

National Movement of Iranian Resistance

NAMIR

Founded by Shapour Bakhtiar

Report on the Islamic Republic's Terrorism abroad

Since the advent of the Islamic Republic in Iran, terrorist attempts have targeted exiled Iranians as well as citizens of other countries, condemned as heretics, around the world. These attacks were ordered by the Islamic government of Iran.

1. In July 1980, Shapour Bakhtiar escapes an assassination attempt in Paris, **France**. A **French policeman** and a **neighbor** are killed and one **policeman** is seriously injured.
2. In July 1980, **Ali Tabatabai** is killed in Washington D.C., **United States**.
3. In 1981, **Shahriar Shafigh** is killed in Paris, **France**.
4. In January 1982, **Shahrokh Missaghi** is killed in Manila, **Philippines**.
5. In April 1982, a young **German student** is killed during the attack of the residence of Iranian students in Mainz, **Germany**, by the pro-Iranian Hezbollah.
6. In June 1982, **Shahram Mirani** is fatally wounded in **India**.
7. In August 1982, **Ahmad Zol-Anvar** is fatally wounded in Karachi, **Pakistan**.
8. In September 1982, **Abdolamir Rahdar** is killed in **India**.
9. In 1982, Colonel **Ahmad Hamed** is killed in Istanbul, **Turkey**.
10. In February 1983, **Esfandiar Rahimi** is killed in Manila, **Philippines**.
11. In February 1984, **Gholam-Ali Oveissi** and his brother, **Gholam-Hossein**, are killed in Paris, **France**.
12. In August 1985, **Behrouz Shahverdilou** is killed in Istanbul, **Turkey**.

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13. In December 1985, **Hadi Aziz-Moradi** is killed in **Istanbul, Turkey**.
14. In August 1986, **Bijan Fazeli** is killed in **London, Great Britain**.
15. In December 1986, **Vali Mohammad Van** is killed in **Pakistan**.
16. In January 1987, **Ali-Akbar Mohammadi** is killed in **Hamburg, Germany**.
17. In May 1987, **Hamid Reza Chitgar** disappears in **Vienna, Austria** and is found assassinated in **July**.
18. In July 1987, **Faramarz-Aghaï** and **Ali-Reza Pourshafizadeh** are killed and twenty-three persons are wounded in residences of Iranian refugees in **Karachi and Quetta, Pakistan**.
19. In July 1987, **Amir-Hossein Amir-Parviz** is seriously wounded by the explosion of a bomb placed in his car in **London, England**.
20. In July 1987, **Mohammad-Hassan Mansouri** is shot dead in his house **Istanbul, Turkey**.
21. In August 1987, **Ahmad Moradi-Talebi** is killed in **Geneva, Switzerland**.
22. In October 1987, **Mohammad-Ali Tavakoli-Nabavi** and his youngest son, **Nouredin**, are killed in **Wembley, Great Britain**.
23. In October 1987, **Abol-Hassan Modjtahed-Zadeh** is kidnapped in **Istanbul, Turkey**.
24. In December 1988, an **Iranian refugee** is assassinated in front of the headquarters of the **United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees** in **Karachi, Pakistan**.
25. In June 1989, **Ataollah Bay Ahmadi** is killed in the **Emirate of Dubai**.
26. In July 1989, **Abdol-Rahman Ghassemlou** and **Abdollah Ghaderi** and **Fazel Rassoul** are killed in **Vienna, Austria**.
27. In August 1989, **Gholam Keshavarz** is killed in **Cyprus**.
28. In September 1989, **Sadigh Kamangar** is assassinated in the north of **Iraq**.
29. In September 1989, **Hossein Keshavarz**, victim of a terrorist attempt, is paralyzed for life.

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30. In February 1990, **Hadj Baloutch-Khan** is killed by a terrorist commando in **Pakistan**.
31. In Mars 1990, **Hossein Mir-Abedini** is wounded by an armed commando in the airport of **Istanbul, Turkey**.
32. In April 1990, **Kazem Radjavi** is killed in **Coppet, Switzerland**.
33. In July 1990, **Ali Kashefpour** is kidnapped and killed in **Turkey**.
34. In September 1990, **Efat Ghazi** is killed in **Sweden** by a bomb intended for her husband.
35. In October 1990, **Cyrus Elahi** is killed in **Paris, France**.
36. In April 1991, **Abdol-Rahman Boroumand** is killed in **Paris, France**.
37. In July 1991, **Alberto Capriolo** is wounded in **Milan, Italy**.
38. In July 1991, **Hitoshi Igarashi** is killed in **Tokyo, Japan**.
39. In July 1991, **Ahad Agha** is killed in **Suleimanya, Irak**.
40. In August 1991, **Shapour Bakhtiar** and **Soroush Katibeh** are killed in **Suresnes, France**.
41. In September 1991, **Saïd Yazdan-Panah** is fatally wounded in **Irak**.
42. In December 1991, **Massoud Rajavi** escapes a terrorist attempt in **Baghdad, Irak**.
43. In January 1992, **Kamran Hedayati** is wounded opening a letter bomb in **Vastros, Sweden**. He loses his sight and his hands.
44. In May 1992, **Shapour Firouzi** is killed in **Iraq**.
45. In July 1992, **Kamran Mansour-Moghadam** is killed in **Suleymania, Iraq**.
46. In August 1992, **Fereydoun Farokhzad** is killed in **Bonn, Germany**.
47. In September 1992, **Sadegh Sharafkandi, Fatah Abdoli, Homayoun Ardalan** and **Nouri Dehkordi** are killed in **Berlin, Germany**.
48. In January 1993, **Ugur Mumcu** is killed in **Ankara, Turkey**.

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49. In February 1993, the fundamentalist terrorists in Turkey admit to have kidnapped and killed **Ali-Akbar Ghorbani** who had disappeared in June 1992 in **Turkey**.
50. In March 1993, **Mohammad-Hosseini Naghdi** is killed in Rome, **Italy**.
51. In June 1993, **Mohammad-Hassan Arbab** is killed in Karachi, **Pakistan**.
52. In August 1993, **Mohammad Ghaderi** was kidnapped and assassinated in **Turkey**.
53. In September 1993, **Bahram Azadfar** was killed in **Turkey**.
54. In October 1993, Turkish fundamentalists admit having tortured and killed for Iranian officials, **Abbas Gholizadeh** who was kidnapped in Istanbul, **Turkey** in December 1992.
55. In November 1993, **William Nygaard** is wounded in Oslo, **Norway**.
56. On November 13th 1993, **Shahrokh Moradi, Salah Moradi, Anvar Ibrahimy, Taher Manutchehri, Rashid Rostami** and **Karim Mohammad Fattah** were killed in Darbandikhan, **Iraq**.
57. On December 13th, 1993, **Mahmud Dol** was killed in Ranya, **Iraq**.
58. On January 4th, 1994, **Taha Kermanj** is killed in Tchorim, **Turkey**.
59. On January 12th, 1994, **Mohammad Bokani** was killed in Kawlokani, **Iraq**.
60. On January 13th, 1994, **Mustafa Hawrami** was shot in Erbil, **Iraq**.
61. On January 17th, 1994, **Abubakr Hedayati** was seriously injured in **Sweden**.
62. On January 28th, 1994, **Shafi Mohammadi**, was killed in Suleimanya, **Iraq**.
63. On January 29th, 1994, **Nasser Hadji Rashidi** and his sister **Mahtab Hadji Rashidi** were injured in Syrace, **Turkey**.
64. On April 2nd, 1994, **Saleh Djahanghiri** was killed in Halabja, **Iraq**.

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65. On April 23nd, 1994, **Fattah Saidi** was killed in Suleimanya, **Iraq**.
66. On April 24ⁿ, 1994, **Ali Haydari Dejahang** was injured in Darbandikhan, **Iraq**.
67. On June 17th, 1994, **Ahmad Mohammadpour** was killed in **Iraq**.
68. On June 24th, 1994, **Ibrahim Gorgori** was wounded in Suleimanya **Iraq**.
69. On June 24th, 1994, **Molla Osman Amini** was found killed in his apartment in Copenhagen, **Denmark**.
70. On July 23rd, 1994, **Mam Morad** was shot in Basserma, **Iraq**.
71. On July 24th, 1994, **Morad Mohammadzadeh** was killed by the explosion of a grenade thrown into his home in Basserma, **Iraq**.
72. On July 31st, 1994, **Abdullah Ladissani** was assassinated in Darbandikhan, **Iraq**.
73. In August 1994, **Ghafour Hamzei'i** is killed in Baghdad, **Iraq**.
74. In November 1995, **Cheder Mahmudi** was killed in Suleimanya, **Iraq**.
75. On December 27th, 1995 **Ghafour Mehdizadeh; Ali Amini; and Saddig Abdulahi** were killed in Koya, **Iraq**.
76. On December 30th, 1995 **Usman Ruyan** and **Abubaker Rahimi** were killed in Arbil, **Iraq**.
77. On January 2nd, 1996 **Rahman Shabannajad** and **Ali Abdulah** were killed in Suleimanya, **Iraq**.
78. In February 1996, **Zahra Rajabi** and **Ali Moradi** were killed in Istanbul, **Turkey**.
79. On March 24th, 1996, **Farmarz keshvari, Osman Rahimi, Taher Azizi** and **Hassan Ebrahimzadeh** were killed by gunmen, while playing football, in Bahraka, **Iraq**.
80. In March 1996, **Ali Mollazadeh** was killed in Karachi, **Pakistan**.
81. In May 1996, **Reza Mazlouman** was killed in Paris, **France**.
82. On August 14 1997, **Qaleb Alizadeh** and **Anjad Mowlaii** were murdered in Suleimania. A

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resident of the city was also killed in the attack, and **four other residents** were wounded, **Iraq**.

83. On 19 August 1997, **Saeed Moradi**, **Ali Zokaleh** and **Isma'il Namaki** were killed during the armed attack against the bus in which they were travelling towards Suleimania, **Iraq**.

Due to the lack of reliable information, this list of terrorist attempts is not exhaustive. Undoubtedly, since the advent of the Islamic Republic, the number of extra-judicial executions outside Iran, in particular in Pakistan, Turkey and Iraq is higher. Also, this report deliberately leaves out well known terrorist attacks ordered by Tehran, such as: the hostage crisis of the US embassy in Tehran in 1979; the kidnapping of British, American and French citizens in Lebanon by pro-Iranian Hezbollah; the explosive attack on the American and French military headquarters in Lebanon, which were publicly claimed by Mohsen Rafighdoust, then head of the Revolutionary Guards ¹; the wave of terrorist bombing in Paris in 1986, which resulted in the death of 13 persons and the wounding of hundreds of others; the death sentence against Salman Rushdie for writing *The Satanic Verses*; and the Dahran terrorist attempts that targeted the American military in Saudi Arabia.

*

The identity of the victims listed above reveals the existence of a concerted plan aimed at eliminating political leaders and activists of the Iranian opposition in exile.

¹ Both the TNT and the ideology which in one blast sent to hell 400 officers, NCO's and soldiers at the Marine Headquarters have been provided by Iran'. Rafighdoust, in Resalat, July 20, 1987

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Shapour Bakhtiar was the leader of the National Movement of the Iranian Resistance (NAMIR). Abdol-Rahman Boroumand² was a founding member and President of the Executive Bureau of the Movement, of which Colonel Ahmed Hamed, Colonel Shahverdilou and Colonel Hadi Aziz-Moradi were active members. Amir-Parviz was NAMIR's representative in London.

Ahmad Zol-Anvar, Esfandiar Rahimi, Faramarz Aghaï, Ali-Reza Pourshafizadeh, Zahra Rajabi and Ali Moradi were militant members of the People's Moudjahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI). Ali Akbar Ghorbani, Abol-Hassan Modjtahed-Zadeh, Hossein Keshavarz and Hossein Mir-Abedini were also active members of the PMOI, which was represented in Switzerland by Kazem Radjavi and in Italy by Mohammad Hossein Naghdi.

Shahrokh Missaghi and Shahram Mirani belonged to the organization of People's Fedayins of Iran, an opposition movement to the Islamic Republic.

Abdolamir Rahdar was a member of Peykar, a Maoist organization that has been dissolved.

Hamid Reza Chitgar was the leader of Toufan or the Labor Party.³

Gholam Keshavarz and Sadigh Kamangar were officials of the Communist Party of Iran.

Ali Kashefpour was a member of the Iranian Kurdish Democratic Party, as were Shapour Firouzi, Ahad Agha and Saïd Yazdan-Panah.

Mansour Moghadam was an active militant in the Union of the Iranian Communists.

² Thierry Oberle and Marie-Amelie Lombard, "When Iranian Secret Servicess Hit in France. An Iranian Opponent Assassinated in Paris", *Le Figaro*, April 19, 1991; close to Mr. Shapour Bakhtiar, an Iranian opponent is stabbed in Paris", *Le Monde*, April 20, 1991.

³ Walter Tarra, "Chitgar : Vorwurfe gegen Behörden. Polizei hat Stimme des Morders auf Bedenner-Tonband", *Kurier*, July 2 1987

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Tabatabai, former high official of the Imperial Regime was a monarchist militant, as were Hadj Baloutch-Khan, Mohammed Ali Tavakoli-Nabavi and his son. General Gholam Ali Oveissi, former Military Governor of Tehran, was an active opponent of the Islamic Regime.

Cyrus Elahi and Colonel Ataollah Bay Ahmadi were members of The Organization Flag of Freedom (called today, Organization for the Defense of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in Iran); Elahi was in charge of a radio program broadcast to Iran from Egypt, and had been openly criticized by Iranian officials⁴. Abbas Gholizadeh, officer of the Imperial Army, and the singer Fereydoun Farokhzad were also members of this organization; the latter had been threatened several times for ridiculing and offending the Islamic Republic in his shows.

Shahriar Shafigh and Vali Mohammed Van, officers in the Iranian Navy, were also active opponents.

Abdol-Rahman Ghassemlou, Abdollah Ghaderi and Fazel Rasoul, killed in Vienna, as well as Sadegh Sharafkandi, Fatah Abdoli and Homayoun Ardalan, killed in Bonn, were all leaders and officials of the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan (PDKI) which opposes the Tehran Regime. Ahad Agha, Kamran Hedayati Qaleb Alizadeh, Anjad Mowlaii, Saeed Moradi, Ali Zokaleh, Isma'il Namaki and Ghafour Hamzei'i were active members of PDKI. Nouri Dehkordi was a leftist sympathizer close to PDKI. Mrs. Efat Ghazi was the wife of the Kurdish opponent, Mohammed Ghazi, to whom the parcel bomb, which killed her, was addressed⁵.

Ahmad Moradi-Talebi was an air force pilot like Mohammadi, who had been the private pilot of Ali Akbar Rafsandjani, then

⁴ "Iranian Exile Is Found Slain in Paris Home", International Herald Tribune, October 24, 1990

⁵ See Helene Kafi, *L'Exilée*, Paris, Payot, 1991, p. 253

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President of the Iranian Parliament. Both men had left Iran in order to protest against the Regime.

Alberto Capriolo and Hitoshi Igarashi had both translated the work of the condemned author, Salman Rushdie, which was published by William Nygaard in Norway.

Bijan Fazeli was selling opposition newspapers and videos of opposition artists in his shop and had been enjoined to stop this sale⁶. Finally, Mohammed-Hassan Mansouri was an opponent of the Islamic Regime of Tehran.

No opposition movement has been spared. Often, they have lost high-ranking officials. These political refugees died violently because they actively contributed to the fight against the government of the Islamic Republic. No other motive than State repression was found by official investigations. All investigated tracks led to the single hypothesis of State ordered crimes.

A coherent set of presumptions against the Islamic Regime

The first victims of the Islamic Republic fell in demonstrations against the Regime, organized around the world. Militants of the Hezbollah, supported by the Islamic Regime, armed with knives and clubs, attack the demonstrators and kill. This method, used until 1982, results in the death of Shahrokh Missaghi, Shahram Mirani, Rahdar and a young German Student. The regime has since embraced more covert methods, and developed a State machine devoted to the physical elimination of opponents.

The organization and execution of these crimes establish similarities that the Swiss prosecutor, Roland Chatelin,

⁶ Stern, 33, August 6, 1987.

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describes as 'common parameters' following a 'meticulous preparation'. These analogies have created a coherent set of presumptions designating the government of the Islamic Republic as the instigator of these assassinations.

Weapons

Automatic weapons: in the cases of Shapour Bakhtiar in 1980, Aziz Moradi in 1985, the PMOI militants in Pakistan in 1987, Abdol Rahman Ghassemlou and his companions in 1989, Sadegh Charafkandi, Fatah Abdoli, Nouri Dehkordi and Homayoun Ardalan in 1992 and Mohammad Hossein Naghdi in 1993.

Handguns: in the murders of Hamed, Cyrus Elahi⁸, Ataollah Bay Ahmadi, Tavakoli-Nabavi and his son, H. Chitgar, Mansour Moghadam and Shapour Firouzi. The Czech Pistol, which killed C. Elahi in October 1990, is the same type that was used in the murder of Colonel Ataollah Bay Ahmadi in June 1989 in Dubai. This model is identified by the anti-terrorist section of the French criminal brigade as the type of weapon used by the Iranian Special Services.

Knives: in the murders of A. Boroumand, H. Igarashi, Sh. Bakhtiar, S. Katibeh, and F. Farokhzad.

Kidnapping

The assassination of A. Gholizadeh confirms the existence of the Islamic Republic's active network in Turkey and points to kidnapping as Iran's latest method of dealing with its opponents.

The Flag of Freedom Organization incriminates the Islamic

7 referred to by Jean-Claude Buhner, "Following the arrest of the presumed murderer of the former Prime Minister. Bakhtiar's case could reopen the investigations on the assassination of Iranian opponent in Switzerland." *Le Monde*, September 1-2, 1991
8 Thierry Oberlé, "An Iranian Opponent Killed in Paris. Cyrus Elahi would have been killed by Agents of Tehran." *Le Figaro*, October 24, 1990; Alan Riding, "Iranian Exile is Slain in Paris", *New York Times*, October 3, 1990.

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Republic and summons the Iranian Embassy in Turkey⁹. On January 25, 1993, a Turkish journalist of the paper Djomhuria died in Ankara, in the explosion of a bomb placed in his car. The Turkish Jihad-Islami claimed responsibility for his death. The investigators believe that the commando of Islamic fundamentalists had the support of a foreign neighboring power. Furthermore, the arrest following this murder led to the discovery of the tortured body of an Iranian opponent to the Islamic Regime believed to be Amini (kidnapped in June 1992). On January 29, more than 250.000 people gathered in front of the Iranian Embassy in Ankara, shouting slogans such as Turkey will never be Iran.¹⁰

Bombing

According to the Scotland Yard, the men who caused the explosion of Bijan Fazeli's shop came from Germany¹¹. One year later, a former high official of the revolutionary guards, now opposed to the Tehran Regime, confirms the existence of an operation base of the Islamic Republic at Marienbourg, a suburb of Cologne. This official admits to have met in 1984, in an Iranian Embassy owned villa, Massoud Hendi (condemned in 1994 for complicity in the assassination of Bakhtiar). This official acknowledges having provided Hendi with explosives, guns and silencers for his missions in Paris. He also admits meeting with Vahid Gordji, suspected of organizing the bomb attacks of September 1986 in Paris. The explosion in Bijan Fazeli's shop in London reveals similarities with those in Paris; it attests to the existence of an operation base as well as arms and explosives distribution

9 Communiqué of December 28, 1992. On January 15, 1993, the Tehran daily Keyhan, reporting the news of the kidnapping, denies the Islamic Republic involvement and criticize the lack of security in Turkey.

10 Le Monde, January 29, 1993, Le Figaro, January 29, 1993; News of the Turkish Television on January 29

11 Stern, 33, August 6 1987

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networks managed by diplomatic representations of the Islamic Republic.¹²

Four terrorists were tried in 1992 in connection with the Paris bombing (1986-87) which killed 13 and injured more than 300. The investigators discovered that there was only one terrorist group behind the bombings: the Hezbollah, an Iranian backed group. One of the main evidence was the use of an explosive device used by the same group in an attack against the French embassy in Kuwait and for which they claimed responsibility. The second reason to believe that Iran was behind the bombings is the terrorists' claims. They asked for the French to stop helping the Iraqis in their war against Iran. This argument was also used by Fouad ALI SALEH, one of the accused terrorists, to justify the bombings. He repeatedly said that the French government was responsible for the death of thousands of Iranian children. Another interesting point was that Fouad ALI SALEH studied theology for two years in Qom (Iran), during which he acquired his rhetoric.

According to foreign wire reports, a Bangkok criminal court had convicted Hossein Dastgiri, an Iranian citizen, of murder and of conspiring to set off a bomb at the Israeli embassy in Bangkok in 1994, and had sentenced him to life imprisonment. The Special Representative, of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, was informed that the Islamic Human Rights Commission was seeking to improve his conditions of detention¹³.

The identity papers

¹² Stern, 33, August 6, 1987

¹³ The interim report prepared by Mr. Maurice Danby Copithorne, Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, in accordance with Assembly resolution 51/107 of 12 December 1996 and Economic and Social Council decision 1997/264 of 22 July 1997. B. Violence outside the Islamic Republic of Iran.

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The killers of H. Chitgar, as those of Sh. Bakhtiar were traveling with Turkish passports. Furthermore, in his visit to Turkey in September 1991, the French prosecutor Jean-Pierre Bruguière "was able to confirm the existence of a base in Istanbul". He established that a network of traffickers provided the forged identity papers. This network included a number of Iranian nationals.¹⁴ It is in fact the transit from Ankara of units of Revolutionary Guards, a few days before the assassination of Cyrus Elahi that alerted Western Secret Services of the imminence of terrorist attempts in Europe.¹⁵

Methods of Approach

The killers used similar methods of approach in order to reduce the victims' suspicion. A so-called opponent from Iran had contacted Hamid Reza Chitgar¹⁶. A staff member of the Evin prison, allegedly anxious to help the opposition, approached Ataollah Bay Ahmadi. Shapour Bakhtiar had received his killers in his home under the false pretense of bearing important news from Iran. Abdol Rahman Ghassemlou was offered to negotiate with Mohammad Sahraroudy, an officer of the Pasdaran and Rafsandjani's emissary. It is during these negotiations that the Kurdish leader was killed. In many cases, the killers succeeded in meeting their victims away from places where they had relative security. H. Chitgar, who lived in Strasbourg, was trapped in Vienna. His murderer's pretext was a visa refusal for Germany, where Chitgar had chosen to meet him. Ataollah Bay Ahmadi, who resided in France, left for a meeting in Dubai even though he

14 Erich Inciyan, "A Decisive Progress of the Investigations. The Assassination of Shapour Bakhtiar Would Have Been Ordered From Tehran". *Le Monde*, September 21, 1991; M.-A.L. T D.D., "Eleven persons arrested yesterday by Istanbul police. Bakhtiar Affair: The Turkish Network". *Le Figaro*, September 6, 1991

15 Jean -Francois Crozier, "The Murderer From Iran Was Not Well equipped", *France Soir*, October 2W, 1990 ; Thierry Oberle, "An Iranian Opponent Killed In Paris. Cyrus Elahi would Have Been Assassinated by Tehran's Agents", *Le Figaro*, October 24, 1990

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preferred Istanbul where he felt more protected. General Oveissi was assassinated while meeting his mother and brother whom the killers had followed from Iran. Keshavarz was killed while meeting his parents in Cyprus.

Infiltration

This method frequently used by Iranian Secret Services is also seen in many cases. Boyerahmadi infiltrated the National Movement of Iranian Resistance. Through him assassins from Iran were able to enter the residence of Shapour Bakhtiar. Sadigh Kamangar, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Iran, was killed by a so-called zealous militant, who had insisted to be the watch guard the night of the murder. According to a non-confirmed press release by Iranian News Agency in early 1992, Massoud Radjavi, leader of the PMOI, escaped an assassination attempt perpetrated by two of his bodyguards. The same procedure was used in the case of Reza Mazlouman whose murderer entered his apartment along with one of the victim's acquaintances.

Iranian terrorists also use a more cynical method to leave their trademark. In the cases of A. Moradi Talebi, K. Radjavi and A. R. Ghassemlou, the police found a navy blue baseball cap at the scene of the murder.¹⁷

Prosecutors and police in countries where these assassinations have taken place often share the conviction that the Iranian Government is involved in their conception and organization. The Viennese police for example suspected Ghassemlou's murder to be a political crime¹⁸. The preliminary investigation of the assassination of A. Boroumand, was assigned to the anti-terrorist section of the Paris Public Prosecutor Department.

16 Liberation, July 20, 1987

17 Time International, March 21, 1994. Libération, January, 1994

18 Dernières Nouvelles du Lundi, July 20, 1987; Kurier, July 18 1987

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On June 22, 1990, Roland Chatelain, the prosecutor in charge of Kazem Radjavi's case, asserted that the police had gathered various pieces of evidence indicating that one or more Iranian official agencies had been directly involved in the assassination¹⁹.

During the spring of 1991, the D.S.T. (French Department for the Security of the Territory) informed the French Ministry of Interior of the reconstitution of a Secret Services in the Iranian Embassy in Paris since the fall of 1990. The report's conclusion underlined the existence of a policy aimed at the physical elimination of opposition members which had already led to the assassination in Paris of C. Elahi and A. Boroumand. The report was accompanied by a letter to the Minister of Interior, Philip Marchand from the DST's director, Jacques Fournet, warning of the imminence of future eliminations²⁰. This appraisal was confirmed by the French Judiciary Police in charge of the Elahi and Boroumand cases. According to the French police "for 90%, the key to the assassination of Boroumand is in Tehran"²¹. Furthermore, a DGSE (French intelligence) note (23 October 1992, *Espionage, Interference and Terrorism: the Iranian threat*) warns that "by bringing a political, logistic and financial support to radical organizations (of the Middle East), Iran plays thenceforth an essential role in the development of Middle Eastern terrorism"²².

19 Referred to by Daniel Schneiderman, "The Killers Who Came From Iran. Before the Murder of Shapour Bakhtiar, Several Criminal Investigations Had Already Led to Tehran", *Le Monde*, August 28, 1991

20 Patricia Tourancheau, "Bakhtiar Case: The DST Had Warned the Government". *Liberation*, October 25, 1991

21 Referred to by Daniel Schneidermann, "The Killers Who Came From Iran. Before the Murder of Shapour Bakhtiar, Several Criminal Investigations Had Already Led to Tehran", *Le Monde*, August 28, 1991

22 Xavier Raufer, "Attentats, Téhéran persévère", *L'Express*, 10/16 décembre 1992

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In a meeting with the family of A. Boroumand, the prosecutor Jean Louis Bruguière asserts that undoubtedly the cases of Bakhtiar and Boroumand are closely linked.

According to the People's Fedayins Organization, the persons arrested after the terrorist attempts aimed at Iranian refugees in Pakistan in July and October 1987, are the Revolutionary Guards ²³.

According to the Flag of Freedom Organization, A. Bayahmadi had been contacted by a person who held a key position in the Evin Prison in Tehran. This official, who uses several names, had introduced himself as Kabiri and had promised to obtain the release of twelve members of the Flag of Freedom held in Evin. The accuracy of the information given on these prisoners confirms that Bay Ahmadi's contact is an official of the prison. Dubai's justice has launched international arrest warrants for Kabiri and Moharrebi, suspected for the assassination of Ataollah Bayahmadi. These two men are also wanted by Interpol.²⁴

In the case of Mohammad Hossein Naghdi, whose killers escaped, the Italian Minister of Interior, Nicola Mancino, denounced a campaign of terror orchestrated by Islamist fundamentalism. In this case, the American State Department also suspects the Islamic Republic ²⁵.

Furthermore, Amnesty International reported the deadly aggressions on A. Boroumand, S. Katibeh and Sh. Bakhtiar in its 1992 report and concluded " several opponents of the government

23Nabardé Khalgh, 94

24 "Communiqué de l'Organisation Drapeau de la Liberté", in the weekly Nimrouz in Persian, 65, 1 June 1990; See Bulletin, publication of the organization in Defense of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

25 Christopher Dickey, " A Webb of Assassins, investigators says, Tehran's most important export continues to be terror", News week, 29 March 1993

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have been killed outside Iran in circumstances suggesting that they may have been extra-judicially executed"²⁶.

Finally, a report submitted by the Secretary General of the United Nations to the members of the General Assembly during the 47th session, denounces the Islamic Republic for the assassination of Iranian opponents in exile. Drafted by the Representative of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations, Teynaldo Galindo Pohl. The report on human rights in the Islamic Republic also points to three cases of terrorist attempts outside Iran that resulted in the deaths of K. Radjavi, C. Bakhtiar, S. Katibeh and F. Farokhzad ²⁷.

Established evidence on the Islamic Republic's involvement in extra-territorial executions

In many cases, there seems to be a direct link between the alleged killers and their accomplices and the government of the Islamic Republic.

Ghassemlou's case

The arms used in A. Ghassemlou's assassination were found in a trashcan with the receipt for the purchase of a motorcycle by Mohammad Sahraroudy, the negotiator for the Islamic Republic. The Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Alois Mock, publicly implicated the Islamic Republic in the case of Ghassemlou. Sahraroudi and Amir Mansour Bozorgian (who stood guard at the door at the time of the negotiations with Ghassemlou) were interrogated and detained for a short while since enough

26 Amnesty International, 92 report, p 146

27 UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, forty seventh session, "HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS : HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS AND REPORTS OF SPECIAL RAPORTEURS AND REPRESENTATIVES". Situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, Note by the Secretary General, 13 November 1992, p.11-12 and 31.

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important discrepancies were found in their declarations. They told the police that someone who broke into the apartment killed the Kurds. According to a senior Austrian-government official, 'they lied. By all appearances, the murderers were inside the room at the time of the crime.'²⁸

Rajavi's case

Following the assassination of Rajavi, a telephone conversation between an official in Tehran and his interlocutor in Switzerland was intercepted and included in the prosecution's file.²⁹ During this conversation the names of Mohammed Malaek, the Iranian Ambassador in Bern, and Kazem Radjavi are mentioned. The investigation in the case of Kazem Radjavi led to a group of 13 persons, involved in the organization of the crime. They were carrying passports of the Islamic Republic services stating 'in charge of mission' and issued, for some of them, the same day. Most of them had entered Switzerland together; using a direct flight from Tehran to Geneva with plane tickets issued the same date and numbered sequentially. Most listed the same personal address in Iran, which turns out to be an intelligence-ministry building.³⁰ Two of them were arrested in Paris in December 1992 when French and German Secret Services were alerted by rumors of new terrorist attempts. Ali Kamali and Mahmoud Sajadian are known to 'be elements of an operational team of the Iranian Ministry of Information'. The Swiss justice immediately asked for their extradition.³¹ Furthermore, one of the cars used by the assassins of Radjavi, searched for by the Swiss Police, was hidden in the building of the Iranian delegation to the United

28 Time International, March 21, 1994

29 Marie-Amelie Lombard, " (In Addition to Bakhtiar, The Mollahs Would Also Have Instigated the Murder of the Opponent Radjavi at Coppet. Iranian Terrorism: Switzerland Suspicious of Tehran". Le Figaro, September 4, 1991

30 Daniel Schneidermann, " Killers Who Came From Iran. Before The Murder of Shapour Bakhtiar, Several Criminal Investigations Had Already Led to Tehran", Le Monde, August 28, 1991. Time International, March 21, 1994

31 Xavier Raufer : ' Attentats, Tehran persevere', L'Express, December 10, 1992

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Nations in Conches, a residential area in Geneva, where Tehran owns a large property protected by diplomatic immunity.³²

Elahi's Case

Prosecutor Bruguière, investigating the assassination of Cyrus Elahi, ordered the arrest of two agents of the Islamic Republic accused of collusion in murder, conspiracy, violation of the law in relation with a terrorist action, and drug trafficking. They were in charge of recruiting execution agents and locating opponents to be eliminated. ³³ On September 26, 1996, the 12th chamber of the *Tribunal de Grande instance de Paris* (Court of first instance) declared Mojlabi Mashadi and Hossein Yazdan Seta guilty of conspiracy to commit one or several crimes against Iranian opponents in France.³⁴

Bakhtiar and Katibeh's Cases

In August 1991, the American and British Governments intercepted and decoded messages sent by the Iranian Ministry of Information to Europe. On Wednesday August 7, twenty four hours before Sh. Bakhtiar's and S. Katibeh's bodies were discovered, this ministry was allegedly asking for confirmation of their death³⁵. This information is substantiated by persisting rumors concerning Bakhtiar's death, which were circulating in Shiraz before his body was discovered in Suresnes.

Furthermore and above all, the investigation of Sh. Bakhtiar's assassination confirmed the Islamic Republic's involvement. It

32 Jean-Patrick Voudenay : ' Thanks to an incredible tapping system, American intelligence agents led their Swiss colleagues to the right track '.
Liberation, January 18, 1994

33Le Point, December 24, 1993

34 Extrait des minutes du Greffe du Tribunal de Grande Instance de Paris, 120
Ch. 5, jugement nol.

35 Xavier Rauffer, "Bakhtiar: Iran Knew. Twenty Four Hours Before the Bodies Were Discovered, Tehran Was Asking For Confirmation of the Murders". L'Express, August 22 1991

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led to the charging of Massoud Hendi, a relative of Ayatollah Khomeiny and a former representative for Iranian Television in Paris. Together with a member of the Ministry of Telecommunications, he had assisted in getting entry visas to France for the killers under the cover of electronic technicians.

The name of Massoud Hendi had appeared previously in the investigations concerning the murder of General Oveissi. The analysis of phone calls made by Vakili and Azadi (Bakhtiar's assassins) led to an Iranian-born Turk, Edipsoy, who falsified Turkish passports for the killers. Before and after the murder of Bakhtiar, two Iranians involved in the plot called the Telecommunications Ministry several times from Edipsoy apartment.

The above mentioned Tehran number is known to be used by Iranian Secret Service and by members of the killers' alleged support team in Geneva.³⁶ The other person charged, Fereshteh Djahanbani, had rented an apartment in which Boyerahmadi, one of the killers, found refuge after the crime. She admitted collaborating with Iran's Intelligence Agency VEVAK. The police found codes, a special pen and invisible ink in her apartment. She identified Amirolah Teimoury, chief of security at Iran Air in the Orly Airport (Paris), as her superior. Teimoury is also prosecuted for intelligence activities for a foreign power³⁷. Another individual charged and extradited to France, Zia Sarhadi, had made hotel reservations in Switzerland for the alleged killers. Sarhadi arrived in Switzerland on August 13, 1991, to work as an archivist in the Iranian embassy in Bern. According to Bruguière, his mission was to help Bakhtiar's murderers escape. Sarhadi's order of mission was issued on July 16, 1991, on the authority of Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian Foreign Minister.

36 Patricia Tourancheau, "Bakhtiar: A Khomeini's Nephew Arrested In Paris", Liberation, September 20, 1991; Patricia Tourancheau, "Bakhtiar. On The Trail of Iranian Service. Khomeiny's nephew, arrested in the framework of the investigations on the murder of Shapour Bakhtiar confirms this trail, also followed in Turkey." Liberation, September 21 and 22, 1991

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Since his extradition to France in 1992, the Iranian Ambassador has visited Bruguière several times trying to convince him to drop the charges against Sarhadi.³⁸ Two other Iranians, arrested in Istanbul for having provided forged identity papers to the alleged killers, are also said to belong to the Iranian Special Services³⁹.

On October 22 1991, prosecutor Bruguière launched an international arrest warrant for Hossein Cheikhatar for collusion in murder, conspiracy and violation of the law in relation with a terrorist action"⁴⁰. Cheikhatar is the technical adviser for the Satellite Communication Program to the Iranian Ministry of Telecommunications. This Ministry is known for its close connections to Iranian Special Services. Bruguière launched two other arrest warrants on 21 April 1993 against two other Iranian officials. The first, Gholam Hossein Shoorideh Chirazi Nejad, already known in business circles, asked Comatra, a Swiss firm, to invite a 'friend'. The 'friend' is in fact one of the killers who obtained a visa to enter Switzerland. The other suspect is Nasser Ghassemi-Nejad, an official of the Secret Services who would have awaited the murderers in Geneva in order to send them back to Iran. The active contribution of Islamic Republic's diplomatic representation is confirmed in a spectacular way in the investigation of the murder of Shapour Bakhtiar and Sorouche Katibeh.⁴¹.

37 Patricia Tourancheau, "Bakhtiar Case: The DST Had Warned The Government", Liberation, October 25, 1991

38 Jean Claude Buhner, " The Inquiry On Shapour Bakhtiar's Murder. Swiss Authorities Accept The Extradition of the Iranian, Zia Sarhadi", Le Monde, February 26, 1992. Time International, March 21, 1994

39 Patricia Tourancheau, "Bakhtiar: Tehran Under Spot Lights. After the last arrests, prosecutor Bruguiere allegedly possess the judiciary proof of Iran's involment", Liberation, October 4, 1991

40 Eric Inciyan, Le Monde, October 26, 1991

41 M.A. Lombard et I. Rioufol, " Bakhtiar : l'Iran en bout de piste ", Le Figaro, 22 April 1993

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Finally, the French President François Mitterand acknowledged the involvement of Tehran's Islamic Regime in the assassination of Shapour Bakhtiar and cancelled his visit to Tehran scheduled for the fall of 1991⁴². In December 1994, the Special Criminal Court of Paris (la Cour d'Assises Speciales) sentenced to life imprisonment Ali Vakili-Rad, one of Bakhtiar's murderers and an alleged member of the Revolutionary Guards. Hendi, the employee of the Iranian Public Television was sentenced to ten years for his role as an accomplice of the terrorist conspiracy. **Gholam Hossein Shoorideh Shirazi Nejad and Hossein Sheikhatar, an adviser to the Iranian Ministry of Telecommunications, Nasser Chassemi Nejad, Fereydoun Boyer-Ahamdi and Azadi, an officer of the Revolutionary Guards, were all sentenced to life, on June 16, 1995.**

Boroumand's Case

In an interview with the family of Abdol-Rahman Boroumand on April 7, 1993, prosecutor Bruguiere asserted that the cases of Bakhtiar and Boroumand were inextricably connected. In the trial of Bakhtiar's murderers in December 1994, the prosecuting attorney, Mouton, attributed the assassination of Abdol-Rahman Boroumand to the state sponsored terrorism of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He asserted that this murder along with Bakhtiar's assassination aimed at neutralizing the National Movement for the Iranian Resistance.

Modjtahedzadeh's Case

Kidnapping is increasingly used against the opponents in Turkey. Investigations of these kidnapping cases, when allowed to progress, reveal the involvement of Iranian Secret Services. Turkish investigators learned that several men, disguised as

42" I was preparing myself to go to Tehran, then in the meantime, Shapour Bakhtiar who was our guest in France was assassinated. This was naturally enough to cancel the project". Interview given to Shlomo Papirblat, the Special Envoy to Paris of the Israeli daily newspaper, Yediote Aharonoth, November 20, 1992

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Turkish Police, kidnapped Ali Kashefpour from his residence. His body was discovered on a road; the victim had been tortured prior to his death. Kidnapping is evidently used by Iranian Secret Servicess in order to question their victims before eliminating them. A. Modjtahedzadeh, kidnapped on October 11th 1987, was found by the Turkish Police at the Iranian border in the trunk of a car owned by Iranian diplomats in Turkey.

Ghorbani's Case

Furthermore, the Turkish fundamentalist terrorists, arrested for the assassination of the journalist Ugur Mumcu, admitted to their involvement in the kidnapping of Ali Akbar Ghorbani. The latter was allegedly questioned and tortured by special agents sent from Tehran. The Turkish terrorists also informed the police of the whereabouts of Ghorbani's body. The Turkish Minister of Interior unveiled this information in a press conference on February 4, 1993. Mr. Sezgin indicated that 19 members of an illegal organization, " The Islamist Movement ", had been arrested during police raids in several Turkish towns. According to the Minister, most of these activists have been to Iran and trained in a military camp located between Tehran and Qom. The training had specially "focused on assassination techniques". Referring to the confessions of members of the organization, Mr. Sezgin also affirmed that pro-Iranian militants founded the "Islamist Movement" in 1987 in Batman⁴³.

Sharafkandi's Case

The first arrests following the investigations on the assassination of the Kurdish leader, Sadegh Sharafkandi, and his companions in Berlin in September 1992, revealed that Iranian and

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Lebanese gunmen had come from Iran. According to witnesses, armed men, braking into the restaurant Mikonos, opened fire on the four Kurdish leaders after insulting them in Persian. Two members of the band were in fact Iranians; one is known under the pseudonym of Sharif and the other, Kazem Darabi, is an Islamic militant known to German Secret Services for being a member of the VEVAK, the political police of the Islamic Republic. According to the German prosecutors, he is an importer-exporter who, for years, was a link with the Lebanese Hezbollah. About seven months before the Berlin terrorist attempt, officials of German Security Services had invited him to conduct his activities with more discretion⁴⁴. German prosecutors are convinced that Kazem Darabi was assigned to *liquidate the Kurdish leader as a part of a persecution strategy of the Iranian Minister for Intelligence and Security against the Iranian opposition*.⁴⁵ As a consequence, on March 14, 1996, German judicial authorities launched an international arrest warrant against Ali Fallahian, the Iranian Minister of Interior. On April 10, 1997 the German Criminal Court sentenced Kazem Darabi to life imprisonment. This Court accused the highest authorities of the Islamic Republic, a committee composed of the Leader, the President, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Information, of having ordered the Berlin assassinations. This historic verdict was the judicial recognition of the terrorist nature of the Islamic Republic's leadership.

Zahra Rajabi and Ali Panah Moradi's cases

The verdict issued on 24 January 1997 by the seventh Criminal Court of Istanbul, Turkey, headed by Judge Iyhan Onal, condemning

43 "Turkey-Terrorist attempt, Ankara implicitly accuses Iran of involvement in terrorist acts", Report of AFP (Agence France Presse), Istanbul, February 4, 1993

44 "Attentat Erkenntnisse über D. Koalitionskrach in Berlin : Ist der CDU-Innensenator für das Versagen der Sicherheitsbehörden beim Mord an vier Kurden verantwortlich? DER SPIEGEL 20, 17 May 1993

45 Time International, March 21, 1994

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Reza Barzegar Massoumi, an Iranian citizen born in Orumiyeh, to 32 years and 6 months of imprisonment with hard labour for his participation in the premeditated murder of Zahra Rajabi (also known as Maryam Javedan Jokar) and Ali Panah Moradi, two members of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran. Mr. Massoumi was found guilty of using his acquaintance with the victims to open the door of their apartment to the murderers. According to the verdict, the accused stated in his confession that he had acted under instruction of the Iranian intelligence service, specifically of the agents Sa'eed Choobtrash (Asghar), Rahim Afshar (Rassoul), Haj Ghassem (Zargar-Panah) and Jalal (Mohsen Kargar-Azad), who planned and committed the murders carried out on 20 February 1996 in the Fateh suburb of Istanbul⁴⁶.

Assassin's Confessions

Though rare, assassin's confessions do occur. In an interview with ABC News 20/20, aired on January 20, 1996, Davoud Salaheding, a black American Muslim, confessed to the killing of Ali Tabatabai in July 1980. Tabatabai was the first Iranian opposition member to be killed in the United States. Salahedin found refuge in Iran where he lives since the assassination.⁴⁷

The Islamic Jihad and the Iranian Revolutionary Organization for Liberty and Reform have claimed responsibility for the assassination of G.A. Oveissi and his brother. The Revolutionary Guards claimed the murder of M.A. Tavakoli⁴⁸. The Islamic Regime explicitly admitted its responsibility for the first terrorist attempt on the life of Shapour Bakhtiar. To secure the release of its convicted terrorists led by Anis Naccache, Iran launched a

⁴⁶ The interim report prepared by Mr. Maurice Danby Capithorne, Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, in accordance with Assembly resolution 51/107 of 12 December 1996 and Economic and Social Council decision 1997/264 of 22 July 1997. B. Violence outside the Islamic Republic of Iran
⁴⁷ D.B. Ottaway. 'the Lone Assassin', Washington Post Magazine, August 25, 1996

