



*In the Name of Allah,
the Compassionate, the Merciful*

PITHY APHORISMS

Wise Sayings and Counsels

Imam Khomeini

**The Institute for Compilation and Publication
of Imam Khomeini's Works
(International Affairs Department)**



Pithy Aphorisms: Wise Saying and Counsels

Publisher: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works
(International Affairs Department)

Editor: Mansoor Limba

Fourth Edition: 2008

Copies: 1500

Price: 26,000 Rls

Address: No. 5 Sudeh Alley, Yaser Street, Bahonar Avenue, Jamaran,
P.C. 19778, P.O. Box 19575/614, Tehran, Islamic Republic of Iran

Tel: (0098-21) 22283138, 22290191-5

Fax: (0098-21) 22290478

E-mail: international-dept@imam-khomeini.ir

کتاب "کلمات قصار: پندها و حکمتها" به زبان انگلیسی

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Transliteration Symbols

| <i>Symbol</i> | <i>Transliteration</i> |
|---------------|------------------------|
| ا, ء | a |
| ب | b |
| ت | t |
| ث | th |
| ج | j |
| ح | h |
| خ | kh |
| د | d |
| ذ | dh |
| ر | r |
| ز | z |
| س | s |
| ش | sh |
| ص | s |
| ض | d |
| ط | t |
| ظ | z |
| ع | |
| غ | gh |
| ف | f |
| ق | q |
| ك | k |
| ل | l |
| م | m |
| ن | n |
| و | w |
| ه | h |
| ي | y |
| ة | ah |

Long Vowels

| <i>Symbol</i> | <i>Transliteration</i> |
|---------------|------------------------|
| آ, ا | a, A |
| ای | i, I |
| او | u, U |

Short Vowels

| <i>Symbol</i> | <i>Transliteration</i> |
|---------------|------------------------|
| ا | a |
| اِ | i |
| اُ | u |

Persian Letters

| <i>Symbol</i> | <i>Transliteration</i> |
|---------------|------------------------|
| پ | p |
| چ | ch |
| ژ | zh |
| گ | g |

Preface to the Second Edition

The present volume is the second edition of *Pithy Aphorisms: Wise Sayings and Counsels*, a collection of Imam Khomeini's selected brief quotations on various issues and subjects, which was first published exactly a decade ago (Summer 1994) by this Institute.

This edition is expected to be an improvement of the earlier one for (1) correcting the considerable amount of typographical errors existing in the first edition, (2) modifying the grammatical and structural substance of the quotations, (3) having been typeset anew while observing the standard transliteration symbols of Arabic and Persian terms, and for (3) providing additional and/or modified notes with their pertinent Internet sources, in case there are, on some passages and terms in the text.

For the past decade, many comments and views on the alleged irrelevance of some quotations and even sections of the book for the foreign readers have been verbally expressed to this Department of the Institute. In this edition, however, it is decided upon not to have any abridgment of it as the written feedback of the English readers themselves concerning this alleged need for abridgment is highly sought and needed for any pertinent decision to be made in the future.

Footnotes provided by the editor to facilitate better understanding of some terms and passages for the English readers are indicated by the sign, "[Ed.]" at the end. Yet, it is needless to say that he has modified some footnotes as well.

The efforts of Leilali Amil in assisting the editor typesetting this book and proofreading the final draft before submitting it to the Institute for publication deserve acknowledgment.

The dear readers are kindly requested to share to us their ideas and insights for any possible further qualitative enrichment of this book as well as all the other publications of the Institute.

International Affairs Department
The Institute for Compilation and Publication of
Imam Khomeini's Works

July 25, 2004

Jumadi th-Thani 7, 1425 AH

Mordad 4, 1383 AHS

Preface to the First Edition

“By the bank of Kawthar, with lips parched by thirst.

By the side of the Beloved with a heart aflame by longing!”

The present collection is but a draught off the affluent stream of written and spoken words of wisdom of the sage of all times, His Eminence Imam Khomeini (r).¹ It is sweet nectar that quenches the thirst of the spiritual wafarers and provides guidance to those who follow the path of his divine revolution.

Pithy Aphorisms: Wise Sayings and Counsels is a compendium of the written and spoken words of a great man, who more than anybody else, testified to the justness of his own cause by his presence on the scene of action. All those who witnessed the movement of this divine spirit from its inception until his ascension and all those who had met him in his celestial presence have testified that no words ever uttered by his lips or scribed by his pen, which he did not believe or practice wholeheartedly.

Imam Khomeini had comprehended and experienced, when still young, the secrets of philosophy, the mysteries of gnosticism, and the blessings of jurisprudence and its principles, and other Islamic sciences on highest levels and standards. He has left glimpses of these divine insights in his invaluable works such as the *Misbah al-Hidayah* [Lantern of Guidance], *Sirr al-Salat* [The Secret of the Prayer], *Adab as-Salat* [The Disciplines of the Prayer],² *Sharh-e Chehel Hadith* (Forty *Hadiths*: An Exposition of Ethical and

¹ The abbreviation, “r” stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *rahmatullah alayhi, rahmatullah alayha*, or *rahmatullah alayhim* [may peace be upon him/her/them], which is used after the names of pious people. [Ed.]

² *Adab as-Salat* [The Disciplines of the Prayer], 2nd printing (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini’s Works, 2002). [Ed.]

Mystical Traditions),¹ and in many of his other works on jurisprudence and its principles, and ethics.² Imam Khomeini spoke to the *ummah*³ in the manner of the Holy Quran and the Sunnah. His speech was simple, popular and replete with veracity and purity. This, as a matter of fact, was the secret behind the deep-penetrating and wondrous effect of the Imam's words and messages, which aroused the peoples' natural dispositions, and moved and mobilized them, in waves, to face all dangers.

And now, thanks to God, twenty-five years after the departure⁴ of that sublime spirit, we witness that all over the Muslim lands his lofty ideals serve as the source on which are based the activities of the Islamic movements. Waves of Islamism as an undeniable reality in the world have happened—a reality that has frightened the chiefs of *kufir* [unbelief] to which they humbly acknowledge.

Now, on the 25th anniversary of the demise of the Imam of the *mujahidin* [those who struggle in the way of Allah] and the *muqtada* [leader, someone who is followed or imitated] of the gnostics—in memory of an Imam whose blessed hands are a token of the rightfulness of *wilayah* [guardianship] and the graciousness of *imamah* [leadership]; who responded to our sensational feelings; through whose divine and charming words eased hardships, relieved the pains, and reassured the hearts; and who called upon us to be firm and steadfast in treading the divine path—we offer the present compendium to those who traverse his path. It is hoped that through a fresh review of his thoughts and guidelines, they will find solace to their distress of separation and sorrow of isolation, will benefit from the fountainhead of his knowledge, and will ensure the safety of continuing the path of the revolution by applying the teachings of His Eminence, God willing.

The contents of this collection are selected phrases from the text of Imam Khomeini's statements, messages and writings arranged in various religious,

¹ *Forty Hadiths: An Exposition of Ethical and Mystical Traditions* (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, 2003). [Ed.]

² Imam Khomeini has, in addition to the above mentioned books, written numerous volumes and articles in relation to jurisprudence, philosophy, gnosticism, and ethics. His collection of mystical poetry entitled, *Divan-e Imam*, has been published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works. From that noble soul we have at our disposal 1,026 speeches, 319 messages, 203 letters, 118 interviews, and 197 decrees (as of the first edition of this book) some of which have been published in series like the *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22 volumes), *Kauthar* (3 volumes), and *Sahifeh-ye Imam* (22 volumes).

³ *Ummah*: the entire Islamic community without territorial or ethnic distinction. [Ed.]

⁴ Imam Khomeini passed away on the night of June 3, 1989 (Khordad 13, 1368 AHS/Shawwal 28, 1409 AH).

Preface

educational, political, social, and other topics and subjects, and divided into four parts. In a bid to maintain faithfulness to the original text, in numerous instances where completion of a sentence has required the insertion of a letter or word, this has been done within brackets “[]” and in rare instances where a replacement word has been selected the original version has been indicated in the footnotes.

International Affairs Department
**The Institute for Compilation and Publication of
Imam Khomeini’s Works**

Part One

Chapter 1

Theology and Servitude

- Only God, the Exalted, is the light; everything else is darkness.
- We all belong to God; the whole universe belongs to God, a manifestation of God, and unto Him all shall return.
- The entire purposes of the prophets converge on one word and that is: the knowledge of God [*marifatullah*].
- The essential purpose of revelation is to develop divine knowledge in man.
- Most of the wailings of the *awliya*¹ is caused by the pain of separation and detachment from the Beloved and His Generosity.
- All the excellences achieved by the prophets and *awliya* are by detachment from all that is not of God and by attachment to Him.

¹ The word *awliya* has been retained here because of the depth of its meaning. Normally translated as helpers, friends, guardians, and administrators, Ḥamid Algar in his book *Islam and Revolution*, p. 361, n. 2, informs us that the word *awliya* also refers to those who possess the quality of intrinsic *wilayah* i.e. governance. In Shiah belief, they are the foremost among the prophets and the Twelve Imams who succeeded Prophet Muhammad (s). The word *awliya* indicates primarily their spiritual rank, whereas the word Imam designates their function of leadership. According to some theologians, the *awliya* are those whose belief is sound, who perform their religious duties and who as a result have attained proximity to God. In the general sense that can be deduced from the Quran, 10:62-63: “*Verily the friends [awliya] of God—those who believe and guard against evil—shall suffer no fear nor shall they grieve,*” it means “friends.” [Ed.]

- That which admits man to God's Threshold is his separation from all that is not of God—a thing which is not attainable by all.
- Link yourselves up to this ocean—the ocean of divinity, the ocean of prophethood, and the ocean of the Holy Quran.
- Know that gratitude for the open and concealed blessings of God, the Exalted, is one of the necessary duties of servitude and devotion that must be performed by all, each according to his ability, even though no creature is able to offer due thanks unto God, the Exalted.
- Evidently, adoration, worship and sanctification of God require knowledge and awareness of His Most Exalted Station as well as the Attributes of His Glory and Grandeur; without due knowledge and awareness, these cannot be fulfilled.
- Rules of servitude [*adab al-ubudiyyah*] imply that no power is to be recognized except that of God and none is to be adored but God and His Divine Saints [*awliya*].
- The essence of praise accrues to none but God; your praise of a rose or an apple is [in essence] praise of God.
- Be certain that if your actions are not rooted in divinity [*uluhiyyah*] and you abandon Islamic unity, you will surely be humiliated.
- [If] you have divine motives, material benefits will follow suit but they are no longer material; they have become divine.
- Distinguishing the divine criterion from the satanic one is attained after referring to the inner-self and when one realizes that what matters is the action and not the doer.
- You were invigorated by mindfulness of God, migration from oneself to God—which is the greatest migration—migration from ego to the truth, and from this world to the unseen world.

- Next to trusting in God, trust and rely on your own strength which is [also] from Him.
- Fear none, I advise you, save God and count on none but Him, the Blessed and Exalted!
- Paying attention to other than God shall enshroud man with the veils of darkness and light [*hijabha-ye zulmani va nurani*].¹
- Negligence of God increases the indignation of the heart, gives the ego and Satan domination over man, and increases corruption in him daily. [On the contrary,] mindfulness and remembrance of God bestows serenity on the heart, burnishes it and makes it a mirror reflecting the Beloved. It purges and purifies the soul and saves man from the bondage of ego.
- And be it known that no fire is more painful than the fire of God's wrath.
- Just as it is incumbent upon us to guard ourselves [against evil] and bring ourselves from darkness to light, so it is incumbent upon us to invite others to do the same.
- Study your lessons for the sake of God.
- If man rises up for carnal passions [*shahawat an-nafsaniyyah*] and not for God, this action of him will lead to nowhere; this action of him will be futile. Anything that is not for the sake of God cannot last.
- There is God, so do not be neglectful of Him! God is present; we are all under His surveillance!
- Make your purpose a divine purpose; let your steps be taken for God.

¹ This is related to the following *hadith*: "Verily, for God there are a seventy thousand veils of light and darkness." Al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 55, "*kitab as-sama wal-alam*," *bab* 5, *hadith* 13, p. 25. For further information, see Imam Khomeini, *Forty Hadiths: An Exposition of Ethical and Mystical Traditions*, trans. ali Quli Qarai and Mahliqah Qarai (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, 2003), particularly *hadith* 34: The Station of the Faithful Before God, pp. 573-589. [Ed.]

- The entire world is God's Presence, whatever takes place, takes place in the Presence of God.
- Always be aware that all your actions are [done] in the Presence of God— all your actions! The eyes that wink are in the Presence of God; the tongues that speak are in the Presence of God; and the hands that act are in the Presence of God. And tomorrow, we must answer [for them all].
- All of us are [now] in the Presence of God, and all of us shall die [one day].
- Whisper to your heart that everything you do is done in the Presence of God.
- Apprise your veiled and drooping hearts that the universe, from the highest heavens [*ala al-illyyin*] to the lowest in hell [*asfal as-safilin*], is a manifestation of God, the Blessed and Exalted, and all are in the threshold of His Power.
- The blessings of God are a trial and test for His servants.
- That which pulls men out of wavering is remembrance of God.
- Pay heed to God so that the (people's) hearts become attentive to you.
- The exterior of action is not the criterion; that which is the criterion is the motive behind the action.
- There is no responsible person in the world that is not tested and tried by God.
- The status and position one holds and any responsibility he has, are [considered] the test and trial for him.
- In Islam the criterion is the pleasure of God, and not that of individuals. We evaluate individuals by means of the truth, and not the truth by means of individuals. The criterion is the truth and fact.
- We should set the divine criteria as the [accepted] criteria.

- O nation, wake up! O government, wake up! Everybody wake up! You are all in the Presence of God. Tomorrow (in the next world), you will be called to account. Do not ignore the blood of our martyrs, and do not quarrel over position or status.
- The universe is God's Presence; do not commit sin in His presence. Do not quarrel with one another over futile and fleeting matters in His Presence. Work for God's sake and keep it up.
- Right now, we are all put under tests and trials.
- One may conceal a thing from all mortal eyes but everything about us is preserved with God and He returns the result of our deeds to us.
- Rely on God. This reliance on God, by His will, will solve all problems.
- All of our divine duties are blessings of God [bestowed upon us], but we consider them as obligations (i.e., as burdens).
- We must all be servants of God (i.e., be obedient to Him) and know that everything is from Him.
- God, the Blessed and Exalted, has granted us all His blessings and we must spend in His path the things He has granted.
- We are all from God and we must all be at His service.
- That which eases calamities is the fact that all are departing mortals. All of us will pass away; so, it is better to be sacrificed in His path.
- All that we own belongs to God, and we must spend all we have for His sake.

The Prophets of God

- The prophets came to put these potential forces [of man] to work, to render man's potentials active.
- The prophets, from the first up to the last, made every effort to invite this creature (man) to the straight path and make him tread it.
- The prophetic mission aims at saving the people's conducts, souls and bodies from darkness; to remove all darkness and replace it with light.
- The prophets came to call people out of darkness into light.
- The prophetic mission created a scientific-gnostic change in the world that converted the insipid Greek philosophies, which were formulated with all their past and present worth by the Greeks themselves into an objective mysticism and a veritable intuitive perception for masters of divine insight.
- That which the prophets wanted was to make all features of life, the entire dimensions of the universe and man—this essence of being—as divine.
- The blessing of the appearance of the Noble Prophet is a blessing which is matchless throughout the world from the beginning of creation to the end (of time) and none like it will ever appear again.
- The *Zillullah*¹ is the Great Prophet who is nothing of himself, but revelation.
- Peace and salutations of God, the Exalted, be upon Hadrat² Isa ibn Maryam (Jesus, the son of Mary), the Spirit of Allah and His great prophet who revived the dead and awakened the slumbering ones. Peace and salutations of God, the Exalted, be upon his noble mother, Virgin Mary,

¹ *Zillullah* [lit., "Shadow of Allah"]: a title assumed by kings and rulers throughout history in a bid to justify their alleged religious and spiritual legitimacy. [Ed.]

² Hadrat: The word *Hadrat* is used as a respectful form of address. [Ed.]

the Truthful Maiden, who, through the divine breath, offered such a great child to those who are thirsty of God's mercy.¹

- (Addressed to religious leaders of Christianity:) To please the Lord and carry out the decrees of the Holy Christ, let the bells in your churches peal out in favor of the oppressed Iranians, and in condemnation of the oppressors.
- The essential task of the prophets has been to subdue this self-love as much as possible, and to harness the egos.
- We seek what is best for the society; we are the followers of the prophets who have come to reform the society, and to lead the society to happiness.
- If all the prophets gather together in one place, they will never quarrel with one another.
- If all prophets (*a*)² would come together at one era, they would not differ about anything.
- The prophets were not to take up the sword except against those for whom the sword was the cure and would corrupt the society.
- The logic of the prophets calls for harshness toward the unbelievers and those who are against mankind, and for kindness among themselves. Such harshness, too, is a mercy.
- The prophets felt pity for the unbelievers, for the hypocrites, and wondered why they should be like that.
- At the start of their mission, the prophets first confronted the upper class; Hadrat Moses, confronted the Pharaoh. The upper class enjoys the priority of being confronted and guided first.

¹ For information on the status of Jesus Christ and his mother Mary in Islam, see for example, Ahmed Deedat, *Christ in Islam* (Durban: Islamic Propagation Center International, 1997). [Ed.]

² The abbreviation, “*a*” stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *alayhis-salam*, *alayhimus-salam*, or *alayhas-salam* [may peace be upon him/them/her], which is used after the names of the prophets, angels, Imams from the Prophet's progeny, and saints (*a*). [Ed.]

The Religion of Islam

- Islam is the most superior school [*maktab*]. Islam is more pure than all other schools in the world.
- Islam has come for mankind, not for Muslims or Iranians only. The prophets are assigned to men and so was the Prophet of Islam.
- Islam has come to purify mankind.
- Islam is the man-making school.¹
- Islam has come to train mankind. The issue in the program of Islam is man and his training.
- Islam fights against anything that drags mankind toward vanity and self-alienation.
- Islam is a school that has been sent down to mold mankind.
- Islam has a thesis and program for this man, who is everything; that is, has stations from the nature to the supernatural and the world of divinity.
- With such a progressive school as Islam, there is no reason why the Iranian nation should imitate the Western model or that of the communist countries for its own advancement and progress.
- If everything becomes Islamic, an incorruptible society will ensue.
- Islam is for the welfare of the society.
- Islamic laws are progressive, complementary and comprehensive.
- How could Islam—which has placed the greatest emphasis on thinking and contemplation, and calls on man to renounce all superstitions and the

¹ The phrase literally translated here as “man-making school” is *maktab-e insansaz*, i.e. the school of thought that molds human being to attain the pinnacle of human perfection and reach the apogee of humanity. [Ed.]

bondages of retrogressive and inhuman powers—be incompatible with civilization, and the significant human advancements and innovations that result from his own experience?

- Islam is on the highest level of civilization and so are its grand religious reference authorities.
- All features of civilization and modernization are allowed in Islam except those that corrupt the character and spoil the virtue. Islam has ruled out the things that are opposed to the interests of the nation and has affirmed the things which agree with the national expediencies.
- The things that Islam has prohibited are those that draw our youth to corruption.
- There is one law in Islam and [that is] the divine sovereign rule.
- We believe that the only school of thought that can guide and advance the society is Islam and, if the world wants to be rescued from the thousands of difficulties with which it is entangled today, and to live humanely, it has to move in tandem with Islam.
- Islam has come for the salvation of mankind.
- Islam has come for development, and the focus of Islam is on molding (true) human being.
- The universality and all-inclusiveness of Islam is such that anyone who understands it admits that it is beyond the limits of the human mind and cannot be the product of the power of human knowledge and intellect.
- Islam does not belong to a particular nationality; it recognizes no Turk, Persian, Arab, or non-Arab. Islam belongs to all, and issues such as race, color, tribe, or language are not rated in this order.
- In Islam the question of race is essentially not an issue; Arabs, non-Arabs and other groups are not discussed at all. Islam has come to train the human being. The issue in Islam is the man and his training.

- Islam has come to unite all nations of the world—Arab, non-Arab, Turk, or Persian—and to form a great *ummah*, namely, the Islamic *ummah* so that those who seek domination over Muslim states and centers fail to do so due to the immense society that Muslims constitute from every group.
- It is this power of Islam that has gathered together the various ethnic groups under one roof.
- I have often declared that race, language, nationality, and region are not discussed in Islam.
- In the Islamic law there is distinction among the people.
- Islam is the religion of combatant individuals who search for truth and justice; it is the religion of those who want freedom and independence; it is the school of the combatants and anti-imperialist people.
- We must try to break down the walls of ignorance and superstition so that we can arrive at the limpid fountainhead of the pure Muhammadan (*s*)¹ Islam.
- The devils are trying to break this Islam!
- Today, Islam is standing against all forms of *kufir* [unbelief].
- No power can confront Islam!
- Regard Islam as your guide and be subservient to it.
- Islam is dearer than that which we imagine.
- The school of Islam is the school of purification and refinement.
- Islam regulates material matters in such a way that² they lead to divinities.

¹ The abbreviation, “*s*”, stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *sallallahu alayhi wa alihi wa sallam* [may God’s salutation and peace be upon him and his progeny], which is used after the name of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (*s*). [Ed.]

² *Hamchu* (“such that”) in the original statement of Imam Khomeini.

- Islam has elucidated on everything, but the problems are on the Muslims.¹
- The main problem of the Muslims is their drifting away from Islam and the Quran.
- If the nations would become aware of Islam, they will realize that whatever they seek exists in Islam.
- All the havoc wrought on this country has come from persons who had no understanding of Islam.
- Those who have malicious view of Islam are those who have no understanding of Islam.
- I advise you not to part ways with Islam; do not separate your path from that of the clergy. Do not lose this divine power, this power of the clergy which is a divine power.
- This great bastion of Islam and this bastion, the clergy, are both despised by the foreigners.
- Islam has made incumbent on the governments to serve.
- Islam is at the service of the downtrodden.
- Islam wishes you well; it will ensure your happiness in this and in the other world.
- Islam has brought us everything.
- Islam has come to save the downtrodden.
- Islam is the religion of freedom and independence.
- Islam accepts material things that are subservient to spiritualities.
- Islam provides inner training as well as preserves material welfare.

¹ *Bar sar-e muslimin* (“on the head of the Muslims”) in the original statement of Imam Khomeini.

- Islamic laws respond to the human needs. These laws are very clear and distinct.
- In all the political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions, Islam provides for man's real progress.
- The school of Islam is not materialistic school; it is a spiritual school. It admits material things under the aegis of Islamic spirituality—spiritualities, morality, self-purification.
- Islam's call is neither purely spiritualistic nor solely materialistic; it is both. That is, Islam and the Holy Quran have come to mold and train man in all his dimensions.
- Islam is a government whose one dimension is political government while the other dimension is spiritual government.
- Islam is a devotional-political religion in whose political affairs worship is involved while its devotional affairs embody politics.
- The Messenger of Allah has placed the pillar of politics in religion. The Messenger of Allah (s) has established a government.
- Islam is the religion of politics; it has government.
- Political decrees of Islam exceed its devotional decrees.
- Political activity is one of the religious duties of the Muslims.
- By God, Islam is all politics!
- "Civics" is an offshoot of Islam.
- The religion of Islam is a political religion such that everything it has is political, even its worship.
- Islam has programs for everything, for all lives.

- Islam has laws and decrees for the entire life of man from the day he is to be born up to the moment he will be buried in the grave.
- In the sacred laws of Islam, there has been more discussion on the socio-political affairs than on the devotional affairs.
- Islam has program for living and program for government.
- Islamic laws are highly progressive, and they guarantee freedom, independence and advancement.
- Any country observing Islamic laws will surely become one of the most advanced countries.
- Islam itself has been one of the founders of the world's great civilizations.
- It was Islam and these cries of "*Allahu akbar*" [God is the greatest] that took you to victory.
- It was Islam that set you going and granted you such¹ power as to stand up fearlessly against these great evil forces.
- It is treason to allow freedom of action to those who intend to betray Islam and the nation.

The Preservation of Islam

- Defending the truth and Islam is one of the major acts of worship.
- Preservation of Islam takes precedence over the preservation of Islamic decrees. The foundation of Islam comes first, then the foundation of its decrees.

¹ *Hamchu* ("such a") in the original statement of Imam Khomeini.

- The preservation of Islam itself takes precedence over the lives of Muslims.
- Our obligation is to protect and preserve Islam.
- If we see Islam in danger, we must preserve it with our lives.
- If the Islamic character of the movement is maintained, no harm will be inflicted on you.
- Preservation of Islam is burdensome.
- Defense of Islam and the Islamic country at the time of danger is a religious, divine and national obligation incumbent on all the strata and groups.
- If we want Islam, then we must preserve this Republic.
- Preservation of public expediency and Islam has priority over that of the individual.
- Islam has survived through the *fiqh* [jurisprudence] and its decrees.
- We must all be careful in preserving this school.
- We have the duty and responsibility to preserve Islam, and today such preservation is possible through mutual understanding.
- The grandees of our Islam were slain trying to preserve Islam and the decrees of the Holy Quran; they went to jail and made other sacrifices so that they could preserve Islam and hand it down to us.
- Those who have decided to preserve Islam should remain even if all others quit.
- No obligation in Islam is above the preservation of Islam itself.

- Our revolutionary people must know that preservation of Islam and the Revolution and its achievements, as well as maintaining respect for the martyrs' blood require great revolutionary patience and fortitude.
- Gratitude for the blessing implies that you should be faithful to Islam. I warn you to be faithful to Islam!
- Mountains of calamities are but a straw vis-à-vis our Islamic-Iranian prestige.
- Islam is something for the realization of which we must all be sacrificed.
- *Taqiyyah* [dissimulation]¹ is for the preservation of religion. When religion is threatened, it is no time for dissimulation and silence.
- Sometimes dissimulation is forbidden. When the person saw that the religion of God is in danger, he cannot perform dissimulation.
- The whole nation must guard Islam.
- Our duty is to preserve the prestige of Islam.
- The day when we think that Islam is in danger, we must all make sacrifices.
- Islam's predestined circumstances are also predestined for all Muslims.
- It is incumbent on all, regardless of where we work and serve, to preserve Islamic standards at the top of all services.
- At the present time, Islam is set against all [forms of] *kufir*; not you and I. You and I do not count.

¹ *Taqiyyah*: prudential dissimulation of one's true beliefs under conditions of acute danger to one's life, property, or honor, a practice based on Quran, 3:28. As its observance depends on certain terms and conditions, it may be obligatory [*wajib*], recommended [*mustahab*], abominable [*makruh*], or forbidden [*haram*]. For a fuller discussion of *taqiyyah*, see Sayyid Saeed Akhtar Rizvi, *Taqiyyah* (Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission of Tanzania, 1992), <http://www.al-islam.org/taqiyyah>; *Al-Taqiyya/Dissimulation*, <http://www.al-islam.org/encyclopedia/chapter6b.html>; and allamah Tabatabai, *Shiite Islam* (Albany, N.Y., 1975), pp. 223-225, <http://www.al-islam.org/anthology>.

- When one sees God's religion is in danger, he must rise up for God; when he sees the laws of Islam are threatened, one must rise up for God. [If] he succeeds, he has performed his duty and has won; [if] he does not succeed, he has done his duty [to say the least].
- If the world-devourers try to stand up against our religion, we shall stand up against their entire world.

The Propagation of Islam

- Illuminate the bright visage of Islam to the world! For, if this visage and its splendors to which the Quran and the Sunnah in all their aspects invite all, emerge from behind the mask of its foes and the misunderstanding of friends, Islam will surely be spread in the world.
- Enhance the teachings of Islam among the people for at the top of affairs are these teachings of Islam, and if they are set right all other matters shall follow suit.
- If you present Islam as it really is to the world and act according to it, as it really is, grandeur and mastery will be yours.
- It is incumbent on us to invite the people to the straight path, to the path of Allah, to the way of Allah, which is the straight path.
- The Muslims, the *ulama* of Islam in particular, are obliged to propagate Islam and its teachings, and present them to the people of the world.
- We are duty-bound to introduce Islam to the people all over the world.
- Islam will face defeat if one of us issues something contrary to the rules and decrees of Islam.
- It is tragic and lamentable that Muslims are in possession of an asset that is matchless everywhere on earth and yet, they are unable to present this

treasure, which every human being seeks by intuition, and themselves be unaware of and sometimes even run away from it.

The Search for Islam

- Today, Islam—a progressive school that is capable of meeting all the needs of man and solve his problems—has caught the attention of all Muslims of the world especially the Iranian Muslim nation.
- You rose up for Islam and Islam is your support, and he who receives support from the Quran and Islam is surely victorious.
- The Iranian nation revived Islam through its life and blood.
- Our purpose is to observe Islam wherever in the country we may travel.
- Islam is our entire destination (i.e., goal).
- It was not our purpose or that of the Iranian nation only to see Muhammad-Rida¹ go, to see monarchy go, or to see the hands of aliens severed. Under the aegis of Islam we can protect our country.
- These are all preliminary steps. The purpose is Islam.
- We rose up all together, to revive Islam here and, hopefully, to export it to other places.²
- A country is said to be Islamic when Islamic teachings are practiced there in.

¹ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi: the former Shah of Iran who was overthrown by the revolutionary Iranian nation under the leadership of Imam Khomeini. With the triumph of the Islamic Revolution of Iran on February 11, 1979, the puppet monarchy of Muhammad-Rida Shah came to an end.

² For information on Imam Khomeini's conception of the export of the revolution, see *Imam Khomeini on Exportation of Revolution* (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, 2001). [Ed.]

- We are Muslims and the Muslim (worth the name) cannot afford to ignore Islam.
- The country is Islamic and must practice Islamic standards.
- When you remove the *taghut*,¹ an Islamic, divine country must replace it. Allah is the opposite of *taghut*, when *taghut* goes, a country of Allah must emerge.
- Today is the day in which Islam should be realized (i.e. implemented).
- We staged the movement so that Islam, its laws and the Quran and its laws, rule our country.
- If you want to be rid of foreign entanglements, you must resort to Islam.
- The important thing is that we feel certain in our hearts that we want our Republic to be Islamic.
- Just as we say with our tongues, our hearts should be convinced that we want Islam.
- We ourselves are nothing; whatever is and whatever counts is Islam.
- We want Islam to rule and Islamic decrees to be implemented in this country.
- We want to make an Islamic, and not a Western, country.
- We are all alive in order to revive the tradition of the Prophet of Islam and the Holy Quran and we must pay Islam its dues.

¹ The term *taghut* applies to any idol, object, or individual that prevents men from doing what is good, and leads them astray. The term has been used eight times in the Quran. Prior to Islam, *taghut* had been the name of the one of the idols of the Quraysh tribe. This name is used also to mean the Satan. Moreover, the term is used to indicate one who rebels against lofty values.

- We are (still) on the way (toward our destination) unless all Islamic decrees are implemented.
- We want to institute Islamic justice in this country.
- We rose up for Islam just as the Noble Prophet did at the advent of Islam; (but) we did not suffer and toil as much as he.
- That which supports all of you is Islam; it is the Holy Quran.
- These movements are all meant to enforce God's commands.
- We want an Islamic republic so that the Islamic laws will be implemented therein.
- Islamic Republic means that it is a republic and its laws are Islamic.
- The Republic is Islamic and all things relating to us must become Islamic.
- Today, the country is an Islamic country and thus its content (substance) must be Islamic as well.
- The movement is Islamic and the content of the Islamic movement must also be Islamic.
- We are after the realization of Islam. We are not after the name only; that now that we have the label 'Islamic Republic' then it would be¹ enough for us.
- I hope Khomeini shall never deviate from the straight path of Islam, which is resistance against the oppressive powers and never relent in his efforts to achieve the objectives of Islam.
- Our nation wants martyrdom for God.
- God is the Protector of nations that want Islam in face of the encroachment of the great powers.

¹ "Is" [*ast*] in the original: "It *is* enough for us."

- Our nation, which poured out in the streets, filled up rooftops, toiled day and night and gave their youth and blood, was for Islam. They would not do that if Islam was not then the issue.
- The combatant and noble Iranian nation has prepared itself to sacrifice everything it has for the sake of God.
- The nation, which wants itself and everything it possesses for Islam shall be victorious.
- The purpose is to let our country be an Islamic country; our country be¹ under the guidance of the Quran, under the guidance of the Noble Prophet and under the auspices of the great *awliya*.
- Truth must be pursued and embraced with open arms wherever it is.

Islam and Our Deeds

- Today, Islam depends on your deeds.
- Set Islam as the standard for your actions.
- They will not admit that we are Islamic unless we ourselves act according to Islam.
- Right now, Islam is in our hands and we are its guards. If it is harmed (i.e. its image being tarnished), we are all responsible. We are all responsible before God.
- I hope that the Muslims, especially their heads, will forgo voicing Islamic slogans, designed to camouflage non-compliance with Islamic decrees, and to think of Islam as it is and act accordingly.

¹ “Should be” [*bashavad*] in the original.

- Consider that you are the custodians of Islam, and not of yourselves.
- Let us abandon this satanic cover in favor of a divine one, which means to act according to the Islamic system.
- You dedicated Muslims paid the great Islam and God, the Exalted, their dues and taught us the way to be faithful and how to sacrifice.
- Take lessons from the *awliya* of God who have been always after the school [*maktab*], and not after their own selves.
- What makes hardships easy to bear is the fact that we tolerate them for the sake of Islam.
- Through Islam you achieved this victory and must advance it through Islam.
- It was the power of Islam and the power of faith that drew people to unity, and it was the unity and the power of faith that led people to victory.
- If one wants to serve Islam, he should not expect all others to accept him.
- The criterion for everyone is his current conduct.
- Islam was neither oppressor nor accepts oppression, and we want to be so—neither to oppress nor to be oppressed.
- It was by reliance on the sublime teachings of Islam and our faith in its principles that we, empty-handed, were able to overcome all the satanic forces.
- If this country become Islamic and education become Islamic, no power can confront it.
- If Islamic decrees and rules are implemented in the country, all the material and spiritual aspects will be secured.
- It is our duty, today, to be ready to withstand and endure any pain in our opposition to dangers that threaten Islam and the Muslims. This is

necessary for severing the hands of the traitors to Islam and for checking their enmities and desires.

- We must sacrifice ourselves for Islam; we must sacrifice our hopes and wishes for Islam.
- Today, the most estranged thing in the world is Islam, and its salvation requires sacrifices. Pray that I will be one of those who are to be sacrificed!
- My dear ones, do not fear sacrificing lives and properties in the way of God, Islam and the Islamic nation for such was the conduct of the Great Prophet, his executors [*awsiyā*] and *awliya* and our blood is of no better hue than that of the Martyrs of Karbala¹ which was shed in opposition to the cruel monarch who feigned Islam and declared himself the caliph of Islam. You who have risen up for Islam, who sacrifice your lives and properties, are in the ranks of the Martyrs of Karbala because you follow their school.
- If Islam is observed as it really is and as God, the Blessed and Exalted, has established it, then it signals the end of the colonizers.²
- The Great Prophet of Islam sacrificed everything he had for Islam so as to hoist the banner of monotheism. As his followers we should dedicate everything we have to keep that banner hoisted.
- We must all get under the standard and banner of Islam but not in terms of slogan; it must be in truth and in fact.

¹ Imam Husayn, the son of ali ibn Abi Talib and Fatimah, daughter of the Prophet (*s*), is the third Imam from the Prophet's Progeny. He was born in Medina in 625 CE. In 682 CE Imam Husayn (*a*) rose up against the rule of Yazid, son of Muawiyah. With his few companions, the Imam engaged the ten-thousand-strong armed men of Yazid at a place called Karbala (in Iraq). In this bloody epic event, Imam Husayn, his children and votaries numbering 72 were all martyred and their families were taken captives by the army of Yazid. The great calamity in the history of Islam was the result of the deviation of the system of caliphate from the path of Islam, on the one hand, and due to the chastity, courage and determination of the Imam in uprooting vice and perversion, on the other. The fallen heroes of this disaster are collectively referred to as the "Martyrs of Karbala".

² Literally, it states, "The prayer for the death of the colonizers will be recited." [Ed.]

- If the divine precepts are observed in a nation, falsehood [*batil*] will leave that nation.
- We can confront the great powers and be invulnerable provided that we are dedicated to Islam and its decrees.
- Make every effort to practice Islamic rules and make others practice them as well.
- If, God forbid, some harm comes to Islam, all of us stand guilty because of it.
- Do not keep saying, “I”; say “my school [*maktab*]”!
- Let us not mind the words of foreigners and be indolent in implementing the decrees of God.
- In achieving a goal, though it is Islamic, commission of something against ethics and culture is unacceptable, and it is among the un-Islamic motives.
- I worry lest we fall remiss and fail to exercise necessary care in implementing Islam.
- Today, the position of Islam is such that if, God forbid, it meets with defeat it will take many long years before it can raise its head again. It is because the great powers have realized the might of Islam.
- If you say things in the pulpit which you do not practice and preach things in the mosques other than that which you do, the peoples’ hearts will become disenchanted with you.
- We must keep our eyes and ears open lest we destroy Islam by our own hands.
- Try not to sacrifice the interests of Islam and of the Islamic country for personal or factional considerations.
- Now, our condition is such that, God forbid, any wrong move we take will be ascribed to Islam.

- Islam is a trust in our hands and we are duty-bound to keep this trust.
- Try to hand down the dear Islam which, today, is in your hands, to your descendants in good form. Do not make a crooked form such that they would say that it (Islam) is such. Islam is luminous.
- Today, the dear Islam is entrusted to us. You should keep it and hand it over to the future generations.
- He who is doing his duty to please the Lord, God willing, should not expect the affirmation of everyone. Nothing has the confirmation of all.
- He who follows the truth and works to please God should not mind what others say or have said of him.
- He who works for God, and rises up for God, should not fear anything.

The Quran

- Without the Quran the gate to the knowledge of God would be shut forever!
- The Quran is the man-making book; Islam is the man-making school¹—man in all his dimensions.
- It is the Quran that guides us to the lofty purposes to which we intuitively turn while we are unaware of ourselves.
- Do not neglect association with the Holy Quran—this divine scripture and book of guidance—because whatever the Muslims have and will have throughout history (past and future) is due to the bountiful grace of this sacred book.

¹ That is, the Quran is the book that molds true human being and Islam is the school that does the same. [Ed.]

- Set the teaching of the Quran, in any of its features, as your focus and highest aim.
- To the extent you act according to the Quran, you will find yourself under its banner. The banner of the Quran is not like other banners. The banner of the Quran is observance of the Quran (i.e., its commands).
- May you never confuse the Sacred Quran and the salvation-giving faith of Islam with the false and deviant schools that are (mere) products of the human mind!
- There is no school above the Quran.
- The important thing is that the Muslims act according to Islam and the Quran. Islam embodies everything that relates to the growth and cultivation of human being and human values as well as matters concerning man's life in this and the next world.
- The Quran must be present in all features of our lives.
- This book and this wide table spread in the East and the West from the time of revelation up to the resurrection, is a book used by all men—layman, learned man, philosopher, mystic, jurist, etc.
- The Quran is a man-cultivating book; it is the active man's book; it is the book of human being; it is a book that guides man who is supposed to move from here to the end of the universe and beyond.
- My dear youth on whom I pin my hope! Hold the Quran in one hand and take up arms in the other and defend your honor and prestige in such a way as to remove from them (enemies) the power to think and plot against you.
- It is only proper that we offer sacrifices for the Holy Quran, which has right over us and the entire humanity.
- The main problem of the Muslims is that they have abandoned the Holy Quran and have come under the aegis of others.

- Whatever we give in the path of God, and whatever we give in path of the Quran is (the cause of) our honor; it is our pride; it is the path of truth.
- The Holy Quran is the sanctuary of us all.

Shiism

- We are proud that our *madhhad* [school of thought] is the Jafari¹ *madhhad* and our *fiqh*, which is a boundless ocean is the Jafari *fiqh*.
- Islam survives by the grace of the Shiah school of thought.
- Islam has always been associated with the epic of Shiism.
- Imam means leader and the one who guides and leads a group toward a certain direction. The Imam is the one who explains the policy of Shiism and the *Hizbullah* [Party of Allah] and the leader of this great organization whose entire duties and functions he deduces from the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet of Islam at various times and in different conditions, and advises them accordingly.
- Those who claim they are the Shiah (followers) of the Commander of the Faithful² and follow him should follow him in word, action, writing, and all other things.

¹ Better known today as *Shiism*, Jafari Faith refers to Islam as elucidated by the sixth pure Imam from the Prophet's Progeny, Imam Jafar as-Sadiq (*a*) (83-148 AH). Because of the condition of his time, his role in reviving original Islamic teachings, formations of numerous seminaries, and educating faithful forces, was exceptional to the point of ascribing the faith to him. See Shaykh Mohammed al-Husayn al-Muzaffar, *Imam Al-Sadiq*, trans. Jasim al-Rasheed (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1998).

² Commander of the Faithful [*Amir al-Muminin*]: refers to Imam Ali (*a*), the leader of the Muslim world, who was born in 600 CE to his mother by the name of Fatimah and father by the name of Abu Talib (Prophet's uncle), and from the age of six he grew up in the Prophet's house. He was the first man to accept Islam and promised to aid the Prophet (*s*). In the early days of his mission when, at God's command, the Prophet was inviting his kith and kin to Islam, at a gathering, he announced to them: "He among you, who accepts my Faith will succeed me." He repeated this declaration three times and each time, only Ali (*a*) declared his faithfulness.

- The Shiah school has always been the school of sacrifice.
- Ghadir¹ was initiated to let it be understood that politics is related to all.
- We are honored that the book, *Nahj al-Balaghah*² which, after the Quran, is the greatest code of material and spiritual life and is the greatest book

On the eve of the *hijrah* or migration, notwithstanding the plot of the Quraysh against the Prophet's life, Ali (*a*) slept in the Prophet's bed and thus proved his fidelity to him. The Prophet selected him as his brother and when returning from the last *hajj* pilgrimage, at a place called Ghadir, introduced Ali (*a*) as the master and guardian [*wali*] of the Muslims, after himself.

Ali was the companion of the Prophet during his loneliness and his aid in his struggles and in time of dangers. After the Prophet's spiritual ascension, for about 25 years, Ali (*a*) kept aloof from government administration and leadership. During this period he was observer and overseer who prevented deviations and defections.

After the murder of the 3rd Caliph, Ali's disciples and a group of people swore allegiance to Ali (*a*) and elected him as caliph. The Imam's period of administration lasted for 4 years and 9 months. Ali obliterated the changes that had been made after the Prophet (*s*) and restored things to their earlier conditions. Opposition elements, whose personal interests were threatened, rose pretending to take revenge for the third caliph's death. Bloody civil wars followed that lasted throughout the reign of Ali (*a*). Finally the unique man of history was martyred in the altar.

There is a great deal to say about Ali (*a*). It is difficult to give a thorough picture. He did not neglect even a moment, sacrificing for God's religion. In his house of adobe, children such as Imam Hasan (*a*) and Imam Husayn (*a*) were raised, who left an indelible mark on history by keeping hoisted the kindled torch of humanity in the dark atmosphere of time and became the leaders of truth-seeking men.

For further information on the Imamate of Ali ibn Abi Talib, see Yousuf N. Lalljee, *Ali the Magnificent* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1987); Muhammad Jawad Chirri, *The Brother of the Prophet Mohammad (Imam Ali)*, (Qum: Ansariyan Publications); George Jorda, *The Voice of Human Justice*, trans. M. Fazal Haq (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1990), and visit: <http://www.al-islam.org/faq>.

¹ It refers to the events of Ghadir Khumm where the Prophet appointed Imam Ali as his successor based on a divine instruction. For detailed information on sources and narrators, as well as maps of Ghadir Khumm, visit: "Ghadir Khumm in the Quran, Hadith and History," <http://www.al-islam.org/ghadir>.

² *Nahj al-Balaghah* (Peak of Eloquence) is a collection of speeches, sayings and letters of the Commander of the Faithful, Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib (*a*) compiled by Sharif ar-Radi Muhammad ibn al-Husayn (d. 406 AH/1016). Contents of the book concern the three essential topics of God, man and the universe, and include comments on scientific, literary, social, ethical, and political issues. Except the words of the Glorious Quran and of the Holy Prophet (*s*), no words of man can equate it in eloquence. So far, more than 101 exegeses have been written on the *Nahj al-Balaghah*, indicating the importance of this treatise to scholars and

for the salvation of mankind and whose spiritual and political commands are the most sublime way for salvation, is from our Infallible Imam (Imam Ali (a)).

- One of the intrinsic features of Shiism from the beginning up to now is resistance and uprising against oppression and dictatorship, which has been clearly evident throughout the history of Shiism, although such struggles have climaxed at crosscurrents of time.
- Shiism, which is a revolutionary school and the continuation of the genuine Islam of the Prophet—like the Shiah themselves—has always been under dastardly attacks of the dictators and the imperialists.
- During the past century events have occurred each of which have some effects on the current movement of our nation: the Constitutional Revolution¹ and the Tobacco Movement²... are highly important. The

learned men of research and investigation. For more information, visit: <http://www.al-islam.org/nahjul>.

¹ What has become known as the Constitutionalism or Constitutional Revolution took place due to the chaotic situation in Iran at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the popular protest over the tyranny of the governors and agents of the dictatorial regime and the unruly officials of the government, the weakness and ineptitude of the then king Muzaffaruddin Shah, and finally the rising awareness among the people and revolt of the clerics and *ulama*. Years of struggle by the people culminated in the victory of the Constitutional Revolution in 1906. Although the Constitutional Movement was derailed from its proper path, it was able to transform the social organization in Iran, to destroy class privileges, to obliterate the power of the courtiers, and great landowners, and to establish justice and the rule of law. However, with the influence of the Westernized elements, and eliminating the clergies from the political scene and governance, the Constitutional Movement did not achieve its desired objectives and finally with the coup staged by Rida Khan, the father of Iran's ex-Shah, a monarchical rule once again emerged in Iran.

² In 1891, Nasiruddin Shah granted yet another in a long line of concessions he had already given to foreigners in return for money to satisfy court consumption and to finance his tours of Europe. This time, in return for a personal gift of twenty-five thousand pounds, an annual rent of fifteen thousand pounds to the state and a twenty-five percent share of the profits for Iran, one Major Gerald Talbot acquired a fifty-year monopoly over the distribution and exportation of tobacco. *Akhtar* (Star), a liberal Persian paper published in Istanbul at the time, expressed the general concern of Iranian merchants: "It is clear enough that the concessionaire will commence the work with a small capital and will purchase the tobacco from the cultivators and sell it to the merchants and manufacturers for higher prices, and all the profits will remain in the purse of the English. As the Persian merchants have no right to export tobacco from Persia, those who were formerly engaged in this trade will be obliged to give up their business and find some other work. The concessionaire does not take into consideration how many

establishment of the theological center in the city of Qum¹ in the last 50 years, its influence inside and outside of Iran, the struggles of the religious intelligentsia within the university centers and the 1341-42² uprising of the Iranian nation led by the *ulama* of Islam—which continues to this day—are all among factors that have made the Shiite Islam an issue in the global level.

merchants who were engaged in this business will be left without employment and will suffer loss in finding other occupations.” The clergymen and *maraji* of the time immediately opposed the concession and demanded its cancellation. Ayatullah Mirza Hasan Shirazi, the *maraji at-taqlid* at the time, determined the destiny of this struggle. He issued a religious *fatwa* stating that the use of tobacco in whatever form was *haram* [forbidden] and was tantamount to declaring war with Imam *az-Zaman* (the Twelfth Imam). The bazaar in Shiraz, the main tobacco-growing region, shut down and a general strike of the leading bazaars particularly Tehran, Isfahan, Tabriz, Mashhad, Qazvin, Yazd, and Kermanshah ensued which spread into a state-wide consumer’s boycott. Ayatullah Shirazi’s representative in Tehran, Mirza Hasan Ashtiyani, led the protest there. Hookahs were smashed and tobacco was set on fire as the consumer’s boycott received support from practically all classes of Iranian society, even members of the royal harem. Consequently, Nasiruddin Shah, seeing his position threatened by this rebellion was forced to annul the concession and pay the penalty. See Nikki Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Tobacco Protest of 1891-92*.

¹ Since the third century AH, Qum—the burial place of Fatimah Masumah (peace be upon her), the sister of Imam Rida, the eight Imam from the Prophet’s Progeny—has been a center of learning and pilgrimage. In the mid-14th century, the great scholar and *faqih*, Ayatullah Hairi settled in Qum and reorganized the religious teaching institution. Following Ayatullah Hairi, scholars from other cities came to Qum and it was not long before Qum was elevated to the status of the center of religious learning in Iran. At present thousands of students from Islamic and non-Islamic countries are studying in Qum. The students, having completed introductory courses, embark, depending on their interests, on a wide range of Islamic sciences, including jurisprudence and its principles, exegesis, *kalam* [scholasticism] philosophy, mysticism, history, and *hadith*.

² In a bid to control the movement started by Imam Khomeini (*r*), the Shah’s regime, after considerable studies and consultation with his Western supporters, decided to arrest the Imam. At 3:00 am of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS (June 5 1963), his agents raided the house of that noble man, arrested him and took him to Tehran. The news of the arrest spread quickly all over the country. Hearing the news people began to gather in the streets from the early hours of June 5, 1963 and started demonstration. The greatest demonstrations took place in the city of Qum which resulted in police interference and the martyrdom of a large number of innocent people. With the declaration of martial law in Tehran by the Shah’s regime, the popular demonstration heightened that day and the next. Martial law agents butchered several thousands of people. The tragedy of the 15th of Khordad 1342 AHS was so great that its news quickly passed beyond the border lines and million of dollars which the Shah spent each year on propaganda could not keep the news secret. After the victory of the revolution in a message marking anniversary of the 15th of Khordad 1358 AHS (1979), the Imam declared it as the beginning of the Islamic Revolution and its anniversary as a national mourning day.

- As a matter of fact, Islam—Shiism being nothing but the original Islam—not only does not prevent the scientific and intellectual growth of mankind; rather, it even prepares more the grounds for this movement and imparts to it humane and divine direction. The scientific and cultural evolution after the advent of Islam has all but stunned investigators.
- The day that, God willing, the General Reformer¹ appears, do not think a miracle will take place and the world will be reformed overnight; rather, the despots and oppressors will be suppressed and isolated by hard efforts and sacrifices.

The Infallibles

- This man (Imam Ali) is the manifestation of all justice and equity and the wonder of the world. From the beginning of the world to eternity, no man except the Noble Messenger can match him in excellence.

¹ It refers to Imam Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Mahdi, the Twelfth and Last Imam from the Prophet's Holy Progeny who is presently in the state of major occultation and will appear on the appointed time in the future to fill the world with truth, justice and faith after being engulfed by falsehood, injustice and unbelief. The Imamate of Hadrat Mahdi (may Allah expedite his advent) was announced when he was only 5 years old. In view of the conditions of the time and as God Almighty had willed the Imam went into occultation [*ghaybat*]. His absence is divided into two terms or periods: The Lesser Occultation [*ghaybat al-sughra*] lasted 69 years during which the Imam was indirectly in touch with the people by means of 4 deputies or mediums. Next is the Greater Occultation [*ghaybat al-kubra*] continues up to the present until the time comes for the triumph of virtue over vice. In the Islamic thought the uprising of Hadrat Mahdi and his advent are deemed as the final link in the chain of uprisings of the religious men over the evil. The uprising of the righteous men extends throughout the history and everyday the grounds for the victory of the just over the unjust becomes better prepared until the rise of the Promised Mahdi who will bring the uprising to their ultimate conclusion and the sun of justice and righteousness dawns to humanity's sky. That day is the day of man's intellectual moral and social maturity. *Mahdawiyyah* and the rise of Imam Mahdi are embedded in the beliefs of the Sunni Muslims too, and their books give glad tidings to this issue.

For further information on the Mahdi, see Ayatullah Ibrahim Amini, *Imam Mahdi: Just Leader of Humanity*, <http://www.al-islam.org/mahdi/nontl/index.htm>; Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Baqir aS-Sadr and Ayatullah Murtada Mutahhari, *Awaited Savior*, <http://www.al-islam.org/awaited/index.htm>.

- Soldiers, even the renowned ones, are unknown in this world. The most famous, dedicated soldier of Islam is the Commander of the Faithful and he is the most unknown one.
- This small house of Fatimah¹ (*a*) and the individuals who were reared and raised in it were only four or five in terms of number, but who were, in reality, the manifestation of the entire might of the Almighty God, have rendered services that have made us and you and all mankind wonder!
- In preserving the great prestige of women, all should imitate that unique feminine gem, Hadrat Zahra (*a*).
- Morals, celestial manifestations, divine manifestations, manifestation of the celestial kingdom, of worldly elegance, all are compounded in this being.²
- The revolution of the Iranian people is the starting point for the grand revolution of the Islamic world under the stewardship of Hadrat Hujjah.³
- The Imam of the Time (*a*) is watching over us; he is watching over the clergy to see what they do now that Islam is entrusted to their hands, and all excuses are cut off.

¹ Hadrat Fatimah (*a*) is the daughter of the Noble Prophet (*s*) and wife of Imam Ali (*a*). She was born in Mecca in the fifth year of the Prophet's mission. She is the mother of Imams Hasan and Husayn, the second and third pure Imams from the Prophet's Progeny respectively. It is beyond the scope of this argument to comment on the exalted and lofty standards of the conduct, chastity and faith of this noble lady of Islam. Her love for her father was so intense that the Prophet had popularly called her, "the mother of her father" [*ummu abiha*]. Fatimah was by the side of the Prophet during the most exciting periods of his life and by the side of her husband Ali during the most eventful days of his life. She was by the side of these divine personages and due to the pain and agonies she suffered during her short life time, she passed away a few months after the demise of her father. See Ibrahim Amini and Sayyid Kazim Qazvini, *Fatima the Gracious*, trans. Abu Muhammad Ordoni (Qum: Ansariyan Publications), <http://www.al-islam.org/gracious>; Ali Shariati, *Fatimah is Fatimah*, <http://www.al-islam.org/fatimaisfatima>.

² That is, Hadrat Fatimah az-Zahra (*a*).

³ *Hujjah* (lit., "proof"): the short form of *Hujjatullah fil-Ard* [The (last) Proof of Allah on earth], which is one of the titles of Imam al-Mahdi (*a*). The designation *hujjah* ["proof"] given to the Imams has a two-fold sense. First, through the qualities they manifest, they are proofs of the existence of God and of the veracity of the religion He has revealed. Second, they constitute proofs to be advanced on the Day of Judgment against those who claim they were uninformed of God's law. [Ed.]

- We who expect his (Imam al-Mahdi's) blissful advent are obliged to exert our utmost effort to implement the law of divine justice in this country of the Master of the Age.
- The martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful (*a*) as well as that of (Imam) Husayn (*a*), and the imprisonment, torture, banishment, and the poisoning of the Imams (*a*) have all occurred in line with the political struggles of the Shiah against all forms of despotism; in a single word, resistance and political activities constitute an important part of religious responsibilities.
- What is most regrettable is that they did not let Hadrat Amir (*a*) become manifest as he should and as Islam had wanted.
- The tragic event that befell the Commander of the Faithful and Islam is greater than that which befell the Doyen of the Martyrs.¹
- The prophets did not succeed in carrying out their goals (of implementing Islam in the entire world) and Almighty God will send someone (Imam al-Mahdi) to implement them at the end of time.

Resurrection and the Hereafter

- You must remember that all of us have another day (the hereafter); do not doubt this! We have a day of reckoning before us and everything will be considered and calculated on that day. Man himself should give an account of his acts. On that day, pens shall come and testify; hands shall testify; eyes shall testify. On that day man shall take account of himself. We have such a day!
- Each act we perform here has two states, a purgatory and a heavenly state, and we shall encounter it.

¹ Doyen of the Martyrs [*Sayyid ash-Shuhada*]: a title of Imam Husayn (*a*).

- Each letter and word that issues forth from us will be reflected in the scale of our deeds in that world.
- The scale of our deeds is with God; everything is and will be recorded.
- In this world, the manifestation of intercession of the intercessors is their guidance; in that world, the essence of guidance is the intercession. If you did not benefit from (their) guidance, you shall receive no intercession; to the extent you receive guidance, you'll receive intercession.
- Cultivate your egos; purify them. This world has a definite end for all of us; for me sooner, then for you.

Chapter 2

Performance of Obligation

- For us the important thing is that we perform our duty.
- We should not worry that perchance we will be defeated; we should worry lest we failed to perform our duties.
- Divine duties are God's trusts.
- We will perform our duty, and God, the Blessed and Exalted, does not expect from us anything beyond our capacity.
- If we perform the duty that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has made incumbent on us, we should not be afraid of (the possibility of) being defeated.
- If we get killed, it is in the line of duty and if we kill, that, too, is in the line of duty.
- We want to preserve Islam; this cannot be done by withdrawal. Don't think that withdrawal exempts you from performing your duty; it makes it (duty) double.
- All of us are responsible for the performance of duty and responsibility; not on the end-result of such performance.

Prayers

- Sound prayers drive away obscenity and vice from an *ummah*.
- Perform the prayers; revive this political tradition of Islam.
- Don't say, "We've staged a revolution and we must now constantly yell!" No! Say your prayers; it is above all yelling!
- The Friday congregational prayers are above all other affairs.
- The Friday congregational prayers, which are a demonstration of Islam's political and social power, should be performed with utmost splendor and richness of content!
- Make your congregations compact, especially on Fridays, and emphasize the importance of religious rites and ceremonies.
- The holding of the Friday congregational prayers is one of the blessings of this movement and Revolution.
- Perform the Friday congregational prayers, as well as other prayers with splendor; the evils [*shayatin*] are afraid of the prayer and mosque.
- Never neglect the Friday and daily congregational prayers for they are the political manifestation of the prayer.
- The Friday congregational prayers are one of God's major favors to the Islamic Republic of Iran.
- Almighty God wishes that when reciting His Name and remembering Him, the servant is detached from all that is not of God and be sincere in supplicating to Him.

Prayers and Supplications

- Prayers take men out of darkness and, once out of darkness they become men who work for God, take up sword in the path of God, kill and get killed for the sake of God and his uprising is also for God; prayers do not deactivate men!
- At any rate, there are unprecedented subtleties in these holy prayers; heed them well; they can make men move.
- These prayers, especially those for the blessed months of Rajab and Shaban are preludes; they deck and dress one's heart in preparation for attending to a reception, God's Reception (i.e., the fasting month of Ramadan).
- The *Shabaniyyah* Prayer¹ is one of the greatest divine teachings and supplications, as well as one of the most important affairs, which is understood by the initiates, each according to his capacity to comprehend.
- The prayers that have come down in the holy months of Ramadan and Shaban are our guides toward the destiny.
- During the Night of Power² the Muslims who keep vigil and say nocturnal prayers of supplications all night, save themselves from the bondage of things other than God—that is, the *shayatin* [evils] from among the jinn and men—and come to the servitude of God.
- Those who criticize the prayer books do so out of ignorance; they are ignorant; they are desperate. They have no idea how these prayer books mold human being.

¹ *Shabaniyyah*: a litany that was recited by all the Imams, something true of no other prayer or invocation, during the month of Shaban. During his blessed life Imam Khomeini used to emphasize its importance.

² *Laylah al-Qadr*: The Night of Power (or Decree), has a very special significance in the Muslim calendar because it is the anniversary of that night when the Quran was first revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (s). This night has been described as better than a thousand months' (*Surah al-Qadr* 97), and tradition holds that requests made to God during *Lailah al-Qadr* will be granted.

The Mosque

- Do not empty the mosques; this is an incumbency today!
- The mosque is a center for political gathering.
- The mosque is a center for propagation.
- *Mihrab* [altar] means the place for *harb* [warfare], the place for war—war against both the Satan and the *taghut*.
- O nation! Preserve your own mosques. O intellectuals! Preserve the mosques; do not be like the Western intellectuals. O lawyers! Preserve the mosques.
- I must declare today that preservation of the mosques is incumbent on all the Muslims.
- Try to restore our mosques to the conditions they had during the early days of Islam. Take note that there is no retreat or seclusion in Islam.
- These mosques should be centers for proper training and, thanks to God, most of them are such.
- During the Blessed Month (i.e., Ramadan) training and education in their true sense and all dimensions must go on in all the mosques.
- The preservation of the mosques today is one of the things on which Islam depends.
- The mosque is an Islamic fortress and the altar is the battle arena.
- Let them keep the movement alive through the mosques which are strong forts of Islam and advance it by Islamic slogans.

The Hajj

- From the day of its inception, the significance of the political dimension of the *Hajj* pilgrimage has been no less than its devotional dimension.
- *Hajj* is the preparation, exercise and formation of this monotheistic life. *Hajj* is an arena for demonstration, and a mirror for evaluation of the spiritual and material capability of the Muslims.
- One vital philosophy of *Hajj* is the fostering of understanding and fraternity among the Muslims.
- A house (i.e., the Kabah) that has been erected for uprising, the uprising of ‘mankind’ [*nas*] and ‘for mankind’ [*lin-nas*] should be used for this great purpose.
- This Great House is built for ‘mankind’ [*nas*] and for the ‘uprising of mankind’ [*qiyam-e nas*].
- All Muslims should make efforts to revive the spirit of the *Hajj* and the Holy Quran, and to return these two to the scenes of their lives.
- A *hajj* without spirit, movement and uprising; a *hajj* without *baraah* [declaring immunity against the polytheists]; a *hajj* without unity; and a *hajj* that cannot destroy *kufr* [unbelief] and *shirk* [polytheism], is no *Hajj* at all!
- God willing, we shall not let the Kabah and the *Hajj*—this great pulpit, which from atop the humanity’s lofty station should broadcast the voice of the oppressed people to the entire world and to make the song of monotheism echo everywhere—to blow the trumpet of compromise with America and the Soviet Union as well as with *kufr* and *shirk*.
- Let us break up the idols in the Holy Mecca, and at the Aqabat, pelt stones at the devils at the head of which is the Great Satan (America) and drive them away, and thus, perform the *Hajj* of *Khalilullah* (Prophet Abraham), *Habibullah* (Prophet Muhammad) and *Waliyullah* (Imam al-Mahdi).

- This father of monotheism and idol-breaker of the world has taught us and all mankind that sacrifice in the path of God has political dimensions and social values more important than its monotheistic and devotional aspect.
- O speakers and writers! Inform your brothers-in-faith at the great gatherings in Arafat,¹ Mashar,² Mina,³ Mecca, and Medina, of the socio-political problems of your own regions and ask one another for assistance.
- If the Muslims ‘find’ the *Hajj* and the politics employed in it by Islam, it will be enough for them to gain their independence.
- Declaration of immunity against the polytheists, which is one of the pillars of monotheism and political obligations of the *Hajj* should be done during the entire *Hajj* period in the form of demonstrations and marches with the maximum spectacle and splendor.
- The cry of immunity against polytheists is not to be made at particular times; it is a permanent decree.
- Go to Mina and observe there the divine ideal which is sacrificing one’s dearest things in the path of the Absolute Beloved. Know that as long as you do not foregone these dear objects, foremost among them is the love of oneself and love of this world in the wake of it, you shall not reach the Absolute Beloved.
- During the *Hajj* ritual that you perform at Safa⁴ and Marwah,⁵ search, sincerely and heartily, and find the Beloved for by finding Him all worldly kneaded yarns of attachment will be torn away; all doubts and suspicious as well as all beastly fears and hopes shall fade away.

¹ Arafat: a plain about 21 kilometers north of Mecca at which the pilgrims’ stay from noon to sunset on the 9th day of Dhul-Hijjah (Day of Arafat) is one of the *hajj* rites.

² Mashar al-Haram: the place where the *hajj* pilgrims spend the night on their return from Arafat and offer their *maghrib* [dusk], *isha* [night] and *subuh* [dawn] prayers.

³ Mina: a place in Mecca where the pilgrims slaughter their sacrificial animals.

⁴ Safa: a hill in Mecca which is an extension of Abu Qubays Mountain to the east of the Masjid al-Haram. Traversing the distance between this place and Marwah (another place in Mecca) is another devotional *hajj* rite and is termed *sai* [literally: effort, trial, attempt].

⁵ Marwah: a mount located at a point between the east and the southeast of Mecca, north of Safa.

- During your circumambulation of God’s sanctuary, which is a token of love for God, empty your hearts of all others and drive out of your hearts fear of things that are not of God and, parallel to your love of the Lord, seek and declare riddance of all small and big idols, the *taghuts*, and their associates because the Almighty God and His Friends have themselves declared such riddance as have done by all the noble and free men of the world as well.
- As you recite, “I hear and obey,” to the divine call, negate and rule out associates for Almighty God in all stages, and from the self or ego, which is the greatest source of polytheism, you migrate to Him, the Most Sublime and Exalted.
- As you reiterate your answer of “*Labbayk, labbayk*” [I do hear and obey], say “No” to all idols and cry out, “No” to all the *taghuts* and their offspring.
- When touching the *Hajar al-Aswad*¹ [the Black Stone] make a covenant with God to be inimical to His and His Messenger’s enemies as well as the enemies of the pious and noble people, and never to be obedient servants to them (the enemies of God) no matter who they are or where they live. Let your covenant with God also call for the eradication of fear and submissiveness from your hearts, for the enemies of God and at the head of which is the Great Satan (America) are all mean and miserable although they possess superior tools for slaughtering, suppressing (nations) and other crimes.
- Go to Mashar al-Haram and Arafat with gnostic awareness and at each station enhance the heart’s assurance of the divine promises and sovereignty of the oppressed, and contemplate on the signs of God in silence.
- Take note that *Hajj* pilgrimage is not a business trip; it is not a trip in pursuance of the world; it is the journey to God.

Muharram and the Ashura

¹ *Hajar al-Aswad*: a black stone located in the eastern pillar of the *Kabah*, 1.5 meters above the ground placed on the wall. *Hajj* pilgrims try to touch this stone during the circumambulation for blessing and luck.

- Muharram is the month in which justice has risen up against cruelty while truth has confronted falsehood, and has proved that throughout history truth has always been triumphant against falsehood.
- Muharram is the month in which Islam has been revived by the Master of the Strugglers and the Oppressed (Imam Husayn) and was rescued from the plots of the corrupt Bani Umayyad¹ agents who had taken Islam to the verge of collapse.
- It is the blood of the Doyen of the Martyrs (Imam Husayn) that agitates the Muslim nations.
- For the Shiah school, Muharram is a month in which victory was achieved through blood and sacrifice.
- Muharram is the month of the great movement of the Doyen of the Martyrs and the Leader of God's Saints. By his uprising against the *taghut*, he taught mankind how to fight and to build. He saw that the way to destroy the despots and break the tyrants consists of sacrificing lives and this is Islam's leading instruction for all nations to the end of time.
- With the month of Muharram, the season for epic action, bravery and self-sacrifice begins. It is the month in which blood overwhelmed the sword; the power of truth forever condemned falsehood and stamped the oppressors' foreheads and evil governments' face with the "brand of falsehood". It is the month that taught future generations throughout history, how to triumph over bayonet point; a month that recorded the defeat of the superpowers vis-à-vis the word of justice and truth; the

¹ Bani Umayyad is the name of dynasty of Muslim caliphs who gained control of the administration of Islamic territories in 40 AH (662 CE) after the first four caliphs and held sway until 132 AH (750 CE). The founder of this dynasty was Muawiyah, son of Abu Sufyan, by whom hereditary monarchy as well as aristocracy were revived in stark contrast and opposition to basic Islamic articles of faith. History is replete with innumerable instances of cruelty and oppression perpetrated in the world of Islam during the Umayyad rule, including murder, banishment and imprisonment of the followers of the *Ahl al-Bayt* [the Family of the Prophet] as epitomized by the martyrdom of Imam Husayn and his votaries in Karbala by the forces of Yazid, son of Muawiyah.

month in which the Imam of the Muslims taught us the way to fight the tyrants of history.

- They killed the Doyen of the Martyrs but Islam flourished ever more.
- The Doyen of the Martyrs (*a*) together with all his disciples and kinfolks were massacred but they were able to advance their school.
- The martyrdom of His Holiness the Doyen of the Martyrs revived the school.
- Keeping the Ashura alive is a very important political and devotional matter.
- The Islamic Revolution in Iran is but a ray of light reflected from the Ashura and its great divine revolution.
- Karbala washed away the palace of the oppressors with blood and our Karbala destroyed the devilish palace of the monarchy.
- Keep Karbala and the holy name of the Doyen of the Martyrs alive, for their survival insures the survival of Islam.
- Foremost among the political issues, the issue of Karbala should be kept alive.
- Our great nation must preserve, with greater splendor, the memory of Ashura according to Islamic standards.
- Keep alive the month of Muharram, for all we have is from it.
- It is the months of Muharram and Safar that have kept Islam alive.
- The whole unity of expression that was at the base of our victory came about by the grace of these (Ashura) mourning rites and meetings, as well as the sessions for the propagation and spread of Islam.
- Let the (Ashura) mourning gatherings in commemoration of the Chief of the Oppressed and the Leader of the Noblemen (Imam Husayn) be held

with increasing attendance and splendor for these ceremonies mark the triumph of reason over ignorance, justice over tyranny, trust over treason, and Islamic rule over that of the *taghut*. Let the blood-smearred flags of Ashura be hoisted higher and higher as token of the arrival of the day for the oppressed to take their revenge.

- The month of Muharram is a month during which people are ready to hear the issue of truth.
- Lamentation for Imam Husayn (*a*), keeping the movement alive and maintaining alive the fact that a small number of people (successfully) stood up against a great empire, are orders of the day.
- Breast-beating in the mourning processions must make sense as well.
- Ashura is the day of public mourning of the oppressed nation; it is the epic day; the rebirth of Islam and the Muslims.

Martyrdom and the Martyr

- Martyrdom is an eternal honor.
- Martyrdom has been the pride of the *awliya*; it is our pride as well.
- Fear belongs to those whose school is not martyrdom.
- Martyrdom is the secret of victory.
- The nation that wishes martyrdom is victorious.
- You are victorious whether you triumph in this world or you get martyred.
- It is an honor for all of us to be martyred in the path of Islam.
- Martyrdom is a great grace for us.

- It was due to the sense of seeking martyrdom and willingness to sacrifice that a nation, empty-handed, triumphed over the *taghut*.
- A nation whose women and men are ready to give their lives and who seek martyrdom, cannot be challenged by any power.
- The blood of our martyrs is a continuation of the pure blood of the martyrs of Karbala.
- The nation, for whom martyrdom is bliss, is victorious.
- The nation that wishes martyrdom has no fear.
- Our nation has given blood so that the Islamic Republic may be materialized.
- Our nation loved martyrdom; the movement advanced with love for martyrdom.
- We are from God, the whole world is from God, and is a manifestation of God, and all shall return to Him. Therefore, it is best that the return be optional and man choose martyrdom in the path of God and let men opt to die for God and be martyred for Islam.
- Departure from deathbed is nothing but death, but martyrdom in the path of God is pride and honor for all men.
- “Red death” is much better than “black life”.¹
- How remiss are the materialists who seek the values of martyrdom in the pages of nature, search for its description in songs and epic odes, and look for clues through the art of imagination and the book of intellect! Never! Only love can provide a solution to the riddle.
- The martyrs have achieved their due service, happiness and reward.

¹ That is, an honorable death (“red death”) is better than a life in humiliation (“black life”).
[Ed.]

- The martyrs of the Great Revolution, like the martyrs of the early days of Islam, shall be rated highly valuable at the Divine Threshold and honored by Almighty God and the *awliya* of Islam.
- You are victorious because you embrace martyrdom, and those who fear death and martyrdom are defeated.
- Is not martyrdom the heritage handed down to our martyr-nurturing nation by our guardians and masters who deemed life as conviction and struggle, and in the path of the honorable school of Islam guarded it (the martyrdom) with their own blood and with that of their dear youth?
- I say to the dear nation and multimillion masses of our people that no revolution has been realized without seeking martyrdom, readiness for sacrifice, hardship, inflation, and temporary material pressures.
- Martyrdom in the path of God is not a thing to be assessed by material yardsticks and human standards.
- Our leader is that 12-year old boy¹ who, with his small heart, which is greater than hundreds of our tongues and pens, with grenade in hand, threw himself under enemy tank and destroyed it and himself, and thus drank the nectar of martyrdom.
- Happiness is attained by those who returned to God that which He had given them (life), and we are those who fell behind.
- It is up to us to acknowledge our weakness and express our gratitude to those cherished fighters who sought martyrdom and by their bravery

¹ Imam Khomeini is referring to the young *Basiji* (voluntary mobilization force) Husayn Fahmideh. During the eight-year Iraqi-imposed war on Iran instigated by the World Arrogance especially America, this *Basiji* boy, though aged 13, several times participated in the warfront operations. By his intelligence and insistence this *Basiji* boy used to convince the commanders to let him attend frontline actions. In a bid to prevent the enemy tank attacks the last time he was at the front, he attached several hand grenades around his waist and held one in his hand and thus armed, he threw himself into an enemy tank causing it to catch fire and explode. His embracing martyrdom in this manner stunned everyone and it became an example for other combatants who followed. The Islamic Republic of Iran has printed his picture on its 100- and 1,000-rial currency notes to keep alive his memory and the epic he created.

defended their Islamic homeland and with their pure blood provided lights to show the path to all the nations in bondage.

- May the martyrs enjoy the pleasure of their association with the noble prophets and saints and with the martyrs of the early days of Islam. May they enjoy even more the blessing that has come to them by winning the pleasure of God.
- Lo and Behold! O martyrs, be at ease by the side of Almighty God; your nation shall not lose your victory!
- You (martyrs) are true witnesses and mementos of the iron wills and resolutions of the models of the purest servants of God and you have proven your devotion and service at the Holy Threshold of the Lord by the sacrifice of your bloods and lives.
- A country where everyone is alert and prepared to sacrifice his life for martyrdom will surely have no fear of what you do.
- It is art if one can rise up for *jihad* without evil ostentation and political clamor, and sacrifice himself for the objective which is not vain desire, and this is the art of the men of God.
- I tell you faithful brothers, it would be much better for us to be wiped off the world scene at the criminal hands of America and the Soviet Union and by our red blood meet our Lord in honor, than to lead a comfortable life under the banner of the Red Army of the East or the Black (Army) of the West.
- Have no fears! You are victorious, God willing! Whether we kill or be killed, truth is on our side. If we get killed, it will be in the path of God and if we kill, that, too, is for God and victory!
- We, veiled earthlings or celestial beings, how can we know the meaning of “feasting with the God of the martyrs”?
- If we are killed, God willing, we shall go to heaven and if we kill, still we will go to heaven.

- Slay and be slain, either way you belong to heaven.
- We are fortunate whether we slay or are slain.
- It is the time that we, who are the inheritors of all this blood and the survivors of the young lain-in-blood martyrs, not to sit idle, but to do all we can to render fruitful their sacrifices.
- Martyrdom is a gift from Almighty God to those who are worthy of it.
- To weep for the martyr is to keep the movement alive.
- Mourning for a martyr who has given everything in the path of Islam is a political issue. It has considerable influence on advancing the Revolution. We should make use of these gatherings (for mourning).
- The shrines of the martyrs and the corpses, as well as the bodies of the maimed are telling tongues that bear witness to the greatness of their eternal souls.
- The blood of our youth overwhelmed the machineguns.
- How can one be not affected by persons who see their power in the blood of our martyrs?
- Serving in the Bonyad-e Shahid¹ [Martyr's Foundation] is above all services.
- I consider martyrdom in the path of God and for divine objectives as an eternal honor.

¹ In a decree dated March 15, 1980, at the instruction of Imam Khomeini an organization by the name of Martyrs' Foundation of the Islamic Revolution (*Bonyad-e Shuhada-ye Inqilab-e Islami*) was created to supervise the affairs of martyrs' families and the incapacitated veterans.

Chapter 3

Self-Building and Combat with the Self

- We cannot reform our country unless we first reform ourselves.
- Each one must begin with himself and adapt his conduct, views and deeds to Islamic decrees, and having thus corrected himself, then proceed to reform others.
- If you want your country to be independent so that others cannot interfere in it, begin with yourself.
- You correct yourself; your country, too, becomes corrected.
- That which is necessary for all of us is to begin with our own soul. We must not be pleased with adjusting or rectifying appearances; rather, we must start with our hearts, from our brains or minds and see that each day we are somewhat better than the day before.
- Among the highest and most sublime areas that necessitate collective teaching and learning are the Islamic spiritual sciences such as ethics, self-purification and spiritual wayfaring toward God—“whatever bounty we and you acquire is from Allah”—which is the greatest *jihad* [*jihad al-akbar*].
- It is knowledge and self-purification that lead man to the station of humanity.

- Forgetting oneself is a prelude to the perfection of man.
- We ourselves should review the record of our worldly deeds before it is presented to the Imam of the Time (*a*) and to the Threshold of God.
- Behave in such a way that when you depart for God's Threshold you may be able to hold your head up.
- We all have a duty to be purified so that we may be able to benefit from the lights of God and the Quran.
- You must purify yourselves so that you may be able to rise up; purifying oneself means obeying the commands of God.
- If we reform ourselves surely our purpose, too, will issue forth in the world.
- Spiritual reconstructions precede all other reconstructions. The *Jihad* for Reconstruction [*Jihad-e Sazandegi*] must begin with the individual.
- Construct! We must construct ourselves! Try to begin this *jihad* for reconstruction with yourselves, for if you do begin with self-reform, anything you do will be divine.
- We must undergo an inner revolution; our souls, too, must be revolutionized. We must change if our souls have so far been dominated by the Satan or *taghut*.
- To a soul that has not been purified, knowledge is a veil of darkness.
- It is a divine duty that if we inwardly are displeased with someone, our word, action or deed should be to the contrary.
- 'Unpurified' knowledge is more harmful than ignorance.
- Speech will be effective when it comes from a purified heart.

- If man could crush the “I” under foot and replace it with “He”, all things would be set right.
- Sometimes knowledge of monotheism sends one to the hell and sometimes mysticism does so. At other times, the science of jurisprudence and occasionally the science of ethics send men to the hell! Knowledge per se cannot set things right; it needs purification.
- The science of monotheism, too, if it deals with things other than God, is of the veil of darkness.
- God forbid that man enter the society and gain influence with the people before he purifies his ego because he’ll lose himself and go astray.
- He who relies on God will be victorious.
- If your hand is removed from this world, which is the cultivation field for the hereafter, it will then be too late and you won’t be able to purge your ego of corruption.
- I fear that for hearing our word and for our sake, they may go to paradise and we go to hell for not being purified.
- Real *id* [festival, feast] is when one wins the pleasure of God and he reforms himself inwardly.
- A nation and a society cannot achieve its lofty aims unless it has been purified and reformed.

Faith and Spiritual Values

- Things shall be set right once faith enters the heart.
- Faith in God is light; faith in God removes all darkness from the path of the believer.

- Faith or belief means that the heart has become aware of, and accepts, the things one comprehends by the intellect.
- Those who are with God, who are attentive to Him and believe Him, will be taken out of all darkness and led into the reality of light by Him.
- Know that the essence of knowledge and faith—which is based on knowledge—is light.
- Know that faith is one of the spiritual excellences whose light essence very few are aware of. Even the faithful are not aware of the radiance of their faith and the blessings it bears for them at the Threshold of God as long as they are bound to this world and abide in the darkness of nature.¹
- Faith is the base from which all the spiritual and material blessings and progress of a country germinate.
- Threats and bribery affects those who lack faith.
- Many people claim they have faith but the faithful are very few.
- If faith becomes fortified in men, all things will be done with ease.
- Being few in number isn't important, having strong faith is what counts.
- The standard for happiness is that one is faithful and patient, invites others to patience, and says the truth and makes others say the truth.
- I cannot accept that a man without spiritual standards may act for the people.
- Try to enhance spirituality among this nation. It is by spirituality that you can preserve your independence and attain the stages of perfection.
- Spiritual values are permanent ones.
- All miseries stem from the weakness of faith and belief.

¹ Here 'nature' does not mean the natural world but the base, mean aspect of the material world. [Ed.]

- Honor emanates from piety.
- It is easier to recover from material losses than from spiritual losses.
- Those who work for God never lose; those who work for the world suffer losses; if they don't attend to it, they'll lose all and waste their lives as well.
- We pin our hopes in God; we are not disappointed with Him and, by His grace, we shall overcome difficulties.
- I am confident that as long as this nation is mindful of God no power can hurt it.
- If our nation moves ahead for God and for the pleasure of the Noble Messenger, all its objectives will be materialized.
- Do not think that the White House and the Kremlin are living with ease; they live in anxiety which is due to their pursuit of Satan. Satan prevents tranquility from entering the hearts of men.
- If belief in God and action for His sake enter the social, political, economic, and other aspects of man's activities, the most complicated problems of the modern world will be easily solved.

Piety: The Criterion of Superiority

- He who is more pious, who fears God more and who renders service to God, is preeminent.
- All are brothers and equal, however, honor and dignity emanate from piety, and superiority is by the excellence of character and soundness of deeds.

- Piety is the essential thing, however, in the hands of ignorant persons it may cause losses.
- Your victory is assured if you are equipped with knowledge, piety and Islamic-revolutionary spirit, but if you fall short in this area, the responsibility for it lies in you.
- A nation with piety can protect itself from all worldly plagues.

Sincerity

- Let us adorn and enliven the hearts with sincerity of intention and inner truthfulness.
- No act of worship is acceptable at the Divine Threshold unless it is based on the sincerity of intention.
- Nothing in the devotional acts is as important as the intention and its sincerity.
- Link yourselves up to that infinite sea; let your actions be divine and heed the commands of God.
- Soundness and excellence of deeds depend on intention, receptiveness of the heart and observation of limits.
- In whatever stage you are, try to increase your sincerity and purge the heart of delusions of the ego and the temptations of Satan; surely you will get results, and you will find a way to truth and the way of guidance will open up to you and Almighty God will assist you.
- You act by expediency and reason and fear not killing or getting killed; the important thing is that your intention is sincere.
- Try to make your intentions sincere for God, for you are of those who have attained salvation whether you kill or get killed.

- Try to do things for God’s sake; your uprising should be for God.

Good Conduct

- By conduct, render the people humble. Humility of the heart is the criterion. And, if you can, gain the support of the peoples’ hearts, as this is the thing that stays and lasts with God.
- Make friends with God’s servants on whom He bestows His mercy and blessings—those who are in His good grace by being Muslims and faithful—and be kind and loving at heart.

Self-Confidence

- We must realize that we are all things¹ and have nothing less than anybody. We, who had lost ourselves, must regain this “lost self”.
- After trust in God, self-reliance is a source of pious deeds.
- Let us think of developing our own personality.
- When objectives are superb, the toils to reach them must be ignored.
- Fear nothing; when God is with you, all things are with you.
- We trust in God and fear nothing.
- He who has God with him fears nothing save His Might.

¹ That is, we have everything. [Ed.]

Contentment and Simple Living

- Spiritualities form the basis of Islam. Try to enhance spiritualities and reduce formalities as much as possible.
- Accustom yourselves to simple living and avoid attachment of the heart to self and position.
- Islamic-human values cannot be preserved by luxury-consumerist living.

Patience

- Patience is the key to the gates of happiness and the source of deliverance from predicaments.
- Patience and forbearance ease the burden of misfortunes on man, make easy the difficulties, and strengthen the will and resolution.
- The greater a purpose the greater the pains to attain it; one must be tolerant.
- If we persevere, divine confirmation shall assist us.

Repentance

- For anyone who does something (wrong), there is always a room for repentance; God's munificence is endless.
- Repentance has conditions which must be fulfilled before God accepts it.

- The best season to repent is the spring of youth when the burdens of sins are lighter and the heart's blemish is partial and the terms of repentance easier.
- Remorse and decision to quit sinning does not occur to those who have engaged in telling lies and backbiting for 50 or 70 years and have bleached their whiskers in sins.
- Repent! Repentance is not done by mere saying of the words, "I repent before God!" It requires remorse, penitence and resolution to stop the commission of sinful acts.

Chapter 4

Self-Love and Carnal Desires

- Beware of the carnal desires for they are the legacy of Satan.
- Pursuit of the carnal desires is the indication of separation from God.
- The seriousness of carnal diseases is a thousand times more than bodily diseases.
- If you open one door to carnal desires you will be compelled to open many other doors.
- My dear! Know that carnal wishes and desires are endless; the appetite is insatiable.
- Any misfortune that befalls the individual and any hardship that is inflicted on the community by the power-wielders are due to selfishness and lustful desires.
- Man's inner devil is the man himself; his ego; the carnal desires of man.
- Self-love is the root of all corruption of man; it has been from the first appearance of man down to the present and will be such a source to the Last Day.
- Man's affliction is his carnal desires.

- As long as you are tied down to your ego and selfish whims and wishes you cannot struggle in the path of God or defend the Lord's Sanctuary.
- Self-love is at the top of all of man's wrong doings.
- Selfishness is a danger to any man.
- Love of the self is our greatest pitfall. Ambition and love of fame are also dangers.
- Man's ego is worse than any uncontrollable thing; it destroys him because of being uncontrollable.
- That which breaks one's back is self-love, love of position and love of all the things that generate love. Such love is so dangerous that if the Prophet or even God take some of it from him, the self-loving man begins to hate them both.

Love of the World and Lust for Power

- The world is the thing that is within us. It makes us stray away from the source of perfection and involves us in our ego and egoism.
- The more our ego shows concern for the world the more it becomes negligent of God and the hereafter.
- All the spiritual, ethical, and behavioral corruptions stem from our love of the world and negligence of God.
- That knowledge which brings man closer to God, in one who is a mammon it takes him away from the Lord.
- The more one's heart becomes involved in expediencies and preparation for this world, the more it will be veiled by dust of poverty and lowliness and the more it will be engulfed in the darkness of need and misery.

- My dear! If you don't mind love of the world, at least do not beg of a weakling creature like yourself.
- Attention to, and dependence on, material things separate one from the caravan of humanity, putting an end to such belonging, and turning to God advances one to the station of humanity.
- The unpleasant thing about the world is uncontrolled attachment to worldly objects such as even a string of beads, a book, etc.
- Concern for the glitter of the world alienates man from his feeling of humanity.
- If you want to be admitted to the Lord's Reception you and your heart must turn away from the world as much as you can.
- The wealthy are beggars in rich man's dress and the needy ones in the garb of the affluent.
- Getting out of material attachments and becoming mindful of God promotes man to the station of humanity.
- Know that this world is lowly because of its faults, deficiencies and infirmities. It is not a place for generosity and divine reward or a place for torture or punishment.
- Fear of death comes to those who have made this base world their home but are not aware of the eternal abode by the Divine Grace.
- Any status or position that man may earn, whether spiritual or material, will be taken away some day and that day is not known.
- He who has links with God does not suffer defeat. Defeat comes to him for whom this world is ideal.
- Should they give their lives for Islam and for the good of the Islamic country by their blood while we sit here and quarrel with one another? In the logic of Islam this is a great sin.

- Lust for power is satanic regardless of who is the seeker.
- Don't raise so much fuss about how your house is and what conditions you live in... Search for that human honor, that virtue which made you victorious.
- This world's affair will pass away soon; its victories, defeats, goodness, and evil things last just a few days.

Self-Conceit and Selfishness

- All corruption that comes about in the world stems from selfishness.
- All corruption of the world is due to self-conceit.
- As long as man is self-conceited and sees himself, he cannot find the road to guidance.
- Whenever one says, "I," be sure his "I" is evil.
- Know that the wicked quality of self-conceit emerges from self-love.
- Self-centeredness ("I and not others") is found in all people unless the egos are purified.
- How ignorant is the man who considers these things as position or status, and how feeble-minded to regard these governments as status or station!
- Try to remove the veil of self-conceit so as to see the beauty that is the Lord; all pains and troubles will then become wholesome and easy to bear.
- Self-conceit is the legacy of Satan.
- There is going to be wars, corruptions, cruelties, and oppressions as long as conceit and selfishness exist in mankind.

- If the works are accompanied by selfishness and vanity, God forbid, then it is the beginning of man's failure.
- One cannot be self-worshipping and God-worshipping at the same time. One cannot observe his own interests and the interests of Islam simultaneously. Either of them must be the case.
- Considering oneself of a higher rank in relation to others is mental and moral decadence.
- If one put aside selfishness in every undertaking and observe the expedient and the Lord, he will succeed and remain immune to the dangers that accrue selfishness.
- Quarrels are due to selfishness; they stem from man's ego.
- There are two kinds of self-assertion. Sometimes it is done for "show-off". This is evil. Some other times it is done with an aim to guide others. This is divine soul.
- Man's carnal passion or ego tends to claim authority for all things done. This is selfishness, and the ensuing disputes are due to weakness of faith.
- None can claim immunity to fault; such claim per se establishes the greatest fault of the claimant.
- Vanity due to success or victory is a major affliction that the inner devil generates in men so as to make them deviate from the path of truth.
- Vanity and negligence drag men into corruption.
- Vanity is an exclusive characteristic of Satan.
- The more one is ignorant, and his intellect weaker, the more is his vanity and the more one knows, the greater one's soul and the broader his mind, the greater will be his humility.

Fault-Finding

- No fault is greater than not understanding one's own fault and ignoring it. Although one is a collection of faults himself, he is concerned with the faults of others.
- Why should complexes of the heart mislead men and carnal passions put aside all things and observe only the faults?
- Divulging the peoples' secrets, no matter what they may be, is contrary to Islam.

Negligence

- Do not neglect God even for a moment. Neglecting the Source of Power leads mankind to perdition.

Disappointment and Despair

- Do not ever become disappointed in your affairs for all things do not become rectified at once and major works are carried out little by little.
- Despair is of the army of Satan and hopefulness is that of God. Always be hopeful.

Social Perversion and Corruption

- The prophets, just like the physicians, wanted to reform the society.

- If there is only no ethical perversion, no war weapon will ever harm mankind.
- That which places our planet on the verge of collapse is moral perversion.
- Corruption deteriorates the community, and like a cancerous tumor, will not let it up; it must be removed.
- Saving of an addict is not saving of an individual; it is saving of Islam.
- Insulting a Muslim is not a religious duty; the same is true in the case of backbiting a brother in faith. It is love of the self and love of the world; it is satanic insinuations that make man so miserable.
- Hurting Muslims and the faithful is a major sin.

Enjoining Good and Forbidding Evil

- Enjoining others to do good and forbidding evil is incumbent on the entire nation.
- Promoting the truth which is the same as enjoining good and forbidding evil is an incumbent duty on all Muslims.
- If a cruel ruler dominates the people, the *ulama* of the nation and the scholars of the nation must take action to forbid evil.
- You and we are all obliged to enjoin good in all matters and affairs relating to the various bureaus, offices or departments of public administration, and if we see someone who does evil, introduce him to the authorities who are prepared to prevent evil and we ought to tolerate the difficulties.
- If you do not control corruption, there is no guarantee that things will not revert to the former conditions.

- If things detrimental to the prestige of the Islamic Republic, or opposed to the path of the nation or interdicted by religion are not absolutely stopped, everybody will be held responsible.

Hypocrisy and the Hypocrites

- The hypocrites are worse than the unbelievers.
- Islam denies the hypocrites most. The hypocrite is the most obvious manifestation of *kufir*.
- Islam has emphasized the destruction or reformation of the hypocrites more than unbelievers because one knows what to do with an unbeliever but does not know what to do with a hypocrite.
- In *Surah al-Munafiqin* [Chapter: The Hypocrites] the Holy Quran describes the hypocrites, saying that before you a hypocrite states that he has religion, that his religion is Islam but he lies; he is not Muslim; rather, he is a hypocrite.
- Today we face the problem that a number of hypocrites profess Islam, but in reality they want to break its back; the Muslims have a hard time with them; the solution to the problem concerning them is very difficult.
- Your major fault and that of your supporters is that you have no knowledge of Islam and its spiritual strength, nor do you know anything about the Muslim nation and its incentive for self-sacrifice.
- While the heads of the hypocrites¹ are merrymaking in the laps of America and France, yet they have succeeded in deceiving a number of youth and controlling their power to think.

¹ By hypocrites [*munafiqin*] is meant the members and supporters of Mujahidin Khalq Organization (MKO) that was established in 1344 AHS (1965) to fight against the Shah. Because of the ignorance of its leaders on the comprehensive principles and teachings of the school of Islam, the organization chose an eclectic ideology and in a very short time after the victory of the Revolution, rose against the Revolution and its forces and martyred a good

- Those who profess Islam but burn hospitals and sever the heads of the wounded are not Muslims; recognize them as they are hypocrites.
- Shame on you, O scum of the Satan and on you, O self-sold internationalists for creeping into holes and sabotaging with your acts of ignorance the work of a nation that is challenging the superpowers.
- I doubt if you can find a group or band whose crimes and meanness are on a par with that of this small group of the hypocrites.

many true servants of people, of the dedicated clergy, and youth, and by explosion of scores of bombs all over the country, setting fire to houses and buses filled with innocent people and started blood streams. The group spared no effort to overthrow the Islamic government. After several stages the group was suppressed by the revolutionary forces. Some of them fled from the country. Those who claim to be anti-imperialists and feared revelation of their identities are now passing their last shameful days in the laps of the imperialists. In the public vernacular the terrorist group, Mujahidin Khalq, has been named and known as *munafiqin* [hypocrites], which indicates their inner crooked quality. It is to be noted that during the Iraqi war against Iran this group fought against the Islamic forces by the side of the Iraqi army.

Part Two

Chapter 1

Uprising for God

- All things are embedded in the uprising for God; uprising for God brings forth the knowledge of God.
- When one sees God's religion in danger, he must rise up for His sake.
- Do not fear death. Life and death are in God's Hand.
- Rise up everyone! Rise up for God. Rise up singly to counter the devil's army within you and rise up collectively to confront the evil powers.
- *“Rise up singly and collectively for God”*:¹ singly, for attaining the knowledge of God and collectively to attain God's aims.
- Rising up for God's sake knows no defeat.
- If some day we shift our trust from God to oil or to weapon, be sure that day will mark our downfall.
- Try to make your uprising and this movement of yours to be a divine movement and to be for the sake of God.
- All powers are nothing vis-à-vis the Almighty God.

¹ *Surah as-Saba 34:46: “I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye rise up, for Allah's sake, by twos and singly.”*

- We are not afraid because our uprising was for God.
- Uprising for God is free of any and all losses and damages.
- The uprising for God and the movement that is based on spirituality and faith has no retreat.
- A country that has risen up for God shall endure in His Name and follow its aim.
- Affiliate yourselves with that Source of Might; you, little drops, join the sea!

Invitation to Uprising

- My counsel to the nations of Muslim countries is this: Do not expect someone from the outside to come and help you obtain your objective which is Islam and the implementation of its decrees. You yourselves must rise up for this vital matter that leads to the realization of freedom and independence.
- The nations must rise up and rid themselves of their (corrupt) governments and the great powers.
- I hope the Muslims of other lands will take a lesson from the experience of the Iranians, slap the West in the face, stand up on their own feet and, by relying on Islam, regain their past honor and glory.
- O zealous Muslims in the four corners of the world! Rise up from your slumber of negligence and save Islam and the Muslim countries from the clutches of the colonizers and their affiliates.
- Is it not disgracing for the Muslims of the world—with all their human, spiritual and material resources, with such a progressive school [*maktab*]

and divine support—to bow down to the domination of the arrogant powers, pirates and robbers of the century?

- It is up to the nations to rise up and rescue themselves from the hands of the ruffians.
- The nations must rise to action. It is a mistake to sit by and expect others to do something, materially or spiritually, for them.
- It is the duty of the Muslims to stage uprisings for Islam and cut off the hands of the powers that are plotting to destroy Islam and to possess the Muslims' resources.
- Those who know what ails the Muslim societies, who have made covenants with the deprived and the barefooted to continue their struggle, should remember that they are at the beginning of the way.
- Let all the vigilant Muslim nations arise with due awareness and make these dirty hands that seek to place the entire Muslim nations under the domination of superpowers withdraw to their own positions.
- Keeping silence in respect of corrupt ruling class is a disgrace to the Islamic nation.
- O Muslim nations! Take a lesson from the sacrifices of our *mujahids* for the sake of freedom, independence and the development objectives of the great Islam, and by joining together break through the obstacles of colonialism and exploitation, and advance toward liberty and humane life.
- Undoubtedly, the victory of the Muslim nation of Iran will be a fine example for other oppressed nations of the world, particularly the nations in the Middle East on how a nation, by relying on the revolutionary ideology of Islam can overwhelm great powers.

Arise, O *Mustadafin* [Downtrodden]!

- O downtrodden people of the world! Arise and be united together; drive out the oppressors from the scene as the earth belongs to God and the oppressed are His inheritors.
- Behold O Muslims of the world, O the downtrodden ones! Arise, join hands in unity, defend Islam and your destinies, and do not fear the rigmarole of the power-wielders.
- Behold O Muslims and downtrodden people of the world! Arise and take your fates in your own hands. How long will you sit and let Washington or Moscow determine your destinies?
- If the downtrodden people want to have an honorable human existence, they must all join hands and put a limit to the power of those who enjoy the veto power!
- You downtrodden ones, you Muslims and Muslim countries of the world! Arise and take your rights through tooth and nail.
- Behold O the downtrodden people of the world! Rise up against the arrogant cannibals and take your rights from them, for God is with you and His promise does not fail!
- Wake up and awaken the dormant ones. Revive and restore to life those who are lifeless, and under the banner of monotheism, make sacrifices to roll up the scroll of the red or black colonialism and do away with the self-sold worthless elements!
- The downtrodden in all lands should retake their due rights by mighty fist and not expect others to give these to them for the arrogant do not remit what belongs to others.
- O the downtrodden people! Arise and oppose the superpowers for if you do so, they cannot do anything about it.

- The deprived and the oppressed of history should themselves rise up and not wait for the oppressors to release them from bondage.
- Ultimate victory can be achieved when all countries and all the downtrodden triumph over all the arrogant people.
- The *id* or the day of festivity for the downtrodden is the day when the arrogant are buried.

Resistance against Oppression and Submission to It

- Our program is neither to oppress nor to be oppressed.
- We shall not oppress anyone nor shall we submit to oppression.
- We neither transgress others nor let others transgress us.
- The Muslim nation follows a school [*maktab*] whose program is summarized in two words: “Neither *oppress* nor be *oppressed*”!
- Under the guidance of the Prophet of Islam we want to enforce these two words: “Neither be *oppressor* nor submit to *oppression*.”
- The oppressor receives more harm from his oppression than the oppressed.
- Our nation submits to truth and justice just as it stands up against injustice and oppression.

Chapter 2

The Islamic Revolution

- Content-wise, this Revolution has been the best and the greatest.
- Our great Islamic Revolution is first and foremost a moral-spiritual revolution before being a socio-political one.
- Know that a revolution as good as the Revolution of Iran had not taken place before.
- Our people's Revolution is a revolution based upon the people; thus, the people are not supposed to complain about their own revolution.
- Iran preserved its Revolution by the hand of the faithful and it is advancing by the same hands even now.
- Our enemies must know that no other revolution in the world has been able to achieve so much at so little a cost as that of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and this can only be attributed to the blessings of Islam.
- The uprising of you, Iranian youth; the uprising of you, Iranian nation, which was a divine uprising and a divine movement, revived the Quran and Islam.
- Let us devotionally guard the Islamic Revolution, and in continuation of this cherished school, which is the deliverance of the oppressed and the

suppression of the arrogant, let us be watchful of our carnal desires which are the legacy of Satan.

- So far you cannot find a revolution with so much gain at such little cost as the Iranian Revolution.
- Revolution is like a child; it must be reared and trained. It needs nursing.
- Our nation must be determined not to lose that which it has gained.
- Our sacred Islamic movement has put an end the life of the pillagers and dictators in Iran.
- In the path of a revolution and for its victory, offering sacrifices and being sacrificed are inevitable especially a revolution that is staged for God, for religion and the deliverance of the oppressed.
- You stand up against those who seek to portray this Islamic Revolution contrary to what it is. State your truth as it is and promote it until, God willing, truth is established in all Muslim lands and falsehood gradually perished, God willing, from all the Muslim countries, nay in all the countries of the world.
- Advance in this movement and do not ever let despair overtake you, for to despair is of the army of Satan.
- Efforts must be made to prevent the “newcomers” and those who “trade faith for pelf” from marring the bright *kufir*-eradicating and poverty-fighting countenance of our Revolution.
- You made a Revolution and smashed an obstacle the like of which has been rare or non-existent in the world.
- We want to export our Revolution, not by the sword; rather, by publicity and propagation.
- The people of Iran demonstrated their ability to withstand hunger and thirst but they shall never tolerate the defeat of the Revolution or blows to its principles.

- Let our authorities not reject, by baseless excuses, the true patrons of the Revolution and replace them with the heirs of former regime and those mentally affiliated with them.
- Sacrifice for a great revolution is a sign of victory and nearness to the objective.
- I, on my part, have no worries about the Revolution as it has found its path, is advancing and is not dependent on any individual.
- Whether I am among you or not my advice to all of you is this: Do not let the Revolution fall in the hands of the unworthy, aberrant persons.
- As long as America has not gone away and the hands of these superpowers have not been taken off our country, our movement shall continue and so shall our cries, and we shall continue our task, and God willing, we shall succeed.
- We were abject slaves of America but Iran broke off this servile condition and found dignity.
- The transformation of our nation from a position of fear to one of strength was a divine transformation.
- A divine Hand was behind this nation!
- Our nation had not risen up for its belly; it had not risen up for such base and degenerate matters.
- This movement differs from other movements in that it is a national and Islamic one.
- The sacred Iranian movement is an Islamic movement, and for this reason, it is natural that all Muslims of the world be influenced by it.

Victory and Its Factors

- Faith and the unity of expression was the secret behind your victory.
- With faith in God and the unity of expression the combatant Iranian nation overwhelmed the great satanic power which was supported by all other powers, and severed the hands of all superpowers from its homeland.
- Faith in God and the unity of expression made it possible for you to eliminate the superpowers.
- The secret that made you victorious was belief in God and being mindful of Him.
- Faith in God, faith in the Islamic principles made you victorious.
- We succeeded because of our power of faith that made everyone of us in all strata cry out for Islam, not because of number or figure.
- We should understand “why” we succeeded. Once we understand this “why,” we should then try to preserve the thing that made us succeed.
- Attention to Almighty God and guarding Islam were the secrets of our victory.
- The cry of “*Allahu akbar*” [God is the greatest] made us victorious; our weapon today is the same. The unity of expression made us victorious; our weapon today is the same.
- It was by the divine grace that you triumphed without having organization or arms and equipment over great powers.
- Preserve your attention to God so as to remain victorious.
- This is the divine hand of God that shelters you and His favor that is bestowed upon you. Appreciate and preserve them if you wish to remain victorious in all stages.

- Preservation of victory is more difficult than achieving it.
- Many victories have been lost because the people were infirm and lacked steadfastness.
- Our nation was able to advance this movement by its reliance on Islam.
- My brothers, it was by reliance on faith and Islam that we succeeded.
- By Islamic conduct and behavior, preserve the power that has made you victorious.
- A divine purpose leads to victory.
- A community that has God as its backing does not face defeat.
- If a nation rises up by the power of faith, no other power can stand up against it.
- We want to demonstrate to the world that prominent powers, too, can be beaten by the strength of faith.
- As long as we are in the path of God, we are victorious.
- Victory is brought not by the sword but by blood.
- With empty hands we overcame the extraordinary power which was backed by all other forces.
- We are the truth and the truth overcomes falsehood.
- You are the truth standing up against falsehood. It requires perseverance in order to achieve ultimate victory.
- The country, whose people of all strata are so ready for self-sacrifice, is surely victorious.
- You are the truth opposing falsehood and truth always wins.

- It is not true that we fear defeat. In the first place we will not be defeated because God is with us. Secondly, assuming we suffer a superficial or external defeat, we shall not face “spiritual defeat” for spiritual victory belongs to Islam and the Muslims.
- We fear nothing for we are the truth. When we are the truth if we triumph, we are the truth and if we lose still we are the truth.
- If the whole world rise up against us and destroy us, still we are victorious.
- He who is with God, God is with him and victory belongs to him.
- You are victorious because God is with you.
- You are victorious because you are backed by Islam.
- May you endure for you are victorious.
- Shortage of number does not cause weakness when spiritual strength, commitment and solidarity are at work.
- Victory is yours when you are favored by God and not when you conquer a country.
- As long as your morale is directed to that Source of Power, you are victorious; do not part with it.
- This victory came to our Revolution by the blessings of Islam, by inclination toward Islam and by the cry of “*Allahu akbar*”!
- This victory had nothing to do with me; I’m just a seminarian and this must not be attributed to me. The victory had even nothing to do with the nation; it was related to God.
- Long live the highly dignified and honored banner of “*Allahu akbar*” which is the secret of the miraculous victory of the great Iranian nation!
- The victory of the Revolution is owed to the entire nation.

- Preservation of a victory is harder than achieving one.
- Final and ultimate victory comes about when Islam, in all its dimensions and with all its decrees, is implemented in Iran and a great victory is that Islam become sovereign all over the world. Islam is the key to the happiness of mankind.

***Ayyamullah* [Days of Allah]**

- The 15th of Khordad is the starting date of the Islamic movement.
- The 15th of Khordad incident charged the ruling class with great shame; it is an unforgettable incident.
- The events of Khordad 15 and Dey 19¹ must be kept alive so that bloodsheds of the Shah shall be not forgotten and future generations learn about the crimes of the monarchs.
- I declare the 15th of Khordad a permanent day of general mourning.

¹ The martyrdom of Imam Khomeini's son, Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Mustafa in Najaf (in Iraq) on the first day of Aban 1356 AHS (October 23, 1978) by the agents of the Shah's regime ignited waves of hatred by the Muslim nation of Iran against the Shah's government. In spite of the strangulating condition prevailing in the country then, the people acted to hold memorial and mourning services and rites, and at the first meeting held in Qum to honor this martyr, the city of Qum revolted. Revelation of the crimes of the surrogate monarchial regime made the agents in a reactionary, revengeful act, to publish an insulting article on Dey 17, 1356 AHS (November 11, 1978) in a local newspaper with wide circulation. In protest to the said article, the next day the entire bazaar and Islamic seminaries closed down. The people flocked into the houses of the *maraji*, *fuqaha* [jurists] and *mudarrisin* [teachers] asking them not to remain silent vis-à-vis such insults to the Imam and the clergy. Such a protest was carried in the form of a solemn walk by the people and the seminarians on Dey 19 (November 9). However, in the afternoon of that day armed agents attacked the demonstrators, opened fire, killed and wounded a number of the seminarians and common people. On account of this savage attack and bloody massacre, the Imam issued a statement in which the interference of America in Iran and the crimes perpetrated by the Shah were severely condemned. The killings in Qum on Dey 19 as well as the speech and statement of the Imam on the subject depicted the beginning of a new chapter in continuing the Islamic Revolution. Frequent uprisings of the Iranian people from this date on increased daily till they resulted in the victory of the Islamic Revolution on Bahman 22, 1357 AHS (February 22, 1979).

- The uprising on the 15th of Khordad broke the myth of the might of the monarchs and cancelled the “charms” and tales related to them.
- The first and most important chapter of the bloody struggle was concluded by the 15th of Khordad *Ashura* (bloodshed).
- On the 15th day of Khordad the noble nation of Iran must give thanks for the infinite blessings of God.
- The victory on the 22nd of Bahman 1357 AHS (February 11, 1978) was the outcome of the 15th of Khordad movement.
- The 17th day of Shahrivar¹ is one of the Days of Allah.
- The anniversary of the 17th of Shahrivar which relates the inhuman and anti-Islamic crimes of the monarchy and is one of the Days of Allah, and which demonstrates the bravery, solidarity and resistance of the nation to the criminals and oppressors, shall always be remembered and observed by the combatant Iranian nation.
- The bitter memory of Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS and the bitter memories of the great days of the nation yielded the sweet fruit of the destruction of the palaces of tyranny and arrogance, and the hoisting of the Islamic Republic’s banner of justice.
- The 17th Shahrivar is one of the Days of Allah that the memory of the Iranian nation keeps alive.

¹ Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS (September 8, 1978), later named as the “Black Friday”, is one of the most eventful days of the Islamic Revolution of the Iranian people. In pursuit of the splendid and grand demonstrations held in Tehran on Shahrivar 13 (September 4) and the *Id al-Fitr* congregational prayers, similar demonstrations were also held in Tehran on Shahrivar 16 (September 7) and arrangements were made for other demonstrations for the next day (Friday) to be held in the Zhaleh Square. Early on Friday, the people streamed into the Zhaleh Square such that by 6 am some one hundred thousand people were gathered there. The Square was surrounded by the Shah’s military units on all sides with machinegun barrels aimed at the people from every side. At this hour, the radio unexpectedly announced that martial law is declared for Tehran and ten other cities. Immediately after the announcement, machinegun volleys strafed the crowd. On this occasion more than 4,000 people were killed and several hundred were wounded. The Shah’s regime placed the figures at 58 killed and 25 wounded!

- On behalf of His Holiness the Master of the Age, the Imam of the Time (a), I offer condolences, and at the same time, congratulations to all Muslims of the world especially the survivors and families of those who fell on that date—the 4th of Shawwal 1398 AH (17th Shahrivar).
- By God, my Mustafa¹ is not only he whose death anniversary is near; rather, all those who gave their blood in the Shawwal incident² are to me like my own Mustafa.
- Aban 13³ is the day when the barbaric assault on the university by agents of the sinister regime and massacre of our dear students took place.
- The nation that proudly and successfully experienced and left behind the day of blood (the 15th of Khordad), the day marking the triumph of blood (the 17 of Shahrivar) and Black Friday (the regime's doom), does not fear these economic and military blockades. Those who fear these things are

¹ Sayyid Mustafa (1309-56 AH) was the first child of Imam Khomeini. At 15 Sayyid Mustafa began to study Islamic sciences. At 27 he attained the level of *ijtihad* (independent reasoning in deducing Islamic laws). When still young, Sayyid Mustafa mastered most of the Islamic sciences. On Aban 13, 1343 AHS (November 4, 1964) he was arrested and jailed by the order of the Shah's regime. He was freed from prison 58 days later but was soon arrested and banished to Turkey on Dey 13, 1343 AHS (January 3, 1965). Like his father, Mustafa Khomeini possessed an uncompromising spirit. He believed that to overthrow the Pahlavi rule all-inclusive uprisings are necessary and he struggled hard in this path. He was assassinated at the age of 47 in Najaf, Iraq by SAVAK agents and attained martyrdom.

² By this Imam Khomeini means the events of the month of Shahrivar including the "Black Friday".

³ On Aban 13, 1343 AHS (November 4, 1964) the Shah's surrogate regime deported Imam Khomeini to Turkey on charges of alleged opposition to the renewal of the Capitulation Bill. Fourteen years after this event, on Aban 13, 1357 AHS (November 4, 1978) coinciding with Imam Khomeini's anniversary of exile, as the Islamic Revolution's climax was approaching, a large number of high school and university students from various educational institutions gathered on the campus of Tehran University and began demonstrations in protest to the American policies and those of its puppet regime in Iran. The Shah's agents attacked the demonstrators, killing and wounding many students. Following the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic Republic declared 13th of Aban as the "Students Day" in memory of the students martyred or wounded that day and in acknowledgment of the students' campaign against the Shah's regime. It is to be noted that one year after the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, that is, on Aban 13, 1358 AHS (November 4, 1979), Students Following the Line of the Imam occupied the US Den of Espionage (Embassy) in Tehran in protest to America's interference in Iran and its support of anti-revolutionary elements.

the ones for whom economy is the infrastructure, belly the locus of attention, and this world the destination and purpose.

- Greetings to Ashura, greetings to the 15th of Khordad and to the 22nd of Bahman, and greetings to the Days of Allah and the noble nation of Iran!
- Greetings to the Day of Allah of Bahman 22¹ and to those who produced such a day!
- Bahman 22 should be a model and lesson to us during our entire lives and for the future generations; all should preserve and observe Bahman 22 for it is the day in which faith overwhelmed *kufr*; God destroyed the tyrant and Islam triumphed over *kufr*.
- Bahman 22 was the day that the army and the nation united; the day that the army returned to Allah from the *taghut* and by reciting “*Allahu akbar*” and with the support of the *ummah*, triumphed over the *taghut*, and this must be our lesson in our entire lives.
- Bahman 22 proved that a united nation with a divine purpose, not purely material, all having a single voice and purpose, cannot be defeated and all witnessed the victory of such a nation.
- O God! Thou hast favored us and on such a day as Bahman 22, Thou hast made us triumphant over Thy enemy and took the hand of this oppressed nation from the verge of fall and hell to the pinnacle of Your mercy!
- Shahrivar 17 is the repetition of Ashura; the *Meydan-e Shuhada* [Martyrs’ Square]² is the repetition of Karbala; our martyrs are the replicas of the martyrs in Karbala and the opponents of our nation are the facsimiles of Yazid³ and his agents.

¹ Bahman 22: the day the Islamic Revolution in Iran triumphed in 1357 AHS (February 22, 1979).

² Martyrs’ Square: the former Zhaleh Square in Tehran.

³ Yazid ibn Muawiyah: (26-62 AH) succeeded his father to occupy the office of the Caliphate in the year 60 AH. He was a young man devoid of knowledge and virtues and was well known for his debauchery and other vices. Yazid ruled for three and a half years. During his first year he killed Imam Husayn (*a*) and his votaries at Karbala and made the latter’s surviving kith and kin captives. In his second year as Caliph, he ransacked Medina, (the seat of the Prophet’s rule and his burial site), and in his third year of rule he invaded Mecca.

Unity and Fraternity

- The Muslims must be a united hand against all the oppressors.
- Invitation to Islam is principally invitation to unity.
- All over the world the faithful are brothers and by the decree of the Quran brothers are equals.
- In Islam, it is this fraternity that is the source of blessings.
- By the maintenance of fraternity you have arrived here; advance by preserving it!
- I have repeatedly declared that in Islam things like race, language, nationality, and geography are not topical issues; Muslims, whether Sunni or Shiah are brothers, and thus, equal and all enjoy all of the Islamic privileges and rights.
- In Islam Kurd¹ or Fars, Sunni or Shiah, do not count for they are all brothers and equal.
- We all have the duty to join hands, be brothers, and jointly reconstruct Iran.
- What we all need now is preservation of this unity.
- As long as you are a single solid “unit”, none can break it.
- If you are interested in the independence of Iran, have religious unity!
- The way to rescue a nation from the clutches of colonialism is through the religion which is deeply-rooted in the soul of that nation.

¹ Kurd: an Iranian ethnic group living in the West of Iran.

- As long as you maintain your unity, God is with you. “The Hand (help) of God is with the congregation.”¹
- By the unity of expression and reliance on Islam, the Iranian nation advanced the movement; it will not abandon this secret.
- We must all understand that the unity of expression is the secret behind the victory, and never lose this secret.
- By the grace of tranquility and unity we can advance this country to the sublime Islamic objectives.
- Today is the day of unity and solidarity and this, too, is one of the great blessings of God.
- We all know what miraculous effects unity of the nation has had and still has and, in contrast, what miseries, discord and dispute have brought to the nation in the course of its history.
- The secret of the victory of you, great nation, was the unity of expression and reliance on faith.
- It was your concern for God, for “*Allahu akbar*” and this unity that made you triumph over those powers.
- Defense of Islam and of the Islamic Republic are among the important duties incumbent on all of us, and it requires unity.
- Try not to lose this unity of expression and trust in God.
- If the Muslims are a united, single fist, none can rise up against them.
- If the Muslims unite, no government can dominate them.
- Islam has come to unite all nations of the world—Arabs, non-Arabs, Turks, Persians, etc. and form a great *ummah* by the name of Islamic *ummah*, in the entire world.

¹ A tradition ascribed to the Prophet (s). See *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316.

- We, the Shiah and Sunnis, must be brothers to one another and not let others come and take away all we have.
- It is incumbent on all Muslims to be together.
- If the Muslim nations that are together about one billion people become brothers and act as brothers, no harm shall reach them.
- I humbly extend my hand to all the ranks that are at the service of Islam and ask them all to come together and in perfect unison work to extend the Islamic justice, which is the only way for the nation to attain happiness.
- I have tried with all my strength and will continue to do all I can for the unity of all strata of our people and pray to God to help us in this important matter on which depends the survival of the nation.
- Wholesome and creative speeches in healthy, quiet surroundings are useful to develop unity and understanding and prevent disputes, and will please the Lord.
- Do not keep saying, “unity” but not go after it. Be active together; you are brothers to one another.
- I say with emphasis that if the heads are good to one another, this country shall see no harm. If any harm comes to it, it is due to the disputes among the heads.
- I have often said that you must have the unity of expression in order to do something. If each go a different way and push to a different direction, only foreigners may benefit by results, if any.
- We must unite; if we do, we shall see no harm.
- If you want to see Islam realized, and the entire symbols of *shirk* and *kufir* leave this country, preserve this unity of expression and this movement.
- If a nation wants to remain safe, first of all, its people must be united and secondly, do its work well!

- We do not have an army separate from the *Sepah*, nor do we have a *Sepah* separate from the (Revolutionary) Committee, nor are the Committees separate from the *Basij*. Furthermore, none of these is separate from the tribal units. We are all brothers with different names but a single soul.¹
- In the Islamic Republic all forces work for a single purpose and objective. They must all be a “single hand” against the enemies and opponents of the Islamic Republic.
- Today, the solidarity among the brave nation, the valiant army and the dauntless *Sepah* is such, the like of which the histories of Iran and the world did not have.
- We are united, strong and ready for battle, yet we are subject to transgression and oppression of the foreigners.
- Students of high schools and universities, as well as the seminarians must all preserve their unity with all their might and support their Islamic Revolution.
- Let us be brothers; disputation is the work of the hellish.
- Today, the secret code of your victory is the unity of expression.
- You need the unity of expression today more than yesterday and tomorrow more than today.
- It was the will of God that favored the entire nation and united all strata of the people together.
- Be sure that when a nation unites in an Islamic matter as you witnessed, no power can push it back.

¹ In the Islamic Republic of Iran armed forces are of two types: military forces and disciplinary forces. The military forces include the Army, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, and the *Basij* (Mobilization Forces). The disciplinary forces include the police, the gendarmerie, and the Islamic Revolutionary Committees. Recently, by a merger of the last three groups, a new disciplinary force was organized.

- All Muslims are brothers and equal; none is separate from one another and all must be under the banner of Islam and monotheism.

Discord and Schism

- Schism and disunity belong to Satan whereas solidarity and unity of expression are from God.
- My dear ones! Avoid division and disunity for these are the insinuations of Satan.
- If you and I oppose each other, any accruing result shall be gained by others.
- That which hurts us most is internal strife.
- All things that smack of discord are surely from Satan.
- The big powers, having given up hope for gaining anything by war or military attack, are planning mischief designed to create discord among you and separate you from one another.
- Today, quarrelling is suicide; today, dispute is suicide.
- Discord, regardless of the tongue it issues forth from, is the language of Satan.
- I warn the entire nation and the whole country, if you follow these agents of discord, no matter who they are, your country will fall in the lap of America.
- More sorrowful and dangerous than nationalism is generating discord and division among the Sunnis and the Shiah.
- Today, the greatest sin in our country is creation of schism and discord.

- The government, the Majlis and the judiciary must all feel they have just one duty and that is not to have any (acrimonious) arguments or disputes among themselves.
- If our tastes or our views differ, we must sit down and discuss them in a calm atmosphere, go over our problems and solve them.
- Resolve differences of taste in a good, brotherly manner.
- Today, anything that makes the noble nation deviate from the essential course is devilish and planned with satanic schemes.

Freedom

- Freedom is a great divine blessing.
- We shall bear hardships so that our nation may attain freedom and independence.
- Freedom is a divine trust that God has made our lot.
- Freedom was given to us by Islam; appreciate this freedom and Islam.
- Freedom of the nations is the first step toward civilization.
- We must all be alert and careful not to abuse freedom.
- Islam, too, has freedom but not of the unbridled variety. We do not want Western freedom.
- Islam is a progressive religion and a democracy in the real sense.
- Islamic democracy is more complete than that of the West.
- Freedom in Islam is within the bounds of Islamic laws.

- Exported freedom is that which led our youth to promiscuity.
- Freedom is within the bounds of Islamic laws. Let no laws be breached thinking that liberty is exercised.
- Preserve the limits of Islam; let liberties be not abused for they lie within the limits of Islam.
- Islamic law produces liberties and real democracy, and guarantees the independence of the countries.
- They want to replace your (sound) freedom with unwholesome freedom and take your real freedom away from you.
- Freedom has never been and will not be suppressed; the people are free except when they want to do evil and drive the nation backward.
- Western-style freedom that corrupts the youth—girls and boys—is condemned in the views of Islam and reason.
- We do not want the freedom in which Islam has no place.
- Destructive liberties must be harnessed.
- Man's degradation and fall is due to taking away his freedom and subjugating him to other men.
- Today, Iran is the seat of the free.

Independence and Negation of Attachment

- We must be ready to fight all things if we want to maintain our independence.
- The essential thing is that we believe that we ourselves can do a given thing.

- The country is our own and we ourselves must develop it.
- The greatest tragedy for our nation is this mental dependence or attachment, the thinking that all things are from the West and we are poor in every dimension.
- A country that wants to stand on its own feet and be independent in all dimensions has no choice other than to erase from its mind the idea that we must import things from abroad.
- We wish to live poorly but be free and independent.
- We must prove to ourselves that we, too, are human; that we, too, exist in this world; that the Orient, too, is a place and all is not West.
- We regard freedom and independence as the value of life.
- My greatest wish is that the people of Iran will be delivered from oppression and in possession of a country that is free, independent with an Islamic system in which human rights are observed as Islam has decreed, and be a model of progress, advancement and happiness to all nations.
- My brothers! If you want to be honored in this and the next world and to live respectfully, you ought to stand up against others with force but be very kind and considerate to yourselves.
- Prepare yourselves to rebuild your country. It is worthwhile that we work hard 10 to 15 years so that our country be freed from the clutches of these human-devouring wolves.
- My dear children, it is now up to you to do all you can to irrigate the freedom and independence sapling of your country.
- If we resist, we shall be aided by the divine graces.
- The all-inclusive independence of our country's legislative, judicial and executive powers must precede all other issues in our national-governmental planning.

- Whoever you are, wherever you are, your every effort must be made to ensure our independence.
- Make an all-out effort to uproot the last traces of this country's dependence on foreigners in any area.
- This intellectual, rational and mental attachment and dependence is the root of most of the miseries of the nations including our own.
- If we emerge from this intellectual attachment, all of our dependencies will come to an end.
- You, noble people of Iran, achieved a great victory in your struggle against colonialism and exploitation. You succeeded, by trust in God, the unity of expression, and participation of all strata, to overwhelm the tyrant of the age and to shake the backs of the superpowers.
- Blessed shall be the day when the hand of foreigners is cut off our countries and the Muslim lands, and when Muslims stand on their own feet.
- We want a free, independent and strong Iran; an Iran to be run by the nation itself.
- As long as our two hands are extended to the East and the West, we are dependants. We who want to be independent should first wake up and realize that we, too, have personalities and we can perform work.
- Do not think that we have to get from others all we need; no, think of making all things yourselves.
- The Muslims' holidays are blessed and auspicious when Muslims themselves secure their independence and dignity, the dignity that all Muslims enjoyed in the early days of Islam.
- As long as we do not admit that we are persons with abilities to do certain things and Muslims have personalities, and as long as we do not want a

certain thing, we cannot do it and as long as we do not wake up to something, we do not want it.

- Colonialism and exploitation must be completely uprooted from this country.
- We do not permit anyone to interfere in our country's affairs.
- After so much superficial backwardness, our need for the heavy industries of foreign countries is an undeniable fact. But this does not mean that we should be attached to one of the two poles in advanced sciences.
- The East or West makes no difference to us; we shall achieve real independence by our trust in God and the brave nation.
- The Iranian nation wants to stand on its own feet without having to rely on the East or on the West; rather, stand firm on its religious and national resources.
- The Iranian nation is determined to rescue itself from the clutches of colonialism and tyranny, and be independent and free. It bases its policies on these two points and does not mind who like or who dislike such policies.
- We oppose foreign interference in the destinies of nations and fight against it.
- Your search for freedom and independence is recorded in the frontlines of history.
- My counsel to the present and future foreign ministers is that your responsibilities are enormous: whether in reforming the Ministry and embassies or in the area of foreign policy, preservation of independence, protection of the country's interests, or in having good relations with countries that do not seek to interfere in the affairs of our country. Therefore, try to decisively avoid any and all things that are tinged with dependence in all its dimensions and forms.
- If we want to advance Islam further, we must no longer be servants.

- Which people are reactionary—those who want to take away the independence and freedom of our nation and country, or those who want to shake off the burden of oppression and be independent?
- We hope that universal peace will be established on the basis of the independence of nations, non-interference in each other's affairs, and observation of the principle of territorial integrity of the countries in the region.
- We stand on our own feet and are surely victorious.
- If you wish to find real independence and freedom you must act so as to be self-sufficient in all things.
- Mental independence is the first condition for independence; intellectual independence is the first condition for independence.
- The nations themselves should show concern for Islam.
- If the people believe that they can oppose big powers, such belief will enable them to withstand those powers.

Chapter 3

Islamic Government

- To secure the unity of the Islamic *ummah* and to rescue and free the Islamic homeland from the occupation and influence of the imperialists and their puppet regimes, we have no alternative but to form a government.
- The rule of Islam is the rule of divine law over the people.
- God's promise on the rule of the barefooted of the world is the truth.
- The Islamic Republican system of Iran has found its path with honor and power, and advances with firmness.
- The Islamic Republic of Iran must not, under any circumstances, abandon its divine and sacred principles and ideals.
- If the Islamic Republic fails, an Islamic establishment acceptable to the Last Proof of Allah (Imam al-Mahdi)—may my soul be his ransom—or concordant with the affair of you, gentlemen, shall not be realized; rather, a regime acceptable to one of the two poles of power will replace it and the deprived people of the world who have turned to Islam and the Islamic government will face despair and Islam will forever become isolated.
- If the dear Islam and the fledgling Islamic Republic are hurt and drawn into depravation and defeat, God forbid, Islam will for centuries be relegated to oblivion.

- The Islamic Republic of Iran is one of the world's oppressed establishments.
- You must know that if, God forbid, this Islamic Republic face defeat, it is the defeat of all Muslims in all ages.
- Your country is one of the most powerful countries in the world. We must try to maintain this power.
- Islam presents the most progressive government. Islamic rule is by no means opposed to civilization.
- Islamic government is not retrogressive and is in accord with all features of civilization except those that mar the nation's peace or are against the public modesty.

Guardianship of the Jurist [*Wilayah al-Faqih*]

- The Guardianship of the Jurist [*Wilayah al-Faqih*] is a gift from God, the Blessed and Exalted, to the Muslims.
- The best article in the Constitution is the article that stipulates the principle of Guardianship of the Jurist.
- Today the *fuqaha* [jurists] of Islam are proofs on the people.
- The Master of the Affair (Imam al-Mahdi) is the Proof of God.
- The nation that has no "guide" cannot accomplish much.
- I assure the nation and all military forces that if the Islamic rule is implemented under the supervision of the *faqih* [jurist] or by the guardianship of the *faqih*, no harm will come to the country.

- Leader and leadership in the heavenly religions and the great Islam is not a thing that has value in itself and draws man, God forbid, to vanity and self-conceit.
- If a *faqih* acts dictatorially on just one occasion, he loses his guardianship mandate.
- If the *faqih* takes one wrong step, or commits a minor sin, he falls from *wilayah* [guardianship]. *Wilayah* is not something to be conferred on just any man.
- The *faqih* does not impose his views on the people; if he tries so he forfeits his *wilayah*.
- It is the guardianship of the *faqih* that curbs dictatorship. Dictatorship develops in the absence of the guardianship of the *faqih*.
- The *wilayah* specified in the *hadith* on Ghadir means political rule and not just a spiritual position.

The People's Position and Role

- It was the nation that advanced the movement and must further advance it from now on.
- Whatever we have is from this nation—of course, the Islamic nation that did it with its roaring cries of “*Allahu akbar*”!
- Now is the time for the nations to be the guiding light of their intellectuals and save them from self-defeatism and abjection before the East or the West as today is the day of the movement of the nations and they are the guides for “those who have been guides to this day”.
- Be sure you are victorious and no power can stand up against you because the power is that of the nation.

- When a nation wants something done, it will be done.
- If a nation wants something, none can oppose it.
- No power can stand up against the eternal might of a nation.
- We must know that if the nations want a thing, it will be realized.
- The destiny of each nation is in its own hands.
- Every nation must determine its own destiny itself.
- By the wills of nations—wills that follow God’s will, wills that are for God—the impossible becomes possible and probabilities become certainties.
- We rely on the strength of the nation.
- Attracting the people’s views is necessary. The Noble Prophet pursued this; he was drawing the attention of the people to the truth.
- The nation itself is the origin and source of redemption and salvation.
- Awareness of the people, public participation in, and supervision of, their own government and cooperation with the elected government are things that guarantee the preservation of security in the community.
- History bears witness that no power can put out the fire in the heart of an oppressed nation that has risen up in search of freedom and independence.
- No weapon can be effective against faith and no weapon can oppose the uprising of a nation.
- A great power that has no national base cannot endure long.
- A government which is backed by the nation does not fall.
- If the nation does not support a “government,” such a government cannot be set right.

- Our woes, in the course of history, have all been due to the abuse of people's ignorance.
- No one can rely on bayonet anymore. The world has changed. The nations are waking up, one after the other.
- The powers, regardless of their size, cannot do much when facing the nation.

The People's Presence in the Scene

- A country suffers injuries when the nation is indifferent.
- The nation must always be present in the political issues.
- People must not step aside; if they do, we will all suffer defeat.
- I certainly hope that our nation does not and will not submit to ignominy.
- It is the presence of the faithful and dedicated people that subjects forever to disgrace the Westernized or Easternized intellectuals.
- It is the presence of you, dear people and Muslims, on the scene that neutralizes the plots of the history's deceivers and oppressors.
- It is necessary that we consistently think of keeping the people on the scene.
- The government cannot do a thing if the nation sits aside for it to perform such a thing.
- The Muslim nation is awakened. It no longer sits by. It won't retreat even if I do.

- Today, the entire nation—whether respected ladies or brothers—all take part in their own destiny.

The Great Nation

- The dear Iranian people are today truly the bright countenance of the great Islam.
- We are all honored to be in the presence of such a nation in an era such as this.
- I firmly claim that the Iranian nation in the present age is better than the nation of Hijaz¹ during the time of the Messenger of Allah (s) and much better than the people of Kufah² and Iraq during the times of the Commander of the Faithful and Husayn ibn Ali (a).
- No matter how much we sincerely offer in the path of this dear nation, it won't be an adequate token of our gratitude.
- Our common people have implemented Islam and carry the burden of the troubles of the government; thus, we should be very attentive to them.
- By its brave uprising and sacrificing the blood of its children, our dear nation had its honorable name recorded in history and in the first line of the roster of the *mujahids* of Islam.
- Iran's great name is recorded in the world as one having political maturity.
- From the Mosque of Kufah to the honored plains of Karbala, in the course of the distinguished "red" history of Shiism, the great Islamic nation has offered valuable sacrifices to the dear Islam and in the path of God and the

¹ Hijaz: the region in Western Arabia that includes Taif, Mecca and Medina.

² Kufah: the name of a city in Iraq by the Euphrates River, which was the seat of Imam Ali's rule as well as the location of his martyrdom.

martyrdom-seeking Iran, too, was no exception to this bliss-endowing¹ phenomenon.

- Our nation has triumphed over the world's greatest power; severed the hands of that power from its country; indeed, it has severed the hands of the enemies of humanity from its country and has thus become a model and example for the countries of all the oppressed people.
- God has obliged us and, by His able hand, which is the might of the oppressed, destroyed the regime of arrogance and made our nation the Imam or leader of the oppressed nations.
- In truth and in fact, from the early days of the Revolution to this date the institution that has performed its function correctly is the nation.

Preservation of the System and Perpetuation of the Movement

- The preservation of this Islamic Republic is one of the greatest religious duties.
- The preservation of the system is a rational and incumbent religious function.
- The great Islamic nation is determined to continue its Islamic movement and permit no foreigners to interfere in its country.
- It is now a rationally and religiously incumbent duty for all of us to pursue this movement that Iran has started and proceed with it to the end.
- I advise the Iranian nation to cherish and appreciate the blessing that you have gained by your great *jihad* and the blood of your youth, and protect it as your most valuable object.

¹ “Blissful” [*saadatmand*] in the original.

- Let the noble nation of Iran know that in this world the amount of effort, pain, sacrifice, and deprivation of a man is proportionate to the greatness of his purpose, value and station.
- When the purpose is divine, the way to it, no matter how hard, shall be easy to traverse.
- If we do not help God¹ we should not expect His aid.
- Know that whatever the mass media of the world of evil say against you is the proof of your strength.
- Fear nothing as long as this movement survives; let no fear enter your heart.
- Problems accompany every revolution; this is unavoidable, but they are not insoluble.
- We must firmly protect the holy religion of dear Islam and the Islamic Republic, and do away with problems with open arms and revolutionary spirit.
- God knows, if this movement fails, Iran will never again see a good day.
- The defeat of Iran means the defeat of the Orient; it is the defeat of the oppressed.
- If this movement subsides, if this fire that is kindled in the hearts of people dies out, another movement like it will never come out.
- If due to some ignorant thinking this grand movement is harmed, you'll be responsible before God and your repentance will hardly be accepted because the prestige of Islam will be damaged.
- Let all be mindful of the blood unjustly spilled; think of our dear incapacitated ones, of war refugees and about the advancement of Islam. Do not think, "I should, you should not;" "I am, you are not"!

¹ Helping God means helping in the propagation of the religion or way of life He ordained for the welfare of mankind. [Ed.]

- It is such a day today that if we suffer defeat in this movement, it will mean defeat to the end.
- With all its might the nation must resist against the plots.
- If you think that you have triumphed and should now pursue your business and be heedless of your destinies, I am afraid you shall meet defeat.
- Today, too, you should not ignore the machinations of the sorcerers and evil temptations.
- Be strong and flourishing, and never let the rigmarole of the world betake you.

Nationalism

- This nationalism is the source of miseries of the Muslims.
- Nationalism places the Iranian nation up against other Muslim nations.
- Nationalism is designed by the plotters to create discord among the Muslims and it is being propagated by the agents of imperialism.
- The plan of the great powers and their affiliates in the Muslim countries is to separate and divide the various strata of Muslims, whom God, the Blessed and Exalted, has declared brothers, under the guise of Kurd, Arab, Turk, and Persian nations, and even make them regard themselves as enemies of one another. This is against the path of Islam and the Quran.
- Those who, in the name of nationalism, factionalism, etc, create schism and disunity among Muslims are armies of Satan, opponents of the Holy Quran and helping agents of the superpowers.
- Our movement is Islamic before being Iranian.

Parties and Factionalism

- Defending Islam and the *Hizbullah* [Party of Allah] is an unimpeachable principle of the policy of the Islamic Republic.
- Today, all the Iranians, regardless of sex or age, who fight under Islamic slogans, belong to the *Hizbullah*.
- Any Muslim who has accepted the principles and decrees of Islam and in whose conduct and behavior an exact Shiah discipline is observable, is a member of the *Hizbullah*. The Quran and Islam have set forth the mandate and all the decrees concerning this party. This party is something other than the ordinary parties.
- This Revolution was not the work of a party or group. It emerged from the core of the people.
- It is not right to say that such and such a party is good or bad; the criterion is the ideals of the party.
- All parties and gatherings of the people are free provided they do not threaten public interests. Islam has stipulated such matters and their limits.
- The parties that have been formed in the country so far since, say, the Constitutionalism, one can surmise, were set up, unwillingly, by the hands of others and some of them were at the service of others (aliens).
- The parties that came to be from the day of Constitutionalism to the recent years were not formed by the desire of some groups to unite; those were all satanic plots.
- It is necessary that you firmly and intelligently drive away from yourselves individuals or groups who belong to un-Islamic schools but their opportunism make them take advantage of conditions, enter among you and at proper moment stab you at the back; give them no chance to act.

- From the beginning of the creation to the present there have always been two parties, one divine, the other non-divine and satanic, and each has had separate works.

Chapter 4

Law and Order

- Preservation of order is an incumbent divine obligation.
- The entire community needs order; the community disintegrates without order.
- The rule of Islam is the rule of the law.
- You must all feel bound to accept the law even if it contradicts your own views.
- In an Islamic country only God's law must be sovereign; nothing else.
- The value and dignity of men lies in their pursuit of the law, which is the same thing as piety.
- A violator of laws is an offender and is to be prosecuted.
- Laws serve to institute just social orders and to nurture purified human beings.
- If all the individuals, groups and institutions that are there in the country, if we all be humble before the law and respect it, there would be no disputes.
- Let us all seek God's pleasure and be humble before the law.

- If you wish not to be eliminated from the scene, accept the law.
- There is one sovereign rule in Islam and that is the rule of God; one law, and that is God's law, which all are bound to obey.
- One thing rules in Islam and that is the law. During the time of the Prophet, too, the law ruled and the Prophet enforced it.
- That system in which the inferior do not obey the superior and the upper layer oppresses the lower layer is not a monotheistic order; it is satanic and not a divine order.
- Islamic laws are progressive and pioneering.
- The government of Islam is the government of the law, i.e., divine law. The law is the Quran and the Sunnah, and the government is a government, which is subservient to the law.
- Do criticize but do not plot. I am opposed to plotting; all are opposed to plotting. We are opposed to weakening the Islamic Republic; it is the same as weakening Islam.
- Uprising against the rule of Islam is tantamount to *kufir*; it is the gravest sin.
- If you see someone violates the principles, oppose him decisively.
- Disputes arise from violation of the laws.
- In Islam the law rules; the Noble Prophet was subject to the law, to the divine law; he could not violate it.
- Today anti-revolutionary is the person who is lax in the work he does.

The Guardianship Council

- I agree with the Guardianship Council¹ cent percent as an institution, and I believe that it should be strong and permanent.
- I must say that I selected the *fuqaha* members of the Guardianship Council with due knowledge and recognition, and I say it is necessary that their status be respected and maintained.
- The honorable Guardianship Council, which safeguards the sacred Islamic decrees and the Constitution, is sanctioned by me. Their duty is highly important and sacred. They should decisively carry out their duties.
- Weakening and insulting the *fuqaha* of the Guardianship Council is dangerous for Islam and the country.
- I remind the Guardianship Council to be firm in its work and act decisively and carefully and have trust in God. I recommend and demand that the honorable Guardianship Council, in the present and future generations, to perform their Islamic and national duties with utmost care and authority; not to be influenced by any power; to firmly reject laws that contradict the religion and the Constitution without any undue consideration and be attentive to the exigencies of the country necessitating the enforcement of decrees by secondary rules and by the action of the Jurist-Guardian.

¹ To guard the laws of Islam and the Constitution against contradictions of the approvals of the Majlis, a council named Guardianship Council is set up in the Islamic Republic of Iran. It is composed of six just and learned jurists and six lawyers in various branches of the law (*Art. 91 of the Constitution*). They will be appointed for a period of six years (*Art. 92*). The Islamic Consultative Assembly has no legal validity without the Guardianship Council (*Art. 93*). All bills approved by the Majlis shall be forwarded to the said Council for confirmation and to check them for compatibility with the Islamic tenets and the constitutional law (*Art. 94*). [Ed.]

Elections and the Majlis

- If the people want Islam, independence, freedom, and release from the Eastern or Western bondage, let them all participate in the elections.
- If we are lax in elections, be sure they (the enemies) will render a blow to us through the Majlis (the Islamic Consultative Assembly).
- My advice to the noble nation is to be on the scene and participate in the elections whether for President or Majlis representatives, elections for the Experts to determine the Leadership Council or the Leader.
- Elections are not the exclusive rights of anyone. It does not belong to the clergymen or to any party or group exclusively. Elections are the business of all the people.
- It is the nation which, by its vote, designates the President, votes for and determines the Islamic Republic, and by its concerted vote in the Majlis, approves the government. All affairs are in the hands of the nation.
- It is incumbent on the gentlemen to be on the scene concerning Islamic issues whether you want to elect or not to elect someone as representative or, I should say, President of the Republic. You have no excuse for not being on the scene or for sitting by.
- Take note that the objective of elections is ultimately to preserve Islam. If the sanctity of Islamic issues is not observed in the related (election) campaigns, how can the elected person be a preserver of Islam?
- Everyone of us, man or woman, has the responsibility to determine his or her destiny just as we must say our daily prayers.
- My dear ones who are the hope of the Islamic movement! On the destiny-making day, arise; rush to the polling boxes and cast your votes in them.
- Today, the responsibility lies on the shoulder of the nation. If the nation of pious and dedicated people sits by, persons who have plots for the country

will get into the Majlis from every direction; the entire responsibility rests with the nation!

- Do not let even one mercenary, saboteur element enter the Majlis.
- The noble nation must know that deviation from this important Islamic affair is treason to Islam and the country, and entails great responsibility.
- The Majlis is at the top of all affairs.
- The Majlis is the nation's real home.
- This Majlis has come about by the blood of a group that has been faithful to Islam.
- This Majlis is the outcome of the peoples' cries of "*Allahu akbar*"!
- Submission to the Majlis is submission to Islam.
- Merely Islam is not enough for the Majlis. There must be Muslims who recognize the needs of the country; understand politics and have knowledge of the interests and ills of the country.
- The Majlis is at the apex of all organs; it is the nation crystallized and realized in the confines of a small space.
- I wish the sanctity of the grand Majlis and the noble representatives be maintained so as to be a model for all such assemblies in the world.
- It is unfortunate that things occur in the Majlis (meetings) that are detrimental to the prestige of you, gentlemen.
- Take note that the President of the Republic and Majlis representatives come from classes who have felt the deprivation of the oppressed and are concerned with their welfare and are not of the capitalist, land-grabbing, affluent and profligate individuals who are unable to understand the pains of deprivation and the sufferings of the hungry and barefooted.
- Let persons who are elected be the real choices of the nation.

- Apprise the people that you wish to protect Islam; thus, those whom you elect should be mindful of Islam and dedicated to it; they should not be (film) actors.
- I humbly ask you that as far as possible agree with one another in electing representatives and dedicated, Islamic persons who do not deviate from the divine straight path.
- You should carefully study the past record of persons you intend to elect; how they have conducted themselves before the Revolution, during the Revolution and ever since; also their family background, their beliefs or opinions as well as their knowledge or education.
- We hope that the combatant, dedicated nation will, after careful study of the past records of candidates and groups, cast their votes in favor of persons who are faithful to the dear Islam and the Constitution, immune from leftist or rightist tendencies and are of extolled virtues and are well-wishers of the nation and committed to the laws of Islam.
- Elect individuals who are dedicated to Islam, are neither Western nor Eastern and who stride on the straight path of Islam and humanity.
- I expect you to preserve your unity of expression, and when electing your representatives prefer the pleasure of God to that of yourselves.
- Elect and send to the Majlis representatives who are adorned with good conduct, are committed to Islam, faithful to their country, and who are in service to you and the country.
- We must all know that if the President and Majlis representatives are worthy persons, dedicated to Islam and the country, many disputes will not arise.
- The Majlis has a great responsibility for guiding the people and acting as their preceptor.
- Let us try to have a strong legislature able to guide the country to the straight path.

- A good legislature sets all things good and right, and a bad legislature corrupts them.
- It is the legislature (Majlis) that rectifies or despoils the foundation of a country.
- The day perversion is witnessed in the Majlis, when perversions of power-seeking and greed are observed in the President or the ministers, know that that day marks our impending defeat; perversions must be checked right then and there!
- The day our representatives develop traits of palace-dwellers or, God forbid, part with their worthy slum-dwelling character, then that is the day when we should ring the death knell for the country.
- If a group or an individual in this system pointlessly acts, God forbid, to eliminate or sabotage others and prefer the expediency of his own line or faction, he will surely hurt Islam and the Revolution before he can hurt his rivals.
- You are not delegated (to the Majlis) in order to go, sit in there and settle your personal accounts and iron out your private disputes. If you do this it will be perversion and you have usurped the place.
- If you deviate against the nation you have betrayed your mandate.
- Criticism and interpellation are rights of the Majlis.
- There are differences between supervision and interpellation, between fault-finding and revenge, and all will understand this distinction after referring to their own consciences.
- No one is entitled to insult the Majlis; it is a prerogative of the Majlis to have pros and cons.

Judicial Power and the Judges

- Islam regards judgment as the most important thing.
- The judiciary is an important issue that has to do with the prestige of the country.
- The judicial power can save the country if it treats humanely and acts according to Islamic rules.
- All things are in the hand of the judiciary—peoples' lives, properties and honor. If, God forbid, a judge is incompetent and dishonest, and this overwhelms peoples' consciences and virtues, you can imagine what the outcome will be.
- The judicial power should realize that it has to do with the lives, properties and honor of the people; thus, there must be honest and competent persons as judges and they must realize that a judge's offence, if deliberate, is catastrophic; if it is due to mistake, it is still grievous.
- No one has the right to interfere in a decree issued by a judge. Interference in such decrees is against religion and preventing the enforcement of such decrees is also contrary to religious decrees.
- The peoples' virtues and consciences are also in the hands of judges and they should cultivate and educate them.
- No judge may issue a ruling or edict if influenced by anger because a decree issued in anger is neither rational nor lawful.
- Today, a judge is responsible for the prestige of Islam and of the Islamic Republic; it is no longer as before when a judge was answerable only for the sentence he had meted out.

- In the implementation of *hudud*¹ the limits ordained by God must not be transgressed in any manner.
- The condemned criminal on the way to the gallows is immune to all verbal or physical attacks; a perpetrator of such acts is an oppressor.
- Prisons should be training centers for the inmates.
- Islam decrees mercy to the prisoners even if they were cruel and spies.
- The judge and the judicial power are independent and no one may interfere in them.

The State and Statesmen

- The misery or happiness of nations depends on certain issues of which the competency of the ruling body is a major one.
- Administration and government in the hands of individuals is not means for boasting or superiority, and cannot be abused for personal gain or transgression on the rights of the nation.
- The state and statesmen are servants of the nation and not its masters.
- Governments are the people's servants.
- Islam does not have "government" in the real sense; it uses the appellation of service.
- Gratitude for this blessing consists of considering the people as major partners (in the government). In this government, "government" does not exist; we must all be servants.
- Islam wants the governments to be the servants of the nations.

¹ In Islam the term *hudud* [limits] applies to punishments decreed for commission of certain sins. The limit of these punishments is entirely determined by the judge. [Ed]

- Governments are minorities that must be at the service of this nation but they do not realize that the government must serve the nation, and not rule over it.
- We must find out what the nation, which has appointed us to these positions, expects of us and what we are supposed to do for it.
- Let all consider identifying “servicemen”, servants to the country and Islam; not servants unto themselves.
- The greater the value of an act, the heavier its responsibility is.
- The government must, with all its power, sympathize with the deprived people the way Ali (*a*) used to.
- Service to mankind is service to God.
- The dignity and honor of all of us consist of rendering service to God’s creatures.
- I advise future Interior Ministers in all periods to exercise great care in the selection of (provincial) governors so that competent, faithful, dedicated, and wise persons with ability to get along with the people, are appointed and thus internal peace be maintained as much as possible.
- You need the support of the nation. Victory was gained by the support of the people especially the deprived classes, and the tyrannical rule of monarchy was terminated and the hands of arrogance were removed from the country and its treasures. If someday you lose this support, you will be brushed aside and cruel ruffians, as in the days of monarchy, will replace you.
- I emphatically ask government authorities to help one another and together solve the country’s problems in a brotherly fashion.
- Trustworthiness is a prerequisite qualification for inspectors.

- If someone who regards himself a capable administrator of public affairs and worthy servant of the people shuns service at this time, he is turning his back unto mankind and the Creator.
- If a position is offered for which one is not qualified, he must not accept it but if he is qualified, he must not decline.
- Let all people, all men, support the Islamic Republic so that it can institute justice.
- Avoid haste in selecting colleagues, in making decisions especially in important matters.
- Weakening any person or group which, today, is busy giving services, is helping the enemies of Islam.
- If due to your poor management and weakness of thought and action harm, or losses are incurred on, Islam and the Muslims, and you, knowingly, continue in that position, you'll be committing a cardinal sin for which the "great pains" comes to you.
- A corrupt ruling clique, those who have the destinies of a country in their hands, corrupts the country.
- It may happen that useful, progressive laws are enacted by the legislature, seconded by the Guardianship Council and communicated by related Minister to concerned unit for reinforcement but such laws are metamorphosed in the hands of incompetent enforcement elements.
- Do not think that as government anything we put forward should be accepted by the nation, whether to its interest or opposed to it.
- If the people's disappointment with the Islamic government explodes, nothing can control it.
- Every citizen is entitled to directly interpellate and criticize Muslim authorities in front of others. Persons so questioned should give satisfactory replies; otherwise, if the questioned individual has acted

contrary to his Islamic duties, he shall automatically be removed from his position of authority.

- O states! The conquest of countries is not important; what is important is the conquest of hearts!
- Be just in your word and action; reduce formalities but serve the nation!
- Those with power must observe humanitarian and Islamic aspects more than others.
- The best way to express thanks for a blessing is to talk less but do more.
- If the nation wants its victory to reach its ultimate stage which is the ideal for all, it must guard the statesmen, Majlis delegates and government authorities against moving from the middle to the affluent classes.
- The day the nation sees any of you trying to roll over to the affluent groups or is acting to accumulate power and wealth, the nation should prevent such things and put such individuals back in their places.

Chapter 5

Foreign Policy

- While maintaining independence, we shall have friendly relations with all countries.
- We are on friendly terms with all nations, and if governments behave respectfully, we shall reciprocate in kind.
- The foreign policy of Iran is based on mutual respect with all governments without discriminating among them.
- We shall behave with respect toward all governments provided they do not interfere in our internal affairs and treat us with mutual respect.
- We should have relations with foreign countries which do not mean to swallow us. Relations with those who seek to subordinate us through relations are not required and these must be dealt with caution.
- We are on the side of the oppressed. We support the oppressed regardless of the pole they are in.
- We have the duty of saving the oppressed and the deprived people.
- It is an Islamic duty incumbent on all Muslims to help anyone who is oppressed.
- We have a duty to support the oppressed and be inimical to the oppressors.

- We are opposed to any deal that damages the interests of the Muslims.
- When we serve the nation, the nation will support us and then the foreigners' greed ceases.
- We are not opposed to nations; we oppose oppressive governments whether they oppress us or our Muslim brothers.
- We are not prepared to let a government use economic exchanges as levers for political influence and imposition of its imperialist designs.
- World conditions no longer admit a few to be "masters" and all others to be "slaves".
- Just as we do not accept oppression in our relations with other countries, we do not oppress others either.
- Relationship between a nation that has risen up to free itself from the clutches of international pilferers and a world-devourer is always in the interest of the pilferer and disadvantageous to the oppressed.
- We oppose any country, whether Eastern or Western, that wants to oppress others.
- Today the only non-aligned country is Iran. You cannot find another country that is "non-aligned" in the real sense.
- Destroy anyone in any position who may want to compromise with the East or the West; drive him away as ruthlessly as you can.
- Defending Islam and the *Hizbullah* [Party of Allah] is an unimpeachable principle of the policy of the Islamic Republic.
- We cannot separate our own account from that of other Muslims.
- Care for the affairs of Muslims is the most necessary duty.
- Tending to the affairs of Muslims is a very important religious duty.

- We hope that the Muslim nations will overcome colonialism in the near future; we shall not spare any assistance when due.
- Our state is an independent sovereign state, and we are on friendly terms with those states that do not interfere in our domestic affairs.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Embassies

- The Foreign Ministry is the only ministry, which through its Islamization, can better demonstrate compared to other ministries our Islamic substance to the people abroad.
- This Ministry, which has to do with all other countries of the world, is more sensitive than any other ministry.
- The responsibility of the Foreign Ministry is very heavy because of its dealings abroad. Therefore, try, as much as possible, to place your embassies in the path of Islamic growth, progress and advancement to high status.
- When people come to our embassies, they should see an Iranian setting; not an American or French environ.
- If embassy conditions, its staff, its management and attitudes are not in conformity with the standards of the Islamic Republic, it is better not to have them.
- Our embassies must be centers of propagation.
- The representatives of the Islamic Republic abroad must perfectly conform to the Islamic system.

Governments of the Muslim Countries

- The misfortune of the Muslim states is caused by interference of foreigners in their affairs.
- Regional governments must know that in time of trouble neither America nor any other power will support them.
- For the past more than 20 years, I have been recommending to the heads of Muslim states, either in my sermons or talks, to put aside the minor local disputes and unite in deeds and minds for the advancement of Islam and its aims.
- The problem of Islam is its Muslim governments; not its nations.

Palestine and the Quds

- Bayt al-Muqaddas is the first *qiblah*¹ of the Muslims and it belongs to them.
- All must know that the superpowers' aim at creating Israel does not end in the occupation of Palestine. They plan, God forbid, to extend the fate of Palestine to all Arab countries.
- Do not the authorities of the nation see or know that diplomatic talks with the history's criminal and powerful politicians cannot save Lebanon, Palestine or Quds,² and that the number of crimes and oppressions increases daily?
- We are on the side of the oppressed whichever pole they may be in. The Palestinians are oppressed by the Israelis; therefore, we side with them.

¹ *Qiblah*: the direction where the Muslims face in times of prayers. [Ed.]

² Quds: the Arabic word for Jerusalem and it means 'the holy'. Jerusalem is revered as the third holiest city in Islam, after Mecca and Medina. [Ed.]

- We fully support our Palestinian brothers and the people of southern Lebanon in their struggle against the usurper Israel.
- Neither the Iranian Muslim nation, nor any other Muslims, and as a matter of fact, no open-minded individual, will ever recognize Israel. We shall always support our Arab and Palestinian brothers.
- We must all rise up, destroy Israel and replace it with the heroic Palestinian nation.
- The Quds Day which is coincidental with the Night of Power must be revived among the Muslims and be the starting point of their awakening and awareness.
- The Muslims of the world should regard the Quds Day as All-Muslims' Day or the Oppressed People's Day.
- It is the call of "*Allahu akbar*," the cry of our nation, which disappointed the Shah in Iran and the usurpers in Palestine. Essentially, it is the duty of all Muslims to liberate the Quds and remove this nucleus of corruption from the Islamic lands.
- The issue of Quds is not a private or personal issue. It is not the exclusive problem of one country or a present-day problem of all Muslims; rather, it is a phenomenon concerning the monotheists and the faithful people of all ages—past, present and future.
- Quds belongs to the Muslims and must be returned to them.
- The Quds Day is the Day of Islam.
- The Quds Day is a day in which the destinies of the oppressed nations must be determined.
- The Quds Day is a global day. It is not an exclusive day for Quds itself. It is a day for the oppressed to rise and stand up against the arrogant.
- The Quds Day is a day in which Islam is to be revived.

- The Quds Day is the Life Day of Islam!
- The Quds Day which falls on the last days of God's Great Month (Ramadan) is the proper day on which all the Muslims must be freed from the bondage of the Great Satan (America) and other superpowers, and join the Infinite Might of God.

The Quds-Occupier Regime (Israel)

- I regard supporting the plan for independence of Israel and its recognition a tragedy for the Muslims and an explosion for the Muslim governments.
- The usurper state of Israel with the aims it has, poses great danger to Islam and the Muslim countries.
- The brothers and sisters must know that America and Israel are inimical to the fundamentals of Islam.
- The foolish idea of Greater Israel makes them commit any crime.
- Let brotherly Arab nations and the Palestinian and Lebanese brothers know that all their miseries are caused by America and Israel.
- Regarding Israel, certainly we shall not help an illegitimate, usurper government which is transgressing the rights of the Muslims and is an enemy of Islam.
- Islam and the Muslims and all international standards regard Israel as a usurper and aggressor, and we do not approve the least negligence in terminating its aggressions.
- I have often said and you have heard me say that Israel will not settle for these agreements for it regards the Arab domination over territories from the Nile to the Euphrates as usurpation.

- Israel must be eradicated from the page of history.
- It is incumbent on every Muslim to arm himself against Israel.
- Those who support Israel must realize that they are nurturing a pit viper up their sleeves.
- Do not support Israel, this enemy of Islam and the Arabs, for this dispirited viper will have no mercy on you, young or old, if it gets within your reach.
- It is necessary that all freedom-loving peoples of the world unite with the Muslims and together condemn the inhuman aggressions of Israel.
- Iran has been and is the staunch enemy of Israel.
- We shall reject Israel and shall have no relations with it for it is a usurper state and is our enemy.
- I announce to all the Muslim states and Muslims of the world, wherever they are, that the dear Shiah nation (Iran) hates Israel and its agents, and is disgusted with and hates the states that compromise with Israel.
- We shall not have relations with Israel as it is a usurper state and is warring against the Muslims.
- We shall oppose Israel for it has usurped the rights of the Arab people.
- Israel is warring against the Muslims and usurps the lands of our brothers; we shall not give it any oil.
- Israel is rejected by us; we shall never give it oil or ever recognize it.
- The criminal hands of the world arrogant states will not be severed off the Islamic lands unless the Muslim nations and the oppressed people rise up against them and their offspring especially Israel.

- Israel is a usurper and must leave Palestine soon and the way to it is that the Palestinian brothers uproot this core of corruption and colonialism from the region so that peace may return to the area.
- It is a duty of the zealous nation of Iran to undermine the interests of America and Israel in Iran and assault them.
- It is necessary for the oil-producing Muslim countries to use the oil and other things available to them as weapons against Israel and the colonizers.
- It is incumbent on all Muslims especially Muslim countries to do away with this core of corruption in any way possible.
- This degenerative tumor that has, with the backing of major powers, been planted in the heart of Muslim countries and whose roots threaten daily the Muslim countries must be removed through the help and effort of the Muslim countries and the great nations of Islam.

South Africa

- Today, Muslim Africa raises its suppressed cry louder and louder.
- Today our African Muslim nations are struggling under the yoke of America, other aliens and their stooges.
- As long as South Africa¹ does not put an end to its position, we cannot have relations with it nor shall we give it oil.
- South Africa is a racist regime that puts no value on anything of human worth; it is essentially a bloodthirsty, criminal regime.
- Our cry of immunity is the cry of Muslim Africans, the cry of our brothers and sisters in faith who, because they are black, writhe in pain under the lashes of the ignoble, uncultured racists.

¹ It is obvious that it was referring to South Africa under the Apartheid regime. [Ed.]

The Arrogant and the Superpowers

- We will surely destroy all the arrogant powers if we ever have the power to do so.
- World peace and security lies on the extinction of the arrogant. As long as these domineering and uncultured exist on earth, the downtrodden will not gain the inheritance that Almighty God has granted them.
- Of all the blows meted out on us by the big powers, we have to say that the blow to our personality is the worst.
- Today, the world political conditions are such that all countries are under the political supervision of the superpowers.
- All the troubles which the nations suffered are caused by the superpowers.
- The whole aim of these criminals is to gain power—power with which to crack down on anyone that stops in their path.
- It is incumbent on the intellectuals to reveal all the more the disgrace of the powers and superpowers.
- Let them know that the powerful, opportunistic countries whose ultimate aim is to dominate the Muslim and downtrodden countries will leave them alone and abandon them in times of trouble; that the word “faith” or “fidelity” does not appear in their lexicons.
- Unite, for under the aegis of unity your victory will be certain.
- Rights are to be taken; arise and drive out the superpowers from the scene of history and life.
- The world powers must know that today is not like yesterday. Unlike the governments, the nations will not retreat from the arena with just one short tirade of intimidation.

- We have no fear of the superpowers. While we have no access to man-slaughtering weapons, our faith impels us not to be afraid.
- The aim is just one—the defeat of the superpowers.
- It is our duty to stand and oppose the superpowers, and we have the power to do so.
- We are so suspicious of the superpowers that if they speak the truth we think that they say so to deceive the people.
- Today, all the superpowers collectively oppose this nation in all its Islamic aspects. We must wake up and realize that their propaganda is more harmful to us than wars.
- The basic purpose of colonizing governments is to wipe out the Quran, the *ulama* and Islam itself.
- That day is blissful to us in which the domination of the world-devourers over our oppressed nation and other downtrodden nations is smashed and all nations take their destinies in their own hands.
- The slap-in-the-face which the superpowers received from Iran, was matchless in all their lives.

Nature of the American Government

- We have been hurt more by America than by all others.
- American domination carries with it the entire miseries of the downtrodden nations.
- America is the archenemy of the downtrodden and deprived people of the world.

- America says, “We have interests in the region”. Why should it have interests in our region and why should the interests of the Muslims belong to America!?
- The Muslim nations hate foreigners in general; Americans in particular.
- Let the world know that any trouble that the Iranian nation and the Muslim nations have is caused by foreigners, by America.
- The most important and painful problem that the Muslim nations and the non-Muslim nations of the dominated countries face concerns America.
- All of our distresses are caused by America.
- Our entire misery is by the hand of America.
- America wants you for your oil, wants you as a market, to take away the oil and sell you junks!
- The principal enemies of Islam, the Holy Quran and the Great Prophet (s) are the superpowers, especially America.
- In order to obtain their objectives, America—this natural criminal that has set the world on fire and its colleague, International Zionism—commit crimes that pens and tongues are ashamed to describe.
- Our entire troubles come from America and Israel.
- Let the president of America realize that he is the most hated person to our nation.
- The feelings of the Iranian nation concern the American government; not the American nation.

Resistance against America

- Raise all your cries on America.
- Today, America is the number one enemy of our entire nation.
- Cold and warm weapons, that is, pens, words and machineguns should all be aimed at the enemies of mankind, headed by America.
- We believe that the Muslims should unite and together slap America, and know that they can do it!
- We do not want America to work for us; we will trample on America.
- If opposition to America implies independence of that country, then by all means, we are opposed to it and if this point is what America is afraid of, then let it remain afraid.
- Our common enemies today are Israel and America, and others like them. They want to destroy our prestige and put us back in bondage. Repel the common enemies!
- The stigma that this movement inflicted on America has never been experienced by any one.
- Our crime is that we oppose America.
- Much better we all perish than live in misery under American or Israeli hands.
- O the oppressed people of the world! From whatever country you come and from whatever stratum you come, arise and do not fear the yelling and ruckus of America and other powers, and make the world too narrow and tight for them.
- America cannot act as a swaggerer before the Muslims.
- America cannot do a damn thing!

- The war, the dispute now going on is not between America and us; it is between Islam and *kufr*.
- Confronting America is presently above all our problems. If today our forces become divided, it benefits America. Right now, America is the enemy and all our equipments should be aimed at this enemy.
- Our perfect happiness comes the day when the domination of all the Eastern and Western colonizers, especially that of the world-devouring America is removed from the heads of the Muslims.
- America can defeat us but not our Revolution. For this reason, I am confident of our victory. The American government does not understand the concept of martyrdom.
- I am confident that if we carefully perform and continue our duty, which is to fight against the criminal America, our children shall taste the sweet nectar of martyrdom.

Relations with America

- Our relations with America are the relations of the oppressed with the oppressor; the relations of a robbed person with his robber.
- We are not a protectorate of America or the Soviet Union, or of any other power.
- May God awaken those who dream of America.
- The day America praises us is the day that we must mourn.
- We do not want America to supervise us. We do not want America to take away the entire resources of the nation.

- It is a disgrace for a Muslim country to extend a hand to America and ask for bread.
- We shall not establish relations with America unless it became humane and give up oppressing others.
- We will establish relations with America and the Soviet Union provided they do not interfere in our domestic affairs and have good relations with us.

The West and Westernization

- By autosuggestion we must realize that nothing goes on in the West except the idea of keeping us behind from the caravan of progress and civilization.
- We accept the advancements of the Western world but not the Western corruption of which they themselves complain.
- The progress of the West is materialistic; it rears the world as a wild fighting beast.
- Western upbringing or education has divested mankind of his humanity.
- We have come to believe that everything is in the West. No! That which is in the West is the training of savage animals.
- We can't be independent; we can't have anything unless we purge our minds of Westernization and come to know ourselves.

The Orient

- The Orient has lost itself and it has to find itself.

- The Orient must wake up and separate its account from the West as far as it can. If possible it has to separate up to the very end. Now that it is not possible, it has to separate as far as it can; at least it has to save its culture.

Communism

- From its inception, communism has had the most dictatorial governments; its authorities have been most dictatorial, power-hungry and monopolistic persons.
- It is clear to everybody that from now on communism will only to be found in the museums of world political history.

International Organizations and Human Rights

- We are in an age when criminals are praised and confirmed rather than being punished.
- These so-called human rights agencies condemn the oppressed rather than the oppressors.
- These agencies that are created for human rights are all agencies for pilfering mankind.
- They commit so much crime; they turn countries into grounds for massacre and bloodshed, and yet they claim, “We cannot afford to see human rights being destroyed (violated)!”
- We want to act according to the UN Declaration of Human Rights. We want to be free. We want independence in our country. We want freedom.

- This, and any other, nation has the right to determine its destiny itself. This is a human right and it is embodied in the Human Rights Declaration.
- They speak of human rights but act against it. Islam both respects and observes human rights.

Chapter 6

War and Defense

- At the time of danger that nation survives with honor which has the necessary fighting readiness.
- We are fighting men; surrender is meaningless to a Muslim.
- The struggles of our country are ideological and *jihad* for the sake of the faith knows no defeat.
- We must move ahead with power and forcefully resist against all those who want to transgress us.
- We say, “As long as *shirk* and *kufr* exist, resistance will exist and as long as resistance exists, we do exist.”
- It is only in hardships and troubled times and when telling the truth against evil forces is the issue, that pretending braggarts and hypocrites can be distinguished from the quiet, dedicated, sincere, and self-sacrificing individuals.
- Military force and modern weapons cannot resist against the revolutionary and holy wrath of the nations.
- If pious commanders are in charge, the enemies will never be able to carry out a coup d'état or occupy a country, and if perchance it occurs, it will be frustrated and broken up by the hands of the dedicated commanders.

- The war waged by Islam has never been aimed at conquest of lands; Islam has always wanted to mold human beings.
- Remembrance of the sacrifices and struggles of the early Muslim *mujahids* will keep Islam alive, not only now but forever!
- At the battlefield do not fear the inadequacy of numbers or fear martyrdom. Man must tolerate hardships in proportion to the grandeur of his aim and ideal.
- That religion which lacks war is deficient.
- Do not scare us by the troops you bring in; we shall bury them.
- We fight until our last warrior attains martyrdom for our beloved homeland; our victory is certain.
- Those who imagine that fighting for independence and freedom of the world's oppressed and deprived does not negate capitalism and seeking affluence are not familiar with the alphabet of struggle.
- God has decreed for us the duty of fighting these opponents of Islam and the Islamic nation.
- We stand to the last breath!
- Our obligation is to stand up against tyranny.
- Defense of the Islamic country and defense of virtues of the Muslims are divine duties incumbent on all of us.
- Defense is a definite right that Islam and others accord to mankind.
- Beware of underestimating an enemy.
- By trust in God, the Omnipotent, arm yourselves with weapon and prayer for God Almighty is with you.

The Iraqi-Imposed War on Iran

- During the war we removed the deception veil from the faces of the world-devourers.
- During the war we came to the conclusion that we should stand up on our own feet.
- During the war we won't regret for our actions even for a moment.
- We have fought to discharge a duty; results have been secondary.
- We have established our innocence during the war and proved the cruelty of the aggressors.
- We have exported our Revolution to the world during the war.
- This war, the economic boycotts and expulsion of foreign specialists, were divine gifts of which we were negligent.
- During the war we made firm the roots of our fruitful Islamic Revolution.
- Certainly defense is incumbent on every Muslim, every human being. By the command of God we defended ourselves and Islam.
- The war, while it was unpleasant and has devastated our towns, had the blessing of introducing Islam to the world.
- Our war made all leaders of the corrupt systems to feel humble before Islam.
- Ours was the war of poverty and opulence, of faith and wickedness, and it has been continuous from Adam (*a*) to the end of time.

The Armed Forces

Rules and Relations

- Our disciplinary-military forces and the *Sepah-e Pasdaran* [Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps] are armed with the divine power. Their weapon is the “*Allahu akbar*” and there is no weapon like it in the world.
- The Army, the *Sepah*, the *Basij* (voluntary mobilization forces) and other armed military and disciplinary forces as well as the people’s militia are followers of masters who have sacrificed everything they have for faith and the objective, and earned honors for Islam and its great followers.
- You—Army, *Pasdaran*, *Basij*, gendarmerie, police and all armed people’s militia and all people who sacrifice your lives for Islam and Iran—be alert and set Islam as the standard for your actions.
- More noble conduct is, perhaps, necessary in all the armed forces than in anywhere else.
- The soldier and *Pasdar* [guard] who says his night prayers in the trench or rifle-pit fights as a lion.
- Non-observance of the Army and *Pasdar* disciplines weakens the armed forces.
- Obedience to an Islamic commander is necessary by the command of Islam; violation of this rule is interdicted.
- An army without discipline is no army!
- All the armed and disciplinary forces including the Army, the *Pasdaran*, the *Basij*, the gendarmerie, etc. must not enter any political party or group, and must avoid all political games and squabbles.
- Anyone entering a party or group must leave the armed forces.
- Insure that politics do not make inroads into the *Sepah* for if it does, it will lose its military dimensions.

- I order the military heads not to discuss any political issue in the Army!
- Entering politics is tantamount to the loss of military prestige.
- The Army must guard the independence and security of the country.

The *Basij*

- The *Basij* is God's sincere army.
- The *Basij* is the rendezvous of the barefooted and the ascension point of the pure Islamic thought; its trained personnel have found name and fame in being unknown.
- The *Basij* is the pure pedigree; a sturdy, fruitful tree whose blossoms have the aroma of union, the vitality of confidence and conviction, and the account of love!
- The *Basij* is a school of love and the classroom of unknown martyrs and witnesses whose attendants recite, from the high point of its minarets, the *adhan* [call to prayers] and call to courage and martyrdom.
- I kiss the hands of every one of you, pioneers of freedom, and know that if responsible authorities of Islam neglect you, they shall perish in the fire of hell!
- Verily, if we want to present a perfect example of devotion, sacrifice, sincerity, and love for God and Islam, none would be worthier than the men of the *Basij*.
- The formation of the *Basij* in the Islamic system of Iran has certainly been a divine blessing bestowed on the dear nation and the Islamic Revolution of Iran.
- I hope this popular Iranian *Basij* will be a model for all the oppressed people and the Muslim nations in the world, and the 15th century AH (20th century) be the big idol-breaking era, replacing *shirk* and *kufir* with Islam and monotheism; justice and equity to replace cruelty and oppression, and

may this be the century of dedicated men replacing the uncultured cannibals.

The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps

- The sacred institution of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps has truly been, and will be, one of the greatest defense strongholds of the divine values of our system.
- O, would that I, too, could be a *Pasdar*?
- You [the *Pasdaran*] are the vivid embodiment of all the bravery and innocence of this great nation in the battlefields and in all the pictured pages of the history of the Revolution.
- The holy day, the 3rd of the month of Shaban¹ is the *Pasdar Day*, the day that guarding of Islam, truth and the divine school [*maktab*] was realized, and it is the birthday of the great *Pasdar* (Imam Husayn) who revived the school with his and his disciples' blood.
- O dear *Pasdaran* and O soldiers of Islam! Wherever you are, guard yourselves well so that by overcoming your ego you attain victory over all evil.
- Praise be unto the *Pasdaran* of Islam who, by their own blood and fists brought the Islamic Revolution to fruition.
- Without the *Sepah* there would be no country!
- I greatly love the *Pasdaran*. My eyes turn your way. Your record is purely Islamic.
- I am pleased with the *Sepah* and will not change my view of you.

¹ The third of the month of Shaban 4 AH (625 CE) is the birthday of Imam Husayn (*a*), the 3rd Imam from the Prophet's Household. As Imam Husayn has revived Islam by his martyrdom as well as that of his loyal votaries, the Islamic Republic of Iran has declared his birthday as the *Pasdar Day*.

- You are the keepsakes and fellow-trench men of the commanders and the vigilant authorities who are today stationed in the Lord's Presence.

The Army

- The Army and the nation are inseparable.
- The Army is from us and we are from the Army.
- Our Army guarantees the independence of our country.
- Our Army is the backing of our nation.
- Just as the nation cannot survive without the Army, the Army, too, can't survive without the nation.
- Praise and honor are due to the Army, which at the acme of its eternal decision, broke down the walls of servitude to the tyrants.
- In Iran where this miracle of the age occurred by the hand of the nation, the dedicated armed forces and pure, patriotic commanders, too, had considerable shares.
- Greetings to all the dedicated Islamic armed forces who, by inclining toward the sacred Revolution of Iran, and with the support of the nation, overturned the palace of injustice!
- The Army can maintain its independence and pride when it has realized itself and not when some foreign advisors come and presume to administer it.
- The Army is the foundation of a country, the protector of a country and if its mentality is Islamic, it can advance the country to ideal perfection.
- If the hierarchy is not observed, the Army will weaken and if, God forbid, our Army weakens the country will weaken.

- If the Army is reformed, the country's independence will be secured and, if, God forbid, corruption sets in the Army, the country's independence will be threatened.
- The Army is the essential pillar of a country's independence.

***Jihad-e Sazandegi* [Jihad for Reconstruction]**

- The incessant toils of the *Jihad*,¹ these fortress builders, during our sacred defense, form one of the issues that defy description by words.
- The *Jihad's* love in serving Islam and the people has enlivened the hearts of all those who love to serve the religion and the people.
- I want you to engage in the combat with the self [*jihad an-nafs*] as you wage the *jihad* for reconstruction.

¹ Before the victory of the Islamic Revolution most of the Iranians, especially the people in the rural areas did not even enjoy a modicum welfare and they mostly suffered and lived in hardship. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, one of the objectives of the authorities and revolutionary forces was to help the oppressed and the deprived, particularly the rural people. For this reason, Imam Khomeini in 1358 AHS (1980) called on the nation to participate in the country's reconstruction movement, and thus, a revolutionary foundation by the name of *Jihad-e Sazandegi* [Jihad for Reconstruction] began its activities. Various groups, the young people and students in particular, went to the villages and deprived areas and offered their services to the people to please God. In subsequent years this revolutionary foundation was by legislative decree converted into a ministry and renamed as the Ministry of *Jihad-e Sazandegi* and proceeded to work under the new name.

Part Three

Chapter 1

Anthropology

- Man is the essence of all beings in the world.
- Man is a strange being among all categories of beings and creatures of God; there is none like him. Man is a wondrous being from which develops a divine celestial being as well as a hellish, devilish being.
- Man is a marvelous being which is infinite in both extremes; infinite in bliss and infinite in wretchedness.
- The source of all dangers to man is man himself and the source of reform must also begin from man himself.
- The starting point for any reformation is man.
- When man is reformed, all things will be rectified.
- It is the straight divine path that can guide man from deficiency to perfection.
- Man is not immune to the machinations of Satan and the temptations of ego, to the end of his life.
- Sometime a catastrophe is a blessing and sometimes a blessing becomes a catastrophe.

- Man's belly, bread and beverage are not yardsticks; it is man's dignity that counts!
- Man's dignity demands him to resist force.
- Are not honor, dignity and human values, precious gems for whose protection and maintenance, the pious forerunners of the school [*maktab*] sacrificed their lives and the lives of their followers?
- Wanting truth for the sake of truth is man's "grand excellence".
- As soon as you err, admit it and turn away from it as this is an accomplishment of man.
- An accomplished man is one who does not mind admitting he has erred and immediately acts to correct himself.
- Man cannot be human and attain human ends as long as he wants to live in the shadows of machineguns, cannons and tanks.
- As oppression, injustice and cruelty increase in a society, the power to resist increases in man proportionately; this is in the natural make-up of man.
- That which matters in war is not number; it is man's ability to think.

Culture and Civilization

- That which develops the nations is sound culture.
- Culture is the source of all the misery and happiness of a nation.
- If culture is made sound, a country can be reformed.
- With a sound culture, our youth develop soundly.

- If cultural and educational problems are solved in line with the country's expediencies, other problems will easily be solved.
- Essentially, culture forms the identity and existence of a society. With a pervert culture, no matter how powerful a community may be economically, politically, industrially, and militarily, that community is vain, empty and hollow.
- If we are culturally dependent, it follows that we are socially, economically and politically dependent as well.
- Cultural reform and freeing our youth from dependency on the culture of the West precede all other reforms.
- Iran has been hurt more by Westernized intellectuals than by any other group of men.
- It is of utmost regret that our country, which has the Islamic laws, justice and culture, has abandoned them, and has become a follower of the West.
- We cannot administer this country unless we replace this colonial mind with an independent mind.
- A colonial culture rears colonial youth for the country.
- The way to reform a country is to reform its culture first.
- Cultural perversion perverts a country.
- The independence and integrity of a society stems from its culture.
- We are not opposed to civilization; we oppose exported civilization for it is this type of civilization that has reduced us to our present conditions.
- We want a civilization that is based on human honor and dignity.

History

- History is man's teacher.
- History should set example.
- Our nation changed the course of history; it made new history.
- If the clergymen, the nation, the preachers, the *ulama*, the writers, and the dedicated intellectuals become lax and do not learn lessons from the events of the early days of the Constitutional Movement, this Revolution will meet the same fate of the Constitutional Revolution.
- Historians always butcher the aims of revolutions in the slaughterhouse of their own grudges or those of their masters.
- The crimes of the dethroned Shah are not forgotten by the nation; they cannot be forgotten.
- The Iranian monarchy has blackened the face of history from its beginning till now.
- History enlightens the future generations.

Propagation

- Know that propagation is above all other matters.
- Today, the world revolves around propagation.
- Take note that the best thing that can bring this Revolution to fruition and export it is propagation, correct propagation.
- Enhancing and extending the propagation, especially abroad, is a very important matter.

- Propagation is an important issue. It can be said that propagation tops all other matters in the world; in fact, the world rests on propagation.
- The Westerners, and in the past, Britain and then America were pursuing a policy by which to make weak countries believe they are incapacitated.
- My advice to the Ministry of Guidance at all times especially in the present time with its exclusive characteristic is to make every effort to promote and propagate the truth against falsehood and to present the real face of the Islamic Republic.
- Propaganda, articles, speeches, books, and magazines against Islam, against public chastity and against the interests of the country are interdicted and their prevention is incumbent on us and on all the Muslims.
- Through sound propagation, introduce Islam to the world as it really is.

The Mass Media

- All mass media are educators; they must educate the country.
- Today, the radio and television have greater roles than other media.
- The radio and television should act as teachers of our youth and instructors of the people of our country.
- The radio and television are obligated to quote or narrate news that is 100% true. They should avoid reporting or broadcasting news that is from non-reliable sources and is meant to create anxiety and mental confusion.
- We are not opposed to radio; we oppose perversion. We are not opposed to television; we oppose the things broadcasted, in favor of the aliens, aimed at holding our youth backward, and making us lose our human resources.

- The radio must be a guide; the television must be a guide; the newspapers must be guides; they should not write things that stir up the people and make them deviate.
- What is important with respect to news agencies is quality. True and factual accounts of news encourage one to better read or listen.
- It is a fact that radio and television are more obligated to the barefooted than to others.
- The press must be a guidance firm.
- The press should be itinerant schools apprising the people of all the news, especially the news of the day.
- In my opinion, the newspapers belong to all the people and all have rights in them; it may be said sometimes that the place of one is usurped by another.
- Take note that if you want the country to be Islamic, its press, too, must be Islamic.
- The newspapers must not be quarrelsome; rather, they should be inclined to guidance.
- The newspapers belong to the third class; not to the first class (of people), and they must not also all belong to the government.
- The magazine should serve the country. Service to the country means to train; to train the youth; to mold the people, to mold prolific and thinking people so as for them to be useful for the country.
- That which is above all services is the thing that makes our human resources develop and grow, and it is the press that has this obligation. The importance of publications is on par with the blood that is shed at the battlegrounds.

Mission of the Pen

- That pen is worthwhile which awakens the masses.
- Pens make martyrs and nurture them.
- The pen can be more creative than the blood of the martyrs.
- The pen is itself a weapon; it must be in the hands of the virtuous and the scholarly persons.
- The pen you hold in your hand, as well as your tongue, are in God's Presence.
- Make every effort to use your pen and tongue for the exaltation of Islam, the country and the nation.
- If pens become active for God and His people, machineguns would retreat.
- Make effort by pen and tongue to push machineguns aside and make the arena available to pens, sciences and knowledge.
- In this world if pens work for God and His people, machineguns will withdraw and if they don't work for God, they shall be making machineguns.
- That pen is humanistic that writes with fairness.
- That pen is a free pen that does not plot.
- Man has benefited and suffered losses by pen more than by anything else.
- Men of pen and speech should try to call the people to unity.
- Your great responsibility today is the pen in your hand.

Arts

- In Islamic mysticism art is the clear-cut representation of justice, honor and equity. It is the embodiment of the afflictions and agonies of the hungry made so by money and power.
- The only art acceptable to the Quran is the art that gives polish to the pure Islam of Muhammad (*s*), to the Islam of the Imams of Guidance (*a*), the Islam of the suffering poor, and to the Islam of history's barefooted, lashed by bitter deprivations.
- We are against movies whose programs corrupt our youth and the Islamic culture. We are in favor of motion picture programs that are educative and benefit the wholesome, ethical and scientific growth of the society.
- We are not opposed to the cinema; we are opposed to the center of corruption.
- Art in its rightful place is the embodiment of leech-like persons who take pleasure in sucking the blood of the true Islamic culture, the culture of justice and serenity.

Sports

- From ancient times our sportsmen have always been mindful of God and of Ali (*a*): this has been one of their outstanding characteristics.
- I am not a sportsman myself but I like them.
- I hope you will be champions ethically as well. Thanks to God, fine ethical behavior is rife among our sportsmen.
- I hope our dear champions will be honored in all arenas as they perform with pure, humanitarian, Islamic spirit and wherever they go they are top not only in athletic feats but in character, courtesy and humanity as well.

- God willing, the athletes will receive spiritual training just as they receive physical education.

Chapter 2

Training and Education

- The initial point of any reform is man himself. If man is not educated properly he cannot educate others.
- If man is reared and educated properly, all things in the world will be set right.
- No other creature on earth makes as much trouble and mischief as man, this biped being. And no other being needs training and education as much as this biped beast does!
- Just as every person and individual is obliged to correct himself, he is also obliged to correct others.
- All the divine scriptures were revealed to the prophets for educating this being which, if left alone, will be the most dangerous creature; to place him under divine training and education so that he may become the finest, noblest and most superior being.
- The world is but a school and the prophets and saints [*awliya*] are its teachers.
- In Islam all things are preliminary to man's cultivation and development.
- With proper education and upbringing of men, the whole world will be reformed.

- The foundation of the world is geared toward the proper rearing and education of the human being.
- Learning per se is of no use; sometimes it is even harmful.
- The harms that befall the country are mostly from untutored thinkers and unrefined teaching. They acquire knowledge but lack piety.
- The best and most effective way to combat the aliens is to be armed with the knowledge of religion and the world. Vacating this bastion and suggesting to lay down this weapon is treason to Islam and the Islamic country.
- Train! That which is important is training. Knowledge alone is of no use; knowledge alone is harmful.
- Training and purification take precedence over learning.
- Try to make your teaching the people to have purpose.
- The class of people who want to guide the people should act in conformity with their speech.
- You who rose up to train teachers and anyone who have risen up to train teachers should know that in the first place, the profession is divine. God, the Blessed and Exalted, is the Instructor of teachers who are the prophets. Secondly, training and purification take precedence over teaching.
- Laxity and negligence in education is treason to Islam, the Islamic Republic and the cultural independence of a nation and a country, and it must be avoided.
- The most honorable occupation in the world is breeding and rearing a child and offering (an upright) man to the society.
- From today's infants will emerge tomorrow's worthy men and scholars.

- No one can claim that he no longer needs further education and training; the Messenger of God, too, had this need to the end but God catered to his need. We all need (further education).
- The Majlis, the nation and the dedicated thinkers must believe in this truth and seriously undertake the reformation of culture (education), including schools from the elementary school to the university and block off deviation and perversion by all means.
- Take note that the pre-university period is more important than that of the university because children's rational growth takes place in this period.
- Reform of the university is easy if our children have been supervised since high school days.
- School propagation programs should include language—the world's living languages; those that are more widely used in the world.
- Let the dedicated educational institutions that care for the salvation of the country, afford particular importance to the dear children and youth on whose sound upbringing and education depends the future independence and freedom of the country.

Knowledge and the Knowledgeable

- Real knowledge is the light of guidance of the heaven and the straight path of proximity to God and the Door of His generosity.
- Knowledge that begins with the name of God has the light of guidance.
- The bastion of knowledge, too, is a defense bastion—defense of the entire Islamic culture.
- Life under the umbrella of knowledge and awareness is so sweet, and intimacy with books, pens and similar treasures provide such memorable and lasting recollections that overshadow all failings and bitterness.

- If our country acquires knowledge and culture, and learn how to direct knowledge and action, no power can rule over it.
- Man needs knowledge as well as training and education to the end of his life. No man can be needless of both knowledge, and training and education.
- The language of the Quran has great praise for knowledge which is accompanied by piety.
- Knowledge and piety constitute together the criterion of values.
- Knowledge and performance; knowledge and commitment are the two wings that can soar together to the highest stage of progress and excellence.
- A man who has both knowledge and piety is happy both here and in the hereafter!
- Knowledge alone, if not harmful, will not be fruitful.
- If you or I think that knowledge in any form is the source of prosperity, this is untrue.
- Knowledge in a corrupt heart or in a corrupt mind—in terms of morality—will cause losses much greater than that of ignorance.
- Woe unto the seeker of knowledge to whose heart the knowledge brought annoyance and darkness!
- Know that if the *alim* [knowledgeable, scholar], regardless of who he is, has not been Islamically purified and does not possess Islamic ethics, he will be harmful to Islam; not beneficial.
- If the *alim* has not been purified, he is not beneficial and will be harmful to himself, his country, his nation, and Islam even though he may know Islamic decrees and monotheism.

- If the “court-preachers” allow and do not disrupt our unity, God willing, we shall triumph; so will the Muslim governments and countries.
- The evil of a corrupt but learned man is more serious and dangerous to Islam than all other evils.
- A corrupt *alim* corrupts the world.
- Many are the learned, highly learned men, who frequently harm the country and Islam because they lack Islamic training.
- Let our learned men, our university professors and our youth not fear the West; rather, determine to rise up and challenge it!
- As long as man wants to continue life under the cover of tanks and machineguns, he cannot be human, or attain human goals. When pens triumph over machineguns and man’s knowledge reach a stage to put aside the machineguns, and knowledge and pens occupy the arenas, then the people will attain the Islamic and human aims and will achieve the utmost in knowledge.

The Station of the Clergy and the Theological Centers

- The clergy has no aim other than improvement of the nation’s condition and the maintenance of the country’s independence.
- The clergy are the father of the nation and have affection to their children.
- What the clergy want is the implementation of the Islamic laws.
- If Islamic sciences did not have specialists, no traces of the religion could be found now. And if the specialists are no more after this, this great dam before the aliens will be destroyed and the way for the colonizers to enter will be thrown wide open.

- If the dear *fuqaha* were not present none could know what knowledge or sciences would be forced down the people's throats in the name of Quranic knowledge and the knowledge of the Prophet's progeny [*Ahl al-Bayt*].¹
- Islam minus the clergy equals medical sciences minus the physicians.
- These (the clergy) are the manifestations of Islam, the promulgators of the Quran, and the manifestations of the Noble Prophet.
- The clergy, who are educators of mankind, have sat in the places of prophets and are appointed by them.
- Without a doubt the theological centers and the dedicated *ulama* have, during the history of Islam and Shiism, been the most important and solid base of Islam vis-à-vis attacks, perversions and deviations.
- There are clergymen who, on the basis of their understanding of Islam, have always been pioneers in the social movements and political struggles.
- The combatant Muslim *ulama* have always been targets for the poisoned arrows of the world-devourers, the first shots of any such incident has always been aimed at their hearts.
- Pride and honor are due to the martyrs of the theological centers and the *ulama* who, at the height of the struggle, severed the ties of classroom lessons and arguments and removed the shackle of worldly demands from the truth of knowledge and thus, care free, they joined the reception of the dwellers of heaven and sang songs in their circles.
- Those who have enjoyed the recitation circle of the mystics, the pre-dawn prayers of supplicants in the theological centers and of the clergy, in the ecstasy of their presence saw nothing but desire for martyrdom.

¹ *Ahl al-Bayt*: according to authentic *hadiths* recorded in both the Sunni and Shiah sources, the term *Ahl al-Bayt*, and interchangeably *Itrah* and *Al*, is a blessed Quranic appellation that belongs exclusively to the Prophet, Ali, Fatimah, Hasan, and Husayn (*a*). The members of this Family of five, with the Prophet Muhammad (*s*) at its head, were the ones alive at the time the Quranic verses regarding their virtue were being revealed to the Prophet (*s*). However, nine other Imams from the descendants of Imam al-Husayn (*a*) are also in this chosen Family, the final one being Imam al-Mahdi (*a*). For further information, visit: <http://www.al-islam.org/faq>.

- Greetings to the eternal epic-makers of the clergy who penned their academic and practical treatises by the “blood of martyrdom” and the “ink of blood” and on the pulpit of guidance, sermon and lecture to the people, created night-penetrating luster by the candle of their life-light.
- The clergy is a great force with the loss of which, God forbid, the pillars of Islam may crumble down and the enemy’s power remain uncontested.
- Do not lose the power which is the clergy as it is the divine might.
- Islam has reached this point by the effort of the clergy.
- I testify, most assuredly, that if persons other than the clergy were guiding the Revolution’s movements and decisions, today nothing would have been left for us except shame and humiliation vis-à-vis America and the world-devourers as well as abandonment of all the Islamic and revolutionary beliefs.
- In any divine and popular movement, the *ulama* of Islam have been the first to feel the blood of martyrdom painted on their brows.
- Which popular-Islamic revolution can we name in the conduct of which the theological centers and the clergy had not been the pioneers and had not gone to the gallows, and whose sacred mutilated bodies on street pavements had not bore witness to their earliest martyrdom?
- The people’s attention cannot be drawn to a thing except by the act of the clergy. Whatsoever was gained in the course of history came by the acts of the clergy and the people. Whenever these two elements were excluded from the scenes, the result was always corruption.
- It can be taken for granted that in any invitation to defend the truth, there is no expectation except that the true clergy of Islam and Shiism should be the first to offer sacrifices of their lives in the blood-smeared path of the people’s struggle, and thus the seal of their books (of deeds) is martyrdom.
- The clergy have always been opposed to the power-wielders.

- The dedicated clergy thirsts for the blood of leech-like capitalists and has not had nor will ever have the inclination to compromise with them.
- Let the honorable people of Iran know that any propaganda levied against the clergy is aimed at destroying the revolutionary clergy.
- The aim of foreigners is [to destroy] the Quran and the clergy.
- The “crime” of the Muslim *ulama* and other Muslims is that they defend the Quran, the integrity of Islam and the independence of the country, and that they are opposed to colonialism.
- In the absence of the clergy, none can preserve Islam.
- The defeat of the clergy is the defeat of Islam!
- If the clergy are broken up, Islam is broken up!
- If the clergy are beaten, the Islamic Republic is beaten.
- You cannot reform your country without the clergy.
- Islam minus the *akhund*¹ and the clergy means that we do not want Islam.
- It is up to the younger classes to try to preserve the clergy and the esteemed clergymen.
- Do all possible to preserve the link between your Islam and the clergy.
- Islam needs the *ulama* to the end for without them Islam will be dissolved.
- It is incumbent on the nation to follow the clergy and disregard the propaganda that is levied against them.
- The theological centers are part of the society and the people.

¹ *Akhund*: a word of uncertain etymology that originally denoted a scholar of unusual attainment, but was later applied to lesser-ranking scholars, and then acquired a pejorative connotation, particularly in secularist usage. [Ed.]

- If the theological centers are reformed, Iran will be reformed.
- Many are those who claim excellence, *jihad*, bravery, and dedication to the truth and religion but few are those that possess excellence, crusading spirit, and dedication to the truth and religion.
- At a time when pens were broken, voices silenced and throats gripped, he (Ayatullah Mudarris)¹ never ceased from revealing the truth and abolishing falsehood.
- Mutahhari,² whom few could match in purity of spirit, strength of faith and power of speech, went and joined High Heavens. But, let the ill-

¹ Sayyid Hasan Mudarris (1859-1938) was one of the greatest religious and political figures in the recent history of Iran. He received his elementary education in Isfahan and then traveled to the cities of the holy shrines (the cities of Iraq where certain of the Imams are buried: Najaf, Karbala and Kazimayn, and to a certain extent some others) where he received further education from such scholars as Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khorasani and, after graduation to the level of *ijtihad*, he returned to Isfahan and began teaching Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and its principles [*usul*]. In 1909, at the time of the Second National Assembly, he entered Parliament having been chosen by the *maraji at-taqlid* and the *ulama* of Najaf as one of the five *mujtahids* who were to oversee the law-making procedures. At the time of the Third National Assembly, he was chosen as a Member of Parliament. When Rida Khan carried out his coup d'etat, Mudarris was arrested and sent into exile, but after being freed he was again chosen by the people and again entered the Parliament. In the Fourth National Assembly, he headed the opposition majority against Rida Khan. At the time of the Fifth and Sixth National Assemblies, he opposed the proposal for the establishment of a republic, which Rida Khan was in favor of, to replace the constitutional government, and he dissuaded the Parliament from approving it. He was resolute in his stand against the stubborn Rida Khan, such that the Shah hired an assassin to kill Mudarris and when he escaped the attempt, he sent him first into exile in the remote town of Khaf near the Afghan border, and later in Kashmar, where eleven years later in Ramadan 1938, the agents of the Shah poisoned him. In this way, one of the greatest political and religious personalities of Iran was martyred in the way of Allah. Mudarris possessed outstanding qualities, and even though he was a man of great political and religious influence, he lived very simply. Imam Khomeini always spoke of him with a great deal of respect. The Leader of the Revolution, on the occasion of the renovation of Mudarris' grave, wrote: "At a time when pens were broken, voices silenced and throats gripped, he never ceased from revealing the truth and abolishing falsehood....this feeble scholar, weak in body but strong in a spirit joyful from belief, sincerity and truth, and possessing a tongue like the sword of Haydar Karrar (Imam Ali), stood in front of them and shouted out the truth and disclosed the crimes, making life difficult for Rida Khan and blackening his days. Finally, he sacrificed his own pure life in the way of dear Islam and the noble nation, and was martyred in exile at the hands of the oppressive Shah's executioner and joined his virtuous forefathers."

² Professor Ayatullah Murtada Mutahhari (1298-1358 AHS) was born on Bahman 13, 1298 AHS [February 3, 1920] in the village of Fariman near Mashhad to a family of clergymen. At

wishers know that his Islamic, scientific and philosophical personality will not part (with us).

- The martyrdom of this worthy, eternally learned son (Mutahhari) has created a dent in the dear Islam that nothing can mend.
- Mutahhari was a dear son to me, a solid backing for the scientific and theological centers, and a useful servant to the nation and the country.
- I have lost a very dear son (Mutahhari) and mourn for his loss. He was one of the personalities who are the fruits of my life.
- I congratulate Islam, the man's grand educator, and the Islamic *ummah*, for rearing and cultivating such sons who, by their radiant lights enliven the "dead" and brighten all darkness.
- If you think you can find in the entire world one man among all presidents, kings, etc. as dedicated as Mr. Khamenei¹ to Islam and whose heart beats with love of service to this nation, you certainly cannot.
- Qum is a city in which faith, knowledge and piety are nurtured.

the age of 12, he went to Mashhad where he learned the basics of Islamic sciences and then moved to Qum where he attended the class sessions conducted by the great authorities of the theological center. From 1319 AHS [1940] Mutahhari had taken part in the sessions led by Imam Khomeini and other famous teachers of the time. Moreover, he himself conducted lessons in subjects like Arabic literature, logic, *kalam* [scholasticism], jurisprudence, and philosophy. In 1331 AHS [1952] Mutahhari was transferred from Qum to Tehran and in 1334 AHS [1955] he was invited to teach Islamic sciences at the Faculty of Islamic Sciences, Tehran University. He was arrested at the midnight of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS [1963] and spent 43 days in prison. After Imam Khomeini's migration to Paris in France, Mutahhari went to meet him and His Eminence assigned him the responsibility of organizing the Revolutionary Council. On the night of Ordibehesht 11, 1358 AHS [May 1, 1979] Mutahhari was martyred by an agent of the Furqan terrorist group. He wrote more than 50 books and tens of articles, and delivered scores of speeches. Imam Khomeini said of Mutahhari: "His written and spoken words are, without exception, educational and enlivening... I recommend that the students and intellectual group not to let Mutahhari's words be forgotten by un-Islamic tricks..."

¹ It refers to the present Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution. After Imam Khomeini's demise, Ayatullah Sayyid Ali Khamenei was elected by a majority vote of members of the Assembly of Experts as the Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Before his selection as Leader, Mr. Khamenei had been elected twice as President of the Islamic Republic.

- From Qum knowledge has been and will be exported to the entire world.
- Qum is the sanctuary of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. It is the center of knowledge, piety, martyrdom, and courage.

The Duties and Responsibilities of the Clergy

- The responsibility of the clergy and those who are in this sacred garb today is more than ever before in history.
- Men of knowledge are charged with more responsibility than others.
- In this confrontation between Islam and *kuf̄r* the entire nation has responsibilities but the clergy are more responsible.
- The *ulama* of Islam have a duty to inform the Muslim people whenever they feel something is threatening the Quran and Islam.
- The *ulama* are obliged to combat monopoly, and the unlawful profiteering of the tyrants. They must also prevent conditions leading to affluence by a few, and by their side, a great many deprived and hungry.
- By their *jihad*, and the enjoyment of good and forbiddance of evil, the *fuqaha* must defame and weaken the tyrant rulers, and awaken the people so that the popular movement of the awakened Muslims would overthrow the tyrant government and establish the Islamic government in its stead.
- All of us, all the clergymen, all the nations, and all the oppressed people of history, must arise and control these evils.
- The theological centers and the clergy should always have the mental pulse and the future needs of the society in their hands and always, a few steps ahead of events, be ready for proper reaction.

- A *mujtahid*¹ must have the intelligence, cleverness and sagacity necessary for guiding a large Muslim, and even non-Muslim community and in addition to being sincere, pious and ascetic befitting the status of a *mujtahid*, he should be a real director and administrator.
- In the theological centers persons with piety and versed in Islamic truths should educate the seminarians.
- The professors who are in the religious centers must try to keep these centers purified.
- If you want your country's future to be bright, train those who enter the theological centers.
- If the theological centers are purified and dedicated, they can save a whole country.
- With respect to religious schools and centers I have often said that knowledge without piety, if not harmful, is not useful.
- You, gentlemen, who wish to invite the people to the hereafter, invite them to obtain necessary qualifications. You must take the first step yourselves if your call is to be just.
- Sometimes, perhaps often, I have a fear, which makes me uneasy, that, God forbid, people might go to heaven for our sake and we go to the hell.
- I fear that we, the clergy, are unable to perform the duties assigned to us.
- God forbid! May the clergy never stray away from their status as *talabah* [seminarians], for their departure may shake the people's faith!
- If we deviate from the usual side of *talabah* and, God forbid, become inclined to material things while we call ourselves "clergy," it may lead to our defeat.

¹ *Mujtahid*: an authority on divine law who is entitled to give an independent judgment on a point of theology or law. [Ed.]

- You, the clergy—may Allah always assist you—if you do things that, God forbid, make the nation turn away from you, in the long run, the day shall come when Fantoms (aircraft) will not be needed; the nation itself will shove you aside.
- Let no noise or excitement attend the appearance of the Friday congregational leader in a street, or a street be cleared of people on that account. Such things diminish their prestige in the society.
- If, God forbid, people see that the gentlemen (clergy) have altered their conditions, have erected buildings, and their social intercourse does not suit their status as clergy, they may lose that which in their hearts they had felt and cherished regarding the clergy. If this happens, it will mean the end of Islam and the Islamic Republic.
- No catastrophe and danger is more serious for the clergy here in the world as well as in the hereafter, than inclination to material things or material relief and welfare; that is, striding in the path of worldly things.
- Nothing is more offensive than a clergyman turning mundane as it can corrupt the clergy as readily as materialism.
- Whenever formalities expand, contents shrink!
- Simple living is that which has advanced the clergy so far and preserved it.
- In those days the clergy were oppressed. The face of an oppressed person is popular. The more you were oppressed in that regime, the more popular you became.
- The clergy should evince a guiding attitude; they should not desire to govern or rule.
- If the people see us do wrong and turn away from the clergy due to the wrongs of some of us, the accruing responsibility is not personal; it is Islamic.
- If a single clergyman takes just one wrong step, the people will say, “That is how the clergy are!” They won’t say, “That clergyman...”

- Pessimism toward the clergy and their defeat are tantamount to the defeat of Islam.
- Tell my revolutionary children that for me radicalism does not end well!
- I ask the honorable clergy to be kind and fatherly to the young classes.
- The enemies have long been ready to create discord and disputes among the clergy; neglecting this will send everything to the winds.
- The disputes of the *ulama* are disputes of the nation; not of the individual.
- I warn the clergy to prohibit un-Islamic actions, if any is, God forbid, found among you. If such clergyman does not pay heed, cast him out.
- Qum is a city of knowledge and Islam. If Qum errs, it will reflect all over the world.
- That which the clergy must never abandon, and should not heed others' propaganda in relation to it, is their support of the deprived and the barefooted; for, anyone who does that, will have turned back from the Islamic social justice.
- An important point is the way the clergy live; it must be simple!
- Compare the life of the author of *Jawahir al-Kalam*¹ with the lives of the clergymen today and you'll see the blow we have received by our own hands.

The Traditional *Fiqh* and Jawahiri *Ijtihad*

- I am all in favor of the traditional *fiqh* and Jawahiri *ijtihad*² and forbid its violation.

¹ It refers to Shaykh Muhammad Hasan ibn Baqir an-Najafi (passed away in Shaban 1266 A.H.), renowned as *Sahib al-Jawahir*, literally means Owner of the *Jawahir*, was a great *faqih* (jurisprudent) as well as a prominent *marja at-taqlid*. His reputation as *Sahib al-Jawahir* was for writing the book, *Jawahir al-Kalam*, on various subjects of *fiqh* (jurisprudence).

² *Ijtihad*: the practice of giving an independent judgment on a point of theology or law. [Ed.]

- If we deviate from the traditional *fiqh*, *fiqh* will be destroyed!
- You ought to preserve the *fiqh* with the same figure and force with which our forerunners have preserved it from the beginning until now.
- I have repeatedly emphasized that the lesson taught in the theological centers should retain its traditional mode. *Fiqh* must be that which is prevalent among us.
- *Fiqh* is above all lessons but there are other important issues that must be practiced, too.
- The nature of the Revolution and the system consistently demand that different *fiqhi* [jurisprudential] views and opinions, even if mutually contradictory, be freely expressed.
- In the Islamic government the way to adjudication or *ijtihad* must always be open.
- We cannot close up or stop *ijtihad*; it exists, has always existed and will continue to exist in the future.

The Reactionaries and the Pseudo-Clergy

- The heartaches inflicted on your old father by this reactionary group have been more painful than all that have been inflicted by others.
- Islam has been hurt more by these pseudo-clergymen, than by any other group—as an outstanding example, the estrangement and oppression done to the Master of the Faithful (*a*)—is clearly recorded in history.
- The danger to the theological centers from the reactionary, stupid, pseudo-clergy is no small measure. Let the dear students not ignore these charming snakes even for a moment.

- Do not think that only strangers have accused the clergy of having dependency ties and of *kufir*! Such blows that come from the unlearned clergy or from the learned but mercenary clergy are much more vicious.
- Islam has probably been hurt more by the impious *ulama* than by the common people.
- Drive away from yourselves the hired clergy and the nationalists who know nothing of Islam and of the expediencies of the Muslims, for their harm to Islam is more than the harm of the world-devourers.

The University and the University People

- The university is the base of all transformations.
- The destiny of this country is in the hands of the university people.
- The destiny of a nation must be decided from the university.
- If a country's university is rectified, that country will become rectified.
- Let the university professors know that if they rectify their university, they'll have insured their country to the end.
- We must continue our work until the university has become Islamic and hence, useful to our country.
- The university must be Islamic before anything else; for, the country's harms are all by people who do not know Islam.
- Islamization of the university means its independence; that it parts with the West, severs its dependency on the East; that we can have an independent country, an independent university and an independent culture.

- You, dear students, should exert every effort to get out of this Westernization! Find out your lost one, your lost one is your self.
- You must move the university in the direction of God, toward morality! Let all lessons be studied, be studied for God's sake!
- You, university men, try to cultivate human beings for if you do this you'll save your country!
- Let the university be a center for education. In addition to knowledge, training is also necessary. A badly reared or trained scholar is harmful.
- A university must be the center for the training of human beings.
- If the university is really a university and an Islamic university, that is, along with education there are purification and commitment, then these factors can lead a country to happiness.
- A good university makes a nation happy and a non-Islamic university, a bad university makes a nation retrograde.
- These individuals who graduate from a university either make a country or break it.
- Whatever of good or evil that befalls a nation—dependence or independence, freedom, or bondage and strangulation—are all subject to university training.
- It is the university which administers the affairs of a country. It is the university that trains the present and future generations and, if the university is at the disposal of the Eastern or Western pillagers, the country is at their disposal.
- The universities are on the top of all affairs and the destiny of a country depends on them; therefore, they must try to turn their faces away from the West and the East.
- Let the speakers, intellectuals, thinkers, university men, and scholars all direct their efforts at making our real enemy, America, disappointed.

- Hard effort and sacrifice is needed for a university to become a university (in its true sense).
- I hope we shall have a university which is useful to the nation.
- I hope the day comes when people from other countries come to study in Iran.
- I hope you have realized that all of the pains of Iran have started from the university.
- The universities must all wake up. From the elementary school up to the last university all must be emptied of Westernization, and the East should stand on its own feet.
- If the universities and the schools are not rectified, we cannot hope to find an Islamic Republic.
- Islam is opposed to the corruption of universities, to the retardation of universities and to colonial universities.
- If we take universities lightly and lose them, we have lost everything.
- If peace and tranquility are not present in the university, or in other training environs, how can the thinkers transmit their thoughts to the youth and train their brains to be thoughtful and experts?
- If the universities become void of learned men and experts, the foreign opportunists and profiteers will spread roots as cancer everywhere in the country, and assume supervision and management of our economic and scientific affairs.
- Most of the fatal blows received by this society have been delivered by the majority of these intellectuals who have been to the universities and who always regard themselves great.

- I recommend to the successive generations to keep the universities away from the Eastern or Western perversion in order to safeguard yourselves, the beloved country and the man-molding Islam.
- Let us never allow the universities to be drawn into perversion; wherever such tendency is observed, immediately rectify it. This vital matter should be attended to in the first instance by the able hands of the youth of the universities and teacher-training colleges.
- Greetings unto knowledge, unto university and unto the university men that are the nation's lights of guidance toward excellence, exaltation and piety.
- Greetings unto the flourishing youth who, by the weapon of knowledge, try to elevate and honor the beloved Islamic homeland, and do not spare any action in attaining the humane Islamic objectives.
- The most important factor in attaining self-sufficiency and reconstruction is to expand scientific and research centers, to concentrate and guide all resources and to encourage the inventors, discoverers and the dedicated expert forces who have the sagacity to combat ignorance and have escaped from the exclusive trap of looking to the East or the West, and thus demonstrated their ability to maintain the country on its own feet.
- The universities must become self-sufficient so that they won't need the knowledge of the West.

Link between the Theological Centers and the Universities

- The independence of our country is related to these universities and *faydiyyahs* [schools for religious education].

- Know that if the universities and the theological centers are reformed, the independence of the country will be insured.
- From the university, whether teaching traditional or modern sciences, results either the happiness or the misery of a nation.
- From the theological centers should emerge a qualified and fully dedicated scholar and it should be a core for the molding of human being. The university, too, should be such a core.
- The university men and youth should establish, as much as possible, ties of friendship and understanding with the clergy and the seminarians, and never ignore the perfidious enemy's plots.
- Make efforts to develop the religious aspects in the university.
- Let the university strengthen its ties with the *faydiyyah* and the *faydiyyah* with the university.

The Teacher

- The teacher's occupation is the prophets' occupation. The Noble Prophet (*s*) is the teacher of all mankind and next to him Hadrat Amir (*a*) is the teacher of humanity.
- The teacher's duty is to guide the society toward God.
- You teachers have a highly noble duty which is that of God.
- The teacher is a trustee other than ordinary; he is a trustee of men.
- The key to a nation's happiness or misery is in the hands of the educational [stratum].

- You (teachers) must all realize that you are not ordinary people; you are teachers of a generation that will have the future destiny of the country in its hands.
- Your occupation is to guide the children from all kinds of darkness into light.
- All teachers must practice self-purification. They must be purified if their word is to influence others.
- If the teachers do not have a sound education and training themselves they cannot train and educate the youth.
- Corruption and reformation of a society is in the hands of the teachers and educators.
- These youngsters who are the future hopes of the Islamic country are trusts in the hands of the teachers.
- All prosperity and wretchedness have their roots in schools, and the teachers have the keys.

Literacy

- We shall eradicate illiteracy in the best possible manner.
- Let the illiterate all rise up to learn and all literate brothers and sisters rise up to teach!
- It is shameful that there are individuals unable to read and write in a country that has been a cradle of knowledge and lives under the banner of Islam, a religion that has declared acquisition of knowledge a duty.
- All our troubles throughout history have been due to the abuse made on the ignorance of people. By such abuse they made tools of the people against the people themselves. If the people had a guided knowledge it

would have been impossible for the saboteurs to mobilize them in a direction contrary to their aim.

Islamic Associations

- I hope Iran will entirely become a single Islamic association.
- All of Iran and all Muslim countries are just one Islamic association and that is the divine association.
- Every one of these honorable associations is a branch of that great Islamic Association under the guidance of the Imam of the Time (*a*).
- Try to make Islam known to the people. Let these Islamic associations try to introduce to the world our matchless commodities, our matchless Quran and our unique tradition.
- I ask the Islamic associations everywhere to strengthen their relations to the utmost, reject suspicious elements that are trying to divide them against themselves and present them to others, and place Islam and its liberating tenets as headlines to all their programs.
- Islamic associations are useful to you. If someone says they are useless and reactionary, this is the reaction of which we are all accused.
- If you do not reform yourselves and if you are not Islamic as you call yourselves, you cannot invite others to Islam.
- You have two commitments: one, to be Islamic yourselves, and two, to render Islamic the places where Islamic associations exist.
- The Islamic associations must have Islamic beliefs.
- Of course, I have recommended that the Islamic associations must observe Islamic orientations and interfere in no other affair.

Chapter 3

The Women's Role in the Society

- The woman has a great role in the society; she represents the realization of human ideals.
- The woman is the educator of mankind.
- Men ascend to high heavens from the lap of the women.
- The woman is the only being that can deliver individuals to the society by whose blessings the society, nay the entire societies are drawn to endurance and lofty human values.
- The woman's role in the society is above that of man because the women and ladies, in addition to their being an active stratum in all dimensions, they rear and train all the active strata in their laps.
- I observe a wondrous transformation in the society of women, far beyond that of men.
- I take pride in the honorable Iranian women for undergoing such revolutionary change that destroyed more than 50 years of evil designs of the foreign plotters and their ignoble associates including ribald poets, writers and hired propaganda media.
- In our age women have proved that in the struggle they march by the side of men or, rather, ahead of them.
- We are honored that the women, small or big, young or old, all are present on the cultural, economic and military scenes by the side of men, or even

better than them, along the way for the exaltation of Islam and the aims of the Holy Quran.

- Whenever I see the respected ladies who, by their decisive will, are ready to endure all sorts of hardship; rather, to attain martyrdom for the sake of the objective, I feel assured that this path will lead to victory.
- The ladies are the leaders of our movement.
- You, brave ladies, who are shoulder-to-shoulder with men, insured the victory for Islam.
- You sisters had a great part in this movement.
- You, brave and dear sisters, shoulder-to-shoulder with men, insured the victory for Islam.
- Our men are indebted to the braveries of you, lion-hearted women.
- We owe much of the successes to the services of you, ladies.
- Much of the men's services are due to women.
- The Iranian women have a larger part than men in this movement and Revolution.
- Our dear ladies inspired the men with courage and bravery.
- We owe this victory more to the ladies than to the men.
- That which was greater than anything else to Iran is the transformation that the ladies went through.
- If this movement and Islamic Revolution had nothing except the transformation that has occurred in the ladies and the youth, that alone would have been enough for our country!
- A nation, whose women are in the frontline in achieving the Islamic objectives, will not be harmed.

- What honor is greater than the fact that our noble women stood up in the firstline against the former cruel regime and, after destroying that, stood up against the superpowers and demonstrated such resistance the like of which has not been recorded, in any age, not even for men!
- Let the women be pioneers in educating and training the noble society.
- If the human-molding women are taken away from a nation, that nation will experience decadence and defeat.
- Corruption and soundness of a society has its roots in the corruption and soundness of its women.
- You, men and women of history should demonstrate to the world and the future generations how to be steadfast in subduing the oppressors and defending the truth!

Women's Rights

- Islam has conferred freedom on women.
- Islam not only approves rights for women; rather, it is itself the founder of women's liberties in all its dimensions of their existence.
- Not only that Shiism does not exclude women from the arena of social life; rather, it places women on their lofty human station.
- In the Islamic system women enjoy the same rights as men—rights to education, work, and ownership, and to vote in the elections and to be voted in.
- From [the viewpoint of] human rights, there is no difference between men and women because both are human beings and women can decide about their own destinies just like men.
- Women are free, just as men, to choose their own destiny and activities.

- In the Islamic system, women, as human beings, can have active participation, along with the men, in building the Islamic society.
- Islam has rescued women from the humiliation and disgraces of the Age of Ignorance prior to Islam. God knows that Islam has served women much more than it has served the men.
- From the Islamic viewpoint, women have the crucial role in building the Islamic society. Islam elevates the woman to the extent that she could be able to regain her human status in the society and cast off her status as an object, and commensurate with such growth, she can assume responsibilities in establishing the Islamic government.
- Today, the ladies should perform their religious and social duties and preserve the public chastity while they perform social and political works.
- That which Islam opposes and has declared forbidden is corruption; it makes no difference whether it is done by men or women. We aim to save the women from the perversion that threatens them.
- We want women to be on their exalted human status and not be a plaything.
- Islam does not want women to be in the hands of men¹ as objects or playthings. Islam wants to protect the personality of the women and develop them into serious, efficient and capable beings.
- Islam wants the human dignity of men and women to be maintained.
- In Islam, women must have the Islamic modest dress [*hijab*]; they need not don the chador. A woman may wear anything that provides her *hijab*.²

Women's Day

¹ "In our hands" in the original.

² For a discussion on the *hijab*, see Murtada Mutahhari, *The Islamic Modest Dress*, <http://www.al-islam.org/modestdress>. [Ed.]

- If there is to be a “Women’s Day,” is there more apt, meritorious, auspicious and honorable day than the auspicious birthday of Hadrat Fatimah az-Zahra (a)?
- May Women’s Day bring blessings to the great Iranian nation especially the women, the honorable day of a radiant element who is the underlying foundation of all human excellences and the exalted values of the “vicegerent of Allah” on earth.

The Station of the Mother

- No occupation is more honorable than motherhood.
- The mother’s service to the community is greater than that of the teacher; it is greater than all other services.
- The child’s first school is the mother’s lap.
- The children receive better training in their mothers’ laps than with the professors.
- The mother’s lap is the greatest school in which a child is educated.
- Good mothers train good children.
- If the mothers are chaste, they will deliver chaste children.
- If, God forbid, a mother is pervert, the child that will come out from her lap will also be pervert.
- You, ladies, enjoy the honor of motherhood and you exceed men in such honor.
- The soundness of countries is due to you, you mothers. Prosperity and destruction of the countries, too, is due to you.

- May the mercy of God be upon the mothers who send their brave youth to defend the truth and take pride in their martyrdom!
- That nation, whose brave sisters and mothers take pride in the death of their young ones, who rank with the martyrs, is victorious.
- The brave mothers of the children of Islam have revived the memory of the bravery and self-sacrifices of the heroines throughout history.
- Education originally begins in the mother's pure lap and at the side of the father and by their proper Islamic upbringing and education independence, freedom, and dedication to the country's expediencies are insured.

**Aides of the Revolution
(Families of Martyrs, Surviving Veterans, Freed Prisoners of War)**

- We are all from God; the entire world is of God and is God's manifestation, and the whole world shall return unto Him. Therefore, much better that the return be by choice and selection, with man opting for martyrdom in the path of God and Islam, and choose death for God's sake.
- You, families of the martyrs! By the martyrdom of the honorable ones of this land you made the entire world understand that in the path of Islam you will sacrifice all your dear ones.
- (To the families of the martyrs:) You are the sight and the light of this nation!
- We hope you dear children who are mementoes of those who sacrificed in the path of God and Islam, will, like your noble fathers, will prepare yourselves for the defense of the great Islam and the dear homeland.
- The families of the martyrs, the prisoners of war, the missing, and the surviving veterans are themselves protectors of the values of martyrdom and sacrifice, and with the help of God, shall maintain this watch.

- You, families of the martyrs, the disabled and the injured, have demonstrated that you will never let imperialism cast a shadow on the destiny of this country.
- The martyrs of the Great Revolution, like the martyrs of the early period of Islam, are greatly valued and honored in the Presence of God and are praised and blessed by Him and the *awliya* of Islam!
- Your service to them (families of the martyrs) is a service to the Noble Prophet as well as a service to all the prophets.
- (To the authorities of the Martyrs Foundation:) Your service is the most worthy and valuable service.
- Whenever I meet these dear ones or see the human-cultivating testament of a martyr, I feel humble and belittled.
- The martyrs' tombs and the bodies of the handicapped relate and bear witness to the greatness of their eternal souls.
- You (children of the martyrs) are the truthful witnesses and mementoes of iron wills, and the most exemplar and sincere servants of God.
- I am interested to see you each a learned man and a dedicated expert for the pure Muhammadan Islam; a mighty combatant against the American Islam and the Islam of the affluent; a faithful standard-bearer for your own martyrs and those who sacrifice themselves and be able by the light of knowledge and piety, to wipe off Islam's lap the darkness of hypocrisy, crooked thinking, petrification, and sanctimoniousness.
- The shining record of the martyrdom and sacrifices of your dear ones is true witness to acquisition of highest moral degrees and stations by them, signed and stamped by the Pleasure of God, and your record depends upon your effort and struggle.
- Life in today's world is life in the school of the will, and the happiness or misery of any man is geared to the will of the same man.

- The cherished missing ones are the axis of God's boundless sea, and those with inherent want in this base world are dumbfounded at the majesty of their station.
- Convey my warm greetings and sincere love to these valuable capital assets of the Revolution, these mementoes of eternal teachers of the school of love and martyrdom.
- Let no harsh word shall ever be uttered to these families of the martyrs and the incapacitated.
- The wounded and the disabled ones have become the light of guidance, who in all corners of this land, show the way to the eternal bliss to those steadfast in faith.
- Greetings to you, the disabled and incapacitated ones, who gave your limbs and wellbeing along the way of exalting the Holy Quran.
- You are the telling language of honor, the telling tongue of Islam.
- Those who abuse the blood of you, the youth, and you, the disabled, for the sake of themselves and their power are outside the essence of man's nature.
- Whatever the Islamic Revolution has [achieved] is through the blessing of the struggles of the martyrs and those who sacrificed themselves.
- O martyrs, lo and behold! Rest assured that by the side of God Almighty, your nation shall not abandon your victory!
- You, families of the blood-buried martyrs, and you, the disabled ones, who insured for yourselves the eternal life by sacrificing your wellbeing, be sure that your nation is determined to guard your victory until the sovereignty of Allah is implemented, and until the advent of the Last Proof of Allah—may my soul be his ransom.

The Youth and the Adolescents

- We need our youth to be trained through humane training; that is, by Islamic training.
- You teach and train the youth. Teaching must be in tandem with training.
- These young folks, who must keep and administer this country in the future, must be trained and reformed properly.
- Islam is concerned with the purification of our children and youth more than anything else.
- Be serious in purifying yourselves of the carnal desires while you are still young and enjoy the power of youth.
- Days of youth are the spring of repentance, for (at this period) the sins weigh less, the darkness of the heart and conscience is lighter and the terms of repentance are easier.
- I want the youth, girls and boys, not to sacrifice independence, freedom and human values, even by tolerating hardships, for luxury, saturnalia and presence in the centers of corruption—things that are presented to you by the West and its homeless agents.
- Those who, during the last 50 odd years and in the course of history, wanted to rob us, tried to make our youth indifferent.
- In the study and research of Islamic truths, the Muslim youth should consider and look for genuine Islamic accounts in the political, economic, social, and other areas and never forget the distinctions that separate Islam from all other schools.
- The youth should know that no man will sacrifice himself and care for the *ummah* unless he believes in morality, monotheism and the Day of Resurrection.

- You prolific youth, you honorable students who are my hope and my glad tidings, you should be vigilant wherever you are and wherever you are in Iran, and defend your rights with alertness!
- All our youth, old men, women, men, and children should make sacrifices in the path of Islam, for the honor of Islam and their homeland, and for the glory of the Holy Quran.
- You, dear youth, entertain no disappointment or despair; truth shall prevail!
- By the might of you young folks this country shall be reformed!
- What an honor, to have such prolific youth of our country at the service of Islam!
- The transformation that has occurred in our youth, in the people and in those who are dedicated is more important than the transformation that has come about in the country.
- You, youth, who are my hope and my glad tidings, try to safeguard your unity of expression!
- It is incumbent on you, worthy youth of Islam who are the hope of the Muslims to make the nations aware, and reveal the vicious and devastating plots of the colonizers.
- It is incumbent on you the enlightened youth not to rest until you have awakened the dormant people from their fatal slumber and impart awareness to the negligent by disclosing to them the treasonous and criminal acts of the colonizers and their uncultured followers.
- You, young generation, you have a duty to awaken the Westernized individuals and expose their inhuman rules and acts.
- Some of our young have sacrificed their entire national prestige for the West, and it was this morale setback that was for us worse than all others we had.

- Let our young not think that everything is in the West and they have nothing themselves!

Chapter 4

Social Justice

- The Iranians want justice, freedom and independence and believe they can achieve them only under the auspices of Islam and its laws.
- Enforce justice; observe justice not only for others; seek it for yourselves as well.
- Justice is justice, and cruelty and crime are cruelty and crime regardless of the source.
- Deviation from moderation, divine justice and the straight path is perversion, and avoiding them is a divine duty.
- Let the people of the world know that one must not relent even for a moment in the path of God, implementing the divine justice and in severing the hands of the polytheists of the time. One must give everything, like what Ismail (Ishmael), the Ransom of Allah¹ did, so that justice may perpetuate.

Defending the Downtrodden and the Deprived

- Defending the downtrodden is the way of Islam!
- In following the great Islam, we support all the downtrodden people.
- I doubt if a worship loftier than service to the deprived exists!

¹ “Ransom of Allah” [*dhabihullah*] is an honorable title given to Prophet Ismail, the first son of Prophet Abraham (*a*) as the latter was asked by Allah to sacrifice the former as a test: “And We ransomed him with a momentous sacrifice [*dhibhin azim*]. And We left (this blessing) for him among generations (to come) in later times” (*Surah as-Saffat* 37:107-108). [Ed.]

- My dear friends! Prepare yourselves for service to Islam and the deprived nation. Prepare yourselves to serve the servants of God, which is service to Him!
- I advise all to make every effort for the welfare and relief of the deprived classes, for your goodness and reward in this and in the next world lies in helping the deprived of the society.
- What a worthy thing it would be if the well-to-do classes volunteer to provide relief and housing for the slum dwellers for it would constitute their good deed and reward for this life and for the hereafter. It is unfair that one owns scores of apartments and so many others do not have a roof over their heads!
- That day is our day of festivity when our needy and deprived people acquire decent living and welfare, and gain proper Islamic-humane training.
- The important point is that the downtrodden stratum would receive the most attention.
- God forbid the day when it becomes our policy and that of the authorities of the country to abandon our defense of the deprived and turn to the support of the capitalists.
- Islam has come for the downtrodden; its attention is essentially focused on them.
- This century, by the will of the Almighty God, is the century in which the oppressed overpower the arrogant and the truth smashes falsehood!
- Serve the oppressed, the needy and the slum-dwellers for they are our benefactors!
- No service is worthier before God, the Blessed and Exalted, than service to the slum-dwellers!

Palace- and Slum-Dwellers

- We must try to purge this nation of the culture of palace-residency.
- Most of the corrupt modes of conduct reach the people through the affluent classes.
- The nature of palatial living negates sound and correct upbringing. It negates effort, innovation, composition, and authorship.
- At the time when we consider that in our religion we have a rich *fiqh* and a rich philosophy, we will realize that those who have thus enriched our *fiqh* and philosophy were all from among the slum-dwellers; none came from among the denizens of palaces.
- The agitation of the palace residents is absent in the slum-residents. The tranquility [of mind] that this deprived class enjoys is the envy of those in the high places.
- We suffered badly at the hand of palace residents during the Constitutional Movement. Our Majlis sessions and terms were filled by them; among them were a few slum-dwellers who prevented a great deal of the deviations.
- Today, thanks to God, none of our officials are palace residents; our government is not a 'palatial' government. The day our government acquires a leaning toward palaces is the day we should ring the death knell of the nation and the government.
- The day our President, God forbid, departs from the culture of slum-dwelling and moves over to palatial living, that day his downfall and the downfall of those with whom he is in contact, begins.
- How I wish that the palace residents observe the conditions of our suffering people, so that they might then stop aiding the American government in its crimes!

- You, flourishing slum-dwelling youth, enjoy greater honor than the palace residents and it is you who preserved Islam!
- One strand of the hair of these slum-dwellers and offerers of martyrs is superior and nobler than all of the world's palaces and their denizens.
- These “down-towners” and barefooted, as you termed them—these are our benefactors.
- Without the help of the deprived masses, the government could not have been established.
- Without the aid of these deprived people, these villagers and the people south of the cities, we would not have been able to endure the difficulties, and the former regime could not have been overthrown!
- Only those who have experienced the pangs of poverty, deprivation and oppression will remain with us to the end!

Labor and the Laborer

- The life of a nation is due to work and the worker.
- The workers are among the most valuable and useful groups in the society.
- The great wheel of human societies moves and turns by the able hands of the workers.
- Labor Day is the burial day of the superpowers' domination.

Agriculture

- Iran is a country that must have a rich agriculture for it is an agricultural country.
- You, farmers, are the nation's greatest support; you must continue your agricultural works.
- You well know that we are in need of foreigners for food staples; we must make up for this ourselves and this calls for dedication of our farmers!
- The worker and the farmer form the basic core of any country. The economic base of a country is dependent on the work of the workers and the farmers.
- Farmers and workers are the backbone of the country's independence.
- The 'land-reform'¹ we seek is the one that will enable the farmer to enjoy the fruit of his labor and it will duly penalize the owners who have acted contrary to Islamic decrees.
- The farmers' *jihad* means enhancing their agriculture.

The Market and the Capital

¹ Land Reform was one of the main principles of neo-colonialism, which was urged on all the countries under the dominance of colonialism, from Latin America to Asia and Africa, and was implemented by the governments of these countries in a very similar manner. In 1962 [1342 AHS], the Shah launched the land reform program as the first tenet of his six-point 'White Revolution,' later renamed the 'Shah-People Revolution.' This 'Revolution' was not a revolution at all; rather, it was put into effect on the one hand to win the confidence of American capitalism; to show his approval of and cooperation with the new strategy; and to open a new market for the Western economy, and on the other, to curb internal discontent and actually prevent a revolution! The reform program, which was dependent on foreign, especially American investment, dragged the Iranian agrarian economy into bankruptcy, such that a few years after its implementation the country had been changed from a wheat exporter to a major wheat importer. In addition, as a result of the migration of villagers into the towns and cities and their attraction as a cheap work force to the industries and the service sector, over a period of eleven years from 1966-1977 [1345-56 AHS], 20,000 Iranian villages became uninhabited! See *Farhang-e Danestaniha*, p. 239 and *Tarikh-e Novin-e Iran* [The Modern History of Iran], p. 219.

- Right now the market is in the hands of the pseudo-religious. Just because there is no one to dictate prices and put them under pressure, is no reason for unfair dealing. The local governors must prevent overcharging!
- Islam does not favor unbridled, oppressive capitalism which deprives the masses; rather, Islam condemns such practices severely in the Quran and the Sunnah and regards it contrary to social justice. Nor is Islam in accord with regimes like communism and Marxist-Leninism, which oppose private ownership and favor common ownership.

Return of the Experts to the Country

- The bosom of the country and the Revolution is ever open to those who have intended or still intend to return and render service (to the country) but not at the expense of their demands on all principles.

Part Four

Imam Khomeini

- I would rather be called servant than leader. Leadership is not the issue; service is the issue. Islam has made it incumbent on us to serve.
- Leadership is of no concern to Islam and me; fraternity is!
- I am a brother to the people of Iran and regard myself as a servant and soldier of them.
- I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant success to all. I have come from outside to serve you. I am your servant and the servant of your nation.
- I have come to offer the bond of my service to you my dear ones, that I shall be the servant of you as long as I live; servant of the Muslim nations, servant of the great Iranian nation, servant of the university people and the clergymen; servant of all the strata in the country, and to all the strata in the Muslim countries and all the downtrodden people of the world.
- I, who am one of the servants of the distinguished *ulama* and the Islamic nation, am ready, in times of danger and for the good of Islam, to bow in humility to the least and lowest individual, let alone to the distinguished *ulama* and the great *maraji*, may God increase the likes of them!
- I pray for all of you and I am the servant of the entire nation, and I hope to be able to complete my service and find opportunity to finish it.
- Khomeini kisses the hands of every one of you and pays his respects to each of you and views each of you as his leader; as I have often said, I am one of you.
- I have come to safeguard your honor, and to destroy your enemies.

- I need no financial aid. I resist against the Shah through a pen and a sheet of paper, and if I needed help my nation will help me.
- Specific position is not important for me. What is important for me is performing the divine duty, the higher expediencies of Islam and the Muslims.
- Position is not important for me. What is important for me is struggling against oppression. Wherever it is made better, I will be over there.
- I have now prepared my heart for the bayonets of your agents but will not prepare it for humility before your oppressive stooges.
- I put no value on a few days of life in shame and disgrace.
- Even if you hang Khomeini, he will not compromise!
- Even if Khomeini compromises with you, the Islamic nation will not!
- The Iranian nation must know that I will be by your side and fight along with you to the last breath for the preservation of Islamic laws and the expediencies of the country.
- God knows that I ask no rights, privileges, immunities or prerogatives for myself. If I err, I am ready for the consequences.
- I hope Khomeini will never deviate from the straight path of Islam which is to fight the oppressive powers.
- Those who have known me know that if there is something that I must do, I do it and nothing can influence me to the contrary.
- I have often declared that I have not entered in a contract of brotherhood with anyone regardless of station or status. The framework of my friendship lies in the rightful path of every individual.
- I declare that if anyone ascribes to me something contrary to Islamic decrees, that person lies.

- If ever I see it is expedient to Islam that I say something, I'll say it and follow it up without fear of anything, thanks to God. By Allah, I've not felt fear so far. The day they were taking me away, it was they who were afraid and I pacified them.
- I am not one to issue a decree and sit by to take a nap; I follow it up.
- I am not a pope to hold some rites only on Sundays and be a monarch unto myself the rest of the time and not mind any other thing.
- The reason I gave up my occupation (as a seminarian) and came here is that we had no competent government and no competent power.
- I extend a hand of brotherhood to all Muslim nations, in the East and in the West, and to all the Muslims of the world.
- I shake hands with all the Muslim nations and the freedom-fighters of the world for uprooting colonialism and the colonizers, breaking the chains of serfdom, and for restoring independence to the Muslim countries.
- I kiss the hands and arms of all the dear people who, all over the world, are shouldering the burden of the struggle and are determined to strive in the way of God and enhance the honor of Islam, and I present my sincere greetings to all the blossoms of liberty and excellence.
- At this autumn of my life, I humbly extend my hand to all the groups who struggle and make sacrifices for the implementation of Islam and its laws, which is the only road to the happiness of Iran and to insure its independence and freedom against colonialism, old and new.
- I have done and will continue to do all in my power for unity to be achieved by all strata of the Muslim nation.
- I advise the Iranian nation that if derogatory words about me are said or written in the newspapers and the press no one has the right to utter a word. I have forbidden replying to such words because such things are plots and should be neutralized by silence and if plots increase, we shall put them out by fists.

- Although I have lost a dear son who was part of my being, I am proud that Islam has had and still has such dedicated sons.
- I always envy the serenity and sincerity of the enlisted volunteers (the *Basijis*) and I ask God to associate me with them (at Resurrection) for in this world being a *Basiji* is a source of pride to me.
- I have readied my unworthy blood and life to pay God's dues and for performing the obligation to defend the Muslims and I wait to attend to the honor of martyrdom.
- Whenever I study the morale of men and women who lost their youth, yet stood up against misfortune courageously, I feel ashamed.
- All of us are brothers and sisters, and all are soldiers of Islam. I hope that in the Divine Book in which the names of soldiers are recorded, ours, too, may be recorded.
- I hope to attain one of the two great good things; the advancement of the objective and the establishment of justice and truth, or martyrdom in the path of truth which is the path of God.
- Let the powers, the superpowers and their servants be assured that if Khomeini remains all alone, he will continue his way, which is fighting *kufir*, oppression, *shirk*, and idolatry and, along with the *Basijis* of the world of Islam, these barefooted ones who have displeased the dictators, and with God's help, will deprive the eyes of the world-devourers and their agents who insist on doing injustice of an hour of restful sleep.
- Heaven forbid that Khomeini remain silent and calm vis-à-vis the aggressions of fiendish atheists, pagans, and violators of the sanctuary of the Holy Quran and the Household of the Messenger of God and to the *ummah* of Muhammad (*s*) and the followers of Abraham (*a*), and observe Muslims in the scenes of misery and objection!
- Our movement is not dependent on individual; it is popular; the entire nation is the leader; all have woken up.

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“I kiss the hands and arms of all the dear people who, all over the world, are shouldering the burden of the challenge and are determined to struggle in the way of God and enhance the honor of Islam.”

Imam Khomeini