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# Issue Paper IRAN JULY 1999 DEMONSTRATIONS IN TEHRAN December 2000

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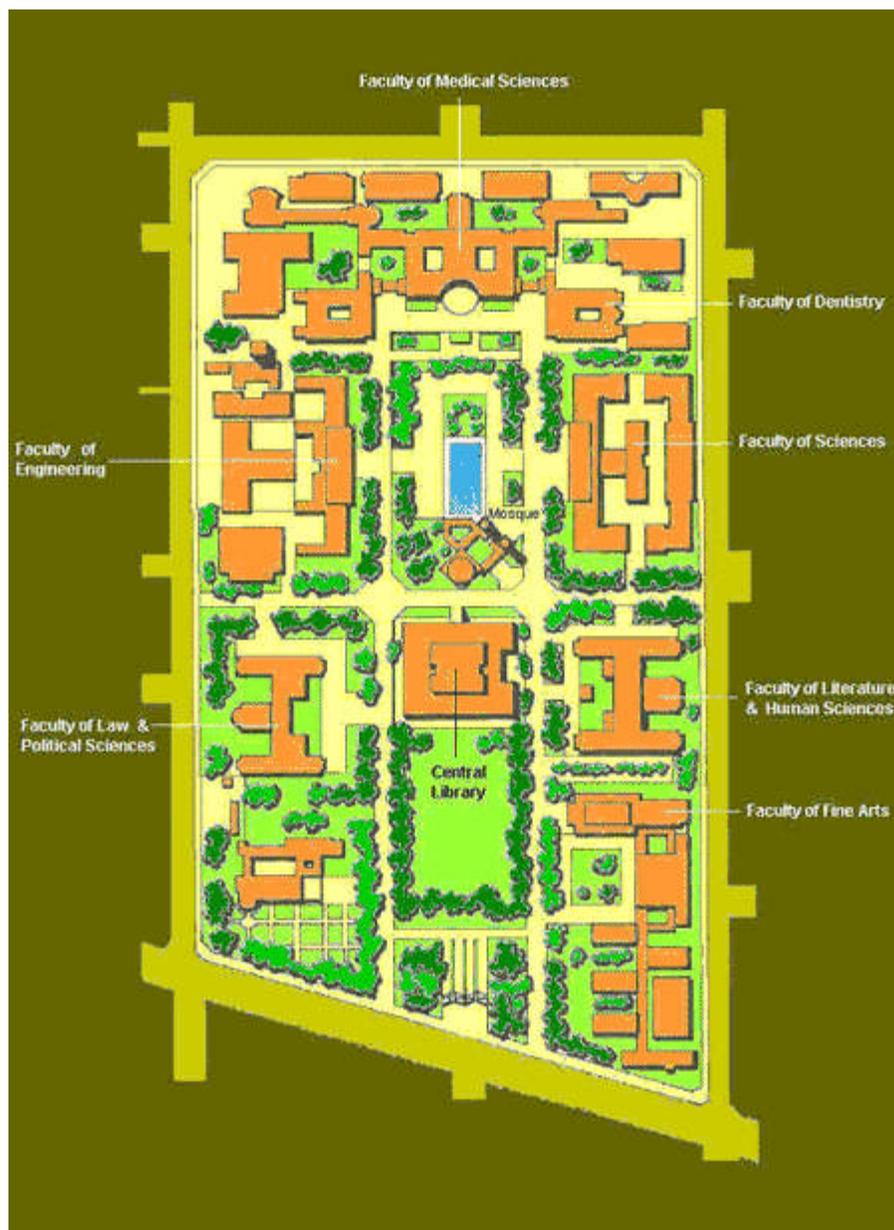
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### MAPS





**Map 2. University of Tehran Campus.**

(Source: University of Tehran Website, <<http://www.ut.ac.ir/utmap.htm>>)

## GLOSSARY

### **Ansar-e Hezbollah/Ansar-i Hizbullah**

Described by the BBC as "shadowy groups of Islamic extremists" (15 July 1999) and by the Student Movement Coordination Committee for Democracy in Iran as "a loose organization of radical conservative elements" (n.d.), they were allegedly involved in most of the violent demonstrations in July 1999, starting with the 9 July dormitory attack. Officially autonomous, they are allied to conservative forces within the clergy and government. For additional information on the Ansar-e Hezbollah please consult IRN34994.E of 18 September 2000. Although some sources refer to the Ansar-e Hezbollah as an Islamic militia, this term is also used to describe the Basij (see below).

### **Basij**

The Basij are a voluntary paramilitary force that reports to the Revolutionary Guard; for general

information regarding the Basij, please consult the May 1997 Research Directorate Question and Answer Series Paper *Human Rights in Iran: Update on Selected Issues*.

### **Daftar-e Tahkim-e Vahdat (Office for Strengthening Unity—DTV)**

A student group that supports Khatami but is less outspoken than other student groups, according to the Student Movement Coordination Committee for Democracy in Iran (n.d.).

### **Law Enforcement Forces (LEF)**

A number of state security forces are referred to in the Chronology, including the police, anti-riot police and Intelligence Ministry security forces. For general information regarding the organization of Iranian domestic security forces please consult the May 1997 Research Directorate Question and Answer Series Paper *Human Rights in Iran: Update on Selected Issues*.

### **Revolutionary Guard (Sepah i Pasdaran)**

The Revolutionary Guard (Sepah i Pasdaran) is an autonomous branch of the Iranian armed forces. The reports cited in the Chronology indicate that from 12 July 1999, the Revolutionary Guard were among the forces countering the demonstrations. For general information regarding the Revolutionary Guard, please consult the May 1997 Research Directorate Question and Answer Series Paper *Human Rights in Iran: Update on Selected Issues*.

### **Supreme National Security Council (SNSC)**

A body established by Article 176 of the Constitution, which oversees all defence and security forces in Iran. The President presides over the SNSC; however, its decisions only take effect when confirmed by the Supreme Leader (Khamenei).

## **INTRODUCTION**

This Chronology provides detailed information regarding demonstrations in Tehran in July 1999, including, where possible: the dates, times, locations and size of the demonstrations, the extent to which onlookers became involved and were arrested, and shifts in government policy during this period. Information regarding student organizations and security forces is provided in the glossary; however, most references to the parties involved are ambiguous and some terms are used equivocally. Variations in the transliteration of Persian words, particularly proper names and places, are noted where possible. The spelling of place names on Map 1 has been adopted throughout the Chronology, with the spellings used by the sources noted parenthetically.

This Chronology updates and supplements information found in Response to Information Requests IRN34968.E of 10 August 2000, IRN34691.E of 11 July 2000, IRN34066.E of 29 March 2000, and IRN33350.E of 23 December 1999 and in the May 1997 Research Directorate Question and Answer Series Paper *Human Rights in Iran: Update on Selected Issues*. Brief notes on selected sources follow the Chronology. Please refer to the attached maps, which highlight places referred to in the Chronology.

## **CHRONOLOGY**

### **May–June 1999**

Conservative newspapers publish articles and complaints regarding student activities perceived as "violating the sanctities of Islam and the Islamic Republic" (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 18).

### **Wednesday 16 June 1999**

The Revolutionary Court detains Hesmotollah Tabarzadi and Hossein Kashani, editor and director

respectively of the reformist newspaper *Hoviat-i Khish*, for publishing "deceitful and offensive articles" leading the editors of the *Iran Daily* to speculate on the possibility of a restriction of press freedoms (*Iran Report* 12 July 1999).

### **Tuesday 6 July 1999**

The pro-reform newspaper *Salam* [also *Salaam*] publishes a memorandum written by a former Iranian intelligence officer calling for tougher press laws (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 18). The officer had been accused of masterminding the assassination of a number of opposition figures and later allegedly committed suicide in prison (*Iran Report* 12 July 1999).

A sit-in by students protesting the detention of *Hoviat-i Khish* editor Hesmotollah Tabarzadi in front of the United Nations building in Tehran leads to several arrests (*Iran Report* 12 July 2000; AI 9 July 1999).

### **Wednesday 7 July 1999**

The Iranian Parliament (Majles) approves a new, more restrictive press law; a complaint by the Intelligence Ministry leads to the closure of *Salam* by a religious court (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 18; *El Pais* 10 July 1999; BBC 11 July 1999).

### **Thursday 8 July 1999**

Approximately 200 students at Tehran University, most of them affiliated with the *Daftar-e Tahhim-e Vahdat* (DTV) Office for Strengthening Unity, begin a demonstration at 9:30 pm in front of their dormitories at the *Koo-ye Daaneshgah* in the Amirabad area of Tehran (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 19). The students leave the Amirabad dormitory compound and take their protest into Jalal Al Ahmad Avenue (*ibid.*). Local security forces order the students to return to their hostels and while many comply, some remain outside the dormitory compound (*ibid.*; see also *July Unrest* n.d., "Session Three").

### **Friday 9 July 1999**

At approximately 12:45 am, large groups of security forces led by the Acting Chief of the Tehran Police arrive at the Amirabad dormitories (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 19). The Director of the dormitory complex also arrives and tries to convince the Acting Chief to remove his forces (*ibid.*). Soon the dormitories are surrounded by "security forces (Niroohaaye Entezami), the anti riot police (yegaan-e Vizdeh) and some plain clothed individuals, whom were thought to be the Ansar [Ansar-e Hezbollah]" (*ibid.*; see also HRW 2000). In response to these developments, more students join those outside the compound as tensions increased (*ibid.*).

According to *Iran Report*, the DTV, described as "the main coalition of student groups" had organized the initial 8 July rally against the closure of *Salam* (19 July 1999). According to *El Pais*, IRNA, the state news agency, claims 500 students were involved in the actions of 9 July, while "the opposition" claims the involvement of 13,000 (10 July 1999). According to the lawyer who represented the interests of the student complainants in the subsequent trial of 20 members of the security forces accused of involvement in the attack, only 50 students remained outside when the attack was launched (*July Unrest* n.d., "Session 1").

The attack began at around 3:30 am when "an organized force of some 400 men – wearing uniforms of black trousers and white shirts and carrying distinctive blue batons – broke into the dormitories, systematically ransacked student rooms, and assaulted students indiscriminately" (*Wall Street Journal* 23 Sept. 1999). According to *Iran Report*, the attack "was either initiated by, or conducted with the assistance of the Ansar-i Hizbullah and University Basij, violent ultraconservative organizations" (12 July 1999). According to a report of the Investigative Committee of the Supreme National Security

Council (SNSC) cited in the *Journal of Iranian Research and Analysis*, there were "two kinds of 'plain-clothed individuals' at the scene, a group affiliated with the security forces and another 'from the known groups'" (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 19). One of the groups, according to the SNSC report, was NOPO, "Niroo haaye Vizheh ye Payro-e Velaayat (Special Forces Following the Supreme Leader)...a secretly trained force for special operations" (*ibid.*).

Several reports comment on the severity of the attack (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 19 20; Iran Press Service 9 July 1999; *Iran Report* 12 July 1999; *Wall Street Journal* 23 Sept. 1999; HRW 2000).

According to one account:

The attacks were massive, damages vast and casualties high. Students themselves were not the only targets. Rooms were searched, personal properties were destroyed, cash found in the rooms was taken and pictures and books were torn and/or burned. Ten buildings and 800 rooms were damaged. Windows of houses and cars in Kargar Shomaali Avenue were also broken. The injured were taken to Shariati and Imam Khomeini hospitals. According to an official in Shariati Hospital, most injured were transported to Security Forces' Hospital immediately. Iranian newspapers reported five people killed and dozens more wounded. Security forces denied the killing and claimed one death and three injured (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 19-20).

One "eyewitness account," reported by *The Iranian*, states that the greatest damage was done to the inner dormitories, singling out dorm "20" and Room 40 within that dorm as the most severely damaged (12 July 1999).

According to Human Rights Watch (HRW) *World Report 2000*, witnesses stated that at least four students were killed, 300 wounded and 400 arrested. *Iran Report*, citing a report by student leader Siamak Darvish stated that as of 10 July 1999 four people had been killed, 150 injured and 200 arrested (12 July 1999). Iran Press Service reported that there were at least four dead and over 200 wounded and, citing "unconfirmed reports," stated that there were more than 200 arrests of students and others including "neighbouring people who had come to protect the students" (9 July 1999). According to another report, "on that night, people in Amiraabaad area came to the protection of the students, joined them in their protest, and gave refuge to students running from police attacks" (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 21).

The Islamic Student Association of the University of Tehran calls a sit-in protest at the campus for 11:00 am (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 20). Various student groups wish to pursue different strategies: the DTV seeks to keep the protest on campus, but another group referred to as 'populists' wants to take to the streets, seeking to broaden the protest beyond the student population by involving the public at large (*ibid.*). According to *JIRA* "the former group stayed on campus and continued its protest [and] the latter group took to the streets. Thousands of students took to the streets to demand the dismissal of police chief Hedayat Loftian, the man behind most crackdowns of student protests in Iran" (*ibid.*).

According to AP, 1,000 students gather at the campus to show solidarity (14 July 1999). HRW states that the students demonstrate after the noon-time prayers, protesting against the dormitory attack and demanding an inquiry and the release of detained students (13 July 1999). HRW's *World Report 2000* adds that the "demonstration was broken up by hard-line enforcers associated with conservative leaders within the government, the Ansar-e Hezbollahi (Partisans of the Party of God), wielding clubs and chains while members of the security forces stood by or joined in the assault on the demonstrators" (*ibid.*).

By evening, the streets surrounding Tehran University are blocked by security forces (*Courrier International* 15-21 July 1999, 24). A number of senior government officials from the Khatami administration including Mostafa Tajzadeh, Political and Security Deputy (Vice Minister) in the Interior Ministry, the Minister of Higher Education, the Minister of Health and a Vice-Minister of Intelligence are at the campus, as is President Khatami's brother (ibid.). They plead with the students to return to the dormitories, warning them that their presence outside the complex could provide the security forces with a pretext to open fire (ibid.). According to AFP, the Interior Minister Abdol-Vahed Mussavi-Lari also visits the campus to talk to the demonstrators (13 July 1999d). Mostafa Tajzadeh stays with the students for the night as a gesture of reassurance and protection (*Wall Street Journal* 23 Sept. 1999; *Courrier International* 15-21 July 1999, 24).

### **Saturday 10 July 1999**

There are conflicting reports regarding the size of demonstrations on 10 July 2000. The *New York Times* reports that "more than 10,000 students" demonstrated, occasionally battling the police and blocking an unspecified main street near the campus (11 July 1999). According to the report, the rally consisted of a sit-in at the "main campus" and a march to the campus from "a dormitory complex several miles away" (ibid.). The students also reportedly clashed with Ansar-e Hezbollah members (ibid.). Two sources reported that there were about 25,000 demonstrators (AP 14 July 1999; *The Iran Brief* 8 Sept. 1999). BBC reports that police sealed off roads leading to the university dormitories where thousands of people had gathered to support the students (10 July 1999). According to the *Middle East Times*, 10,000 students protest, blocking a main road near the campus and march across Tehran to the interior ministry, joined by large numbers of by supporters (11 July 1999a).

The government, following a meeting of the SNSC, announces that two senior police officials have been fired and a third, Tehran police chief Hedayat Loftian, disciplined or reprimanded for the campus attack (*Keesing's* July 1999), despite the student's demand that Loftian be fired (ibid.; *JIRA* Nov. 1999, 20; ABC 11 July 2000; Iran Press Service 11 July 1999; AP 11 July 1999). The SNSC also issues a statement condemning the attack (*Middle East Times* 11 July 1999b).

The Chancellor of Tehran University resigns (AP 11 July 1999). Higher Education Minister Mostafa Moin also resigns in protest, however, President Khatami refuses to accept his resignation (AFP 13 July 1999d; *Middle East Times* 11 July 1999b).

At night, according to the *Middle East Times*, students post sentries at the dormitory gates and erect roadblocks in surrounding streets and receive food and supplies from neighbourhood residents (11 July 1999a).

### **Sunday 11 July 2000**

At a march, students reportedly cover their faces to avoid retaliation (*Iran Report* 12 July 1999; ABC 11 July 1999). According to AFP, 20,000 students are involved (13 July 1999d), although AP claims the number is 10,000 (14 July 1999) and the *New York Times* puts the figure at 15,000 (12 July 1999).

According to the *New York Times*, demonstrators abandon their original plan to march on the city centre (ibid.). ABC reports that students blockade the "main road" leading to the dormitory for the second day (11 July 1999). According to Iran Press Service the students are joined by "ordinary people [with] shopkeepers closing their stores, others providing demonstrators with food and cold water, motorists honking their horns and putting on their lights..." (11 July 2000).

The Interior Ministry warns that "unlicensed demonstrations" will not be permitted (*Iran Report* 19 July 1999).

According to the *New York Times*, the SNSC releases a statement, broadcast on Iranian television, that it has ordered the dismissal and prosecution of police chief Loftian and his aide, that seven "Islamic vigilantes" had been arrested for the dormitory attack and that the 200 students arrested following the dormitory attack had been released (12 July 1999). However, according to several reports it is another security official, General Ahmadi and his deputy, not Loftian, that are named by the SNSC (ABC 11 July 1999; AP 11 July 1999; BBC 11 July 1999a).

The head of the Islamic Propagation Organization, who is also Khamenei's representative at Tehran University, condemns the dormitory attack (*Tehran Times* 11 July 1999).

Two unnamed "liberal" newspapers announce their intention to suspend publication on 13 July in support of *Salam* (*New York Times* 12 July 1999). According to Iran Press Service a statement signed by 583 journalists vows similar action (11 July 2000).

### **Monday 12 July 1999**

Khatami makes a televised statement calling on students "to respect law and order" as further chaos will work against the reform agenda (*Keesing's* July 1999; ABC 12 July 1999). Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei condemns police violence calling the 9 July Amirabad dormitory attack "a bitter and unacceptable incident" (AP 14 July 1999; AFP 13 July 1999a; *Iran Report* 19 July 1999; *JIRA* Nov. 1999, 20-21).

*Iran Report*, citing Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA), claims that the police are being supported by the Revolutionary Guards Corps (19 July 1999).

"Riot police and Islamic militias" armed with tear gas and batons clash with demonstrators in the area of the Tehran University campus (AFP 13 July 1999d). According to AP, 5,000 students stage a sit-in at Tehran University and in another incident "10,000 demonstrators clash with police in Tehran" with several arrests (14 July 1999). AFP reports that between 10,000 and 15,000 demonstrators rally on campus, while on surrounding streets "students, residents and passersby" battle against police and "volunteer Islamic militiamen" (13 July 1999a).

Students barricaded inside the university campus are flushed out by tear gas as "anti-riot police" attack the Amirabad dormitories again, arresting about 50 people (AFP 13 July 1999a). According to *Iran Report*, the clashes between the students and the Ansar-e Hezbollah and police at the university occurs in the evening, with many casualties (19 July 1999). ABC, citing Reuters, reports that tear gas is used against the students as they defend positions near the main dormitory complex (12 July 1999). According to the report, about 50 injured students take shelter in the campus mosque and receive first aid from medical students (*ibid.*; see also *New York Times* 13 July 1999). Ultimately, the Ansar-e Hezbollah lure some students out of the complex to defend the gates, following which the police move in and the students flee, having been told to retreat via the north gates (ABC 12 July 1999). However, members of Ansar-e Hezbollah attack those leaving the university (*ibid.*). The "vigilantes," who arrive on government owned buses, use cables, chains and batons to drive the students out of the campus and prevent them from holding a planned all-night sit-in (*New York Times* 13 July 1999).

A CNN report also states that 5,000 students are involved in a sit-in at the university and end the protest in the evening, leaving the campus (12 July 2000). However, the report also refers to violence in the neighbourhoods surrounding the dormitories, and to an attack on a group of women by "religious hard-liners" because of the way the women were dressed (*ibid.*). The report further states, citing IRNA, that the violence erupts after a small explosion, possibly caused by a firecracker, occurs outside the university gate (*ibid.*).

The *New York Times* also reports that students are rounded up by "uniformed and plainclothes security police and anti-riot police" in Vali-ye Asr Square [various spellings] after two police cars and a motorcycle are set ablaze (13 July 1999). Police move among people in the square "arresting suspicious-looking young people" as shopkeepers, fearful of looting, closed for the day (ibid.). AFP also refers to clashes in Vali-ye Asr Square, claiming that members of the police and Revolutionary Guard clashed with about 2,000 demonstrators leading to at least 12 injuries and 20 arrests, and that a police car had been set on fire (13 July 1999a). Amnesty International reports that tear gas is used extensively in Vali-ye Asr Square, and adds that local residents join students in the demonstration (13 July 1999).

According to the *Tehran Times*, the clashes in Vali ye Asr Square last only an hour in which there are no injuries (13 July 1999a).

AFP reports that police and demonstrators also clash on Enqelab-e Eslami Avenue [also Enghelab] which is closed to traffic (13 July 1999a).

At the university campus, a stream of students speak at a "makeshift dais" explaining their views and repeat their demands: declaration of a day of mourning for the students killed in the dormitory attack; a public trial for the attackers and those who ordered the attack and the return of the bodies of the dead students (*New York Times* 13 July 1999). Some students express suspicion about the origin of the dais, suspecting that it may be a police trap and also express fear regarding the possible influence of infiltrators (ibid.).

The Governor of Tehran, through the official IRNA news agency, announces an official ban on all demonstrations (Iran Press Service 13 July 1999; AFP 13 July 1999a; CNN 12 July 1999). Both Khamenei and Khatami issue statements warning against enemy plots and infiltrators and call for an end to illegal demonstrations (*Tehran Times* 13 July 1999b).

The Organization for Islamic Propagation calls for a mass demonstration in support of the régime to take place at the university on 14 July 1999 (AFP 13 July 1999a).

An Interior Ministry spokesman warns students against infiltrators who deliberately create chaos (*Tehran Times* 12 July 1999). According to HRW, the demonstrations of 12 and 13 July are fundamentally different from those in the preceding days, as they are now characterized by "looting and vandalism" (2000). HRW states that there is speculation that this shift is the responsibility of "state-backed agent-provocateurs" with the intention of discrediting the students (ibid.).

### **Tuesday 13 July 1999**

According to the *Economist*, the demonstrations "took a more violent turn on July 13th, when some of the students, deeply dissatisfied with the official response, tried to storm the Ministry of the Interior, the perceived seat of their troubles" (17 July 1999). According to the report, Tehran is chaotic as students battle the police and the Basij, with many students arrested. According to the report, the students faced "automatic gunfire and lethal blows from baton-wielding Islamist vigilantes buzzing around on motorcycles" (ibid.). Similarly, according to another report, the demonstrations up to 12 July have been a "spontaneous reaction to the [dormitory] attack," however, from this date forward "events enter into a different mode" as the conservative forces prepare to regain the offensive (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 20 21).

According to Iran Press Service, demonstrators face Law Enforcement Forces (LEF), Intelligence Ministry security forces, and as many as 50,000 "Islamic militia ... brought overnight to Tehran from

other towns" (13 July 1999). CNN claims that club wielding members of Ansar-e Hezbollah "formed human chains Tuesday at key junctions at busy downtown districts to prevent more pro-Khatami demonstrations" (13 July 1999).

AP states that at least 10,000 are involved in the demonstrations and that protestors are cleared from the area in front of the university, but quickly regroup, with hundreds of students moving south to the commercial district and 1,000 gathering to the north of the campus (13 July 1999). AFP reports that 2,000 3,000 students are gathered outside the main gates in the morning and clash with anti-riot police after refusing to heed warnings broadcast by loudspeaker from a police helicopter hovering above the demonstration (13 July 1999e). After the students ignore an order to disperse, the police fire tear gas and demonstrators clash with a force composed of approximately 100 police, members of the Revolutionary Guard and the Basij (ibid. 13 July 1999b).

The university gates, destroyed on 12 July, have been repaired, preventing students from re-entering the campus (ibid.). However, the *Tehran Times* reports that large numbers of students continued a sit-in on or in front of the campus, gathering at 10:00 am (13 July 1999a). The *Tehran Times* also reports that the Tehran University Student Basij Department had called for a gathering at 5:00 pm in front of the university and that "15 political groupings" had called for a gathering at 4:00 pm, also at the university (ibid.).

There are demonstrations scattered throughout Tehran, including downtown Tehran, where demonstrators try to occupy the offices of two conservative newspapers (Iran Press Service 13 July 1999). According to the *Tehran Times*, the incidents occur at the offices of *Jomhuri Eslami* on Sa'di Street and *Kayhan* on Ferdowsi Street (14 July 1999).

According to Iran Press Service, demonstrators in the bazaar, "traditionally a conservative stronghold," number in the thousands "thanks to ordinary population of both sexes" (13 July 1999). The report also states that a crowd of over 2,000 demonstrate outside the Intelligence Ministry (ibid.). The bazaar closes in the afternoon, as do banks, offices and petrol stations (AFP 13 July 1999b; *New York Times* 14 July 1999). An AFP report states that three banks and two buses are set ablaze and a mosque is vandalized in the bazaar district (13 July 1999c). Security forces are deployed around government buildings after protesters attack a building used by the judiciary (ibid.). According to the report, hundreds of demonstrators are arrested, many by "militiamen" rather than by police (ibid.). CNN cites Tehran radio as reporting that "a significant number" have been arrested, and also cites eyewitnesses who claim that "scores" have been taken away in police trucks (13 July 1999).

According to Amnesty International, Manuchehr Mohammadi [various spellings] and Gholamreza Mohajeri-Nezhad [various spellings], both of the National Association of Students and Graduates (Anjoman-e Daneshjuyan va Daneshamukhtegan Melli) are arrested (20 July 1999a). Also arrested is Maryam Shansi "a student activist and member of the *Jonbesh-e Demokratik-e Melli-ye Iran* (National Democratic Movement of Iran)" (ibid.) and at least three other activists (ibid. 20 July 1999b).

Two "eyewitness accounts" published by *The Iranian* provide details of the events on 13 July (13 July 1999). According to the first account, at 12:00 pm two major groups of demonstrators were on the east and west side of the university with "young people" gathered in the side streets off Enqelab-e Eslami Avenue [Enghelab Street] facing riot police who appear to have been caught off-guard. A large number of riot-police wearing dark green are seen near the "Vesal encampment." Enqelab-e Eslami Avenue and "the university street" are described as approachable and the entrance to the dormitory is said to be quiet. The DTV ask the students to remain on campus as Ansar-e Hezbollah members patrol the neighbouring streets (ibid.). The role of the DTV in attempting to keep the students inside and avoid

open conflict with the police, Ansar-e Hezbollah and Basij forces is also pointed out by Ali Akbar Mahdi in *JIRA* (Nov. 1999, 21).

The second eyewitness account, which does not indicate the time of day, states that Enqelab-e Eslami Avenue is under the control of riot police and vigilantes. Vali-ye Asr "junction" is under the control of the "whiteshirts" – vigilantes –with no police in sight. Halfway along Vali-ye Asr Street in the direction of Vali-ye Asr Square "riot police can be seen forming a line" and a police "encarceration (sic) truck" is being used by the "whiteshirts." Vigilantes similarly control Vali-ye Asr Square, with the report describing a half hearted and unsuccessful attempt by police to prevent a vigilante attack on a young man. On Keshavarz Boulevard, "a riot police truck is seen unleashing a special unit." On Shanzdah-e Azar [16th of Azar Street], according to the account, "the riot police have cordoned off the university periphery" although things are quieter in the area (*The Iranian* 13 July 1999).

According to *Iran Report*, vigilante violence is also directed at the reformist media who are prevented from recording the clashes, with reporters detained and film and notes confiscated (19 July 1999). The report states that some "were threatened and had to take shelter in private homes" (ibid.).

AFP also reports violence on Vali-ye Asr Avenue, near the headquarters of the official IRNA news agency (13 July 1999b).

Khatami issues a statement "disowning" the demonstrators, stating that continued defiance of the ban on demonstrations was an attack on the foundations of the régime (Keesings July 1999; AFP 13 July 1999b). According to Iran Press Service, the effect of Khatami's statement on the students is to return them to the streets where they rejoin battles with "Law Enforcement Forces (LEF), Intelligence Ministry's special Anti-Riot Units and thousands of members of the conservative-backed Ansar-e Hezbollah" (13 July 1999). Many are wounded in the violence (ibid.).

Khatami's statement is also seen as a shift, an attempt to preserve the reform position by distancing it from the demonstrators (Iran Press Service 13 July 1999; *Economist* 17 July 1999; *New York Times* 14 July 1999; *Keesing's* July 1999). Another shift is seen in the "tone" of the official news agency, which becomes far more critical of the demonstrators (*New York Times* 14 July 1999).

Khamenei issues a statement on Tuesday night containing a warning that "officials in the government, especially those in charge of public security, have been emphatically instructed to put down the corrupt and warring elements" (*Tehran Times* 15 July 1999a). Khamenei also issues a call to the Basij, stating: "My Basiji children in particular should maintain their full alertness and through their presence in every needed scene terrify and crush down the wicked enemies" (ibid.).

Late Tuesday, according to CNN, the streets are deserted but for police and vigilantes patrolling with automatic weapons (13 July 1999).

### **Wednesday 14 July 1999**

"Tens of thousands of supporters of Khamenei" rally in Tehran in a demonstration called by the Organization for Islamic Propagation (*Keesing's* July 1999). Reports characterize the demonstration as the régime's counterattack, claiming that the demonstrators include tens of thousands government employees who have been brought to Tehran by bus (*The Iran Brief* 8 Sept. 1999; *JIRA* Nov. 1999, 22).

According to AP, 100,000 attend the rally (14 July 1999; ibid. 15 July 1999). BBC reports that "hundreds of thousands of supporters of Iran's hardline Islamic rulers reclaimed the streets of the capital from the reform movement" (15 July 1999a). AP also cites a report in the *Neshat* daily that an unknown number of students at the rally were beaten, tied-up and taken away by "militant supporters

of the hard-liners" (15 July 1999). One report states that "the Khatami administration, his reformist supporters and even the DTV felt bound" to attend the rally (*JIRA* Nov. 1999, 22). However, the report continues, "many Khatami supporters who showed up at the rally were identified and beaten up" (*ibid.*).

According to the *Tehran Times*, the areas affected by the rally include Tehran University, Kargar Shomali Avenue (the main road leading to the campus from the dormitories) and Enqelab-e Eslami Avenue, which also leads to the university (15 July 1999b).

The Secretary of the SNSC and Deputy Speaker of Parliament, Hasan Rowhani, addresses the rally, vowing to punish those involved in the "riots" of the preceding days, and characterizes their crimes as sabotage (*Iran Report* 19 July 1999; BBC 15 July 1999a), an offence carrying the death penalty in Iran (*ibid.*).

Mobile telephone service, which has been used extensively by demonstrators, is cut off in Tehran for the day (*Iran Report* 19 July 1999).

According to HRW, three leaders of the opposition Iran Nation Party are arrested at their homes (19 July 2000).

ITAR-TASS reports that high school students have also joined in the protests of university students during the preceding week (14 July 1999).

#### **Thursday 15 July 1999**

AP reports that the area surrounding Tehran University is calm for the first time since July 9 (15 July 1999). The university dormitories are virtually empty and the Tehran University Student Council announces the decision to temporarily suspend further demonstrations (*The Scotsman* 16 July 1999; BBC 15 July 1999a; *Los Angeles Times* 16 July 1999;). According to *Mideast Mirror*, citing IRNA, the suspension, called by "the main pro-Khatami student organization" was to last until Saturday to provide time for negotiations on the students' demands: (1) dismissal of Loftian; (2) transfer of control of the police to the Interior Ministry; (3) dismissal of Ansar-e Hezbollah members from security forces and the military; (4) public trial of those responsible for the dormitory attack; (5) return of the bodies of the students killed in the dormitory attack; (6) a formal apology for the dormitory attack; (7) lifting of the ban on *Salam* (16 July 1999).

According to *The Scotsman*, newspapers in Tehran report that protesters who were detained have been taken by bus to Evin and Eshrat Abad prisons (16 July 1999).

Security forces, including the Revolutionary Guard and Basij are placed on alert and deployed in "sensitive" areas of Tehran (BBC 15 July 1999a; *The Scotsman* 16 July 1999), including Tehran University" (BBC 15 July 1999a).

#### **Friday 16 July 1999**

In London, the banned opposition group, Mujahideen Khalq, issues a statement claiming that more than 10,000 have been arrested with at least 12 busloads of detained protesters taken to Evin prison (*The Scotsman* 16 July 1999).

Tehran is reportedly quiet as security forces continue to control the streets (*Mideast Mirror* 16 July 1999; *Los Angeles Times* 16 July 1999).

#### **Saturday 17 July 1999**

A group of 25 student leaders from 11 universities in the Tehran area, calling themselves the "Select

Council of Sit-In Students" (*New York Times* 18 July 1999) or "Elected Council of Student Protesters" (AFP 17 July 1999) announce a temporary end to demonstrations but reiterate earlier demands in a statement to news organizations. The group also claims that 1,400 students and others have been arrested (*ibid.*).

Roadblocks manned by Intelligence Ministry officers and vigilantes are set up in Tehran as suspected students and protestors are arrested (*The Iran Brief* 8 Sept. 1999).

### **Sunday 18 July 1999**

The Ministry of Intelligence announces the arrest of "the head of the National Association of Iranian Students, Manoucher Mohammadi, and his deputy, Qolamreza Mahjери-Nezhad" (*The Iran Brief* 8 Sept. 1999; Iran Press Service 18 July 1999). Amnesty International had reported their arrest on 13 July 1999 (see entry for 13 July 1999, above).

### **Postscript**

According to Amnesty International, Mohammadi was sentenced to 13 years in prison (4 Nov. 1999). Amnesty International also reported that Mohajeri-Nezhad was reportedly released, "possibly on bail", in November 1999 (2000). He subsequently left Iran in May 2000 (SMCCDI 5 July 2000; IPS 7 July 2000). For detailed information on the arrests, trials and sentencing of persons involved or suspected of involvement in the July 1999 demonstrations, please consult Response to Information Request IRN34066.E of 29 March 2000. For further information on the sentencing of Mohammadi, please consult IRN33350.E of 23 December 1999.

## **NOTES ON SELECTED SOURCES**

### **Iran Press Service.**

According to their Website, this Paris-based service "is a fully independent and private news gathering and disseminating service."

### **Iran Report.**

*Iran Report* is "A review of developments in Iran prepared by the regional specialists of RFE/RL's Newline team." RFE/RL (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty) "is a private non-profit organization funded by the U.S. Congress. RFE/RL receives its funds as a grant for U.S. non-military international broadcasting from the presidentially-appointed Broadcasting Board of Governors" (12 July 1999).

### **The Iranian.**

According to their Website, *The Iranian* "is an independent bimonthly magazine, free from political or religious affiliations." The publisher, Jahanshah Javid, is based in Berkeley, California.

### **July Unrest**

Accounts of the trials of the police accused of involvement in the dormitory attack are available online. According to the Iranmania.com Website: "On the 26th of April 2000, IranMania viewers conducted an interview with Dr Mohsen Rahami, lawyer of Abdollah Nuri and also lawyer of the students attacked during the raid on Tehran University's dormitory in July last year. It was decided during the meeting to cover the July unrest court case and thus, with the help of Dr Rahami, IranMania transcribed and translated all 15 sessions of the trial." Iranmania.com is "an Internet portal for anyone interested in things Iranian or Persian. It provides a gateway to Iran's culture, business, history, sports, media, government, tourism, art, literature, film, music, etc. Its specialised web page, image and email searchable directories provide a robust way of learning about all aspects of modern Iran and ancient Persia. It also has live news feeds which enable it to display Iran related news as it breaks usually

before any TV or radio station has yet broadcast it."

***Journal of Iranian Research and Analysis (JIRA)*. November 1999. Mahdi, Ali Akbar. "The Student Movement in the Islamic Republic of Iran."**

According to the Website of Ohio Wesleyan University, where Dr. Mahdi is the Chair of Sociology: "His research interests include political economy of change, gender, race, and development. His regional focus is on the Middle East. Dr. Mahdi's books include *Sociology in Iran* (co-authored with Abdolali Lahsaizadeh), *Sociology of the Iranian Family*, *Resources for Teaching Sociology of Development and Women in International Development and Iranian Culture*, *Civil Society, and Concern for Democracy*. He has also authored numerous articles and reviews on topics ranging from sociology of knowledge to the political economy of Iran and Islam in various sociological and Middle Eastern scholarly journals."

***Tehran Times*. [*Teheran Times*]**

According to *The World's News Media: A Comprehensive Reference Guide*, "the English *Tehran Times* has a small circulation but is influential as the voice of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (1991, 238).

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