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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: KEMP, GEOFFREY: Files

Archivist: dlb

File Folder: Iran July 1981 (2 of 2)

Date: 8/11/99

Box ~~90218~~ 90492

Wills - F97-106

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Memo	Kemp to Richard Allen, re: Iran, 1 p. <i>P 4130/01 NLSF97-106 # 103</i>	7/28/81	P1/F1

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-5 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(5) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

IRAN ~~Kemp~~

MEMORANDUM

4380

~~CK~~
~~RT~~
~~DF~~
~~SS~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CORRESPONDENCE REFERRAL

July 22, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR LESLIE SORG

FROM: ALLEN J. LENZ *ALJ*

The NSC staff has reviewed and approved the attached draft reply:

as is

as amended

ALJ Staff initial

Attachments: Incoming letter and draft reply.

DRAFT REPLY

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Buehrer:

Thank you for your recent letter to President Reagan regarding educational assistance to Iranian students in the United States.

Please be assured that no agency of the U.S. Government assumed the expenses of these students during the hostage crisis, nor does a special program of financial assistance for them as a group exist. Each Iranian on a student visa in the U.S. is responsible for his or her own funding. While economic sanctions against Iran were in force, the Treasury Department licensed the transfer of funds from Iran to meet the expenses of Iranian students in this country.

I hope that this information has answered some of your questions on this matter; if you would like more information, I suggest that you contact the United States International Communication Agency at 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. That agency is responsible for international educational exchanges and can answer any specific questions you might have.

Sincerely,

Anne Higgins



Dear Mr. President;
SVR Since Nov. 4, 1980 we have both been so
thankful and proud to have you as our
President - We both worked as hard as we
could to help get you elected and for the
first time feel secure about our wonderful
(in a long time)
country - when you were shot we were both
heart sick and thank God that he spared you
and pray that he will continue to keep you
under his watchful eye and loving care -
Mr. President - there are many things at
stake and many decisions to be made and
many issues to be decided but we trust
with God's help you will always consider
and do the wisest thing for all the people
of our great nation - as you know, no matter
the opposition, no matter the howls and protests,
the "people" of this entire country love you and
are behind you all the way -

Sir: am enclosing a clipping from the
San Antonio, Tex Express - Please have someone
reply to us - Is this article really true?
You are a true American, Mr. President

6121250

031228

Thank you -
Mr. & Mrs. John Bucher
806 Walnut
Oxalben, Tex. 78501

Will Reagan Send Iran Students Home?

WASHINGTON — Only because the Iranians knew that they would not be able to push President Reagan around did they finally release the hostages — a few minutes after Jimmy Carter's tenure ended.

The State Department, in fact, made it very clear to the Algerian go-betweens that Mr. Reagan would not negotiate for a minute until our "prisoners of war" — the president's words in one of his inaugural ball talks — were released.

The Iranians therefore "reluctantly" accepted the \$8 billion to \$9 billion in ransom that Mr. Carter thrust at them — and to the very end Iranian officials played cat-and-mouse with the United States, pouring on the humiliation which this country suffered.

Will this be the end of it?

That question will be answered when the new president faces the question of Iranian students in the United States.

Those students were being supported by Iranian government funds under the shah — funds which were cut off when the barbarians took over Iran. The State Department, which believes that the United States should wear a "kick me hard" sign on its posterior, rushed into the breach.

It sent notices to the colleges and universities at which Iranian students were studying, between breaches of the peace, announcing that it would pick up the tab.

Just why should American taxpayers provide the money to keep 50,000 Iranian students in tuition, room, and board? But during the entire period that the Ayatollah Khomeini and his bully boys were holding 52 Americans hostage, in violation of international law and morality, the Carter administration was shelling out millions of dollars to keep the Islamic revolution's most passionate supporters in our institutions of higher learning.

There were some in Washington who tried to bring this utterly ridiculous turning of the other cheek to the attention of the public. But

their efforts were met with a loud shushing sound from the State Department and the Carter White House. Those who persisted in complaining about this subsidy were denounced as "cold warriors" and attackers of motherhood and apple pie.

Mr. Reagan was among those who protested against Uncle Sam's idiotic generosity. Now that he is in the White House, he can put an end to this drain on the Treasury. He is committed to cutting the federal budget and to the elimination of senseless programs. He can move quickly, without the need of congressional approval, to send the Iranian students back home.

The American Civil Liberties Union, it can be anticipated, will wrap itself in the Constitution and go to court to prevent the Reagan administration from ending this subsidy to Iranians from the "great Satan." But most Americans will fervently applaud.

However, the new administration is confronted with a long agenda, and it may be that the dollars-to-Iranian-students program will be forgotten. Certainly, the multibillion-dollar rip-off by the "welfare industry" will have priority.

But if there is an outpouring of mail to the White House and to the Department of Education, the Reagan administration will take note. And more will be accomplished beside the saving of money.

The Iranian students have gotten accustomed to America's free and easy ways. If returned to Iran, they will be subject to the repressions and the terrors of the Islamic revolution.

The chances are that they will join the opposition to the Ayatollah and contribute to the general instability of the Iranian government, if such it can be called.

So there will be a double dividend for these United States if the Iranian students are removed from the public trough and compelled to return to their country.

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

S/S # 8121250

Date 7/17/81

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

FOR: Mr. Richard V. Allen
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: President Reagan FROM: Mr. & Mrs. John Buehrer
DATE: May 11, 1981 SUBJECT: Iranian students
in the U.S.

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: July 10, 1981 NSC #
(if any)

THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- Other.

REMARKS:

L. Paul Bremer, III
L. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

6121250

JULY 10, 1981

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DRAFT REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF ANNE HIGGINS

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 031228

MEDIA: LETTER

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MR. AND MRS. JOHN BUEHRER
806 WALNUT
MCALLEN TX 78501

SUBJECT: ENCLOSURE ARTICLE REGARDING IRANIAN STUDENTS -
PLANS TO SEND THEM BACK TO IRAN

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN BASIC CORRESPONDENCE, CONTROL SHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 33, THE WHITE HOUSE

BY DIRECTION OF THE PRESIDENT:
LESLIE SORG
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY~~

fl

ACTION July 28, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: GEOFFREY KEMP *GK*

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
NLS F97-106 #103
By *anf*, NARA, Date 4/30/01

SUBJECT: Iran

On Friday, July 24, at 2 p.m., we held the second session of our working group on Iran in the Situation Room. Present were Ikle, McFarlane, Veliotis, [redacted] Kux, Gorman, and Kemp.

There was considerable discussion about the nature and direction of clandestine activities that we should be planning in the context of Iran. The current thinking is that there should be two separate plans that may eventually involve the same personnel and methods but should be kept discreet at the beginning. The first relates to our efforts to work with Iranian partisans and military to establish in-country positions in the event of a Soviet invasion -- essentially unconventional warfare operations where U.S. operatives would work with Iranians to sabotage and delay Soviet forces if they came down through the passes.

The second operation would deal with our relations with the exile groups. This produced some heated discussion in the group with no consensus, except that we should proceed very cautiously.

What is happening now is that [redacted]

[redacted] We will then consider it and see if we can reach consensus. At that point, our job will be to make recommendations to the NSPG, including funding questions.

The next meeting will be held as soon as [redacted] has a paper ready. Don Gregg will attend this meeting and we would more than welcome your presence if you have the time. This will require that we use the Situation Room again since it is the ideal place for such meetings.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you authorize me to hold the third meeting of the special group in the Situation Room when CIA has produced a draft paper.

APPROVE *Jackson*

DISAPPROVE _____

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE/EYES ONLY~~
Review July 28, 1987

Staff - needs, of course, to be subject to availability. Let Gen know when you have date/time.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~KEMP~~
file IRAN

4347

July 31, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK STEIN

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN *Allen*
SUBJECT: Response to Rabbi Hill

Attached at Tab A is a State Department-drafted response to Rabbi David Hill concerning exit visas from Iran. State's response has the concurrence of the NSC staff.

A note from Ambassador Veliotis, as well as the Rabbi's letter to you, are at Tab B.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Rabbi Hill:

Your letter of June 29th, regarding Mr. Ramin Sarraf and the plight of his family in Iran, evokes a deep sympathy on my part.

I contacted officials at the State Department on this matter to see what, if anything, we could do to help. Unfortunately, the relationship between the United States and today's revolutionary Iran is not one which would permit us to have any positive effect on exit visa decisions made by the current regime. State Department officials have discussed with officials of other friendly countries the difficulties faced by the Jewish community in Iran. The consensus is that governmental channels to Iran on such matters are not productive. Instead, it is believed that international humanitarian institutions like the Red Cross might have some impact.

With this in mind, you might wish to advise Mr. Sarraf to contact the International Red Cross or some other similar institution to request assistance.

I hope something can be done to ease the Sarraf family's situation.

Sincerely,

Jacob Stein
Special Advisor to
the White House

Rabbi David H. Hill
137-12 72nd Road
Kew Gardens Hills, New York 11367



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

MEMORANDUM

TO : Mr. Jack Stein, The White House

FROM : Nicholas A. Veliotas, Assistant Secretary for
Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

SUBJECT : Jews Seeking Exit from Iran

REF : Your Memo of July 2, 1981

I raised the Iranian exit visa issue with my Department colleagues who follow such matters closely and they tell me that, unfortunately, there is very little we can do.

I had thought the Swiss, who as you know are the protecting power for U.S. interests in Iran, might be able to help out. I am told, however, that the Swiss have had only limited success with the Iranians on cases involving American citizens with problems in Iran. Even if inclined to act on an issue involving non-U.S. citizens, the Swiss would be exceeding their mandate and thus would probably be rebuffed by the Iranians. In discussions with the Swiss and other friendly countries, the consensus has been that international humanitarian institutions like the Red Cross have a better chance of getting at least a hearing from the Iranian authorities.

With this in mind, we took the liberty of drafting a reply you might want to use in responding to Rabbi Hill.

Attachment:

Draft reply

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1981

FOR: AMBASSADOR NICK VELIOTES
FROM: JACK STEIN *[Signature]*
RE: JEWS SEEKING EXIT IN IRAN

Attached please find a moving letter that Rabbi David Hill forwarded on to me requesting assistance in obtaining an exit visa for two elderly Jews in Iran.

The request comes from a Jewish Iranian refugee named Ramin Sarraf, who needs help in gaining an exit for his elderly and ailing parents, Mr. Morad Sarraf, age 81 and Mrs. Javaher Farshi (Saffaf), age 75. The Sarraf's live in Tehran at 97 Tir Street, 640-588.

The son, Mr. Ramin Sarraf's address is 9 Diana Trail, Roslyn, New York 11576. His office telephone is 516-466-8181 and home telephone is 516-484-3380.

Please let me know if there is anything that can be done for the Sarraf's.

Thank you.

*1. N.A.U.
2. IRN
3. S.A.*

*IRN -
CAN we raise
with Swiss?
Pls do what
we can and
prepare a ~~letter~~
draft reply
from MR
Stein to
the son.*

[Signature]

RABBI DAVID H. HILL

137-12 72ND ROAD

KEW GARDENS HILLS, N. Y. 11367

PHONE: BO 3-1693

HONORARY NATIONAL PRESIDENT
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL

June 29, 1981

Mr. Jacob Stein
Special Advisor to the White House
Room 134, Old Executive Building
Washington, D. D. 20500

Dear Jack:

Our Sages proclaim - He who saves one life, it is as if he has saved the whole world.

To all of us life is a very valuable asset. We as Americans know what it is like to live in the land of the free. But what about those that are held in bondage, day after day, year after year? Per se, Russia, Iran, etc.

Attached please find a letter from one of those who had the privilege of getting out of bondage, but had to leave his family and all belongings behind.

After reading the attached, whatever you can do in your good to help would be greatly appreciated.

Please let me hear from you.

Yours truly,
David H. Hill
David H. Hill

RAMIN SARRAF
9 DIANA TRAIL
ROSLYN, N. Y. 11576

6/23/81

DEAR DAD

AS YOU KNOW, I COME FROM AN ORTHODOX
JEWISH FAMILY IN IRAN. DUE TO THE RECENT
REVOLUTION AND ISLAMIC UPROAR IN IRAN, I HAD
TO LEAVE MY HOMELAND AND ALL MY PAST AND
BELONGINGS BEHIND. WHAT I HAVE LEFT BEHIND
WHICH IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AND PROFOUNDLY
UNREPLACABLE ARE MY JEWISH BROTHERS, SISTERS
AMONG THEM MY OLD AND SICK PARENTS. FOR
THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS, I HAVE TRIED EVERY
AVENUE TO, AT LEAST, SAVE MY PARENTS WHO

(2)

CANNOT ABSORB THE DAILY THREATS, DANGEROUS
ATMOSPHERE AND LACK OF PROPER MEDICAL AND
NUTRITIONAL CARE. IN MY LAST TELEPHONE CALL
WITH MY PARENTS ON JUNE 23, 1981, MY PARENTS
DESPERATELY ASKED ME TO DO ANYTHING POSSIBLE
TO OBTAIN AN EXIT VISA FOR THEM IN ORDER TO
LEAVE TEHRAN AND GO TO ISRAEL, WHERE THEY
LOVE TO BE IN LAST DAYS.

SINCE MOST OF THE CHANNELS WITH IRAN ARE
CLOSED AND THERE IS ONLY CONFUSION INSTEAD OF
A GOVERNMENT, I FEEL I AM QUITE HELPLESS
TO HELP MY PARENTS. ALTHOUGH MY FIRST AND

Supreme HOPE IS WITH ⁽³⁾ HASHEM, BUT I LIKE
ALSO TO DISCUSS MY DILEMMA WITH YOU, HOPING
THAT YOU CAN HELP SOME HELPLESS AND SICK
PEOPLE TO GO TO ISRAEL FOR BETTER MEDICAL
CARE. ALTHOUGH I HAVE TWO BROTHERS AND ONE
SISTER IN IRAN, BUT AT THIS MOMENT, MY PARENTS
ARE PRIME OBJECTIVE AND I HOPE AND PRAY
THAT YOU CAN HELP THEM. YOUR EFFORTS WOULD
MAKE ME AND MY FAMILY GRATEFUL TO YOU
AS LONG AS WE LIVE. GOD BLESS YOU AS YOU ARE
AN ASSISTANT TO ALL JEWISH PEOPLE FROM ALL LANDS
AND CORNERS OF THE WORLD.

Sincerely
Ramin Saraf

NAMES

(4)

FATHER - MORAD SARRAF age 81

MOTHER - JAVAHER FARSHI (SARRAF) age 75

97 TIR Street
TEHRAN

MY NAME AND ADDRESS

640-588

RAMIN SARRAF

4 DIANA TRAIL

ROSLYN, N.Y. 11576

Home (516) 484-3380

Work (516) 466-8181

Martin H. Handler, M.D., F.A.C.C.

444 LAKEVILLE ROAD
LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK 11042
TELEPHONE: 516-354-5577

June 22, 1981

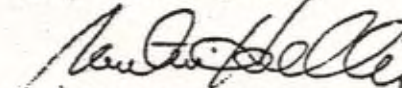
To whom it may concern;

Mr. Ramin Sarraf, son of Morad Sarraf and Javaher Farshi (Sarraf), is presently under my care with symptoms of recent onset of severe angina pectoris, NYHA Class 3 to 4.

His exercise tolerance has decreased markedly recently with severe chest pain on no activity. He also exhibits symptoms of heart failure.

He will require a coronary artery bypass operation, and, since the risks of this surgery are pronounced, his parents should be present for the intended work up and surgery; as all help, both physical and moral would aid in his surgery and recovery.

Very truly yours,



Martin H. Handler, M.D., F.A.C.C.

MHH:LH

Steve Gill Chang
STEVE GILL CHANG
Notary Public, State of N.Y.
NO. 30-4713398
Commission expires Mar 30, 1982

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

4347 *AK*

ACTION

July 23, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD V. ALLEN

FROM: GEOFFREY KEMP *GK*
SUBJECT: Exit Visas from Iran

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to Jack Stein recommending he sign the letter prepared by the State Department which is at Tab A.

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the memo at Tab I.

Approve *JK* Disapprove _____

Attachments

- Tab I Memo to Stein
- A Proposed Stein ltr to Rabbi Hill
- B Incoming and background

#4347

RECEIVED

81 JUL 27 PM 2. 03

JANET COLSON
 BUD NANCE
 DICK ALLEN
 IRENE DERUS
 JANET COLSON
 BUD NANCE
 KAY
 CY TO VP
 CY TO MEESE
 CY TO BAKER
 CY TO DEEVER
 CY TO BRADY

J
X

Done
 Memo at Tab I
 needs Redo before
 going to RIA for
 signature.
 J

SHOW CC _____
 SHOW CC _____
 SHOW CC _____
 SHOW CC _____
 SHOW CC _____

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4347

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK STEIN

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN
SUBJECT: Response to Rabbi Hill

Attached at Tab A is a State Department-drafted response to Rabbi David Hill concerning exit visas from Iran, ~~which~~ *the latter State response* which has the concurrence of the NSC Staff.

A note from Ambassador Veliotis, as well as the Rabbi's letter to you are at Tab B.

Attachments
a/s

Dear Rabbi Hill:

[I need not tell you that] your letter ^{dated} June 29, ^{1981,} th regarding Mr. Ramin Sarraf and the plight of his family in Iran evokes a deep sympathy on my part.

I contacted officials at the State Department on this matter to see what, if anything, we could do to help. Unfortunately, the relationship between the U.S. and today's revolutionary Iran is not one which would permit us to have any positive effect on exit visa decisions made by the current regime. State Department officials have discussed with officials of other friendly countries the difficulties faced by the Jewish community in Iran. The consensus is that governmental channels to Iran on such matters are not productive. Instead, it is believed that international humanitarian institutions like the Red Cross might have some impact.

With this in mind, you might wish to advise Mr. Sarraf to contact the International Red Cross or some other similar institution to request assistance.

I hope something can be done to ease the Sarraf family's situation.

Sincerely,

Jack Stein

Jacob
4 B
CWH

452-2164

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

S/S # 8121269

Date July 20, 1981

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

FOR: Mr. Richard V. Allen
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: Mr. Jack Stein FROM: Rabbi David Hill
DATE: 6/29/81 SUBJECT: Letter requesting
assistance to Iranian Jews

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: 7/2/81 NSC #
(if any)

THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.
 A draft reply will be forwarded.
 A translation is attached.
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
 We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
 Other.

REMARKS:

for William Montgomery
L. Paul Bremer, III
Executive Secretary

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

July 30, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR GEOFFREY KEMP

FROM: GARY SICK *JS*

SUBJECT: Iran

The arrival of Bani-Sadr and Mas'ud Rajavi (head of the Mujahidin) in Paris is tacit recognition that the radical mullahs and the Islamic Republican Party have won the latest test of strength. The campaign of terror which they have unleashed has succeeded in keeping the opposition off balance and on the defensive during a critical moment. Despite an unprecedented wave of bombings and assassination attempts, the mullahs were able to manipulate the recent elections through sheer intimidation and total control of the electoral process.

The pattern for the future has been clearly established. Immediately after the revolution, Khomeini and his radical supporters enjoyed a wide measure of popular support, even from those who harbored serious doubts about the implications for Iran's future. In the two and one-half years that followed, that support has eroded almost to the vanishing point as the Islamic radicals rejected all compromise and imposed an outlandish concoction of medieval theocracy on an unwilling people. While Behesti was alive, this process was at least carried on with a certain political cleverness and sense of proportion. With his death, even that element of moderation has vanished. The political leadership in Tehran today rules through terror and nothing but terror.

The only practical question about the survival of the present regime in Tehran turns on its efficiency in developing mechanisms of repression. The ruthlessness of the Islamic radicals is not in doubt, and their ~~control~~ control over all the instruments of state is complete. All that remains to be seen is whether they are able to organize and sustain effective and responsive machinery of state terror.

Until now, the presence of Khomeini has been essential to the success of the Islamic fascists. He provided the underlying vision and the revolutionary legitimacy for those engaged in this slow-motion coup. But now the coup is complete, and Khomeini is as much a captive of the process as those who engineered it. All of the elements of Khomeini's original vision are now in place. In the past, it was essential to be able to mobilize demonstrations of support for "revolutionary" goals. That function is rapidly becoming irrelevant. The issue today is performance and--increasingly--survival.

The triumph of the Islamic fascists has been achieved only at enormous costs--politically, economically and socially. Travelers in China today are astonished at the depth and breath of popular revulsion against the Cultural Revolution. Under the superficial facade of revolutionary unity, there was a degree of anger and personal suffering at all levels of society which was scarcely credible to outside observers. A similar process is underway today in Iran, and the small coterie which has pushed Iran to ideological extremes is intensely aware that the day of reckoning, if and when it comes, will be brutal and unforgiving.

Iran is trapped in a cycle of escalating domestic violence and terror. Two and one-half to four million people are without jobs. More than one million people are living in makeshift tent cities, shanty towns, and even mosques as refugees from the war in Khuzestan. Tribal rebellion in Kurdistan has effectively eliminated central government control, and a similar revolt is underway in Baluchistan. The central government exercises only the most tenuous control in the northeast capital of Mashhad, and in the Turkoman regions along the Caspian, government officials travel in fear of their lives. In other tribal areas, the writ of the central regime hardly impinges on day-to-day decisions, and local autonomy is becoming the political and economic reality throughout much of the country. National institutions and distribution systems have broken down or operate only erratically. As a congeries of disparate peoples and tribes, Iran is behaving as it has traditionally behaved in times of weakened central authority by asserting local authority and by seeking local and regional solutions to problems. To the extent that these solutions conflict with national policy or objectives, they can be controlled only through outright repression and intimidation.

Iran has 2500 years of experience with successive strong and weak central authority, and there is a capacity for tolerance of institutional chaos unimaginable in our society. Disintegration is relative. In the short-term, the mullahs can deal with regional and tribal dissidence by merely looking the other way, finding practical methods of coexisting with de facto power centers, and by occasionally undertaking demonstrative shows of force when things threaten to get out of hand. That process could go on for quite some time.

More important is the political process in Tehran itself. Khomeini was able, through personal charisma and force of will, to institute the forms of an Islamic Republic. However, neither he nor those who have seized it in his name, will be able to make it work. It is an ideological construct, not a system of government, and its ideology could destroy it. Khomeini is a visionary, and he operates on the very simple assumption that once an ideal Islamic state has been created, God will take care of the rest. When things do not work out, he blames neither the ideal forms nor God. Instead, he blames those in charge for not being sufficiently "Islamic." If the Ayatollah is as outspoken in his criticism for failures in the future as he has often been in the past, the present inheritors of the revolution may soon find their honeymoon with the Imam rudely terminated. At that point, there could either be a further coup to oust those who have "betrayed the revolution," or else the beleaguered leadership will begin to question whether the Ayatollah has not outlived his usefulness to the revolution...

In any event, the immediate prognosis is for continued chaos, ever-increasing extremism, paranoia, and repression. It is unclear to me how long this state of affairs is likely to continue or how it is likely to end. However, the conditions are being created for a new explosion of social violence if and when the debts now being accumulated under the terror are settled.

**Iran Committee For Democratic Action
and Human Rights**

P.O. Box 503 • Flossmoor, Illinois 60422

*file
Iran*

Human Rights & Civil Liberties

in

IRAN

May, 1980-July, 1981

AUGUST, 1981

SUMMARY OF THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT, FEBRUARY 1979-MAY 1980

In May 1980, the Iran Committee for Democratic Action and Human Rights issued its first detailed report on the extensive violation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran. The report examined issues such as the implementation of justice in Iran, the state of political prisoners, torture, inhumane and degrading punishments, repression of ethnic minorities and the suppression of political opposition through violent means. The report concluded that the extent of brutality and oppression exercised by the theocratic dictatorship had reached a level unprecedented in the contemporary history of Iran. More specifically, the documented findings of the Committee were as follows:-

- 1) The "Islamic Revolutionary" courts had sentenced at least 800 people to death in their first year of operation. These sentences, usually spelled out after summary trials without due process of law or right of appeal, were carried out immediately (see appendix I). The Committee found most of the charges - such as "corruption on earth" or "waging war with God and his emissaries" - to be totally ad-hoc and contrary to any established standards of justice. In many other cases, such as execution of prostitutes or adulterers, the punishment was out of proportion with the charges brought against the victims. Furthermore, the punishments imposed were unusually cruel and inhumane. Firing squads spared no one - children, the disabled and very old, pregnant women and sick people were all shot indiscriminately.

- 2) Some apologists outside and inside of Iran argued that the executions were necessary to satisfy popular demand for vengeance against the elites of the Shah's regime yet the report demonstrated that less than 50 percent of the victims had been executed on the charge of collaboration with the previous regime. Indeed more than half of the executions were carried out on charges ranging from moral or sexual turpitude to drug trafficking or counterrevolutionary activities.
- 3) The number of political prisoners had fluctuated over the period reaching a reported peak of almost 20,000. By May 1980 there were at least 3,500 political prisoners in the country. The largest part of arrests made by the "Revolutionary Guards" and the local revolutionary committees (known as Komiteh's) had the dual purpose of both cowing the population into submission and extorting money from the prisoners or their relatives. Torture, mainly in the form of beatings and floggings, was common.
- 4) Ethnic minorities, in particular the Kurds, the Baluchis, and the Turkomens had been violently oppressed.
- 5) Parrallel to official executions and arrests, mob attacks were engineered to disperse rallies staged by opposition groups. Scores of government supported zealots (known as Hezbollahi) were ordered to attack demonstrators with knives and clubs. Many injuries and occasionally deaths had been reported.

Since the date of the publication of its first report, the Iran Committee has continued to monitor the steadily worsening state of human rights in Iran, publicising the results in a series of publications. The present report will attempt to document the violations of human and civil rights in Iran since May 1980 in a single volume. Our findings are based upon a thorough analysis of foreign and Iranian press, eye-witness accounts, reports prepared by human rights organisations such as Amnesty International, etc.. We have tried

to adhere to rigorous criteria of objectivity and accuracy. Consequently, many alleged instances of the violation of human rights in Iran which could not be verified to our satisfaction have been left out of this report.

* * *

INTRODUCTION TO ANNUAL REPORT, YEAR TWO

Violations of the human rights of the people of Iran have continued on a large scale in the second year of the Islamic Republic. Parrallel to the steady worsening of social and economic conditions, together with growing nationwide discontent, the theocracy of Ayatollah Khomeini has increasingly relied on violent and oppressive means to retain its power. Consequently, executions, torture, political arrests and repression, and the violations of the human and civil rights of all peoples but especially of ethnic and religious minorities have increased both in scope and intensity. Furthermore, in an attempt to impose a "cultural revolution" on the nation, the Islamic Republic of Iran has pursued policies which have led to the denial of women's rights, the negation of Iranian cultural values and the destruction of the national heritage.

I - EXECUTIONS

The regime has maintained a steady flow of executions, sending to their death hundreds of people under various pretexts. As before, these executions have had many purposes: to crush political opposition, to maintain a state of terror and subservience in the population at-large, and to impose the regime's brand of Islamic

morality on the nation. In a recent statement, (June 1981), Amnesty International reported that at least 1600 people have been executed since the inception of the regime. While the Iran Committee's estimate of executions up to the middle of June 1981 is consistent with that of Amnesty International, it must be added that the figure represents only the official executions reported by the Iranian and foreign press. Nor does it include the estimated hundreds of people executed by summary trials in areas where ethnic minorities such as Kurds, Baluchis, Arabs, etc., have challenged the government for a greater degree of autonomy. In fact, the regime has increasingly relied on unofficial executions to achieve its goals. People disappear and are later found dead; persons recently released from jails are kidnapped by death squads and executed; or political prisoners are found dead while in jail.

The period between mid June to the end of July 1981 marked a drastic escalation of official executions, when more than 300 people have faced the death squads. The majority of the victims of these recent executions have been supporters of deposed President Bani-Sadr and in particular, members of Mujahedin-Khalq (an Islamic socialist group). Other recent victims have included intellectuals, members of religious minorities and businessmen.

The nature of the charges, the trials, and the methods of execution have also become more inhumane. On June 21, 1981, twelve girls were executed on the charge of participation in anti-government demonstrations. *Most of the victims were under sixteen years of age and the court did not even possess their identities when it sentenced them to death.* (see Appendix I).

The charges brought against the victims of execution squads have increased in scope, although the familiar offences such as "corruption on earth" or "waging war with God and his emissaries" have continued to claim lives. The new charges punishable by death

have included "disturbing the peace", "possession of alcoholic beverages" or "creating discord and disunity among Muslims".

The relative number of executions under different charges have also changed. "Association with the past regime", for instance, has declined as a major justification of executions while "counterrevolutionary activities", "attempted coup" and "drug trafficking" have constituted more common charges. The last charge in particular was responsible for a large death toll from May to December of 1980, when Ayatollah Khalkhali (the blood judge), supervised special anti-narcotics courts. It is reported that many political opponents were executed under the guise of drug trafficking. "Attempted coup" was another major cause of execution whereby at least 120 members of the armed forces faced firing squads between July to September 1980.

Finally, new methods of execution - death by hanging or stoning - have been added to the usual firing squads (see appendix I). Some of the executions have been carried out in the middle of busy thoroughfares in order to fortify their intended terrifying impact.

11 - TORTURE

Torture which consisted of such irregular practices as beatings, floggings and psychological pressures in the first year of the Islamic Republic, has become more systematic. Eye-witness accounts from various jails have indicated the regular use of electric shocks and cigarette burns in addition to the more familiar forms of torture practiced earlier.

In late 1980, former President Bani-Sadr publicly stated that he had documented over 500 recent cases of torture in Iranian jails. A commission of enquiry appointed by the government to investigate the substance of his claim, however, reported that they could not detect any practice of torture. The commission was headed by Hojatol-Islam Mohammad Montazeri, (known as "Ringo" for his

outlaw activities), an important activist in the Islamic Republican Party, which subsequently ousted the President.

III - POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Iran-Iraq war initially put pressure on the regime to reduce the number of political prisoners, in particular members of the armed forces whose presence was necessary at the war front. The recent escalation of political struggle in Iran however, has dramatically increased the number of political prisoners. These prisoners are held in various jails in Tehran and provinces, the headquarters of Revolutionary Guards and Komiteh's and some other makeshift prisons. The exact number of political prisoners is unknown, though it is estimated to run in the many thousands. Since the ouster of Bani Sadr, the regime has announced the arrest of several hundred members of the Mujahedin per week. An indication of the actual and projected increase in the number of political prisoners is the fact that the government has included funding for eight new jails in its proposal for next year's fiscal budget.

IV - POLITICAL OPPRESSION

During the period under study, the regime maintained pressure on its opponents at home and abroad. The Revolutionary Courts, Revolutionary Guards, local Komiteh's, fundamentalist club wielding zealots (Hezbollahis), SAVAMA (the successor to SAVAK), and international terrorist networks have served as instruments to enforce the regime's intended reign of terror.

The main targets of the regime's political oppression have been the moderate Islamic groups, secular nationalists and Marxists - all three with the ability to mobilize sizeable numbers of the population.

The Peoples Islamic Republic Party (PIRP) led by Ayatollah Shariat-Madari (who is considered by many Iranians to be theologically superior to Ayatollah Khomeini in the Shi'a hierarchy), was the first moderate Islamic group to face the regime's terror. Attempts by the Party in 1980 to build a stronghold in the city of Tabriz led to violent reprisals by the regime. At the price of scores killed and injured, the Revolutionary Guards crushed the supporters of PIRP and placed Ayatollah Shariat-Madari under house arrest. As of this writing he is still under arrest in his house in the holy city of Qom. Other prominent and outspoken religious leaders such as Ayatollah Shirazi, Ayatollah Qomi, and Skeikh Ali Tehrani have been harrassed and occasionally arrested by the Revolutionary Guards.

Secular nationalists have been a frequent target of the regime. For example, on July 18, 1980, terrorists linked to Iran made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Dr. Shahpour Bakhtiar - a nationalist opposition leader in Paris. A few days later Ali Tabatabai, yet another outspoken opposition leader, was murdered in his apartment near Washington, D.C. There were indications that his assassin was linked to an extremist Muslim group in the United States. Finally, the list includes Prince Shahriar Shafiq, the late Shah's nephew who was assassinated in France. Reportedly, his murder was also instigated by the Government of Iran.

The most severe victims of the regime's political oppression, however, have been liberal and leftist groups. In April of 1980, fundamentalist mobs supported by the Revolutionary Guards stormed the University of Tehran, a stronghold of leftist opposition to the regime. In three days of clashes some 58 people were killed and many injured. Immediately following the incident, all universities in Iran were closed and remain closed to the present. As recently as June 1981, Revolutionary Guards fired at demonstrators - mainly supporters of the Mujahedin. At least 30 people were killed and as many as 200 were injured in one day.

V - VIOLATION OF LEGAL RIGHTS: THE ISLAMICIZATION OF THE JUDICIARY

The Revolutionary Courts, whose initial purpose was to serve as temporary tribunals to punish the collaborators of the previous regime, have increasingly invaded the jurisdiction of criminal and even civilian courts of justice. Operating on the basis of the codes of Shari'a (Islamic laws), they have convicted thousands of persons to death (c.f. section I above), and have prescribed such medieval punishments as death in public by stoning or flogging.

In the spring of 1981, the Cabinet of then Prime Minister Raja'i, passed a "Bill of Vengeance" and submitted it to the Islamic Parliament for final approval. * The Bill will reduce the legal system of the country to one of direct retaliation -- "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth". The proposed law places the dealing-out of justice into the hands of the people and such Islamic judges as Ayatollah Khalkhali, the "Blood Judge" -- known for his summary trials and executions. As the document states, "Murder, if premeditated, is subject to vengeance and the parent, guardian or the next-of-kin of the victim may, subject to the approval of an Islamic judge or his representative, slay the murderer" . Accordingly, a crime will be established by the testimony of two male witnesses, with provisions for neither due process of law nor the possibility of legal defence. The sentence is to be carried out immediately.

* See appendix II for a partial translation of the "Bill of Vengeance".

V - PERSECUTION OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic, there have been increasing examples of post-revolutionary "justice" dealt not only to political opponents, but also to those who do not subscribe to the ideological bases of the Islamic government of Iran. The three major religious minorities of Iran - Baha'is, Christians and Jews - are perceived as the "ideological foes" of the regime. They have been treated most brutally.

Immediately following the revolution, the execution and harrassment of Jewish Iranians began. Despite public declarations of support for the revolution, many prominent members of the Jewish community were executed on charges ranging from "agents of international Zionism" to "tools of American imperialism". As recently as May 1981, Rabbi Baroukh Cohen-Sedq of Tehran, his wife and eight other Jewish leaders were arrested on the charge of having aided some Jewish Iranians to flee the country.

The Armenians (Iranian Christians) have also been subject to religious intimidation. In April 1981, a group of Revolutionary Guards and club wielding zealots stormed the Armenian neighbourhood of Isfahan, damaging property, injuring tens of inhabitants and arresting a large number.

The most unfortunate group however, has been the estimated 350-500 thousand Baha'is in Iran. Deprived of recognition as an official religion by the "Islamic Constitution", Baha'is have been systematically expelled from the civil service, their properties have been confiscated and even their marriages have been declared void. * In September 1980 the Revolutionary Court of Yazd sentenced seven Baha'is

*The official letter of expulsion of a Baha'i signed by the then Minister of Education, Mr. Raja'i, in September 1979, reads:-
'... it should be noted that the employment of Iranians who are not followers of one of the official religions - Islam, Christianity, Judaism or Zoroastrianism - is prohibited by law. The termination of your services is therefore based on the article of the existing law and constitutes the minimum punishment'.

to death on charges of "spying for Israel" and "treason to Islam". Among those executed as a spy was Abdul Vahab Kazemi-Manshadi, 85 years old and blind. Now the Mullahs have taken their persecution of Baha'is one step further: recently a high court upheld the execution of two Baha'is solely on the grounds of their creed and hence "active in creating discord and disunity among Moslems". Taken literally, this decision suggests that to be a Baha'i is a crime punishable by death. The ruling approves all that so far has been done to the Baha'is and pronounces legal sanction for future persecution of them.

Unofficial executions and other means of terror have also been used against Baha'is. Last February, Professor Hakim, a prominent Baha'i physician was mysteriously murdered in his office in Tehran. His property was confiscated by the Revolutionary Guards on the following day. Another Baha'i, Mrs. N. Yarshater, was savagely murdered in her house last spring. Other means of terror against Baha'is include kidnappings, rapes, etc.. The international community of Baha'is puts the total death toll resulting from official and unofficial executions as of the end of July, 1981, at seventy-three.

VI - DENIAL OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

"The specific task of women in this society is to marry and bear children. They will be discouraged from entering legislative, judicial or whatever careers which may need decision making, as women lack the intellectual ability and discerning judgement required for these careers".

Extract from "The Question of Veil", by Ayatollah Mutahhari, a prominent ideologue of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

In an attempt to impose a "cultural revolution" on the nation, the

Islamic Republic of Iran has systematically taken measures to crush all the elements of the social order which are not in conformity with its ideological bases.

Among the victims of this "cultural revolution" are Iranian women, who have suffered the loss of many of the rights and privileges they had begun to enjoy in the society. The Family Protection Law of 1967 which had banned polygamy and had served to modify the total dominance of men in divorce and child custody has been replaced by the codes of Shari'a (Islamic laws). For instance, according to the new law, a girl may be married at the age of nine by her father or grandfather and her husband may have three other "permanent" wives and as many "temporary" wives as he desires. She may be divorced at her husband's will, yet can hardly get divorced without his consent.

Although some of the clergy have acknowledged equal rights for women in their public statements, facts have been to the contrary. Many women have lost their jobs since the establishment of the Islamic Republic. Hundreds of female judges, university professors, journalists etc., have been dismissed. While prior to the revolution many women held legislative, ministerial and high executive positions in the government, the list today is limited to only one woman in the legislature.

The most flagrant violation of women's rights, however, has been the imposition of Hijab (the Islamic code of dress). According to this code, a woman appearing in public must either wear the veil or at least a scarf together with a garment which leaves only her hands uncovered. Despite the fact that Hijab has not yet been formally enacted, various measures have been taken by the regime to enforce it. Civil servants who have not complied with the code have been dismissed. Many women who have appeared in public "unveiled" have been harrassed, threatened, and occasionally beaten up. The demonstrations staged by women against the enforcement of Hijab in 1979 were dispersed by club wielders and the demonstrators

were referred to by the government-controlled media as "prostitutes" and "cabaret dancers".

The treatment of women in the Islamic Republic of Iran is yet another step taken by the regime to convert the nation into a medieval state. It has forced many educated women into seclusion and has left millions of less privileged ones at the mercy of cruel and dogmatic edicts befitting the Middle Ages.

VIII - THE NEGATION OF IRANIAN CULTURAL VALUES AND THE DESTRUCTION OF NATIONAL HERITAGE *

The establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran nearly two and a half years ago heralded the beginning of a persistent campaign against Iranian culture in all its aspects. The theocratic government of Ayatollah Khomeini has taken the following anti-cultural measures:

- All universities and public libraries have been closed down;
- More than 3000 daily, weekly, bi-weekly and monthly publications have been banned. The majority of those which remain have been taken over by Bonyad-e-Mostaz'afin, an ostensibly charitable foundation controlled by the Mullahs and headed by Ayatollah Khomeini's son-in-law;
- Publishing companies have been seized by Islamic Committees;
- A black list banning almost every major work in Persian literature has been prepared. Similarly hundreds of foreign authors, including Shakespeare, have been blacklisted;
- All museums, art galleries and artistic workshops have been looted or closed down;

* The following is a summarized and updated version of a detailed report prepared by the Committee for the Defence of Iranian Culture.

- Thousands of books which are deemed anti-Islamic or anti-revolutionary, belonging to public libraries and universities, have been sold by the Government to paper and pulp plants as raw material;
- Many academic and cultural societies have been closed down'
- Music, painting, sculpture, dance, theatre, etc., have suffered great losses as a result of the regime's hostile attitude towards these forms of the fine arts.

The anti-cultural attitude of the theocratic government of Iran is deeply rooted in its ideological bases. In particular, the successful conversion of Iranian society into an "Islamic Utopia" has necessitated the dissipation of its existing culture.

The most persistent campaign against Iranian culture has indeed been led by Ayatollah Khomeini himself in that he has often instructed law enforcement bodies or has encouraged the mobs to take drastic measures against Iranian cultural activists and institutions. In a speech delivered to the Revolutionary Guards in November of 1979, he stated:

"... Yesterday the Shah used his guns against the faithful. Today pens are used against Islam. You broke those guns and now you must break these pens. We do not need pens. All we need is the Koran. Your duty is to kill and get killed, for such is the will of God".

The regime's anti-cultural campaign has not been limited to the closing down of educational establishments, the destruction of books, etc.. Iranian cultural activists in general, and writers, poets and scholars in particular, have been the target of ruthless persecution. Hundreds of intellectuals are imprisoned and tens of thousands have been forced into exile. Many have been harrassed, beaten up, kidnapped. their properties confiscated or set on fire.

Many others have been murdered or executed. As recently as June 20, 1981, Said Soltanpour, a prominent poet and playwright, was executed solely on the basis of his beliefs. Ali Asqar Amirani, a famous journalist, also faced the firing squad on the same day. The list of the cultural activists executed on various charges further includes: Esmail Raeen, Cyrus Tahbaz, Cyrus Moshfeqi and Mrs. Ziba Farhang.

IX - CONCLUDING REMARKS

Faith in fundamental human rights and in the worth of the human person, is intrinsic to the nature of man. The right to a fair trial, equality before the law, protection against arbitrary arrest, freedom of thought, conscience, religion, opinion and expression are only few of the fundamental privileges to which every man is entitled. The Islamic Republic nonetheless, has shown no respect for these human rights of its citizens. It has violated them systematically and extensively.

But if our faith in human rights and the inherent dignity of mankind is ultimately derived from our concern for the well being of human beings, then the preceding sections have unveiled but a fraction of the suffering and hardship which Iranians have experienced in post-revolutionary Iran. Liberty has been lost in more than the political or ideological spheres. People have lost the freedom to travel, to seek knowledge or even to choose what they wear, eat or drink. Their right to own property - by testimony of the thousands of examples of private properties confiscated or nationalized - has been violated. Hundreds of thousands of educated individuals have been deprived of employment on various pretexts or have chosen self exile due to the social, political and economic chaos prevailing in the country. More than a third of the work force is unemployed. Inflation, particularly on food items and

necessities, is running at triple digit figures. Shortages and ration lines have become a fact of life. The inherent incompetence or unwillingness of the theocratic regime to deal with the needs of the people in the twentieth century has created an alarming decline in the state of national welfare, where everyone - rich or poor, young or old, Muslim or non-Muslim - has lost.

The state of human rights, civil liberties and hence social welfare continues to deteriorate in Iran. As discontent with the theocracy mounts, the regime increasingly relies on violent means to maintain its power. The persistence of this vicious circle will bear grave and irrevocable consequences.

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APPENDIX I

From Atlantic Monthly, Among the Believers

Khalkhali had recently been giving interviews, emphasizing his activities as judge, and a story in Tehran was that he had fallen out of favor and was trying through these interviews to keep his reputation alive. He told the Tehran *Times* that he had "probably" sentenced four hundred people to death in Tehran: "On some nights, he said, bodies of 30 or more people would be sent out in trucks from the prison. He claimed he had also signed the death warrants of a large number of people in Khuzistan Province." Khuzistan was the Arab province in the southwest, where the oil was.

He told another paper that there had been a plot—worked out in the South Korean Embassy—to rescue Hoveyda, the Shah's prime minister, and other important people from the Tehran jail. As soon as he, Khalkhali, had heard of this plot he had decided—to deal a blow to the CIA and Zionism—to bring forward the cases. "I reviewed all their cases in one night and had them face the firing squad." He told the Tehran *Times* how Hoveyda had died. The first bullet hit Hoveyda in the neck; it didn't kill him. Hoveyda was then ordered by his executioner—a priest—to hold his head up; the second bullet hit him in the head and killed him.

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TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

IRAN

Terror in the Name of God

The mullahs impose their will with a vengeance

O Islam, what crimes they commit in your name! —Abolhassan Banisadr

Their crime was that they had demonstrated against the dismissal of Banisadr from his post as President of the nation. The Islamic judge who sentenced them—Ayatullah Mohammadi Gilani—did not even know who they were. The twelve girls, the oldest 18, the others under 16, refused to identify themselves in court. When Gilani asked their names; each in turn replied, "Mujahed" (Crusader). To the question "Child of?" each replied, "The people of Iran." Gilani solved the problem of identifying the girls by having them photographed. Then he consigned them to the firing squad.

Islamic guards led the dozen girls to the courtyard of Evin Prison in Tehran. The oldest was clad in a flowing black chador, the traditional Muslim veil. The others wore dark head scarves. As the

guards began to blindfold them, the girls started chanting, "Death to fascism! Death to Khomeini!"

In answer, the guards and prison attendants watching the spectacle began their own chant of "Allahu Akbar!" (God is great). Then the rifles roared. Three days later, the clergy-controlled newspaper *Estela'at* printed the girls' pictures with a terse message asking the parents to call for the bodies. The parents should bring, the paper said, "birth certificates bearing their [the girls'] pictures." At a press conference Gilani defended the trials and executions of the girls. "By the Islamic canon," he said, "a nine-year-old girl is mature. So there is no difference for us between a nine-year-old girl and a 40-year-old man."

From New York Times, July 4, 1980.

Four in Iran Executed by Stoning

By Reuters

TEHERAN, Iran, July 3 — Four Iranians convicted of sexual offenses were buried up to their chests today and stoned to death, with the presiding judge of a revolutionary court casting the first stone.

The executions, the first in memory to have been carried out in Iran under the old traditions of Islam, took place in the southern town of Kerman. A court official, reached by telephone, said it took the condemned prisoners — two men and two women — 15 minutes to die.

The official Pars press agency said the revolutionary court had convicted the women of prostitution and of deceiving young girls, one man of homosexuality and adultery and the other of raping a 10-year-old girl. Stones ranging in size from walnuts to apples had been gathered for the executions, and five people joined in hurling them at each of the condemned.

The court official said that the two women, both about 50 years old and married, had been involved in prostitution for 20 years with one of the men. According to the Teheran radio, he was a worker with six children. The other man was said to be a married farmer of about 22.

The revival of the ancient Islamic execution by stoning, a traditional punishment for adultery and gross sexual crimes that has fallen out of use, was described by the Kerman court official as not necessarily connected with Ayatollah Khomeini's demands for greater Islamization.

Following the Laws of Islam

But when asked why that form of execution had not previously been imposed by Iranian revolutionary courts, he said, "Perhaps it's because they haven't been following the proper laws of Islam."

Describing the preparations for what he called the "ceremony" of execution, the official said leading local Islamic clergymen were invited to visit the condemned yesterday, and the prisoners were washed and clothed in white garments that completely enveloped their bodies.

The prisoners were also masked in ceremonial "hoods of the dead," the official went on, before they were buried up to their chests and stoned. When they were dead, prayers were said, and they were buried.

APPENDIX II

Excerpts from the "Bill of Vengeance":

Article 1 Murder, if premeditated is subject to QASSAS [vengeance], and the parent, guardian or the next-of-kin of the victim may, subject to the approval of an Islamic judge or his representative, slay the murderer in accordance with the stipulation that will be stated.

Article 5 If a Moslem man intentionally murders a Moslem woman, he shall be subject to vengeance. However, the parent or guardian of the victim must first pay the murderer half of his "KHOON-BAHA" [lit. "blood-worth"--the value of his life], before he is executed.

Article 6 If a Moslem woman intentionally murders a Moslem man, she shall be subject to vengeance. No KHOON-BAHA is due in this case.

Article 7 If an infidel (non-Moslem) intentionally murders another infidel, he shall be subject to vengeance, even if the two infidels are of different religions. However, if the victim is a female, her parent or guardian must pay half of the KHOON-BAHA to the murderer before he is executed.

Article 11 Should an injury inflicted by a first person be such that the victim is on the verge of death and breathing his last breath of life, then a second person who severs the victim's head or does something of this nature to the victim's body resulting in death, is not subject to vengeance. Only the first person is subject to vengeance.

Article 14 In any instance which an amount of penalty-money must be paid to a murderer, upon whom vengeance is to be taken, the payment of the penalty-money must be made before the act of vengeance [his execution].

Article 23 Murder is subject to vengeance only if the victim is innocent as regarded by Islamic law. There are cases where the victim is deserving of death: e.g., he has profaned the Prophet Mohammad, his daughter or the holy Imans; or if a husband has caught his wife in an act of adultery (in which case he may kill the parties involved); or in case of self-defence. In such instances, the murderer shall not be subject to vengeance.

Article 57 Amputation of a limb, or an injury to it, if premeditated, is subject to vengeance. Accordingly, the parents, guardian or the next-of-kin of the victim may, subject to the approval of an Islamic judge or his representative, carry out the vengeance in keeping with the stipulations set by the Islamic judge.

Article 63 An injury which is inflicted upon a criminal by way of vengeance, must be equal in width and length to the injury suffered by the victim. The depth of the retaliatory wound must also be equal to that of the victim's wound. However, if it is a head wound that penetrates the victim's skull, it is not necessary to have a retaliatory wound that is equal in depth (to that of the victim's); it is sufficient to inflict a closely-resembling injury upon the criminal.

Excerpts from the "Bill of Vengeance" continued:

Article 65 Vengeance of bodily injury may be performed immediately after the crime is committed; it is not necessary to await the result of the victim's wound. If then, the victim's wound results in his death after the criminal had been punished for causing injury, the criminal must be subject to vengeance for premeditated murder. However, before his execution, he must be paid penalty-money for the punishment he received as the original vengeance [which was only for injury, not for murder].

Article 66 To preserve fairness, the extent of the injury must be measured accurately. Accordingly, any covering which obscures or prevents such a measuring must be removed. For instance, hair that covers the organ to be wounded must be shaved off. In addition, if the criminal's resistance at the time when the sentence is being carried out may cause an increase in the extent of the retaliatory wound, his hands and feet must be bound.

Article 78 If a person breaks or extracts another person's tooth, he shall be subject to vengeance, taking into account the nature of the injury he has inflicted upon the victim. If the victim grows another identical tooth, the injurer shall only be subject to blame. On the other hand, if the newly-grown tooth is imperfect, the injurer must pay a compensation equal to the discrepancy between the values of the original and the new tooth.

LETTERS

DEATH IN IRAN

To the Editors:

On June 22, 1981, Saeed Sultanpour was executed by firing squad. One of Iran's leading poets and playwrights, Sultanpour was arrested in April and charged with illegal trafficking in foreign exchange. If, in fact, such a crime had been committed, death seems hardly the appropriate punishment. Yet, even more alarming, his execution has impelled the entire intellectual and writing community of Iran to seek hiding—a development which suggests Sultanpour's real crime was the frank expression of opinions, and his sentence, a death knell for those who have openly criticized the policies of the present Iranian regime.

Earlier this year, Sultanpour joined approximately one hundred other distinguished writers and intellectuals in signing and circulating an open letter to the people of Iran published in *The New York Review* of June 11. This letter was supportive of the revolution but highly critical of the Iranian government's suppression of human and democratic rights and of its blatant disdain of art and culture. Within the past year in Iran, a virulent campaign has been waged by the clergy-dominated government to silence political discussion and censor cultural expression. Universities, libraries, and museums have been closed, books have been destroyed, and the practice of all art forms threatened. Journalists have been removed from their newspapers. Independent publishing houses and professional associations, such as the Writers Association of Iran—on whose executive board Saeed Sultanpour served—have all been taken over by the Iranian government. Poets, scholars, journalists, and publishers now fear for their lives.

We, writers and scholars from many countries and of various political perspectives, join in our concern for the precarious existence of these men and women. The pall that has descended upon a vibrant cultural and intellectual life should not be tolerated by anyone who values the free exchange of ideas as an irreducible human right. We appeal to our colleagues in all nations to urge their governments to protest the harassment and repression of the Iranian intellectual community and to demand that the rulers of Iran account for this indefensible violation of the right to cultural integrity and peaceful expression. (The following is a partial list of signers.)

Walter Abish, Aijaz Ahmad, Eqbal Ahmad, Edward Albee, John Ashbery, John Barth, Donald Barthelme, Heinrich Böll, Kamal Boullata, Ampie Coetzee, Henry Steele Commager, Edmundo Desnoes, E.L. Doctorow, Ralph Ellison, Richard Falk, Jules Feiffer, Leslie Fiedler, Frances FitzGerald, Eliot Fremont-Smith, John Gardner, Richard Gilman, Nadine Gordimer, Francine du Plessix Gray, Jerzy Kosinski, Bernard Malamud, Arthur Miller, Lewis Mumford, Joyce Carol Oates, Alan Paton, Chaim Potok, David Rabe, Philip Roth, Edward W. Said, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Mary Lee Settle, B.F. Skinner, Mark Strand, Barbara Tuchman, John Updike, Ernst van Heerden, Mario Vargas Llosa, Derek Walcott, Per Wästbert, Elie Wiesel, William Appleman Williams