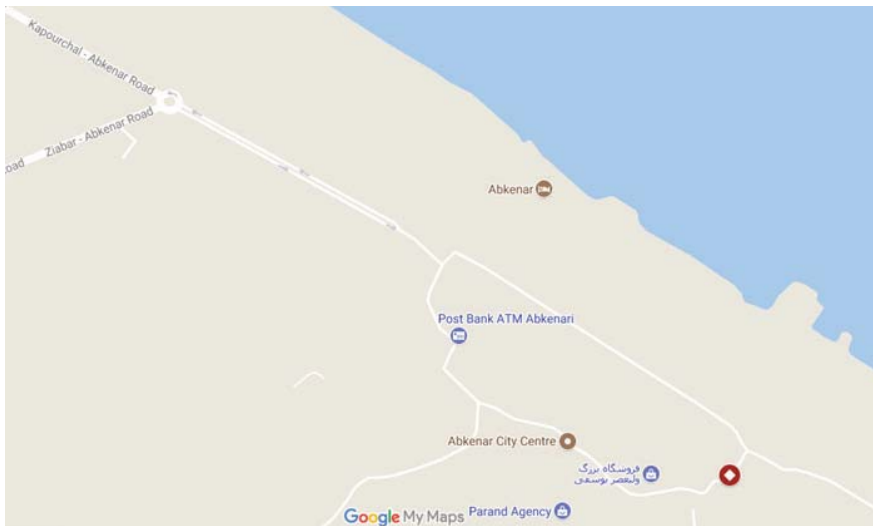
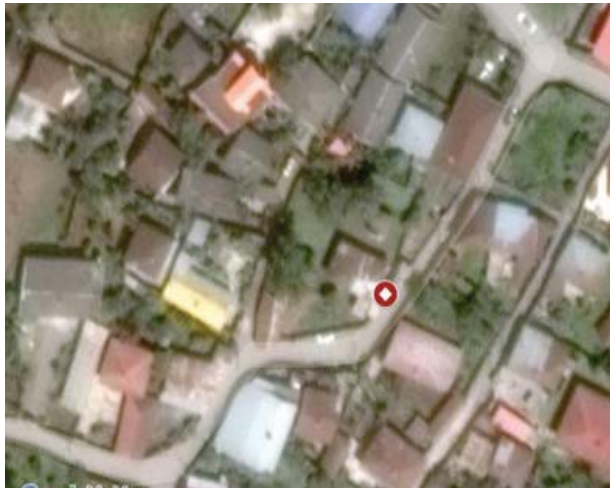
Address: Ab-Kenar neighbourhood, newly built prison.

Latitude: 37.459212, longitude: 49.335041

Estimated number of victims: Reportedly, at least 16 victims from Ab-Kenar neighbourhood

Estimated date of burial: After the cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war in summer 1988

Notes: Mass grave is located in the middle of prison yard. Map coordinates are approximate.



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave:

Agha Seyyed Morteza Cemetery

City: Lahijan

Province: Gilan

Address: West Kashef Street,
Karvansarabar neighbourhood

Latitude: 37.207966, longitude:
49.994352

Estimated date of burial: August
and November 1988

Notes: Reportedly there are
3 mass graves, 2x10 m in size.

They have been covered with concrete. Situated in the north-east section of the cemetery. One eye-witness account states: After midnight on 9 November 1988, we could hear loaders working throughout the night until daybreak in the vicinity of the cemetery. The following night dogs were barking there all night. In the morning of 10 November 1988, when locals went to the cemetery to learn why there was so much commotion, they noticed that the soil in a large section had been shifted using the loaders. It appeared that many people had been buried there. Given the shortage of time until daybreak, the mass burial was done with much haste and not enough soil was placed over the bodies. It turned out that the dogs were barking because they had smelled the victims' blood and some had attempted to dig out the corpses. The eye-witnesses saw one victim's hand and sleeve and quickly spread the word about the mass grave. On 12 November 1988, an eye witness reported seeing municipality employees flattening the top of the mass grave. The witness was told by one of the personnel at the site that the bodies belonged to victims of a traffic accident. On 15 November 1988, the same eye-witness revisited the site but discovered that concrete had been put over the entire section of the mass grave.



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave: Tazeh Abad Cemetery

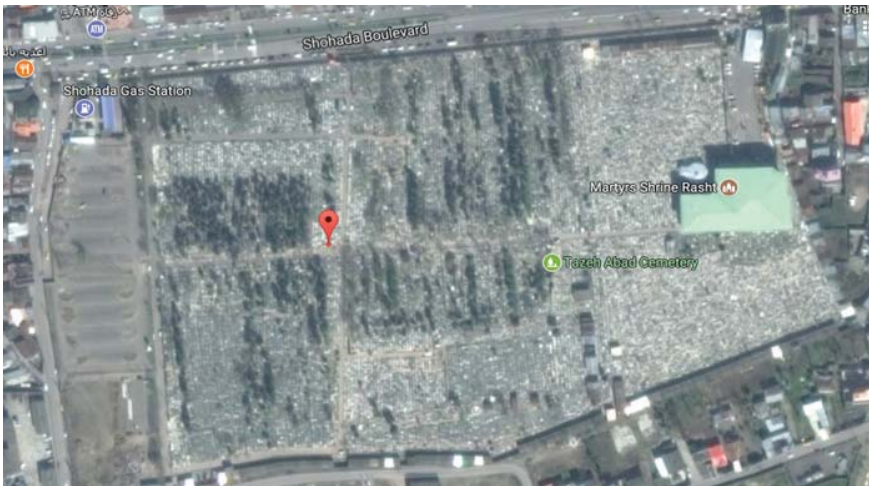
City: Rasht

Province: Gilan

Address: Tazeh Abad Cemetery, Janbazan Square, Tazeh Abad District, Rasht

Latitude: 37.282827, longitude: 49.618630

Notes: At least 3 mass graves are situated here. In later years, new individual graves were placed over the mass graves as the authorities sold off plots in the cemetery where the mass graves were situated



Mass Grave Locations

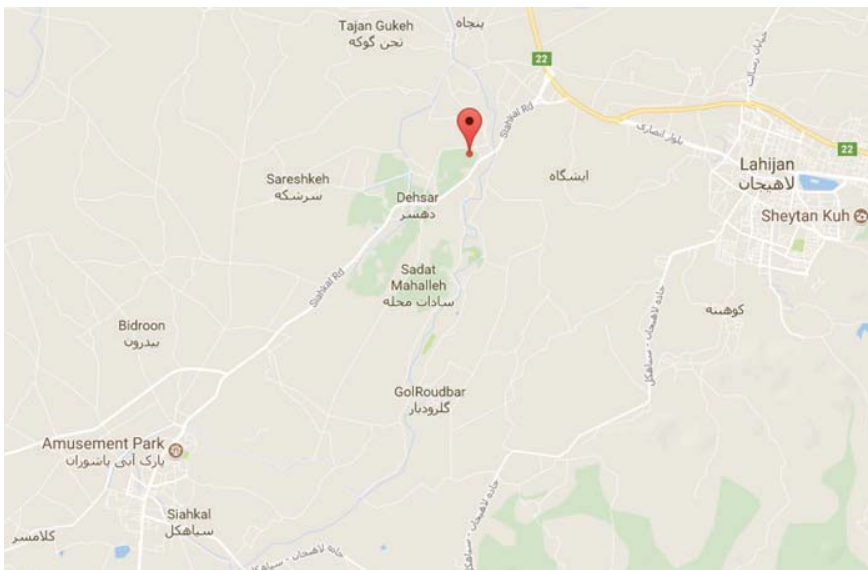
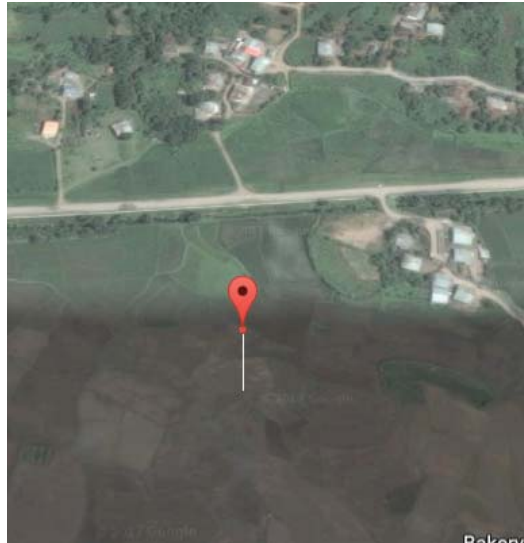
Location of the mass grave

City: Siahkal

Province: Gilan

Latitude: 37.210528, longitude: 49.939881

Notes: Mass grave situated close to a bridge near the village of Baskia Gourab. The area was operated by the IRGC training garrison



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave: IRGC Jamal-Abad Garrison

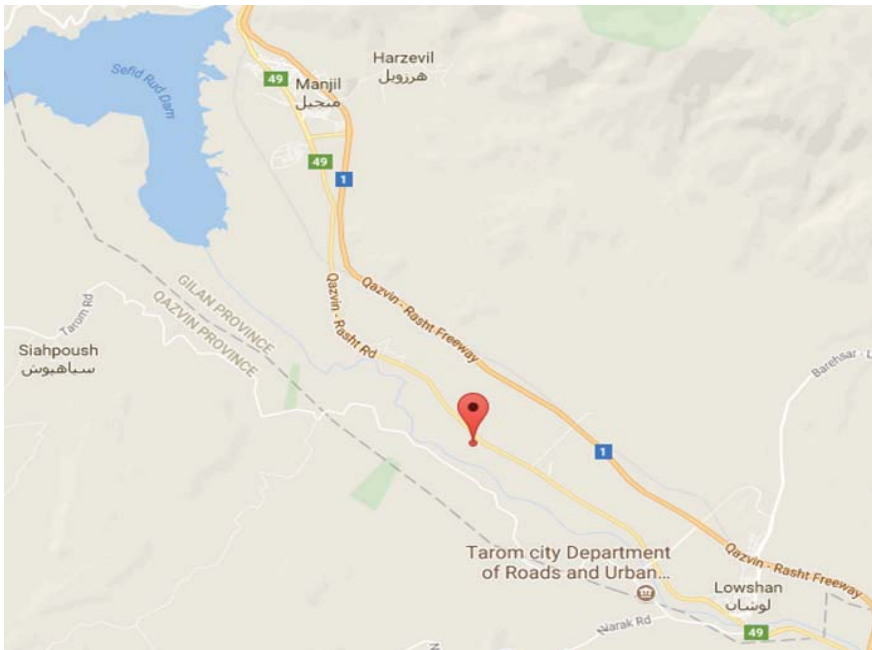
City: Manjil

Province: Gilan

Latitude: 36.663175, longitude: 49.448041

Estimated number of victims: In late December 1997, heavy rainfall led to at least 80 corpses being unearthed in the vicinity

Notes: The mass grave is situated in the firing ground of the IRGC Jamal-Abad Garrison, close to the Manjil dam. According to eye-witness reports, loaders were used to dig a large ditch. A large number of political prisoners were taken to the garrison in several trucks. They were led into the large ditch while blindfolded and with shackles. The executioners then opened fire on the prisoners using machine guns and poured dirt over them. Some of the victims were still alive as they were being buried under the soil, so some of the guards used knives to finish them off.



Mass Grave Locations

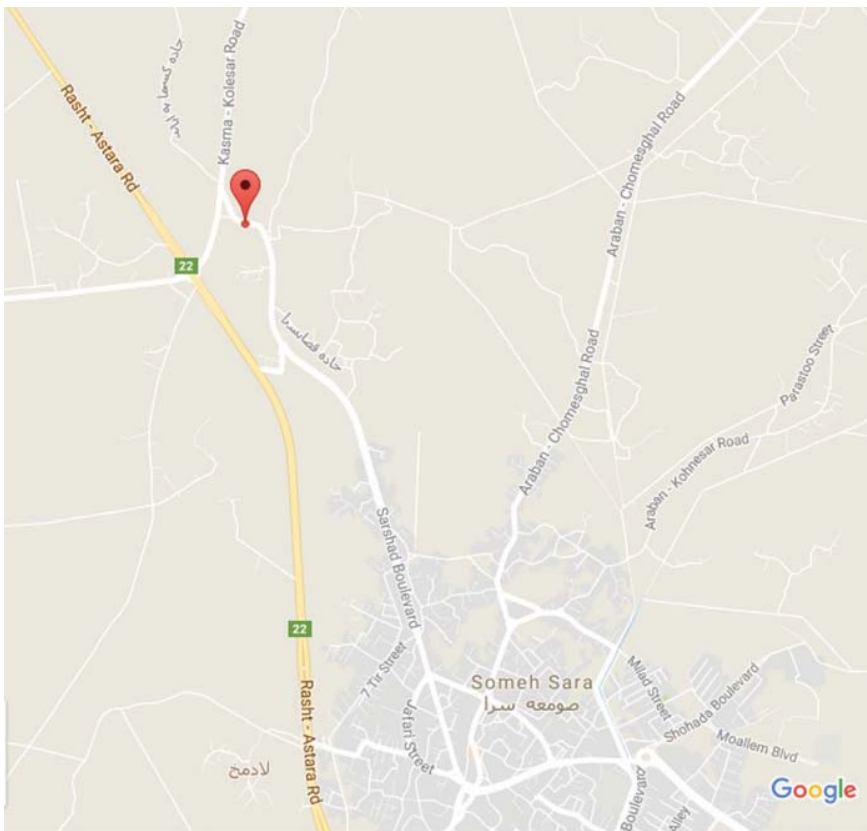
Location of the mass grave

City: Some'e Sara

Province: Gilan

Latitude: 37.328416, longitude: 49.300085

Notes: A butchery of Kasma. Map coordinates are approximate.



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave

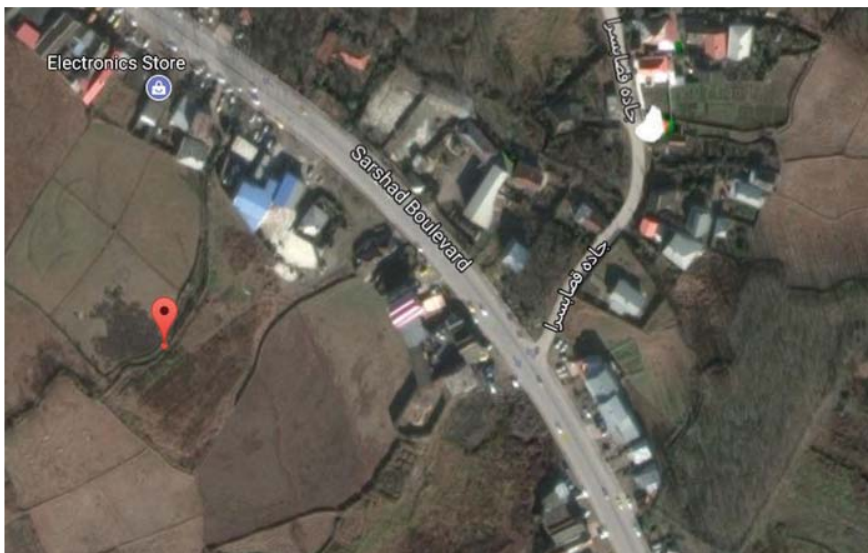
City: Some'e Sara

Province: Gilan

Address: Next to the Sarshad Boulevard between Some'e Sara and Kasma, about 500 m from the triangular T-junction

Latitude: 37.319607,

Longitude: 49.304336



Mass Grave Locations

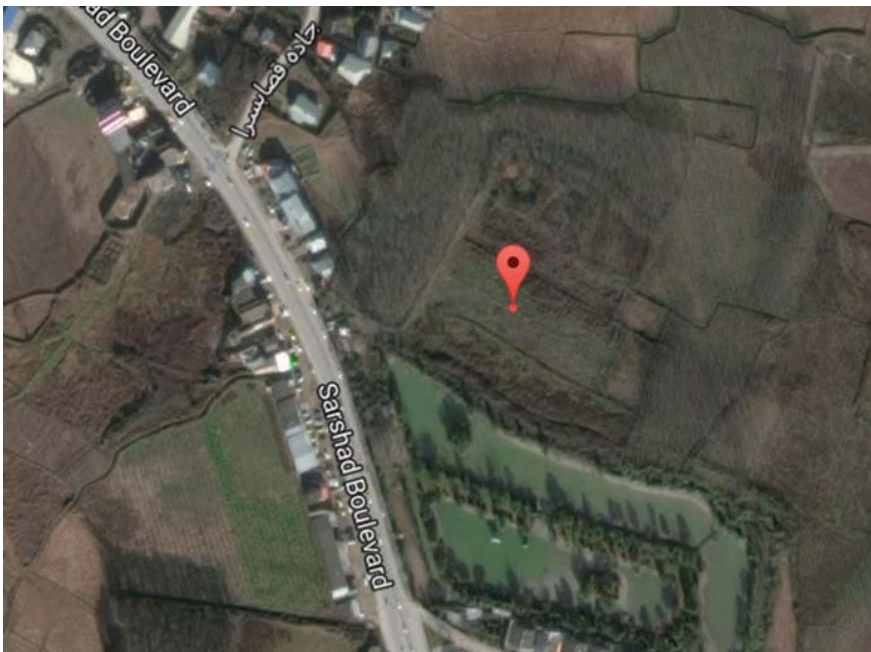
Location of the mass grave

City: Some'e Sara

Province: Gilan

Address: Next to the Sarshad Boulevard between Some'e Sara and Kasma, on the right hand side of the road. Facing the irrigation system.

Latitude: 37.318832, longitude: 49.308114



Mass Grave Locations

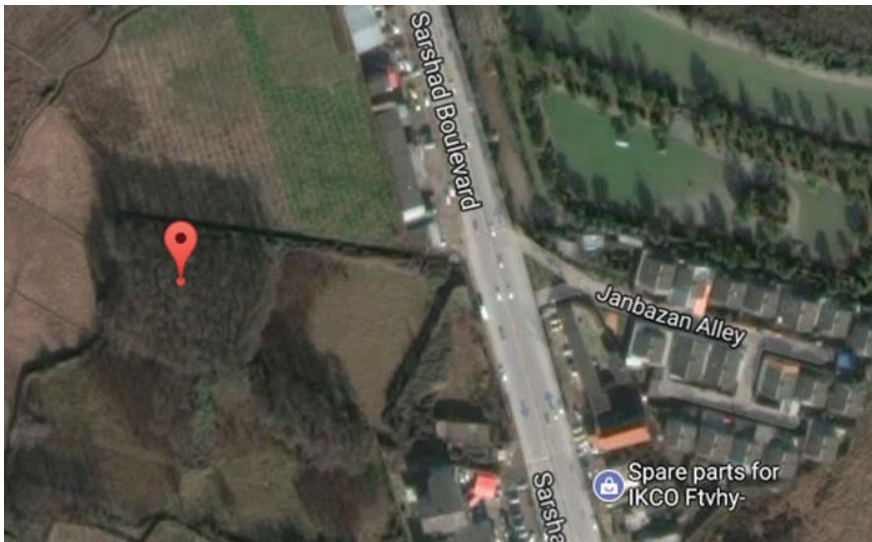
Location of the mass grave

City: Some'e Sara

Province: Gilan

Address: Near the Sarshad Boulevard between Some'e Sara and Kasma, facing the public health management center.

Latitude: 37.317179, longitude: 49.305970



Golestan Province

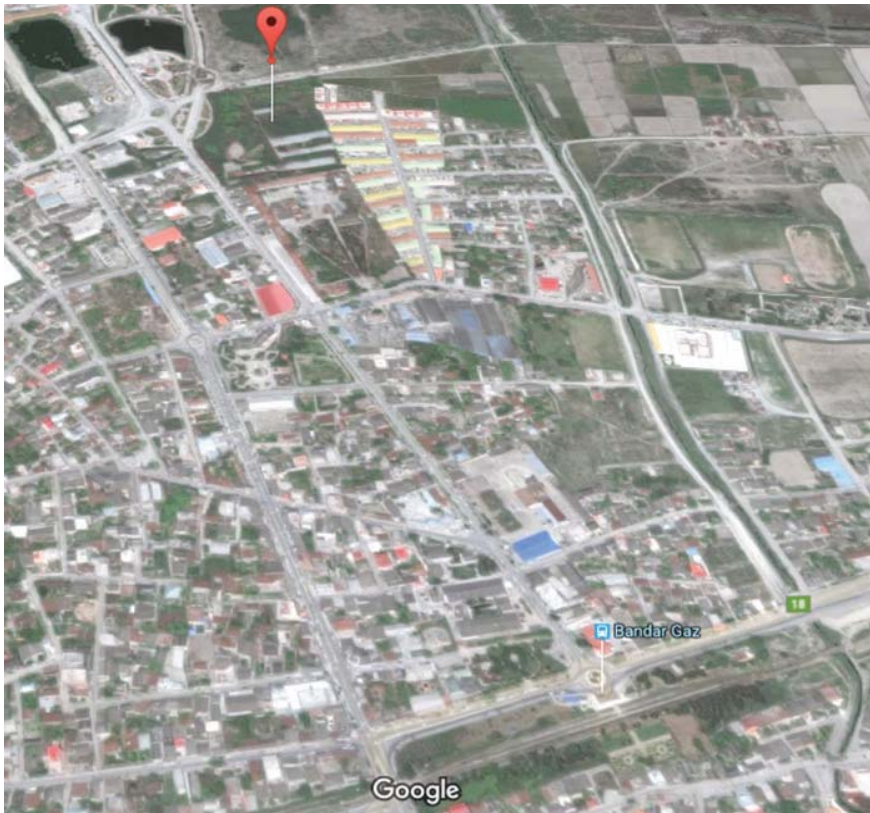
Location of the mass grave

City: Bandar-e Gaz

Province: Golestan

Latitude: 36.783207, longitude:
53.947597

Notes: The area is completely
forested. Map coordinates are
approximate.



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave: Imamzadeh Zeid Shrine

City: Gonbad

Province: Golestan

Address: Behind Imamzadeh Zeid. 1 km out of city

Latitude: 37.232202, longitude: 55.134776

Estimated date of burial: 1982 & 1989



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave: Imamzadeh Abdollah Shrine

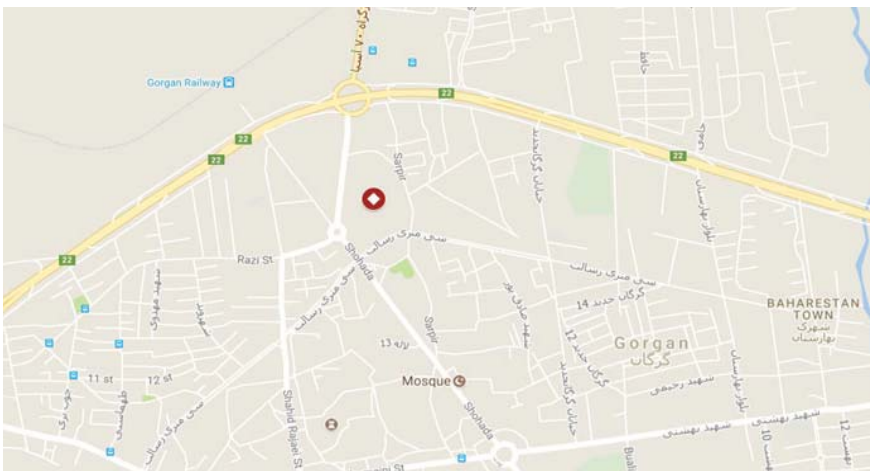
City: Gorgan

Province: Golestan

Address: Behind Imamzadeh Abdollah Shrine, Bahais' cemetery

Latitude longitude information: 36.851291, 54.427039

Estimated date of burial: October 1988



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave

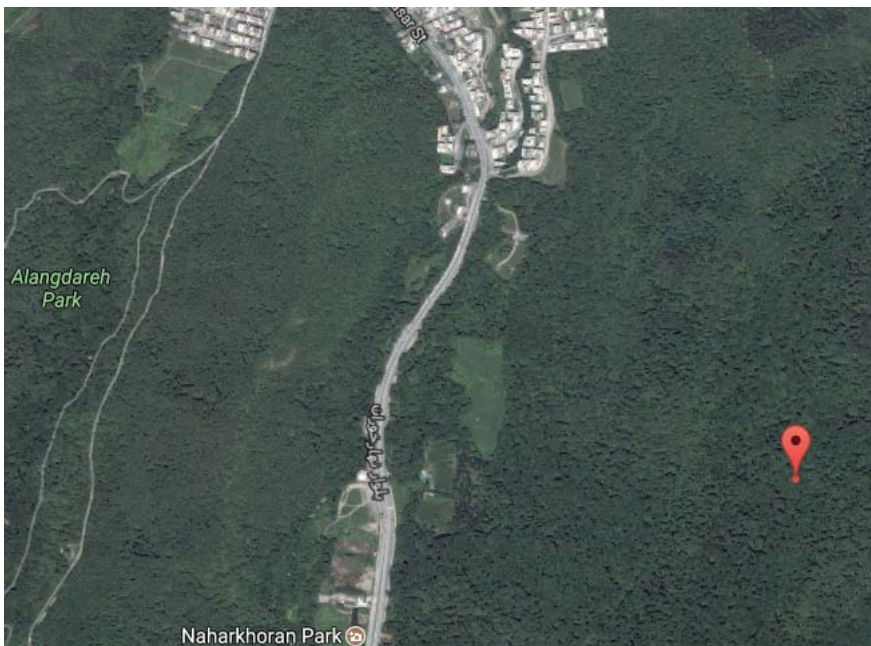
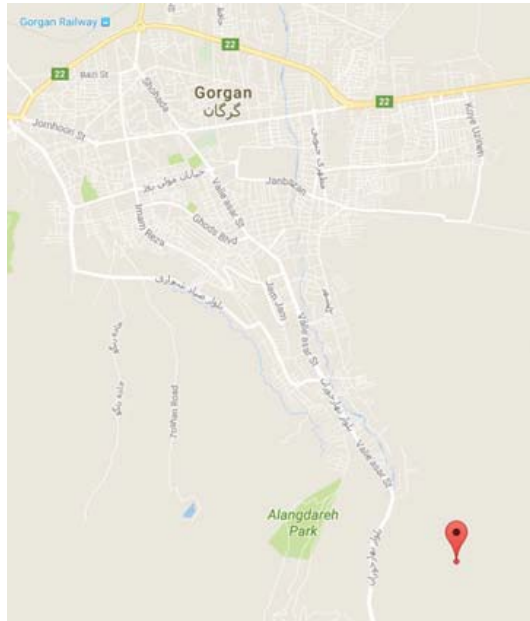
City: Gorgan

Province: Golestan

Address: Golestan forest

Latitude: 36.787180,
longitude: 54.476314

Notes: Map coordinates are
approximate.



Hamedan Province

Location of the mass grave: Bagh-e Behesht Cemetery

City: Hamedan

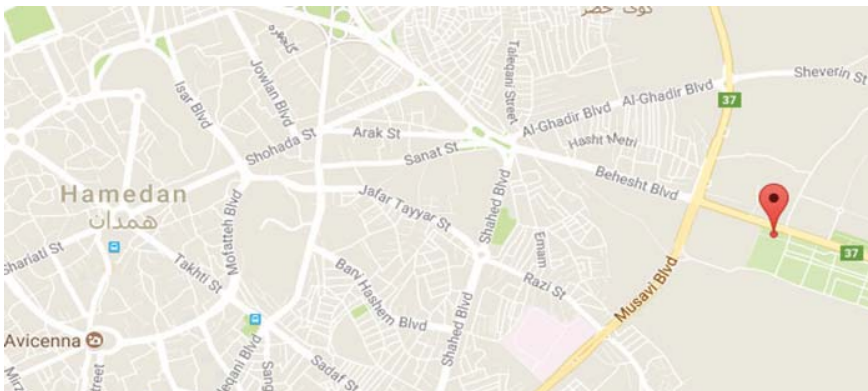
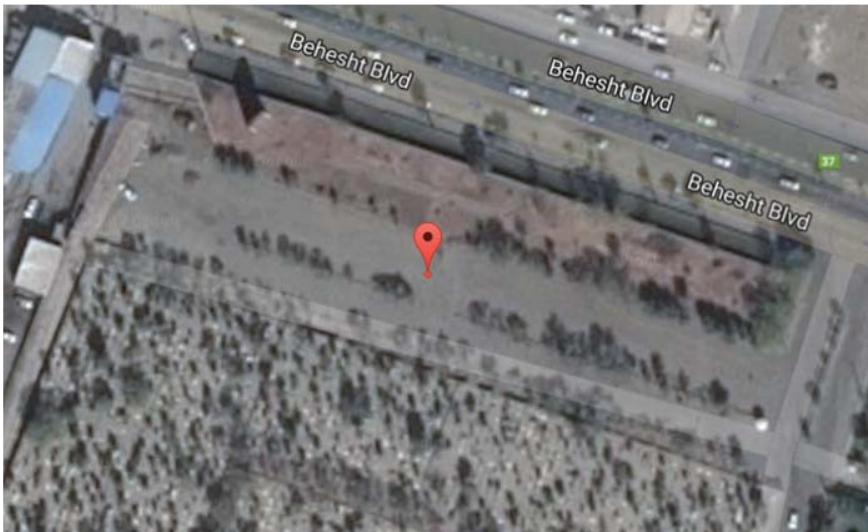
Province: Hamedan

Address: Malayer highway, Bagh-e-Behesht Zahra, on the right hand side of the highway, past war victims' graves

Latitude 34.797385, longitude: 48.556077

Estimated date of burial: July-August 1988

Notes: The victims are buried on the western and northern ends of the cemetery. Most tomb stones are intact, with the date of execution written on them.



Hormozgan Province

Location of the mass grave

City: Minab

Province: Hormozgan

Latitude: 27.126632,

Longitude: 57.089348

Estimated number of victims:

At least 30 corpses were discovered in a mass grave by construction workers building the Minab physical training centre there.

Notes: Map coordinates are approximate.



Ilam Province

Location of the mass grave: Ali Saleh Holy Shrine

City: Saleh-Abad

Province: Ilam

Address: When entering the Imamzadeh (Ali Saleh Holy Shrine), left-hand side on top of the hill, 500-700 meters

Latitude: 33.467821, Longitude: 46.188712

Estimated date of burial: Mostly in August-September 1988



Isfahan Province

Location of the mass grave:

Bagh-e Rezvan Cemetery (Block 41)

City: Isfahan

Province: Isfahan

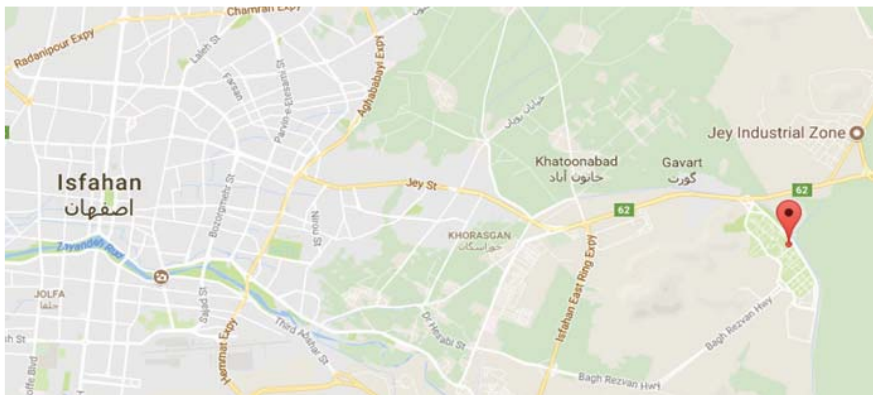
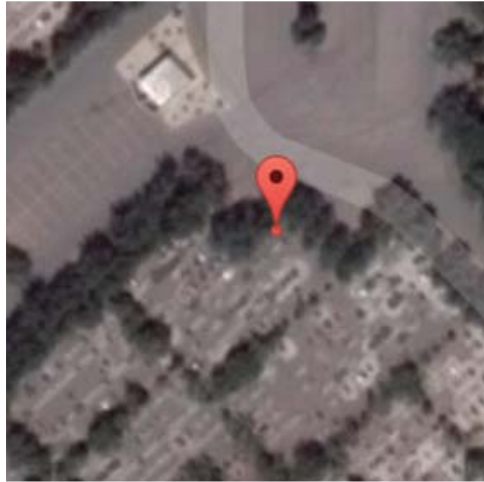
Latitude: 32.643886, longitude: 51.839159

Estimated number of victims:

Reportedly more than 350

Estimated date of burial: August - September 1988

Note: It is located in eastern Isfahan, Sistan district. In 1988 block 41 was not part of the cemetery but with the expansion of cemetery it is now part of the cemetery.



Kerman Province

Location of the mass grave:

Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery

City: Kerman

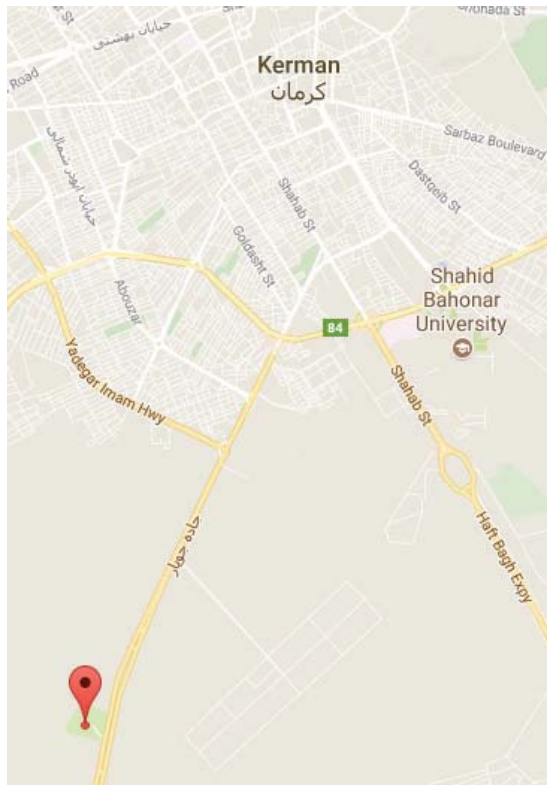
Province: Kerman

Address: Road between Joupar and Kerman in Behesht-e Zahra cemetery known as "Rah-Joupari Behesht-e Zahra".

Latitude: 30.207593,
longitude: 57.054129

Estimated date of burial:
First became known in
March 1989

Notes: There are 14 graves on whose stones the year 1989 is marked. These are mass graves of political prisoners who were executed at this site during the night. Eight graves are in one row and six are in one column, perpendicular to one another.



Kermanshah Province

Location of the mass grave:

Bagh-e Ferdows Cemetery

City: Kermanshah

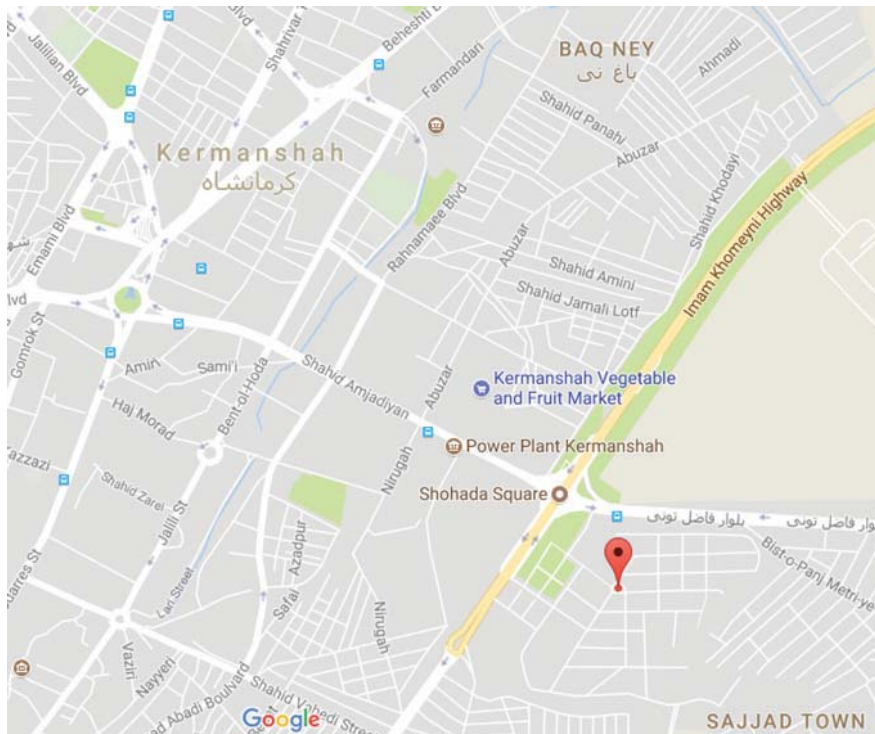
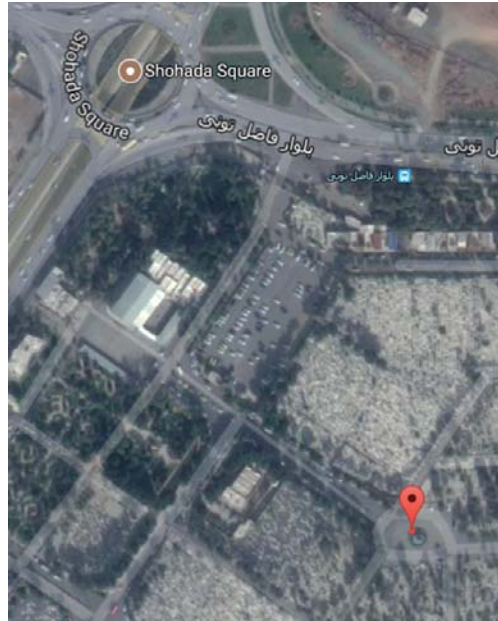
Province: Kermanshah

Address: Silo Street, near children's graves, west of the city's cemetery.

Latitude: 34.315833, longitude: 47.090304

Estimated date of burial:
November 1988, January 1989

Notes: The regime has named it "La'nat Abad" (The place of the damned).



Mass Grave Locations

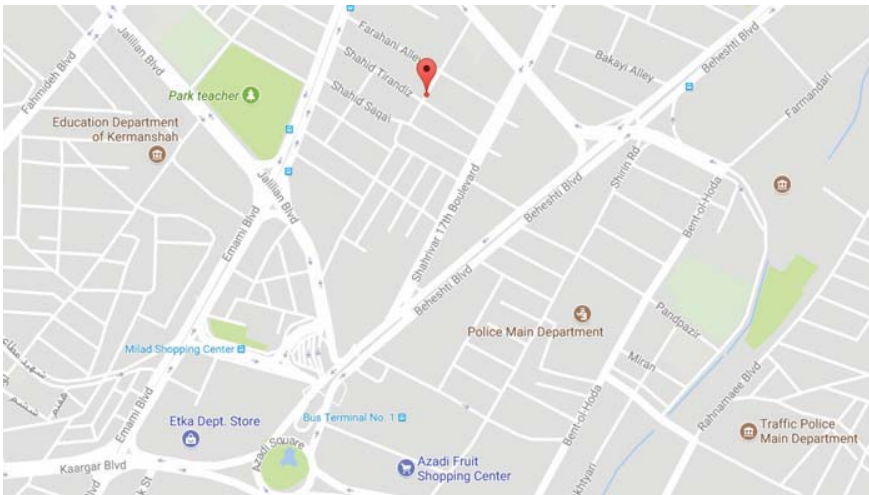
Location of the mass grave

City: Kermanshah

Province: Kermanshah

Latitude: 34.330439, longitude: 47.076613

Notes: An area approximately 1,000 square meters. Other people have been buried in other graves above the site of the mass grave and in later years new gravestones have been placed above the ground. A section of the mass grave was poured over with asphalt and turned into a road. Map coordinates are approximate.



Khuzestan Province

Location of the mass grave

City: Ahvaz

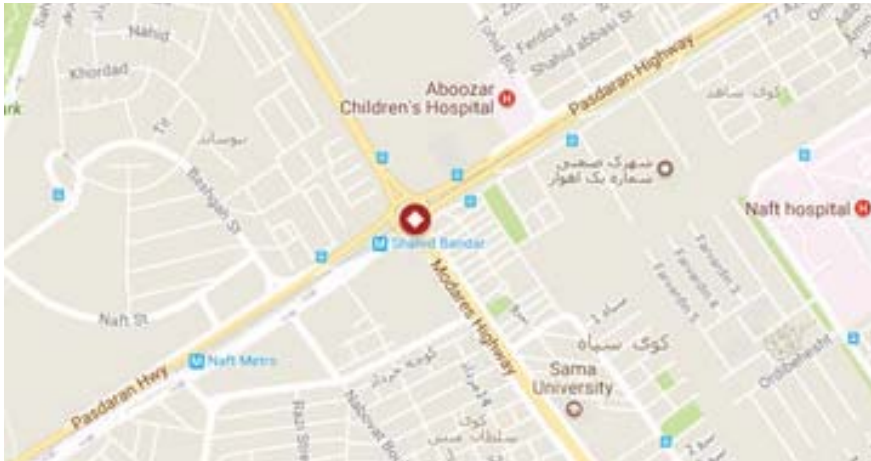
Province: Khuzestan

Address: Near Chaharshir police station, Ramhormuz junction

Latitude: 31.344367, longitude: 48.716628

Estimated date of burial: 3 August 1988

Notes: Map coordinates are approximate.



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave

City: Ahvaz

Province: Khuzestan

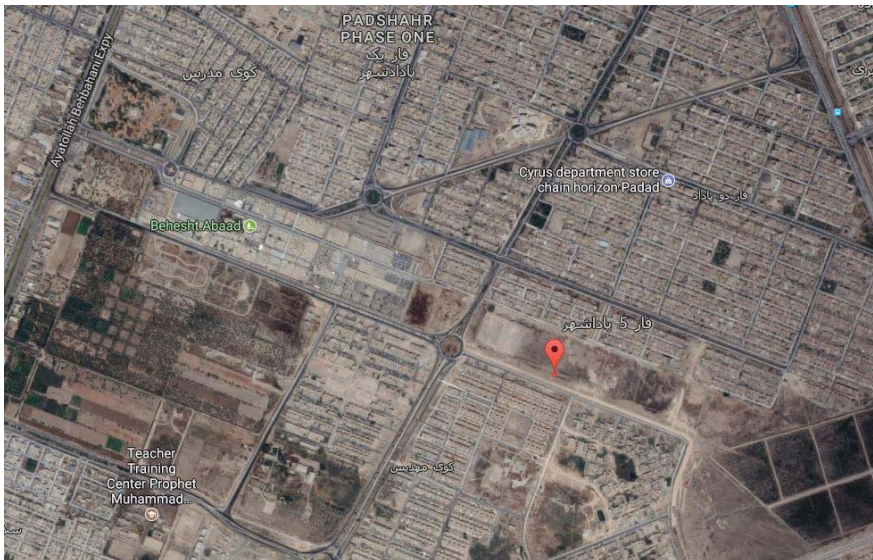
Address: Kut-e Abdollah Road, near Behesht Abad Cemetery

Latitude: 31.283248, longitude: 48.699723

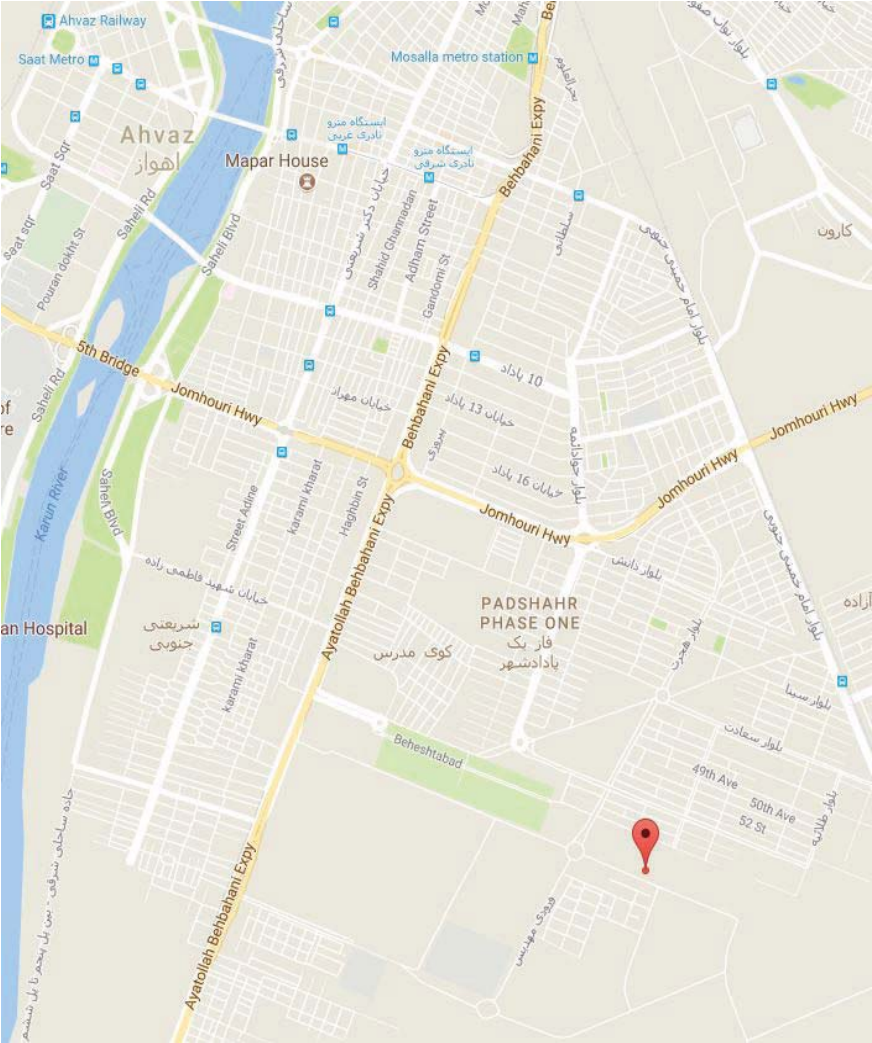
Estimated number of victims: Hundreds including those who had been executed previously

Estimated date of burial: 3 August 1988

Notes: Map coordinates are approximate. Amnesty International reported in June 2017, "The desecration of a mass grave site in Ahvaz, southern Iran that contains the remains of at least 44 people who were extrajudicially executed would destroy vital forensic evidence and scupper opportunities for justice for the mass prisoner killings that took place across the country in 1988."



Mass Grave Locations



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave

City: Ahvaz

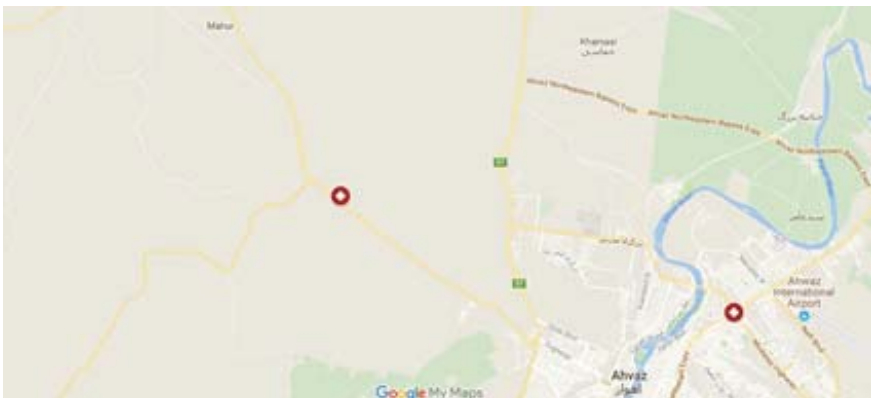
Province: Khuzestan

Address: Susangerd-Ahvaz highway, past Afagh village, near Jihad cemetery

Latitude: 31.387578, longitude: 48.544634

Estimated date of
burial: August 1988

Notes: Map
coordinates are
approximate.



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave

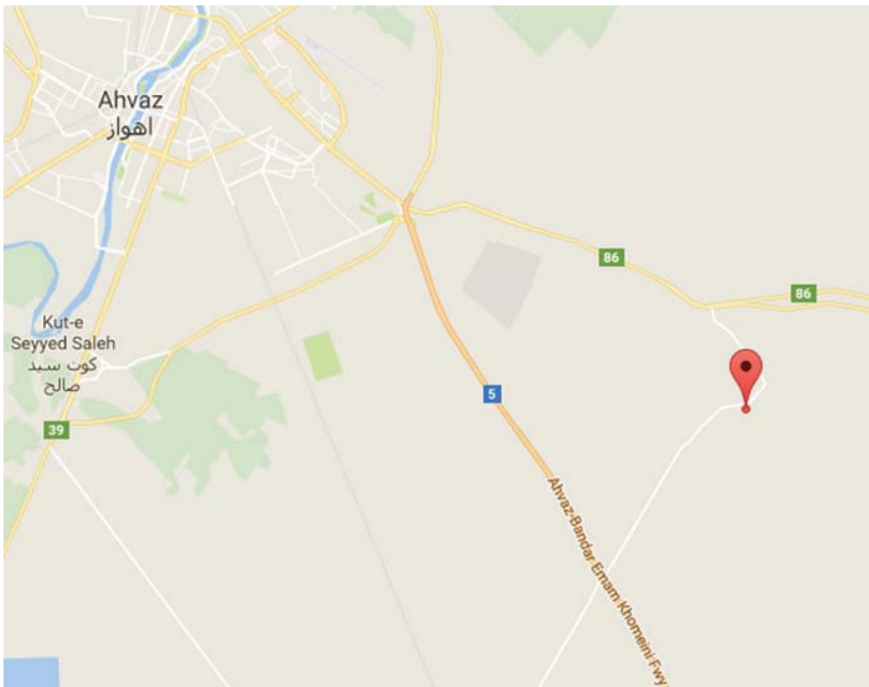
City: Ahvaz

Province: Khuzestan

Latitude: 31.209919, longitude: 48.934797

Estimated number of victims: Approx. 500

Notes: Korit Camp is currently an IRGC training base. According to eye-witness reports, approximately 500 victims, including 120 women, were brought to the site, executed and then buried there. Most are believed to have been transferred there from Kermanshah and Khorramabad.



Mass Grave Locations

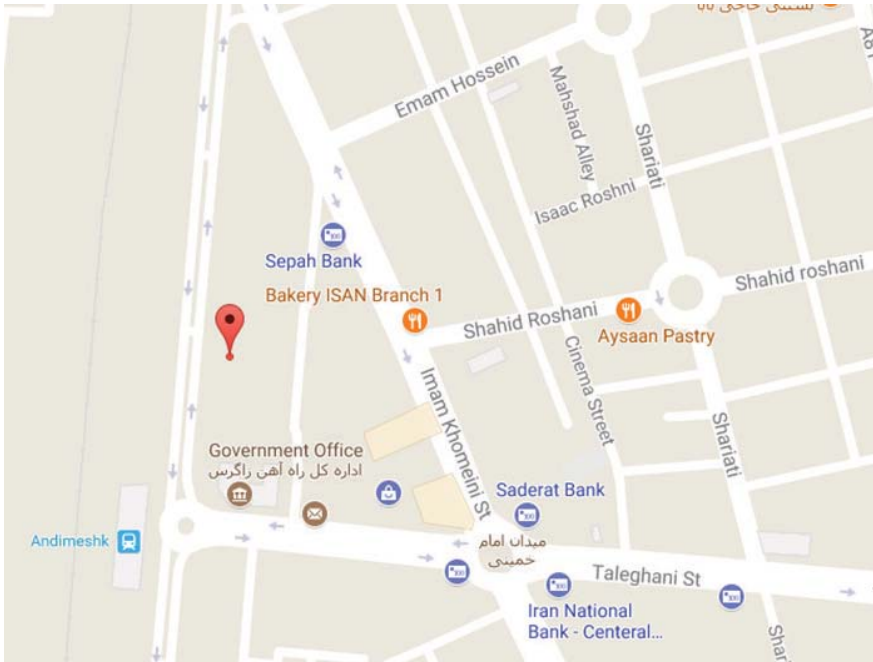
Location of the mass grave

City: Andimeshk

Province: Khuzestan

Latitude: 32.456840, longitude: 48.352478

Notes: According to eye-witness reports, the mass grave is in Bustan Park behind the Bazaar and close to the Teachers' Hall. The site was previously a graveyard but was later transformed into a park. Map coordinates are approximate.



Mass Grave Locations



Mass Grave Locations

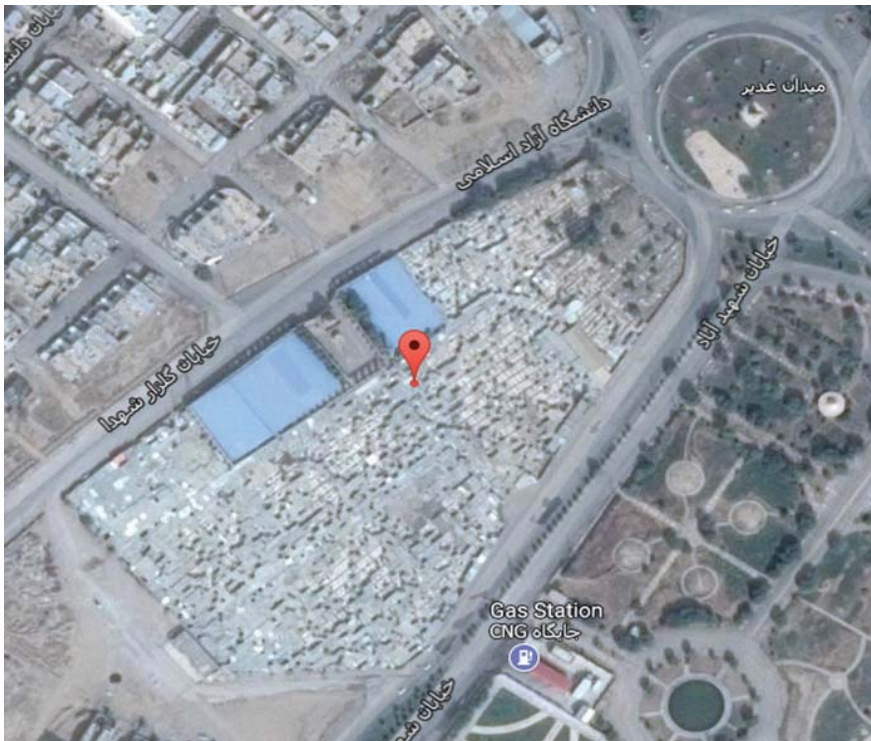
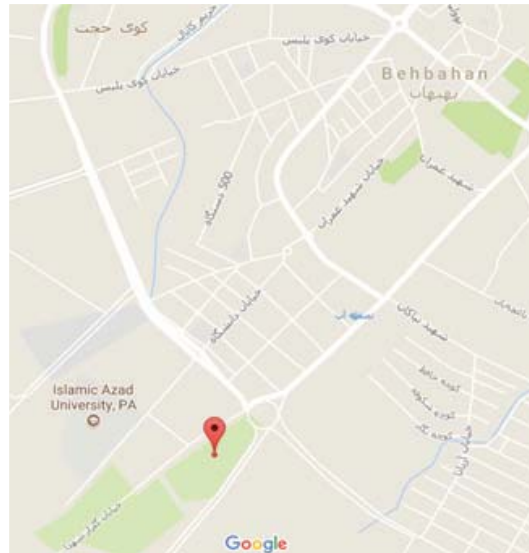
Location of the mass grave: Imam Reza Cemetery

City: Behbahan

Province: Khuzestan

Latitude: 30.578909,
longitude: 50.226834

Notes: Map coordinates are
approximate.



Location of the mass grave

City: Dezful

Province: Khuzestan

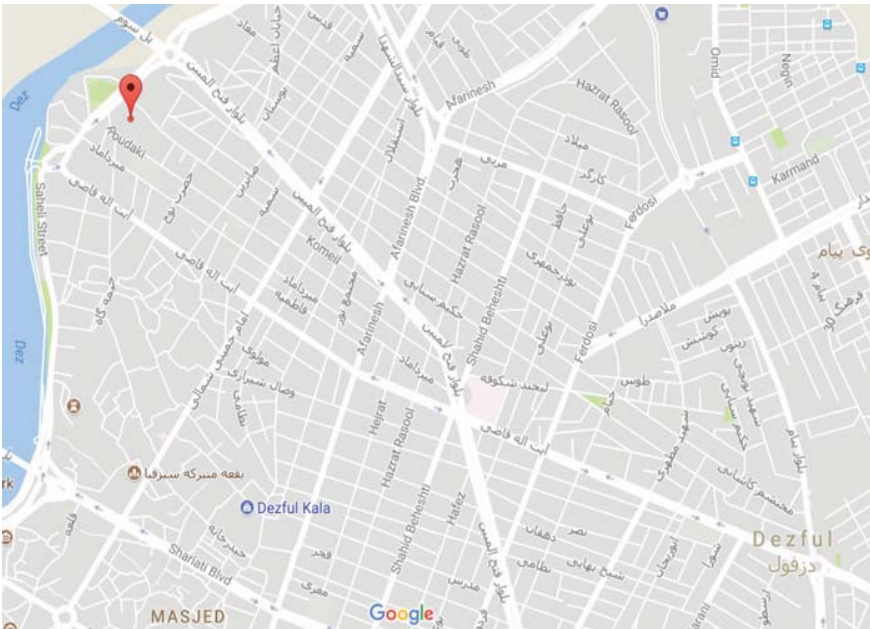
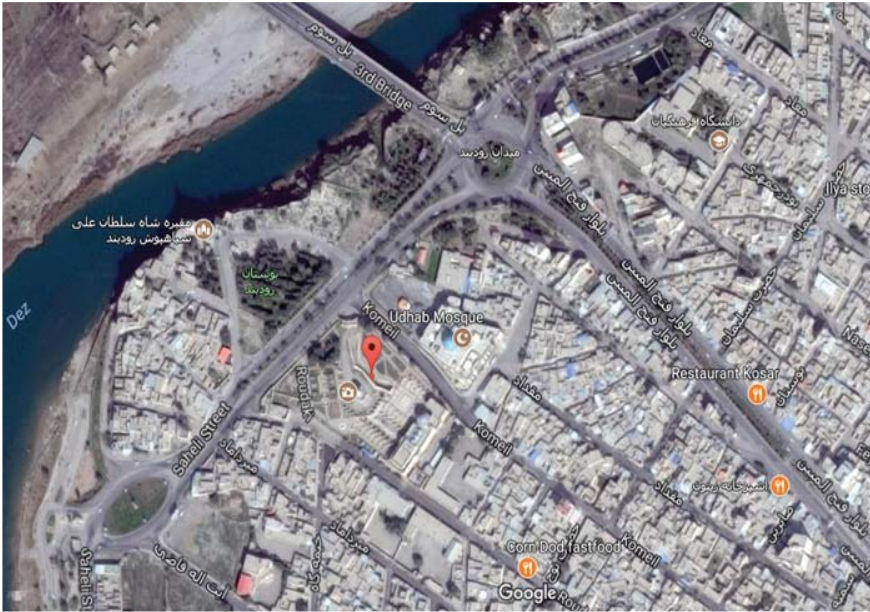
Address: Roudband Square, Komeil Street, Dezful

Latitude: 32.395371, longitude: 48.399910

Notes: There are five mass graves at the site which was formerly a cemetery called Shahid Abadeh. The site was later turned into an IRGC centre called the Sacred Defence Centre.



Mass Grave Locations



Mass Grave Locations

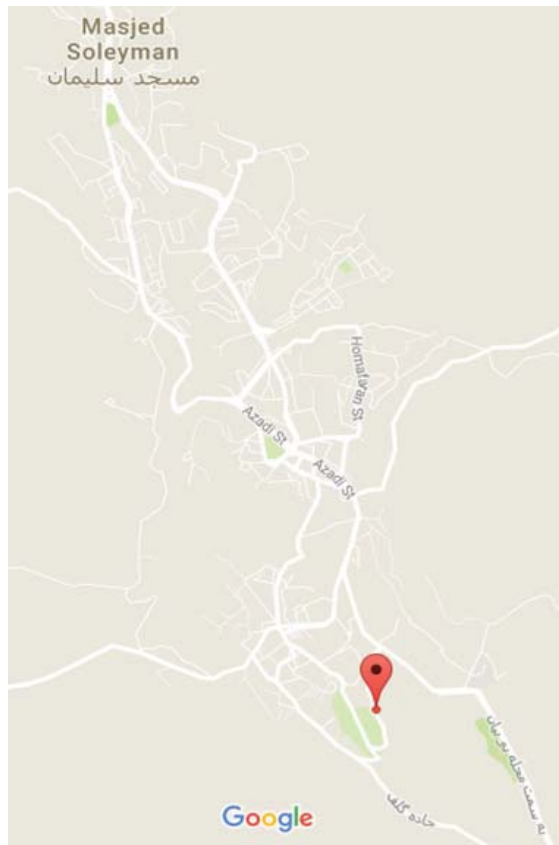
Location of the mass grave

City: Masjed Soleiman

Province: Khuzestan

Latitude: 31.914939,
longitude: 49.309996

Notes: Next to Gelgeh
Cemetery.



Mass Grave Locations

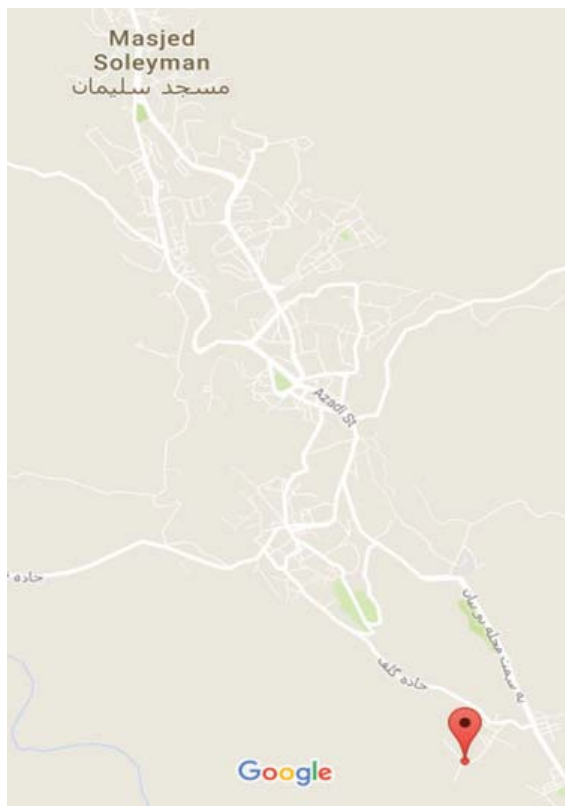
Location of the mass grave

City: Masjed Soleiman

Province: Khuzestan

Latitude: 31.899641,
longitude: 49.318684

Notes: Next to Bibayan
Cemetery.



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave

City: Masjed Soleiman

Province: Khuzestan

Latitude: 31.918734, Longitude:
49.244146

Notes: Gelgir Road, next to Imam
Reza Pa-Qadam Cemetery (Step
Imam Reza).



Mass Grave Locations

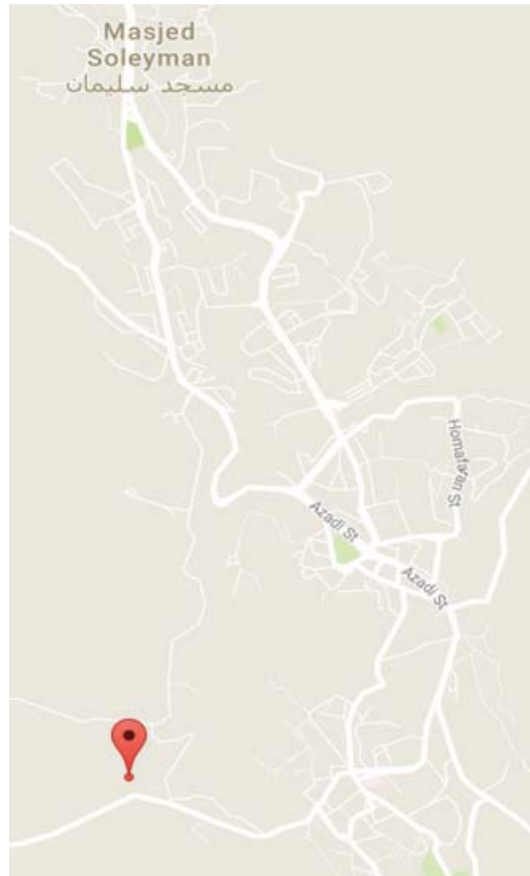
Location of the mass grave:

Tamby Cemetery

City: Masjed Soleiman

Province: Khuzestan

Latitude: 31.920784,
longitude: 49.287961



Khorasan Razavi Province

Location of the mass grave: Behesht-e Reza (La'nat Abad)

City: Mashhad

Province: Khorasan Razavi

Address: Asgharieh Road, past Hashem Abad

Latitude: 36.161162, longitude: 59.699985



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave

City: Mashhad

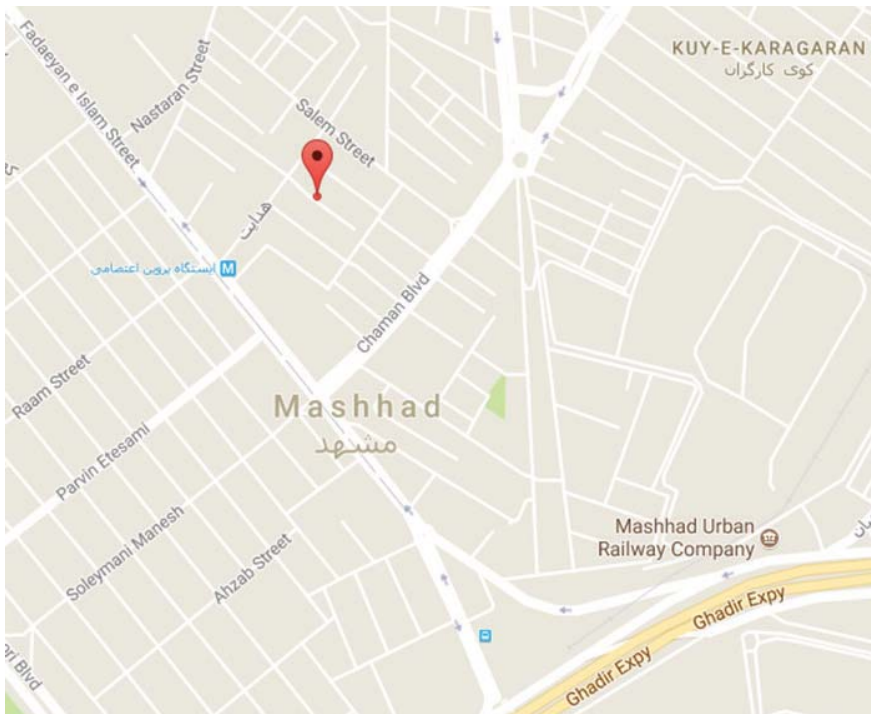
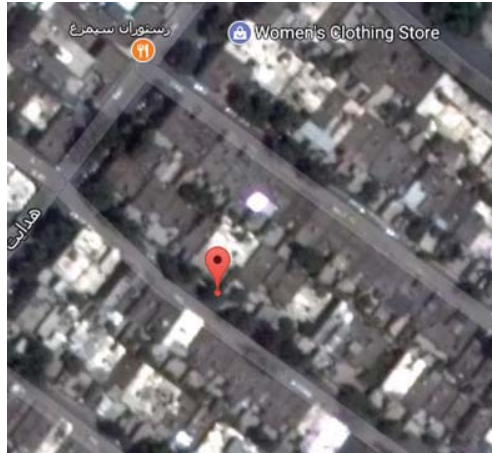
Province: Khorasan Razavi

Latitude: 36.264031, longitude: 59.615998

Estimated number of victims: Approx. 70

Estimated date of burial: N/A

Notes: A mass grave in which approximately 70 people have been buried. Map coordinates are approximate.



Mass Grave Locations

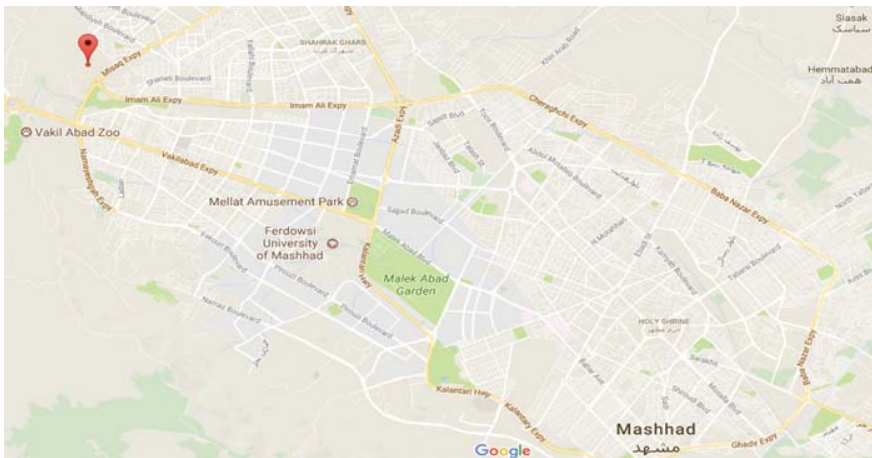
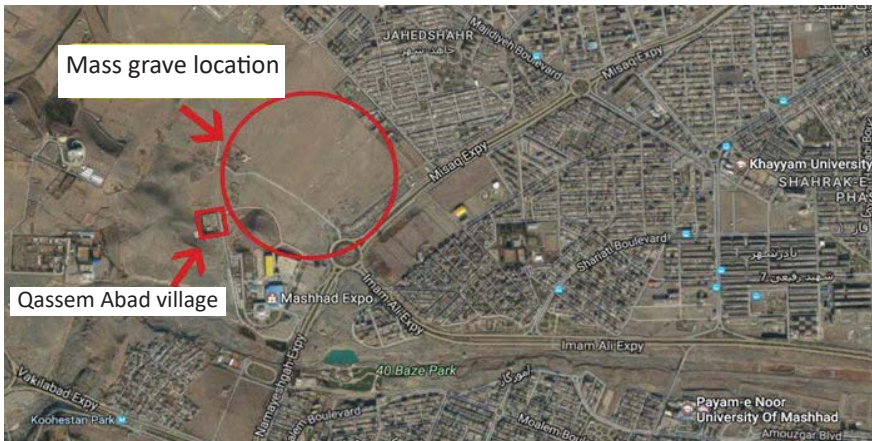
Location of the mass grave

City: Mashhad

Province: Khorasan Razavi

Latitude 36.355562, longitude: 59.463550

Notes: The area is controlled by the IRGC and the Bassij. In 1988 this area was a barren site outside of the city's vicinity.



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave: Exhibition Square

City: Mashhad

Province: Khorasan Razavi

Latitude: 36.351129, longitude: 59.465650

Notes: The square was previously the site of a large tomb. The soil was later removed and asphalt was put over it.



Mass Grave Locations

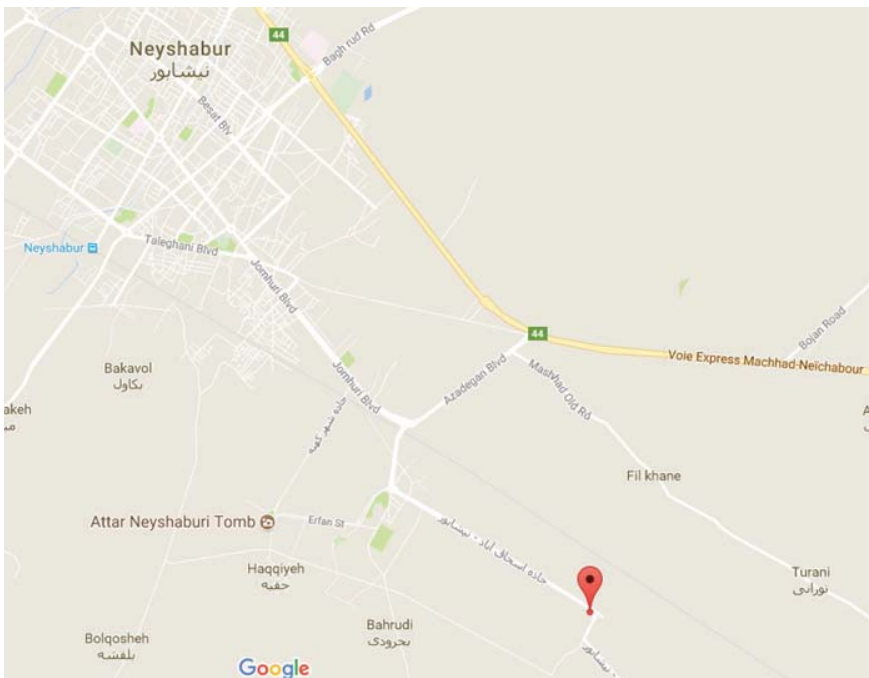
Location of the mass grave: Fazl Ibn Shazan Cemetery

City: Neyshabur

Province: Khorasan Razavi

Latitude: 36.157996, longitude: 58.847751

Notes: The mass grave is situated next to Behesht-e Fazlebn-e Shazan cemetery.



Kohgiluyeh Province

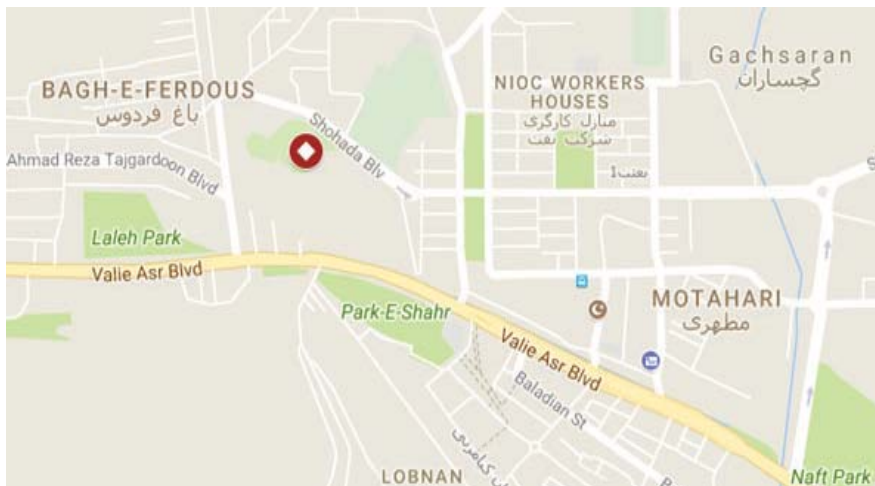
Location of the mass grave: Gachsaran Cemetery

City: Gachsaran

Province: Kohgiluyeh

Latitude 30.363841, longitude: 50.779021

Estimated date of burial: 1981 & 1988



Kurdistan Province

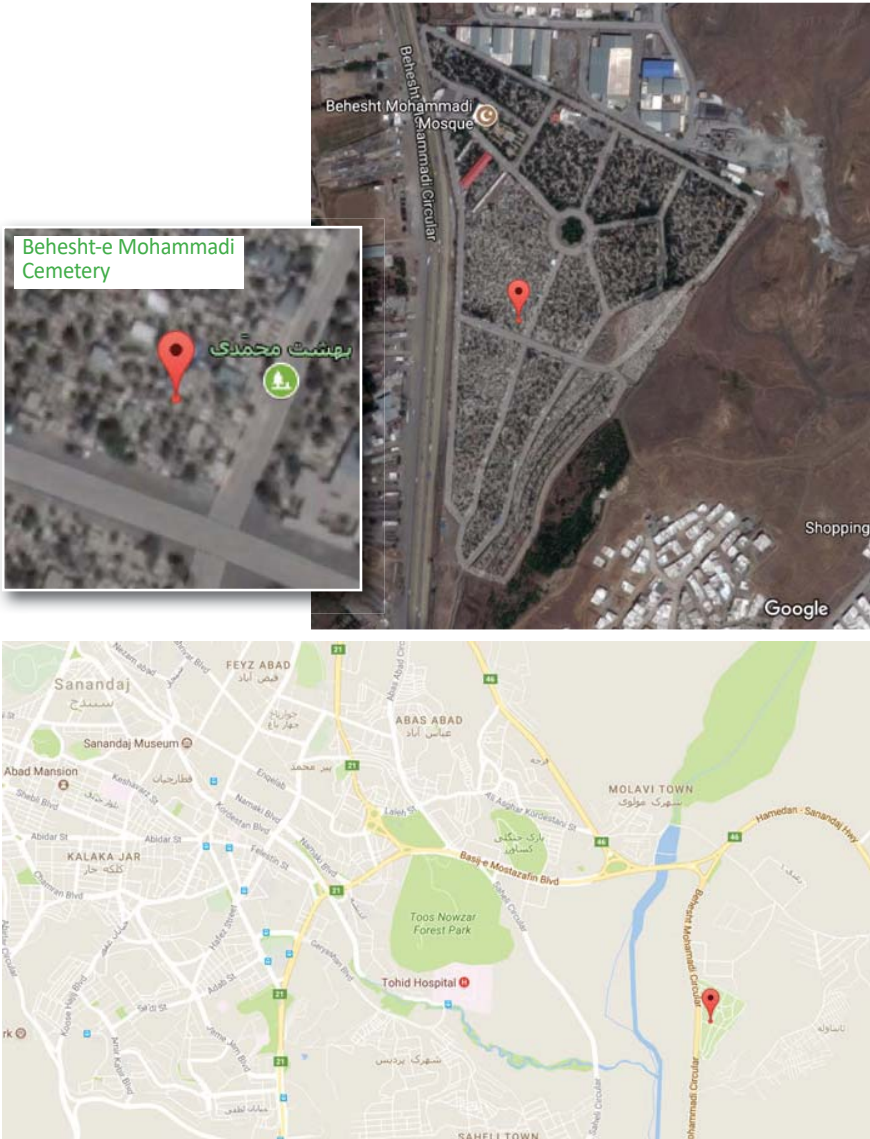
Location of the mass grave: Behesht-e Mohammadi Cemetery

City: Sanandaj

Province: Kurdistan

Latitude: 35.298401, Longitude: 47.040458

Notes: Located in Sanandaj suburb



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave: Tayla Cemetery

Location of the mass grave:

City: Sanandaj

Province: Kurdistan

Address: Tayla Cemetery, Taleqani Street, Feyz-Abad District, Sanandaj

Latitude: 35.323078, longitude: 47.005548

Note: Names of at least 15 victims have been identified.



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave

City: Qorveh

Province: Kurdistan

Latitude longitude information:
35.243199, 47.813371

Notes: The victims' relatives have been prevented from placing grave stones or memorials at the burial site. It is 3 km from Qaslan.



Lorestan Province

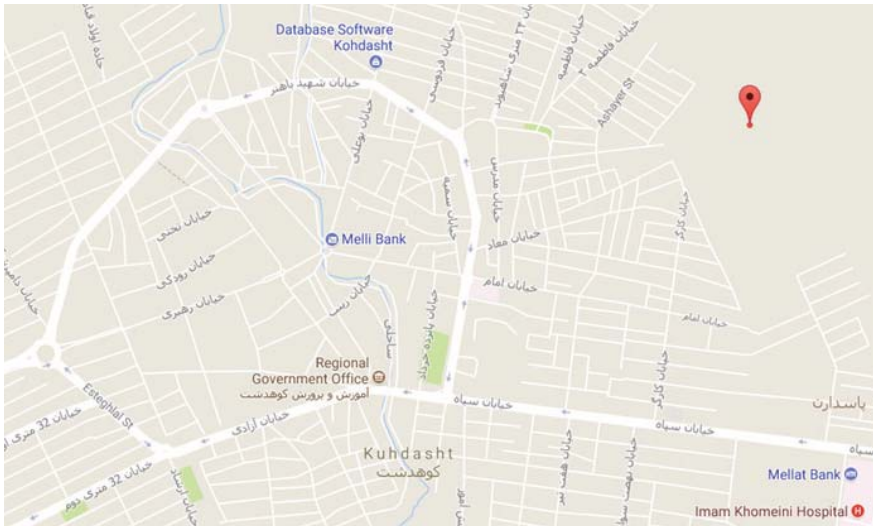
Location of the mass grave: Qarbchon Cemetery

City: Kuhdasht

Province: Lorestan

Latitude: 33.537611, longitude: 47.623457

Notes: 4 members of the PMOI who were captured during their incursion in western Iran were hanged in the city centre and then buried secretly together at the Qarbchon Cemetery on the outskirts of Kuhdasht. In later years, the cemetery was demolished and a sports centre was built over it.



Markazi Province

Location of the mass grave

City: Arak

Province: Markazi

Address: Arak-Boroujed Highway, 5 km outside Arak

Latitude: 34.013677,
longitude: 49.541535

Notes: Map coordinates are approximate.



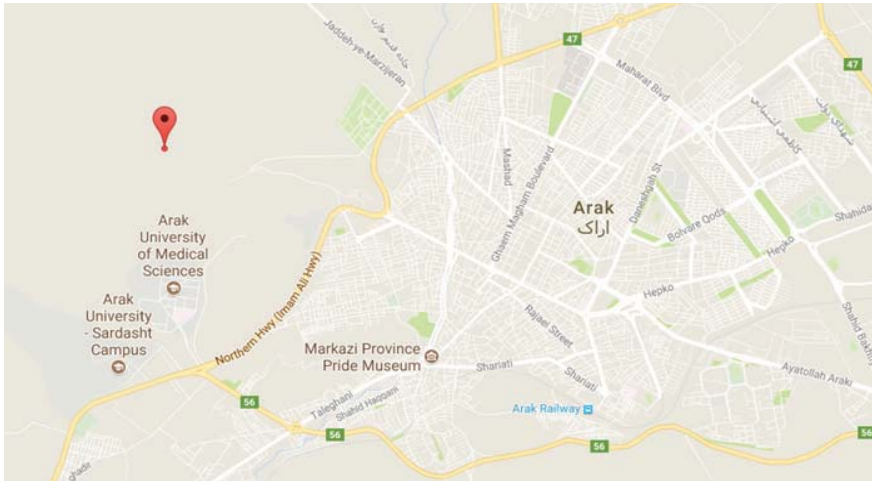
Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave

City: Darreh-ye Mudar near city of Arak

Province: Markazi

Latitude: 34.103837, longitude: 49.640035



Mass Grave Locations



Mazandaran Province

Location of the mass grave

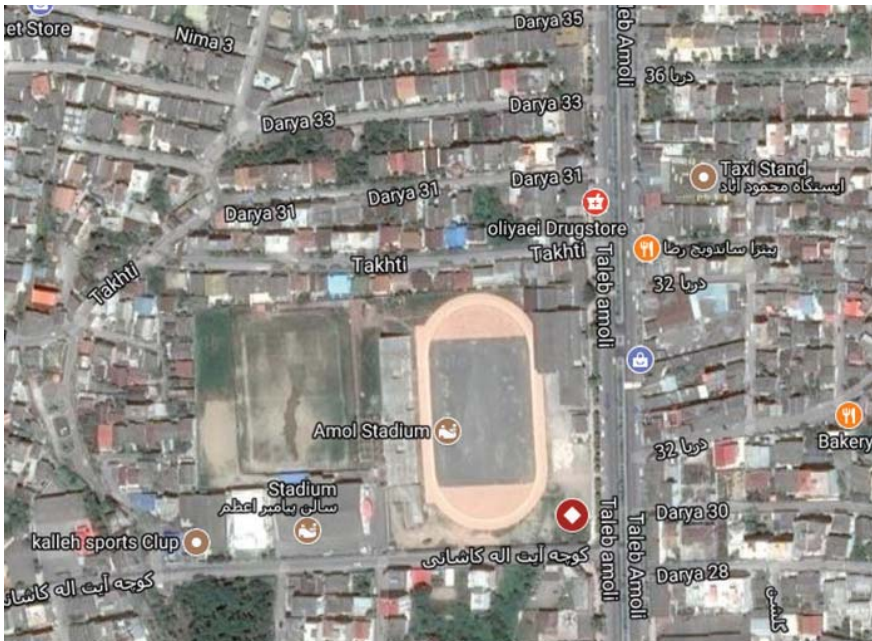
City: Amol

Province: Mazandaran

Address: Taleb Amoli Street, next to Amol sports stadium. A 4-5 km stretch of dirt road

Latitude: 36.482349,
longitude: 52.344195

Estimated date of
burial: October 1988



Mass Grave Locations

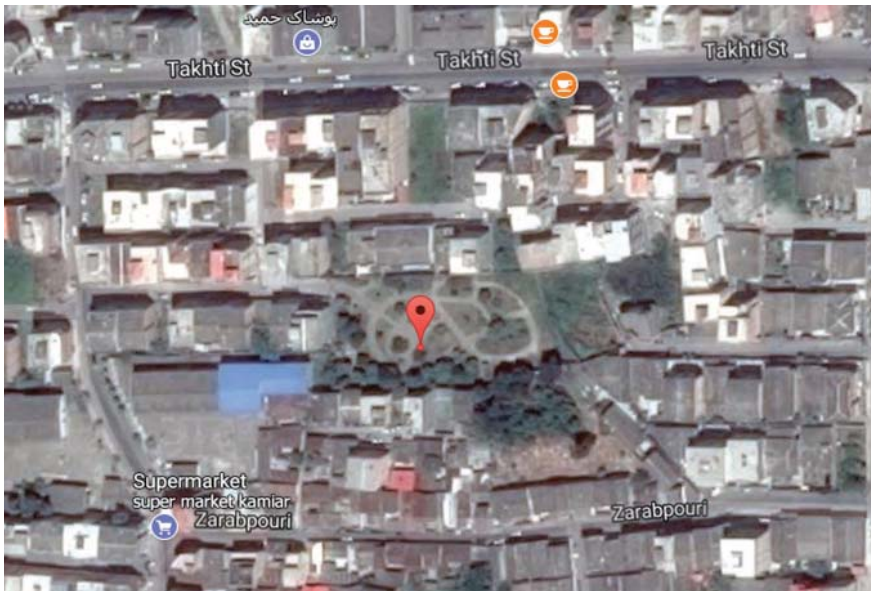
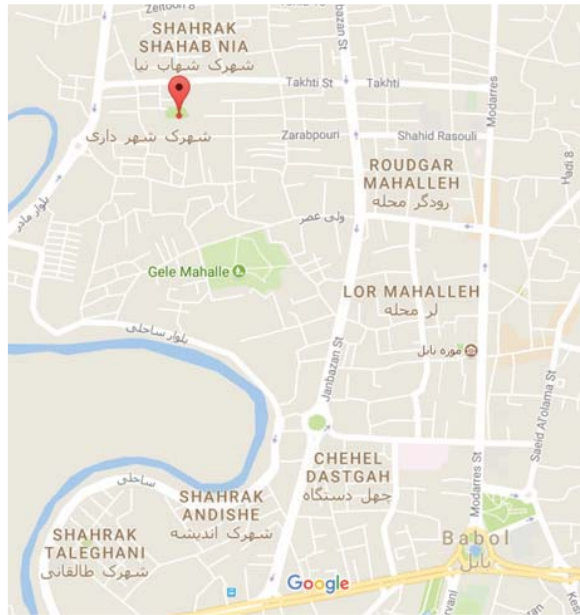
Location of the mass grave

City: Babol

Province: Mazandaran

Latitude: 36.551538, longitude: 52.6655

Notes: Shahrak Shahab Nia, Darzikola Akhondi, Babol - near the green area.



Mass Grave Locations

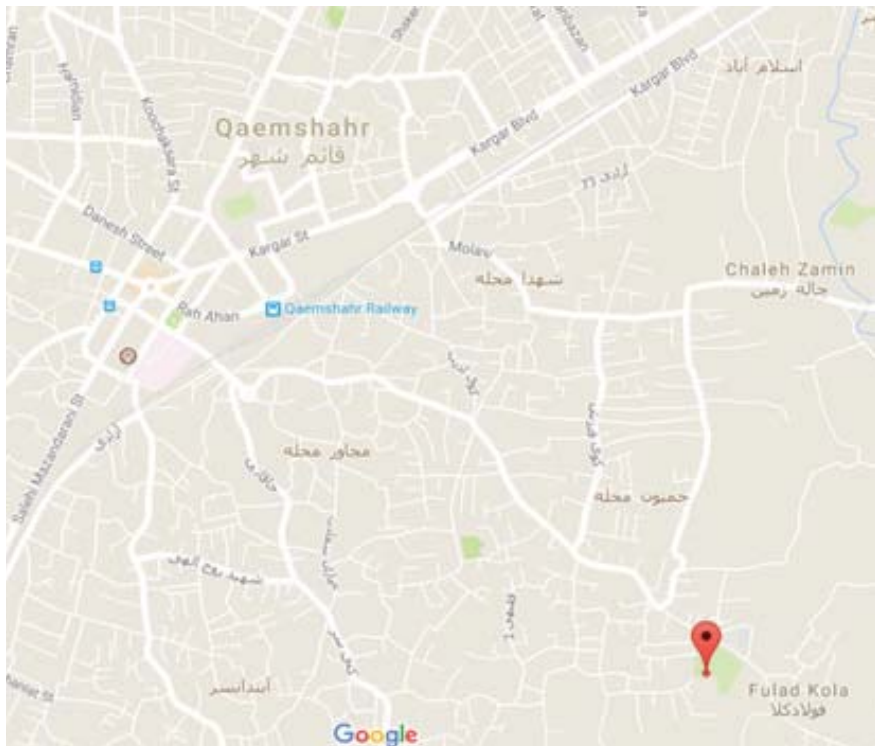
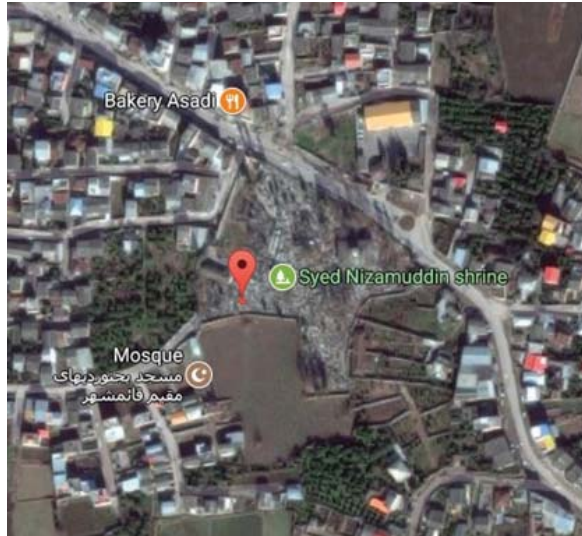
Location of the mass grave: Seyed Nizamuddin Shrine

City: Qaemshahr

Province: Mazandaran

Latitude: 36.45115,
longitude: 52.879304

Notes: The victims were buried in a mass grave about 50 m from the mortuary.



Mass Grave Locations

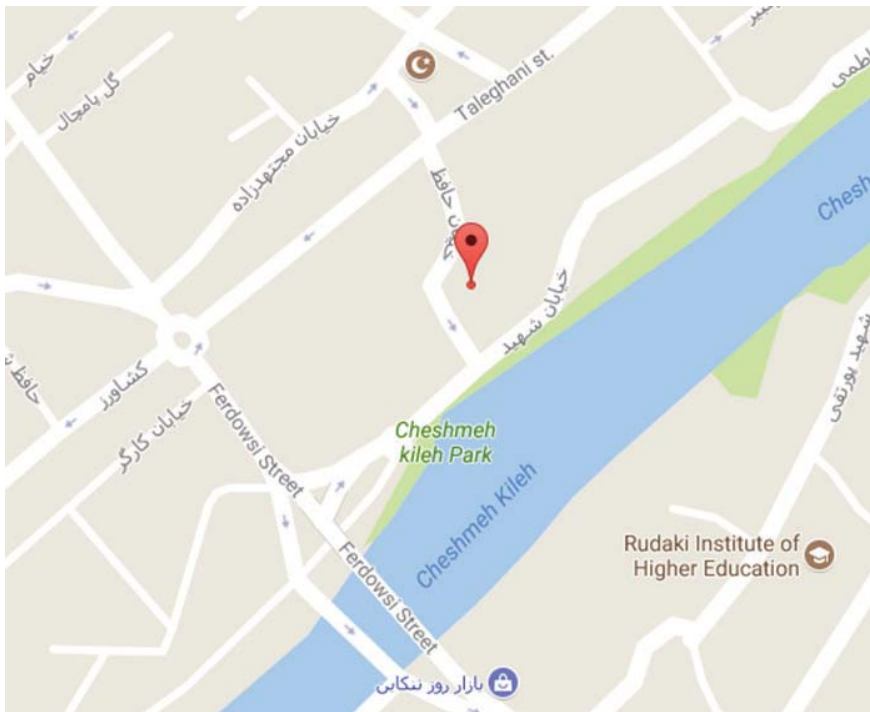
Location of the mass grave:

City: Tonekabon

Province: Mazandaran

Latitude: 36.815749, longitude:
50.873672

Notes: The site was flattened nearly
3 years ago with bulldozers and
divided and parts of it were sold off.
Map coordinates are approximate.



Mass Grave Locations

Location of the mass grave:

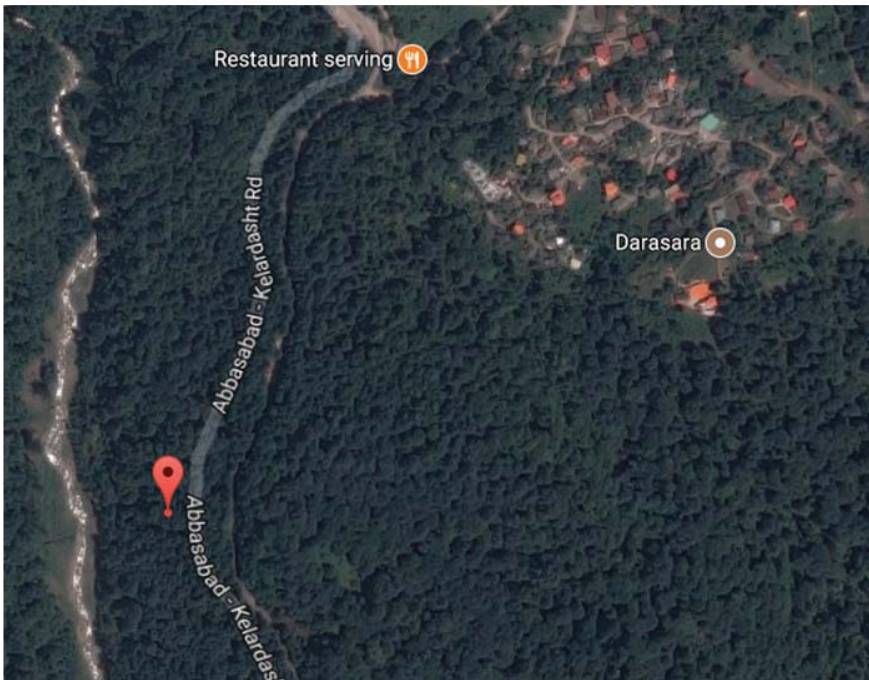
City: Tonekabon

Province: Mazandaran

Address: Beneath the Abbas Abad – Kelardasht Road, near the forest.

Latitude: 36.619179, longitude: 51.101974

Notes: The area has been turned into an asphalt road. Map coordinates are approximate.



Qazvin Province

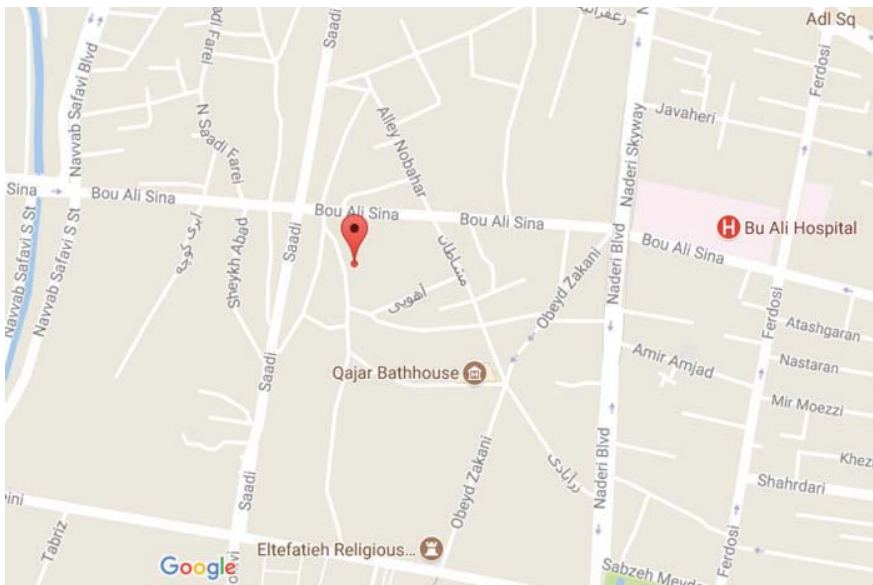
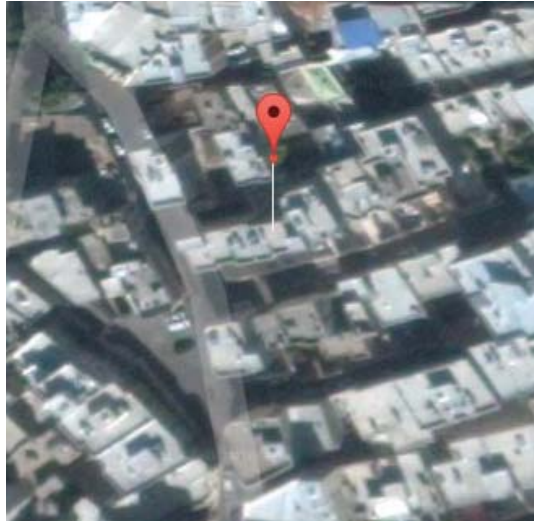
Location of the mass grave:

City: Qazvin

Province: Qazvin

Latitude: 36.274142, longitude: 49.998831

Notes: Map coordinates are approximate.



Sistan & Baluchistan Province

Location of the mass grave: Zahedan Cemetery

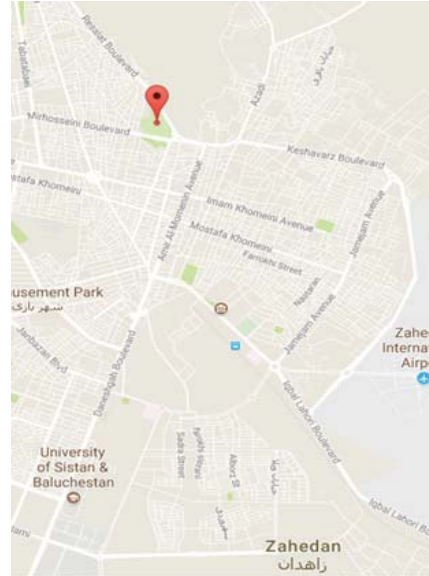
City: Zahedan

Province: Sistan & Baluchistan

Address: Behesht-e Mostafa Street,
Garage Street

Latitude: 29.509659, longitude:
60.864226

Estimated date of burial: November
1988



Mass Grave Locations

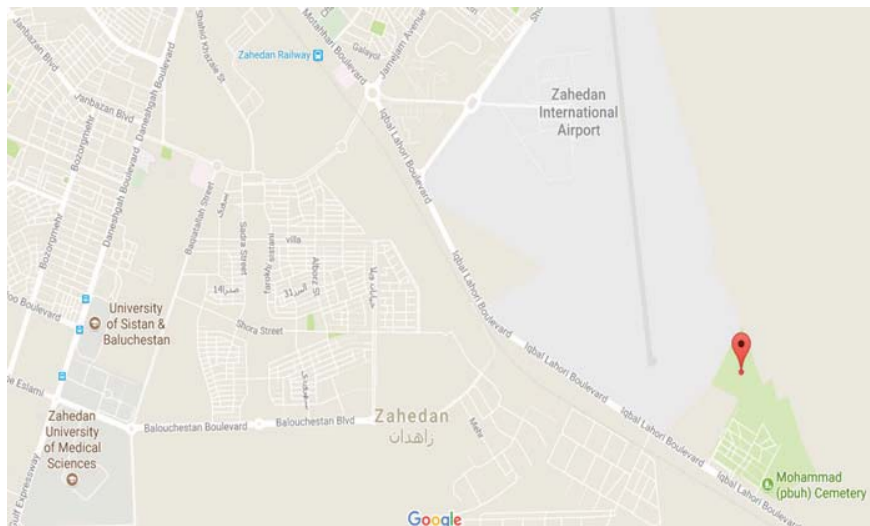
Location of the mass grave

City: Zahedan

Province: Sistan & Baluchistan

Latitude: 29.456022, Longitude: 60.916609

Notes: The mass grave is at the political prisoners' cemetery about 1.5 km from Behesht Mohammad Cemetery, near the Mir-Javeh Road.



Western Azerbaijan Province

Location of the mass grave: City's cemetery

City: Urmia

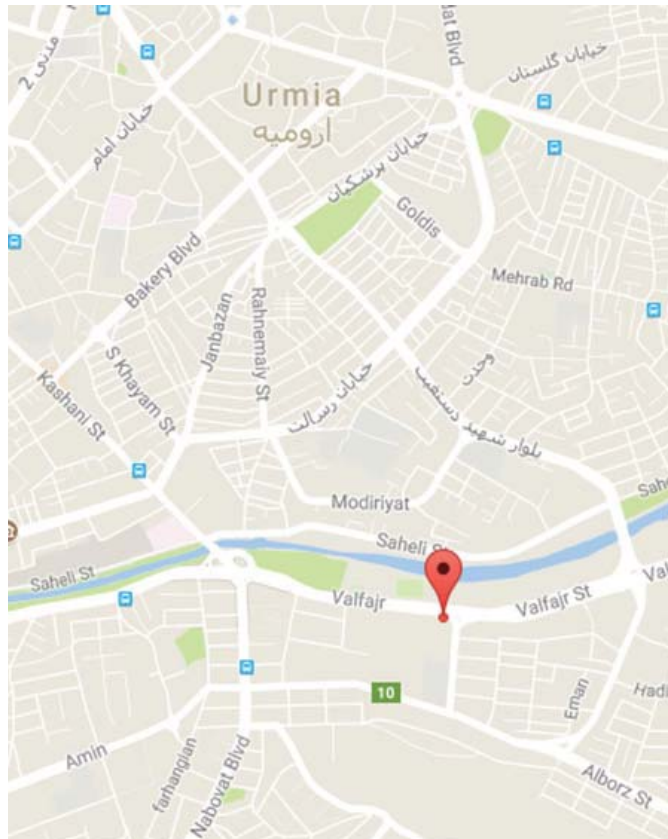
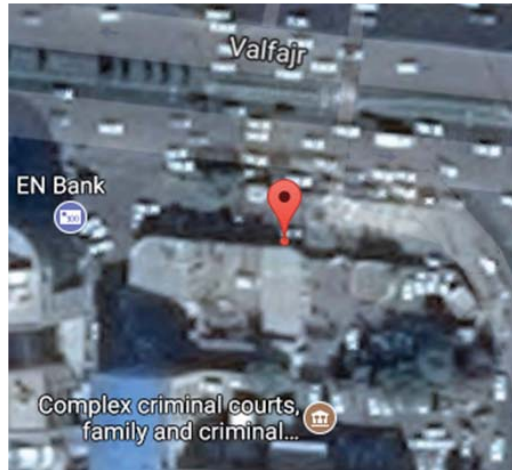
Province: Western Azerbaijan

Address: Radio & TV Avenue,
opposite the Radio & TV
building

Latitude: 37.532908, longitude:
45.084967

Estimated date of burial:
October 1988

Notes: Map coordinates are
approximate.



Zanjan Province

Location of the mass grave

City: Zanjan

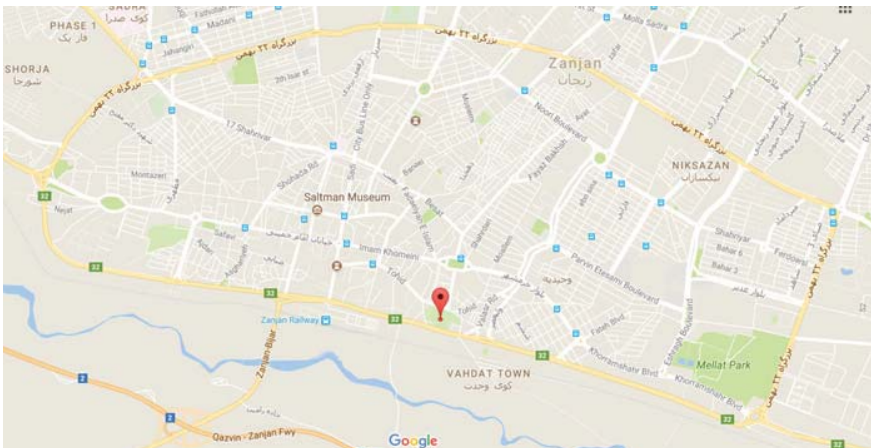
Province: Zanjan

Address: In a section of the northern cemetery.

Latitude: 36.661381, Longitude: 48.494044

Notes: In later years, other graves were built over the mass graves and new gravestones placed above the area.

Map coordinates are approximate.



ANNEXES

ANNEX 1

United Nations

A/72/322



General Assembly

Distr.: General
14 August 2017

Original: English

Seventy-second session

Item 73 (c) of the provisional agenda*

**Promotion and protection of human rights: human rights
situations and reports of special rapporteurs
and representatives**

Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran

Note by the Secretary-General**

The Secretary-General has the honour to transmit to the General Assembly the report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, submitted in accordance with Human Rights Council resolution 34/23.

* A/72/150.

** The present report was submitted after the deadline as a result of consultations with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

17-13925 (E) 230817



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Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran

Summary

During its thirty-third session, the Human Rights Council appointed Asma Jahangir as Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran. The present report outlines the activities carried out by the Special Rapporteur since the issuance of her first report to the Council (A/HRC/34/65), examines ongoing issues and presents some of the most recent and pressing developments in the area of human rights in the country.

...

11. (...) The Guardian Council, a body of six clerics appointed by the Supreme Leader that oversees the electoral process and vets the candidates, announced that the candidatures of only six men (0.37 per cent of the applicants) had been approved. Among them was Ebrahim Raisi, who reportedly had served on a committee that had ordered the extrajudicial executions of thousands of political prisoners in 1988.

71. In March, families who visited a mass grave located in the city of Mashhad, Razavi Khorasan Province, where up to 170 political prisoners are believed to be buried, reportedly discovered that the previously flat area had been covered with soil to create a raised mound over the grave. In mid-May, bulldozers were reportedly seen working on a construction project directly alongside the mass grave site at Ahvaz, located on a barren piece of land 3 km east of Behesht Abad Cemetery, where the remains of at least 44 people killed during the summer of 1988 are believed to be located. The plan is reportedly to ultimately raze the concrete block marking the grave site and build a "green space" or commercial development over the site.

72. In her first report to the Human Rights Council, the Special Rapporteur raised the case of Maryam Akbari Monfared, who had been denied medical treatment and threatened with the cancellation of her visitation rights for having published a letter calling for an investigation into the executions of 1988.⁴³ In May, Ms. Akbari Monfared's husband was summoned for interrogation by the Ministry of Intelligence and Security and threatened with the prospect that his wife would face an additional three-year prison term and exile to a remote prison in Sistan and Baluchestan Province if she continued to write open letters about the 1988 events.

73. Between July and August 1988, thousands of political prisoners, men, women and teen-agers, were reportedly executed pursuant to a fatwa issued by the then Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khomeini. A three-man commission was reportedly created with a view to determining who should be executed. The bodies of the victims were reportedly buried in unmarked graves and their families never informed of their whereabouts. These events, known as the 1988 massacres, have never been officially acknowledged. In January 1989, the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, expressed concern over the “global denial” of the executions and called on Iranian authorities to conduct an investigation. Such an investigation has yet to be undertaken.

74. In August 2016, an audio recording of a meeting held in 1988 between high-level State officials and clerics was published. The recording revealed the names of the officials who had carried out and defended the executions, including the current Minister of Justice, a current high court judge, and the head of one of the largest religious foundations in the country and candidate in the May presidential elections. Following the publication of the audio recording, some clerical authorities and the chief of the judiciary admitted that the executions had taken place and, in some instances, defended them.

...

V. Conclusions and recommendations

...

109. Over the years, a high number of reports have been issued about the 1988 massacres. If the number of persons who disappeared and were executed can be disputed, overwhelming evidence shows that thousands of persons were summarily killed. Recently, these killings have been acknowledged by some at the highest levels of the State. The families of the victims have a right to know the truth about these events and the fate of their loved ones without risking reprisal. They have the right to a remedy, which includes the right to an effective investigation of the facts and public disclosure of the truth; and the right to reparation. The Special Rapporteur therefore calls on the Government to ensure that a thorough and independent investigation into these events is carried out.

...

ANNEX 2

United Nations

A/HRC/36/NGO/42



General Assembly

Distr.: General
30 August 2017

English only

Human Rights Council

Thirty-sixth session

11-29 September 2017

Agenda item 4

Human rights situations that require the Council's attention

**Joint written statement* submitted by France Libertés :
Fondation Danielle Mitterrand, Women's Human Rights
International Association, non-governmental organizations in
special consultative status, Mouvement contre le racisme et
pour l'amitié entre les peuples, a non-governmental
organization on the roster**

The Secretary-General has received the following written statement which is circulated in accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1996/31.

[17 August 2017]

* This written statement is issued, unedited, in the language(s) received from the submitting non-governmental organization(s).

GE.17-15081(E)



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The 1988 Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran: Time for the Truth, Justice, Reparation and Guarantees of Non-Recurrence

On the 29th anniversary of the 1988 mass extra-legal executions of political prisoners in the Islamic Republic of Iran, we believe that until the full truth is unveiled and the perpetrators are held to account for their crimes, there will be no incentive for the government of Iran to change its policy on human rights. This is why we are calling on the United Nations to launch an independent inquiry into the 1988 massacre to reveal the truth, hold the perpetrators to account and seek justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence.

The facts

- In 1988, the government of Iran massacred 30,000 political prisoners.
- The executions took place based on a fatwa by Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khomeini.
- Three-member commissions known as a 'Death Commission' were formed across Iran sending political prisoners who refused to abandon their beliefs to execution
- The victims were buried in secret mass graves.
- The perpetrators continue to enjoy impunity.
- In the past year, the names of nearly 100 'Death Commission' members have been revealed. Many still hold senior positions in the Iranian judiciary or government. They include:
 - Alireza Avaie, a member of the 1988 'Death Commission' in the city of Dezful who is on the European Union's sanctions list for human rights violations, was appointed in August 2017 as Iran's Justice Minister. His predecessor, Mustafa Pour-Mohammadi was also a member of the Death Commission in Tehran.
 - Ebrahim Raisi, a member of the Tehran Death Commission, was a candidate in the 2017 presidential election. He is a member of the powerful State Expediency Discernment Council and prosecutor of the special court of the clergy.
 - Hossein-Ali Nayyeri, Head of the Tehran Death Commission, is currently Head of the Supreme Disciplinary Court for Judges and Deputy Head of the National Supreme Court.
 - Ali Razini, a Death Commission member, is currently Vice-President of the Judiciary on legal affairs.
 - Salman Khodadadi, a Death Commission member, is currently a Member of Parliament and Chair of its Committee on Social Affairs.
 - Mohammad-Hossein Ahmadi Shahroodi, a Death Commission member, is currently a member of the Assembly of Experts.
 - Gholamreza Khalaf Zare, a Death Commission member, is currently a Supreme Court judge.

The emerging evidence

In 2016 an audio tape surfaced of Ayatollah Hossein-Ali Montazeri, Deputy Supreme Leader in 1988, chastising members of the Tehran Death Commission as the executions were taking place.

Montazeri told the Death Commission: *"The greatest crime in the Islamic Republic, for which history will condemn us, has been committed by you."*

Montazeri was cast out from power following his protest.

Iranian civil society demands justice

Since the summer of 2016, Iranian civil society has defied the government by breaking the taboo on openly discussing the massacre and demanding justice. In a report published on 2 August 2017, Amnesty International pointed to a campaign by Iran's younger generation who seek an inquiry into the mass killings of political prisoners in 1988.

The report said: *"Human rights defenders targeted for seeking truth and justice include younger human rights defenders 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."*

It adds that there has been *"a chain of unprecedented reactions from high-level officials, leading them to admit for the first time that the mass killings of 1988 were planned at the highest levels of government."*

A video clip of a speech on 22 April 2017 by a student at Tabriz University challenging a top former Revolutionary Guards commander and condemning the 1988 massacre in Iran was widely circulated on social media: *"Your theory and your discussions defend the horrific, inhumane, illegal and irreligious massacres of 1988. ... We will neither forgive, nor forget your betrayals and crimes. Our people will avenge the pain and grief of the mothers [of the martyrs] of our nation."*

Dr. Mohammad Maleki, the first chancellor of Tehran University after the 1979 revolution and a prominent dissident in Iran, who spent many years in prison under torture, pointed out in an interview with Dorr TV on 14 August 2016 that more than 30,400 of the executed prisoners were members of the opposition People's Mojahedin (PMOI or MEK) and 2000-3000 were leftists.

Mohammad Nourizad, a close associate to Ayatollah Ali Khamenei prior to the 2009 uprising in Tehran, wrote: *"Here, in a matter of 2 or 3 months, 33,000 men, women, young and old were imprisoned, tortured and executed. Their bodies were taken to Khavaran Cemetery and barren lands by trucks and buried in mass graves, happy of what they had done..."*

Reza Malek, a former intelligence officer, revealed that according to documents he had personally seen, 33,700 prisoners were executed in 1988.

The Iranian people used the campaign period prior to the undemocratic 'election' to highlight the call for justice.

In Qom in May 2017, Iranians chanted against Presidential candidate Raisi: *"He is the murderer of 1988"*.

Iranian political prisoner Maryam Akbari-Monfared on 15 October 2016 made an official complaint from inside prison to the Iranian judiciary over the execution of her siblings in the 1988 massacre. According to Amnesty International she was subsequently put under further pressure in prison.

In a report (A/HRC/34/65) to the Human Rights Council on 17 March 2017, the UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Iran criticized the Iranian authorities for repressing victims' families.

The public attention to this subject has forced the government to engage in massive propaganda to defend the massacre by misrepresenting the facts and blaming the victims.

Iranian officials act with impunity

Ayatollah Ahmad Khatami, a board member of Iran's Assembly of Experts and Tehran's acting Friday prayer leader, in a sermon on 21 July 2017 cried out against the calls for justice.

Khatami said: *"Confronting them (imprisoned dissidents) and wiping out the Monafeqin (PMOI) was one of the Imam's most righteous and valuable actions, and all of the persons who complied with his edict should be awarded a Medal of Honour. ... However, those who on their websites have switched the place of martyrs and murderers should repent and beg for forgiveness."*

His remarks echoed those of Supreme Leader Khamenei who said on 4 June 2017 that the 1980s were an era of great glory, stressing that *"the place of the victim and the executioner should not be changed."*

Mostafa Pour-Mohammadi who was Iran's Justice Minister until August 2017 was quoted on 28 August 2016, by the state-run Tasnim news agency as saying: *"God commanded show no mercy to the nonbelievers because they will not*

A/HRC/36/NGO/42

show mercy to you either and there should be no mercy to the [PMOI] because if they could they would spill your blood, which they did. ... We are proud to have carried out God's commandment with regard to the [Mojahedin] and to have stood with strength and fought against the enemies of God and the people."

In an interview with the state-affiliated Tarikh Online website, aired on 9 July 2017, Ali Fallahian, Iran's former Intelligence Minister, acknowledged that Khomeini's 1988 fatwa called for the eradication of all affiliates of the PMOI. Fallahian said that even PMOI supporters whose only crime was to distribute the group's literature or buy bread or other provisions for them were found guilty of waging war on God and executed.

Fallahian has three international warrants for his arrest; two by German and Swiss magistrates over his role in the assassination of Iranian dissidents abroad, and an Interpol Red Notice over his role in the terrorist bombing of a Jewish community centre in Buenos Aires in 1994.

Mohsen Rafiqdoost, Iran's former Minister for the Revolutionary Guards (IRGC), in an interview with the state-run Mehr News Agency on 18 July 2017 defended the 1988 massacre, adding: *"Today too if we find [PMOI members], we will do the same with them."*

Ebrahim Raisi's campaign in the weeks leading to the May election continuously sent out messages via the social network Telegram defending the 1988 massacre through misrepresentation of the facts.

With Raisi standing by his side, Yasser Mousavi, the Friday prayers' leader in Varamin, said at a Raisi campaign rally on 12 May 2017: *"This grand figure who is standing next to me is proud to have executed the members of the PMOI."*

Articles seeking to justify the massacre have been published across state media, including online publications, and Intelligence Ministry outlets.

Since 2016, the 1988 massacre has gradually turned into a growing demand by the victims' families and the Iranian people for transparency and prosecution of those involved. This has already been a major development both from a human rights perspective and from a purely political perspective, indicating that even after 29 years, the massacre remains a benchmark for the Iranian people to judge different factions of the ruling system. Many describe the issue of the massacre as the collective conscience of the Iranian people, which cannot be set aside until the perpetrators are brought to justice.

International condemnation

Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) have all described Iran's 1988 massacre as a 'crime against humanity'.

UN Secretary General António Guterres in a 13 March 2017 report to the Human Rights Council mentioned that the OHCHR has received the copies of dozens of complaint letters addressed to the High Commissioner for Human Rights and to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court from families of persons killed in the 1988 mass executions.

Time for the UN to assume its responsibility

What happened in Iranian prisons in 1988 remains a deep scar on the body and soul of the Iranian people. The only way to soothe this wound would be a comprehensive and independent investigation to identify those who abused their power to execute thousands of their ideological opponents.

In a report published in February 2017 (INQUIRY INTO THE 1988 MASS EXECUTIONS IN IRAN), the London-based NGO, Justice for the Victims of the 1988 Massacre in Iran (JVMI), points out that the failure of the international community thus far to investigate this 'crime against humanity' and to bring the perpetrators to justice has fuelled a culture of impunity for Iranian officials who continue to violate international law and human rights.

According to international law there is no statute of limitations for crimes against humanity. It is the responsibility of the international community, including the Human Rights Council and Security Council, to attend to this matter and to

ensure that accountability is achieved. What gives this matter urgency is that the 1988 mass extra-legal executions have not come to an end. Iran continues to execute people following unfair trials.

The perpetrators of the 1988 massacre still enjoy impunity and most are currently holding key positions in the Iranian administration.

We urge the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council, in particular the Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Iran, Asma Jahangir, and the Special Rapporteur on the promotion of truth, Pablo de Greiff, to investigate Iran's 1988 massacre as part of their respective mandates.

We call on the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, HE Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein to order a Commission of Inquiry into the 1988 massacre based on the UN Economic and Social Council Resolution 1989/65 which states in principle 11: *"In cases in which the established investigative procedures are inadequate because of lack of expertise or impartiality, because of the importance of the matter or because of the apparent existence of a pattern of abuse, and in cases where there are complaints from the family of the victim about these inadequacies or other substantial reasons, Governments shall pursue investigations through an independent commission of inquiry or similar procedure. Members of such a commission shall be chosen for their recognized impartiality, competence and independence as individuals. In particular, they shall be independent of any institution, agency or person that may be the subject of the inquiry."*

ANNEX 3

United Nations

A/HRC/36/NGO/117



General Assembly

Distr.: General
5 September 2017

English and French only

Human Rights Council

Thirty-sixth session
11-29 September 2017

Agenda item 3

**Promotion and protection of all human rights, civil,
political, economic, social and cultural rights,
including the right to development**

**Joint written statement* submitted by the Nonviolent Radical
Party, Transnational and Transparty, a non-governmental
organization in general consultative status, Women's Human
Rights International Association, Edmund Rice International
Limited, non-governmental organizations in special
consultative status, International Educational Development,
Inc., a non-governmental organization on the roster**

The Secretary-General has received the following written statement which is circulated in
accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1996/31.

[18 August 2017]

* This written statement is issued, unedited, in the language(s) received from the submitting non-governmental organization(s).

GE.17-15371(E)



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Request for the formation of a UN Commission of Inquiry into the mass execution of political prisoners in 1988 in Iran*

We the undersigned organisations believe that the extra-legal mass executions of political prisoners in the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1988 and the need to end the impunity for the perpetrators of this crime warrant and necessitate a UN Commission of Inquiry and we urge you to initiate and facilitate this.

In the period between July and October of 1988 many thousands of political prisoners were executed in Iran, mostly in the first few weeks. The mass executions were conducted following a decree by the then Iranian Supreme Leader, condemning all members of the Iranian opposition Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK / PMOI) to death. The decree read in part, "Those who remain steadfast in their position of nifaq [support for MEK] in prisons throughout the country are considered to be muharib (waging war on God) and are condemned to execution." The primary litmus test to escape execution was to renounce their political belief and affiliation.

In a subsequent decree the Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, said, "If the person at any stage or at any time maintains his position on nifaq [support for MEK], the sentence is execution. Annihilate the enemies of Islam immediately. With regard to the case files, use whichever criterion that speeds up the implementation of the verdict."

The responsibility for implementing the decree was entrusted on three-member commissions formed throughout the country, which included a Sharia judge, a prosecutor and a representative of the Ministry of Intelligence and Security. The prisoners called them "Death Commissions". The extrajudicial executions in violation of due process of law were soon extended to political prisoners belonging to other political groups.

The sentences were often carried out within hours. Former officials place the total number of victims in the tens of thousands. These facts were well known and reported by UN mandate holders in 1988 but have since unfortunately been off the UN agenda. The issue is resurfacing on the Iranian agenda following the release of an audio tape in which key officials at the time of the mass executions discuss and admit their actions. There are reports of growing calls for accountability in Iran despite intimidation and government crackdown. As such the extrajudicial executions of 1988 are no longer an issue of the past but a living issue with severe consequences for the people of Iran, in particular the families of victims who have dared to demand accountability.

The 1988 wave of politically motivated executions was a pivotal moment in the development of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran which continues to reverberate throughout Iranian society to this day. Key officials involved in the mass executions were promoted and currently hold some of the highest offices in the Iranian judiciary and security forces. A generation of democratic exponents and human rights defenders was decimated. The wave of extra-legal executions also established practices which remain in place today, as demonstrated by the fact that Iran continues to have the highest rate of executions in the world. It often imposes the death penalty for crimes not considered most serious crimes, for political prisoners, for juvenile offenders and with flagrant violations of due process of law. We the undersigned organisations also possess evidence that individuals presently demanding information about their family members who were executed in 1988 face imprisonment and harassment by Iranian security forces.

The Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran has stated, as has Your Office, that the Iranian government only very selectively engages with UN mandate holders. Specifically it refuses to acknowledge to the UNHRC that politically motivated executions take place or have taken place.

We believe that the enormity of the human rights violations, their continuing effect on Iranian society and victims as well as the non-cooperation of the Iranian government warrants and necessitates a UN Commission of Inquiry. We therefore urge You to use the authority of Your Office to end impunity, restore accountability and ensure non-recurrence of extra-legal mass executions in the Islamic Republic of Iran by initiating and facilitating such an Inquiry.

*Hands Off Cain comite de soutien au droits de l'homme en iran - CSDHI Association des Femmes Iraniennes en France - AFIF Associazione Medici e Farmacisti Iraniani in Italia IRAN REF VZW vzw democratische iraanse vrouwen organisationen in belgien, NGOs without consultative status, also share the views expressed in this statement.

ANNEX 4

Text of Khomeini's 1988 fatwa ordering the massacre

Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini issued a fatwa in July 1988 ordering the execution of imprisoned members and supporters of the PMOI (MEK) who remained loyal to the organisation, including those who had already been tried and were serving their prison terms. This was the beginning of what turned out to be the biggest massacre of political prisoners since World War II. The fatwa had no date on it. It was short, explicit and straight forward. The content clearly reflected a policy pursued by Khomeini since he came to power in 1979. It was not out of step with the previous policy and conduct of the Islamic Republic regarding the opposition.

The following is the full translation of Khomeini's fatwa ordering the 1988 massacre in Iran:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

The task of implementing the decree in Tehran is entrusted to Hojjatol-Islam Nayyeri, the religious judge, Mr. Eshraqi, the Tehran prosecutor, and a representative of the Intelligence Ministry. Even though a unanimous decision is better, the view of a majority of the three must prevail. In prisons in the provinces, the views of a majority of a trio consisting of the religious judge, the revolutionary prosecutor, and the Intelligence Ministry representative must be obeyed. It is naive to show mercy to those who wage war on God. The decisive way in which Islam treats the enemies of God is among the unquestionable tenets of the Islamic regime. I hope that with your revolutionary rage and vengeance toward the enemies of Islam, you would achieve the satisfaction of the Almighty

God. Those who are making the decisions must not hesitate, nor show any doubt or be concerned with details. They must try to be "most ferocious against infidels." To have doubts about the judicial matters of revolutionary Islam is to ignore the pure blood of martyrs.

Ruhollah Moussavi Khomeini

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 در آنجا که منافقین خائن بی‌سویج به اسلام معتقد بودند و به پیشگامان دین و دفاع می‌نهادند و در جمیع امور آنها
 در اسلام دست‌انداخته کرده اند و با توجه به محارب بودن آنها و جنگی که در میان آنها در شالی و غیره می‌جنگید
 با جمیع این حزب بیعت عراق و نجف و کوفی آنان برابر صلح علیه ملت مسلمان با و با توجه به ارتباط آنان با
 استکبار جهانی و ضمایع ناچهار دانه آنان که در بنابر پیشگامان همه سرسخت می‌توان گفت که در دنیا
 سر بر کوه بر روضه فدک خود با فائز کردند و یکسره محارب و مکرر به هدم می‌باشند و تسخیر موضوع نزد
 تهران با دارا گرفتاریت و آن همه هر اسلام نری و جناب سر شرافت و نمایندار از وزارت اطلاعات
 اگر چه حیات در جوامع است و در این طرز در زندان مراکز آنها را که در تهران گرفتاریت و آن قاضی شریع
 و در آن نهاد و یاد داریار و نمایندار وزارت اطلاعات منم هدایت می‌باشد و هم بر می‌بین
 ساد انزلی است و قاطعیت اسلام در برابر دشمنان خدا از اصولی تردید ناپذیر تمام است
 است و باید و لازم باشد و گفته می‌شود که خود نسبت به دشمنان اسلام رضایت خداوند متعال را باید
 آفرینی که تسخیر موضوع به همه آنهاست و در هر وقت و در هر کجاست و می‌کند «استاد
 علی‌اکبر» باشند و در هر قضا به اسلام بپردازند و باید که در حق خون پاک و مظهر
 شهادت می‌باشند و اسلام را تسخیر می‌کنند

Khomeini's fatwa ordering the execution of all PMOI affiliates in 1988

ANNEX 5

Montazeri's Letter Addressed to Members of the "Death Commission" in Tehran

Ayatollah Montazeri, who was shocked by the mass execution of political prisoners in Iran and that his previous letters to Khomeini about his decree and the arbitrary executions had been ignored, expressed his dismay in a letter addressed directly to members of the 'Death Commission' in Tehran on 15 August 1988. While criticizing members of the Commission, he clearly stated that their conduct had been contrary to the teachings of Islam and the practices of the Prophet Mohammad. The letter provides more evidence not only of the scale of the mass executions but also highlights the fact that leaders of the Iranian regime were fully informed that they were taking place.

The following is the full translation of Montazeri's letter to the 'Death Commission':

To Mr. Nayyeri, [religious judge], Mr. Eshraqi, [prosecutor], Mr. Raisi, [deputy prosecutor], and Mr. Pour-Mohammadi, [Intelligence Ministry representative].

Date: 15 August 1988

In the Name of God, the Most High,

1. I have received more blows from the Monafeqin [PMOI] than all of you, both in prison and outside.

My son was martyred by them. If it was a question of revenge, I should pursue it more than you. But I seek the expediency and interests of the revolution, Islam, the Supreme Leader, and the Islamic state. I am worried about the judgment that posterity and history will pass upon us.

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

3. Look at the behaviour of Prophet [Mohammad] and how he treated his enemies after the conquest of Mecca and the Battle of Hawazen. The Prophet showed mercy and amnesty and was given the title of "the Mercy of both

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hossein-Ali Montazeri

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