



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







# ***SAHIFEH-YE IMAM***

**An Anthology of Imam  
Khomeini's  
Speeches, Messages,  
Interviews, Decrees,  
Religious Permissions, and  
Letters**

**Volume 1**

**March 1933 – October 23, 1965  
[Farvardin 1312 – Aban 1, 1344 AHS]**

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



## Transliteration Symbols

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا, ء	a, '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

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

## Long Vowels

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

## Short Vowels

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

## Persian Letters





**Note:**

For easy access to particular topics, please refer to *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, volume 22, which includes:

Indexes to subjects, persons, places, historical events, Quranic verses and Prophetic narrations, poems, and detailed subjects of the first 21 volumes.



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## Foreword

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

As a precious collection of the guidance- and direction-giving words of our great teacher, mentor and leader is once more prepared to be published, it seems timely to inscribe a few words, although inadequately, about that unique personality who revived the Islamic way of life in our times.

Anywhere in this world, whenever a man is endowed with knowledge, wisdom and lofty ideals, with piety, devoutness and unyielding belief, with bravery, valor and will power, and with political intelligence, prudence and experience he steps in the arena of an immense task. He patiently and steadfastly pursues a sacred goal and will undoubtedly win endless glory and perpetual achievement for his country and nation, and sometimes for the whole humanity. All of those who rank among the famous people of the history were adorned with some of these characteristics.

The great celebrity of the present era, Imam Ruhullah Khomeini, possessed all these traits simultaneously, even in usually unachievable and matchless proportions. He was a pious scholar, a devout savant, a sage politician, a nonconformist believer, a courageous and clever man of gnosis, a just ruler, and devoted combatant.

He was a jurist, a man of *usul* [principles] and gnosis, a philosopher, a teacher of morals, a man of letters, and poet; one who possessed the highest position of teaching and the most crowded and intense academic seminary sessions over the years.

The God-given prominent characteristics merged with what he himself had learnt from the Quranic wisdom, with which he had adorned his heart and soul, had made a great, charming and influential personality out of him. By contrast, any of the figures of the contemporary world, the century of

great men and famous religious, political and social reformers, looks unimpressive, one-dimensional and insignificant.

What he attempted and accomplished through faith, reliance on God, prudence, and patience, was also as great, unbelievable and astonishing.

His excellent and brilliant personality was astounding and unique during the different periods of his political life. As the religious authority in Qum, he challenged Pahlavi's surrogate and corrupt regime and its interfering American supporters with his prophetic call, leaving the Shah and his accomplices prone to the nation's storm of fury. Supported by the great struggle of the Iranian nation, he was able to establish the Islamic government and eradicate the treacherous, corrupt and incapable regime, after fifteen years of intensive and tedious fighting.

He unfailingly exhibited this peak of belief, bravery and self-sacrifice along with the depth of wisdom, prudence and intellect of his precious being.

He knew Iran fairly well: on the one hand, its crucial and decisive geographical location and its political geography, its potential natural and human resources, its great affections, goals and aspirations, and on the other hand, its recent sorrowful history of one hundred fifty years. He acquiesced its being dominated by the foreigners and plunderers, Pahlavi dynasty and the associated royal families' treachery, corruption and totalitarianism, its imposed poverty, and scientific, industrial and moral backwardness... and above all, its great, noble, gallant and faithful nation.

He was acquainted with the world's condition, the colonized nations, tyrant governments and the perplexed and truth-thirsty younger generation; he was especially familiar with the deplorable conditions of Muslim countries and the Islamic nation and suffered for it, and the poignant issue of Palestine tortured his great soul.

His sense of religious duty made him embark on an extensive and historic struggle that has never been pursued by anyone but the exceptional men of history and has not been won by anyone but a few.

He dreamed of rescuing Iran from the clutches of a corrupt regime that imposed backwardness, decadence, and financial, moral and scientific dearth and recognized that restoring Islam and establishing the political institution of Islam in the country and the rule of divine values was the only solution.

Having initiated this path, he set a living example for the Islamic nations, and generated a new trend in the Islamic world whose first blessed outcome was the revival of Islamic identity among Muslims.

From the onset, he started his struggle with the help of vast numbers of people and in the name of Allah; he talked to them and asked for their faith,

reason and determination. He never resorted to insincere parties and factions, and often regarded their political bargains. He always talked to the people sincerely and sympathetically and along the course of the struggle, like a discerning teacher and informed mentor he offered his reason, wisdom and knowledge to the wayfarers.

When, to the amazement of the world, the struggle of the Iranian nation was won, and they unambiguously accepted his leadership and incumbency with all their heart and soul, he brought about the most profound change in the political history of the country. This was changing monarchy, which is the totalitarian reign of the oppressors and the world-devourers, within which Imamate [Leadership] is the institution of the divine and public reign of the servants of Allah. He adorned his authority and resolve with justice and equity, and illuminated his universally acknowledged superiority with servitude and humbleness, and cured affluence and luxury with abstinence and piety. Never did he leave the path of Allah or His servitude, and because of the heavy commitment that he shouldered, he doubled the supervision over his soul. His heart-felt words, God-conscious and God-fearing heart, and his religiously inspired trait caused a seething spring of knowledge, wisdom and divine expedience to flow in the thought and mind of the Iranian nation which is a devotee of his purity and spirituality. He equipped and prepared the men of government, the authorities and all people for facing a great number of enmities and conspiracies, and for solving millions of imposed problems.

The ten-year-long period of the Imam's blessed life (after the Islamic Revolution) is the era in which the political system of Islam was formed, the Islamic identity revived among the Muslims of the world and the banner of Islam raised in our country. It is an era of independence and freedom of Iran, of national pride and glory and of the unprecedented leap of the nation toward exaltation and development. It is a period of revolutionary zeal, political consciousness and that of efforts made for guarding the country and developing it. It is a period of pride for Iran in the international scenes and influencing the world affairs. It is the beginning of a new path in the history of our country; by continuing it, the Islamic Iran will attain material and spiritual transcendence.

The wise and savant Imam has clearly indicated and shown this path, using certain signs to the authorities of the country and all the people of Iran in tens of occasions and hundreds of enlightening speeches.

These signs and directions are still as precious, reliable and effective, and the government and nation of Iran need them for treading their path, with its ups and downs, toward salvation, and material-spiritual development.

A collection of these wise sayings displaying the history of the Islamic Revolution, especially the period of the ten years immediately after the Revolution and the general state of affairs in the country during the period is henceforth published on the occasion of the centennial birth anniversary of that unique historic personality. This happens in a year adorned with his glorious name; may everybody benefit from it.

I do extend my salutations to his great soul and my enthusiasm and greetings to His Venerable Eminence, the Living Imam, may our souls be his ransom.

**Sayyid 'Ali Khamenei**

## **Publisher's Foreword**

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

#### **Imam Khomeini, Islamic Revolution and the contemporary world**

The bulky book, "Human History", among its many hectic episodes, contains a clear-cut chapter called, "the Great History-makers". One cannot ignore the unparalleled role of the personalities whose way of thinking and behavior has had a deep impact on the whole society, on politics and on human culture, knowledge and relationships no matter how the lofty thoughts are formed; what the science and philosophy of history are; what rules it follows and what theory we believe in.

Do we have to think of the advent of such personalities as mere natural outcomes of the demands of society and the times, and assume them symbols whose way of thinking and behavior is a reflection of the ambitions, desires and the natural requirements of a generation and an era? Or rather to consider their circumstances and unique characteristics, their inherent genius and far-sightedness, their ability to cultivate and develop exclusive ideas, as what has made them included among the famous and revolutionaries; or a combination of these two factors? Or even to assume the role of such personalities, in a philosophical or gnostical and metaphysical perspective, as a predetermined scenario for the creation of man and his fall into the realm of nature, and the intermittent struggle of humanity for freedom, evolution, ascension and resurrection? The different approaches, however, make no change in the fact that standing at the beginning of the main paths and turning points of human history, there have always been great men whose thoughts and behavior have influenced numerous aspects of the cultural, political and social life of millions of human beings. This went so far as causing fundamental reformation in the views, methods and appearance of different doctrines, schools and disciplines. Of course, this fact is not contrary and opposed to

accepting the undeniable role of every individual member of the human society or the institutions developed out of it, in the cultural and social transformations. In fact, which reputable philosophical, political, social, and literary school, and influential civilization, revolution and movement, from the advent of mankind till today, which is not indebted, for its foundations, to the prominent and renowned men of thought, politics, culture, letter, and revolution?

Therefore, the most crucial of stages for knowing the philosophical, political and literary schools and knowing the religions, creeds, cultures, civilizations, revolutions, and movements are the episode in which the leaders and founders are identified. In this regard, success of any scientific elucidation and objective analysis of the phenomenon of the Islamic Revolution, appraising its impact and upshot in the Iranian society and the global community is the issue at hand. In the first place, it is subject to an understanding of the basic doctrines and details of behavior and life of a man who led this revolution since its origin on Khordad 15, 1342 AHS [June 5, 1963] until Bahman 22, 1357 AHS [February 11, 1979]. This lasted during a period of 11 years, from the initial phases of the formation of a government to the establishment and constitutionalization of the Islamic republican system. The significant point is that the phenomenon of the Islamic Revolution and Imam Khomeini's leadership coincided with the peak of the Cold War between the two domineering superpowers of the world. It led to the collapse of one of these two grand political poles, and at a time when the geopolitics of the world was on the brink of a dramatic transformation. Having this in mind one can better recognize how important it is to analyze the characteristics of thought and behavior of a man who could establish a new pattern and found a religious government in such confusion, independently and away from the influences and conditions imposed by the hegemonic division of the East-West (Communism-Capitalism) which seemed to be unavoidable.

Now one hundred years passed after Imam Khomeini's birth and ten years after his demise. The revolution he started and the government he established is so stable and sturdy that there is no need to argue for and to offer evidence and substantiation to prove this fact that the Islamic Revolution failed to be not just a transient uprising to cause the collapse of a political regime in one corner of the world. At present in the political literature of the world, and more obviously in the scientific conferences of the scholars and politicians, even at the level of the formal negotiations and talks of the great public officials of the world, discussion is made of the



challenges set forward by the Islamic Revolution in the sphere of the dialogues, political and cultural equations. The formation and expansion of the Islamist parties in most of the Muslim countries are developments that happened or about to happen, which due to the effect of the active presence of religious groups and parties in some Muslim countries, have changed the traditional balance of power. The discussion on the status of the Muslims and the future civilization of Islam in the political and cultural equations of the world in the future and the issues such as the clash of, or dialogue among, civilizations, secularism or belief in religion in the government domain, are the current discourses in the political and cultural circles. What makes the headlines and news analyses of the international media is the reflection of the tangible consequences of these discourses, challenges and approaches, and we may be sure that this process will gain momentum due to the high degree of effectiveness of the messages and impacts of the Islamic Revolution on the Muslim societies and the contemporary world.

In Iran, through the forms of struggles stemming from the Islamic culture of the Iranian people and quite different from the known revolutions and political uprisings, the Islamic Revolution succeeded in overthrowing a despotic regime that was strongly supported by the West, played the role of a gendarme in protecting the interests of America and Europe in the Persian Gulf and alongside the borders of the ex-USSR, and worked in accordance with the interests of NATO in this region. More importantly, it completely liquidated the corrupt monarchical system and replaced it with a republican system founded on religious and Islamic basis and structure.

The Islamic Revolution alleviated the political status and condition of Iran from a colonial-like state under the absolute dominance of America, in a time not so long ago, to a substantial cultural and political power whose political stances, conducts and ties are the main topics of discussion in the international associations and among the world's statesmen. At present, the Islamic Republic is such a weight in the political equations of the world that the US and the great powers of the world are obliged to take a formal stance vis-à-vis the least important stances taken by Iran or any internal development in the country. As the news and daily reports of a good number of the world's authentic media testify, today a great part of the efforts and sessions in the White House and in the European and Asian governments are focused on how to establish relationship with Iran and how to confront the Islamic Revolution in the international context. Apart from the status quo of Iran in the political geography of the contemporary world—a status which, of course, is undoubtedly influenced in every aspect by the phenomenon of the

Islamic Revolution and its derivative system—the Islamic Revolution has also had decisive, undeniable and ever-increasing impact beyond the Iranian borders. The ‘Islamic world’ used to be defined not too long ago as the divided nations whose religious beliefs worked just in an individual level, and even were gradually diminishing and being obliterated. Most of the Muslims in diverse spheres of the social life from their culture, politics and judiciary to the social customs and manners of interaction and educational system were charmed and petrified by the imported Western or Eastern cultures to the extent that the sense of common, independent and Islamic identity had faded away under the influence of the irreligious isms and political trends leading to the cultural breakdown upsurge. The pace of this invasion, annihilation and downfall was so swift that even the strongest nationalist movements could not resist for long. This happened due to the lack of a proper ideological and intellectual basis to win the long-lasting support of the Muslim masses and nations, change the kind of relations, and create new cultural and political structures aligned with the religious culture. The failure of the nationalist movements in the Arab world and Turkey, and the early defeat of the Iranian nationalists are some instances of these unsuccessful attempts. Therefore, the ‘monarchical nationalism’ and the Shah’s absurd and extreme archaism in Iran was not only not considered as a scheme to resist the onslaught of the Western culture, but in fact basically designed in the interests of the West to accelerate the disintegration of the religious culture of the Iranian society. A similar situation was prevalent in other Muslim countries. In the Muslim world, the most active oppositionist political figures and the revolutionary and reformist parties and groups were composed of the supporters of the socialist schools, nonreligious personalities and generally the Easternized or Westernized ones. The few voices of the Islamist intellectuals and political movements were not heard in the hubbub of the different kinds of isms and Eastern and Western tendencies.

Today, however, the political conditions, inclination of the parties, and active political trends in most of the Muslim countries generally changed. The momentum of Muslim awareness and the return to religious culture in the Islamic societies has transformed into the tides of Islamic-inclination, has survived the first stages and has manifested the formation of parties and the creation of powerful political, cultural and social organizations in many of the Muslim countries. This nascent phenomenon is not confined in Iran, Lebanon and Palestine. In Africa, the European and US governments have so far expended a lot to prevent the victory of Islamists. Algeria, Egypt, Sudan,

etc. are obvious cases in point. The Muslims' overwhelming lead in the Algerian elections forced the Western world, in a contradictory policy, to ignore the slogans of democracy and human rights, and to support the martial law, and the brutal and extensive suppression of the Islamists. The Islamists have gained power in Sudan; in Turkey, in spite of the massive efforts of the secularists during the past several decades, the Islamic and religious activities—exactly just in contrast to the course of propaganda and official policies—are expanding, and the Islamist parties have occupied decisive positions in those countries. In spite of the massive propaganda against the messages of dignity, independence and Islamism as the global slogans of the Islamic Revolution, the support for these ideals was not limited to the Shi'ah community. Now, America and the West are facing challenges and crises out of the advent of Islamic groups in their most secure traditional bases in the Arabian Peninsula as well as in each of the Arab and Muslim countries. In the Southeast Asian Muslim countries what is happening is an indication of triumph and increasing influence of Islamic parties. The propagation of the undue term, "fundamentalism" has not also been able to undermine the ever-expanding momentum of this tide. In Lebanon, before the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the activities of the Shi'ah community and the religious and Islamic groups to assert their identities were just confined to running a few educational and charity institutions, and their struggles and resistance against oppression looked feeble and won among the noisy hustle of the leftist and rightist parties. Today, not only do the Muslim figures and forces shape the frontline of the internal policies of this country confronting the Quds-occupying regime, but also the position taken by the Hizbullah of Lebanon as the strongest political and religious force in the country has become internationally acclaimed. The resistance has faced the American and Zionist plots in the region with defeat.

Inside the Palestinian Occupied Territories, in Quds and on the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Islamic resistance inspired by the Islamic Revolution with empty hands and with the power of faith has also led Washington policies and the so-called peace process to a deadlock. This came true in spite of the massive investments of the West and the submission of certain Arab leaders and Palestinian organizations.

The ever-increasing rise of awakening and Islamism is not confined to the Muslim countries. In most of the European countries, even in the United States, the Muslims form the vastest religious and politically active minority. An instance of the emergence of the new identity of the Muslim society in

these countries was displayed in the Rushdie Affair where the author and the supporters of the blasphemous book, *The Satanic Verses* were condemned.

Basing on the existing realities and those about to happen, we could say that the impact of the new tide of awakening among the Muslims that caught the attention of various nations and societies on the function and role of religion in the sphere of society and government is not confined to the Muslims. Rather, revival of religious thinking; reappraisal of the values and ideals of the monotheistic religions; the status and role of religion in the modern system; the world's future regarding the failure of Marxism and the collapse of the communist pole in the world; and the occurrence of social and moral crises in the capitalist states are the issues that seriously engage the minds of scholars and reformists. The approach of the world society, even the statesmen and international organizations to subjects like the dialogue among the followers of different religions, the dialogue among civilizations and new fields of discussions on traditionalism, modernism and postmodernism, are all signs heralding this transformation.

Today, no political expert is ignorant of the fact that the Islamic Revolution in Iran and its effects on the region and the world have been one of the decisive factors in the political and cultural developments in the past two decades. Along this line, another fact acknowledged and highlighted by the experts on international political and cultural issues is that the Islamic Revolution in terms of its foundation and continuation is undeniably intertwined with the views and leadership of a man who engineered the architecture of the Revolution both in the field of its theoretical and intellectual basis and in the domain of practice and methods of moving the revolution forward. The expressive words of the Imam's successor who has said, "The Islamic Revolution is not known anywhere in the world without Imam Khomeini's name", relates to this same fact. Of course, it is evident that the victory of the Islamic Revolution and Imam Khomeini's successes cannot be assessed isolated from its context, background and the developments, which occurred in the Muslim world and Iran, especially in the recent decades. The role of the religious reformists, thinkers and movements, who paved the way for the growth and acceptance of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and in the world by their theoretical and cultural *jihad*, cannot be ignored. Anyhow, the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran was the first concrete and practical consequence of the Islamic Revolution and Imam Khomeini's ideals. Therefore, acquaintance with Imam Khomeini's life and struggles, thoughts and ideals, works and legacies will in fact be the first step to know the essence of the Islamic Revolution and its

leadership. In fact, it is the main source of many of the current and future developments in the spheres of culture and politics of the Muslim world in the present and future era. Imam Khomeini must be called the architect of the modern and Islamic civilization, which is in the process of formation.

### ***Sahifeh-ye Imam***

Naturally, studying Imam Khomeini's oral and written, social, political and even personal and private works hereby presented in a collection called *Sahifeh-ye Imam* is a way to understand the spiritual characteristics and the dimensions of personality, religious and political traits and manners as well as the personal and social relationships of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution. Keeping in view the station of the Islamic Revolution and the role of Imam Khomeini in the contemporary world, each of the works included in the *Sahifeh-ye Imam* relates a jot of the unknown and known aspects of the Imam's soul.

### **Family-related letters**

Some of the works included in *Sahifeh-ye Imam* testifies that Imam Khomeini, beyond the tumultuous world of struggle, politics and leadership, possesses a subtle and gnostic soul, which is also thoughtful of the public duties and human relationships. These works show that not only was Imam an ideal role model in the realms of scholarship and *ijtihad*, struggle and *jihad*, and politics and leadership for his disciples, but also his subtle soul and his self-disciplined and dutiful personality urged him not to shirk his duties in the non-political spheres. He was an idyllic spouse in his conjugal behavior and in terms of gentleness and fidelity toward his wife. As both his quest and fate led him to Ayatullah Thaqafi's home to select his partner for all his sorrows and ecstasies, he remained committed to this first and last selected one to the end of life and along all its ups and downs. A departure for the obligatory *hajj* pilgrimage in his youth, a year of exile to Turkey and a few trips of his wife to Iran for visiting the children and relatives (during their sojourn in the holy city of Najaf, Iraq) were the few cases, during the 60 years of married life when he and his wife experienced separation. The archive of surviving letters displays a deep, emotional and loyal relationship replete with affection and mutual respect.

The letters of Imam Khomeini to his children and relatives show us another aspect of a great soul, and it is that being a *marja at-taqlid* and a religious patriarch and dealing with the leadership of the Revolution made him considerate of the religious and moral duties regarding his relatives and

children. Everything from the usual greetings to the treatment of problems, benevolent admonition and counsel on the ways of life, recommending people to learning, edifying the self, and any other issue found in Imam Khomeini's personal letters, demonstrate his meticulousness and care on performing all Islamic codes of ethics and decency regarding the relations.

The Imam's training strategy toward the children and his granting them the right to choose and free will along with compassionate supervision can all be observed in these writings. Among them, Imam Khomeini's letters, decrees, and ethical treatises addressing Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, owing to the special and unique role of this self-denying and trustworthy son beside his father throughout the Islamic Revolution, are very instructive and informative in political, social and moral aspects.

### **Religious Permissions**

Imam Khomeini's letters of authorization to a choice of people in the financial and religious law [*shar'iyah wa hasbiyyah*] affairs, either chosen by himself or in response to individual requests for authorization, form another part of *Sahifeh-ye Imam*. According to the principles of Shi'ah jurisprudence [*fiqh*], any expenditure of the religious payments and management of the Islamic financial affairs during the period of occultation of the twelfth Imam is not authorized without the permission of a fully-qualified jurist; so it has been customary for the *maraji' at-taqlid* to issue letters of authorization for the qualified persons. The faithful pay their religious dues through these representatives to their *maraji'*. The issued authorizations indicate the scope of authority of the recipient of the permission for expending the payments in the lawful religious ways. These authorizations are granted to persons who meet the criteria of authority of imitation [*marjaiyyah*] in terms of general qualifications, devoutness and commitment, or their qualification is certified by two just informed persons. It has been this relatively reliable method of collecting and expending the religious payments that have protected the Shi'ah jurisprudence, jurists and seminaries throughout history from the harm of dependence on the governments and from compliance with the whims and dictates of the illegitimate rulers. It has facilitated a direct connection between the religious scholars and seminaries on one hand, and the masses on the other hand. Reciprocally, the people's relative awareness and supervision of their behavior and acts have extremely minimized the possibility of penetration of any unscrupulous elements into the body of religious leadership. We can conclude from the collection of authorizations issued by Imam Khomeini and

particularly from the letters written by His Eminence to his official representatives that he has been diligent and scrupulous in issuing the permissions. Except the cases of authorizations that have been issued for the prominent and pious scholars or for the persons who were closely in contact with and known to him, generally Imam has not issued any authorization without a written endorsement of the just informed persons. An index of the religious authorizations issued by Imam Khomini during the period of his stay in the holy city of Najaf is included at the end of this volume (volume one) of *Sahifeh-ye Imam*. The original copy of this index which is available in the Imam's handwriting demonstrates his fastidiousness and organization in such cases.

It should be mentioned that the religious permissions are only valid as long as the beneficiary remains virtuous, and possesses the other attributes required for being the lawful representative in collecting and expending the religious payments, otherwise they will be automatically dismissed. In the present collection, only the permissions are included of which a certified copy has been available, while the number of the religious permissions granted by Imam Khomeini exceed this. We hope those in possession of the permissions or other literary works of Imam Khomeini would kindly send this Institute a copy so that they will be included in the next editions. Moreover, to maintain the brevity, and for the reason that this collection exclusively contains the Imam's works, the letters of the religious luminaries whose endorsement has led to the authorization, are excluded; such letters are preserved in the archives of the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works (ICPIKW).

### **Socio-political letters and telegrams**

Another component of *Sahifeh-ye Imam* is the telegrams and letters written by Imam Khomeini to different persons, religious scholars, local and foreign diplomats and political leaders, various political parties and societies, and ordinary people, which embrace a variety of themes. The diverse addressees of these letters and the vast span of time that they cover, beside the variety of their themes and subjects, all add to the significance of these letters as a part of the wealth of documents that relate fragments of the history of the Imam's movement and His Eminence's positions and views on different issues.

Among these letters, we cross upon records that have instigated some developments in the course of the uprising and during the Islamic Revolution. For example, the Imam's telegrams and letters to the Shah,

Asadullah 'Alam and Amir-'Abbas Hoveyda, as well as his letters to the *maraji' at-taqlid*, 'ulama, seminaries, political and religious associations in the country and abroad, and heads of foreign states.

Fortunately, through the efforts made by the Imam's Memento (Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini) (*r*),<sup>1</sup> the original manuscripts of many of Imam Khomeini's letters and telegrams since the climax of the Islamic Revolution in 1356 AHS (1978) till his demise has been collected and are available in the Institute. Moreover, through the efforts of the Institute and the assistance of his friends, a great deal of Imam Khomeini's correspondence in the years preceding the victory of the Islamic Revolution has been recovered; all of which together with the other works and records of His Eminence are hereby published, with no alterations, in *Sahifeh-ye Imam*. However, it is needless to say that due to different reasons like the unspeakable suffocating political atmosphere in the Shah's regime especially the SAVAK's wariness of the Imam's works, there have been a lot of letters and writings of Imam Khomeini, not entirely collected, dating back to the earliest stage of his struggle in the years 1340-1342 AHS [1961-1963] and the later periods. We hope, through the Institute's constant investigations, the rest of Imam Khomeini's letters and writings, which are still in the possession of individuals or in the files of those involved in the Imam's movement, will become available and published in the next editions, after the approval of their authenticity and genuineness.

### **Decrees and orders**

A large number of decrees and orders of His Eminence Imam Khomeini, as the *marja* of many of the Shi'ah people and as the Great Leader of the Revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran have survived, which are exactly printed in this collection.

The decrees published in *Sahifeh-ye Imam* include those issued for the formation of the Revolutionary Council, the transitional government and appointment of its members; confirmation of the Constitution; approval of the presidential decrees; decrees on the foundation of different revolutionary institutions; decrees for installing and deposing the judiciary, military, and law enforcement officials, and the Leader's representatives in various institutions and organizations; the military orders issued by him as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, as well as His Eminence's

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<sup>1</sup> The abbreviation, "*r*" stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *rahmatullah 'alayh*, *rahmatullah 'alayha*, or *rahmatullah 'alayhim* [may God have mercy on him/her/them], which is used after the names of pious people.



directives and orders issued in response to the requests of government officials on diverse issues. Studying this part of the Imam's works, especially observing the historical trend they have taken along with His Eminence's messages and speeches, offers an overall view of the kind of his religious and proficient, decisive and potent leadership and yet, unassuming and people-based. Since some of Imam Khomeini's views and orders have been written at the bottom of request letters of officials and inquirers, all or parts of the original requests are published together with the Imam's response for a better understanding of the issue.

### **Messages**

Imam Khomeini's different religious and political messages comprise some of the most important written works of Imam Khomeini collected and chronologically published in *Sahifeh-ye Imam*. Issuing and publishing these messages was in fact the most important direct channel through which Imam Khomeini kept in touch with the people and his followers. It was via these messages that, during the Provincial and District Councils Bill affair, the rising surge against the monarchial regime began and the Khordad 15, 1342 AHS (June 5, 1963) uprising started. All along the struggles of the Iranian nation, these were the Imam's statements and messages that determined the method of uprising, the rational and political bases, and its main concerns, slogans and approaches in each of the strenuous stages of the Revolution. When in 1356 and 1357 AHS [1977 and 1978] the Iranian nation's struggle was heightening, each statement issued by Imam Khomeini from Najaf (in Iraq) or Paris, which swiftly circulated all around the country, stood for a general and national manifesto that determined the course of the Revolution, and organized the revolutionary forces and the people around certain objectives and maxims.

In his messages, Imam Khomeini did not just aim at invoking the heroic spirits and encouraging the people to steadfastness and persistence on the course of the Revolution. Rather, His Eminence, with his versatile and lucid writing style, tried to increase the public religious and political awareness regarding the current affairs, and to augment their insight concerning the proponents and opponents of the Revolution inside the country and abroad, so that they might be encouraged consciously to get involved in supporting the objectives of the Revolution. The themes most conspicuous in Imam Khomeini's statements include wisely foreseeing the schemes designed by the Shah's regime and its Western supporters for suppressing the uprising at each stage and making the effort to thwart them, warning against the

misleading slogans and positions in the course of the struggle, and highly stressing the public concurrence over their shared religious slogans.

What was common in all of Imam Khomeini's messages, both before and after the victory of the Revolution, was calling the people to supporting the goals of the Revolution from the perspective of the religious and divine duty, and with reliance on the people's role as the primary founders and owners of the Revolution, with an exceptional emphasis on the youth.

It can be said that the strengthening of the people's faith and religious beliefs as their key stimulus for political struggle and activities, and 'observance of the religious duty' as its prominent figure are the very institution and feature upon which Imam Khomeini founded his uprising and which can be considered as the distinction between the Islamic Revolution and other political movements in the contemporary history of Iran. Revival of the spirit of belief in God and religiosity in the realm of social concepts; revitalization of the movement-engendering Quranic themes such as Imamate and *wilayah* [guardianship], *jihad* and martyrdom, validity of God's sovereignty and His commands, precedence of the religious criteria and rejection of the rule of *taghut*, and the inseparability of religion and politics are the subjects which Imam Khomeini—basing on the authentic religious sources, which are acceptable to the Iranian society and relying on the method of the great leaders of Islam—was able through a discreet fusion of reason and religion, and a realistic view of the exigencies and discourses of the modern era and the efficient role of the element of time and space in *ijtihad*, to establish a positive spirit on the culture of religion as the guide of the followers' thought and action in the context of their beliefs and socio-political activities. This became possible through Imam Khomeini's issuance of successive messages and deliverance of several speeches. Therefore, the most authentic texts for understanding the Imam's standpoints and methods, as well as the course of the Revolution from the Imam's point of view are these messages and speeches which are hereby chronologically published in this valuable anthology.

The themes of Imam Khomeini's messages after the victory of the Islamic Revolution include the following:

- The formation of each of the institutions and foundations of the Islamic Republic;
- The formidable confrontation of the newly established government with hundreds of conspiracies hatched by the enemies inside and outside the country during the months and years following the victory of the Revolution;

- Encouraging the people to participate in the diverse elections to determine their own destiny;
- The mobilization of the Iranian nation to ward off the enemy's aggression during the eight years of sacred defense;
- Publicizing the slogan of "the victory of blood over the sword" as the most effective weapon in the unequal confrontations with the enemies;
- Inspiring the people for participation in rebuilding the country;
- Issuing the emancipating messages of the Islamic Republic to the other nations and calling the Islamic world to regain their dignity and religious identity;
- Inviting the Muslims to unity and struggle against the world domineers;
- Declaring the policy of "neither East nor West" as a new way to oppose the dominance of the capitalist and communist blocs;
- Revealing the crimes of America and the Zionist regime and issuing the religious edict on the obligation to support the Palestinian people's uprising and liberation of Quds; and
- Mobilizing the Muslim world against the publication of the blasphemous book, *The Satanic Verses*, and in a nutshell, promoting the spirit of self-confidence among the Iranian nation and the Muslims of the world.

Some of the events happened in the last two years of his life were:

- The brutal massacre of the *hujjaj* (pilgrims) in the Holy House of God in Mecca;
- The direct American intervention in the Iran-Iraq war;
- The US missile attack on the Iranian passengers' airbus;
- Saddam's extensive use of chemical weapons and the large-scale bomb attacks on the cities;
- The end of the Iraqi-imposed war on Iran;
- The commencement of reconstruction and political development periods;
- The resignation of the Deputy Supreme Leader as well as some major international events such as the start of the transformative developments in the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc; and
- The expansion of the hegemonic policies of the West and America.

That is why the Imam's messages in the two last years (1987-89 [1366-68 AHS]) have tremendous importance. The anticipation of the future state

of affairs in Iran, the region and the world, and the warnings and solutions in the messages of this period, are particularly clear and vivid. Instances of these are: the *hajj* messages, letter to Mikhail Gorbachev, message to the *maraji' at-taqlid* and seminaries (the charter for the clergy), the charter of brotherhood, messages to the emigrants of the imposed war, and adoption of the UN Resolution 598,<sup>1</sup> as well as many others.

Apart from issuing tens of messages, Imam Khomeini did something unprecedented. He left for the coming generation as a memento his entire intellectual principles and ideals, and the gist of his stances on a well-documented, analytical and detailed testament. This perennial work is, in fact, a credited charter of his line and path. Eleven years<sup>2</sup> hardly passed after his demise, yet Imam Khomeini's religious-political testament has been translated into more than 20 languages in millions of copies and published in the farthest reaches of the world.

### Speeches

A key element in Imam Khomeini's successful management and leadership was his extensive relationship with the masses and various strata of society. The complex link between realities and ideals, and the establishment of relationship between theory and practice show the sagacious and clear image of his leadership. Great theoreticians and idealists have seldom attained their ideals. He did not merely depend on the scientific and practical treatises in presenting and propagating his religious-political ideals, and this is what made him a rare or even unique in the annals of religious authority [*marjaiyyah*]. Just as he occupied a lofty position as a great religious authority among his followers, he could be able to explain in plain language deep religious concepts particularly the political and social aspects of religion to his audience. Imam Khomeini's numerous messages at the gathering of various strata of the people provided the possibility of direct connection of the people with his ideas and views, and made them needless of the official and unofficial interpretations of intermediaries, which are mostly associated with the exercise of their personal views as well as political and factional motives.

Though a renowned *'alim* in the realms of philosophy, gnosticism, ethics, jurisprudence and its principles, and exegesis, and an adroit

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<sup>1</sup> UN Resolution 598: the UN Resolution that calls for both sides (Iraq and Iran) to stop fighting, withdraw to the prewar borders, and submit to an international body to determine responsibility for the war.

<sup>2</sup> That is, 11 years at the time of publication of the original Persian version of this anthology.

theoretician in the spheres of politics and culture whose political view became the pillar and edifice of a modern political system in Iran, and whose ideals and revolution made an undeniable transformation in the world particularly in the Muslim societies, Imam Khomeini—contrary to the dominant views of the scholars and theorists—did not confine his influence and impact on the exclusive circle of the elite. Rather, he had such a capability to personally establish and manage his theories in practice and to convey his objectives to the masses in an easy-to-understand language through interesting and influential speeches and earn their support to the extent of offering their lives for the realization of the goals and ideals.

The trust of the Iranian people in the Imam's sincerity in his words and deeds, which arose out of the long interaction and connection between him and his followers, together with his personality attractions, and tranquil and tranquility-giving and at the same time, unwavering and dignified countenance, along with his compassionate and penetrating look, eloquent and simple words, and his spiritual, religious and scientific dimensions are among the factors that rendered his speeches wonderfully moving for his addressees. Certainly, this deep, affectionate and direct relationship between the Imam and the people, and his abilities in promptly conveying his ideal values to the society had a crucial role in his successful leadership. Accordingly, contextual analysis of the Imam's speeches and his knowledge of the audience, and a comparison of the historical events of the Islamic Revolution with the trend of his speeches and statements, and the study of the aggregate of meetings and speeches, and the diversity of the groups and strata will help the researchers in analyzing the realities of the Islamic Revolution and in finding the reason behind Imam Khomeini's effective and people based-leadership. For this reason, in compiling the Imam's speeches and their publication in *Sahifeh-ye Imam* no literary or textual edition, or change of any type, which is quite usual in the process of rendering speeches into publishable written text has been undertaken.

Given that these speeches of Imam Khomeini were delivered in relation to the existing realities and needs of the society during the various periods of the Revolution, naturally a precise understanding of his purport and intention calls for a proper understanding of the socio-political circumstances of each period. Beforehand, in a bid to elucidate these circumstances, a trilogy entitled, *Kawthar* consisting of the Imam's speeches with a brief account of relevant conditions until Esfand 1357 AHS [February-March 1978] has earlier been published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works. Completion of this valuable work, which is

actually a detailed history of the Islamic Revolution is foreseen in the future programs of the Institute.

### **Interviews and dialogues**

In the age of communications, the mass media's interviews with the intellectual and political leaders with the aim of elucidating their viewpoints, and dispel ambiguities and enigmas through answering the reporters' questions, is one of the effective means of establishing communication and direction in the public opinion. Being aware of the importance of this phenomenon and in the absence of restrictions, Imam Khomeini granted unconditional audience to journalists and pressmen. The best part of his interviews took place during his sojourn in Paris. As a result, the numerous interviews by the leading world news agencies, radio-TV networks of various countries, and Iranian and foreign newspapers and periodicals with Imam Khomeini, and his concise yet categorical and well reasoned out answers to the questions have become part of the compendium of the Imam's valuable socio-political works, which in the present work have been presented to the esteemed readers.

Imam Khomeini's perspicacity in promptly detecting the motives of the interviewers, his prudence in giving answers, carefulness, truthfulness, and transparency of viewpoints, which give no room for hue and cry, ambiguity-mongering and abuse can be easily discerned from the interviews to him.

Although the nature of the extensive communications of the media on national and international figures—who at times are successively exposed to the world's public opinion—is usually as such that due to the repetition of their names, subjects and propositions, they rapidly fade away from the focus of attention of the public opinion, this fact did not happen in the case of interviews to Imam Khomeini. In fact, his most extensive communication with his audience in the different countries of the world took place through the successive interviews in Paris, which sometimes exceeded eight cases in a single day. It was through these very interviews that a few months before the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Imam averred to the world his religious-political standpoints concerning the essence and foundations of the government he intended to establish, the way of the future political system of Iran in dealing with international issues, relations with other countries, and the principles governing foreign policy and the gist of the Islamic republican system. It was in the course of these interviews that Imam Khomeini—through his effective reasoning—was able to decisively put to question in the world's public opinion the legitimacy of the monarchial regime in Iran as

well as the legitimacy of the support rendered by the Western world and its protectors. Thus, despite all the endeavors and meetings that the American leaders and Western countries did to prevent the fall of the Shah and collapse of the monarchy, through Imam Khomeini's exposé, which usually used to take place in relation with the world mass media, the world's public opinion's sympathy to the Iranian nation rapidly surfaced.

It was in the course of these interviews that religion and the political thoughts of Islam were presented for the first time as the ideology of struggle and revolution, and as the practical solution in administering the society—and this was realized through the language of a spiritual and beloved leader in tens of international radio-TV networks and periodicals of mass-circulation. This phenomenon initiated the vehement emergence of the religious thought in the discourses of the day, and the advent of new Islamic and religiously oriented institutions in the arenas of contemporary political and intellectual challenges. Even the extensive destructive propaganda of the anti-revolutionary quarters failed to hinder the advancement and impacts of Imam Khomeini's ideals on his large audience.

Thus, due to his style of dealing with the numerous questions—keeping in view the diversity of views and motives of the interviewers some of whom were bent on weakening the stance of the Revolution and besmirching its leadership's personality—and owing to the purport of the Imam's answers which contain his viewpoint on the most fundamental issues of the movement and its internal and external goals, and more importantly, because of the fact that these viewpoints gave rise to the emergence of a new trend in the cultural and political geography of the Islamic world and Iran, a study of these interviews to Imam Khomeini is of immense import for the researchers of the Islamic Revolution. Another point that can be found in the study of the Imam's interviews is the constancy of his conviction and coherence of the basis of his political thought with such cohesion, consistency of views and unity of opinion and without variation and change of stances. This is while there is usually contradiction in words and change in the stances of the people who are frequently questioned and judged by the public opinion.

The Imam's talks with state leaders and their envoys have so many instructive points. Examples are his reception of the Elysee Palace's envoys during his stay in Paris; holding talks with mediators of the American government; his type of treatment and statements in his first meeting with the ex-USSR's ambassador; his meeting with Yasir 'Arafat and Palestinian leaders; and his meeting with Edward Shevardnadze as Gorbachev's special

envoy who carried the latter's reply to Imam Khomeini's famous message;1 dialogue with leaders of the Muslim countries and other foreign political figures—which from the point of view of the statement of the two sides and the extremely simple and unbelievable reception—and the Imam's self-confidence and proficiency in the arena of discussion are among the different informative aspects for the Third World statesmen and leaders particularly that of the Islamic Republic. Certainly, such disposition and style of Imam Khomeini have multiplied a hundred times the Iranian nation's sense of identity and self-confidence in the arenas of confronting the formidable enemies of the Revolution and defending the Islamic country.

### ***Sahifeh-ye Nur and Sahifeh-ye Imam***

So far, Imam Khomeini's speeches and messages have been published in hundreds of works under various titles and styles (summarized or complete, thematically or chronologically) in manifold languages by his devotees and cultural institutions both inside and outside Iran. Undoubtedly, these works particularly his socio-political works are among the published works with the highest circulation in Farsi language. Among the published books from Imam Khomeini's general works (before the establishment of this Institute), some have been outstanding.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the demerits and defects which can be seen and have been the point of some criticisms in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it should be stated that this work from the time of publication of its first volume up to now has so far been the most comprehensive reference for the researchers and those interested in the works of Imam Khomeini. Worthy of acknowledgment are the valuable efforts and endeavor of the compilers of *Sahifeh-ye Nur* from the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, and the Organization of Islamic Revolution's

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<sup>1</sup> See *A Call to Divine Unity: Letter of Imam Khomeini, the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, to Mikhail Gorbachev, Leader of the Soviet Union*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, 2003).

<sup>2</sup> Some of these outstanding books are as follows:

- The book, *Ava-ye Inqilab* [Voice of the Revolution] consisting of a selection of letters, statements and speeches of Imam Khomeini which has been published by Sayyid Hamid Ruhani in 1355 AHS (1977).
- The first volume of the valuable book, *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini* [A Study and Analysis of Imam Khomeini's Movement] which has been published in 1356 AHS (1978). In terms of its presentation of the documentary bases of Imam Khomeini's struggles, speeches, dialogues, and messages (from the beginning up to the middle of year 1345 AHS) along with an analysis of the events relating to the Imam's movement, this book occupies particular importance. The second and third volumes of this book have also been published after the victory of the Islamic Revolution whose analysis of the events related to the Imam's movement has been extended up to the eve of the victory of the Islamic Revolution.
- The book, *Majmu'eh-i az Maktubat, Sukhanraniha, Payamha, va Fatawa-ye Imam Khomeini* [A Collection of Imam Khomeini's Writings, Speeches, Messages, and Edicts] (From the Second-Half of 1341 AHS up to the Migration to Paris). Some parts of this book have been published abroad prior to the victory of the Islamic Revolution under the title, *Khomeini va Jonbesh* [Khomeini and the Movement].
- The book, *Tali'eh-ye Inqilab-e Islami*, consisting of a collection of Imam Khomeini's interviews up to 1358 AHS (1979). Through the effort and supervision of the Imam's Memento, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini (may Allah have mercy on him), his book has been compiled and published by the University Press Center in 1363 AHS (1984).
- The 22-volume anthology entitled, *Dar Justuju-ye Rah az Kalam-e Imam* [In Search of the Path through the Words of Imam Khomeini]. This work being the first subject-based anthology which is relatively comprehensive has presented Imam Khomeini's guidelines from 1341-61 AHS (1963-82) in 22 subject-based sections. Every section consists of a general political-cultural subject.
- The book, *Payamha, Sukhanraniha va I'lamiyyehha-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Messages, Speeches, and Statements]. The Nur Research and Publication Foundation has published in this book Imam Khomeini's works from the beginning up to 1362 AHS (1983) in seven volumes.
- The 22-volume anthology, *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, and its new edition along with supplements. For a complete information on the publication of Imam Khomeini's works, see *Kitabshenasi-ye Hadrat Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Bibliography], *Hudur* Quarterly Journal, Nos. 5-6 (1371 AHS), published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works (ICPIKW). In that article, 233 books have been introduced.



Cultural Documents, and the dear ones who have rendered valuable assistance in the different stages of compilation and publication of this work for all those who have benefited from this pathway to the treasure of the Imam's literary works in their research, seminars, speeches, and references. Among the merits of *Sahifeh-ye Nur* are its lengthy introduction by Ayatullah Khamenei, lucid titles, chronological arrangement, table of contents, skillful editing, as well as relative comprehensiveness.

The defects and shortcomings of the *Sahifeh-ye Nur* can be attributed to a number of factors. A considerable part of Imam Khomeini's works is not included due to the compilers' lack of accessibility to it. In numerous cases, owing to the unavailability of the original handwritten messages and letters, and the recorded tapes of speeches and interviews, the printed texts on the newspapers have been used which, due to the presence of plentiful typographical errors, inconsistencies have also been reflected in the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*. There have been mistakes in the dates of some works of the Imam in the *Sahifeh-ye Nur* caused by numerous and at times inconsistent citations in the newspapers. As *Sahifeh-ye Nur* has been published gradually, every

volume ends with a separate table of contents; so, in order to find a specific subject one had to refer to all the 22 volumes. Yet, the publication of *Miftah-ye Sahifeh-ye Nur* [The Guide to *Sahifeh-ye Nur*] by the Institute in 1372 AH [1993] got rid of this flaw. In addition, in this series' new edition published some years ago, the Organization of Islamic Revolution's Cultural Documents has removed some of the previous defects.

In a bid to present a complete series of all the literary works of Imam Khomeini and keeping in view the main shortcomings and defects existing in the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the Institute has published the present work entitled, *Sahifeh-ye Imam*. During many years in the different departments of this Institute, the existing texts in the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, newspapers, periodicals, and books have been collated with the cassette recorded tapes, handwritings and original manuscripts of Imam Khomeini's works which are at the disposal of the Institute, and the final text is meticulously selected. All the date inconsistencies and other defects existing in the *Sahifeh-ye Nur* and other sources concerning the identification of each of the Imam's works have been investigated, and the authentic and final facts have been presented at the beginning of each piece of work along with its identification (headings).

Apart from the mentioned points, the most important merit of the *Sahifeh-ye Imam* over the *Sahifeh-ye Nur* and other published books on the Imam's works is the inclusion of over 2,000 cases of his works and documents from among the unpublished works of the Imam, which become available for the public for the first time. The meticulous selection of the indices (proper names, subjects and terms, Quranic verses and *hadiths*, etc.) and their presentation in one volume (volume 22), which provides easy access to selected topics and subjects of the first 21 volumes is another feature of the *Sahifeh-ye Imam*.

#### **The works not published in *Sahifeh-ye Imam***

For the following explained reasons, some of the Imam's works are not present in the *Sahifeh-ye Imam*:

1. As one of the greatest religious-political leaders of the contemporary world and having almost one century of fruitful life, it is natural that during this long period Imam Khomeini had a bulk of communications and correspondences, expressed opinions on various issues, and had issued numerous writings and documents some of which are definitely not recorded and preserved. Taking into account the existing evidence, there are still existing personal documents in the possession of individuals and in the books and libraries of those

in correspondence with the Imam. In spite of the efforts exerted to access these documents, it is still to no avail. The existing index of the Imam's letters at the beginning of the movement and the index of religious permissions granted by him and other pieces of evidence speak of the fact that the quantity of his letters, permissions and general works is more than which has been compiled so far. In the new edition of the *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, the works that would be acquired will be included.

At any rate, *Sahifeh-ye Imam* is the most complete and comprehensive work—all his cultural, political and social works—consisting of those included in the *Sahifeh-ye Nur* and other sources, as well as hundreds of other works published for the first time.

2. Books and writings of Imam Khomeini on various issues of the Islamic sciences have been separately published by the Institute. Therefore, *Sahifeh-ye-Imam* does not include the Imam's scientific treatises and writings.
3. The Imam's poems are not included either, since they have already been published in a collection entitled, *Divan-e Ash'ar-e Imam Khomeini*.
4. Within the Imam's manuscripts, there are diverse notes—some words or sentences—that are not classifiable under such headings as letters, telegrams, decrees, statements, speeches, interviews, permissions, etc. Some of these notes are points and hints, which Imam Khomeini have jotted down to remember a point for his message and speech while others contain points that caught his attention when reading reports, newspapers and books, and listening to the news from domestic and foreign media, and which he has written as hints for investigation of the issue and subsequent follow ups. Some of the notes relate to his daily routine, schedule of meeting and appointment, and the like. Drafts of some decrees and messages as well as changes in expression and corrected points on some of the messages are among the miscellaneous notes which, due to the publication of the final and complete text of such works and other miscellaneous notes whose particular utility in their publication cannot be conceived, are not published. It is to be noted that these handwritings, and in general, the original manuscripts of all works of the Imam are available at the Institute's archive, preserved in the museum of his works and will be available for the public.

5. Except some of the Imam's responses to some queries [*istiftaat*] concerning important social or political issues, the other queries posed by his imitators (followers) [*muqallidin*] on religious and jurisprudential issues that form an immense bulk of materials, are not published in the present series. Anyone interested in his edicts is referred to his jurisprudential works especially *Tahrir al-Wasilah*, *Risaleh-ye 'Amaliyyah*, *Manasik-e Hajj*, *Hashiyeh bar 'Urwat al-Wuthqa*, as well as the collection of his *Istiftaat*.
6. During the Imam's *marjaiyyah* [religious authority] in Qum (Iran), Turkey, Najaf (Iraq), Paris (France), and after his return to Iran, in Qum and Tehran, his imitators have delivered him their religious payments both directly or through his religious representatives, and received receipts. The number of such receipts, which have been issued with the seal and signature of the Imam, are so many and their publication (in the Imam's socio-political work) does not have much benefit for the public. As such, the receipts of religious funds have not been included in the *Sahifeh-ye Imam* except some instances as samples.
7. Obviously, the Imam's correspondences, discussions and secret documents of meetings with the heads of the three branches of the government, military commanders, and high-ranking officials of the government on affairs pertaining to the war fronts and vital national security issues, and confidential letters and documents whose legal confidentiality still exist, are among the category of works which cannot be published in the *Sahifeh-ye Imam*.
8. Quotations and memoirs of individuals: Naturally, this portion of Imam Khomeini's statements and stances, which has been expressed merely through quotations and in the memoirs of individuals and has no other documentary basis such as manuscripts or recorded tape are not included in the *Sahifeh-ye Imam*. This Institute is extensively collecting and compiling these memoirs for publication.

#### **Supplement to *Sahifeh-ye-Imam***

As the Imam's trusted secretary and medium, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini used to offer the Imam daily with a number of letters from various government officials, organs and offices that used to ask for guidance on important matters; write exactly the views and directives of Imam Khomeini through direct quotation and with the following wordings, "Hadrat Imam said, ..." below the letters; and immediately convey

the Imam's view to the concerned individuals. Obviously, these cases are considered among the highly reliable documents on the Imam. Compilation of these writings and their imminent publication as supplement to the *Sahifeh-ye-Imam* are in the offing.

### **Acknowledgments**

The richness and comprehensiveness along with precision and originality in the compilation of *Sahifeh-ye Imam* renders it undoubtedly the most complete and reliable source for the present as well as coming generations to gain access to the stances and works of the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution. It will turn out to be one of the perennial politico-religious works. The collection and compilation of this valuable anthology with the eloquent foreword of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, His Eminence Ayatullah Sayyid 'Ali Khamenei, and containing the works of Imam Khomeini published in 22 volumes and consisting of 11,600 pages, is the product of laudable efforts of the officials and colleagues at the Institute.

First and foremost, we have to mention the crucial role of the guardian and custodian of the Institute, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini. Apart from his role in establishing this institute through his insight and in pursuing each of its extensive activities, he personally allotted much time on this anthology, particularly during the stage of checking the authenticity and genuineness of the unpublished documents. I remember well the time when the Imam's Memento (Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini) badly suffered from eye disease, yet he did not give up checking his documents to hasten the completion of the present series. His marginal and explanatory notes existing in the archive speak of the importance he attached to this compilation. It is regrettable and lamentable that in the Year of Imam Khomeini (1378 AHS/1999) and at the time when his wish to faithfully publish the complete anthology of the Imam's works has been realized, we are deprived of the blessings of the treasure of secrets, the people's sincere and beloved countenance, and relieving aid of the Revolution. May his soul rest in peace.

We also have to extend our sincere gratitude to the scholars and thinkers who have shared their valuable experiences in the consultative and policy-making councils of the Institute for the publication in the best possible means of the Imam's works such as the *Sahifeh-ye-Imam*—particularly His Eminence Sayyid Muhammad Khatami who have shared his great ideals and directives in a number of meetings (before his presidency) in the Institute and magnanimously accepted the chairmanship of the First International

Congress on Imam Khomeini and the Revival of Religious Thought. After his assumption of office as President, he has always been a patron and benefactors of the Institute and its programs.

Following the demise of the Imam's Memento, which naturally interrupted the publication of this anthology, his nurtured son, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Hasan Khomeini became our guide with the same level of prudence and resolution. The numerous occupations and relations needed in assuming the lofty status of his father as the torch bearer in preserving the name and memory of Khomeini the Great in the honorable household of the Imam and his serious preoccupation with studies in the high levels of religious and modern sciences has been a hindrance in his worthy supervision and guidance of the affairs of the Institute and the Imam's mausoleum. The completion of the preparatory stages and the publication of the entire *Sahifeh-ye-Imam* were made possible thanks to his efforts and meticulous supervision. For the publication of this anthology, we are equally indebted to the efforts of the supervisor of the Institute and mausoleum of the Imam, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Muhammad-'Ali Ansari who assumes the responsibility of forming the organizations and guaranteeing the legality, financial credibility and other needs of the two mentioned institutions.

It is evident that the collection and authentication of thousands of works and documents published in this blessed *Sahifeh*; collating the manuscripts; transcribing the recorded tapes; editing; typesetting; proofreading; citations and annotations; table of contents and indexes; compiling the precise information of the introductory headings; and finally, the printing, binding and distributions of the 22-volume *Sahifeh-ye Imam* cannot be done by only a single or few individuals. For the accomplishment of this gargantuan task, we are indebted to the untiring efforts of tens of individuals from our colleagues in the different departments of the Institute and the cooperation of a large group outside the Institute.

In conclusion, it is to be noted that notwithstanding the meticulousness and efforts exerted at the different stages of compilation of the *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, since the typesetting, printing and publication of the anthology of the Imam's works were done at once and within the framework of a few months rigid program of the current year [1378 AHS/1999] named as the Year of Imam Khomeini, it is expected that in such magnitude and scope, the possible existence of errors and shortcomings is naturally inevitable. As such, we do request the esteemed researchers and readers of this anthology to

let the Institute benefit from their constructive suggestions and views in dealing with these cases.

We wish for the incessant exaltation of the pristine Islam; promotion of the ideals, memory and name of Imam Khomeini; progress and authority of the Islamic republican system; and honor and glory for the noble nation of Iran. May glory and victory be yours in following Imam Khomeini's line.

**Hamid Ansari**

*Director*

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





## Letter

**Date:** Circa 1933 [1312 AHS / 1351 AH]

**Place:** Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali's home, Najaf

**Subject:** Greetings and expressing eagerness for meeting

**Addressee:** *Unknown*<sup>1</sup>

Dearest friend,

I have always remembered you and prayed for you. May you always be happy and in good health, God willing. I miss you so much that if there were not any limitations, I would like to go back home through Qazvin to pay you a visit. As for you, you have totally forgotten your friends and crept into solitude; if not, as the way between Qazvin and Qum is not so long, you could come over on a trip. If you are not—may God forbid—on speaking terms with Hadrat Masumah ('a),<sup>2</sup> you may choose not to visit the shrine [but only visit us]! Anyway, I wish you good health and I will be visiting the shrine for you. I hope Allah, if He desires, will bring things about as you wish. During the time that I had the honor of visiting the holy shrines, I spent a few hours with your esteemed son. He was fine, thanks to God. Presently, I am at Aqa Shaykh Nasrullah's<sup>3</sup> home in the Holy City of Najaf and as Hadrat Aqa Sayyid Abu Turab Qazvini (may his blessings last) is setting off, I decided to take up your time, dropping you a few lines. I hope you pray to God for me. As I have been told your *murad* [spiritual guide] has an ailment. I hope he is getting over it by now. If Aqa Shaykh Mujtaba<sup>4</sup> is in Qazvin, please give him my regards. May your days of glory last long!

Sayyid Ruhullah Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan Zarabadi or Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan Rafi'i Qazvini.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to Fatimah al-Masumah, the sister of the Eight Imam 'Ali ar-Rida ('a). Hadrat: The word *Hadrat* is used as a respectful form of address. 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).

<sup>3</sup> Nasrullah Khalkhali.

<sup>4</sup> Shaykh Mujtaba Qazvini.

# Letter

**Date:** Circa April 1933 [Farvardin 1312 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1351AH]

**Place:** Beirut, Lebanon

**Subject:** Family-related

**Addressee:** Khadijah Thaqafi<sup>1</sup>

My beloved wife,

My dear! I have always remembered you ever since I was separated from my dear sweetheart and source of confidence and your beautiful countenance has been portrayed on the mirror of my heart. My darling! May God keep you safe and sound under His protection! Although things may be a little unpleasant, I am getting along; whatever has come about so far, however, has been alright and now I am in the beautiful city of Beirut.<sup>2</sup>

I really wish you were here. There is a beautiful scene of the city and the sea. Alas! My dear beloved is not here with me; then how enjoyable the scene would be.

Anyway, it is the second night we are waiting for the ship. It seems that a ship is going to depart tomorrow, but since we have arrived a little late, we should wait for another one. For the time being, we are left in ambiguity. May God, by the glory of my chaste ancestors, give success to all of the *hujjaj* [pilgrims] to perform their pilgrimage! We are a bit worried in this regard but in terms of health I feel well and even better and healthier than before, thanks to God. It has been a wonderful trip. I really miss you very much beside me. I also miss your son.<sup>3</sup> I hope both of them<sup>4</sup> are happy and in good health under your care and the protection of God, the Exalted. In case you write to the gentleman<sup>5</sup> and the ladies,<sup>6</sup> give them my regards. I will be visiting the holy places for all of you.

Give my regards to esteemed Ms. Shams-Afaq<sup>7</sup> and through her to the Doctor.<sup>8</sup> Give my regards to Khavar-Sultan and Rubabeh-Sultan. Please

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini's wife, known as Quds-Iran.

<sup>2</sup> Departing for Saudi Arabia by ship for the *hajj* pilgrimage.

<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini who was three years old at the time.

<sup>4</sup> It refers to Aqa Mustafa and Imam's other child who had not been born yet at the time. He was born several days after the date of the letter while Imam was on *hajj* and was named 'Ali. He passed away because of an illness in his childhood.

<sup>5</sup> Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi, Imam Khomeini's father-in-law.

<sup>6</sup> Imam Khomeini's mother- and grandmother-in-law who were living at the time.

<sup>7</sup> Shams-Afaq Thaqafi, Imam Khomeini's sister-in-law.

<sup>8</sup> Dr. 'Alawi.

have someone deliver the enclosed sheet to Mr. Shaykh ‘Abdul-Husayn. May the days of life and glory last long!

Lovingly yours,

Ruhullah

P.S. The enclosed photo depicts me somewhat gloomy, as we have not yet departed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to the absence of the ship bound for Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

# Gnostic Letter

**Date:** June 29, 1935 [Tir 7, 1314 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 27, 1354 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Gnostic-moral advices and confirmation of the philosophical-gnostic competence of a student

**Addressee:** Mirza Jawad Hamedani (Hujjat)

## *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

O Lord! You are the Pure and I praise Thee. O He Whose ultimate peak of Oneness cannot be reached by the wishes of the 'arifin [gnostics], and the seekers' thoughts fall short of attaining His Sacred Greatness! Your splendor is too exalted to be penetrated and Your Names too pure to be captured in the imagination by the ever-thinking.

Yours is the Essential Oneness in the status of Collective and Invisible Presence and Yours is the individual unity in the nominal and archetypal manifestations.<sup>1</sup>

You are the Worshipped One while You 'worship', and You are the Praised One while You praise. O God! We praise Thee, in your intrinsic languages, in collectivity as well as existence,<sup>2</sup> for Your favors which are reflected in the mirrors of the visible and invisible (worlds). O He Who is manifest while hidden and veiled when visible!

Help us and give us refuge from the evil of the Satan's's temptations—that bandit along the path of humanity and guide of his friends down to the abysses of the somber nature. O God! Guide us to the right path which is the ultimate spirituality and the status where all the Beautiful Names [*Asma' al-Husna*] assemble.<sup>3</sup>

O God! Extend Your infinite salutations to the beginning and the end of the Light (which is the Prima Materia), and the manifestation, appearance and substance of the Essence of Light; the one which is also the ultimate spirituality as he approached (drew nigh), then gave up all determinations (came down) and moved in grace (it was of the length of two bows), then came close to be an entire curve with two arches of eternal Beingness and the invisible sublime (or even nearer) or even closer than that which is the position of 'ama,<sup>4</sup> or rather there is no position there—according to the most authorized views; "The phoenix is not a bird to trap; Lo! Gather up your snare!"<sup>5</sup>

O God! Extend salutations to his progeny who are the doorways of divine manifestation and the revealers of the Divine Light; nay they are themselves "lights upon lights" and he is the root and the branch of the Sacred Olive Tree and the Tree of the Outer Boundary, and He Himself is the

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<sup>1</sup> The station of the Divine Essence is a station that does not reflect in any mirror and the status of Oneness is the Manifestational Essence of Being in a status in which all Names and Attributes are absorbed. The status of Unity is the status in which the Being conditioned by all Names and Attributes manifests.

<sup>2</sup> God the Almighty praises Himself in different statuses—in Words, Actions or Moods—that is, He praises in the language of Essential Self, the language of the Divine Names and the language of permanent archetypes in the divine knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> The ultimate spirituality—a position between the total Oneness and the multiplicity of the worldly things—is the position where the absolute guardianship [*wilayat al-mutlaq*] is attained. This status is attained through the complete comprehension of the obligatory acts [*fara'id*]; and then the servant [of God] becomes His hearing and His sight; such a status has been the highest point of the Most Noble Messenger's ascension [*mi'raj*] and is attained by others by following him.

<sup>4</sup> The Holy Prophet has been quoted in a tradition [*hadith*] as saying that the Almighty God was in 'ama' before creating the creatures, which has been much interpreted in different ways. One of them is that it may mean the time when He was in the veil of Essential Names and Attributes.

<sup>5</sup> A poetical line from Hafiz Shirazi.

substance and the ultimate end of the Comprehensive Existence and the Ultimate Truth.<sup>1</sup>

Special salutations to the one who has taken the Muhammadan guardianship [*wilayat al-muhammadiyah*] to its end, accepted (taken possession of) the Ahmadan blessings, will appear with the Divine Portrayal of the Lord just as his forefathers appeared with the servitude to Him since servitude is a truth whose essence is Lordship. He who represents God in the heavens and earth, and leads the apostles of the heaven's entourage, encompasses the uniqueness of God's Names and symbolizes the primordial and eternal manifestations, the long-awaited manifestation of the occulted *Hujjah* (the 12th Imam), the essence of his predecessors and ancestors—may our souls be sacrificed for him and may God include us among his companions. O Lord! Curse his enemies who are the bandits along the path of guidance and the misleaders of the nations to damnation and perdition.

Furthermore, man has been distinguished from the other creatures by an ethereal divine essence and a God-given nature [*fitrah*]; “*the nature (framed)*”

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<sup>1</sup> The comprehensive existence is a world which is the focal point of the visible and the invisible Names; it is another equivalent for ‘the perfect man’, which contains all statuses.

of Allah, in which He hath created man".<sup>1</sup> And this primordial nature—from one perspective—is the same trust, which is referred to in the venerated book of God: "Lo! We offered the trust unto the heavens and the earth and the hills, but they shrank from bearing it and were afraid of it. And man assumed it."<sup>2</sup> It is the God-given nature which can perceive the Unity of God [*tawhid*] in the three statuses (in His Essence, Attributes and Acts), or rather, the God-given nature that longs for giving up all determinations and referring all things to Him and doing away with anything excess even in His Names, annihilating everything in Him; whosoever does not attain this position, has abandoned the God-given nature and broken the trust, is ignorant of his human status, and has been cruel to his self and God, Exalted.

And it is obvious to the people of the heart [*ahl-e del*] among the virtuous *sabiqun* [pioneers in faith] that it is impossible to attain such a lofty status unless you undergo spiritual and mental asceticism, and through sincere, noble reflection of the heart, after cleansing your soul of the filth of the natural world—for it is the status "which none toucheth save the purified."<sup>3</sup> And this goal will not be realized unless one sets his will in acquiring divine knowledge and restricts his vision to the Heavenly signs and Names, then he becomes a person of the religious law [*insan-e shar'*] after being a person of human temper [*insan-e bashar*]; nay of nature [*insan-e tabi'i*].

So, O ye desire-bounded self who have your perpetual abode on earth! Leave the dark bewildering house of "matter" and migrate toward Allah who is the point of collectivity [*maqam-e jam'*] and toward His messenger who is the symbol of the collective Oneness [*mazhar-e ahadiyyat-e jam'*],<sup>4</sup> so that your death will meet you through God Almighty's confirmation and your reward will be taken up by Him. Lo! This is the great salvation and the Paradise of Essential Union [*behesht-e liqa-e dhati*], which is not observed by the eyes and not heard by the ears and not perceived by any human heart.

O self! Be aware that you have emerged from the station of the collectivity of names [*maqam-e jami'iyat-e asma*] and the ultimate spirituality. You are a stranger here, who has no other way but to return home. So endear your home, for this devotion is the sign of faith as the

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<sup>1</sup> *Surah ar-Rum* 30:30.

<sup>2</sup> *Surah al-Ahzab* 33:72.

<sup>3</sup> *Surah al-Waqi'ah* 56:79.

<sup>4</sup> When Being has communion with Unity, all Names and Attributes are manifested; and it is the status of 'Allah' the greatest of all Divine Names, who is the Lord of the perfect man, that is the Holy Prophet; so he is the symbol of Collective Unity.

Master of the Jinn and Men [*sayyid al-ins wal-jinn*] (Imam ‘Ali) has been quoted as saying.

Beware—may God, the Exalted, help you in both worlds—not to spend your efforts in gaining bestial desires as it concerns the beasts of burden, nor to involve in a competition in order to surpass your relatives and fellow beings—even though it is excellence in knowledge and insight—as it behooves the predators, nor to spend your energy on the superficial worldly posts and expend thought and prudence on them as it is the station of Satan. Moreover, do not even give much value to the external form of worships, to the moderate or high character, to vague philosophy or ambiguous concepts, to the rhetoric of the superficial Sufis and mystics and their rhymes, or to the rumbling thunder of ‘the people of rough cloak’ [*ahl-e khirqah*] and their lightning (which claims to herald showers of wisdom). Take none of them as your guiding star, for these are all double-fold darkening veils, one over the other. Exerting your efforts in them will be death and damnation; following these paths is outright loss, eternal privation and endless darkness.

But your endeavor should be toward God, the Exalted, and His kingdom of heaven with your movements and pauses, thought and mind because you are a traveler toward God and it is not possible to proceed on the feet of the ‘self’. So, the only way is to travel on God’s and the Messenger’s feet. Migrating from the home of the self is not possible on its own feet. As long as you fare the way on the feet of your self, you have not left the land of the self and have not started on your journey while you know that you are a stranger on your journey far from home.

This is a recommendation to my own coarse, dark, idle self and an advice to my successful friend, a man of wisdom, with a brilliant insight on the extrinsic and intrinsic branches of learning and a precise insight on the divine knowledge, the wise and scrupulous scholar Aqa Mirza Jawad Hamedani”—may God fulfill his wishes.

I swear I am not a man of knowledge and its seeker, yet I would like to share to him whatever I possessed of the principles of the divine exalted philosophy, and a part of what I had learned from the great scholars—may God make their presence endure—and from the books of the knowledgeable and spiritual scholars—may God be pleased with them. He (thanks to God Almighty) attained the ranks of knowledge and mysticism and practiced the doctrines of the intellect and faith. He (may God keep him safe) is gifted with a fine inner being, a pure heart, a sound nature and fair thought, who has worn the garment of knowledge and truthfulness, and we all trust in God in both worlds.

I strictly counsel him, as we have been counseled by the great scholars of wisdom and knowledge, to be sparing in exposing the secrets of these insights to the incompetent—the deniers and the unworthy and those gone astray from the path of truth and justice—for those short-sighted people have a dull taste and an obscure mind, to whom knowledge and wisdom do not offer anything but ignorance and misguidance, and the true gnostic knowledge does not add save perplexity and loss, as God, the Exalted, has said: *“And We reveal of the Quran that which is healing and a mercy for the believers though it increases the evil-doers in naught save ruin.”*<sup>1</sup>

Beware and keep away—O brother in spirit and friend in mind—from these phantoms who put on the pretension of civilization and modernism; they are a herd of stampeding cattle, a pack of fierce wolves and man-like demons who are more misled than beasts and more detestable than the Satan. I swear by the Truth that they are so far from the civilization that if they go to the orient, the civilization will flee to the occident; just as you would run away from a lion, for their harm to humanity is more than cannibals.

And I repeat my request from him as to make mention of me agreeably in the presence of his venerated Lord: *“O Lord! Give unto us in the world that which is good and in the hereafter that which is good and guard us from the doom of Fire,”*<sup>2</sup> and keep us away from the company of the wicked mean people. Accept the intercession of Muhammad and his pure progeny (may God’s peace be upon them).

This letter of advice was written by the sinner slave of God, Sayyid Ruhullah, son of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini (may God bless them both and reward them and the faithful brothers with benevolence) on Saturday morning 3 days before the end of Rabi‘ al-Mawlud 1354 AH.

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<sup>1</sup> *Surah al-Isra’* 17:82.

<sup>2</sup> *Surah Baqarah* 2:201.



## Letter

**Date:** June 21, 1937 [Khordad 31, 1316 AHS / Rabi' ath-Thani 12, 1356 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Appointing Ayatullah Pasandideh as proxy for selling land, etc.

**Addressee:** Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

I, the undersigned, Sayyid Ruhullah Khomeini hereby appoint Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Murtada<sup>1</sup>—may his sublime presence endure—as my proxy to act on my behalf for selling all of the four and a half sixths of the eight agricultural plots in the Shahneh district of Khomein, as well as four and a half water-hours of the water of the Khomein aqueduct which His Eminence has purchased jointly for me and her highness Hamdam Hindi.<sup>2</sup> He is also free to act as proxy, getting the sum paid and giving the pledge on my behalf; His Eminence's signature will stand for mine.<sup>3</sup>

Sayyid Ruhullah Khomeini  
Rabi' ath-Thani 12, 1356 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh, Imam Khomeini's eldest brother.

<sup>2</sup> Imam Khomeini's sister.

<sup>3</sup> The postal stamp on the envelope is dated 2/28/1330 AHS which is contrary to the date on the letter, i.e. Rabi' ath-Thani 12, 1356 AH. The address on the envelope also shows that the letter has been sent to Khomein to be received by 'Ulya Mukarramah, Hadrat Aqa Pasandideh's wife—may her grandeur last.

## Gnostic Letter

**Date:** February 16, 1939 [Bahman 27, 1317AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1357 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Divine subtleties and mystical mysteries

**Addressee:** Sayyid Ibrahim Khui (Maqbarei)

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

All praise is due to God, who manifested Himself from the invisible concealment of Identity (the status of Oneness) to the status of Nameness and His Names of Essence appeared through the truth of *'ama* in the status of Unity; all His qualities and Attributes united in the Occult Oneness and His gifts wore the garment of unification on its inward aspect; Exalted and Unique in terms of comparison, Approaching and Manifesting while immaculate. His are the keys to the names of the invisible, and the seals to the Truth of the divine endowment.

O God! You are Pure and Immaculate. You, whose peak of Oneness lies out of the reach of the mystics' wishes and whose Identities' grandeur is loftier than the fantasies of the adorers! Your Greatness is too eminent to let any trespassers to pass, and your gifts are too blessed to be praised by any praisers. Yours is Primordiality while Eternity is Yours and Ye are Eternal while Primordial; so You are the Worshipper and the Worshipped. O God! I praise and thank Thee in Thine "five-fold languages"—though You are just One—for Thine blessings revealed in the visible and invisible worlds. You who are manifest while concealed and concealed while manifest!

O God! We ask Thee for help and seek refuge in Thee, from the sneaking Tempter, that bandit along the path of humanity who guides his followers to the dark pit of nature. O God! Guide us to the right path, which is the ultimate spirituality, and the position where all Sacred Names of God assemble. Extend Your infinite salutations to the beginning and the end of the Light (which is the Prima Materia), and the manifestation, appearance and substance of the Essence of Light; the one which is also the ultimate spirituality as he approached (drew nigh), then gave up all determinations (came down) and moved in grace (it was of the length of two bows), then came close to be an entire curve with two arches of eternal Beingness and the invisible sublime (or even nearer) or even closer than that which is the position of *'ama*, or rather there is no position there—according to the most

authorized views; “The phoenix is not a bird to trap; Lo! Gather up your snare!”

Extend also Your salutations to his progeny who are the doorways of Divine Manifestation and the sources of Light; indeed they are themselves lights upon lights—“*And He whom Allah hath not appointed light, for him there is no light*”<sup>1</sup>—especially send your salutations to the Seal of Muhammadan Guardianship and the recipient of the Ahmadian blessings, who will become the symbol of lordship after his fathers who symbolized God’s servitude; and in fact, “It is true servitude whose essence is Lordship”<sup>2</sup>—the Imam who is the representative of *haqq* [truth] on earth and the heavens, and whose existence is the treasure of the Ever-living God’s Names; the occulted and long-awaited Imam, the descendant and offspring of the past *awliya* [saints] (may our lives be sacrificed for him). O God! Send Your curse upon his enemies who are bandits along the path of salvation and the leaders of the nations to the paths of damnation and misguidance.

Furthermore, the human being has been distinguished from the other creatures by an ethereal divine essence and a heavenly nature [*fitrah*]; “*the nature (framed) of Allah, in which He hath created human*”<sup>3</sup> and this divine essence—from one perspective—is the same trust which is referred to by the Almighty: “*Lo! We offered the trust unto the heavens and the earth and the mountains, but they shrank from bearing it and were afraid of it. And man assumed it.*”<sup>4</sup> It is this God-given nature which perceives the Unity of God [*tawhid*] in the three statuses: Giving up all determinations and referring all things to Him, doing away with anything extra even in His Names, and annihilating everything in Him; whoever who does not attain this position has abandoned the God-given nature and broken his divine vow, is totally ignorant of the divine status, and has been cruel to God, the Exalted. And it is obvious to the people of heart among the virtuous *sabiqun* [pioneers in faith] that it is impossible to attain such a lofty standing unless you undergo spiritual but sane asceticism—after cleansing your soul of base “will” and turning your face to the divine knowledge [*maarif*].

Then, O self who has your perpetual abode on earth! Leave the dark and fearful house of nature and migrate toward Allah, the Exalted, Who is the point of collectivity, and toward His messenger who is the possessor of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Surah an-Nur* 24:40.

<sup>2</sup> A quotation from Imam as-Sadiq (‘a) in *Misbah ash-Shari‘ah*.

<sup>3</sup> *Surah Rum* 30:3.

<sup>4</sup> *Surah al-Ahzab* 33:72.

Ahmadian heart of Oneness, so that when you are met by death—that which is the end of all worldly forms—you'll be rewarded by God Himself. And in your path to Allah, follow the word of your spiritual father (Ibrahim, the *Khalil* [friend of God]), who says: “*Lo! I have turned my face toward Him who created heavens and the earth.*”<sup>1</sup> Lo! This is the great salvation and the paradise of essence in unification with God, which [according to the Holy Prophet (s)<sup>2</sup>] “is not observed by any eyes and not heard by any ears and not perceived by any human hearts.”

O self! Do not be satisfied with the animal desires and lust, nor be with the worldly offices, nor with your prayers and prostrations; do not be content with the God-given physical beauty. Don't be happy with formal wisdom and the dubiousness of divine philosophy [*kalam*], nor with the eloquence of the superficial Sufis and mystics. Do not care much for the tumultuous claims and delusions of the people of rough cloak [*khirqah*] for trusting them and spending efforts in them is damnation, and, as the Lord's saint [*wali*] has been quoted to have said, “Knowledge itself is the greatest veils.” Nay, conversely, your efforts have to be directed to Allah, the Exalted, your Creator, Originator and Restorer—in all your moments and behaviors, thoughts, observations, and wayfaring.

And this is my recommendation to my own dark self and also to my friend and master, the knowledgeable scholar Aqa Sayyid Ibrahim Khui known as Maqbarei, who has a luminous insight into divine studies and an exact mind for the holy wisdom—may His grandeur last and God Almighty lead him to the extreme ends of the mystics and the main goal of the seekers. I humbly put forward to him whatever I had learnt from the great men and the books of the wise people, which was of much benefit to him, until—thanks to God—he has now fulfilled his wish and has worn the robe of piety and righteousness. In God Almighty we trust, both at the beginning and at the end.

And I again admonish him as we have been admonished by the great scholars, not to reveal any of the secrets of the divine knowledge but to those qualified, and to keep silent about the mysteries but in the proper circles. God—Exalted be His Name—said, “*And We reveal of the Quran that which is healing and mercy for believers though it increaseth the evil-doers in*

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<sup>1</sup> *Surah al-An'am* 6:79.

<sup>2</sup> 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).

*naught save ruin.*"<sup>1</sup> And I request him—may his glory last—to make mention agreeably of me in the presence of His Lord and never to forget me in his prayers; for praying is in fact a door open to the lovers of His Divine Eminence.

*"Our Lord! Give unto us in the world that which is good and in the Hereafter that which is good, and guard us from the doom of fire."*<sup>2</sup> O God! Resurrect us along with the good and keep us away from the evil ones' companionship. Accept the intercession of Muhammad and his pure progeny—may God's salutations be upon them.

Written on Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 26, 1357 AH /Bahman 27, 1317 AHS by the feeble servant of God, Sayyid Ruhullah, son of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini Kamarei.

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<sup>1</sup> *Surah al-Isra'* 17:82.

<sup>2</sup> *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:201.

## Letter

**Date:** Circa 1939 [1318 AHS / 1358 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Family-related

**Addressee:** Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi<sup>1</sup>

Dear Sir,

May good health, happiness and glory be always with you by the will of God. I am in good health, thanks to God...<sup>2</sup> but I don't know about Your Eminence's health. I hope those of your family who were on a trip returned home safe and sound. Please convey them my regards. I am looking forward to receiving your noble letters. Haj Aqa<sup>3</sup> had got the mathematics book and I have it now as I got it back. I will send it forward if you like. Please just write if there are any errands I can do for you. Please give my sincere regards and good wishes to Aqa Rida.<sup>4</sup> May your days of glory last.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

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<sup>1</sup> The Imam's father-in-law (author of *Ravan-e Javid*). The envelope reads: "To His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi (may his blessings last)".

<sup>2</sup> This part is illegible.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps it refers to Sayyid Ahmad Zanjani.

<sup>4</sup> The Imam's brother-in-law, Rida Thaqafi.

# Message

**Date:** May 5, 1944 [Ordibehesht 15, 1323 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 11, 1363 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** An invitation to uprising for the sake of God<sup>1</sup>

**Addressees:** The *'ulama*<sup>2</sup> and the nation of Iran

## *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

*“Say I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye awake, for Allah’s sake, by twos and singly.”*<sup>3</sup>

In these noble words, God, the Exalted, has expressed everything from man’s dark origins in nature to his ultimate destiny. It is one of the best admonitions that the Lord of the worlds has chosen and recommended to the humankind. This word (rising) is the only way of refining both worlds. It is rising for the sake of God which has led Abraham (*'a*), the Friend of God [*Khalil ar-Rahman*] to the position of God’s friendship, and released him from the various appearances of the natural world.

*“Like Khalil call for the certain knowledge [ilm al-yaqin];  
Say aloud, ‘I love not things that set’.”*<sup>4</sup>

It is rising for Allah’s sake that caused Moses, the Interlocutor with God [*Kalim Allah*] to overcome the Pharaoh’s entourage with a stick, topple down their throne and kingdom, and led Moses to the Beloved’s tryst [*miqat*] and drove him to the position of *Saq*<sup>5</sup> and *Sahw*.<sup>6</sup> It is rising for God’s sake that caused the Seal of the Prophets (*s*) to overcome all the customs and beliefs of the Age of Ignorance [*yawm al-jahiliyyah*] solely by himself to abolish the idols from the House of God and to establish monotheism and piety instead;

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<sup>1</sup> The message is one of the most historic documents of Imam Khomeini’s struggles and its manuscript is kept in Waziri Library, Yazd.

<sup>2</sup> *'Ulama'*: Islamic scholars; plural form of *'alim* [Islamic scholar, learned man].

<sup>3</sup> *Surah Saba'* 34:46:

<sup>4</sup> *Surah al-An'am* 6:76.

<sup>5</sup> It means “unconsciousness” and as a mystical expression it means “annihilation” of the seekers (wayfarers).

<sup>6</sup> It originally means “consciousness”; here it means “living through Allah after annihilation in Him and return to *nasut* [the world of nature] for abiding by the order of God, the Glorious.”

it also led that Sacred Essence [*dhat-e muqaddas*] to the position of ‘two bows length or nearer’ [from God].<sup>1</sup>

Selfishness and abandonment of rising for God’s sake has made us this wretched, and has caused the whole world to overwhelm us and has brought Muslim countries under foreign influence. It is rising for personal interests, which has suppressed the spirit of unity and fraternity in the Islamic nation. It is rising for carnal desire that has divided the population of more than ten million Shi‘ah such that they have become easy prey to a handful of lustful office-holders. It is rising for the individual’s sake, which caused an illiterate Mazandarani<sup>2</sup> to prevail over a group of millions, letting him exploit their offspring and estates to his lustful ends. Rising for personal interest is the reason why some street kids have now gained rule over the Muslims’ belongings, lives and honor. Rising for the sake of lust is what has resulted in the submission of the schools of science and knowledge to a handful of immature children and has turned these centers of Quranic studies into centers of obscenity. It is rising for the ‘self’ that has submitted the mortmain of the blessed seminary and religious institutions to a bunch of dishonorable vagrants, without any resistance, and nobody dares to say anything in protest. It is rising for the ‘self’ that took the chadors of chastity away from the heads of the chaste Muslim women, and this practice, which is against the law and religion, is now being executed in the country and nobody speaks against it. Rising for personal interests is the reason why the newspapers, which have become the means for advertising immorality, follow the same plans which have their origins in the sterile mind of the dishonorable Rida Khan, and issue it among the people. It is rising for the ‘self’, which has given the opportunity to some of these unauthorized MPs to say whatever they like against the religion and clergy and nobody dares to raise their voice against it.

O Islamic clergymen! O divine ‘*ulama*! O pious scholars! O speakers of the religion of the Friend (God)! You God-seeking pious ones! You Truth-loving God-seekers! You honorable Truth-lovers! You patriotic honorable ones! You zealous patriots! Read the admonition of the Lord of the worlds, and accept the only way He proposes for reformation, and abandon personal interests so that you will attain salvation in both worlds and embrace an honorable life in both: “Lo! There are zephyrs from God during your lifetime. Behold! Turn your faces toward them.”<sup>3</sup> Today is the day when the

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<sup>1</sup> *Surah an-Najm* 53:9.

<sup>2</sup> Rida Khan Pahlavi.

<sup>3</sup> *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 68, p. 221; *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 7, p. 769.



spiritual divine zephyr is blowing and it is the best time to rise for the reformation; if you miss the chance and don't rise for God's sake and restore the religious rites, a bunch of lustful vagabonds will prevail over you tomorrow and exploit all your faith and honor to their own vain ends. What excuse do you have in the presence of God today? You all witnessed the books of an ignoble Tabrizi who brought insult to your faith and honor and profaned Imam Sadiq ('a) and the occulted Twelfth Imam (may my soul be sacrificed for him) a great deal in the center of Shi'ism and no words of objection were issued by you. What is your excuse today in the court of God? What is this weakness and misery that holds you? O honorable gentleman who collected these pages and presented them to the 'ulama and preachers of the cities! Why don't you provide them with a booklet, for bringing them together and uniting them for Islamic purposes, collecting their signatures, all swearing that if in a corner of the country a profanity is directed against religion, they would all rise in unison from every corner? You'd better learn devotion from the Bahai community who are in contact with each member from the center even though he lives in a village, and would rise against the slightest aggression toward him. When you failed to rise for your legal right, the obstinate secularists got up and began silently to advertise against religion from every corner and in no time they will prevail over you, who are stricken by disunity therefore, you'll have harder times than during Rida Khan's period. *"...And whoso forsaketh his home, a fugitive unto Allah and His messenger, and death overtaketh him, his reward is then incumbent on Allah."*<sup>2</sup>

Sayyid Ruhullah Khomeini  
Jamadi al-Awwal 11, 1363 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Kasravi, the author of some anti-religious books.

<sup>2</sup> *Surah an-Nisa* ' 4:100.

## Letter

**Date:** Circa 1948/9 [1327 or 1328 AHS / 1368 or 1369 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The need to strengthen the theological centers and the religious authority [marjaiyyah] of Mr. Burujerdi; resolving the problems of the theological center

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I hope Your Eminence is healthy and fine by the will of Allah. Besides, I feel the need to remind you of an important and vital issue, so that through your faultless thoughts and eloquent spoken words you can do something about it in accordance with the pleasure of God, the Exalted, and the society's welfare. Of course, you are well aware of many an opportunity missed and many a stronghold surrendered to the opponents by the Muslims, remembering which leaves us nothing but remorse and sorrow. Muslims, some out of ignorance of the global situation or under the influence of the enemies' propaganda, and some in order to keep up their own businesses, have fought and opposed the wise who wanted to make reform, and will be opposing them until the Day of Resurrection. Now the only ray of hope left for us is, on the one hand, the branch of propagation and preaching, which you see in what conditions it is and what kind of people are unrightfully in its charge, and on the other hand, there is the field of religious education in which the branch of preaching originates. The solidity of religious education is now maintained by the blessed seminary in Najaf, Qum, ISfahan, Mashhad and some other cities, which are generally under the management and auspices of His Eminence Ayatullah al-'Uzma Burujerdi; and as far as I can see these blessed seminaries are on the brink of liquidation because, on the one hand, his proxies in the cities are generally ineffectual and on the other hand, many of the *'ulama* of the cities prevent the religious funds from reaching him; furthermore, in Tehran and some other cities some spiteful persons publicize against him. What makes things worst is that His Eminence himself doesn't agree to turn to the businessmen and merchants and to describe the needs and requirements of the blessed seminary to them, the way the late Ayatullah Isfahani and the late Ayatullah Qummi (may their souls be sanctified) did. Furthermore, there are only a few who truly sympathize with him and the blessed seminary. All these reasons together have given rise to

the current situation, in which, may God forbid, we may lose this stronghold too.

It is some months now that His Eminence has been in debt; either for the bread (i.e., sustenance) of Najaf and Samirra or for the monthly allowances of the Islamic seminaries in Qum and Isfahan, and sometimes even for the Mashhad and other places, too. In brief, while the expenses of the late Sayyid (may God bless him) are an extra burden for His Eminence the expectations remain the same and the religious funds do not reach him and are misappropriated. You know well that Tehran is the center of all the legal alms, contributing eighty percent of the whole income as I have heard; and Your Eminence is well known to all classes of people and your eloquent tongue is mainly effective with them; but mere preaching on the pulpit is of no use. There is a need for a private council of the respectable and benevolent merchants, asking for the help and support of the people like Mr. Haj Mirza 'Ali-Naqi Kashani, Mr. Shalchi, Mr. Khosrowshahi, Mr. Bazargan, Mr. Mustafawi, and whoever else you think as appropriate, explaining the situation thoroughly; all hoping that, in the first place, they could pay back His Eminence's debts quickly, and then, each of them truly undertake contributing every month as much as they can afford. I fear that the least delay and negligence may end in regret and loss. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Open Letter

**Date:** March 23, 1949 [Farvardin 3, 1328 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 22, 1368 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Inquiring about the establishment of the Constituent Assembly

**Occasion:** Rumors about Mr. Burujerdi's agreement with the establishment of the Constituent Assembly

**Addressee:** Sayyid Husayn Tabatabai Burujerdi (the grand *marja at-taqlid*)<sup>1</sup>

His Eminence Ayatullah al-'Uzma Haj Aqa Husayn Tabatabai Burujerdi— may his benign existence for the Muslims endure:

The news has spread that there has been some negotiation among you and some officials on the establishment of the Constituent Assembly as a result of which you have agreed with its establishment. Regarding the impact of such an assembly on the country's future and its religious, national and social affairs, and due to the fact that it is not clear how unlimited the legal powers of the members will be and what consequences this move will have, we would like to humbly ask you to formally announce the truth behind the news so that we may clearly know our religious duty.<sup>2</sup>

Ruhullah Khorramabadi,<sup>3</sup>  
Murtada Hairi,  
Sayyid MuHammad Yazdi,<sup>4</sup>  
Ruhullah al-Musawi,<sup>5</sup> and  
MuHammad-Rida Musawi Golpaygani  
Jamadi al-Awwal 22, 1368 AH

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<sup>1</sup> *Marja at-taqlid* or *marja* in short: a scholar of proven learning and piety whose authoritative rulings one follows in matters of religious practice.

<sup>2</sup> Answering the above letter, Mr. Burujerdi wrote:

*"In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Firstly, it is expected from the prominent '*ulama*' themselves to defend us against such false propaganda. Of course, my interest in protecting the religion and the country's vital interests is obvious to all and it is not necessary to announce publicly whatever is done. Secondly, since the issuance of His Highness' (the Shah's) decree, I have repeatedly notified him through different persons about the point that no changes should be made in the legal articles concerning religious matters. Although the Interior Minister and Mr. Rafi' had communicated His Highness' words to me, saying that not only there would be no changes in the articles dealing with the religion, but also they would be concerned with their advancement and consolidation. Nevertheless, in all of the sessions held on this issue, some of which have been attended by a number of the prominent '*ulama*', I have said not a single word implying my agreement. How can I declare anything about such an important matter, while there is nothing clear about it yet?

Husayn al-Tabataba'i"

<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Ruhullah Kamalvand Khorramabadi.

<sup>4</sup> Known as Muhaqqiq Damad.

<sup>5</sup> Imam Khomeini.



## Approved Law

**Date:** September 29, 1949 [Mehr 7, 1328 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1368 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Appointment of committees to attend to the theological students' affairs and the examinations in the theological center

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

On Thursday evening, i.e. Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1368 AH, Their Eminent 'Ulama of Qum Seminary held a meeting according to Hadrat Ayatullah al-'Uzma's<sup>1</sup>—may he live long—order and the other Hujaj al-Alam's agreement in which they resolved that each week three committees will be organized, each of which will be accountable for a special task, as follows:

1. A committee for attending to the matters of the theology students and the blessed seminary whose members are:

Mr. Sayyid Zayn al-'Abidin, Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khwansari, Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Rida Golpaygani, Mr. Sayyid Abu Talib Mudarrisi, Mr. Haj Mirza MuHammad Qummi, Mr. Haj Mirza Mustafa, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Zanjani, Mr. Haj Shaykh Abul-Qasim Isfahani, Mr. Murtada Hairi, Mr. Haj Mir Sayyid Hasan, Mr. RayHanullah, Mr. Haj Faqihi, and Mr. Murtada Qummi.

It should be added that the above mentioned gentlemen will attend as routine, but under special circumstances, they will inform all the three seminary faculties in order to help solve the unexpected problem.

2. A committee for the high-level examinations of the newly-enrolled, which includes the following members:

Mr. Murtada Hairi, Mr. Sayyid MuHammad Yazdi, and Mr. Ruhullah Khomeini.

3. A committee for the examinations of the newly-enrolled for the other levels, which includes the following members:

Mr. Sayyid Zayn al-'Abidin, Mr. Fadil, Mr. Qadi, Mr. Haj Faqihi, Mr. Haj Mir Sayyid Hasan, Mr. Shaykh Abul-Qasim Nahwi, Mr. Hairi, Mr. Sahib ad-Dari, and Mr. Murtada Qummi.

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Husayn Tabataba'i Burujerdi (a grand *marja at-taqlid*).

The above mentioned decisions were ratified by the vast majority of the undersigned gentlemen:

MaHmud al-Husayni, Zayn al-‘Abidin al-Husayni al-Kashani, Ahmad al-Husayni az-Zanjani, Mustafa al-Qummi, Sayyid MuHammad Yazdi, Ruhullah al-Musawi, Fadil Muwahhid Lankarani, Hairi, Sahib ad-Dari, Abul-Qasim Isfahani, Abul-Husayn Faqihi, Husayn al-Qadi at-Tabatabai, Murtada Mubarqai, RayHanullah Golpaygani, Murtada Hairi.

## Letter

**Date:** June 5, 1952 [Khordad 15, 1331 AHS / Ramadan 12, 1371 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The need for resistance and not deserting the stronghold of criticism; avoiding disunity

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi<sup>1</sup>

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I would like to inform you that I was not aware of what has happened in the capital because of not being in touch with news sources, the trip to Hamedan and my limited social interaction. I felt very regretful after learning about the incident. One is left confused as to what to do in the situation, what

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<sup>1</sup> Talking about the motive of agents of the Shah's regime in disturbing his preaching sessions, which was the reason why Imam Khomeini sent this letter, Mr. Falsafi states:

"The day after the inauguration of the Arg Mosque, which was the first day of the blessed month of Ramadan, and as had been my routine during the previous years to preach on the pulpit after the noon prayer in the Shah Mosque and while being broadcasted live on the radio, I entered the courtyard of the mosque and noticed that there were unusual circumstances. There was a large crowd outside the building entrance; they started to shout slogans when they saw me. I entered the mosque building and as the Quran was still being recited I sat down beside the pulpit. The crowd had entered the building too and still continued to shout slogans. There was no chance of preaching under the circumstances, so I went to the mosque library through the studio room. The police was apparently given instruction to protect me against any harm because some of the policemen were keeping guard at the library door and a few others came inside. The crowd's actions and manner, especially in the month of Ramadan showed that, firstly, they were not mosque-goers and the usual audience; secondly, they had been "organized" to do that. The choice of the time and the place for causing disturbance was also "planned". It turned out that the false news against me in *Bakhtar-e Emruz* [The West Today] newspaper two weeks before the incident had been the groundwork for causing the incident to appear as an unplanned move thereupon to claim that the 'people' had prevented me from preaching because I had spoken against Musaddiq. Anyway, I waited in the mosque office for a couple of hours. The crowd didn't seem to be going to leave their clamor. They repeatedly chanted, "Long live Musaddiq," "Long live Kashani," and "Death to the movement's enemies," and so on. I should add that on the same day of the incident, Tehran military headquarters issued a statement warning the preachers that they were not allowed at all to speak about the political issues of the country, but only about the religious subjects. The incident ended to the disadvantage of Dr. Musaddiq and his government. While Ramadan days passed on and I didn't attend any preaching and people were deprived of listening to religious speech and preaching, they were more and more provoked by anti-religious actions and propaganda... Imam Khomeini was in Hamedan when the Shah Mosque preaching sessions were closed down, and was informed later on."



hope there remains for rectifying the country and whom to trust. Anyhow, Your Eminence should not leave your stronghold because of these mishaps. The evil-doers have always wanted to intimidate people like you so that they can do whatever they wish without any criticism.

The day when Rida Khan attacked the clergymen's turbans, I told one of the prayer leaders, "If they arrest you and strip the turban off your head and it is time for prayers, go to the mosque for the prayers in the same appearance." It is their ultimate wish that the mosque-goers give up and the religious ones leave the stage for them to do whatever they wish. Anyway, these happenings do occur for people and a great orator like you should not expect to be immune from the attacks by the wicked all along his life. But we should bear in mind that they accuse our fellow clergymen of these acts out of malice and as the saying goes, "They want to cut a diamond with a diamond". You should be vigilant not to let others attain their ends because of the disunity among us. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Interview

**Date:** Circa December 22, 1952-January 20, 1953 [Dey 1331 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 1372 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The city police's brutal assault on the people and theological students

**Occasion:** The protest of people and theology students of Qum against Mr. Burqai's attendance at the Vienna Peace Conference<sup>1</sup> and the insult brought to the religious sanctities by the Tudeh Party sympathizers

**Reporter:** Amir Bahrami (*Taraqqi* magazine's correspondent)

[Mr. Bahrami (*Taraqqi* magazine's correspondent): Mr. Shaykh Fadlullah Mahallati and I went to Ayatullah Burujerdi's residence for an interview at 2:00 pm and as His Eminence was not feeling well at the time, he directed us to Mr. Haj Sayyid Ruhullah Khomeini—his formal representative on this matter, to be given the information; so, I went to his home and after the usual compliments I expressed my request. His Eminence said:]

The Ayatullah al-'Uzma's opinion is that Burqai should leave Qum, which is a religious city, and the ladies should not take part in the elections.

[He was asked about the number of people killed; he replied:]

“As far as I know there has been a person called Sayyid Muhammad<sup>2</sup> who is reported to be dead while 11 others have been injured. It is said that a few are missing, too. I visited the Fatimi Hospital on behalf of Hadrat Ayatullah Burujerdi on Monday and asked Dr. Pur-Karimi for the list of those

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<sup>1</sup> After Sayyid 'Ali-Akbar Burqai's return from the Socialists' Peace Conference in Vienna and the insults directed toward the sacred religion of Islam and the Shi'ah authority under the pretext of supporting Mr. Burqai, unrests broke out in Qum; while the Muslim people in a gathering asked for his arrest and his being brought to justice, the armed forces started shooting at them to silence the protests, as a result of which one person was killed and a few injured. Mr. Burujerdi (the grand *marja at-taqlid*) appointed Imam Khomeini—who was known as Haj Aqa Ruhullah at that time—as his investigator. Under these circumstances the *Taraqqi* magazine reporter goes to Mr. Burujerdi in Qum to prepare his report. Mr. Burujerdi states that if the reporter wants to know his opinion, it would be better for him go to Mr. Sayyid Ruhullah Khomeini, his official representative. So the reporter goes to Imam Khomeini and speaks with him, a part of which was published in *Taraqqi* magazine no. 32, 1331 AHS, as is accounted here.

<sup>2</sup> Sayyid Muhammad Hajjeh Forush, according to *Taraqqi* magazine's report (no. 32, 1331 AHS), about 30,000 people took part in his funeral procession.

examined and treated. When I got the list, I noticed that it was not a detailed one (as it did not mention what had caused the injuries and the damages). Consequently, I got furious and expressed my protest. After visiting the patients I went to Ayatullah Burujerdi and reported the situation at the hospital. He said, I will go to the hospital myself tomorrow, but due to his ailment he could not go to the hospital. General Mudabbir, Mr. Malik Ismaili, Dr. Mudarrisi and I went to the hospital where the medical examinations were done again by Dr. Mudarrisi, revealing that a few have been shot in the limbs, and some had been pierced by metal pieces on their bodies, which remained unidentified (but according to General Mudabbir, the pieces of metal belonged to tear-gas shells).”

[I asked for permission from His Eminence to take a photo which he did not accept. We left this religious ‘*alim*’s company at 2:47 pm.]

## Commendation

**Date:** Before 1954 [Before 1332 AHS]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** A comment on the writing conventions in *Taqrirat-e Dars-e Falsafeh-ye Imam Khomeini* [Transcription Notes<sup>1</sup> of Imam Khomeini's Philosophy Lessons]<sup>2</sup>

**Addressee:** Sayyid 'Abdul-Ghani Ardebili

It is very good and comprehensive, but writing conventions have not been well observed; for example, instead of “*wahdah* and *kathrah*”, “*wahdat* and *kathrat*” forms have been used, which are not correct in Arabic.

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<sup>1</sup> *Taqrirat*: literally, ‘assertions, utterances, recitals’. It refers to a student’s transcription of his teacher’s lectures on a certain subject in religious sciences including the former’s views and inquiries on the subject matter.

<sup>2</sup> Imam Khomeini’s handwriting is on the margin of a page in *Taqrirat* of his philosophy lessons, which has been written by Sayyid 'Abdul-Ghani Ardebili.

## Letter

**Date:** December 2, 1953 [Azar 11, 1332 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 24, 1373 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Family-related

**Addressee:** Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi<sup>1</sup>

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Rabi' al-Awwal 24

Dearest Sir,

It has been a long time now that I wanted to express my regards, but didn't find the opportunity. Now I could at last find the time. I hope your blessed being is happy and healthy, and you and your family are safe under the protection of the *awliya* ('a). Khanum<sup>2</sup> Quds-Iran,<sup>3</sup> the children and I are all fine. Besides, His Eminence Mr. Murtada Hairi's daughter was engaged to Mustafa<sup>4</sup> on the day of the Prophet's birth anniversary,<sup>5</sup> and hopefully they will be married in the blessed month of Rajab. Please pray to God, the Exalted, to make it a blessed occasion. Khanum<sup>6</sup> and the children send you their regards. We hope that Aqa Hasan<sup>7</sup> and the other respected sons<sup>8</sup> are alright. May your days of happiness last long.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini's father-in-law. The envelope reads: "To His Eminence Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi (may his blessings last), Paminar, Tehran. From: Khomeini, Qum"

<sup>2</sup> *Khanum*: literally means 'woman' or 'wife'. It is formally used as a title of respect for women.

<sup>3</sup> Imam Khomeini's wife, Mrs. Khadijah Thaqafi, known as Quds-Iran.

<sup>4</sup> Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini who married Murtada Ha'iri's daughter.

<sup>5</sup> Rabi' al-Awwal 17 (birth anniversary of the Prophet).

<sup>6</sup> Imam Khomeini's wife.

<sup>7</sup> Hasan Thaqafi, Imam Khomeini's brother-in-law.

<sup>8</sup> Rida, 'Ali and Mahdi Thaqafi.

## Letter

**Date:** February 11, 1955 [Bahman 22, 1333 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1374 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Family-related

**Addressee:** Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi<sup>1</sup>

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Dearest Sir,

By the grace of God, the Exalted, I hope you have recovered from your ailment and soon there will be no traces of it left. Kindly inform me of your health condition; though a few days back I asked Mrs. Najm Zaman<sup>2</sup> who informed me about your recovery, thanks to God. The family members and I are fine. Quds-Iran<sup>3</sup> sends you special regards. She has been so worried about your health and urged me to send you her devotion and regards. Mustafa<sup>4</sup> sends regards, too. May your days of happiness last long.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini's father-in-law. The envelope reads: "To His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi (may his blessings last), Paminar, Tehran. From Khomeini, Qum".

<sup>2</sup> Imam Khomeini's sister-in-law.

<sup>3</sup> Imam Khomeini's wife, Khadijah Thaqafi, known as Quds-Iran.

<sup>4</sup> Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

## Letter

**Date:** March 18, 1955 [Esfand 27, 1333 AHS / Rajab 23, 1374 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Greetings on the blessed Feast of *Mab'ath*<sup>1</sup> and the coming of *Nuruz* [Iranian New Year]

**Addressee:** Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi<sup>2</sup>

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Dearest Sir,

I do extend special greetings to Your Eminence and the honorable family on the occasion of the Seal of the Prophet's (s) appointment to Prophethood, which happily coincides with the New Year, and ask God, the Exalted, for your health and happiness. We would be grateful if you decide to spend few days in Qum to relax and refresh and renew ties. Mrs. Quds-Iran<sup>3</sup> sends ample regards. His Eminence, Mr. Haj Sayyid 'Abdul-Hasan Qazvini (may his blessings last) has been here for some time now and has begun discourse too. It seems that His Eminence is going to stay till the Blessed Month (of Ramadan). May your days of happiness last long.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

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<sup>1</sup> *Mab'ath*: commencement of Prophet Muhammad's prophetic mission.

<sup>2</sup> Imam Khomeini's father-in-law. The envelope reads: "To His Eminence Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi (may his blessings last), Paminar, Tehran. From: Khomeini, Qum."

<sup>3</sup> Imam's wife, Mrs. Khadijah Thaqafi, known as Quds-Iran.

## Letter

**Date:** March 20, 1955 [Esfand 29, 1333 AHS / Rajab 25, 1374 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Family-related

**Addressee:** Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi

My dearest Sir,

A few days ago—i.e., two or three days after my arrival here—I sent a letter with an enclosed invitation. I presume that it may have not been delivered yet. Having asked the mailman he said, it may have been mistakenly delivered somewhere else and will be returned. Anyway, I don't know what has happened and what to do. The other day I received a letter from Khanum,<sup>1</sup> stating that Mrs. Najmi<sup>2</sup> has ailment, from which I hoped she recovered by now. Please write back soon about her health and yours. For the moment, there is no news from here. Give my heartfelt regards to His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Kashani.

Sayyid Ruhullah al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Khazin al-Muluk, Imam Khomeini's mother-in-law.

<sup>2</sup> Najm-Zaman, Imam Khomeini's sister-in-law.



## Letter

**Date:** April 5, 1955 [Farvardin 15, 1334 AHS / Shaban 11, 1374 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Family-related

**Addressee:** Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi<sup>1</sup>

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Dearest Sir,

By the grace of God I wish your worthy being is healthy and fine. As I hear you have recovered from the ailment now, thanks to God. I do extend my greetings to you on the two blessed occasions and ask God, the Exalted, for you and your family's health. Khanum Quds-Iran<sup>2</sup> and others are fine and all send their humble regards. Aqa Hasan<sup>3</sup> extends his greetings, too.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini's father-in-law; the envelope reads: "To His Eminence Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi (may his blessings last), Paminar, Tehran. From: Khomeini, Qum; Shaban 11, 1374 AH."

<sup>2</sup> Imam Khomeini's wife, Khadijah Thaqafi, known as Quds-Iran.

<sup>3</sup> Hasan Thaqafi.

## Commendation

**Date:** November 10, 1955 [Aban 18, 1334 AHS / Rabi‘ al-Awwal 24, 1375 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Commendation on the book, *Taqirrat-e Dars-e Usul-e Imam Khomeini* [Transcription Notes of Imam Khomeini’s Lessons on the Principles of Jurisprudence], authored by Mr. Subhani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds and may God’s salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon their enemies.”

Thanks to God for granting me the opportunity to accompany and associate with an assembly of scholars and the intellectuals (may God support them). One of them is the prominent and pious scholar, possessor of brilliant thought and genuine wisdom, Mr. Mirza Jafar Subhani Tabrizi (may God help him in pursuit of His pleasure and increase the likes of him). His Eminence has made a great effort in gathering and explaining my humble words in my discourses, being so well-organized and stylish. Praise be to God, all these efforts have been turned into a book containing important issues.

I ask God, the Exalted, for his success in completing the rest of the discourses and striving in the path of truth and guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi‘ al-Mawlud 24, 1375 AH

## Letter

**Date:** September 12, 1956 [Shahrivar 21, 1335 AHS / Safar 6, 1376 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Family-related

**Addressee:** Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi<sup>1</sup>

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

My dearest Sir,

By the grace of God, I hope that your blessed being is healthy and happy. I am fine, as do the others, thanks to God. Fahimah<sup>2</sup> suffered from appendicitis for a few days, but, thanks to God, she is now alright. Khanum Quds-Iran<sup>3</sup> is also fine and sends you sincere regards. Kindly extend my regards to the gentlemen and all my friends. Give my regards to Aqa Hasan.<sup>4</sup> May your days of health and happiness last long! If you ever meet Mr. Nakhjawani,<sup>5</sup> please give him my regards and mention to him that I have paid for some of the promised prayers and fasts to be performed, and now, I am waiting for some other trustworthy ones who are on trips to return, then I will pay them for the rest to be performed and will send him the receipt.

Due to the holidays there has been a delay in delivering the envelope. Here I enclose the receipt for the payment of some of Mr. Nakhjawani's prayers, to be handed over to him, please.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini's father-in-law; the envelope reads: "To His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi (may his blessings last), Paminar, Tehran. From: Khomeini, Qum; Safar al-Khayr 6, 1374 AH."

<sup>2</sup> Zahra (Fahimah) Mustafawi, Imam Khomeini's daughter.

<sup>3</sup> Imam's wife, Khad'jah Thaqafi titled Quds-Iran.

<sup>4</sup> Hasan Thaqafi.

<sup>5</sup> Sayyid Ahmad Nakhjawani.

## Letter

**Date:** *Unknown*

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Family-related

**Addressee:** Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

My dearest Sir,<sup>1</sup>

A few days ago Mustafa<sup>2</sup> informed me about your ailment and your recovery from it. I hope you are now quite fine and health and happiness keep your company. Thanks to God, it is some time now that I have not had a fever. I went through periods of illness and fever four or five times since my return from Tehran, which has left me weak though I feel much better now, thanks to God. I look forward to your prayers for me. Khanum and the children are alright, thanks to God, and extend their courtesy. Please give my regards to Aqa Hasan<sup>3</sup> (may God keep him well). Finally, I wish Your Eminence good health and glory.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

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<sup>1</sup> The envelope reads: "To His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi."

<sup>2</sup> Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

<sup>3</sup> Hasan Thaqafi, Imam Khomeini's brother-in-law.

## Letter

**Date:** Circa 1957 [1336 AHS / 1376 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Family-related

**Addressee:** Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi<sup>1</sup>

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

My Dear Sir,

I send you my special greetings on the blessed occasions. I pray to the Almighty God for Your Eminence's health and happiness. Thanks to God, I am fine and remember you in my prayers. Khanum is also fine, thanks to God. Mustafa<sup>2</sup> is on a pilgrimage to the holy cities. May your days of happiness last long.

Musawi

Ruhullah al-

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<sup>1</sup> The envelope reads: "To His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi (may his blessings last), Paminar, Tehran."

<sup>2</sup> Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, the Imam's eldest son.

## Letter

**Date:** *Unknown*

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Greetings and announcement of a trip in the near future

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Shahrestani (Aqa Najafi)

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Dear Sir,

Last night when Mr. Ishraqil returned from Tehran he stated that Your Eminence had been ailing, though you felt better now, thanks to God. I hope, God willing, that the last signs of illness will leave you altogether soon. Thanks to God, I am alright and will leave for Tehran by the end of the month and intend to stay where I did last year.<sup>2</sup> I look forward to Your Eminence's benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

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<sup>1</sup> Shahabuddin Ishraqi.

<sup>2</sup> A friend's home in Imamzadeh Qasim, Tehran (Shemiran).

## Letter

**Date:** Circa 1961 [1340 AHS / 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Inquiring about Mr. Kashani's health

**Addressee:** Sayyid Abul-Qasim Kashani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

My dearest Sir,

I always ask God Almighty for the health of your blessed being. I hope, God willing, that you will get well soon. I pray for Your Eminence and inquire from friends about you. Since I left Tehran, I've suffered from the Malta fever several times and am still ailing. I do hope for your prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

## Permission

**Date:** April 6, 1961 [Farvardin 17, 1340 AHS / Shawwal 20, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Sajjad Hujaji

### *[In His Most Exalted Name*

Hadrat Ayatullah al-'Uzma Aqa Ruhullah Khomeini (may his benign existence endure for the people):

As I sometimes deal with religious law affairs at my place of residence, if you find it appropriate kindly grant me the permission to be in charge of financial affairs, which is pertaining to the competent jurist to be in charge of collecting religious funds, expending them in rightful ways, and to collect the Imam's ('a) Share,<sup>1</sup> expending it for my sustenance and delivering the remaining to Your Eminence.

Yours faithfully,

Sayyid Sajjad Hujaji  
Shawwal 20, 1380 AH]

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

You are hereby granted my permission in the above mentioned matters.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

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<sup>1</sup> Imam's Share [*sahm al-imam*]: money paid to Imam al-Mahdi, or in the period of his occultation, to the 'ulama, for charitable disbursement.



## Permission

**Date:** May 17, 1961 [Ordibehesht 27, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sadiq Ihsanbakhsh

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam, the esteemed orator, Aqa Shaykh Sadiq Ihsanbakhsh (may his graces last and God multiply the like of him) who has spent a part of his worthy life acquiring knowledge and virtues, and, who is now one of the venerated propagators of Islam and one of the esteemed scholars, is granted my permission to be in charge of financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* and Honor of the Day (may God expedite his glorious advent and make us his ransom). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” His Eminence is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares delivering the *Sadat’s* Share to its prescribed area, spending the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share for his own living sparingly, expending a third of the remaining for the promotion of the sacred religion of Islam and exalting the Word<sup>1</sup> of God, and to deliver the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 2, 1380 AH

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<sup>1</sup> “Word” [*kalimah*] has been used for various meanings, among them: the promise of truth; monotheism; Islamic call.

## Permission

**Date:** May 17, 1961 [Ordibehesht 27, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hashim Rasuli Mahallati

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Aqa Hashim Rasuli Mahallati (may his blessings last and God multiply his like) who has spent a part of his worthy life acquiring knowledge, is granted my permission to be in charge of financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the Master of the Age (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent); “so, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share and the blessed *Sadat*’s Share (may God multiply their blessed progeny), spending a part on his own living sparingly, delivering it to its specified cases, and to spend one-third of the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share in promoting the sacred religion (peace be upon its propagators) after deducting his own expenses, and to deliver the other two-thirds to me to be expended in the seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 2, 1380 AH

## Permission

**Date:** May 18, 1961 [Ordibehesht 28, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 3, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid ‘Ali Ghayuri Najafabadi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid ‘Ali Ghayuri Najafabadi (may God Almighty always assist him), is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the Master of the Age (may God expedite his advent). He is allowed to collect the property with unknown owner, alms, and so on, delivering them to their prescribed area. He is allowed to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending a part on his own living sparingly, expending a third of what remains in promoting the pure religion and exalting the Word of God, and to deliver the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be meticulous in all affairs he is granted permission for; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.”

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 3, 1380 AH

## Permission

**Date:** May 18, 1961 [Ordibehesht 28, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 3, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in quoting *hadiths* and supervising religious funds

**Addressee:** ‘Ali Mukhtari

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Eminence ‘Umdat al-Fudala Mr. Shaykh ‘Ali Mukhtari (may his blessings last) is hereby granted my permission to collect religious funds and sums with unknown owners and other alms, to quote *hadiths* from authentic books of the companions (may Allah be pleased with them), to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending it in part on his own living sparingly, as long as he is in charge of the religious law affairs, and on promoting the sacred religion, and to deliver the remaining to this humble servant in return of a receipt showing that the money is allocated to those deserving it. And I advise him to be pious and meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 3, 1380 AH

## Permission

**Date:** May 23, 1961 [Khordad 2, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1380 AH

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Zayn al-‘Abidin Dhul-Faqari Isfahani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Shaykh Zayn al-‘Abidin Dhul-Faqari Isfahani (may God always assist him), who is one of the esteemed scholars and promoters of Islamic precepts, and who is a trustee endowed with piety and righteousness, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the twelfth Imam (may God Almighty expedite his advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” His Eminence is also allowed to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share and the noble *Sadat*’s Share, delivering it to its prescribed area, and to spend the sacred Imam’s Share on his own living sparingly and to remit the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the seminary.

“And I advise him—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in those affairs; and I hope he (may God Almighty assist him) will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 8, 1380 AH

## Permission

**Date:** May 24, 1961 [Khordad 3, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 9, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** ‘Abd as-Samad Khui

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Maladh al-Anam wa Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh ‘Abd as-Samad Khui (may his blessings last and God multiply the like of him), who has spent a good part of his worthy life acquiring religious knowledge, and who is diligent in promoting the sacred religion and strengthening the precepts of the *Khayr al-Anam*<sup>1</sup> (S), and is endowed with virtues, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr*<sup>2</sup> and Honor of the Day (may God expedite his glorious advent); “so, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending a part on his own living sparingly, to spend one-third of the remaining for the promotion of the sacred religion and exalting the Word of God, and to deliver the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he (may God Almighty assist him) will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

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<sup>1</sup> *Khayr al-Anam*: literally, “the best of all people”. It refers to the Holy Prophet (s).

<sup>2</sup> *Wali al-Amr*: literally, “Master of the Affair” or “one who holds authority” is one the titles of the 12th Imam al-Mahdi (‘a), the others being *Wali al-‘Asr* [Master of the Age], *Imam az-Zaman* [Imam of the Time], Honor of the Day, Proof of the Day, (Last) Proof of Allah on earth, etc. It is a term derived from Quran, 4:59: “O you who believe! Obey God, and obey the Messenger and the holders of authority (*uli ‘l-amr*) from among you.” For commentary of this verse, see Mir Ahmad ‘Ali, *The Holy Quran* (NY: Tahrike Tarsile Quran, 1988), <http://www.al-islam.org/quran>.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 9, 1380 AH

## Permission

**Date:** May 29, 1961 [Khordad 8, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 14, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Shamsuddin Ayatullahi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Shamsuddin Ayatullahi (may his blessings last and God multiply his like) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the Master of the Age and Proof of the Day (may God expedite his glorious advent); “so, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending a part on his own living sparingly, delivering the remaining of the *Sadat’s* Share to its prescribed area, to spend one-third of the blessed Imam’s Share on the promotion of the sacred religion and exalting the Word of God, and to deliver the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the seminary.

“And I advise him—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be meticulous in the mentioned affairs; and I hope he (may God Almighty assist him) will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” Peace be upon him and the pious servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 14, 1380 AH



## Permission

**Date:** May 30, 1961 [Khordad 9, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 15, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission to quote *hadiths* and in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** ‘Aqil Turabi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon our Master, Muhammad, and his pure progeny, especially upon his cousin, successor and Caliph, ‘Ali, the Commander of the Faithful (‘a), and may His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Fudala wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Shaykh ‘Aqil Turabi (may his blessings last and God multiply his like), who has been acquiring virtues and knowledge in the seminary for some time and who is endowed with goodness, honesty and sociability, and who is one of the propagators and preachers of the luminous religion and the sacred school, is granted my permission to quote *hadiths* from reliable sources as quoted by the companions (may Allah be pleased with them) and to make mention of the Infallible Household’s virtues, especially that of our greatest Master, the Commander of the Faithful and the Imam of the Pious (may God’s salutations be upon him and all of them).<sup>1</sup> He is also allowed to collect religious funds and alms, delivering them to their prescribed area and also to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending it in part for his own living sparingly, and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the seminary.

“And I advise him—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs”.

Let’s hope the faithful brothers in Pakistan and other places appreciate His Eminence’s value and enjoy his preaching and lectures. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 15, 1380 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Imam ‘Ali (‘a).

## Permission

**Date:** June 2, 19661 [Khordad 12, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 18, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hasan Tahiri

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Hasan Tahiri Khorramabadi (may God always assist him), who has spent a part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge and who is endowed with goodness and honesty, is granted my permission to be in charge of financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending a part for his own living sparingly, to deliver the *Sadat’s* Share to its prescribed area, to spend one-third of the Imam’s Share on promoting the sacred religion and exalting the Word of God Almighty, and to deliver the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be meticulous in all affairs; and I hope that he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 18, 1380 AH

## Permission

**Date:** June 3, 19661 [Khordad 13, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 19, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhsin Hazavei Hamedani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Mr. Sayyid Muhsin Hazavei Hamedani (may God always assist him), who has spent a part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge and who is—thanks to God—endowed with goodness and honesty, is granted my permission to be in charge of financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending a part on his own living sparingly, delivering *Sadat’s* Share to where it belongs, to spend a third of Imam’s (‘a) Share on the promotion of the sacred religion and to deliver the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be meticulous in all affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 19, 1380 AH

## Permission

**Date:** June 3, 1961 [Khordad 13, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 19, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Asadullah Khadimi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Asadullah Khadimi (may his graces last and God multiply the likes of him)—who has spent a part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge and who is one of the respected propagators of the luminous religion, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his glorious advent); “so, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs using the necessary caution.” He is also permitted to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending a part on his own living sparingly and a third of what remains on promoting the religion, and to deliver the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be meticulous in all affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.<sup>1</sup>

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 19, 1380 AH

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<sup>1</sup> As a postscript, Imam Khomeini has thus added:

*“In His Most Exalted Name*

I received the 1,000 tumans as the blessed Imam’s Share, from Mr. Haj Abu-Talib (may God assist him) through His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Asadullah Khadimi (may his graces last).

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Safar 1390 AH

## Permission

**Date:** June 10, 1961 [Khordad 20, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sadiq Khalkhali

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutation be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Qudwat al-Alam wa Maladh al-Anam wa Thiqat al-Islam Shaykh Sadiq Khalkhali (may his graces last and God multiply his like) who has spent a part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge and personal virtues and who has—thanks to God—attained the highest degree of knowledge and virtue, has been granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” His Eminence is also allowed to collect the blessed Share of the Imam’s (*‘a*), spending it in part on his own living sparingly, and a third of what remains in promoting the sacred religion, and to deliver the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him) as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 26, 1380 AH

## Permission

**Date:** June 10, 1961 [Khordad 20, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Muhammad Imami Darabi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Shaykh Muhammad Imami Darabi (may God always assist him) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the blessed Share of the Imam (‘a), spending it in part on his own living sparingly, and a quarter of what remains for the promotion of the sacred religion and exalting the Word of God, and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may Almighty God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 26, 1380 AH

al-Musawi

al-Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** *Unknown*

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Answering a religious question on *hajj*

Shaban 9

God willing, I hope you will get well soon. I would have been glad if you had stopped here at Qum on your way. I needed to notify you of some points. You had asked about your religious obligation concerning *hajj*. It is your duty to postpone your *hajj* pilgrimage until you feel well, God willing if you hope to perform it in person, and if you see it improbable that you will get well, you will need to choose a person as a deputy to perform it for you, and try not to delay it. At the end, I wish you would soon be healthy. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Permission

**Date:** June 10, 1961 [Khordad 20, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid ‘Ataullah Zayn ad-Din

### *In the Name God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutation be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Sayyid ‘Ataullah Zayn ad-Din (may his graces last)—who has spent a part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge—is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” His Eminence is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending a part on his own living sparingly and the rest of the esteemed *Sadat’s* Share in the specified blessed religious ways and to deliver the remainder of the blessed Share of the Imam (‘a) to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 26, 1380 AH



## Permission

**Date:** June 10, 1961 [Khordad 20, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Taha Mahallati

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Taha Mahallati (may his graces last and God multiply his like) who has spent a part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge and—thanks to God—is endowed with goodness, piety and trustworthiness. He is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the Master of the Age (may God expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” His Eminence is also allowed to collect the blessed Share of the Imam (‘a) and the noble *Sadat*’s Share (may God multiply their blessed descendants) spending a part on his own living sparingly and delivering the rest of *Sadat*’s Share to its religiously prescribed area. He also needs to spend a third of the Imam’s (‘a) Share in promoting the sacred religion and exalting the Word of God, and deliver the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him) as we have been advised by the pious predecessors to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 26, 1380 AH

## Permission

**Date:** June 10, 1961 [Khordad 20, 1340 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Diyauddin Burhani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence, ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Diyauddin Burhani Khorasani (may his graces last) who has spent a part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge, he is also—thanks to God—endowed with goodness, piety and trustworthiness, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the Master of the Age. “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the blessed Share of the Imam’s (‘a) spending it on his own living sparingly and a quarter of the remainder on promoting the sacred religion and exalting the Word of God, and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him) as we have been advised by the pious predecessors, to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi  
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 26, 1380 AH

## Permission

**Date:** July 3, 1961 [Tir 12, 1340 AHS / Muharram 19, 1381 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** ‘Ali Asghar Masumi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

After praising (God) and offering salutations (to the Prophet and his pure progeny (‘a)), it is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Shaykh ‘Ali Asghar Masumi (may his graces last) is granted my permission and consent to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the (twelfth) Imam (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the blessed Share of the Imam (‘a), spending one-third in the religiously prescribed cases, including his own living expenses, and delivering the remaining two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary, getting the receipts for those who pay the money.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him) as we have been advised by the pious predecessors, to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will have prayers and advice for me.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Muharram al-Haram 19, 1381 AH

## Letter

**Date:** July 5, 1961 [Tir 14, 1340 AHS / Muharram 21, 1381 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Family-related

**Addressee:** Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi<sup>1</sup>

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

Muharram 21

Dearest Sir,

I hope you are secure from all harms and are happy and healthy with your family. Thanks to God, I am all right and the symptoms are gone; the only thing is that sometimes my hands become numb and this troubles me a bit. I was a bit negligent in writing, due to the mourning days of Muharram and laziness. God willing, I hope you forgive it.

Lastly, I ask God Almighty for your health. May your days of happiness last long! Quds-Iran<sup>2</sup> sends her sincere regards, too.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

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<sup>1</sup> The envelope reads: "To His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, Haj Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi (may his blessings last); from: Khomeini, Qum."

<sup>2</sup> Khadijah Thaqafi known as Quds-Iran, Imam's wife.

## Permission

**Date:** July 6, 1961 [Tir 15, 1340 AHS / Muharram 22, 1381 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Mahdi Khwansari

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Aqa Mahdi Khwansari (may his graces last) who has spent a good part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge, and who is—thanks to God Almighty—endowed with knowledge, goodness, piety and trustworthiness, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the Master of the Age and Honor of the Day (may God expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending a part on his own living sparingly and the great *Sadat’s* Share in its religiously prescribed area. He needs to spend one-third of the remainder of the blessed Share of the Imam’s (*‘a*) on the promotion of the sacred religion and exalting the Word of God—may God Almighty exalt it—and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Muharram al-Haram 22, 1381 AH

## Permission

**Date:** November 5, 1961 [Aban 14, 1340 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 25, 1381 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Abu Talib Pishwai

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence, Sayyid al-‘Ulama al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Abu Talib Pishwai (may his graces last and God Almighty multiply his like) who is one of the greatest *‘ulama* and endowed with all external and spiritual virtues, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his glorious advent). “So, he (may he live long) will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while using caution.” His Eminence is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them in part on his own living sparingly, delivering the rest of *Sadat’s* Share to its religiously prescribed area. He is supposed to spend the rest of the blessed Share of the Imam (‘a) in promoting the sacred religion and exalting the Word of God, and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he (may he outlive) will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi al-Awwal 25, 1381 AH

## Permission

**Date:** November 17, 1961 [Aban 26, 1340 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 8, 1381 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mahdi Lajiwardi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Umdat al-Fudala al-Alam wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Sayyid Mahdi Lajiwardi Qummi (may God always assist him) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial affairs, which needs the approval of a jurist. He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them on his own living sparingly, delivering the remainder of the *Sadat’s* Share to its religiously prescribed area and to deliver the rest of the blessed Share of the Imam (*‘a*) to this humble servant to be expended in the seminary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 8, 1381 AH

## Permission

**Date:** January 3, 1962 [Dey 13, 1340 AHS / Rajab 25, 1381 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Ahmad Muhassil Yazdi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Muhassil Yazdi (may his graces last) who has spent a part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge, and who is—thanks to God—endowed with virtues and bestowed with goodness, righteousness and trustworthiness, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the blessed Share of the Imam (‘a) spending it in part on his own living sparingly, and to remit a third of what remains to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rajab al-Murajjab 25, 1381 AH



## Permission

**Date:** January 12, 1962 [Dey 22, 1340 AHS / Shaban 5, 1380 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Muhammad Husayn Mujtahidi Behbahani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence, ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Mujtahidi Behbahani (may his blessings last) who has spent a part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge and virtues, and who is—thanks to God—endowed with mental and practical virtues as well as goodness and righteousness, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his glorious advent). “So, he (may God Almighty assist him) will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, delivering the *Sadat’s* Share to its religiously prescribed area, spending a part of the blessed Share of the Imam (‘a) on his own living sparingly. He needs to expend a half of the remainder in promoting the sacred religion and exalting the Word of God, and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shaban al-Mu‘azzam 5, 1381 AH

## Permission

**Date:** February 1, 1962 [Bahman 12, 1340 AHS / Shaban 25, 1381 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Muhammad Baqir Shari'ati

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Baqir Shari’ati (may his graces last) who is a student of the seminary and a propagator of the luminous religion and is verily endowed with goodness, piety and trustworthiness, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist. “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the blessed Share of the Imam (‘a), spending it on his own living sparingly as long as he is studying or propagating the religion, and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shaban al-Mu’azzam 25, 1381 AH

## Permission

**Date:** February 2, 1962 [Bahman 13, 1340 AHS / Shaban 26, 1381 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid ‘Ali Husayni Kashani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence, Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Shaykh Sayyid ‘Ali Husayni Kashani (may God Almighty assist him) who is verily one of the trustees, is granted my permission to quote the authentic *hadiths* from the authorized books of the companions (may God be pleased with them). He is authorized to collect the legal alms such as religious taxes and the properties with unknown owners, delivering them to their religiously prescribed area. He is also allowed to collect the blessed Share of the Imam (‘a), spending it on his own living sparingly, in case of need, as long as he is propagating the religion, and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shaban al-Mu‘azzam 26, 1381 AH

## Permission

**Date:** February 3, 1962 [Bahman 14, 1340 AHS / Shaban 27, 1381 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Husayn Muhaqqiq Qummi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Mirza Husayn Muhaqqiq Qummi (may his graces last) who has spent a good part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge, has—thanks to God—attained academic and moral accomplishments, and who is endowed with goodness, piety and trustworthiness, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” His Eminence is also allowed to collect the blessed Share of the Imam (*‘a*), spending it on his own living sparingly as long as he is educating or propagating the religion, and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shaban al-Mu‘azzam 27, 1381 AH

## Permission

**Date:** Circa 1961-62 [1340 AHS / 1381 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** ‘Abd al-Husayn Mahdawi Hamedani

### *[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Shaykh ‘Abd al-Husayn Mahdawi Hamedani (may God always assist him) is granted my permission and consent to collect public expiations, properties with unknown owners and legal alms, spending them in the proper religious ways. He is also allowed to quote biographies and works of the Infallible Imams from the authentic books and those well known among the Imami (Shi‘ah) ‘*ulama* (may God be pleased with them). He is authorized to collect and circulate the blessed Share of the Imam (‘*a*) spending it in part to make up for his own expenses, in case of need, and to deliver what remains to this humble servant for sustaining the seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him) to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious under all circumstances, for that is the way of salvation; and I expect him not to forget me in his benevolent prayers, whenever he feels they would be accepted by God, as I will never forget him, God willing.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.”

Muhammad-Rida al-Musawi al-Golpaygani  
Last day of Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 1380 AH]

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

He is also given permission, the same as mentioned above. I wish him success, by the will of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Permission

**Date:** February 6, 1962 [Bahman 17, 1340 AHS / Shaban 30, 1381 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Muhammad-‘Ali Gerami

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-‘Ali Gerami Qummi (may Allah always assist him) who has spent a part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge and has—thanks to God—attained intellectual and practical achievements and is endowed with goodness, piety and trustworthiness, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist. “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the blessed Share of the Imam (‘a), and to spend it in part on his own living in case of need, as long as he is studying, or propagating Islam and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shaban al-Mu‘azzam 30, 1381 AH

## Permission

**Date:** March 29, 1962 [Farvardin 9, 1341 AHS / Shawwal 22, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Musa Hujjati Shafti

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Sayyid Musa Hujjati Shafti (may God always assist him) who has spent a part of his valuable life acquiring religious knowledge, and who is endowed with goodness, piety and trustworthiness, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending the noble *Sadat’s* Share in part on his own living in case of need, delivering the remainder to its religiously prescribed area, to spend one-third of the blessed Share of the Imam (‘a) to compensate for his own expenses sparingly, in case of need, and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shawwal al-Mukarram 22, 1381 AH

## Statements

**Date:** September 3, 1962 [Shahrivar 12, 1341 AHS / Rabi' ath-Thani 3, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The clergymen's objection to Israel and the Bahais

**Addressee:** A notary public of Tehran<sup>1</sup>

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

### **We are against Israel and the Bahais**

“The way I have chosen is according to the will of the people. If I talk like the officials do, then the people too will cast me out. There are no affairs between me and the Muslim countries...<sup>2</sup> in case of differences between these Muslim countries and the Jewish government, I have no other option but take side with the Muslim governments. If the Iranian government severs its relations with Israel, the Iranian clergymen will unanimously stand against other countries' provocations... against the Shi'ah government of Iran.

Now that the extent of impact of the Western civilization, on one hand, and the influence of communist propaganda, on the other, have drawn a lot of Iranian people and our youth to immorality, the only way to prevent this menacing threat, is to strengthen spirituality among the people. Those who weaken the clergymen in the name of modernism are, in fact, adding fuel to this corruption. We disapprove of Israel and Bahais, and will go on with our objection so long as the authorities have not given up supporting these two classes.”

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<sup>1</sup> These words of Imam Khomeini have been taken from a “top secret” report, dated: 6/12/1341 AHS. The report starts with the statement: “Ayatullah Khomeini has told a notary public from Tehran who has been recently in Qum to meet him...”

<sup>2</sup> The Shah's regime used to accuse those who objected the concurrence with Israel, of having affairs with Arab countries (Egypt, Iraq, etc.) Imam Khomeini's words are, in fact, the denial of this accusation.



## Telegram

**Date:** October 9, 1962 [Mehr 17, 1341 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The Imam's warning about the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi<sup>1</sup>

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Imperial Majesty,

After offering my regards and best wishes, I have to express the deep concern of the prominent *'ulama* and other Muslim groups about the omission of the prerequisite of "being a Muslim" for candidature and voting, and giving suffrage to women, in the Provincial and District Councils Bill, as has been discussed in the newspapers. His Majesty would acknowledge that the country's interests lie in guarding the precepts of the pure religion of Islam and inspiring peace of mind in people. I hereby implore Your Majesty to order the elimination of any propositions against the sacred religion and the official school of thought in the country, from the programs of the government and the political parties, and thus earning the utmost pleasure of the Muslim nation.

One who prays for you,

Ruhullah al-Musawi

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<sup>1</sup> This is Imam Khomeini's first telegram to Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.

## Permission

**Date:** October 11, 1962 [Mehr 19, 1341 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 11, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mahdi Lavasani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Mahdi Lavasani (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, using the necessary caution.” He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending the noble *Sadat*’s (may God multiply their blessed progeny) Share in part for his own living sparingly, delivering the rest of it to its religiously prescribed area, to spend the blessed Share of the Imam (*‘a*) to make up for his own expenses sparingly, expending a third of the remainder in promoting the sacred religion and exalting the Word of Islam, and to deliver the surplus to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi al-Awwal 11, 1382 AH

## Telegram

**Date:** October 20, 1962 [Mehr 28, 1341 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 20, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** A warning to the Prime Minister about the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Addressee:** Asadullah 'Alam (the then Prime Minister)

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Tehran

His Excellency Mr. Asadullah 'Alam, the Prime Minister of Iran:

During the long recess of the two houses of the Parliament, the administration seems to consider steps that are against the most sacred laws of Islam and in clash with the fundamental laws. You could be sure that violating the laws of Islam, the Constitution and the regulations of the Consultative Assembly will hold Your Eminence and the administration heavily accountable before God Almighty, the Muslim nation and the law. Entrance of women in the two houses of the Parliament, the Provincial and District Councils and municipalities is contrary to the fixed laws of Islam, the field of which is the specialization of the prominent *'ulama* and the religious authorities [*maraji*] of Islamic edict [*fatwa*], according to the Constitution, while the others are not allowed to interfere in this domain. Islamic jurists and authorities [*maraji*] have pronounced and do pronounce its prohibition in their edicts [*fatwas*]. Women's suffrage and their candidature in any of the cases are against Article II of the Supplement to the Constitution. Moreover, the law of the Consultative Assembly ratified and endorsed in Rabi' ath-Thani 1325 AH, has denied women of the right to vote and to be elected for the Provincial and District Councils and Municipalities. You can refer to Articles VII and IX of the Provincial and District Councils Law and Articles XV and XVII of the Municipality Councils. Accordingly, providing them with such a right is against the Constitution. This is not to mention the abolition of the prerequisite condition, "being a Muslim", for the voters and the elected as stipulated in the abovementioned law, and changing the swearing on "the Quran" to swearing on "the Holy Book" is also a violation of that law. This will entail great dangers for Islam and the independence of the country. I am sure this has been done out of ignorance and not—may God forbid—on purpose, I hope. Now that His Majesty has referred the request

put forward by the prominent *'ulama* to the administration and your administration holds the responsibility, it is expected that you take urgent action to amend this mistake, following the fixed laws of Islam and the national laws, letting not such a thing happen again. And if, in Your Eminence's opinion there is anything unclear about it, why don't you visit the holy shrine in Qum so that we could meet here in person and make everything clear, and you could take advice on the matters dealing with the interests of the country which cannot be just written down.

At the end, I draw your attention to the point that the distinguished *'ulama* of Iran and the holy cities in Iraq, and other Muslims will not keep silent concerning matters dealing with the indispensable Islamic law, and matters contrary to Islam will not—through the power and will of God Almighty—be formally established.

## Speech

**Date:** October 28, 1962 [Aban 6, 1341 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 28, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Imam Khomeini's residence, Qum

**Subject:** The need for the Provincial and District Councils Bill to be abolished

**Audience:** 200 merchants from Tehran Bazaar, including Mr. Nilchi Husayn; Tawfiqi; Mazahiri; Mirza 'Ali Pishqadam; Lutfullah, the cloth dealer; 'Ali-Naqi, the haberdasher; Mirza 'Abbas, the cloth dealer; and Jawanmard<sup>1</sup>

### *[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

...Should I thank you or you should thank me? None of us expects the other's thanks, but rather it is the religious duty of us all to articulate and urge that the Women Suffrage Bill<sup>2</sup> not be executed; and if this law is enforced, other things will follow. What matters here is the majority's opinion; the majority of the people in this country resent this. I ask you not to go on a public strike for the time being. May God forbid the day when there is a public strike! I pray again that they may peacefully stop doing this. God forbid the day the *'ulama* call for a strike! What is Asadullah 'Alam<sup>3</sup> going to do in this country? He will be held accountable and questioned for that later. As I hear, they had asked Amini<sup>4</sup> to do that, but he refused and resigned. Arsanjani<sup>5</sup> will also be brought to justice someday. If the whole world unanimously says, "It should be done!" I will still say alone that it should not be. It is not just my duty, but it is the Shah's duty and all the people's to say that it is not something advisable to be done...

[Addressing Hujjat al-Islam Ansari, the renowned preacher of Qum:]

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<sup>1</sup> According to a special agent of the Qum Police, Imam Khomeini delivered this speech at his home on 8.6.1241 AHS at 10 am to a gathering of about 200 tradesmen from Tehran.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the Provincial and District Councils Election Bill in which women, in a show of democracy, were given the right to vote (suffrage) and to be elected. Knowing the ultimate goals of the Shah's regime, the Imam declared his objection to the ratification and enforcement of this law.

<sup>3</sup> The Prime Minister of the time. He insisted on ratification and enforcement of the Provincial and District Councils Election Bill.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ali Amini held the post of Prime Minister before Asadullah 'Alam.

<sup>5</sup> Hasan Arsanjani, the Minister of Agriculture who was the executor of the Land Reforms.

I hear that you have been tongue-tied<sup>1</sup> for two evenings. What is wrong with it if we are handcuffed and jailed? We are not worthier than Husayn ibn 'Ali ('a) and Imam as-Sajjad ('a), are we? This affair is being criticized all over the country now, and the people have expressed their hatred toward this decision through letters to the Shah and the administration.

**The law of this country is that of Imam Jafar as-Sadiq ('a)**

In this country, the nominal law is the law<sup>2</sup> of Imam Jafar as-Sadiq ('a) and it should be preserved until the advent of the twelfth Imam. Please urge all the *'ulama* to demand it. Mr. Behbahani's<sup>3</sup> messenger came to me with the assertion that His Eminence would be standing up against this issue up to the last breath. The administration should indicate and confess in the national newspapers that this principle has been disregarded and announce this publicly. I have heard that the Governor (of Qum) has said that the government has other concerns. What is more important than satisfying a population of 20 million? For, out of the 10 millions of woman population in Iran, there are only some one hundred promiscuous ones who agree with doing this. The public sectors should communicate their opinion to the government and Ansari is the articulated tongue of the people of Qum and he is not alone; the crowd all supports him. You should give a speech on the pulpit this evening, explaining the whole story to the people so that they might be awakened...

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ansari, a preacher of Qum who was forbidden preaching by the SAVAK, the Intelligence Organization of the regime and the police headquarters at that time.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the principle concerning "the supervision of five first-rate clergymen on the process of ratification of the laws", as stipulated in the Constitutional [*Mashrūṭah*] Laws.

<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Behbahani (son of Sayyid 'Abdullah Behbahani), one of the well-known *'ulama* of Tehran.

## Letter

**Date:** October 29, 1962 [Aban 7, 1341AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging Mr. Falsafi's activities and lectures in objection to the ratification of Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Esteemed Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Falsafi, the renowned Islamic orator (may his graces last):

May you be healthy and happy, by the will of God. The prominent 'ulama and those who care for Islam and the independence of the country of Imam Jafar ('a) acknowledge Your Eminence's good offices in revealing the truths and precepts of Islam, refuting the false claims, and inhibiting the perverted from their wicked and corrupt intentions. I hope God Almighty will protect you and the eloquent tongue of Islam from the harm of evildoers. You must be certain that God, the Blessed and Exalted, is with us and no power can oppose the will of the Almighty and Hadrat *Wali al-Amr* (may God expedite his advent) from which the will of the nation emanate. By the will of God Almighty, Islam and the Muslims will be victorious: "*If ye help Allah, He will help you and will make your foothold firm.*"<sup>1</sup> It is hoped that Your Eminence and the other reverend preachers who are the tongues of the Quran and the nation, do your best to play your role in this religious affair, observe your religion in the best manner, and to earn the pleasure of God Almighty, the Prophet of Islam, and Imams of Guidance (may God's salutations be upon them). May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> *Surah Muhammad* 47:7.

## Letter

**Date:** October 31, 1962 [Aban 9, 1341 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Issuance of Khwansari's statement concerning the gathering of the people of Tehran in Sayyid 'Azizullah Mosque, and Imam Khomeini's criticism of the lack of revolutionary and widespread reaction to the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Esteemed Eminence Thiqa al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Falsafi, the renowned Islamic orator (may his blessings last):

May you be free from any ailments, by the will of God. Besides, I saw Mr. Khwansari's declaration and was somehow surprised.<sup>1</sup> His move is in principle so necessary and timely, but it is poor and weak in substance. For this religious matter in which the foundation of the clergy, religion and the nation is in danger, holding a *rawdah* session (eulogy for the reverend Imams) and putting forth the foundation of religion along side are injurious with respect to the main objective. What is worse is that they choose Sayyid 'Azizullah Mosque where 4,000 elderly mosque-going tradesmen gather. Of course, you know that the administration is not afraid of religiosity and so not even frightened by the pious tradesmen of bazaar or by one man's prayers or another's curse. The government is concerned of the active and young people, political parties and the university. A religious gathering in which Mr. Falsafi, the mouthpiece of Islamic religiosity and Mr. Khwansari,

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<sup>1</sup> Following Imam Khomeini's invitation to the '*ulama*' and *maraji*' to express their objection against the Provincial and District Councils Bill, Mr. Khwansari issued a statement in which there was no mention of the subject. His statement reads:

#### *"In His Most Exalted Name*

Regarding the concurrence of Thursday, 3rd Jamadi ath-Thani with the anniversary of Hadrat Fatimah az-Zahra ('a), the Greatest of all Truthful [Siddiqah al-Kubra], *rawdah* session will be held from 9-11 am at Sayyid 'Azizullah Mosque. I hope all groups of people especially the prominent '*ulama*' (may their blessings last) take part in the meeting for paying tribute to the Holy Prophet (s). The meeting will also discuss a very important religious matter which needs public attention and that of the '*ulama*' of Islam in particular.

Yours humbly,

Ahmad al-Musawi al-Khwansari"



contemporary Islamic authority, goes to speech, should not be held in Sayyid 'Azizullah Mosque which is just like a closet for hiding.

I don't know what kind of heroism it is! This incident should have been announced and disseminated openly through a statement in millions of copies in Tehran and its suburbs, even in Qum and Qazvin and other towns around, stating that because there was not enough room in Tehran so they would go to the outskirts outside the city. In that case, there would be only two possibilities: What is far-fetched is that either they would try to stop us resorting to their bayonets, and then it will lead to a decisive conclusion and we will carry the day and the government will certainly fall, or they do not take that measure, and the dissidents will join you, causing a great uproar and the government will be paralyzed by the magnificence of the scene. Both possibilities are to the Muslims' advantage.

Anyway, the opportunity is lost now, but there is another chance, and it is that in your speeches you stress that we are not going to call for a huge gathering yet, or we would gather outside Tehran and inform the nation of more important matters. In Qum, there will be a large gathering of Iranians planned and in the outskirts of Qum; the people of Iran will be told about the vital matters by some of the *'ulama* themselves.

Your Eminence is aware that we are beyond reconciliation and compromise now, and we are dealing with annihilation and subjugation of the Islamic precepts, so let us say "Away, away with abasement!" Do not be frightened and have reservation. They will arrest neither Mr. Khwansari, nor you; the world will not easily allow it. You know better anyway. I beg your apology for not being able to write more than this. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1382 AH

## Statements

**Date:** November 5, 1962 [Aban 14, 1341 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 7, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Imam Khomeini's teaching session, Azam Mosque, Qum

**Subject:** The necessity of the Provincial and District Councils Bill to be abolished

**Audience:** Theological students, scholars of the seminary and a number of Tehran bazaar tradesmen<sup>1</sup>

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

### **We are not alone**

... With the grace of God, the problem of women's participation in the elections will be resolved peacefully; if otherwise, then we are not alone. We are supported by the whole nation of Iran, nomad tribes and even by other Muslim nations and the Sunnis. We are still hopeful that the administration realizes its mistake and accepts our demand, and fails to assume that the religion is susceptible now that the late Ayatullah Burujerdi is not among us. Thousands like Ayatullah Burujerdi depend on religion, but religion does not depend on Ayatullahs. Those hearing my words now, go and report this point to the government.<sup>2</sup> You people! Keep your temper now and go about your business.

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<sup>1</sup> Based on the telegram dated 8/14/1341 AHS of Husayn Partow (Head of Qum Police Force) to the Intelligence Department of the Central Police Headquarters, at 9:00 am on 8/14/1341 AHS some 200 Tehran bazaar tradesmen headed by Mr. Khwansari, the tailor; Haj Husayn, the indigo seller; Amjad, the haberdasher; Haj Mirza 'Abbas, the haberdasher; Jawanmard, the haberdasher; Haj Shaykh 'Ali Naqi, the cloth-seller and Haj Mirza 'Ali, the wholesale grocer, attended Mr. Khomeini's teaching session and asked: "What are teaching and congregational prayers good for? Why don't you shut down?" Mr. Khomeini told them what is cited above.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the agents of SAVAK and the Police Force.

## Telegram

**Date:** November 6, 1962 [Aban 15, 1341 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 8, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Protesting against Asadullah 'Alam's (the then Prime Minister) actions

**Occasion:** Asadullah 'Alam's insistence on the ratification of the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Imperial Majesty:

I was most grateful to receive your telegram stating that His Majesty was concerned with maintaining religious customs more than anyone else, and that my telegram had been sent to the administration for consideration, wishing me success in promoting the Islamic precepts and in guiding the people. Of course, that is what the Muslim nation of Iran expects from His Majesty. His Majesty's words accord with what is quoted from the Prophet of Islam (s) as saying: "When a heresy crept in my *ummah* the religious scholar is obliged to reveal it and if he shirks, then God's curse will be upon him."<sup>1</sup> Of course, a clergyman's obligation is to guide the nation.

Regretfully, even though I reprimanded Mr. 'Alam because of this innovation he wishes to introduce to Islam, and although I made him aware of the evil of this deed, he has neither obeyed God's laws, the laws of the Constitution, congressional laws nor the royal decree. Nor has he heeded to the advice of the *'ulama* of Islam; pay any attention to the wishes of the Muslim nation whose innumerable letters, telegrams and individual papers from all around the country are here with me and with other prominent *'ulama* of Qum and Tehran. He even ignored respect for the huge gatherings in Qum, Tehran and other provinces and the valuable advice of the preachers of Islam.

Mr. 'Alam still prevented public opinion from being published in the press and the telegrams of Muslims and their complaints from reaching His Majesty and the *'ulama* of the country. He has brought the press under censorship, in spite of the Constitution, and is causing terror and threat through his agents among the Muslim people all over the country, who want to make His Majesty and the *'ulama* hear their supplication. Mr. 'Alam has

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<sup>1</sup> *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 1, p. 4.

formally announced, and made public, his violation of the Islamic law and the Constitution. Mr. Asadullah 'Alam assumes that it is possible to make unofficial the position of the Holy Quran by just changing the 'swearing on the Quran' into the 'swearing on the Holy Book' and in so doing either to substitute it with Avesta,<sup>1</sup> the Bible or some certain misleading books, or to give them all the same standing. This man has made international obligations an excuse for violating the Constitution, while international laws do not interfere with religion and national law. Making international obligations a pretext for suppressing the Holy Quran, Islam, the Constitution and the nation is a grave crime and an 'unforgivable sin'.

Out of benevolence for the Islamic nation, I do hereby notify His Majesty of the point that you had better not trust the boot-licking persons in your entourage who want to commit everything against the religion and law, and attribute them to His Majesty, and who want to discredit the Constitution, which is the main guarantee of the nationhood and monarchy, through their treacherous and erroneous bills, to implement the sinister plots of the enemies of Islam and the nation. It is the expectation of the Muslim nation that His Majesty strictly oblige Mr. 'Alam to abide by the laws of Islam and the Constitution, and to apologize for his impudence to the Holy Quran. If he fails to do this I shall have to resort to sending another open letter to His Imperial Majesty and to bringing other matters up. I implore God Almighty for the independence of Muslim countries and their protection from turmoil and revolution.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Avesta: sacred scripture of the Zoroastrians.

## Telegram

**Date:** November 6, 1962 [Aban 15, 1341 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 8, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Warning the Prime Minister about the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Occasion:** Ratification of the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Addressee:** Asadullah 'Alam, the then Prime Minister

Tehran

His Excellency Mr. Asadullah 'Alam:

Following the previous telegram, I have to state that apparently you have no intention of paying heed to the advice of the *'ulama* of Islam who are the sympathetic admonishers of the nation and the *ummah*. You supposed you can stand against the Holy Quran, Constitution and feelings of the people. The prominent *'ulama* of Qum, the holy city of Najaf and other cities admonished you that your illegal bill is against the religion of Islam, the Constitution and the laws of the Parliament.

You are highly mistaken if you think that through a couple of days of imposition it is possible to place the Holy Quran in the same status as the Zoroaster's Avesta, the Bible and some certain heretic books. If you think you can undermine the authenticity of the Holy Quran, the great divine book of some 100 million Muslims around the world, or revive anachronism, then you are making a blunder. You are badly mistaken if you imagine that it is possible to weaken the foundation of the Constitution that guarantees the nationhood and independence of the country and to pave the way for the treacherous enemies to exert pressure on Islam and Iran through an erroneous enactment against the Constitution.

I admonish you again to abide by the dictums of God Almighty and the Constitution, beware of the severe consequences of violating the Quran and decrees of the *'ulama* of the nation and leaders of the Muslims, and of violating the Constitution. Do not endanger the country for no good reason. Otherwise, the *'ulama* of Islam will not be hesitant to pass their judgment against you. May peace be upon those who follow the guidance!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Statements

**Date:** November 11, 1962 [Aban 20, 1341 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Azam Mosque, Qum

**Subject:** An objection to the government's heedlessness to the abolition of Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Audience:** Qum's tradesmen and merchants, students of religious sciences and a group of pilgrims

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

### **'Ulama of Islam not to remain silent**

Those who are now making note of what I have to say, better tell those in the government not to play with the people's feelings and sentiments any more than they have already. The *'ulama* of Islam are not going to give up the fight. If they think that by postponing and delaying things they can quieten the situation,<sup>1</sup> they are mistaken. There is no way that this matter will be allowed to rest, for it is a matter of grave importance. We are talking about Islam being in danger. The *'ulama* of Islam cannot remain silent...

This problem does not only concern the *'ulama* of Iran, but rather the Iraqi *'ulama*,<sup>2</sup> the Egyptian *'ulama* and the *'ulama* in Yemen, and other Islamic places around the world are all with us on this.

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<sup>1</sup> During the month of Mehr 1341 AHS (September/October 1962), the government of Asadullah 'Alam presented a new bill concerning the Provincial and District Councils which was seen by the *maraji'* of Qum as being against Islam and the Constitution. In this bill, the government removed Islam as a prerequisite for candidates and voters and instead of swearing on the Holy Quran, any 'Holy Book' was to be acceptable. These changes were made in spite of the fact that according to Article 9 of the Provincial and District Councils Constitution, the prerequisite conditions for a prospective candidate were to be the same as those for parliamentary candidates; and again, according to Article 12 of the National Consultative Assembly's electoral law, candidates were to be followers of the true Islam (except for those of minority religions: Christians, Zoroastrians, and Jews), while according to Article 11 of the Constitution, parliamentary representatives were to swear on the Holy Quran. 'Alam's government, by passing this bill, opened the way for the effacement of Islam, for the spread of Western culture, and for non-Muslims to be given a role in ruling the destiny and interests of the Muslim people of Iran.

<sup>2</sup> The response of the Iraqi *'ulama* toward the attack on the sanctity of the Quran, Islam and Muslim countries has made history in recent decades. Most of these *'ulama* are now present in the theological center in Najaf. Details of the role played by the theological center of Najaf and the struggles engaged in by the theologians in this Shi'ah center during Iraq's occupation by British colonialists, are to be found in the footnotes of other speeches within this anthology, as are details of the *'ulama*'s opposition to the anti-Islamic measures taken by the Qajar and Pahlavi kings.

If the day should come when, with your help, we decide to take action against the government, then the number of those who will be actively involved will far outnumber those gathered here. On that day, the crowd of people will be so huge that it will have to gather outside the city of Qum, for there will be insufficient space here. But having said that, we expect the government to bear the possible consequences of their actions in mind and not to delay any further in reaching a decision. As for you, the people, you must continue to be patient for a few more days.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 3, p. 87.

## Letter

**Date:** Circa 1962 [1341 AHS / 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Inviting the clergymen and people of Kashan to support the clergy of Qum

**Occasion:** The wrangle over the Provincial and District Councils

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I have the honor to inform you that I was grateful to receive your kind letter and to know about your good health. I ask God Almighty for your success and happiness. If you think it advisable, the honorable clergymen and other classes are kindly requested to issue a statement of support to Qum and to express regret over the disastrous event. It is hoped that by the will of God, we can stop the evil they intend to raise. I hope you do not forget me in your worthy prayers, whenever you feel they are accepted by God. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini



## Statements

**Date:** November 23, 1962 [Azar 2, 1341 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The need for people's persistence to stop the wrangle over the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Audience:** Tradesmen of Tehran bazaar, Islamic seminary students and people of Qum

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

### **The need for the people's persistence**

...You try to constantly struggle in your affairs more than ever before. We are steadfast as well. The threat aiming at religion cannot be overlooked; hence, Muslims should strive to the utmost to resolve the dispute.

## Statements

**Date:** November 23, 1962 [Azar 2, 1341 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1382]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Continuation of the uprising to abolish the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Audience:** Tradesmen of Tehran<sup>1</sup>

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

### Severe warning to Asadullah ‘Alam

...This law which is supposed to be implemented all over the country has been designed in Mr. ‘Alam’s party and Mr. ‘Alam should know that the people will not give up unless the bill is nullified, nor will they keep silent after the resumption of the Parliament. They have censored the press and they say that there is ‘freedom’. They have banned meeting with the ‘*ulama*’ of Shiraz. I have sent Ayatullah Mahallati Shirazi<sup>2</sup> a letter of greeting, but he has not received it. The foreign governments, even America, have records of our affairs. We will inform the world (of the state of affairs here). The government should better know its duty and not leave us at the mercy of a bunch of Jews disguised as Bahais. We demand them to publish the news of the annulment of the bill in the newspapers just as they did for its ratification. We are still airing our opinions peacefully, but may God forbid the day when we tell the people they can do anything they find best. Let us hope, by the grace of God, that the administration perceives this and answers unambiguously...

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<sup>1</sup> Husayn Partow, the Head of Qum Police Force, in Telegram No: 2023/5 (Dated: 9/2/1341 AHS) to the Intelligence Department of the Central Police Headquarters has reported the arrival of a hundred of tradesmen from the carpet bazaar and some businessmen of Hadrati Bazaar of Tehran in Qum and their meeting with Imam Khomeini. He has relayed the Imam’s words as quoted above to Tehran.

<sup>2</sup> Baha’uddin Mahallati, one of the great ‘*ulama*’ of Shiraz.

## Permission

**Date:** November 23, 1962 [Azar 2, 1341 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Fartusi Husayn

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace be upon the best of His creation and His beloved, Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may perpetual curse be upon their enemies, enemies of the religion, from now till the Day of Judgment.”

It is apparent to all the pious and faithful brothers (may God make firm their institution and give them success in doing all good) that His Eminence, the virtuous and pious scholar Shaykh Husayn Fartusi (may his grandeur last) is a man of knowledge and virtue involved in religious matters and divine knowledge. He has spent a part of his life serving the pure and orthodox Islam in the holy cities of Najaf and Qum and has attained some status of divine understanding. And he (may God Almighty assist him) is among those persons who benefit all the others, so it is my duty to make him known and direct public attention to him. The believers are obliged to respect him and have regard and concern for him, for he deserves all this—thanks to God Almighty. He is also a trustee and I have full confidence in him for the propagation of Islamic laws and teaching the lawful and the unlawful in Islam and giving counsel, and advising the Muslims. It is hereby confirmed that he is my proxy in charge of affairs for which an Islamic jurist should be referred to whenever needed. He is granted my permission so that the believers might be able to pay him the legal alms including the Imam’s (may our souls be his ransom) Share and other obligatory alms. Whatever of the alms that is delivered to him is, in fact, delivered to this humble servant. He is authorized to spend a part of these Shares on his own living and to deliver the remainder to this humble servant for sustaining the seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope His Eminence will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1382 AH

## Letter

**Date:** November 1962 [Azar 1341 AHS / Rajab AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The need for issuing statements in protest against the administration

**Occasion:** Ratification of the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Addressees:** Muhammad Husayn Najafi and Gharawi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Their Eminences Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Najafi and Mr. Gharawi (may their blessings last):

I have the honor to inform you that after extending my profound greetings and salutation, I should say that Your Eminences must have heard of the current affairs and the scandals brought about by the administration and the Houses of Parliament. The details of the issues are as stated in the statement. Keeping silent concerning this affair will let the Shi'ah nation shoulder this disgrace forever. It is our duty to purge Islam and Muslims of this scandalous issue through formal statements and protests. Please remind the other distinguished *'ulama* and the honorable preachers not to remain silent in this affair and urge the people to express their protest through a manifesto. I ask God Almighty for the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** November 1962 [Azar 1341 AHS / Rajab AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Response to the telegram of chieftains of Papi<sup>1</sup> ethnic tribes

**Occasion:** Ethnic tribes' support for Imam Khomeini and the 'ulama's uprising against the Provincial and District Councils affair

**Addressees:** Chieftains of the Papi ethnic tribes

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

The honorable chieftains of Papi ethnic tribes (may God Almighty assist them):

I have the honor to inform you that I was most grateful to receive your worthy telegram. I would like to express my gratitude for the honorable Chieftains' sympathy on this important affair. All Muslims, especially the faithful people in that area, justly did whatever they could in this critical affair. May God Almighty protect them all for the benefit of Islam and the Muslims. In fact, you the noble men are the reserves of Islam and among the soldiers of the Living Imam ('a) who along with the clergymen always take action in resolving problems whenever they crop up. May God's blessings be upon you, honorable gentlemen. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Papi: One of the nomad tribes in the south of Lorestan Province, Iran.

## Permission

**Date:** Circa 1962 [1341 AHS / 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission for collecting legal alms

**Addressee:** Sayyid ‘Ali Rida Hashimi Musawi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence<sup>1</sup> is hereby appointed as proxy to collect the above-mentioned alms, and is allowed to deliver these alms to the needy of the district and to deliver a half of the *Sadat*'s Share to the poor pious *Sadat* of the district. If one half will not suffice, he can deliver the entire *Sadat*'s Share and deliver the Imam's Share to this humble servant to sustain the seminaries. "And I hope for his benevolent prayers." May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini's permission is issued under Mr. Kamalvand's.

## Letter

**Date:** Circa 1962 [1341 AHS / 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Preventing the publication of the Prime Minister's telegram on the abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Addressee:** Sayyid Shahabuddin Mar'ashi Najafi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I have the honor to inform you that as I have been told, you intend to print and publish the Prime Minister's telegram.<sup>1</sup> I should explicitly say that publishing it is very unadvisable for Islam and the seminary and even unadvisable for you yourself. I cannot bear to see the clergymen being humiliated. I would not like the seminary to be considered so much debased and belittled in the eyes of the government and the nation. Please stop its printing and publication by any means you have, so that the government itself would publish it. Please phone the printing house right now to keep them from printing or distributing it. I fear it may entail evil consequences.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Hamid Ruhani [Ziyarati] has thus written about this letter: "This is the letter Imam Khomeini wrote to Mr. Najafi during the Provincial and District Councils Bill affair. In 1341 AHS after 'Alam's administration announced to the 'ulama' of Qum through a telegram: "On the issue of putting women suffrage for Provincial and District Councils in abeyance, which has been much protested, the administration conveyed the gentlemen's opinion to the two Houses of Parliament and will wait for their decision." Mr. Najafi believed the administration's opinion was sufficient and decided to announce his gratefulness to the government through a formal statement and a telegram, considering the issue as resolved. In this letter Imam Khomeini tried to warn him against doing this." The story is recounted in the book, *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini* [A Study and Analysis of Imam Khomeini's Movement], p. 175.



## Statements

**Date:** November 30, 1962 [Azar 9, 1341 AHS / Rajab 2, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The necessity of formally announcing the abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Audience:** Tradesmen and merchants of Tehran bazaar, and Qum seminary students<sup>1</sup>

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

### Playing with the fate of Muslims

...The government has made us suspicious with this act. It should tell us which government (Britain, America, or Soviet Union) has threatened or allured it so that should it failed to react to those governments, we will give them the proper response. It would be better for the administration to announce the nullification of the bill and thus, relieving a multitude of Muslim people.<sup>2</sup> I have sent a message to His Royal Majesty asking him to

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<sup>1</sup> Qum Police's Report No: 5/2085 (dated: 9/9/1341 AHS) to the Police Headquarters indicates the arrival of about 80 members of the bazaar unions of Tehran in Qum. The report states: "This group, after gathering in Azam Mosque, joined about 300 of the seminary students and headed for Imam Khomeini's home, carrying some banners with them. There, the leader of the crowd who is well-known in Tehran bazaar said: 'Since the government did not keep its promise to announce the nullification of the Bill in the press and the radio, we have come here to be told our duty now.' Thanking the crowd, Mr. Khomeini stated: 'The government has made us... (the above text)'."

1. The written text of this speech was provided to the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works by the author of *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, Sayyid Hamid Ruhani.

<sup>2</sup> Another part of the Qum Police report states: "After the Prime Minister's telegram to Grand Ayatullahs Najafi and Golpaygani, it was printed in the form of a statement under which Mr. Golpaygani had expressed his gratitude to the Shah, the administration as well as the people for their cooperation. It was distributed around the city; the people showed their delight by putting up banners and illuminating their shops. It was heard on 9/9/1341 AHS in the morning that Mr. Khomeini was not satisfied, provoking the people through the seminary students. When at 11 am a band of pro-Khomeini seminary students started to tear off copies of the above-mentioned Ayatullahs' statement on the walls, I telephoned the Ayatullah myself and asked them to order these acts to be stopped." It is obvious that the report of the head of the Qum Police force is not true at all and Imam Khomeini would have never agreed with these measures which may have caused humiliation to the clergymen and *maraji'* [religious authorities]. At the same time, Imam Khomeini who was aware of the plots of the Shah's regime and his administration, considered an informal telegram of the Prime Minister to be insufficient without an official act.

order the administration to announce the nullification of the Bill in the press. This is because the situation is untenable and we will not be able to stop the people this time if they go furious; even the force of bayonet cannot stop them. If this is not done according to our will, I will set off alone, come what may. Tell 'Alam not to be so stubborn and not to manipulate the destiny of a multitude of Muslims with his own whim!

### **Ultimatum to the government**

...Although the contents of the telegram that was sent to the *'ulama* of Qum seem to be convincing, nevertheless, until the bill's annulment is officially announced in the national newspapers in clear terms, we cannot regard this telegram as being of any significance; and we shall let the government know that if it does not announce the news of the bill's annulment in the press, then we will regard this telegraphed message as non-existent and our struggle will continue...<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The excerpt of Imam Khomeini's statements is quoted from the book, *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 190. As it is mentioned in the book, the Imam had delivered a long speech that day, a part of which (a summary perhaps) was recorded in the police report.

# Speech<sup>1</sup>

**Date:** November 30, 1962 [Azar 9, 1341 AHS / Rajab 2, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Audience:** A group of Tehran residents

## *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

*“Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the owners of the Elephant?  
Did he not bring their stratagem to naught and send against them swarms of  
flying creatures which pelted them with stones of the baked clay and made  
them like green crops devoured (by cattle)?”<sup>2</sup>*

After being informed that the administration has passed an enactment maintaining that the Provincial and Districts Councils Bill is not appropriate to be executed, I made sure that the issue is resolved; however, I feared again that the government was trying to deceive us and was trying to persuade the ‘ulama somehow to stop them from holding the important religious session in Sayyid ‘Azizullah Mosque, and I am still suspicious because the administration did not keep its promise with regard to announcing the enactment in the radio and the press. They were just afraid of that session which was to be held in Tehran. They think holding such a session takes us a lot of money, just like when they want to organize an embarrassing meeting for themselves they have to expend thousands of tumans<sup>3</sup> to gather a few people. No, that is not the case.

All the people abide by their ‘ulama and if the ‘ulama summon the Muslims to gather on the outskirts of Tehran, they would obey and leave their businesses. Muslims would not leave the Quran for worldly offices and endanger the religion of God.

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<sup>1</sup> The written text of this speech was provided to the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini’s Works by the author of *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini* [A Study and Analysis of Imam Khomeini’s Movement], Sayyid Hamid Ruhani.

<sup>2</sup> *Surah al-Fil* 105:1-5.

<sup>3</sup> Every tuman is equivalent to 10 Iranian rials.

### **Foreigners aim at eliminating the Quran and the country of Muslims**

We have so far advised the administration and meant peace, but they deceive us. They should know that the *'ulama* of Islam are informed men and a discerning religious person cannot keep quiet when he sees the Quran and religion in danger. Any Muslim who has the faintest suspicion—even one in a thousand—that the Quran is in danger should not keep calm. People were robbed of their resources, and endured; they were deprived of material belongings, and bore it; but now they are encroaching on the Quran and the Muslims' reputation. The provinces of this country should be directed and maintained by Muslims. They wanted to surrender the destiny of the Muslims to the non-Muslims, such as the Jewish Bahais, by passing the Provincial and District Councils Bill and eliminating the prerequisite condition of 'Islam' for the voters and the elected. If the provinces of the country are surrendered to the non-Muslims, it is not improbable that you would hear vocalizations other than the Quran from their cursed throats and that would be the day we are prone to great dangers. Not only will Islam and the Quran be maintained, but also you will lose all your dignity. The economy, the business and the resources of the country will all be ruined. Beware, O the faithful! The foreigners are dreaming of ruining Iran and the Muslim nation. There is no hindrance to them except the Quran. They have ordered their agents to eliminate the Quran in any way they can. They are unaware of the sacred blood and invaluable lives it has cost the Muslims to protect it. It is Friday today and anyone who is listening should communicate it to the others and make people informed so that they might tell the government: "We will not readily hand over the provinces of this country to the Jews disguised as Bahais." Beware! Great is the danger and grave is the duty. We owe a lot to the Quran and the religion of Islam; it would not be easy to repay. Anyway, the enemies of the religion and country should understand that they encounter a nation that possesses discerning scholars, economically educated traders, and doctors, and they will never be deceived; but they will defend Islam and their country with all their power.

My faithful brothers! They have made a plaything of our national and religious sanctities. They force the press to write articles against the religion and the public interests. You can observe the newspapers are writing about the scandalous and shameful acts of Dey 17 that has sparked the corruption everywhere. They allocate a whole page to advertising alcoholic drinks. They display symbols of sex and obscenity everywhere in their newspapers and magazines and lead the Muslim society to immorality and indecency, but

they do not include in them even a word about the Islamic laws and the public feelings.

### **The regime's plot against the clergymen**

In order to ruin the clergymen's reputation, they dress a number of their fellows as members of the clergy and the Intelligence Organization forces the press to print their pictures and introduce them as drug dealers and malefactors so that they could discredit the clergymen. But the public and even they themselves (the government) know better that the clergymen make their own frugal living and defend Islam, independence, the reputation of Islam and Muslims and consequently they continue to be honorable in front of God and the Prophet and among themselves. Dishonorable and ashamed in front of God and the people are those who build multi-story palaces after a few days being in office and ministry and bring misery to the nation. Shame deserves those few whose...<sup>1</sup> is celebrated by the nation, I do not know what the nation will do out of happiness when they fall.

### **Maintaining the prestige of Islam and clergymen**

Anyway, the *'ulama* of Islam will not mean any harm. We are on our way to protect Quran and the nation and will not spare any needed efforts. I have been told by a number of people that they were ready to be killed. I told them if we see that our Quran is in danger, we ourselves will step forward and will not let the people volunteer. Let us be killed before our Quran is destroyed [the audience weeps]. We will not readily watch the honor of clergymen and Islam shattered in front of our eyes by the rule of just a few persons, or our religion and the Holy Quran destroyed. We are fully prepared. We should join hands and not let this ship sink. We should not permit the traitors against religion and clergymen to freely do whatever they wish; we will not, God willing; just as they have tried before many times to conspire for achieving their evil ends, but they failed. First in Qum and once again in Mashhad they ordered their agents to tell people that the issue was resolved, to stop people from uprising, but they failed.

### **Warning the Shah**

So far, we have been amiable toward them and confined ourselves to advice and admonition, and did not allow the people to get furious but if someday the nation will leave their homes in fury, things will be quite different then. At that time, the soldiers will throw their bayonets away and

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<sup>1</sup> Illegible word.

the gendarmes will reject their rifles. The day comes when neither the palaces of 'Alam nor the places higher than that would be saved. I have no correspondence with the Shah, so I send him the verbal message that the country is in danger. He had better order 'Alam to take notice of the nation's requests or just keep aside, letting us to negotiate with them ourselves; and if he wants to be obstinate, he should know that a group of few can not spite a whole nation.

At the end, I have to notify you of the point that the foreigners and enemies of the religion and nation who seek their interests in the elimination of the Quran and religiosity, mistakenly believed that they were free to achieve their vile ends and there was no force to stop them. Yet, this movement taught them that the *'ulama* of Islam and the Muslims are alive and awake and will powerfully prevent their intrusions. They are like an injured snake now, waiting for the opportunity to find the Muslims negligent in order to bite Islam and Muslims. You should be vigilant. Strengthen your unity and set protecting the Quran as one of your daily concerns. Beware! The Quran is the trust of God and the Prophet, and it has been handed down to us at the price of the Prophet's beloved and holy person's blood and we should protect this trust strongly and hand it to the Muslims after us. We are in the Presence of God. If we fall short, we are guilty in front of the Exalted Truth. You are like our brothers and children and we mean good to you. You are uncomfortable and our house is small. You took the trouble and I could not even entertain you as my guests. I pray for you and all the Muslims in this Friday evening. May the Lord offer you all good in this world and in the hereafter! O God! Grant glory to Islam and its followers and bring despise to atheism and its followers. O God! Bring disgrace to whoever disgraces Islam and the Muslims. O God! Bring their stratagem to naught. O God! Send against them swarms of flying creatures, and pelt them with stones of baked clay. O God! Make them like green crop devoured (by cattle).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Allusions to *Surah al-Fil*.

## Letter

**Date:** November 1962 [Azar 1341 AHS / Rajab 1382 AH]<sup>1</sup>

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Answering the inquiries of the merchants and tradesmen of Qum

**Addressee:** Tradesmen and merchants of Qum

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Venerable Eminence Ayatullah al-'Uzma Haj Aqa Ruhullah Khomeini (may his blessings last):

Here are two questions humbly put forward about the Provincial and District Councils Elections:

- Does Mr. Prime Minister's interview with the press (dated 8/21/1341 AHS) comply with Your Eminence's intentions?
- Do you find the telegram sent by the Prime Minister to Ayatullah al-'Uzma satisfactory or not?]

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

In my opinion, the Prime Minister's<sup>2</sup> interview had no legitimacy and was not satisfactory to me because when a subject becomes a bill in the cabinet, it will not be changed through an interview in a newspaper, and the bill—granted that it is legal—will still be valid. But there are some points in Mr. Prime Minister's telegram to the prominent *'ulama* of Qum that are very interesting:

1. About the swearing on the "Holy Book" he says, "What we mean by the 'Holy Book' is the Quran." Although we accepted this interpretation to let him be acquitted of profaning the Holy Quran according to Islamic laws, his interpretation has no legitimacy at all. Ratifying the phrase "Holy Book" which includes other heretic books is still valid in their opinion, and Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> In the book, *Haft Hezar Ruz* [Seven Thousand Days], vol. 1, p. 113, the message of the Imam is dated 9/10/1341 AHS, and in the 22-volume *Sahifeh-ye Nur* it is dated Esfand 1341 AHS. Keeping in view of the substance of the tradesmen's enquiry and the Imam's reply, and the end period of the wrangle on the Provincial and District Council's Bill, the date Azar 1341 AHS is correct.

<sup>2</sup> Asadullah 'Alam.

Prime Minister's role is just to beguile the people. The same danger brought upon the Quran by the traitors to the religion and country in the bill that is against Islamic and national law persists and no Muslim who sees the Holy Quran in danger can be nonchalant.

2. What he has claimed about the swearing of religious minorities on their own books in the parliament is false and the book ascribed to Zoroaster and other heretic books were never let into the Parliament. The swearing text also proves that all MPs used to swear the same.

3. About his claim, "In an Islamic country the voters and the candidates *are* the Muslims," it must be said that it has nothing to do with the articles in the bill; and a promise of amendment is not legally binding and does not satisfy us. Even if Mr. 'Alam would write that these three articles mentioned in the bill are nullified, this is also legally worthless because once something is ratified in the cabinet, it cannot be annulled by the Prime Minister alone, and it is still binding. The great danger threatening Islam, the independence and honor of the country caused by the ratification of this bill, which may have been prepared by the Jewish Zionist spies in order to undermine the independence, and upset the economy, of the country, persists according to Mr. 'Alam's cabinet. The administration believes that they have the right to implement it, although it is against the laws of Islam and the Constitution, against the religious and national feelings of the twenty million population of Iran, or all Muslims because it will be enforceable before it undergoes emendation in the cabinet.

I am surprised as to why the esteemed ministers accept such a huge legal responsibility and do not revise their bill, and they do not want to be known as civilized among the great nations and to make their people proud. Having respect for religion and law, accepting emendations in the bills and yielding to religion and law are a sign of courage and civilization and in accordance with international decorum. At the same time, disregarding the law and resisting the people's wishes are medieval practices and lack any decorum. It is better that the ministers of an ancient country would not tolerate being known as such, and being a proof of backwardness and retardation of a great people. It is a disgrace to a government, who calls itself 'civilized' to hinder such a great, unprecedented or rare national and legal movement, which is initiated by a unified nation in order to defend its religion and the Constitution, from being universally known, by unreligious measures and strict censorship throughout the country. We feel embarrassed and degraded facing foreign news agencies and embassies; we acquit the Iranian nation from such a medievalist behavior, and accuse a few intimidated or threatened



ones. The noble people respect their sacred religion and their constitution, and avoid actions that endanger the nation and independence of the country.

I feel religiously obliged to warn the nation of Iran and the Muslims of the world of the danger posed against the Quran and Islam. The independence and economy of the country is prone to be dominated by the Zionists disguised as Bahai parties in Iran. With the deathly silence of the Muslims, it will be no time before they take possession of the economy of the country and thoroughly impoverish the Muslim nation. Iranian television is a base for espionage for the Jews, and other governments observe this and approve it. The Muslim nation will not keep silent as long as the danger remains. Moreover, if anyone keeps silent, he will be accountable in the presence of God Almighty and will be doomed in this world.

4. What Mr. Prime Minister states in his telegram is surprising too. He claims that this election is like city hall elections where women's participation was ratified and there was no objection. Firstly, Provincial and District Councils have their own separate laws and women are made exception in that law. Mr. Prime Minister neglects the congressional law about the Provincial and District Councils, and resorts to something analogous! He would better interpret this law, too. Secondly, as informed people say, the City Election Law is not ratified in the Parliament yet and is just on the agenda in some parliamentary committee; even if it had been ratified, it would have had nothing to do with District Councils Bill. Thirdly, if the Parliament passes a law against the Constitution, it will be invalid and any parliament that consents such a thing will be left forsaken, and its members can be prosecuted.

5. He writes that this issue is a matter of common law. It is very surprising if he means that it is not a matter of religious laws because all common-law topics have their own counterparts in the religious laws and they are not informed about Islamic laws and rights. The *'ulama* of Islam are the ones who are liable to judge the case.

6. As for the latter statement, you should refer to the Parliament if you believe it is religiously unlawful. I should say that of course it is be notified to the Parliament when it is high time. I have to tell Mr. Prime Minister that no parliament and no officials can pass laws against the Islamic law [*shari'ah*] and the Jafari creed. You can refer to the second principle of the Supplement to the Constitution. The Muslim nation and the *'ulama* of Islam are vigilant and unyielding, and will cut off any hand that tries to encroach

on the foundations of Islam and the reputation of Muslims. “*And Allah is predominant in His affair.*”<sup>1</sup>

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> *Surah Yusuf* 12:21.

## Message

**Date:** December 2, 1962 [Azar 11, 1341 AHS / Rajab 4, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Expressing gratitude to the Muslim nation of Iran

**Occasion:** The government's abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Addressees:** The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

***To all brothers-in-faith (may God Almighty assist them):***

Expressing my deepest gratitude and regards, I have the honor to thank all the Muslims for their pure and intimate sympathy and support on this vital issue, which had affected all of us. I ask God Almighty for everybody's success, health and assistance. Indeed, in this Islamic movement, you would be held in high esteem before God, the Exalted, and honored in front of His Divine Eminence, the Master of the Age and the Monarch of the Day (may God Almighty expedite his advent). The Potent Hand of God Almighty supports you. I hope you will enjoy the fruit of this religious movement in this world and the hereafter. Your overwhelming religious uprising taught the foreigners a lesson. I have to notify you that Muslims should be more vigilant than ever; they should keep guard on their situation and interests of Islam and strengthen their unity so that they can cut off any impure hands that may try to encroach on their sanctities. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Speech

**Date:** Before noon, December 2, 1962 [Azar 11, 1341 AHS / Rajab 4, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Azam Mosque, Qum

**Subject:** The deplorable socio-political conditions and announcement of the Shi'ah clergy services and struggles; the anti-religious policy of the Shah regime

**Occasion:** The commencement of lessons at the Qum theological center after the conclusion of the Provincial and District Council disturbances

**Audience:** The *'ulama*, instructors and students of religious sciences and residents of Qum

### *[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

#### **The uprising of the Commander of the Faithful ('a) against Mu'awiyah<sup>1</sup>**

...meanwhile this was a necessary reminder that all governments should heed. From the advent of Islam, Muslims have been the guardians of the true religion of Islam even when they lost their rights for the sake of protecting the religion. Hadrat Amir al-Muminin, the Commander of the Faithful ('a), co-operated with the caliphs because they outwardly followed the religious precepts, and chaos did not prevail until Mu'awiyah came to power and he deviated from the path and customs of the caliphs and transformed the caliphate into a monarchy. Under such circumstances, Imam 'Ali had no choice but to rise up against him, for according to the rules of religion and logic, he could not tolerate Mu'awiyah to remain in that post for a single day. Those of his advisers who out of ignorance advised Imam 'Ali to wait until his rule became stronger and then depose Mu'awiyah did not know that had he waited, he would have met with objections from the Muslims and after

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<sup>1</sup> Mu'awiyah ibn Abu Sufyan was the first caliph of the 'Umayyad dynasty (40 AH/662 CE), which ruled the Muslim world after the martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali ibn Abi Talib and the five-month rule of the second Imam, Hasan ibn 'Ali ('a). As the founder of the Umayyad dynasty ('Umayyad is derived from Bani 'Umayyah, the name of the tribe to whom he belonged), Mu'awiyah revived hereditary monarchy and aristocracy in sharp contrast and opposition to the rudimentary precepts of Islam. History is replete with innumerable instances of cruelty and oppression perpetrated in the world of Islam during the reign of the 'Umayyads including the murder, banishment and imprisonment of the followers of the Prophet's Progeny [*Ahl al-Bayt*] ('a) as epitomized by the tragedy in Karbala (61 AH) during the reign of Mu'awiyah's son and second 'Umayyad caliph, Yazid

strengthening his position, he would not have been able to dismiss Mu'awiyah.<sup>1</sup>

Nowadays, there may be some uninformed people who believe it would have been better if Imam 'Ali had made his position stronger and then deposed Mu'awiyah, but they are mistaken. Thus, when Imam 'Ali realized that a cruel government was coming to power, revolt was a divine duty and he carried it out.

In this way, too, the infallible Imams revolted; even if they were few in number, they would fight to death in order to carry out their religious duties. Whenever one of the Imams saw that revolt was not appropriate, he stayed at home and propagated Islam instead. This was the way from the beginning of Islam.

### **Action of Mirza, the Great**

The *'ulama* and leaders of Islam have always advised the people to maintain their composure. It was not so long ago that Mirza the Great, the late Haj Mirza Muhammad Hasan Shirazi<sup>2</sup> lived. He was a great intellectual thinker who lived in Samarra<sup>3</sup> and although he advocated quietism and

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<sup>1</sup> Mu'awiyah opposed the expulsion order. Mughayyar ibn Shu'bah and Ibn 'Abbas (Imam 'Ali's cousin) did not agree with Mu'awiyah's expulsion and recommended that Imam 'Ali be lenient and condescending for two years until the people of Syria swore allegiance to him, and then take action against him. But Imam 'Ali would not accept that Mu'awiyah rule over the lives and wealth of the Muslim people for even a short period of time.

<sup>2</sup> Ayatullah Mirza Muhammad Hassan Shirazi (1812-1894), better known as Mirza Shirazi the Great I, was the most learned *marja* of his era and was one of the highest ranking *'ulama*'. He issued the famous order for the tobacco boycott. Early in his life he left Shiraz and went to study with the *'ulama*' in Isfahan; from there he went to Iraq (to the *'atabat*, i.e. the major centers of Shi'ah learning in Iraq: the holy shrines in Karbala, Najaf and Kazimayn). There he studied under Shaykh Murtada Ansari, before he himself began to teach. During the period that he was *marja at-taqlid* in 1891, the Qajar Shah, Nasiruddin, signed a contract with an English company granting it a fifty-year monopoly over the distribution and exportation of tobacco. As concern over the concession swept through the country, Ayatullah Shirazi issued a *fatwa* stating that the use of tobacco in whatever form was forbidden [*haram*] and was tantamount to declaring war with Imam of the Time (the Twelfth Imam) in order to curtail the spread of British influence in the country. Consequently, Nasiruddin Shah was faced with no alternative but to annul the concession.

<sup>3</sup> The city of Samarra' is of interest to Muslims and is a famous place of Shi'ah pilgrimage. This city is located in Iraq, 120 km north of Baghdad and lies on the east bank of the Tigris River. Several times the ancient city of Samarra' has been destroyed and rebuilt. It is the burial site of Imam 'Ali an-Naqi ('*a*), the tenth Imam, and Imam Hasan al-'Askari ('*a*), the eleventh Imam. There is also a famous basement there which is said to be the place where the twelfth Imam, Imam al-Mahdi (may God expedite his glorious advent) went into occultation. The ancient name of this city was "*Surra man raa*," which means "Whoever sees it shall be gladdened".

reconciliation, when he realized that Islam was in danger and the cruel king at that time wanted to wipe out Islam by using foreign companies, this old man sitting in a small city with only three hundred of *tullab* [seminarians] around him was forced to admonish the despotic king. His writings have been preserved. That king did not listen and with offensive and impolite statements he defied the lofty position of this great scholar until the latter was forced to say a word so that independence could be restored.

After realizing that Iraq was exposed to danger, the late Mirza Muhammad-Taqi Shirazi<sup>1</sup> spoke out in support of the Arabs and changed matters. If he had not done so, Iraq would have been destroyed. All Muslim states are indebted to this group of men (the clergymen); it is they who, up until now, have guarded their independence. They are one of the resources of the Islamic countries, and it is through their counsel that arrogant people are silenced. By the same token, when the clergymen see that Islam is in danger they strive as much as possible and if they feel that by making issues public knowledge, by giving speeches and sending messages the danger can be averted, so be it, but if not they have no choice but to rise up and take action.

The clergymen wish to see harmony and unity exist among all Muslims; however, they can only maintain their silence insofar as national independence is not endangered by things that even the government may be unaware of or may not understand. These duties are determined by religion, it is not that the *'ulama* say something of their own accord; this kind of uprising is that which is stipulated by religion and the Holy Quran.

### **Divine grace for the government and the Shah**

On the evening before the people were to go to the Sayyid 'Azizullah Mosque to pray for the awakening of the government,<sup>2</sup> I was informed that

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<sup>1</sup> Ayatullah Mirza Muhammad-Taqi Shirazi (d 1921), better known as Mirza Mujahid II, was one of the great Shi'ah *marja* and one of the students of Mirza Shirazi the Great. He was a leading force (after Ayatullah Sayyid Kazim Tabataba'i) in the resistance by the Shi'ah *'ulama* opposed to the imposition of British rule on Iraq at the end of the First World War. His requisition reads as follows: "It is the religious duty of the Iraqi people to demand their rights."

<sup>2</sup> The numerous telegrams sent from the *'ulama* to 'Alam's government requesting the abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill and the government's refusal to reply, forced the clergy of Tehran to seek assistance from Almighty God and in order to remind the people of important matters they decided to hold a gathering at the Sayyid 'Azizullah Mosque on Thursday morning, November 29, 1962 [Azar 8, 1341 AHS]. This information was disseminated among the people by way of leaflets. The great elderly clergymen Ayatullah Behbahani and Ayatullah Tonekabuni decided to remain in the Sayyid 'Azizullah Mosque until the Provincial and District Councils Bill was annulled. This news caused public uproar, and the pious people, who could not bear to see their *marja* and religious leaders inconvenienced and dissatisfied in this way, decided to join them in the mosque to express their opposition to the government. The Sayyid 'Azizullah Mosque is one of the major mosques in Tehran and was an Islamic revolutionary base during the time of the resurgence and is located within Tehran's main bazaar.

the state was planning to resist. Under such circumstances, I realized that the *'ulama* had another duty. I made the final decision while praying<sup>1</sup> and beseeching the Almighty God and I told no one, but God was gracious towards the Shah, the state and the nation. If, God forbid, any disrespect had been aimed at the *'ulama* of Tehran, I would have made a grave decision, but around midnight, the administration realized that it could not withstand the power of the people, and that same night it took a document from the great *'ulama* of Tehran so that the problem would be resolved.<sup>2</sup> The following morning a telegram also arrived in Qum while I was at Mr. Shari'atmadari's home.<sup>3</sup> The telegram was a good sign, but there was fear of deceit until news of the annulment of the Provincial and District Councils Bill was published in the newspapers after several communications between here and Tehran.<sup>4</sup> However, they are not finished speaking yet.

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<sup>1</sup> Praying and weeping.

<sup>2</sup> As the Provincial and District Councils disturbances continued and the *'ulama* of Tehran issued an invitation to the people to join them in a protest gathering at the Sayyid 'Azizullah Mosque on November 29, 1962 [Azar 8, 1341 AHS], 'Alam's government felt increasingly threatened. That same night it held a meeting during which the Provincial and District Councils Bill was rescinded and notification was sent to the *'ulama* of Tehran. Also, in order to prevent the prayer gathering of the next day, the government decided to send 'Imad Turbati, the Prime Minister's representative, in the middle of the night to the homes of the respected clergymen Behbahani, Khwansari, Amoli, Tonekabuni, to obtain their signatures at the bottom of a document declaring the cancellation of the aforementioned gathering. At 5 am this document was distributed in the Tehran Bazaar and the surrounding streets. It stated: "The Prime Minister has announced that the bill concerning the election for Provincial and District Councils which was ratified by the government will not be implemented. Therefore, thanks to all the Muslims' efforts, the gathering on Thursday, Rajab 1, [November 29] which was supposed to be held in the Sayyid 'Azizullah Mosque is no longer necessary."

<sup>3</sup> The telegram containing the news of the abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill was sent to Sayyid Kazim Shari'atmadari and the great Ayatullahs Golpaygani and Najafi-Mar'ashi in Qum from the Prime Minister's palace. Refraining from sending a telegram to Imam Khomeini was evidence of the regime's anger regarding his stance.

<sup>4</sup> Even though the government had promised to publish news of the bill's annulment in the newspapers, it considered it sufficient merely to send telegrams to the great *maraji'* and *'ulama*. This greatly angered the Imam and the other clergymen. Thus, by sending a letter and special messenger to Tehran and other cities, Imam requested that the clergy continue in their opposition until news of the annulment be published in the newspapers. This action forced the Prime Minister to announce the abolition of the bill during an interview on December 1, 1962 [Azar 10, 1341 AHS]. After this, the newspaper headlines read: "The government has revoked the bill dated October 6, 1962 [Mehr 14, 1341 AHS]."

## Anti-Quranic laws are illegal

Concerning these municipality laws that, he claims, have been accepted by the *'ulama*, they have not been accepted, they have been objected to. Furthermore, the laws governing the Provincial and District Councils cannot be compared with those for the municipalities, which are said to be "similar", and to make such a comparison is erroneous.<sup>1</sup> However, in both cases, being male and Muslim has been included and stipulated in the text of the law. In addition to this, we are the ones to compel them to uphold what they themselves are committed to.<sup>2</sup> Not that the constitutional law is complete and final in our opinion, but if the *'ulama* refer to the law it is because of the second article of the amendment to the Constitution which invalidates the legality of any law which opposes the Holy Quran.<sup>3</sup> For we do not concern ourselves with these laws,<sup>4</sup> we are concerned only with the Islamic laws. The *'ulama* of Islam are interested in the laws of the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet and Imams, anything that agrees with the Quran we will humbly submit to and anything which is incompatible with the religion and violates the Islamic laws, be that the constitutional law or even international laws, we will oppose.<sup>5</sup>

## Brawl is peacefully ended with the effort of the *'ulama*

Praise be to God the matter is now over; Mr. Asadullah 'Alam was warned that this matter must be ended and thanks to God it has ended. We

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<sup>1</sup> After the clergy and the people had waited one month for an answer regarding the government's opinion, on Monday, October 14, 1962 [Mehr 22, 1341 AHS] the Prime Minister in a telegram to Sayyid Kazim Shari'atmadari and the Grand Ayatullahs Najafi-Mar'ashi and Golpaygani stated: "...concerning the government's silence on the issue of the non-participation of women in the Provincial and District Councils, I must remind the worthy gentlemen that the conditions concerning this bill are the same as those which apply to the elections for the town councils' bill which was ratified seven years ago and to which no opposition has ever been raised." Imam Khomeini in reply to questions put to him by the merchants and businessmen of Qum regarding his views on the Prime Minister's interview dated December 12, 1962 [Azar 21, 1341 AHS] rejected 'Alam's claims concerning the similarity of the bill with the town council bill. His statements in this regard were later published as his declaration in reply to the Prime Minister. See *Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 3, pp. 112-115.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is contained in the irrevocable law and is one of the major rules of religious jurisprudence, according to which in legal and juristic issues the people are expected to comply with the precepts of their religion and the laws which they themselves have chosen. Imam's intention here is to draw attention to the contradictory nature of the Provincial and District Councils Bill with the constitutional law which the government is bound to. By referring to the aforesaid rule, he emphasized that his words did not constitute a recognition of the legitimacy of the constitutional or any other law, for that came from the law's compliance with the laws of the religion. For further information concerning irrevocable laws see *Wasa'il ash-Shi'ah*, vol. 15, *Kitab at-Talaq, Abwab Muqaddamat wa Shara'itah*, chap. 30.

<sup>3</sup> The second amendment to the constitutional law declared that: "The Holy National Consultative Assembly, which has been established through the assistance and favor of the twelfth Imam (may God expedite his glorious advent), should not at any time allow any of its articles of laws to contradict the rules of Islam or the laws of *Hadrat Khayr al-Anam* [the Best of Beings] (i.e., Prophet Muhammad (s)). It is obvious that the responsibility for determining which laws are at variance with the laws of Islam is and has been with the most learned *'ulama*', (may God prolong their beneficial existence). Therefore, it is officially decided that in any period of time a group of not less than five Islamic jurists [*mujtahids*] and *fuqaha* who are aware of current events will be selected to do this. Thus, the most learned *'ulama*' and *maraji' at-taqlid* will introduce twenty names from amongst the *'ulama*', who are qualified, to the National Consultative Assembly. Five or more will be chosen by unanimous vote or by drawing lots, and will be recognized as members so that all the articles proposed to the Majlis are carefully analyzed and negotiated, and every article which is at variance with the holy laws of Islam is rescinded. The vote of this group of *'ulama*' must be obeyed and followed, and this article is irrevocable until Imam Mahdi's appearance."

<sup>4</sup> Meaning that we will not accept any law except Islamic law, the laws of the Constitution which follow religious law are accepted by us.

<sup>5</sup> The Shah and 'Alam's government wanted to pass the Provincial and District Councils Bill and violate Islam and the Constitution in the name of progress and using the excuse of the prevailing circumstances and their international obligations. The Shah in answer to a telegram sent by the *maraji'* announced these changes to be trivial and to have arisen from the current situation. In one of his speeches, 'Alam, while condemning any revolt, implicitly described the current activities of the *'ulama*' as being reactionary measures and added that the wheels of time could not be turned back and the government would not change its mind concerning the reform programs.



are grateful that (praise be to God) it ended without a battle or war, without a drop of blood being shed. Such a matter, which could have ended in a great national uprising and could have moved nomads, ended with not even one person being slapped! During small, local uprisings and wars which involve thousands of people often a few are killed, and several are wounded, it is not possible that during an uprising of twenty million not even one person's nose bleeds! The state does not realize who prevented chaos or battle from occurring. They should come and see what has been written in the letters we have received and what has been said by the people who came to talk to us.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The high-ranking '*ulama*' of the theology centers inside the country, clergymen, scholars, preachers, merchants, tradesmen and religious groups supported the actions of the '*maraji*' of Qum for the abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill in successive letters, telegrams and papers which contained thousands of signatures. They regularly expressed to the Shah and the government, and especially the '*maraji*', the aversion and apprehension of the local citizens concerning the bill, and requested the abolition of the bill.

They came to us with tears in their eyes, "Give us an order, a word from you that our souls will have everlasting life and see what happens." We told them that we did not ask that of them. But if a single word had been issued, there would have been an explosion. Who put out this fire? Why does the state not want to believe this? Why is it trying with all its might to destroy this great force (the clergy) which is the support of the independence of the country? God knows I am filled with sorrow. It is the clergy who have adapted to this situation and are serving the independence of this country. Why does the government not understand what it has done to our education? Why does it not rely on the clergy? Why does the world become devastated,<sup>1</sup> with the death of one scholar but when the government fails, the people celebrate?<sup>2</sup> The government should be such that if it suffers a failure the people mourn and rise up to protect it.

### **The clergy as the backbone of the country**

It cannot attract support itself, maybe it could if the people saw that it wanted what was best for Muslims; if the people saw that the government protected the interests of the Muslims, they would buy bonds and sell their homes and use the money for the good of the Muslims. Why is the press allowed to say such things?<sup>3</sup> Why are they so discourteous and unjust? If the clergymen were to go,<sup>4</sup> the country would have no backbone. Why is the press free to say whatever it wants (against the clergy)?<sup>5</sup> Why the events of

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to the funeral and burial ceremony of the great Shi'ah Authority, Ayatullah Burujerdi the death of whom millions of Shi'ah Muslims throughout the world mourned.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the defeat of 'Alam's government by the clergy over the Provincial and District Councils Bill. After its annulment, people in many cities put up lights and celebrated the victory of Islam and the clergy. Some of the poets even composed poems to mark the occasion. To see the role of the leadership of Imam Khomeini at that time refer to the poem on page 205 in the book *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1. Also see *Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 3, pp. 185-193.

<sup>3</sup> The Imam's criticism is aimed at the freedom allowed the press at that time to speak about the clergy and sacred things in an insolent manner.

<sup>4</sup> The government-controlled press wrote: "If the 'ulama' are against the progress and advancement which His Highness proclaims, then they can leave the country."

<sup>5</sup> The Pahlavi regime used propaganda and false rumor in its fight against the clergy in the Provincial and District Councils Bill disturbances in order to make the clergy and the *maraji*'s non-reactionary struggle look despicable and portray the clergy's uprising as being instigated by the feudal landowners and capitalists, and in this way turn the peasants against the clergy. The magazine *Khusheh* wrote: "One of the great landowners living abroad has sent large sums of money from Europe as *sahm-e imam* money to be put at the disposal of the clergy so that they can take action on behalf of the landowners."

January 7 (Dey 17) are freely celebrated?<sup>1</sup> These things create hatred. Do not make the country's king hated. We advise you not to turn January 7 into a day of celebration.<sup>2</sup> We believe this to be a heinous act. Protect this country. The events of January 7 do not signify progress. The progress of a nation lies with its universities and look at what you have done to them.

### **A hundred-year-old university, yet in need of foreign assistance**

For over a hundred years, we have had universities and yet when a king wants to have a tonsillectomy we must bring a doctor here from another country. Foreigners must build the Karaj Dam.<sup>3</sup> Foreigners must come even to build a road. Do international obligations demand this? If you have doctors and engineers you have education. If you say you have education, you have wealth, you have students, and you have doctors and engineers, so why do you hire them from outside the country? Why do you pay foreigners a hundred thousand tumans a month?! Answer this! If you have no answer, then pity this country! For a hundred years it has had universities but it has no doctors, no engineers.

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<sup>1</sup> After the Constitutional Revolution from the middle of 1927, some circles close to Rida Khan began talking about the forced removal of the women's Islamic veil [*kashf-e hijab*] and by the New Year of 1928 [1307 AHS], Rida Khan's wife and daughters appeared in public without the Islamic covering. The law calling for the removal of *hijab* was implemented after Rida Khan's return from Turkey (in 1934) on January 7, 1935 [Dey 17, 1341 AHS]. On this day, Rida Khan, accompanied by his wife and two daughters, attended the opening ceremonies for a college along with his ministers and their wives who had removed their Islamic covering. At this ceremony, Rida Khan addressed the women saying: "We have broken the prison bars! Now the freed prisoners can make beautiful homes instead of cages." See *Hijab wa Kashf-e Hijab dar Iran, Khatirat-e Taj as-Saltanah*.

<sup>2</sup> Following the regime's defeat in the Provincial and District Councils Bill disturbances, the government tried to distract public attention from this disgrace by making plans to commemorate January 7 [Dey 17 AHS] and turn it into a day of national celebration employing women of doubtful propriety and women with connections to imperialist circles who planned a parade, celebrations and demonstrations. When Imam became aware of the decision, he sent a message to government officials stating that if the government decided to carry out its demonstration on January 7, the '*ulama*' would announce a national day of mourning in commemoration of the disaster at the Gawhar Shad Mosque and would request the public to stop work and participate in a street demonstration to express their hatred of those who caused that bloody disaster. This message was so effective that the regime changed its plans.

<sup>3</sup> The Karaj Dam was built on the Karaj River, seventeen kilometers from Karaj, sixty-three kilometers from Tehran, in December 1958 [Azar 1337 AHS]. Initial construction work began in 1952 [1331 AHS], then in 1956 [1335 AHS] the International Engineering Company [Harza] was assigned to the project. After the foreign consulting engineers accepted Harza's proposals, the dam's building contract was ratified by the Planning Organization.

### **Distorting the aims of the clergy**

This is what the clergymen have to say. The clergy are not against the economic development of this country, they have been slandered. For five hundred years, the clergymen have administered and protected the entire world.<sup>1</sup> One only needs to look at history. Even though the caliphs themselves were oppressors, they governed the world through an Islamic system. Does Islam not have a way for development? Which economic matter did the *'ulama* oppose? You wanted to build dams; did they stand in your way? You wanted to import industries, did they stop you? We said, "Do not destroy the steel plant". Do you think that we do not know what you have done to the Karaj Steel Plant?<sup>2</sup> The *'ulama* are not against independence; the creed of the *'ulama* is independence and religion demands that we call for it. But we have no means at our disposal; we do not govern the newspapers, and they have introduced the *'ulama* in an unfavorable light.

### **The outcome of the alleged emancipation of women**

Twenty odd years have passed since the scandalous forced removal of the Islamic veil [*kashf-e hijab*] took place.<sup>3</sup> Check and see what you have done. You have put women into the offices, and every office they have been put into has become paralyzed. For the moment, this is not a common practice, the *'ulama* say, "Do not let it become so; do not spread it to the provinces". If women are put into an organization, it will upset conditions there. Do you want women to provide your independence?<sup>4</sup> Those that you follow are exploring space while you fool around with (the rights of) your women. Do not present your *'ulama* unfavorably to the world. This is a

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<sup>1</sup> It means the period of Islam's power to the 4th and 5th centuries after *hijrah* (i.e., 11th and 12th centuries CE).

<sup>2</sup> Rida Khan, who dreamt of attaining power similar to that of Hitler's Germany, ordered the construction of a steel mill by the German company Krupp. The Krupp Co. chose the Karaj River as a suitable area to build the factory because it was near the Alborz mines. Most of the equipment and tools needed to build the factory were brought in from Germany at great expense and taken to the Karaj area. But after Iran was occupied by the Allied Forces, not only did the Germans stop working and sending the remainder of the equipment but it is said that they made the Iranian government destroy the equipment they had already sent. In this way, great sums of money paid by the oppressed people of Iran were completely wasted.

<sup>3</sup> Twenty-seven years had passed since the issuance of the decree for the removal of the Islamic covering [*kashf-e hijab*] up until the time of this speech.

<sup>4</sup> The Shah's emphasis on the presence of women in the offices was merely to cloak imperialist Western policies, spread corruption, narcotize the youth and promote Western culture. The status of women was lowered during the time of Rida Khan and his son, first by British and then American schemes which isolated Muslim women from social activities.

shameful act on your part. These are the problems, this is the advice, but what good is it? Those who should hear it are not here, and even if there were someone here who could make the government understand that which pains our hearts, he would not do so.

### **Duty of the *'ulama*: preserving the prestige of Islam**

But you the clergymen, your responsibility, at any post which you might hold is to guard Islam's reputation. If even one of your people acts dishonorably, the *'ulama* in general will be seen in an unfavorable light. Just because others speak unfavorably, do not present yourselves in a bad light.

### **Insignificance of the outward defeat**

Our involvement in these events has brought about some sweet experiences and some bitter ones. We have just mentioned the sweet ones, which were the sentiments of the people, may God grant them predominance and victory. The bitter ones came from the actions of a few people, may God forgive them.<sup>1</sup> It is God's will that the life and independence of the nation lies in your hands. Whatever happens is either for or against you. If events go against you, do not let this defeat you psychologically. An outward defeat is not important, what is important is a psychological defeat. If a person is defeated spiritually, he is as good as dead. For you that have support from God, you that are the clergy, you that your hearts are otherworldly, there is no defeat in this world; this world is nothing, whosoever is connected to God, he shall never suffer defeat. Defeat belongs to those whose aspirations are worldly. When one's aspirations are of this world, one shall be defeated. If one's aspirations are the unseen and the mysteries behind it, there is no failure. Failure is for the desperate, it belongs to those who trust the Devil and to those whose hearts have been filled with love for the wealth of this world. If you are defeated in some way, your hearts should be strong, stand firm until the last person. Do not believe that if so-and-so fails, it is finished. No! You are a monotheist. You are a Muslim. You are connected to God and

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<sup>1</sup> After the abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill, some of the *'ulama* considered the struggle over and in a telegram to the Shah, thanked him for repealing the bill. However, the Imam was convinced that the struggle must continue until news of the bill's annulment was printed in the newspapers. This difference of opinion resulted in contradictory rumors and news which confused many people. The people went to Qum to clarify their obligations and the Imam gave the government the ultimatum that it must announce the annulment of the bill in the national newspapers.

God cannot be defeated. “So lose not heart nor fall into despair, for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in faith.”<sup>1</sup>

### **Education as the greatest worship**

If you win, do not lose your heads, be strong. You should neither be filled with fear nor be too daring. It is not right now to shout obscenities at the administration. You are above saying that which is unbecoming your position. From today, we are setting about our business. Over the two months since this event occurred, we have not been able to work properly, there were nights when I slept for only two hours. From now on, we should occupy ourselves with studying which is greater than any other means of worship, if the heart is pure. Once again if we see a foreign devil focusing on our nation, we will act in the same way, the state will be the same and the nation will be the same.

### **The clergy back up the people**

Such a gathering which is costly for others can be arranged by us with a single word. The people realize that we are their friends, and they are fond of their friends. The clergymen are the fathers of the people, and they are fond of their children. In the middle of the night, an old man<sup>2</sup> announces, “Let us gather and pray and Tehran moves!” Another old man here writes, “We want to have a prayer gathering and see what happens!” Why? Because the people perceive that the *‘ulama* have their best interests at heart, the *‘ulama* are righteous people; they are not corrupt. We would like the state to be like this also. We would like it when a day of national mourning is announced, everyone mourns, and they do not oppose it. And just as the hearts of the people are attentive to the clergymen and gather at their bidding, we would like them to be like this also with the government.

### **Admonishing the Shah**

From Shahr-e Rey, they wrote, “We are five thousand people clad in shrouds.” From Japalaq,<sup>3</sup> “We are one hundred thousand individuals awaiting your orders.” From Lorestan, they wrote, “We are tribes ready with our shrouds.” The people are awakened. Can a nation which is awakened be backward? Get rid of your weapons and then in Tehran, for example,

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<sup>1</sup> Surah Al-i ‘Imran 3:139.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the elderly clergymen such as Ayatullah Tonakabuni and Ayatullah Behbahani who were over ninety years of age.

<sup>3</sup> Japalaq is an area in Isfahan.

announce that you will hold a gathering in the east, and we will announce one in the west; announce a gathering in Qum and we will announce one twelve kilometers from there in Khak Faraj;<sup>1</sup> you hold one close by and we will hold one far away. Go to Khuzestan, anywhere, and do the same so that you will see just how important this support is for you. I advise the king of this nation not to lose this force. Two events occurred; one was the death of Ayatullah Burujerdi<sup>2</sup> and the other was the death of one of their people; and we all saw what happened. They say the *akhunds* are nothing. How can they say this?! You say that you do not have anything to do with the *akhunds*,<sup>3</sup> well the *akhunds* have something to say to you! Religious counsel is compulsory; to abandon it might even be a capital sin. It is the duty of the *'ulama* to counsel everyone throughout the nation, from the Shah down.

### **The way to win hearts**

This is the way to the people's hearts; the Muslim people's hearts will be won over through Islam. We understand what makes their hearts beat, the hearts of the Muslim people must be attracted by means of Islam for "*without doubt in the remembrance of God, do hearts find satisfaction*".<sup>4</sup> All hearts are in God's hands. The converter of all hearts is God. Focus your attention on God so that the hearts of the people will focus on you. The people of learning do this; you (the statesmen) must also be like this. We are not saying, "Wear a turban;" rather, we say, "Come to understand that which the clergymen have understood."

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<sup>1</sup> Khak Faraj: one of Qum local areas.

<sup>2</sup> Ayatullah Haj Aqa Husayn Tabataba'i better known as Ayatullah Burujerdi [1873-1961] the leader of the theological center of Qum (after Ayatullah Ha'iri), founder of the Azam Mosque of Qum, and highest ranking Shi'ah *marja at-taqlid* (since September 1941 [Shahrivar 1320 AHS]) during the reign of Muhammad Rida Shah. After his preliminary studies in Burujerd, he went to Isfahan and taught religious jurisprudence and philosophy there for eight years. He then studied for another eight years with Akhund Muhammad Kazim Khorasani in Najaf. He returned to Iran and began teaching logic and doctrinal scriptures in Burujerd. In 1944 [1323 AHS], he was invited to Qum by Imam and the other *'ulama'*. The defeat of the constitutional movement and events such as the execution of Shaykh Fadlullah Nuri, as well as the troubles arising from unsuccessful political actions taken against Rida Khan, led Ayatullah Burujerdi to avoid involvement in political matters wherever possible, out of fear that such involvement would prove to be detrimental to the Muslims. For this reason, he was sometimes the object of criticism. In order to take advantage of the reputation of this great man, Muhammad Rida would visit him frequently and in a show of piety for the people would announce his readiness to disseminate Islam.

<sup>3</sup> One of the Shah's statements.

<sup>4</sup> *Surah ar-Rad* 13:28.

We say the government should govern the people well so that they would understand that the government has their best interests at heart. But if the people see that is not how it really is, they will begin to ask, “When will this government be destroyed?” O government, O wretched ones! The conquest of a country is nothing—and fortunately you have not achieved this—what is important is the conquest of hearts. If you want to, then do it. If not, do not do so. It is up to you.<sup>1</sup>

May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

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<sup>1</sup>This was said in admonition.



## Statements

**Date:** December 11, 1962 [Azar 20, 1341 AHS / Rajab 13, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Occasion:** Abolition of Provincial and District Councils Bill and its consequences

**Addressees:** Husayn Partow (Qum Police Chief); Badi'i (Qum SAVAK Chief)<sup>1</sup>

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

### *Avoiding arousal of people's thoughts and feelings*

The government and the nation must be unified so that the people would support the government if any problems or incidents come about for the government or country. Although the Provincial and District Councils Bill is over now and things have been agreed upon in general, the issue continues to appear here and there in the papers and magazines and also in the lectures; and regarding the resolution of the problem, following it up in the press will not result in anything but racking nerves. Public opinion and feelings have been under great strain for two months and need a rest, so they should not excite them again, by saying and writing on these matters.

### *The clergymen support reformation*

His Excellency Mr. Prime Minister<sup>2</sup> has announced in a recent speech, "We started the reforms, but now some persons are making obstacles"; if he means the clergymen and *akhunds*, they are the supporters of the reforms. If the government builds factories, strengthens the culture and promotes agriculture with modern methods, or commits itself to developing industry, medication and health, we will support the government and help them, too. No *akhunds* protest these reformist commitments, do they? The government and the people should not be separate, if they are, then the nation will take pleasure in the troubles of the government and people will dodge paying taxes and work; but if they are united, people would even sell the carpets covering their rooms to assist the government.

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<sup>1</sup> During the meeting and warning of the Imam to the delegates sent by the Shah's regime, a number of usual clients were also attending.

<sup>2</sup> Asadullah 'Alam.

### **Show-off programs of the regime on Dey 17**

The propaganda organization of television belongs to a detested minority<sup>1</sup> and it is going to be expanded all over the country. In addition to his domination over our country's economy its owner possesses the Pepsi Cola factory which is an espionage center. They are going to show modern and past women on TV on Dey 17,<sup>2</sup> and some women intend to demonstrate against the suspension of the Provincial and District Councils Bill. A number of citizens from Tehran and other provinces have already come to us maintaining that they will react if such an act is done, and they will commemorate those killed in Gawhar Shad mosque in a meeting on the same day. Can you imagine what will happen if gangs of ruffians and cutthroats hold a rally against the 22 factions of the fair sex? Having this in my mind, I answered those citizens that such an action is not so probable.

I hope the officials will report this to their headquarters so that the ceremony on Dey 17 might not be overstated and not provoke people who are agitated already by the television organization of Bahais. The Bahai League and the Pepsi Cola factory are espionage institutions of the Jews of Palestine.<sup>3</sup>

### **The gap between the nation and the government**

Another more important matter of which I have informed the Prime Minister myself, and cannot be talked of explicitly in front of an audience [he refrains from saying],<sup>4</sup> is that if they do it,<sup>5</sup> things will not be the same as the Provincial and District Councils Bill. Besides, the people of this country and even other countries will protest it so strongly that it will not be possible to stop it and the government cannot destroy all people with arms. I hope, God willing, that things will not go like that, for it would be formidable. God bears witness that every now and then, when people come to me to take advice about protesting the government, I get so unhappy and grieved thinking, why the nation should be separate from the government. What is the reason for these events and actions that brings disgrace and embarrassment to the Iranian nation in front of other nations of the world?

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<sup>1</sup> By "a detested minority", he means the Baha'is of Iran. The television (organization) was established and directed by Thabit Pasal, a Baha'i-turned Jew.

<sup>2</sup> The anniversary of *Kashf-e Hijab* [unveiling of women] by Rida Khan in 1314 AHS.

<sup>3</sup> It refers to the Zionist occupiers.

<sup>4</sup> The exact words of Qum Police reporter are cited.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the Imam had meant the rumors about the elimination of the swearing on the Holy Quran and replacing it with "the Holy Book" which was shamelessly suggested by 'Alam later on and faced much public objection.

An effort should be made to do away with any discord and disharmony between his Royal Majesty, the government and the people, and they should all work for the grandeur of the country. The clergy, tradesmen and the public servants should all have this same aim.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The text of the Imam's words is provided according to report No. 5/2186 (dated: 9/23/1341 AHS) of Qum Police Force.

## Permission

**Date:** December 14, 1962 [Azar 23, 1341 AHS / Rajab 16, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Yadullah Rahimiyan Dastjerdi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Shaykh Yadullah Rahimiyan Dastjerdi (may God always assist him) who is verily one of the pious and trustees, is granted my permission to quote the authentic *hadiths* from reliable books of the companions (may God be pleased with them) and to collect religious funds such as *zakat* and alms for properties with unknown owners and to deliver them to their religiously specified area. He is also allowed to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending a part of it on his own living sparingly, as long as he is preaching or studying, and one-third of the remainder in promoting the luminous religion. He is also to deliver some to the other pious preachers or students up to 30 tumans in each case, and to submit the remainder to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary. He is also granted the permission to deal with the sacred Imam’s (‘a) Share, delivering it to this humble servant and getting the receipts to be handed back to the payers.

“And I advise him to be pious, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rajab al-Murajjab 16, 1382 AH

## Permission

**Date:** December 27, 1962 [Dey 6, 1341 AHS / Rajab 29, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Husayn Waizi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Husayn Waizi (may his graces last) who is verily endowed with goodness, piety and trustworthiness, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr*. “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also allowed to collect the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share, spending it on his own living sparingly as long as he is preaching or studying, and to deliver the remainder to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to be pious, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rajab al-Murajjab 29, 1382 AH

## Permission

**Date:** December 31, 1962 [Dey 10, 1341 AHS / Shaban 3, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** ‘Ali-Akbar Husayni Laylabi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam wa ‘Imad al-Alam Aqa Sayyid ‘Ali-Akbar Husayni (may God always assist him) who is verily endowed with goodness and piety, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may Allah expedite his advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them in part on his own living sparingly, delivering the remainder of the blessed *Sadat’s* Share to its religiously specified area, and the remainder of the blessed Imam’s Share (‘a) to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to be pious, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shaban al-Mu‘azzam 3, 1382 AH

## Permission

**Date:** January 13, 1963 [Dey 23, 1341 AHS / Shaban 16, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad Mir Jafari Tonekaboni

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Mir Jafari Tonekaboni (may his blessings last) who has spent a part of his worthy life acquiring religious knowledge and is verily endowed with goodness and piety, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, delivering the surplus of what he spends on his own living from the *Sadat*’s Share to its religiously specified area. He is to deliver the surplus of the Imam’s (*‘a*) Share, after spending it on his own living sparingly, to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary. If the need arises in his own vicinity, he is allowed to spend the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share, and one-third of the surplus on promoting the religion and exalting the word of Islam.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to be pious, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shaban al-Mu‘azzam 16, 1382 AH

## Permission

**Date:** January 15, 1963 [Dey 25, 1341 AHS / Shaban 18, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Muhammad ‘Ali Sharifi Furdui

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny and may His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Maladh al-Anam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad ‘Ali Sharifi Furdui (may God always assist him) is verily endowed with goodness, piety and trustworthiness. He is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising.” His Eminence is also allowed to collect the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share, spending it on his own living sparingly and to deliver the remainder to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to be pious, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shaban al-Mu‘azzam 18, 1382 AH



## Permission

**Date:** January 15, 1963 [Dey 25, 1341 AHS / Shaban 18, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Abul-Qasim Musafiri

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Abul-Qasim Musafiri (may his graces last) is verily endowed with goodness, piety and trustworthiness. He is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God Almighty hasten his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” His Eminence is also allowed to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending it on his own living sparingly and to deliver the remainder to me to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to be pious, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shaban al-Mu‘azzam 18, 1382 AH

## Permission

**Date:** January 17, 1963 [Dey 27, 1341 AHS / Shaban 20, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Trip of Imam Khomeini's wife and son

Hereby I, the undersigned, Sayyid Ruhullah Mustafawi, ID No. 2744, issued in Kamareh, Branch No. 2, son of Sayyid Mustafa, according to this document, permit my wife, Khadijah Thaqafi, ID No. 4910 issued in Tehran, to take a trip to Iraq along with her son, Sayyid Mustafa Mustafawi. This document, containing my permission for her, is authentic and valid.<sup>1</sup>

Ruhullah al-Mustafawi

1474/10.27.1341

The authenticity of signature of His Eminence Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Ruhullah Mustafawi, ID No. 2744, issued in Kamareh, which is marked "X" in this document, is hereby confirmed.

Notary Public No.7, Qum

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<sup>1</sup> According to the law, since women's trip abroad is dependent on their husbands' permission and agreement, the Imam formally announces his agreement with his wife's pilgrimage to the holy sites of Iraq along with their son Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

## Permission

**Date:** January 19, 1963 [Dey 29, 1341 AHS / Shaban 22, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Kazim Nur-Mufidi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Kazim Nur-Mufidi Gorgani (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr*. “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, taking caution.” He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them on his own living sparingly and to spend the remainder of the noble *Sadat*’s Share in the ...<sup>1</sup> and one-third of the remainder of the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share on promoting the obeyed religion and exalting the word of Islam, and to deliver the remainder to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to be pious, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shaban al-Mu‘azzam 22, 1382 AH

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<sup>1</sup> This part is illegible.

## Statements

**Date:** January 1963 [End of Dey 1341 AHS / Shaban 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** A warning with regard to the consequences of the Shah's proposed referendum and the need for the awareness and resistance of the *'ulama* and the people

**Occasion:** The regime's announcement of the enforced White Revolution referendum

**Audience:** Ayatullah Ruhullah Kamalvand, the Grand Ayatullahs and a group of the *'ulama* in Qum

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

### **Vague future and the heavy burden of responsibility**

Gentlemen, you must be aware of how grim the future looks and how heavy our responsibility has become as a result of the recent turn of events. The events which are now occurring threaten the very basis of Islam with destruction. A calculated conspiracy has been organized against Islam, the nation of Islam and the independence of Iran. You are to realize that this event cannot be compared to the former disturbance (concerning the Provincial and District Councils Bill) nor can we respond to it in the same way.

### **Our opponent is the Shah himself**

On the face of things that disturbance concerned the government; it was the government to which we directed our opposition; and it was the government which was seen as having been defeated. But the defeat or even the fall of a government in a system of rule is not something of great importance. It is not something which would destroy the basis of a regime. Indeed, on occasion a regime purposely resorts to overthrowing the government in order to consolidate and secure the regime's position. In this case, however, that with which we are now confronted and against which we are directing our grievances and opposition is the Shah himself—someone who now finds his life hanging in the balance; and as he himself stated, to succumb on this occasion would mean his downfall and ruin. Therefore, he has no choice but to succeed in implementing this proposed policy no matter what it takes. Not only will he not surrender and do away with his plans, but

he will fight against any opposition with all of his might and with the utmost fierceness. Hence, we must not expect the system to surrender as it did last time. Moreover, it is a bounden duty for us to fight in opposition since the danger which now threatens the people cannot be ignored or taken lightly.

### **Our duty in facing the imperialist trap**

In order to delude and mislead the nation, the government has set an elaborate trap, and has engaged in a series of deceptive, misleading moves. If we fail to awaken and inform the masses before they fall into the colonial trap, which has been set for them, the nation of Islam will find itself on the verge of destruction. It will be deceived and led astray and if that happens not only will the '*ulama*' and the clergymen of Islam also inevitably follow a deviated path, which, God forbid, will lead to their extirpation, but they will be answerable before God Almighty as to why, having seen the trap, they did not warn the blind and thus prevent them from falling into it. If only we could make the people aware of the Shah's schemes and conspiracies and keep them from being deceived and influenced by this deceptive plan of his, then without doubt, we would overpower him and make him face defeat. When we do not wish to engage in a war with tanks and cannons—which he reckons we are incapable of doing anyway—and when fists are no match for what he has to fight with, then what are we to do? The best thing we can do is to make the people aware of what is happening; and should we succeed in this, then the formidable force we represent will become apparent. We shall constitute a force which is indestructible even when confronted by tanks and cannons. In the meantime, as I said earlier, a difficult and dangerous path lies before us. Those who believe that they have a duty to fight, must consider the consequences and see to what extent they are able to endure the hardships and difficulties that they are likely to be subject to along this chosen path and...

## Message

**Date:** January 22, 1963 [Bahman 2, 1341 AHS / Shaban 25, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Revealing the aims and the nature of the Shah's illegal referendum

**Addressees:** A group of religious people of Tehran

[His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, Ayatullah al-'Uzma fi'l-Ardin Aqa Haj Ruhullah Khomeini (may his benign existence for the people endure):

Please express your opinion regarding the "National Ratification" which is announced in the press.

A group of religious people of Tehran]

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Although I do not want to give my comment on this issue, I nevertheless notified His Imperial Majesty through Mr. Behbudil of its advantages and disadvantages, and so fulfilled my duty, but it was not accepted. Now I have to act on my religious obligation. In my opinion, this referendum which in terms of eliminating some defects is called the "National Ratification" could show the poll of the society of Islamic clergymen and the overall majority of the nation, provided that there are no threat and intimidation at work and the nation knows exactly what they are doing. For expediencies, while ignoring for the time being some of the religious aspects of this referendum or "National Ratification", which is basically worthless in the context of Islam, as well as some of its fundamental legal defects, I will henceforth point to just a few of its defects:

1. Referendums are not anticipated in the Iranian laws and are unprecedented except once and that was announced by the "illegal officials". Under the charge of participating therein, a number of people

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<sup>1</sup> Sulayman Behbudi, a person close to the courts of Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida (Pahlavi).

were arrested and deprived of their social rights.<sup>1</sup> I do not understand why it was illegal then, while now it is legal!

2. It is unclear which official does have the right to hold a referendum,<sup>2</sup> and this will have to be prescribed by the law.
3. In the countries where referendums are lawful, the nation must be given enough time to deliberate and discuss all its articles in detail, and the pros and cons are reflected in the media; that is different from holding it unclearly in a few days without having the nation informed.
4. The voters must be informed enough to know what they are voting for. So, the decisive majority here do not have the right to vote for this matter. Only some of the residents in the urban areas who have the needed discernment deserve to vote on the six articles, to which they certainly object.
5. Voting should be done in a free atmosphere, under no pressure, compulsion, threat or inducement; and this is not possible in Iran because most of the people are pressurized and intimidated by the government organs all over the country.

The referendum is essentially brought forth so that things would become obscured and the prosecutable violations of law, which will surely get the officials involved, go unnoticed. His Majesty has been beguiled by those held accountable before the law and the nation, to do this to their benefit. If they really want to work for the people, why did and do they not refer to the program of Islam and the Muslim scholars programs to make a happy and comfortable life for all strata of the people in both worlds?! Why do they establish cooperative funds to steal the earnings of the farmers from them? Founding such a cooperative fund will cause the Iranian market to be destroyed and will make the merchants and farmers wretched; and other strata of people will also be the same. If the nation of Iran submits to the laws of Islam, and asks their government to execute the economic policies of Islam under the supervision of the *'ulama'* of Islam, the whole nation will live in comfort and prosperity.

Religious authorities feel that the Quran and religion are in danger. It seems that this compulsory referendum is a prelude in eliminating the matters related to the religion. The *'ulama'* of Islam felt that Islam, the Quran and

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<sup>1</sup> This refers to the holding of a referendum by Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq. He and others were prosecuted for this reason, by the coup d'état government (Zahidi), who called Musaddiq's administration "the illegal officials".

<sup>2</sup> In the book *Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 3, p. 204, first sentence second line, states: "The present government is not qualified to hold a referendum."

the country were in danger because of the Provincial and District Councils Elections affair, and it seems that the enemies of Islam mean to do the same thing through some simple beguiled people. It is the duty of the '*ulama*' of Islam to notify the people, whenever they feel a danger lurking over Islam and the Holy Quran, so that they will not be held accountable anymore before God Almighty. We ask God Almighty to protect the Holy Quran and the independence of the country.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini



## Message

**Date:** Winter 1962/3 [1341 AHS / 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Expressing gratitude for the people's support to the '*ulama*'s uprising against the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Addressees:** The people of Alashtar and its adjacent districts

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

To the esteemed people of Alashtar and inhabitants of the other districts (may God Almighty assist them):

I hope the gentlemen will excuse me for the delay in answering the letter, which is for the attainment of a lofty Islamic aim. We thank the good offices of the dear faithful that had expressed their noble feelings in support of the clergy and made us hopeful, saying that the gallant soldiers of Islam were all prepared to sacrifice everything they have. It is hoped that God Almighty bestows all the inhabitants of that region with good rewards and protects you all for the sake of Islam and sends down His blessings upon the inhabitants of that region.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** Winter 1962/3 [1341 AHS / 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Appreciating Mr. Kamalvand's support in the uprising against the Provincial and District Councils Bill

**Addressee:** Ruhullah Kamalvand

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I have the honor to inform you that I hope, with the grace of God, you are totally fine and healthy. Thanks to God Almighty, the Muslims made great improvement concerning this affair and the clergy attained special grandeur. Although we suffered a lot, experienced much bitterness and there were many sad truths that were disclosed to us,<sup>1</sup> which I wish they were not, the bitterness disappeared when the bill was abolished despite the obstinacy of the government. I was busy appreciating the personalities and I have to confess that Your Eminence stood in the foremost position (may God bless you for your efforts and reward you the best out of Islam). I congratulate you on your sincerity, but now we should be aware that the enemy might wake up again<sup>2</sup> and seek some way of doing harm and making up for its scandalous defeat. I still need to benefit from the ideas of persons like Your Eminence. I hope, God willing, to tell you more when we meet later on to find a suitable solution. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> For example, the lack of support and silence of the gentlemen in the theological centers.

<sup>2</sup> The Imam's ('a) anticipation and his anxiety came true for that was proved in less than a month by the Shah's agents attacking the Faydiyyah Madrasah (Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS) and the massacre of people in the uprising of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS.

## Letter

**Date:** Winter 1962/3 [1341 AHS / 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Response to a letter and acknowledgment

**Addressee:** Ruhullah Kamalvand

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I have the honor to inform you that I was delighted to receive your letter indicating Your Eminence's good health. The letter I had sent to Your Eminence before had been mistakenly delivered to Kerman and was then sent back to Qum. His Eminence Thiqaat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh 'Abbas-'Ali (may his graces last) stopped by and I notified him of some matters to be communicated to Your Eminence. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's health and happiness.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Message

**Date:** January 23, 1963 [Bahman 3, 1341 AHS / Sha'ban 26, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Occasion:** Mr. Khwansari and Mr. Behbahani under house arrest in Tehran by the agents of the regime

**Addressee:** The Muslim nation of Iran

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Beware O Muslims! Islam is in danger of blasphemy. The authorities and '*ulama*' of Islam, some are in restriction, and some are jailed, and profaned. The government ordered the seminaries to be violated, the defenseless *tullab* beaten, and the marketplace of the Muslims pillaged and store windows shattered. Their Eminences Ayatullah Khwansari<sup>1</sup> and Ayatullah Behbahani<sup>2</sup> are under strict house arrest and a number of esteemed '*ulama*' and venerable preachers are jailed. We cannot contact them and do not know their whereabouts at all. Ruffians and thugs are provoked to insult the '*ulama*' and the clergy. They prevent the *tullab* and preachers from moving around the country to preach Islam and the Islamic laws. They treat us like slaves of the Middle Ages. I swear to Almighty God I don't want this life. "I find nothing in death but happiness and see nothing in living with tyrants but disgrace."<sup>3</sup>

I wish the police would come and arrest me so that I would be relieved of my responsibilities. The only crime of the '*ulama*' of Islam and other Muslims is that they defend the Holy Quran, Islam's dignity and the nation's independence, and they oppose imperialism. These are our conditions now; it would be interesting to know what Mr. 'Alam and Arsanjani's opinions are about it.<sup>4</sup>

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Ahmad Khwansari.

<sup>2</sup> Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Behbahani.

<sup>3</sup> This is a quotation from Imam Husayn ('a). *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 75, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Asadullah 'Alam (the then Prime Minister), Hasan Arsanjani, the Agriculture Minister in the 'Ali Amini's cabinet, was reinstated by Asadullah 'Alam and was one of the chief propagators of the Land Reforms.

## Message

**Date:** January 23, 1963 [Bahman 3, 1341 AHS / Sha'ban 26, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Assault of the police forces and SAVAK agents on the people and students in Faydiyyah Madrasah and in the streets of Qum

**Addressee:** The Muslim nation of Iran

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

*"Lo! We are Allah's and Lo! Unto Him we are returning."*<sup>1</sup>

After so many admonitions and fulfilling my duty as a clergyman, it yielded no good result and today—which is Shaban 26—a bunch of ruffians along with the government agents have been going around in the holy city of Qum, since morning, assaulting the defenseless people of Qum, *tullab* and the clergy, dishonoring, beating and arresting many. A number of the agents and ruffians attacked Faydiyyah Madrasah, beside the holy shrine, shooting and beating the meek *tullab* with truncheons and sticks. Then they assailed the Qum marketplace and avenues, plundering some of the stores, shattering many shop windows, and no one turned out to help the devout people and the clergy. We are under such conditions right now, at noon, and we do not know what will happen in the end. This is what is meant by government support of religion, and this is what is meant by free elections and a free electorate. We shall let the public be the judges of what actually took place in the religious city of Qum, in the vicinity of the holy shrine and in the city's theological center. We ask God Almighty for the dominance of Islam and independence of the country. May Allah Almighty protect Islam and the Quran!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:156.

## Statements

**Date:** January 23, 1963 [Bahman 3, 1341 AHS / Shaban 26, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The need for the removal of 'Alam from the premiership

**Occasion:** The bloody events of Bahman 2-3, 1341 AHS in Qum and Tehran; the Shah's arrival in Qum

**Addressees:** *Maraji'*, the clergy and Governor of Qum

### *[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

...in the light of yesterday's violent attack by government agents on the honorable '*ulama*' and people of Tehran and the disrespect shown towards the holy status held by the clergy in that city, and again, due to the government agents' inhuman treatment of the respected citizen and the clergy society of the city and their violation of the sanctity of this holy domain, there remains no room for agreement or for striking up any friendly relationship with the present state. In no way could a meeting be arranged with the Shah unless, in order to compensate for the affront against the holy sanctity of the clergy, he were to remove Mr. 'Alam from office for having been the prime culprit in all this, and he were to put an end to these arrests and other such actions taken by the police, thereby paving the way for possible talks and negotiations.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 254.

## Letter

**Date:** February 11, 1963 [Bahman 22, 1341 AHS / Ramadan 16, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Telephone transfer

**Addressee:** Qum Telephone Department 1

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

Qum Telephone Department

Hereby I request that the telephone number 3261, which I have purchased from Mr. Abu'l-Fadl Subhani, be registered under my name.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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11/29/1341 AHS

Qum Telephone Department

Hereby I accept whatever has to be performed under the regulations concerning telephone transfer.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> According to a footnote at the bottom of Imam Khomeini's letter, the phone number 3261 had been previously a magnetic phone. Although 9,000 Rials had been paid as a deposit, a sum of 7,000 Rials more had been still to be paid by Mr. Subhani; and after the sum had been paid, the telephone was legally transferred to Imam Khomeini. The original letters are kept in the Post and Telecommunications Museum.

## Joint Declaration

**Date:** March 1963 [Esfand 1341 AHS / Shawwal 1382 AH]<sup>1</sup>

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Joint declaration of the *maraji* and *ulama* of Qum on the illegality of the “women’s suffrage” plan

**Addressee:** The Iranian nation

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

**“There is neither might nor power but from Allah, the Exalted, the Great.”**

Since Mr. ‘Alam’s administration has hastily passed a bill, giving women the right to vote and to be elected, without reflecting on the articles of the Constitution and on the consequences of the subjects it has raised, it seemed necessary to notify the Muslim nation of some points to let them know under what conditions and under which governments the Iranian Muslims are living. We call for everybody’s attention to these points:

1. In the plan he has presented to the Prime Minister, Mr. Interior Minister writes: “As you well know, it is clearly stipulated in the Preamble of the Constitution that every individual citizen of the country is rightful to participate in ratification and supervision of general issues. According to the Second Article of the Constitution, the National Consultative Assembly (Parliament) represents the majority of the citizens of Iran who contribute to the economic and political affairs of their homeland. Therefore, not only is the deprivation of women from participating in elections, not permitted in the Constitution and its Supplement, but is also contrary to the Constitution, considering the phrase, “every individual citizen of the country” in the Preamble of the Constitution, and the phrase, “majority of the inhabitants of the country,” mentioned in the Second Article. The cabinet has approved that the first item of Article X and second item of Article XIII of the Consultative Assembly Election Laws, as well as the term “male” in Articles VI and IX of the Upper House of Parliament Election Laws, be dropped. They have also obliged the Interior Ministry to obtain legal permission for this bill, after the

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<sup>1</sup> This declaration became known as the Nine-Signature Declaration. In the book, *Haft Hezar Ruz [Seven Thousand Days]*, vol. 1, p. 126, 11/28/41 AHS is mentioned as the date of its issuance.



opening of the two Houses of Parliament. It is necessary to demonstrate the flaws of these statements:

a. If women's participation in elections, as Mr. Interior Minister claims and the cabinet approves, is in agreement with the Constitution, then the cabinet's enactment is void just as if it verified the participation of the men in the elections, and if the enactment is lawful, then it can be inferred that participation of women is against the Constitution for the cabinet members.

b. If lack of participation of women is against the Constitution in their opinion, then it is irrelevant for the cabinet to oblige the Interior Minister to obtain the legal permission for the bill after the opening of the two Houses. Therefore, because they want a legal permission, it is inferred that participation of women is against the Constitution in the opinion of cabinet members. Was it not better for the cabinet to pass a bill after enough deliberation?

2. The Preamble of the Constitution is not the Constitution itself, but it is the words of the then Shah and ceases to have legal validity and the Interior Minister relied on it either out of negligence or for misleading others. Rather, if he had thoroughly studied this Preamble, he would have clearly seen that women are not allowed to participate in the elections because you will find in it the phrase, "Now that the National Consultative Assembly is inaugurated according to our noble intentions..." If women's participation had been observed, how can it be possible that the Assembly had been inaugurated without the participation of women according to the "noble intentions"? This clause purports that the first round of the parliament had been in accordance with the Shah's intentions and women had not participated, so they have not been given the right.

3. It can be inferred that "the majority of the citizens of the country", mentioned in the Second Article, is not what is understood by the cabinet but it means that a representative from Tehran is representative of the entire nation and that a representative from Qum is representative of the entire nation as it is stipulated in the Thirtieth Article of the Supplement to the Constitution. The proof to this claim is that just ten classes of people are not allowed to vote, although they are part of the general citizens of the country. Therefore, they have to testify that either depriving this group or their participation is against the Constitution.

4. Given that there is a mistake in the interpretation of this Article, according to Article XXVII of the Supplement to the Constitution, interpretation and explanation of laws is incumbent upon the National Consultative Assembly, and the ministers have no right to interpret.

5. If according to the cabinet, women and other disenfranchised groups have the right to participate in the elections, then all of the parliaments since the beginning of Constitutionalism, have been formed against the Constitution and have been illegal because the women and more than ten other groups mentioned in the election laws have been excluded from participation, and this has been against the Constitution! This will entail many flaws as will be cited below:

a. All the existing laws of the country since the beginning of Constitutionalism are null and void, and should be declared illegal.

b. The Constituents' Assembly, according to Mr. 'Alam's cabinet, has been formed against the Constitution, so it is unlawful and void while such a claim is prosecutable according to the law.

c. Mr. 'Alam's administration and all other administrations formed since the beginning of Constitutionalism have been all illegitimate. An illegal government has no right to pass a bill and others. In fact, it is even a crime for it to interfere in the affairs and treasury of the country, and it is prosecutable.

d. All of the contracts with the foreign governments, such as oil contracts, and so on, according to Mr. 'Alam's administration, are null and void and this should be announced to the nation.

6. Omission of the first item of Article X and the second item of Article XIII of the National Consultative Assembly and omission of the word, "male" from Articles VI and IX of election laws of the Upper House, endorsed on Shawwal 1329 AH, the Parliamentary Election Laws, endorsed on Ordibehesht 14, 1339 AHS, are illegal. The administration fails to acquire such a right, according to the Preamble of the Constitution and Article 2 of the Constitution, because its grounds are void. In addition, the government is not given the right to nullify the National Consultative Assembly's laws, and according to the Article XXVIII of the Supplement to the Constitution, the executive and the legislative branches are permanently independent and separate from each other.

What has been mentioned so far is the legal aspect of this illegal bill. This bill is also in contrast with Articles II and XXVII of the Supplement to the Constitution.

In spite of every pressure, difficulty and insolence with which the government has subjected and is subjecting them, the clergy has discerned its religious duty and dictate of conscience on this (issue) by notifying the governments and Muslim society of its good and bad (aspects), and not abstaining from well-meaning admonitions to the rulers and officials. It has

to relay to the human society what is going on in this wretched, weak and hungry nation, the signs and effects of which are already appearing one after another. Along with the strict censorship on the press and severity of the police forces who would jail, humiliate or torture people for printing even a single page containing some advice and guidelines, and their distribution, the clergy witnesses that the government has made a plaything of the official religion of the country. They let it be said in the conferences that some steps had been taken for the equality of rights between women and men. While whoever believes in the equality of women's rights of inheritance, divorce and so on, which consist some of the essential laws of Islam, and annuls them, his verdict is already passed by the Islam.

The clergy observes that the economic foundation of this country is almost collapsing and its market near crashing, as it can be understood through the ever-increasing lawsuits on bounced checks. Further, the country's agriculture is at risk, for in a country where each province should be able to provide crop for the need of the whole country, they pass enactments, every now and then, for importing wheat, under the pretext of draught in one way or another. It is even heard that they have recently been importing flour in order to close the watermills of Iran. Now, in this deplorable state of affairs, the government, instead of looking for the solution, is busying itself and the people with debating topics like women's suffrage, women's rights, or participation of a half of the society, and other such charming phrases, which will bring with them nothing but misery, corruption and debauchery. They are not informed that Islam has paid women enough consideration in every respect more than anyone else has paid. It is out of respect to women's social and moral standing that they are prevented from this kind of indecent and impious social intercourse, but it is not the case, may God forbid, that they are assumed as the interdicted and convicts. One more thing is that, is entering these assemblies the only way that disproves their interdiction? If it is so, then the members of the army and the navy, those holding offices, members of the security and police forces, the king's direct descendants, and people under the age of twenty must be among the interdicted and convicts.

The clergy has anticipated all these incidents, which you are witnessing now and will see in the future, and had mentioned them in their statements a few months ago and now they are announcing more and greater dangers, afraid of the effects of these leaps on the country, its independence, economy and all its affairs. They do their momentous duties in these conditions, just as all people see and understand, and they say explicitly that the recent

enactment of the government on women's suffrage is null by the Islamic law and void, regarding the Constitution. While the press is under strict censorship and pressured by the security forces, it will publish these admonitions and facts as much as they can, so that the government cannot say that the bill was not protested by the 'ulama'; also they will take action in due time to stop it, God willing.

The Iranian nation also protests such bills because during the last few months, while they were under less pressure and intimidation, they announced their commitment to the 'ulama' of Islam through telegrams, papers and collective letters from all around the country, asking for the annulment of the government's illegal bill on the Provincial and District Councils Elections. Then the government accepted the nation's request and entrusted it to the Parliament. Now that they have gained dominance over different groups of people, including the clergymen and the pious, through imprisonment, torture and humiliation they do things with dangerous and formidable consequences for the Muslims. May the Lord bring our government back to reason, and have mercy upon the Muslim nation and the country of Islam!

"O Lord, we complaint to Thee at the bereavement of our Prophet (may Thy salutations be upon him and his progeny) at the occultation of our *Wali*, at the scarcity of our number, at the intensity of disasters upon us, and the unfoldings of the times to us. O Lord, send salutations to Muhammad and his progeny and let us overcome this by endowing us with Thy rapid victory and relieving grieves, Thy glorious assistance and the manifest dominance of truth."<sup>1</sup> "*Lo! We are Allah's and Lo! Unto Him we are returning.*"<sup>2</sup>

Murtada al-Husayni al-Langarudi  
Ahmad Husayni al-Zanjani  
Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i  
Muhammad al-Musawi al-Yazdi  
Muhammad Rida al-Musawi al-Gulpaygani  
Sayyid Kazim Shari'atmadari

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Hashim al-Amuli  
Murtada al-Ha'iri

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<sup>1</sup> Passages from *Du'a al-Ifitah*.

<sup>2</sup> *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:156.

# Speech

**Date:** February 26, 1963 [Esfand 7, 1341 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The need to resist against the regime's illegal acts

**Occasion:** The arrival of *'Id al-Fitr*

**Audience:** A group of *tullab*, clergy, residents of Qum, and pilgrims visiting the holy shrine of Hadrat Fatimah al-Masumah (r)<sup>1</sup>

## *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

### **Failure of the Shah's referendum**

...Respected men, whatever your position, make a determined stand against the illegal and sacrilegious activities of this government. Do not let these rusty bayonets frighten you, they will soon be broken. This government cannot oppose the demands of a great nation with bayonets, and sooner or later it will be defeated. Even now it is defeated and hopeless; the uncivilized acts that you have witnessed were exercised out of hopelessness. We did not wish the regime to be brought to this level of disgrace. Why must the king of a nation be so detached from the people that when he makes a suggestion the people ignore him or respond negatively? A king must behave in such manners that when he makes a suggestion or a request the people agree to it whole-heartedly, not rise up against it. The Shah's referendum enjoyed the support of no more than 2,000 people in the whole country. We did not want the leaders of this country to ever become so disgraced.

### **Ineffectiveness of the bayonets**

This should serve as a lesson to make them awaken and change their policy. Instead of breaking the law and sending the *'ulama'* and other respected citizens to prison, instead of bullying and using bayonets, they should yield to the wishes of the people and realize that they cannot silence the people or make them surrender with bayonets, nor can they use coercion to prevent the clergymen from performing the duties with which Islam has charged them. Even though they stopped Mr. Islami from speaking out on the

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

pulpit in Tehran, they saw how he spoke out on the pulpit in Bandar Pahlavi<sup>1</sup> and revealed the truth there. Moreover, if they had stopped him speaking there, he would have continued elsewhere, has no doubt about that. Wherever he could, he would get his message across to the people. Even though they have prevented many '*ulama*' and preachers from speaking out by putting them in prison, the remaining clergymen who have not been arrested will speak out and will make the people aware of what is happening. Do you honestly believe that you can silence the clergymen?

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to Bandar Anzali which had been named "Bandar Pahlavi" during the Pahlavi era.

## Message

**Date:** March 13, 1963 [Esfand 22, 1341 AHS / Shawwal 16, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Protest against disregarding essential laws of Islam and the Quran

**Addressee:** The Muslim nation of Iran

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

*“Lo! We are Allah’s and Lo! Unto Him we are returning.”*

The ruling regime of Iran violated the sublime laws of Islam and is going to violate the undisputed laws of the Holy Quran. The Muslims are on the verge of being discredited and the despotic regime intends to dishonor chaste women and leave the Iranian nation disgraced by passing bills against the laws of Islam and the Constitution.

The despotic regime plans to pass and enforce “equality of rights” between men and women, which is to violate the essential laws of Islam and the Holy Quran that is to take eighteen-year-old girls to compulsory military service and to the barracks; that is to take the young chaste girls to the centers of prostitution by force.

The target of the foreigners is the Quran and the clergy. The defiled hands of foreigners intend to eliminate the Quran and disgrace the clergy through the agency of such governments. We have to be dishonored, jailed, eliminated, and sacrificed for the evil ends of the foreigners, to the benefit of the Jews, America and Palestine (Israel). They find Islam and the clergy harmful, and an obstacle to the realization of their goals. The very existence of the regime depends on breaking this barrier. The Quran and clergy must be suppressed. I declare this New Year festivity an occasion of mourning for the Muslim society, to make them aware of the dangers over lurking the Quran and its country.

I warn the despotic regime. By God, I fear a black revolution and a revolution from below. It is as if the regime organizations are making its preparations by means of erroneous policies and bad intentions. In my opinion, the solution is that this despotic government be dismissed because of violating the Islamic law and the constitution, and a government come to power, which is concerned with observing Islamic law and caring for the Iranian nation.

O Lord! I fulfilled my present duty; “O Lord! I communicated the message.” If I am still alive, I will perform my next duty, God willing. O God, spare the Holy Quran and the reputation of the Muslims from the evil of the foreigners.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini



## Letter

**Date:** Circa March 1963 [Late Esfand, 1341 AHS / Shawwal 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Proclaiming a national mourning on *Nuruz* (Iranian New Year) 1342 AHS for the anti-religious movements of the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I hope Your Eminence is in a healthy disposition. I sent a telegram to Qezel Qal'eh.<sup>1</sup> After it was transmitted, I received the good news of your release. "The suffering left, the remuneration remains." The decision we have made about *Nuruz* this year is quite effective and proper in my opinion, but there have been disputes over it. We deserve to be thrashed, indeed! Anyway I assume that it would be very useful if Your Eminence and Their Eminences Ayatullah Walid, Ayatullah Amoli and Ayatullah Ashtiyani publish a statement together, or each on his own, supporting the contents of our statement or whatever you think best. Of course, the death anniversary of Hadrat Sadiq ('a) should not be mentioned and it has to be stipulated that the occasion is the catastrophes that Islam has endured this year. If Mr. Ashtiyani does not agree, the rest of you will suffice, so the government's attempt at damaging the religion under the name of Hadrat Sadiq ('a) is made ineffective, for I hear that the government intends to pretend the same. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Qezel Qal'eh prison, Tehran.

## Message

**Date:** March 13, 1963 [Esfand 22, 1341 AHS / Shawwal 16, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Proclaiming a national mourning on *Nuruz* 1342 AHS

**Addressees:** The '*ulama*' and clergy

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Their Eminences 'Ulama' al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islams (may their blessings last):

"May God Almighty increase His rewards for you." As you are informed, the ruling regime intends to make every effort to destroy the essential laws of Islam, which will be followed by issues that will endanger Islam. I will be sitting at home, as a sign of condolence to the Imam of the Age (may God Almighty expedite his advent) and warn the people of the danger. It would be appropriate that gentlemen also do the same thing so that the Muslim nation might become aware of the catastrophes inflicted on Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

# Speech

**Date:** March 20, 1963 [Esfand 29, 1341 AHS / Shawwal 23, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Azam Mosque, Qum

**Subject:** The imperialist plots against Islam; the grave duty of religious scholars

**Occasion:** Arrival of *Nuruz* festivity, 1342 AHS

**Audience:** A group of the clergy, *Tullab* and people of Qum

## *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

### **Declaring a national mourning**

This year,<sup>1</sup> we have no New Year festivities and we declare it a national mourning not because it coincides with the martyrdom anniversary of Hadrat Sadiq ('a); Hadrat does have a lofty and exalted standing; both his birth and martyrdom improved and consolidated Islam. As Sayyid ibn Tawus (may God's blessings be upon him) said: "Martyrdom of [the likes of] Imam as-Sadiq must be celebrated."<sup>2</sup>

We are mournful this New Year for the catastrophes and harms brought upon Islam. This year<sup>3</sup> was a good one neither for Muslims nor for the clergy. Islam was violated in the past year. The '*ulama*' of the religion and the clergy were humiliated and disgraced. The imperialists made plots against Islam in the past year; the defiled agents of imperialism insulted the Quran, made plans for abolishing the luminous laws of the Quran; they made plans and set plots. If the Muslims do understand what plots and plans are going on against the dignity of Islam, the welfare of the Muslim nations and independence of Muslim countries, they will never celebrate a New Year, but rather they will rise up according to their religious duties. The '*ulama*' and the Muslim nations are shouldering a heavy duty. It is everybody's duty to defend Islam, to stand up against conspiracies and oppose them. Those who do not rise up, do not oppose the dangers threatening Islam, or do not defend it, are among the dead.

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<sup>1</sup> Nuruz (the Iranian New Year festivity) 1342 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to a quotation from Sayyid ibn Tawus in the book *al-Malhuf 'ala Qatli't-Tufuf*, published by Dar al-Uswat-u li't-Tibaah wa'n-Nashr, first edition, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> The year 1341 AHS, in which the affairs concerning the illegal Provincial and District Councils Bill and the show-off referendum by the Shah took place.

### **The seminaries, strongholds for defending Islam**

The Islamic clergy has been serving Islam and the Muslims until this moment in the history of its brilliant existence, and have struggled and fought to defend the religion of God and the rights of the nations. They have made people aware of the dangers threatening Islam and the independence of the Muslim countries whenever the occasion arose. They have never stepped back and kept silent facing the pressures, oppressions and threats directed to them by the despotic rulers and tyrants, and have not given up the pursuit of their obligation and have not surrendered to the tyrants, facing terror and threat. It is not possible to terrorize the clergymen with threats and bullying them into accepting the dominance and power of the despotic and oppressors. The clergymen do not fear the bayonet of the tyrants and villains, and will not give up their duty. *“Lo! Those who say: ‘Our Lord is Allah’ and afterward are upright, the angels descend upon them, saying: Fear not nor grieve, but hear good tidings of the paradise which ye are promised.”*<sup>1</sup> So why should we fear and what for to grieve; they are not humans, not even worthy to be afraid of. What can they threaten to do to us?

The clergymen need not to be afraid of anything; they should not be frightened by the hollers, savagery and uproar of a bunch of ruffians and hooligans. The clergymen should sacrifice even their last drop of blood for Islam, for the Quran and for exalting the Word of Allah. If some day—may God forbid—there is going to be no Islam, no laws of the Holy Quran, and the Jafari (that of Imam Jafar Sadiq) creed is going to be made unofficial in the country, we will not need the clergy at all, (then) we will not want the seminaries to be. We need the seminaries for protecting Islam, promoting divine and Quranic laws, but if the despotic regime is going to make the holy religion of Islam unofficial, to eliminate the laws of Islam and to make the Quran obsolete and suppressed, then what will be the point of the seminaries and what will be their use?<sup>2</sup> We do not need them just to discuss abstracts, do we? The seminaries should be alive and stand up against the enemies of Islam like a mountain and roar like a lion. This corrupt government is using all its means and power to attack Islam and the Muslims and everyday it is expanding the range of its oppression and crime. It is our duty to stand up against these criminals and not to be silent.

Should we be silent when imperialism is distorting the Quran? Should we be silent while the oppressor regime assaults the religious schools, beats

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<sup>1</sup> Surah Fussilat 41:30.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the opinion of some clerics of that time who believed that because struggling with the Shah's regime might do harm to the seminaries, so it had to be averted.

up the students, plunders their belongings, jails the distinguished '*ulama*', disgraces, threatens and insults them? Should we keep silent while the '*ulama*' of Tehran are being imprisoned and disgraced? Should we be silent when the '*ulama*' of Qum are under severest insults, and allegedly saying, "*Allah is our Lord*", our Lord is not America, our Lord is not Britain, our Lord is not Israel; our Lord is Allah.

### **Dangerous dreams**

The '*ulama*' and the clergy's 'crime' is defending Islam, defending the laws of Islam, confronting the tyrants and oppressors eye to eye and shouting at them not to violate the laws of Allah, not to make a plaything of divine traditions. You can never change the laws of God and you are not permitted to do so. The divine laws belong to the prophets who have brought them for the welfare of humankind and the distinguished '*ulama*' are obliged to keep them and express them for the nation. We have the divine rule, so we do not need the rule of the tyrant and puppet governments. They want to enforce their master's laws of bondage in our country. We know what evil plans they have in mind. We know the treacherous hands of the imperialist agents want to pass a law against the laws of the Quran, to make the Quran unofficial, and to give the Quran the same legal status as the other heretic books.

We can understand what dangerous dreams the despotic regime has against Islam, when they drop the prerequisite of being a Muslim for voting and candidature; it is to pave the way for the heretic sect and to give them dominance over the Muslim nation's destiny and Islamic countries. We have heard their demonic voices around the country many times, saying, sometimes explicitly and sometimes implicitly, that they do not want Islam, that Islam belongs to the Arabs. These are their spiteful words about the Muhammadan religion (may God's salutations be upon him and his progeny) and this kind of profane and scandalous talk helps us better understand their anti-religious nature and know them more closely. They are the imperialist functionaries; they are agents of the foreigners. They are dominating our country to eradicate Islam. We have witnessed their criminal acts for many years. It is our duty to awaken the nation and to notify the people of this, as an ultimatum.

### **The motive for protesting against the Provincial and District Councils Bill**

O Muslims of the world! Know that the reason why the '*ulama*' of Islam protested against the Provincial and District Councils Bill was not the issue

of the women's suffrage. This was too unimportant to entail the general uprising. The point was that the '*ulama*' and the clergy perceived that the tyrannical regime was meant to distort Islam with a demonic scheme and to restore the old ways.

In the conditions where they have made a plaything of the holy laws of Islam, can we keep silent, not protest, and not ask why they pressurize the preachers and orators of Islam? Why do they silence the preachers of Islam? Why do they apply censorship on printing houses and prevent Islamic writings from being printed and published? Why do they restrict the press?

They want to oppose Imam as-Sadiq's ('*a*') creed under his own name. Under the name of Imam as-Sadiq, they want to eliminate the holy laws of the Quran and to eradicate its luminous teachings. Their motto is respecting Hadrat Sadiq's status, while at the same time they speak of equality between the rights of men and women. The equality of men and women's rights means violation of the Quran; it means putting aside the Jafari creed; it means forsaking the Quran and replacing it with heretic books; it means taking girls to barracks; and other things which threaten the reputation of Muslims.

The equality of rights between men and women, and its consequences is abandoned and condemned in the opinion of the twenty million Iranians. They want to drive our nation into accepting it by using force, bayonets, pressure, and bullets. If they are under pressure from Britain or America, they have to let us know, so that we can confront those countries ourselves. If it is an international obligation, again they have to tell us to find a way out. Why do these illegal governments not leave us alone? Why does this malicious ill-educated Prime Minister<sup>1</sup> not leave this people alone? Why does he not resign so that a wise and well-educated person who is sympathetic toward this nation can take office?

Do we have to remain quiet and say nothing while they attack the Faydiyyah Madrasah, break window glasses, beat up *tullab* and plunder their belongings,<sup>2</sup> imprison the '*ulama*' of Tehran, assault the shops in Qum and break shop windows and pillage people's properties? These wretched ones assume that they have made a great conquest and ranked the country among the developed countries of the world, by beating defenseless people and innocent *tullab*!

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<sup>1</sup> Asadullah 'Alam.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the assault of Qum gendarmes and police forces to Faydiyyah Madrasah and stores on Bahman 30, 1341 AHS. See Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini, vol. 1, p. 249.

### **I will be lying in ambush for them**

The tyrannical regime should know that if they try to violate Islam and enforce the laws of atheism in the Muslim countries, I would be lying in ambush for them. I will not be silent and I will not hesitate to oppose treason to Islam, according to the law of Islam that has ordered us *jihad* and defense. If they want to get rid of a nuisance like me, they need to banish me from this country. As long as I am here, I will not let non-Islamic laws be passed and enforced; as long as I am here, I will not let the despotic regime dissipate the independence of the country.

The Islamic nation is also awakened, committed and sensitive to their religion and creed. They like their '*ulama*'; they back the '*ulama*' of Islam and surely they will not be quiet facing treachery to Islam and the Quran, and will not permit the despotic and oppressors to do whatever they wish to Islam and will cut off any hands trying to encroach on the sacred domain of the Quran.

### **Invitation to self-sacrifice and resistance**

You clergy should also be vigilant. You are obliged to reveal the facts to the people and inform different the classes of people of what they are planning against Islam and the independence of the country and of the harms they are doing to Islam. Do not supplicate; do not surrender to pressure and violence of the *taghut*<sup>1</sup> and strengthen your unity. Be lively people. Be strong when incidents happen and be one of those about whom the Lord has said: "*Lo! Those who say: 'Our Lord is Allah,' and afterward is upright; the angels descend upon them, saying: 'Fear not nor grieve, but hear good tidings of the paradise which ye are promised'.*" God will send the angels down upon you and calm down your hearts so that you would no longer be worried about being killed or executed. Your eternal abode is "the Garden of Eden," "*which is promised unto those who ward off (evil).*"<sup>2</sup> The day of our happiness and prosperity comes when we are freed from the defiled world that is full of pain, suffering and tragedy. Our festivity and auspicious time comes when we are martyred. Living is not enjoyable and delightful for a Muslim in these times. We do not like to live under the auspices of the tyrants and oppressors and we are ready for any kind of incidents. You have to be ready too. If you are really a clergyman, do not be afraid, do not be anxious, and strengthen your hearts. Prepare yourselves for being killed;

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<sup>1</sup> Taghut: one who surpasses all bounds in his despotism and tyranny and claims the prerogatives of divinity for himself whether explicitly or implicitly.

<sup>2</sup> Adaptation from Surah al-Furqan 25:15.

prepare yourselves for being arrested; prepare yourselves for being taken to the military service; prepare yourselves for being insulted and beaten; prepare yourselves for enduring the anguishes awaiting you for defending Islam and independence. Tie up your belts and be ready for imprisonment, exile, military service and insult; do not be afraid and anxious. When they insult me, you need not be grieved. Why should you grieve? Why do you collect the papers from around?<sup>1</sup>

### **The Muslim predecessors suffered many a torture and grief**

Am I worthier than Hadrat ‘Ali (‘a), the Commander of the Faithful? Mu‘awiyah insulted Hadrat ‘Ali for several years but he was patient. Did Hadrat ‘Ali says anything other than what we are saying now? We say the laws of the Quran should be enforced in our country. Hadrat also said the same thing. Are you worthier than the companions of Hadrat ‘Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, who sacrificed their lives for the sake of their religion? Our predecessors, the great men of our religion and the Infallible Imams (‘a) were disgraced, slapped and martyred for defending Islam; they were imprisoned and poisoned. The followers of Hadrat ‘Ali (‘a) and Hadrat Fatimah (‘a) and their spiritual and physical children have always been opposing the despotic rulers. ‘Ammar Yasir...<sup>2</sup> spent all his blessed life struggling until he was martyred by “*fiya-ye baghiyyah*” (a band of villains)<sup>3</sup> when he was ninety years old. Maytham Tammar, the eloquent tongue of Islam talked on until his tongue was cut off, his hands were amputated and he suffered the worst torments ever, by the executioners of Mu‘awiyah (may he be damned).

The children of Hadrat Fatimah (‘a) have always stood up against the tyrannical and oppressive regimes and defended Islam, all along the history of Islam. They were much tortured, insulted, were killed by being put among building stones of a wall; they were decapitated in vast numbers, massacred and martyred, but they resisted and did not let Islam and God’s laws be ruined and demolished.

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to a declaration by SAVAK under the false name “Organization of Iranian Women” in which the most degrading, disgraceful and inflame insults were directed to the Imam. Members of the Police and SAVAK agents posted them at night on the walls of the streets of Qum. Tullab and the clergy collected them from around the city. In a gathering outside his house, the Imam objected to the tullab who had torn-off the declarations, asking them to leave the papers on the walls so that the people would know the real nature of the oppressive regime.

<sup>2</sup> The voice on the tape is rendered unclear.

<sup>3</sup> The Holy Prophet (s) had said this about ‘Ammar.



### **O followers of Fatimah!**

Thanks to God, the children of Fatimah are still alive today; Fatimah's children are in Qum, Fatimah's children are in Mashhad, Fatimah's children are in Najaf, Fatimah's children are in other cities; they will not tolerate any treachery to the laws of the Quran by the government. As long as Fatimah's children are alive, they will not permit the enemies to encroach on the Islamic sanctities or to hand over the fate of the Muslims to the Jews or to Israel. O followers of Fatimah! Hurry to assist Islam. I will be sixty-three years old this year. The Holy Prophet (may God's salutations be upon him and his progeny) passed away when he was sixty-three; Hadrat Amir ('a), was martyred at the age of sixty-three. We are the followers of the Holy Prophet; we are the followers of Hadrat Amir; we are the followers of the Aba 'Abdillah (Imam Husayn). People who are the followers of those great men will never be afraid; fear deserves those who do not believe in the afterworld. Worry and grief belongs to those who only have this world and find their ultimate wishes in this very world. Those who know that their abode will be the plentiful Paradise and the Worthy Status (beside God), what do they have to be afraid of? *"Lo! Those who say: 'Our Lord is Allah,' and afterward are upright, the angels descend upon them, saying: 'Fear not nor grieve, but hear good tidings of the paradise which ye are promised'."*

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In the book Kawthar: An Anthology of the Speeches of Imam Khomeini (r), Including an Account of the Events of the Revolution, first Persian edition, vol. 1, p. 52, excerpts of this Speech are included based on the notes and memories of a few who were among the audience and had witnessed the session. Recently, the text of this speech along with a copy of Qum Police report and a copy of its Arabic translation from the book Kafah al-'Ulama' al-Alam, published in Najaf, was presented to the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works by Mr. Sayyid Hamid Ruhani, the author of the book, Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini [A Survey and Analysis of Imam Khomeini's Movement]. On recording and preparation of this speech he writes: "This speech was recorded by one of the tullab named Sayyid Hasan Tahiri, and was taken out to Najaf secretly through the Abadan border. There it was transcribed and translated into Arabic by some of the diligent clergymen, and the main parts were printed in the book Kafah al-'Ulama' al-Alam, published in Najaf. During my residence in Najaf, I (the writer) could not find the tape or the text of this speech, and I have not been able to find it since the victory of the Islamic Revolution till now. So I translated the Arabic text into Persian from the mentioned book and incorporated the parts cited in Qum Police report as far as I had heard myself and could remember. Qum Police report estimates "about 4,000" attended the speech, but in my opinion the number was much greater than that. I arrived at the place after the Imam's speech had begun and I could not make a way to go inside the building, so I stood outside among the people gathering to hear the Imam's speech."

## Statements

**Date:** March 22, 1963 [Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS / Shawwal 25, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Patience and endurance when confronting catastrophes and bereavements

**Occasion:** Assault of the regime's agents on Faydiyyah Madrasah

**Audience:** A group of the clergy, *tullab* and people of Qum

### *[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

...Do not be upset and worried; do not become anxious; Distance yourselves from fear and panic. You are the followers of those leaders who were both patient and steadfast in the face of certain calamities and hardships which were so severe that what we face today is nothing in comparison. Our great leaders have survived such events as those which occurred on the day of 'Ashura and the eve of Muharram 11, and they have borne these tragedies in the path of God's religion. Now then, what do you have to say? What are you afraid of? Why are you worried? It is wrong for one who claims to follow Hadrat Amir ('a) and Imam Husayn ('a) to surrender because of the kind of ignominious shameful deeds perpetrated by the ruling regime. This regime has caused its own disgrace and derision by committing such as outrage, and it has clearly revealed its Genghis Khan-like identity. Indeed, by becoming associated with this catastrophe, the tyrannical system has ensured its own defeat and destruction. We are the ones who have triumphed. We asked God to reveal the true identity of this regime and for it to disgrace itself; and indeed it did.

The prominent figures of Islam were killed in their endeavor to safeguard both Islam and the ordinances of the Holy Quran. They went to prison and sacrificed their lives so that Islam could be preserved until the present day and be passed on to us. Today, it is our duty to readily endure any kind of hardship in our confrontation with the dangers threatening Islam and the Muslims. Only in this way will we be able to sever the hand of those who betray Islam and to frustrate their designs and ambitions...

## Statements

**Date:** March 23, 1963 [Farvardin 3, 1342 AHS / Shawwal 26, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Occasion:** Assault of the regime's agents on Faydiyyah Madrasah

**Audience:** A group of clergy, *tullab* and people of Qum

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

...People must visit Faydiyyah Madrasah to see for themselves the inhuman crimes perpetrated by the ruling system; and they must also call at hospitals and pay visits to the clergy who have been wounded in order to realize what the ruling system has done to the religious community!

## Telegram

**Date:** Circa March / April 1963 [Farvardin 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the sympathies on the disastrous assault made on Faydiyyah Madrasah by the agents of the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hadi Milani

Mashhad

His Eminence Ayatullah Milani (may his blessings last):

I would like to thank you for your kind sympathies on the grave disaster brought upon Islam and the Holy Prophet (may God's salutations be upon him and his progeny) by the tyrannical regime. It was a reminder of the incidents in Genghis Khan's period. *"Those who do wrong will come to know by what a (great) reverse they will be overturned"*<sup>1</sup>

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Surah ash-Shu'ara' 26:227.

## Telegram

**Date:** Circa March / April 1963 [Farvardin 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the sympathies on the disastrous assault made on Faydiyyah Madrasah by the agents of the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hasan Qummi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Mashhad

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Qummi (may his blessings last):

I would like to thank you for your kind sympathies on the grave disaster brought upon the Muslims by the tyrannical regime. It was a reminder of the incidents during the Mongol period. The clergy are not guaranteed their lives anymore. *"And Allah was predominant in his career."*<sup>1</sup>

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Surah Yusuf 12:21.

## Telegram

**Date:** March 27, 1963 [Farvardin 7, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the sympathies on the disastrous assault made on Faydiyyah Madrasah by the agents of the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad Behbahani

Tehran

His Eminence Ayatullah Behbahani (may his blessings last):

I would like to thank you for your kind sympathies on the grave disaster brought upon Islam, nothing like which had happened but during the barbarian and Medieval Ages. There have been heavy losses and injuries but the exact number is not clear yet. This is the way the government treats Islam and the clergymen. *"And Allah was predominant in his career."*<sup>1</sup>

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Surah Yusuf 12:21.

## Telegram

**Date:** March 27, 1963 [Farvardin 7, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the sympathies on the disastrous assault made on Faydiyyah Madrasah by the agents of the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hashim Rasuli Mahallati

Imamzadeh Qasim, Tajrish, Tehran

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Rasuli (may his graces last):

I would like to thank you for your kind sympathies on this grave disaster which reminds us of the Taf (Karbala') event. The government attacked Islam and the Quran with the armed forces. *"Those who do wrong will come to know by what a (great) reverse they will be overturned"*<sup>1</sup>

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Surah ash-Shu'ara' 26:227.

## Telegram

**Date:** March 27, 1963 [Farvardin 7, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the expression of sympathy on the disastrous assault made on Faydiyyah Madrasah by the agents of the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Islami

Ab Mangol Street, Rey Avenue  
Tehran

His Eminence Thiqaat al-Islam Mr. Islami, the honorable orator:

I would like to thank you for your expression of sympathy on this grave disaster brought upon Islam and the Muslims. The government surpassed Genghis Khan in its inhuman acts.

Khomeini



## Telegram

**Date:** March 27, 1963 [Farvardin 7, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the expression of sympathy on the disastrous assault made on Faydiyyah Marasah by the agents of the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hasan Bahr al-'Ulum

Rasht

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Bahr al-'Ulum (may his blessings last):

I would like to thank you for your expression of sympathy on the grave disaster brought upon Islam. God Almighty is Sufficient.

Khomeini

## Telegram

**Date:** March 27, 1963 [Farvardin 7, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the expression of sympathy on the disastrous assault made on Faydiyyah Madrasah by the agents of the Shah's regime

**Addressees:** Mahdi Shafiq and Hadrati Bazaar tradesmen

c/o His Eminence Mr. Haj Mahdi Shafiq  
Hadrati Bazaar, Tehran

The honorable tradesmen of Hadrati Bazaar (may God Almighty assist them):

I would like to thank you for your expression of sympathy on this grave disaster, which reminds us of the event of martyrdom in Karbala'. The government forces mercilessly suppressed the spiritual and physical children of the Holy Prophet and hurt the Imam of the Time's heart. God Almighty is Sufficient.

Khomeini

## Permission

**Date:** March 29, 1963 [Farvardin 9, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 3, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Khayrullah Tuysirkani

### *[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon the best of creation, Muhammad, and his pure and holy progeny.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam, ‘Imad al-Alam, Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Shaykh Khayrullah Tuysirkani (may God always assist him) is granted my permission and consent to be in charge of the financial affairs whose supervision and administration belongs to the Islamic jurist or someone having his permission. In addition, he is allowed to collect Islamic legal payments such as legal alms (*zakat*<sup>1</sup> and *khums*<sup>2</sup>), and money paid for the repentance and oblation, spending them in the religiously prescribed cases. His Eminence is also allowed to collect the blessed Imam’s (may peace and salutations be upon him and his forefathers) Share, spending one-third of it in Tuysirkan Seminary and delivering the remainder to this humble servant to be expended on maintaining the seminaries.

“And I advise him (may he always succeed) to keep company of piety and to be cautious and not to forget me in his benevolent prayers as I will not forget him, God willing”, for He is the One who guarantees success.

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<sup>1</sup> Zakat: the tax levied on various categories of wealth and spent on the purposes specified in Quran, 9:60.

<sup>2</sup> Khums: literally means one-fifth. According to the Shi‘ah school of jurisprudence [fiqh], this one-fifth tax is obligatorily levied on every adult Muslim who is financially secure and has surplus in his income out of annual savings, net commercial profits, and all movable and immovable properties which are not commensurable with the needs and social standing of the person. Khums is divided into two equal parts: the Share of the Imam [sahm al-Imam] and the Share of the Sayyids/Sadat (descendants of the Prophet) [sahm as-Sadat]. Accordingly, the Share of the Imam is to be paid to the living Imam, and in the period of Occultation, to the most learned living mujtahid who is the giver’s marja at-taqlid [Source of Emulation]. The other half of the khums, the Share of the Sayyids/Sadat, is to be given to needy pious Sayyids who lack the resources for one’s year respectable living in consonance with their various statuses. For more information, see Sayyid Muhammad Rizvi, Khums: An Islamic Tax, <http://www.al-islam.org/beliefs/practices/khums.html>.

Humbly yours,

‘Abd al-Hadi al-Husayni al-Shirazi  
Rajab al-Murajjab 23, 1381 AH]

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

He is also granted the same permission as mentioned above.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Qadah al-Haram, 1382 AH

## Telegram

**Date:** March 30, 1963 [Farvardin 10, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 4, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the expression of sympathy on the disastrous assault made on Faydiyyah Madrasah by the agents of the Shah's regime

**Addressees:** The clergymen of Tehran and municipalities

I would like to thank you all for your expression of sympathy on this grave disaster, which was a reminder of the event of martyrdom in Karbala'. The government forces mercilessly suppressed the spiritual and physical children of the Prophet and hurt the Imam of the Time's heart. It was also a reminder of Genghis Khan's period. The clergymen's lives are not longer guaranteed. God Almighty is Sufficient.

Khomeini

## Message

**Date:** April 2, 1963 [Farvardin 13, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 7, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Impeaching Asadullah 'Alam (the then Prime Minister)

**Occasion:** Assault of the agents of the Shah's regime on Faydiyyah Madrasah and the beating and harassment of the people and *tullab*

**Addressees:** The '*ulama*' of Tehran

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

*"Lo! We are Allah's and Lo! Unto Him we are returning."*

C/o His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Asghar Khu'i (may his graces last)

To Their Eminences distinguished '*ulama*' and Hujjat al-Islams of Tehran (may their blessings last):

I was most grateful to receive your worthy telegram expressing your condolence on the grave disaster brought upon Islam and the Muslims.

The assault made on the center of the clergy by the commandoes and armed forces of the government in disguise and supported by the police, revived the memories of the Mongol conquest. The difference was that they (the Mongols) had attacked a foreign country and these (agents of the Shah's regime) attacked their own Muslim nation, defenseless clergy and *tullab*. While chanting the slogan "long live the Shah", they assaulted the learning center of Imam as-Sadiq ('*a*) and his physical and spiritual children on the day of his death anniversary. They savagely plundered the whole Faydiyyah Madrasah, the university of the Imam of the Time (may God's peace and salutations be upon him) in a matter of an hour or two in the presence of twenty thousand Muslims, breaking the doors and windows of all dorm-rooms. The *tullab* jumped off the rooftops to save their lives, breaking their heads and hands. They gathered the turbans of *tullab* and *Sadat*, the progeny of the Prophet, in the middle of the courtyard and set them on fire; dropped sixteen or seventeen-year-old youngsters off the rooftops; and tore copies of the Quran and other books to pieces, as I said before.

Now the clergymen and *tullab* are not guaranteed their lives in this religious city. The houses of '*ulama*' and *maraji*' are surrounded by inspectors, and sometimes by police forces and commandoes. The agents

have threatened to do the same thing to other *madrasahs*, too. The honorable *tullab* have changed clothes out of the fear of the agents. It has been ordered that the *tullab* should not be let into taxies and buses. The agents insult the clergy in public meetings, in general, and insult some others by their names, and use extremely bad language. The night guards spread profane papers incognito. They disgrace the sanctities under the name of "Royalism". "Royalism" means vandalism, profanity of Islam, violating the rights of Muslims, encroaching the centers for science and knowledge; it means striking the body of the Quran and Islam; burning the symbols of Islam and doing away with Islamism and it means also suppressing the clergy and eliminating the signs of prophethood.

They are aware that the principles of Islam are exposed to danger. The Quran and creed are in danger. Having this, *taqiyyah* [dissimulation] is forbidden for us; and revealing the facts is obligatory, "whatever may happen."

Now that there is no qualified reference in Iran for taking legal action, and the country is being managed in an frenzied way, I impeach Mr. 'Alam, serving as the Prime Minister at present, on the behalf of the nation: What was your justification when you attacked Tehran Bazaar two months ago? Where the prominent '*ulama*' and other Muslims were harmed and injured? Under what justification did you imprison the '*ulama*' and the other classes of people, because of which a great number are in jails now? What was your justification for expending the budget of the country on holding the pseudo-referendum? Moreover, if it was the Shah's personal referendum—who is one of the wealthiest men on earth—under, what justification did you employ, by force, the civil servants who are paid their salaries through public budget for a personal referendum? Under what justification did you plunder the Qum marketplace; violated Faydiyyah Madrasah; beat up the *tullab*, and jailed them? What is your justification for sending commando and police forces, in disguise and under the influence, to the Faydiyyah Madrasah and all these crimes being committed on the day of Imam as-Sadiq's ('a) death anniversary?

Now I have prepared my heart for your agents' bayonets, but I will not prepare it for accepting your coercion and supplication in front of your oppression. I will express the laws of God wherever the occasion calls for; and I will reveal the deeds that are against the interests of the country as long as I can hold a pen in my hand. Muslims are grieving both their worldly lives and their religion. Your four-month old administration has endangered the economy, agriculture, industry, culture, and religion of the country because

of what you have done and the country is collapsing in every respect. May God Almighty and Quran protect Islam and Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini



## Message

**Date:** April 5, 1963 [Farvardin 16, 1342 / Dhu'l-Qadah 10, 1382]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Thanking the people for their support of the uprising

**Occasion:** General strike and closure in protest against the disastrous attack on Faydiyyah

**Addressee:** The Iranian nation

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I would like to thank the honorable nation of Iran for their kind sympathies; especially the worthy citizens of Tehran (may God Almighty assist them) who endured many troubles and losses.

Closing the market and stores, in present atmosphere of terror and repression, and in these economic conditions was an expression of the public hatred and aversion towards the tyrannical regime. It has been repeatedly notified that the clergy mean nothing but to make reformations in the conditions of the nation and to retain the independence of the country. So guarding the laws of Islam and the Constitution that guarantees the maintenance of Jafari creed and laws of Islam is their first priority. Whosoever tries to encroach on the domain of Islam and its sacred laws, in whatever position they may be, will be admonished, or opposed by the clergy, as a support for you religious brothers and the great nation of Islam.

You great nation of Iran proved that you have retained your loyalty to the laws of God Almighty and the reverend status of the clergy, by leaving your works, taking the loss and the trouble; and that you totally detest those who want to take steps against the Islamic laws; may God Almighty endow you with favor and good reward.

We are under siege from every side now. Many of our telegrams are not delivered. Telegrams sent to us are mostly intercepted. The press feature articles to disgrace and insult us, either voluntarily or under pressure. Speakers are disseminating lies to disgrace and weaken the clergy who are the only support of the country; and use all sorts of slander against them. If the foreigners are to attain their evil ends, this support have to be broken down; the clergy have to undergo torture and insult; this costume deserves to be burnt! They suffered much torment, cruelty and insult during the last

twenty-odd years by the agents of Britain, the historic enemy of Islam and the Orient.<sup>1</sup> The young can ask the elderly about it. We have to be insulted and tortured by the agents of the foreigners' agents. God Almighty is Sufficient.

At the end, I have to thank the noble Iranian nation again and ask God, the Exalted, for the glory of Islam and the Quran, the independence of the Islamic country and for the grace and grandeur of the followers of the Holy Quran. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to the criminal acts against the clergymen and seminaries during the reign of Rida Khan.

## Telegram

**Date:** April 12, 1963 [Farvardin 23, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 17, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Occasion:** Mr. Hakim's invitation of the Iranian '*ulama*' for migration to Najaf and the other holy cities in Iraq

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhsin Tabataba'i Hakim (one of the great *maraji' at-taqlid*)

### Najaf

His Eminence Ayatullah Hakim (may his blessings last and his name be exalted):

I was grateful to receive your telegram of condolence on the great disaster. Through the unity of the '*ulama*' of Islam and the *maraji'* of our time (may God multiply the likes of them), I hope we can protect the independence of the country, cut off the foreigners' encroaching hands, defend the domain of Islam and the Quran, and prevent any violation of the essential laws of Islam. We know that with the migration of the *maraji'* and prominent '*ulama*' (may God exalt their names) the great center of Shi'ism would reach the verge of destruction and will be drawn toward blasphemy and atheism, and our religious brothers will face torture and suffering. We know that with such a migration substantial changes will be brought about which are causes of concern to us. We will carry on for now in this burning fire and will tolerate the threats to our lives to defend Islam and the Muslims, the domain of the Holy Quran and the independence of the Islamic country. We will retain the clerical centers as far as we can, and invite to peace and calm, unless the tyrannical regime decides to set off on a course that would force us to react in a way that from which I would seek the refuge in God, the Blessed and Exalted. I sincerely extend my supportive hand toward all Muslims, especially the prominent '*ulama*' and the great *maraji'* (may God lengthen their lives) and ask for help from all classes of the people for guarding the Islamic laws and the independence of Islamic countries. I feel certain that the ranks of foreigners and adversaries will be shattered with the unity of expression of the Muslims, especially the prominent '*ulama*' so that they would never dream of encroaching upon the Muslim countries. God willing, we will fulfill our divine obligation, and will attain "*one of the two*

*good things;*<sup>1</sup> either cutting off the treacherous hands from the domain of Islam and the Holy Quran, or residing in the blessings of God, the Exalted, in Heaven. “I see nothing in death but happiness and I find nothing in living with the despotic but disgrace.”<sup>2</sup> Now, the despotic regime is making its ultimate effort to extinguish the light of God. “*But Allah will perfect His light however much the disbelievers are averse.*”<sup>3</sup>

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to Surah at-Tawbah 9:52: Either victory or martyrdom for the sake of God.

<sup>2</sup> A quotation from Imam Husayn (‘a). Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 75, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Surah as-Saff 61:8.

## Telegram

**Date:** *Unknown*

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Expressing regret over the disasters brought upon Islam and clergy

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad Muttaqi (known as Ayatullahzadeh Isfahani)

### *In His Most Exalted name*

Burujen, Isfahan

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Ayatullahzadeh Isfahani (may his blessings last):

I have the honor to inform you that I was most grateful to receive your kind letter indicating your good health and your regrets over the disasters brought upon Islam and the clergy. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your health and success. I hope God will take the evil of the villains away from us through sincere prayers of Your Eminence and other Muslims. May peace be upon you.

Khomeini

## Permission

**Date:** April 20, 1963 [Farvardin 31, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 25, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Muhammad Hasan Karimi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny and may His curse be upon their all enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Karimi (may God always assist him) who is endowed with piety and trustworthiness, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). He is in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution. He is also allowed to collect the blessed Imam's ('a) Share, spending a part of it on his own living sparingly and spending one-third of the remainder on the promotion of the obligatory laws of Islam and exalting the word of Islam, and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary.

“And I advise him (may God assist him),—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Qadah al-Haram 25, 1382 AH

## Letter

**Date:** Circa April-May 1963 [Ordibehesht 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Condemning the facilities granted to the Baha'is traveling to London for taking part in the Baha'i meeting

**Addressees:** The '*ulama*' of Yazd

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I have the honor to inform you that I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's health, grandeur, and success in exalting the word of Islam and consolidating the foundation of the pure religion.

I have to call the gentlemen's attention to the past and present actions of the despotic regime; they insulted Islam and the Quran in the past and tried to give the Quran the same status as the heretic books. Now, after the equation of the rights has been announced, many essential laws of Islam fade away. Recently, the Minister of Justice has omitted the prerequisite condition of being Muslim and male from becoming a judge.

One of the things, which proves the malice of the present government<sup>1</sup> is the traveling accommodation granted to two thousand members or more of the deviant sect. Each has been granted five hundred dollars and a discount of one thousand two hundred tumans for the air ticket, for the mere reason that they may be able to take part in their meeting held in London, which is anti-Islamic. On the contrary, they make many problems for the pilgrims [*hujjaj*] of the Sacred House of God, and overcharge them.

The gentlemen should notice that the members of this sect, who are in fact the agents of Israel, hold many of the key positions. The danger posed by Israel to Islam and Iran is very close. Treaties have been signed or are being signed with Israel against the Muslim governments. It is necessary that the distinguished '*ulama*' and the honorable preachers inform other classes of the people so that we can prevent it in time. Today, we cannot follow the old routine; being silent and secluded, we will lose everything.

We owe a lot to Islam. We owe a lot to the Prophet of Islam. Now that Hadrat's painful efforts are exposed to being squandered, it is the time for the '*ulama*' of Islam and those relying on the sacred religion to repay their debts.

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<sup>1</sup> Asadullah 'Alam's cabinet.

I am determined not to rest until either I subdue the ruling regime, or I enter the Court of God Almighty having an excuse. You, the '*ulama*' of Islam, become determined, too, and be certain that victory is yours. "*Allah will perfect His light however much the disbelievers are averse.*"<sup>1</sup> O Lord! Increase the grandeur of Islam, the Muslims and the '*ulama*' of Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Surah as-Saff 61:8.



## Message

**Date:** Circa April 1963 [Ordibehesht 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Expressing the grave mission of the clergymen as the soldiers of the Imam of the Time (may God expedite his advent)

**Occasion:** Summoning the clergymen to the military service

**Addressees:** The *tullab* summoned to the military service

Do not worry. Keep firm and stand with courage and pride and with a strong spirit. Wherever you go, you are the soldiers of the Imam of the Time (may God expedite his advent) and you should render your services as a soldier. Your present mission is to enlighten the soldiers and officers you meet daily; it is necessary that you do not neglect this sacred Islamic mission. Follow the military instructions with hard effort and constancy; strengthen yourselves both in spirit and body. Never show weakness or shakiness; it will bring humiliation to the clergymen and will have negative consequences for you...<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> According to the writer of the book, *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 406, the above text is the summary of a message orally delivered by Imam Khomeini after the government-issued decree of Ordibehesht 1, 1342 AHS, summoning the clergymen to military service.

## Reply to a Query

**Date:** Circa April-May 1963 [Ordibehesht 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Appointing Mr. Muhyiddin Taleqani as proxy for renting out mortmain property

**Enquirer:** Tenants of a mortmain property located in a village near Taleqan

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

As the issue is not clear to me, I hereby appoint His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Muhyiddin Taleqani as my proxy to rent out the mortmain according to the usual practice, and to spend the part with an absent owner as alms on their behalf. If it is not possible to reach them to deliver it and hand it in if they can or keep it for them until their return.<sup>1</sup>

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> This permission has been written in reply to the following letter:

“What is Your Eminence’s opinion about this issue: There is a village in Taleqan district that has been assigned as a mortmain since 900 AH for a Sayyid and his male children, generation after generation. Now his children are spread in different cities, and all of the Sadat’s children share these estates and it is difficult to get their permission. Further, it seems that a number of non-Sadat have been the tenants of the mortmain-holders. For more than 100 years, there have been no renting or leasing, and a small amount was paid to the leasers as the rent, which was only paid to some of them because others were out of reach. For a time, the leasers and the lessees, for some reasons, including the absence of the original document, agreed on the terms, but the children of Sadat have started to ask for an updated rent which is many times as it used to be. The lessee claim that-having granted the authenticity of the mortmain- because their fathers and their forefathers have cultivated some parts of the lands and have reconstructed the ruins, they are entitled not to pay an up-dated rent. We ask Your Eminence to grant us the permission to take possession and settle in the parts of the estate in charge of our fathers and ancestors till now, and please determine the way rents should be calculated and what the lessees have to do. We ask Your Eminence to write the response to our letter in the space above because we need it urgently. Dhu'l-Hijjah 13, 1382 AH.”

## Telegram

**Date:** Circa April-May 1963 [Ordibehesht 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the receipt of money

**Addressee:** Sayyid Jalaluddin Ashtiyani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam wa 'Imad al-Islam Mr. A'Sayyid Jalal (may his graces last):

I was grateful to receive your kind letter. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your health and success. I hope you will not forget to pray for me at the sacred place. The receipt of one hundred and five tumans is hereby acknowledged. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Khomeini

## Statements

**Date:** April 30, 1963 [Ordibehesht 10, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 6, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Revealing the nature of the Shah's regime's land reforms, freedom of women and freedom of expression

**Occasion:** Arrival of the month of Muharram

**Audience:** Student members of the Islamic Association of Tehran University

### *[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

I would like to welcome you young Muslim men of Tehran University to my home. I hope you are steadfast enough, guarding your religion... because we expect a lot from you valiant young men. We the Muslim nations should unite and fight against Israel and its agents in Iran. The seminaries have never agreed with the Land Reforms; the government did not put it forth to us and ask for our permission, did they? We know that this issue is brought upon to keep the farmers busy and to distract them. There is not anything wrong with suffrage for women, but their candidature will cause debauchery. Women's suffrage and the like are among the least important matters. We want to guard the Constitutionalism. Having deprived us of our freedom and rights, they talk about the freedom for women! For the time being, people are deprived of the freedom of writing, expression and even of the right of living. They have estimated an expenditure of fifty to sixty thousand tumans a month for the Prince's Bureau, while we pay twenty to thirty tumans to each seminary student monthly.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> According to SAVAK report (dated 2/16/1342 AHS), Imam Khomeini expressed these remarks when visited by the student members of the Islamic Association of Tehran University on 2/10/1342 AHS at 6 pm.

## Statements

**Date:** May 1, 1963 [Ordibehesht 11, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 7, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Rejecting the proposal of negotiation and reconciliation with 'Alam's administration

**Addressee:** 'Ali Nakhai (Afsah al-Mutakallimin)<sup>1</sup>

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

### **We have recently come to know the double-faced clergymen**

"... As for the clergymen whom you called two-faced; we have recently known every one of them; those of them who lead prayers, preach on the pulpits, chant elegy and those among famous preachers; who all receive high salaries from the administration...

### **Contact with the Shah's regime, suicide of the clergymen**

About Mr. Kamalvand,<sup>2</sup> I have to say that we have not dispatched him; but the administration has summoned him. He asked to grant audience to meet me in Qum before leaving, but I answered that I was not willing at all to meet him. As long as 'Alam's administration was in power, we could not enter any negotiations for peace making nor any reconciliation because this administration has treated 'ulama' in such a way that any contact on the side of the heads of the seminary means suicide for the clergy. We will not yield to such a reconciliation and peace, as long as we are in the charge of the clergy. I see no reason for reconciliation. What have we done to deserve aggression by spineless people like him? Becoming certain that the atheist lobbies of the Baha'is of Jewish origin in Iran and America plan to misuse

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<sup>1</sup> Ali Nakhai, Afsah ul-Mutakallimin, (the most eloquent of the orators) in a secret report to Colonel Nishat writes that on meeting Imam Khomeini, he had said, "I had heard that you have dispatched Mr. Ruhullah Kamalvand to meet the Prime Minister (Asadullah 'Alam) to find a practical solution and to compensate." "I was very gratified and had to say that surely Your Eminence's reconciliation with the administration is quite timely." What is cited above is the Imam's response to these words.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ruhullah Kamalvand, one of the clergymen from Lorestan and a teacher at Qum seminary, in a meeting with the Shah, openly informed him of the wishes and requests of the 'ulama' and clergymen, but since the Shah's regime was determined to oppose Islam and the Muslims, this meeting came to a deadlock.

the equal rights between men and women to encroach on the official religion of the country and to weaken Islam which guarantees the formal independence of this country and nation, we wrote friendly letters to the administration to be vigilant. We said your relationship with the neighboring states will not always remain as peaceful as today and they may try to intrude in this land. If the people's belief and their belief in the Quran and the Constitution are intact, they will resist foreign attack much better than your army will, so our religion and your state will be safe. We asked them to stop murmuring about women's candidature, which is the violation of the explicit words of the Quran, altogether. At first, they claimed to have given it up; while after a few months we learnt that they want to revive the plans of the enemies to the reputation of Islam in the form of an amendment to the election bill as a referendum. I was terribly convulsed, and I exchanged opinions with the discerning scholars. There were some people among them who believed the best policy was to be silent and notified that our duty was done. If we openly oppose, the very existence of the Qum seminary would be endangered. After deliberation, I found that the right way was the opposite of what the cautious ones recommended. The formation of this seminary and the seminaries in Mashhad, Karbala, Najaf and Egypt aims at teaching and learning the lawful and the unlawful [al-halal wa'l-haram] matters in religion, which does not permit the learners to acquiesce in annihilation of the religion itself and if the principle is destroyed, the subordinate is essentially meaningless. I expressed my opinion, for tullah, and my determination to campaign against the oppressing regime. As long as their agents do not give up their suppression, pressure and teasing with the divine laws, I will not give up my struggle. I have been recently informed that the Justice Minister of this ill-famed state is designing a bill according to which the non-Muslim men and female jurists are allowed to be judges in the Islamic country of Iran. I thought to myself to publish a declaration in return, notifying the contravention of this scheme to Islam...<sup>1</sup> No; you should only go on preaching. The days of Muharram are very suitable for preaching and propagation. I plan to write to the preachers of Khuzestan, Shiraz, Lorestan, Tabriz, and Yazd; and to send some orators around to enlighten and notify people. You also have to reveal the dark deeds of the despotic on the pulpits, in Tehran. You will always have my benevolent prayers with you..."

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<sup>1</sup> In his report Mr. Nakhai writes, "At this point I asked to be allowed to leave and offered to do any errands His Eminence had in Tehran". The Imam followed up saying, "No, you just go on preaching."

## Permission

**Date:** May 1, 1963 [Ordibehesht 11, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 7, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Muhammad Imani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Imani (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the Master of the Age (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). He will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution. He is also permitted to collect the two blessed Shares, delivering the noble *Sadat’s* Share (may God increase their blessed progeny) to the religiously prescribed areas. He is to spend the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share for his own living sparingly, and one-third of the remainder on promoting the Word of God, and to deliver the surplus to this humble servant for sustaining the blessed seminary (may God protect it from evil incidents).

“And I advise him—may God assist him—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors, to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Message

**Date:** May 2, 1963 [Ordibehesht 12, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Revealing the different aspects of the regime's crimes

**Occasion:** Fortieth day commemoration of those martyred in the attack on Faydiyyah Madrasah (by the agents of the Shah's regime)

**Addressees:** The Muslims of Iran and the world

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

It is forty days now since our dear ones were killed and injured. For forty days the families of those killed in Faydiyyah Seminary has been mourning their beloved ones. Yesterday, Sayyid Yunus Rudbari's<sup>1</sup> aged father came to visit me, while his face was distorted by the grief of this disaster. How can we console the bereaved mothers and grieved fathers? We have to offer our condolences to the Prophet of Islam (may God's salutations be upon him and his progeny) and the Imam of the Age (may God Almighty hasten his advent). We were slapped on the face and lost our youth for the sake of those blessed saints. Our only 'crime' was our support to Islam and the independence of Iran. We have been and are being insulted for the sake of Islam. We await imprisonment, torture and execution. Let the despotic regime do any inhuman acts, take our youth's lives, expel our patients from the hospitals, threaten us with death and dishonoring, destroy the religious schools and drive out the pigeons of the holy shrine of Islam leaving them homeless.

We have not been able to determine the number of those killed, injured and robbed in these forty days. We do not know yet how many are buried, how many are imprisoned and how many are in hiding, just as we do not know yet the number of those killed in Guharshad Mosque<sup>2</sup> whose corpses were carried in trucks.

The big problem is that when we refer to any of the departments they say that it has been ordered by His Majesty and they can do nothing about it. The Prime Minister, Qum governor and other officials, they all say it has been his

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to a young seminary student who was martyred in the assault made on the Faydiyyah Madrasah by the agents of the regime.

<sup>2</sup> This is a reference to the massacre of the people in Mashhad (Tir 21, 1314 AHS) after the unveiling of women (in Rida Khan's period).



Majesty's order! They say His Majesty ordered the crimes committed in the Faydiyyah Seminary; the patients have been expelled from the hospitals according to His Majesty's order. It is His Majesty's order that if we respond to Ayatullah Hakim's request, the commandos will be sent to our homes to kill us and plunder our houses as well as dissolute women to defame us. It is His Majesty's order to arrest *tullab* illegally and make them soldiers; it is His Majesty's order to assault a university and beat up the students. The functionaries attribute all of the law-breakings to the Shah. If this is true, we should bid farewell to Islam, Iran and the law; and if this is not true, they are falsely accusing the Shah of these offences, crimes and inhuman acts. Why does His Excellency not defend himself so that the people would know what they have to do with the government and know the true criminal to punish them at the right time?

I have repeatedly notified that this government<sup>1</sup> does not mean good and is against the laws of Islam. Its signs are now appearing one after another. The Ministry of Justice has revealed its opposition to the essential laws of Islam by dropping the prerequisites of being Muslim and male from the conditions for becoming a judge. From now on, the Jews, the Christians and the enemies of Islam may manipulate our reputations and lives. The ambition of this administration and some of its members is the elimination of Islam. The Muslims will not be living happily as long as this unruly and usurping administration is in office.

I do not know wither all these crimes and violence are for the oil of Qum and the seminaries should be sacrificed for oil; or it is for the sake of Israel and because they find us obstacles to signing agreements with the Israel in spite of other Islamic governments. In any way, we are to be destroyed. Islam, its laws and the jurists are to be sacrificed. The despotic regime assumes that they dissuade us by these inhuman acts and pressures from seeking our goals, which stop the oppression, offences and transgressions, protecting the rights of Islam and the nation, as well as the establishing social justice, which is the great aim of Islam. We are not afraid of the military service for the children of Islam. Let our youth go to the barracks to educate the soldiers and enlighten them. Let there be enlightened and free-minded persons among the soldiers so that Iran will attain freedom and glory, through the Will of God.

We know that the great officials of Iran, the venerable officers, the noble members of the army, share our ambitions and are ready to sacrifice their

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<sup>1</sup> Asadullah 'Alam's administration.

lives for the glory of Iran. I know that the conscientious officers do not approve these crimes and savagery. I am aware of the pressures they endure and regret it. I shake hands with them as a sign of fraternity and a pledge for saving Islam and Iran. I know that deep in their hearts, they are agonized for being submissive towards Israel and they will not consent Iran to be trampled under the boots of the Jews.

I announce to the heads of the Islamic countries, Arab and the non-Arab states that the *'ulama'* of Islam, the leaders of the religion, the religious nation of Iran and the noble members of the army are on brotherly terms with the Islamic governments. They share their gains and losses, hate and detest any agreements with Israel—the enemy of Islam and Iran. I openly express myself here: “Let the agents of Israel put an end to my life.”

Now it is suitable that the Muslim nation—in Iran or abroad—commemorates the disaster brought upon Islam and the Islamic seminaries, on the 40th day after this grave incident; and if the states do not prevent them, they can hold mourning sessions and curse those causing these catastrophes.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Message

**Date:** May 2, 1963 [Ordibehesht 12, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Islam and the clergymen are prone to danger

**Addressee:** Merchants, tradesmen and the people of Hamedan

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

The honorable merchants, tradesmen, and the venerable and pious people of Hamedan (may God Almighty assist them):

I do hereby extend my greetings and gratitude for your kind telegram expressing your sympathy on the grave disaster<sup>1</sup> brought to Islam and the Muslims.

I have to notify the esteemed gentlemen that it appears the despotic regime means to alter the essential laws of Islam, or even worse than that, may God forbid. They have frequently stipulated the equality of men and women's rights in all social and political aspects, which necessitates making some amendments in the laws of the Holy Quran. Since they have encountered the Muslims' reaction, they are now craftily denying it and making unacceptable excuses. Nevertheless, we know them well and do not trust their word. They are inviting and encouraging the girls to "the Army of Knowledge" (girl scouts who were meant to teach people reading and writing) and then it is stated that they should go to the military service before that. Then, facing the public detestation, they start to deny it, while it is announced in the press that the bill on the girls' military service is being prepared; but they try to deny it and make ridiculous excuses. The despotic regime assumes that it can pave the way for advancing on its evil ends, which includes striking Islam a final blow by propagating the equal rights. They are not aware what strong reaction they will encounter in that case. The despotic regime, which does not recognize freedom for any member of the nation, and has been utilizing lack of freedom to attain its ends for years, assumes that it is possible to beguile the Muslim nation so that the evil ends of Israel might be fulfilled.

I have frequently warned you—the Muslim nation—and I am warning again! The clergy and Islam are in danger. The Islamic nation should be

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to the assault made on the Faydiyyah Madrasah.

ashamed of keeping silent against the corrupt despotic regime. Publish the corruptions, unveil the offences, protest, publish declarations, and make the Islamic nation hear your voice, by using the strong Islamic logic. Inform the whole world of their inhumane acts. At the end, I pray to God for the success and victory of you and the whole nation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Message

**Date:** May 2, 1963 [Ordibehesht 12, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Inviting the '*ulama*' and the clergymen for expanding the protests

**Addressees:** The '*ulama*' and the clergy of Bustanabad<sup>1</sup>

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

The prominent '*ulama*' and Hujaj al-Islam of Bustanabad (may their blessings last):

I was most grateful to receive your kind letter containing your condolences on the grave disaster brought to Islam and the Muslims.<sup>2</sup> I hope God Almighty will compensate for the bereavement through Your Eminences' benevolent prayers.

You have to notice that the contemporary generation is today responsible for protecting Islam and its laws, especially '*ulama*' who are accountable more than anyone else is. It is necessary that they announce their support for what I state, through declarations and publications, so that we may be able to force the government to accept our legal requests. Anyway, we should utilize the prayer sessions and religious gatherings for this purpose. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> The letter has been sent through this address:

TABRIZ, Bustanabad; c/o His Eminence Hujat al-Islam Mr. Khan Mirza Husayn-'Ali Mudarris (may his graces last); To Their Eminences, the prominent '*ulama*' and Hujaj-e Islam (may their blessings last).

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the assault on the Faydiyyah Madrasah.

## Telegram

**Date:** May 2, 1963 [Ordibehesht 12, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Inviting the *'ulama* and the clergymen for expanding the protests against the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hasan Bahr al-'Ulum

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Rasht

His Eminence Sayyid al-'Ulama' al-'Amilin wa Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Bahr al-'Ulum<sup>1</sup> (may his blessings last):

I have the honor to inform you that I was most grateful to receive your worthy letter containing the news of your good health and Your Eminence's kindness towards me. I ask God, the Exalted for your health and happiness and I hope that we will be able to keep the government from attaining its evil ends, as far as we can, through the holy prayers and oblations.

I am determined to take any possible action and not to be frightened by the incidents on my way, so that I can fulfill my religious obligation. It seems that publishing journals supporting the Islamic causes in the north of the country will be helpful. Please give my regards to His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Diyabari<sup>2</sup> (may his blessings last); and finally I hope you will not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> One of the clergymen of Rasht.

<sup>2</sup> Sayyid Mahmud Diyabari: one of the renowned clergymen of Gilan Province.

## Telegram

**Date:** May 2, 1963 [Ordibehesht 12, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Addressee:** Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Khomein

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Aqa Murtada (may his blessings last):

I have the honor to inform you that I was most glad to receive your letter containing the news of Your Eminence's health. Thanks to God, I am not bad but the only thing is that I have not been feeling quite well in general and my heart aches every now and then, which is not so serious since it may well be the stomach. I have received some messages these days that seem to be for enticing me, so I did not take any notice. It seems that no agreement can be reached as long as this government is holding office. I cannot permit the sum you have mentioned to be paid to Mr. Hashim from Imam's Share, but if you are so kind to pay it from the part, which is my due, it will be acceptable. I look forward to your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

P.S. It would be suitable if you send some money, in return of the grease, to Gulpaygan for Aqa Rushan who lives in Gawgad,<sup>1</sup> as it has been your custom every year. Please send it soon and let us know.

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<sup>1</sup> Gawgad: a district in the Gulpaygan area.

## Permission

**Date:** May 2, 1963 [Ordibehesht 12, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Muhammad 'Alami Hashtrudi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon their enemies all.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Amirza Muhammad ‘Alami Hashtrudi (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the Living Imam (may God Almighty hasten his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the two blessed Shares, delivering the noble *Sadat’s* Share (may God multiply their blessed descendants) to the religiously prescribed areas. He is to spend a part of the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share on his own living sparingly and one-third of what remains for exalting the Word of God, and to deliver the surplus to this humble servant for sustaining the blessed seminaries (may God protect them from evil incidents).

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1382 AH



## Permission

**Date:** May 2, 1963 [Ordibehesht 12, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Kashani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Kashani (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the Living Imam (may God expedite his advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them in part on his own living sparingly, delivering the remainder of the noble *Sadat*’s (may God multiply their blessed descendants) Share to the religiously prescribed areas. He is allowed to spend about one-third of what remains of the blessed Imam’s (*a*) Share promoting the Word of God and to send the remainder to this humble servant to be expended in the seminary (may God protect it from evil incidents).

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1382 AH

## Speech

**Date:** May 2, 1963 [Ordibehesht 12, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Azam Mosque, Qum

**Subject:** Assessment of the nation's uprising and both the sweet and bitter events of 1962 and the beginning of 1963 (1341 and 1342 AHS)

**Occasion:** Commencement of lessons at the theological institution following the fortieth-day commemoration for the martyrs of Faydiyyah Madrasah

**Audience:** A group of religious students, clergy and people of Qum

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

O Lord, save us from vain discourse and lies (the audience cries "Amen"). O Lord, illuminate our hearts with the light of Islam and spirituality (the audience cries "Amen"). Grant a listening ear to the university heads of Muslim governments; to the Presidents of Muslim governments; to the representatives of Muslim governments; to the ministers of Muslim governments; to the prime ministers of Muslim governments; and to the managers and workers of Muslim governments. O Lord, grant them...

### **Crimes masqueraded as protection of Islam**

I have to say that in one sense this was an extremely bad year for the clergy, yet in another it was a good year. It was bad because Iran, instead of being presented to the world as a just country which enjoys a good and honest judiciary and which has judicial courts, a judicial tribunal and an administration of justice, or as a country whose economy is healthy and whose agriculture is thriving, or again as a country which is known for its equity and integrity—instead of these, she has been introduced to the world as a center of corruption and even worse still. Were we to say that the present resembles the time of the Mongols, it would be wrong to insult the Mongols so. They were a people who perhaps believed it acceptable to spill our blood which they regarded as heathen.<sup>1</sup> They entered the country (Iran) as a part of their crusade to seize foreign states and even then it was a country which didn't hold the same beliefs as they did. The crimes they then went on to commit here are well-known.<sup>2</sup> Those<sup>3</sup> here today however, claim to be

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<sup>1</sup> Mahduruddam: someone whose murder is regarded as permissible.

<sup>2</sup> Genghis Khan, the Mogol commander, in the year 1197 invaded Iran's inhabited cities of that time while shouting the slogan, "I am the torment of God." He firstly slayed the inhabitants of densely populated cities such as Marv, Bukhara, Neyshabur, Rey, Qum, Azerbaijan, and Khiva, and then killed all else that lived. He set fire to the trees and demolished any signs of civilization such as libraries, schools, mosques, ancient building, houses, gardens, and shops. He then cultivated the remaining land and grew crops there. See Iran va Jahan az Mughul ta Qajariha.

<sup>3</sup> The Shah and his agents.

Muslims. They claim to have a faith and to be Shi'ah; and while making these assertions time passes by and they continue to live their everyday lives unchallenged. Theirs are the deeds that one would expect to see from the Mongols, or from Genghis Khan. They storm the centers of learning;<sup>1</sup> they spill the blood of sixteen- and seventeen-year-old youngsters;<sup>2</sup> they destroy the centers of learning; they affront the '*ulama*' and vilify their honor; they imprison, persecute, wound, kill and commit atrocities, yet at the same time they deliver speeches, feign Islamism<sup>3</sup> and Shi'ism and pretend to have realized greatness.<sup>4</sup> The Mongols (at least) never professed to be Shi'ah. They were our enemies, having entered our country by invasion. These here, however, committed crimes and still continue to commit crimes while at the same time they avouch friendship and profess to be Shi'ah or even a station higher still.

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<sup>1</sup>A reference to the regime's assault on Faydiyyah Madrasah on the afternoon of March 22, 1963 (Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS); the attack on the same madrasah on March 23 of that same year; and other similar raids on Islamic centers such as the Talibiyyah Madrasah in Tabriz.

<sup>2</sup>A reference to the young religious students of Faydiyyah Madrasah.

<sup>3</sup>The Shah on January 16, 1963 (Dey 26, 1341 AHS), at the National Congress of Iranian Farmers said: "No one can claim to be nearer to the Imams or to God than I with regard to performing deeds, since I have done all I possibly could. I have ordered for the repair and maintenance of all those shrines in need of such attention. Every night before I sleep I talk to my God in prayer. I believe that what I am now doing for the country is favored by God and the Imams more than any other possible deed..."!

<sup>4</sup>In the year 1962 (1341 AHS) the Shah, in a speech addressing the Iranian Muslim farmers, stated: "I must have been six or seven years old when I became ill with typhoid and my condition was critical. Most of the doctors who were treating me had lost all hope. One night I dreamt that I was sitting before (Imam) 'Ali ('a) on whose lap lay a sword. On the other side of the room there was a jug and he told me: 'Drink from this jug and you will be cured tomorrow'. That very same night my fever cleared and I gradually recovered. My other experience occurred maybe six months or a year later as I was walking down a steep pebble-stoned alleyway with my nanny. I suddenly saw a holy-looking man approaching me from around whose head a halo of light seemed to emanate. I asked my nanny: 'Did you also see the Imam of the Age?' She said: 'No, I never saw anyone'; but I had seen him. A child aged six or seven years old doesn't normally invent such things and especially not in a lonely alleyway accompanied by a nanny." The Shah in the book entitled Mission for My Country, pp. 66-72, claims to have met the Imam of the Age (may God expedite his advent) and Hadrat Abu'l-Fadl, the brother and standard-bearer of Imam Husayn at Karbala'.

### **Conspiracy against the theological center in Qum**

That which I would like to say is not a recent matter relating to the past few months only, but rather it is one which has a long history, having first developed several years ago. If not forty-odd years, then it was at least twenty years ago that it was decided that Qum must be wiped out. It was during the lifetime of the late Ayatullah Burujerdi (may he rest in paradise) that they in fact decided to do away with both the Ayatullah as a religious authority and Qum as a religious center.<sup>1</sup> They believe Qum is against their interests. Qum is the center of truth. Satan's followers believe that their aims are opposed by the followers of truth. Hence, at the time of the late Ayatullah Burujerdi, the latter was seen by some in a certain light; but this is not the place to elaborate upon this. It was at this time that foreigners were also against the continued existence of Qum, because without it they would be free to do as they wished without anyone objecting, criticizing or protesting.

Therefore, it is safe to say that if not forty-odd years ago then at least twenty years ago, from the time of the late Ayatullah Burujerdi this intention was harbored by them; yet they realized that trouble would arise if they took action whilst he was alive. Once he had ascended to the abode of the blessed, they immediately began to attack this religious center of Qum under the pretext of respecting another religious center, in Najaf. This they did, not because they felt any affection for that center since these people feel no affection for any religious center, and again, not because they were fond of Najaf, but rather these attacks were made because they wanted Qum not to exist. Qum was a thorn in their flesh; being close to them (in geographical

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<sup>1</sup> Following the uprising of the Isfahan 'ulama' and the tragedy at the Gauhar Sha Mosque, the theological center of Qum benefiting from such religious scholars as Ayatullah al-Uzma Burujerdi and Ayatullah al-Uzma Ha'iri became the largest Shi'ah center of its kind and brought honor and repute to other such centers in Iran. Muhammad Rida at the onset of his reign tried to forge a closer relationship with Ayatullah Burujerdi in order to benefit from the influence he held, but he was often deterred and discouraged by His Eminence. After the eminent scholar's demise, the Shah, who regarded the rank of marjaiyyah as an obstruction to imperialist rule, took steps to prevent the reestablishment of this office in Qum and hence made every effort to transfer the clergy to the noble city of Najaf. It was for this reason that he sent a telegram expressing his condolences on the demise of Ayatullah Burujerdi to Ayatullah Hakim, the great marja in Najaf. The Iranian clergy considered this an act of disrespect to the maraji' of Qum, the aim of which was to weaken the position of the clergy there. On another occasion, following the discovery of oil in Qum, the prospect of transferring the theological center of Qum to the holy city of Mashhad was discussed. Due to the high salt density of the soil in Qum, however, the government decided not to go ahead with the oil-drilling project and consequently the subject of the transference of the theological center was also buried. See *Inqilab-e Islami va Risheha-ye An*, pp. 484-485.

proximity) it was able to quickly discover their corrupt dealings. Hence, they were against Qum, but because they couldn't openly say "no" to Qum, they instead said "yes" to Najaf and "yes" to Mashhad. At first they imagined that nothing important ever really happened in Qum,<sup>1</sup> but then they realized that certain things indeed were happening; certain things were seen, said and heard. Thus, they came to realize that things weren't as they initially believed them to be. Thenceforth they made plans to destroy the clergy and then to destroy Islam and afterwards to realize the interests of Israel and her agents.

### **Illiterate element at the helm of government**

This was the case from the beginning but it was concealed, their plans not being publicized. To a certain extent they had in fact informed the public of their intentions, but they spoke of their infidel program in very mild, diluted terms. Following the demise of Ayatullah Burujerdi, they initially devised an evil scheme which involved Iran as a whole. From what I was told, they wanted people to promise to send telegrams to other theological centers<sup>2</sup> and especially to one other city in particular, not because they were actually fond of that center but because they weren't fond of this one. However, the people disregarded them. Subsequently other schemes were devised and there was in fact a change in government.<sup>3</sup> Who knows, perhaps the proposals were presented to these governments and were dismissed by them because they found such indecency to be beyond even them. Perhaps they were indeed virtuous, learned intellectuals who could not bring

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<sup>1</sup> This remark of the Imam's refers to a comment made by the Shah: "There doesn't seem to be anyone in Qum who can bear the responsibility of the office of marjaiyyah."

<sup>2</sup> Subsequent to the demise of Ayatullah Burujerdi, the Shah's regime tried to persuade the Iranian people to forward their messages of condolence to Ayatullah Hakim in Najaf rather than to the maraji' of Qum. This it did with the intention of weakening the position of the theological centers of Iran and strengthening that of the 'ulama' in Najaf.

<sup>3</sup> Within the period stretching from the beginning of the Shah's reign until the time when 'Alam was appointed as Prime Minister, twenty-five different governments actually took office! These prime ministers, whose terms of office in some cases lasted no longer than a week, are as follows: Muhammad 'Ali Furuqi (Zaka' al-Mulk), 1941 (1320 AHS); 'Ali Sohayli, 1941-42; Ahmad Qavam (Qava as-Saltanah), 1942; 'Ali Sohayli, 1942-43; Muhammad Said, 1943-44; Murtada Qulibayyat (Saham as-Saltanah), 1944-45; Ibrahim Hakimi (Hakim al-Mulk), 1945; Sayyid Muhsin Sadr al-Ashraf, 1945; Ibrahim Hakimi, 1945; Ahmad Qavam, 1945-47; Ibrahim Hakimi, 1947-48; 'Abdul-Husayn Hajir, 1948-50; Husayn 'Ala, 1950-51; Muhammad Musaddiq (Musaddiq as-Saltanah), 1951-52; Ahmad Qavam, 1952; Muhammad Musaddiq, 1952-53; Fadlullah Zahedi, 1953-55; Husayn 'Ala, 1955-57; Manuchehr Iqbal, 1957-60; Jafar Sharif Imami, 1960-61; 'Ali Amini, 1961-62; Amir Asadullah 'Alam, 1962-onward. See Az Sayyid Diya ta Bakhtiyar.

themselves to oppose all of the centers of learning. However, the conclusion eventually reached was that the government should be an ignorant, unlearned one; one which does not realize or appreciate the value of learning and one whose members have not received education above that offered in the fifth grade—even then having acquired their qualification certificates fraudulently.<sup>1</sup> These members of the government are not to know the meaning of learning nor of religiousness and honesty. They are not to know of the preservative role played by the clergy in this country. They are not to be aware of what is happening. They are to be dictated to as if blind and are not to really understand what is being said; and they are to be given orders, but must act without being fully aware of what they are doing.

We saw that the target of this illiterate and dishonorable government from the very onset of its involvement was Islam. In the press they wrote in bold print that ladies have been given the right to participate in elections.<sup>2</sup> In fact this was part of an evil plan to distract the public's attention away from the main issue; that being the elimination of Islam and the Quran. For this reason, as soon as they became aware of the situation, people banded together and the '*ulama*' formed a united front in order for appropriate steps to be taken. Initially our attention too had been drawn to the issue of the female vote, but on closer inspection we realized it was not just a matter concerning women for this was only a minor concern (by comparison). The real issue was about opposition to Islam.<sup>3</sup> Thus it was not necessary for

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<sup>1</sup> It has been reported that Asadullah 'Alam, the head of the government at that time, had only actually received a few years education, eventually "graduating" from a school in Karaj! Of course he later succeeded in obtaining his National Diploma in Agriculture from the Karaj Education Authority, but he did so by fraudulent means. See Az Sayyid Diya ta Bakhtiyar.

<sup>2</sup> On October 8, 1962 (Mehr 16, 1341 AHS), at the beginning of Asadullah 'Alam's term of office, a report headed "Women's Right to Vote" appeared in bold print in the press. The right for women to vote was legislated by the Provincial and District Councils. The regime used the women's voting issue as a cover behind which to pursue its other ambitions. The Imam on several occasions during that period emphatically proclaimed that not even men enjoyed the right to vote let alone women. It is clear that his objection to this issue in fact constituted opposition to the regime's sinister objectives, because since the triumph of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, women actually do enjoy the right to vote, as do men, and they also may be elected to the Majlis.

<sup>3</sup> When the announcement of the Provincial and District Councils Bill appeared in the Tehran evening press, it was noted that the word "Islam" had been omitted from the conditions pertaining to the voter and candidate, and that the oath sworn had been sworn on the "Holy Book" rather than on the "Holy Quran". On reading this announcement Imam Khomeini immediately called for a meeting with the high-ranking '*ulama*' of Qum to discuss this matter. Ayatullah Murtada Ha'iri, Ayatullah Golpaygani and Mr. Shari'atmadari participated in this meeting. See Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini, vol. 1, pp. 148-149.

either the voter or the candidate to be Muslim; nor was belief in the Quran a prerequisite—what was the Qur'an needed for anyway?! However, when dealt a slap in the face from the Muslim nation they changed their tune, maintaining that by “Holy Book” they had meant the Quran; and according to our religious law we of course had no choice but to accept their assertion. Once again however, as soon as they saw a group of ignorant people gathered around them shouting “long live this” and “long live that” they resumed their fiendish campaign, restating all that which they had previously revoked. They yet again espoused full and identical rights of the sexes which in fact is to deny several of the most unequivocal and imperative Quranic injunctions. Afterwards, they again saw that this was the cause of certain resentment, objection and difficulties and so once more they denied the issue; it was disclaimed by the minister in one place and by the commanding official in another.<sup>1</sup>

In the press it was quite explicitly reported that women's conscription was in the process of being legislated. Nevertheless, when they saw that the matter gave rise to opprobrium and that the people and even the regime's henchmen were truly perturbed, again they said that it was a lie.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, they wanted to open a lawsuit because of it—a most foolish, ludicrous intention.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Imam Khomeini, in his New Year declaration of 1963 (1342 AHS) entitled “The Clergy of Islam Does Not Hold New Year Celebrations This Year”, objected very strongly to the legislation calling for the compulsory conscription of eighteen-year-old girls for military service. As a result of this objection, despite the fact that this news had already been published and that speeches and interviews had already been given on the radio, the Shah and his government were forced to deny what they had formerly said. In fact the Shah denied the validity of the news reports on two different occasions before the end of that month. In an interview he gave, Jahangir Tafadduli, Minister of State in charge of publications and broadcasting, described the news concerning women's conscription as totally unfounded. Refer to the speeches delivered by the Shah on April 1, 1963 (Farvardin 12, 1342 AHS) in Mashhad and April 2, 1963 in Birjand; also refer to the 11,056th issue of the *Itilaat* newspaper dated March 31, 1963 (Farvardin 11, 1342 AHS).

<sup>2</sup>Tehran evening press, April 1, 1963 (Farvardin 12 1342 AHS), the Shah: “...A publisher has recently reported that they are trying to conscript eighteen-year-old girls for military service—how ridiculous! We are in no way short of military personnel. Such falsities are a sign of the weakness of those who are responsible for fabricating this news. Our girls must continue their education and pursue their female responsibilities. We have enough people to safeguard the security of this land.”

<sup>3</sup>The publication of Imam Khomeini's declaration and the determined stance taken by him in opposition to the conscription of young girls left the Shah with no alternative but to request that the judiciary make the necessary enquiries and prosecute those responsible for circulating such news. In turn, the judicial system filed a lawsuit against the movement's leadership and proceeded to arrange for its arrest, although this never actually amounted to anything. It is worth mentioning that the official, who actually delivered the summons to the Imam's house, entered the building with tearful eyes saying: “They have ordered me to obtain the Imam's signature for this letter and I feel that as a follower of the Imam I must apologize for this.” He left the house, however, without having obtained a signature. (Quoted from the memoirs of Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini).

### **The Shah and the assault on the center of religion and learning**

This was a bad year because Islam and the Quran too came under increasing attack. They ravaged the centers of learning mistakenly believing that they are destructible; they beat and broke the limbs and necks of our children and loved ones, killing some<sup>1</sup> by flinging them from the roof.<sup>2</sup> If the perpetrators of these crimes were peasants as you claim, then why were members of the armed forces helping them?<sup>3</sup> This was something plain for all to see. A hundred thousand people from the streets and from within the courtyard and *madrasah* clearly witnessed the police force's direct support of the peasants. If, as you claim, it really was the peasants who did all this, then why did the police attempt to intimidate those in the hospitals where our injured had been taken, saying: "How dare you have taken His Majesty's enemies to hospital? We will make you pay for this. They must be discharged at once"? If it was the peasants who were to blame then where does His Majesty come into all this? If, however, it was in fact paratroopers and those who work for him (the Shah) and are a part of his regime who committed the assault, then was it his doing? Did he give the command for this action or did it take place without his knowledge and without his having given the order? If he was aware of the affair, then inform us so we know where we stand with him; so we may know if we are confronting one person

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<sup>1</sup>For further information regarding the bloody tragedy of Faydiyyah Madrasah, see Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini, vol. 1. pp. 337-370; Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran, vol. 3, pp. 260-358; Zendejinameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini, pp. 205-211.

<sup>2</sup>During the incident at the Faydiyyah Madrasah a blind theological student who had been hiding in a residential chamber was thrown down from the balcony to the yard by the Shah's commandos; while another religious student aged fifteen or sixteen years old was flung from the rooftop.

<sup>3</sup>On March 22, 1963 (Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS), the Shah's regime dispatched officers dressed as peasants to the Faydiyyah Madrasah in order to quash the Islamic movement. The hair of the members of the armed forces, however, was styled like that of German soldiers, which gave away their true identity! These undercover servicemen continually recited salawah during the delivery of a speech until they succeeded in totally disrupting the meeting and fighting broke out. At this moment, other servicemen who were lying in wait nearby also joined in. The Prime Minister, Amir Asadullah 'Alam in a subsequent interview maintained that the skirmish was in fact between those clergymen who opposed "land reform" and some peasants who were visiting Qum on a pilgrimage and that during this encounter a peasant had been killed by the religious students! See Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran, vol. 3, p. 265; and see the Ittilaat newspaper of March 26, 1963 (Farvardin 6, 1342 AHS).



or more than one. If it is more than one person, then tell us so that we may realize that these paratroopers came of their own volition without any reason whatsoever; or maybe the security forces<sup>1</sup> sent them, or the police force, or perhaps the Prime Minister gave the orders, or a certain minister or commanding official. Come on; tell us who is responsible for these crimes. Why do they deny it? Whoever is approached for an answer lays the blame on someone else. Whoever we voice objections to denies involvement and implicates another. The police force accuses the security forces and vice versa; and both of them claim that it was His Majesty who ordered for the attack to be made. Is it really true that His Majesty gave instructions for such a thing? Does His Majesty oppose the religion of Islam? Is His Majesty truly hostile to the Quran as their claims would suggest? If this is so, then what were those things you said before in favor of Islam? What were those revelations and miracles of which you spoke? If His Majesty is not hostile then why doesn't he prevent such savagery? Why doesn't he chastise these policemen, organizations and prime ministers? He who is in supreme command enjoys absolute authority to do as he will. He should scourge those who firstly commit misdeeds and act against religion and Islam, and then lay the blame on him. He should exonerate himself. How can the sultan of Islam be opposed to Islam? Surely this is not feasible. Then if he does not oppose

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<sup>1</sup>The bill for the formation of SAVAK, The State Security and Intelligence Organization, was passed by parliament in 1956 (1335 AHS) and the organization was subsequently officially established in 1957 (1336 AHS). SAVAK's mission was to quash and confront any Islamic struggles or opposition to the regime. SAVAK was closely linked to the intelligence agencies of both America and Israel (CIA and MOSSAD) and gradually it turned into a terrorist organization. This institution, which in fact served as the CIA's headquarters, possessed several investigative and detective teams. In order to obtain information from those they had arrested, SAVAK would firstly send the latter to torture chambers, after which it would hand its captives over to rubber-stamp courts where, after the passing of a predetermined court verdict, the accused would be convicted and taken to horrendous prisons. The cruelty and callousness of SAVAK was so great that the Secretary General of Amnesty International, in a report made in 1975 stated: "No country in the world has a worse record in human rights than Iran... In order to obtain confessions the torturers of SAVAK subjected its captives to beatings and electric shocks. It employed all kinds of horrendous and inhumane methods to achieve its ends; the inflicting of agonizing pain on the sexual organs and the sexual assault of the wives and daughters of the captives before the latter's very eyes, are but two of such atrocities perpetrated." The Shah was fully aware of SAVAK's practices. This organization was abolished by Iranian Muslims in 1978 (1357 AHS) and its torturers were prosecuted in revolutionary courts. For further information refer to Ayandegan newspaper April 7, 1979 (Farvardin 18, 1358 AHS); *Inqilab-e Islami va Rishaha-ye an* [The Islamic Revolution and Its Roots], p. 491; *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, p. 379.

Islam let him show it; let him show his regret and sorrow that a reprobate<sup>1</sup> has gone and demolished the Faydiyyah Madrasah.

### **A visit to the blood-stained Faydiyyah**

I myself have not yet seen the graves of our dear youngsters, but I intend to do so once this session<sup>2</sup> is over. I shall go and recite a chapter of the Quran (*Surah al-Fatihah*) for the repose of the souls of those they killed (the audience weeps); and I shall publicly demonstrate my grief for them. We are not even allowed to hold a mourning ceremony for them (the audience weeps); but why is this so, if, as you say, it was the peasants who committed this atrocity (the audience weeps)? Why do you disrupt the mourning ceremonies held in Tehran (the audience weeps)?<sup>3</sup>

Yes, indeed, it was a bad year because the rulers of the day were disgraced and the tyrannical system shamed; and this is not what we wanted. We don't want our country to be introduced abroad as a country ruled by evil elements; this is not what we wanted. We would like everyone in our country without exception to behave and live in such a way as to be a source of pride and honor; to proudly boast such scholars as Amir Kabir.<sup>4</sup> In fact, in the past

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Mawlawi, the deputy-director of SAVAK in Tehran and the commander-in-chief of the Faydiyyah operation, was later killed in an air crash.

<sup>2</sup> The Imam in referring to the "session" actually means his lesson.

<sup>3</sup> A mourning ceremony was arranged by Ayatullah al-'Uzma Hakim on May 11, 1963 (Ordibehesht 21, 1342 AHS) at Ark Mosque in Tehran in commemoration of those who had been martyred at Faydiyyah. SAVAK prevented the holding of this ceremony and police surrounded the building allowing no one to enter the mosque. People became angered and fighting broke out with the police. See Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran, vol. 3, p. 358.

<sup>4</sup> Mirza Taqikhan Farahani (1803-1848) was referred to as Amir Nizam and Atabak Azam, later becoming famous as Amir Kabir. During his youth he served Nasiruddin Mirza. After the death of Muhammad Shah Qajar he took the successor to the throne from Tabriz to Tehran and arranged for his coronation, after which he served him as his prime minister. At a time when Iran was in a deteriorating state due to the incompetence of the Qajar administration, Amir Kabir took effective measures to implement reforms for its development. This he managed to achieve despite the close presence of influential enemies. He succeeded in many areas such as in suppressing rebellions and in particular those of the Baha'is; and in strengthening national security; in reforming the system of taxation; in combating bribery; in reorganizing both the national budget and the civil and military administrations; in establishing the Dar al-Funun School; and in developing science, industry, agriculture and health care. These were but some of the reforms achieved by this most competent of ministers. Eventually, both the conspiracy of those servants of imperialism within the country and the repeated slanderous statements uttered by Nasiruddin Shah's mother, led the Shah to issue the order for his dismissal, exile and eventual murder. Sharh-e Hal-e Rijal, vol. 1, p. 209.

it was the *'ulama'* such as 'Ali ibn Yaqtin<sup>1</sup> and at times even the Immaculate Imams,<sup>2</sup> who were the ministers and advisers to the Muslim rulers.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'Ali ibn Yaqtin and his father were particularly close to the Bani 'Abbas caliphs (Saffa, Mahdi and Mansur) and hence could take effective measures for strengthening the Shi'ah position. Following his father's death, the influence of 'Ali ibn Yaqtin in no way diminished and he was appointed as a minister by Harun ar-Rashid. He succeeded in promoting the affairs of the Shi'ah by holding secret meetings with the seventh Imam (Musa Kazim ('a)), during which he received guidance and enlightenment. On several occasions he requested permission from the Imam to resign from the 'Abbasid government, but this permission was not granted since his resignation was not considered to be in the interests of the Shi'ah.

<sup>2</sup> 'Umar, the second caliph, often called on Hadrat 'Ali ('a) for important consultations and he had said many times that had it not been for 'Ali he would have perished. The Immaculate Imams ('a) were always highly respected and their advice was often sought by the 'Abbasid caliphate, so much so that the caliph appointed Imam Rida (the eighth Imam ('a)) as his successor to the throne and in fact gave his own daughter's hand (Umm al-Fadl) in marriage to Hadrat Jawad (the ninth Imam ('a)) from whose great knowledge and insight he benefited immensely. During the caliphates of Mu'tasim, Mutawakkil, Muntasir, Mustain and Al-Mu'taz, Imam Hadi (the tenth Imam ('a)) enjoyed the support and following of many important and influential members of the government. Imam Hasan al-'Askari (the eleventh Imam ('a)) was particularly honored by the 'Abbasid caliph Muhtadi and his standing was higher than that of all other dignitaries of the Quraysh, including even that of the ministers and army commanders. Of course the prime reason for the respect paid to these Immaculate Imams by the caliphs (which was often superficial only) was because the latter were well aware of the spiritual influence held by the Imams among the people. See *Da'irat al-Ma'arif-e Tashayyu'*, pp. 364-373.

<sup>3</sup> Abu 'Ali Muskuwiyah, the outstanding eleventh century Islamic philosopher and physician has several works of philosophy and ethics to his credit. He was the special intimate friend and confidant of Amir 'Azidud-Dawlah Daylami and also held the office of chancellor to the Muslim treasury. In the tenth century Abu 'Ali Sina was the personal consultant to Nuh ibn Mansur Samani, a minister of Shams ad-Dawlah Daylami and the doctor and consultant of Sultan 'Alaad-Dawlah. Khwajah Nizam al-Mulk at-Tusi, the great thinker and intellectual of the eleventh century and the founder of Nizamiyyah (Madrasah) in Baghdad, Isfahan and Neyshabur, was the minister to Alp Arslan and Malik Shah Saljuqi. Khwajah Nasiruddin at-Tusi, the illustrious thinker and intellectual of the thirteenth century and the founder of Maraghah observatory, has many books to his credit in various scientific fields, while also having been a consultant for Hulagu Il-Khan. In addition, one could name 'Allamah Hilli, Muhaqqiq Karaki, 'Allamah Majlisi and many other prominent 'ulama'. Imam Khomeini, in reply to the question, "Why do the 'ulama' cooperate with the systems of tyrannical kings?" writes in his book, *Kashf al-Asrar*: "We believe that it is not only permissible but on occasion essential that we involve ourselves in the affairs of dictatorial regimes, in order to prevent corruption and alleviate the people's suffering."

### **The danger posed by the Israeli agents**

But who are the advisers now? Israel! Our counselors are Jews! In the *Dunya* newspaper they themselves acknowledged the donation of five hundred dollars to each of two thousand Baha'is<sup>1</sup> (the wretch<sup>2</sup> hadn't better deny this since it was actually in the press); that's five hundred dollars from the wealth of this Muslim nation—in addition to offering a one-thousand-and-twenty tumans discount on each of their air fares. And what was this for? It was for their journey to London to participate in an anti-Islamic meeting. They were thus afforded the highest respect. On the contrary, our pilgrims have to bear the most severe hardships and sometimes even have to offer bribes just to obtain permission<sup>3</sup> for their journey; and even then only a few are actually successful. What intimidation they are subjected to on the outward journey and how many difficulties they have to face during their return journey! Moreover, whilst there at Minah and Mecca, they have to

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<sup>1</sup>In the year 1840, a man named 'Ali Muhammad Bab introduced himself as the people's leader and as the intercessor between the people and the Imam of the Age. He then claimed to be the awaited savior (Mahdi) and promised that in the near future a prophet would arise from among the followers of Bab who would introduce a new religion. Under the instruction of Nasiruddin Shah and Amir Kabir, many of the followers of Bab were arrested and executed, while the rest were exiled to Iraq. The Bab himself was also killed (1850). Two brothers from among his devotees later professed to be his successors, but differences broke out between the two. Those who followed the first brother became known as Babis (Sobh Azal) and those who followed the second brother became known as Baha'is (Baha'ullah). A serious conflict arose between the two groups and as a result many lives were lost from both sides. The Ottoman State sent them all into exile in Adarna (Asia Minor) where fighting between the two sides continued. This left the Ottoman State no alternative but to send the Baha'is to 'Akka (occupied Palestine) and the other group to Cyprus. The later activities of the Baha'is in 'Akka attracted the following of most of the Babis and especially those who were Iranian. According to the Baha'i belief marriage to any woman (mother, sister, niece, cousin) was considered permissible other than to the step-mother. The Russians played a particularly significant role in the formation of this religion. The British, however, propagated Baha'ism throughout the Muslim countries and especially in Iran. Therefore, Baha'ism from its conception until the present has managed to serve the "superpowers" under the guise of a religious belief, whereas it in fact constitutes a political party. The United States of America and Zionist Israel are currently strong supporters of this school. The Baha'is held particularly high positions during the reign of Muhammad Rida and despite the clergy's conflict with this party, the Shah always benefited from his relationship with them. Their most prominent members were always present in the Royal Court and were active in political decision-making, operating in favor of world Zionism. See *Baha'igari*, pp. 181-238, and *Az Sayyid Diya ta Bakhtiyar*, p.530. For further information regarding the role and influence of the Baha'is in the Pahlavi regime read the disturbing statements made by the Shah's closest associate Husayn Fardust, in the book: *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup>The Shah.

<sup>3</sup>Passport.

tolerate the objections and protests of a contemptible official who demands the apprehension of someone for truthfully stating that Islam is threatened by the Jews. My God man, are you indeed a Jew? And our country, is that Jewish too?

### **Deadly silence and support to the tyrannical regime**

Woe to this country and to the regime in power! Woe unto us and to the rest of the world! Woe to those mute '*ulama*' and to the silent cities of Najaf, Qum, Tehran and Mashhad. This deadly silence will cause our country and our honor and dignity to be trampled beneath the boots of the Israelis by means of these very Baha'is. Then woe to us; woe to this Islam; woe to these Muslims. O you '*ulama*', do not remain silent; don't claim to be following in the Shaykh's path (may he rest in paradise).<sup>1</sup> I swear by God that if the Shaykh<sup>2</sup> was now among us he too would adopt this stance.<sup>3</sup>

Silence! Do not choose to remain silent since to do so today is to support the tyrannical system. I was informed that Thabit Pasal<sup>4</sup> was given a

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<sup>1</sup>Here, reference is made to Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim Ha'iri Yazdi, the founder of the theological center in Qum. He held moderate political views and refrained from interfering in politics. The late Ayatullah Burujerdi (may he receive God's mercy) adopted a very similar stance. The Imam here is trying to make the clergy aware of the fact that such a stance ought not be adopted under the prevailing circumstances. See *Kashf al-Asrar* (Imam Khomeini) and *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*.

<sup>2</sup>Ayatullah al-'Uzma Haj Shaykh 'Abdul-Karim Ha'iri Yazdi (1856-1935): considered to be one of the most outstanding maraji' of the Shi'ah. Initially he began his studies in Yazd and then in the holy cities of Baghdad, Karbala' and Najaf ('Atabat 'Aliyat). Studying alongside such eminent scholars as Sayyid Muhammad Faysharaki, Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi, Mirza-ye Bozurg Shirazi and Akhund Khorasani, he achieved the noble rank of ijthad and successfully initiated religious classes in Karbala'. In 1912 he traveled to Arak and brought high repute to the theological center there. In 1920 he visited the holy city of Qum with the intention of making a pilgrimage. While there, local 'ulama' insisted on his remaining in order to establish a religious learning center. Many distinguished jurisprudents have received training and education from his classes, they include Ayatullah al-'Uzma Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khwansari, Ayatullah al-'Uzma Sayyid Ahmad Khwansari, Ayatullah al-'Uzma Sayyid Sadruddin Sadr, Ayatullah al-'Uzma Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali Araki and Ayatullah al-'Uzma Sayyid Muhammad Rida Golpaygani. Among his students was the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ayatullah al-'Uzma Imam Khomeini. His Eminence Ayatullah Ha'iri was able to retain his extremely modest way of life even when he was recognized as the marja' at-taqlid and much has been related with regard to his moral and ethical virtues. The grave of this magnanimous and honorable scholar is situated by the holy shrine of Hadrat Masumah (r) in Qum.

<sup>3</sup>Here, The Imam means that if the late Haj Shaykh 'Abdul-Karim Ha'iri were alive, his duty would be to struggle against the government in power.

<sup>4</sup>Thabit Pasal, a renowned capitalist of Iran, was a follower of a misled sect of Baha'ism. He was among those who played a major role in the administration of both political and economic institutes during the Shah's reign. Like many relatives of the Pahlavi family such as Farmanfarma'yan, Khiyamin, Rida'i and Akhawan, Thabit Pasal held shares in most banks, firms and companies, whilst being seen as one of the main shareholders of foreign investment in Iran. The Anglo-Iranian Bank and the banks of Iran and the Middle-East, Iranian industry, Iranian mines and industrial development as well as commercial enterprises such as Pepsi Cola, Volks-Wagon, Mashhad Cement, Plasco Kar, General Tyres and Rubber, Iran Farwag, Siycup and France Payk were but some of the areas in which this Zionist agent was active. See *Dawlat va Hukumat dar Iran*, pp. 263-267.

discount in a deal made between himself and the Oil Company, in which he made a profit of twenty-five million tumans; or in truth it was those who were sent to the anti-Islamic meeting in London who actually profited. That is the current state of our oil industry, our foreign currency, our national airline and our ministers; and that is how things are for all of us. Then are we still to say nothing?! Ought we really remain silent and not complain? They destroy our homes, yet we are not to make a murmur?!

### **Our condition with this “His Majesty”**

That good-for-nothing sends the chief of police, the head of that rotten institution,<sup>1</sup> to the homes of the *'ulama'*<sup>2</sup> to threaten that if they, the *'ulama'*, should so much as breathe a word about certain matters,<sup>3</sup> then the police have been ordered by His Majesty to ransack their homes, assault their families and to kill the *'ulama'* themselves. Unfortunately on that day when they came to my home I turned them away. I now wish I had allowed them to enter so that I could have punched them in the mouth. This is what we have to tolerate from His Imperial Majesty; that is of course if what they say is true. If they are lying however, then let him state that this is the case. Let him declare that the governors of Qum<sup>4</sup> have told lies so that I can give those governors what for! Let him tell us that the chief of police has told lies, so

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<sup>1</sup> Here reference is made to Colonel Partow, the chief of police in Qum and Colonel Badi', the head of SAVAK in Qum, both of whom went to the homes of the maraji' (March, 1963) under the Shah's instructions.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to Mr. Shari'atmadari. The Shah's envoy, achieving nothing by going to the home of the Imam, then visits Mr. Shari'atmadari's place of residence.

<sup>3</sup> Reference here is made to Ayatullah al-'Uzma Hakim, who had sent a telegram to the entire *'ulama'* of Iran inviting them to immigrate to the holy cities of Baghdad, Karbala' and Najaf. Once informed of this telegram, the Shah sends both the chief of police and the head of SAVAK to Imam's home, where they are not received. These envoys then go to the home of Mr. Shari'atmadari to deliver the Shah's ultimatum. In this message, the Shah had said that the migration of *'ulama'* to Najaf would only be acceptable on condition that no political activities would be undertaken; otherwise the *'ulama'* would encounter severe reprisals from the government.

<sup>4</sup> The chief of police (Colonel Partow) and the head of SAVAK (Colonel Badi').

that I can send some religious students to teach him a lesson. The problem is of course that he makes no such claim.

There again, this year was a good year because the clergy let the world know of its value and significance. It made the world realize that it is the clergy alone which speaks out against and confronts both oppression and the oppressor and injustice and the unjust. It is the clergy and the theological centers which take the beatings, cry out, sacrifice their lives and make protests. They destroy the clergy's Faydiyyah Madrasah but the clergy continue relentlessly. The clergy say what they believe must be said regardless of what happens to them. The clergy have made the entire world aware of their existence. Therefore, it could be said that this year was a bad year since Iran became an object of ridicule throughout the world because of the regime in power; or again, it could be said to have been a good year because the propriety of the clergy was proven to the world. The clergy let the world know that we (too) are human; we are spiritual leaders. We don't just concern ourselves with preaching and praying, but we also make our voices heard. We serve to admonish and advise you, the people.

### **The Shah's disgraceful referendum**

I gave the Shah some advice; I sent someone to see him.<sup>1</sup> In the days before the referendum I sent messages to him via Behbudi<sup>2</sup> and Pakravan<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Once the intention to hold a referendum on the "White Revolution" was announced, the Imam, in a meeting with high-ranking 'ulama' and maraji' of Qum, comprehensively elaborated upon the real objectives of the Shah and America with regard to the "six points" of the "revolution". Subsequently, the Imam along with other maraji', asked the government to send a representative to Qum to hold negotiations on the "six points" and in turn convey the opinion of the clergy to the government. The envoy sent by the government was in fact a person named Behbudi with whom negotiations turned out to be unproductive. Following this, the Leader of the Revolution, having received approval from other maraji', called on Ayatullah Ruhullah Kamavand, the influential religious scholar of Lorestan and revered teacher of the theological center in Qum, to go to the Shah to deter him from opposing Islam and to inform him of the views of the 'ulama' in Qum with regard to the state of the country. However, neither the Imam's warning nor the meeting held between the late Kamavand and the Shah were to any avail, other than to provide an opportunity to voice objection to the referendum and to point out its illegality due to the fact that it was not accounted for in the constitutional law. See *Inqilab-e Islami va Risheha-ye an*, pp. 448-449.

<sup>2</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>3</sup> During the terms of office of Dr. 'Ali Amini and 'Alam, Hasan Pakravan served as an army commander-in-chief, the deputy Prime Minister and the head of SAVAK. As a close friend and confidante of the Shah, he negotiated with Imam on the Shah's behalf on several occasions during the early days of the Revolution.

advising him not to hold a referendum nor to attempt to alter the law<sup>1</sup> since it was not in his interests to do so. I warned him that if today Arsanjani<sup>2</sup> can bring a group of peasants and make them do as he tells them so that they cry “long live so and so”, then tomorrow another group can be brought to cry “death to so and so”<sup>3</sup>! So again I advised him not to go ahead with this since it was not in his interests. However, he didn't listen and we all saw what happened. They didn't even manage to win two thousand votes; and those they did obtain were obtained by force. It is common knowledge that the bazaars of Tehran and Qum closed down in order to avoid having to vote and that in other cities too the turnout was extremely poor. They couldn't even attract two thousand votes without the need for force.

We didn't want you to suffer such humiliation in this way; neither did we wish for the nation's repudiation of you. We wanted you to be the kind of person who, when he cries out to his nation, receives a wholehearted response from all of the people. This is how we would like our Shah to be. We would also like our minister to be a person in whose opinions the entire nation had confidence, rather than one who insists that six million votes were cast<sup>4</sup> whereas I guarantee you they failed to amount to even a few thousand—the ballot boxes having been filled by the regime itself. Perhaps the Shah didn't actually hear the truth of the matter. Maybe he was told that

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<sup>1</sup>The constitutional law and its amendments. According to the articles of this law, the safeguarding of the religion of Islam and Shi'ism as well as the clergy's continual supervision of the legislative procedure have been emphatically stipulated.

<sup>2</sup>Sayyid Hasan Arsanjani (1922-1969), a law graduate who made great financial profits from the “land reform” program. He held several positions including publisher of the Dariya newspaper, Member of Parliament during the Majlis' fifteenth assembly, political deputy of Qavam as-Saltanah and Agricultural Minister in the cabinets of both 'Ali Amini and 'Alam.

<sup>3</sup>On January 9, 1963 (Dey 19, 1341 AHS) Arsanjani, the Minister of Agriculture, assembled in a park gymnasium several thousands of those peasants who had ostensibly been given land through the land reform program. A number of high-ranking governmental officials, army commanders, officials of the Royal Court and both Iranian and foreign journalists were present at this assembly. As the peasants were busy cheering and applauding, the Shah, who was surrounded by security officers, entered the gathering to announce the “six points” of his “White Revolution”. See the newspapers of January 9 and 10, 1963 (Dey 19 and 20, 1341 AHS).

<sup>4</sup>The Shah in all of his speeches and interviews most unashamedly insisted that the number of votes cast in the referendum of January 1963 (Bahman 1341 AHS) was in the “millions”. In Kerman on May 27, 1963 (Khordad 6, 1342 AHS) he made claim to 5,600,000 votes; on June 9, 1963 (Khordad 19, 1342 AHS), whilst addressing students who were about to go to America, he cited six million votes; and on July 27, 1963 (Mordad 7, 1342 AHS), in an article which appeared in the American journal Life, he maintained that ninety-five percent of the population took part in the referendum. See the Kayhan and Itilaat newspapers of the aforementioned dates.



an “overwhelming majority” vote of six million had been achieved. Since the Shah doesn’t tell lies then this must be the case, otherwise why should he make claim to an “overwhelming majority” throughout the entire country of Iran? What about the bazaars of Tehran? Aren’t they a part of the country? The streets of Tehran, the city of Qum, other provinces, the clergy, are these not all parts of Iran? Where is this Iran that you refer to? Where did all those votes that you lay claim to actually come from?

It was unfortunate that such events should have occurred this year. Yet it was fortunate that you, the respected clergy, by confronting oppression gave new life to Islam. Had you not shown resistance, God knows that by now they would have fully executed all of their evil schemes. It was your resistance which caused them to deny their former intentions, whereby they said: “Of course divorce is a man’s prerogative, when did we ever say otherwise?”<sup>1</sup> Whilst one voice from the “People’s Party”<sup>2</sup> can be heard advocating full and equal rights, another voice from the other Party asks: “When did we say that divorce is a woman’s prerogative?” Hence, on one occasion they espouse equality in all spheres of life, but on another they advocate something quite different.

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<sup>1</sup> By adopting the blanket phrase “full and equal rights” the ground was laid for the elimination of Islam and the propagation of Western culture. The granting of women’s divorce rights was initially denied by the Shah, his Prime Minister and other officials. However, several years later during Hoveyda’s premiership a law was ratified in Parliament entitled “The Family Protection Law” according to which women were permitted to divorce their husbands on the approval of the law courts. The authority of the judges of these courts was not recognized by Islamic law according to which a husband is able to endorse a women’s right to divorce on condition that this stipulation has been included in the marriage vows. Needless to say, this legal ruling which is currently in operation in the Islamic Republic of Iran bears no relation whatsoever to the aforementioned “Family Protection Law” which was approved by the Shah’s Parliament.

<sup>2</sup> In the year 1960 (1339 AHS), a time of international political upheaval, the Shah was compelled to reconsider his style of government and his domestic policies. He therefore called on his Prime Minister, Dr. Iqbal and his Royal Court adviser ‘Alam to form two political parties called “The National Party” (Hizb-e Milliyyun) and “The People’s Party” (Hizb-e Mardom) both of which were to give the appearance of being mutual rivals. In 1974, however, when the “National Resurgence Party” (Hizb-e Rastakhiz) was founded by the Shah himself, the two aforementioned parties were abolished. See I’tirafat-e-Shah-e Makhlu’, p. 66.

Again they speak in similar terms with regard to inheritance and women's conscription, advocating one thing one minute and denying it the next. As for women's conscription, we read about it in your (the Shah's) very own newspapers which write whatever the security forces dictate to them.

The editor-in-chief of *Kayhan*<sup>1</sup> is said to have remarked that the paper's journalists now have no problems to contend with, because in the past they were the ones who did the writing and certain persons<sup>2</sup> would make "comments" of approval or disapproval, but now these persons actually do the writing themselves, thus easing the task of the journalist. Here, however, I feel an objection must be voiced asking this person where his self-respect is if he allows others to dictate to him whilst he merely writes. Why should our press be so abject?

### **The danger posed by Zionism**

So why don't you (the '*ulama*') speak out and say what they are actually doing?<sup>3</sup> Now that Islam is threatened by Judaism and the Jewish Party, which in fact constitutes the Baha'i Party, it is time for all of the '*ulama*' of Islam to speak with one voice; and for the orators, speakers and religious students to jointly declare unequivocally that they don't want Judaism to determine the destiny of their country; nor do they want their country to align itself with the Jews in opposition to an Islamic alliance.<sup>4</sup> Whilst elsewhere the Muslims are uniting, those here are making pacts with Judaism! What state of affairs is this? If you must be a lackey to others, then why must you be such a dedicated one?! I shall end here so that I can go to the Faydiyyah Madrasah to recite a *surah* of the Quran (*Surah al-Fatihah*) for the repose of the souls of those who died in the assault. May God grant you good health

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<sup>1</sup> *Kayhan*, the socio-political newspaper, which was launched in 1942 (1321 AHS) in Tehran with the publication of a twelve-page edition of the paper. Its proprietor was Mustafa Misbahzadeh and its editor-in-chief from its birth until 1974 (1353 AHS) was Mahdi Semsar. For information concerning Misbahzadeh's thirst for power, his dedication to the Pahlavi regime and the biography of a man who, for years propagated the plans, aims and ambitions of the Shah's regime through one of the largest publishing institutes, see *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, pp. 131-133.

<sup>2</sup> The press board of censors.

<sup>3</sup> The Imam is addressing those clergymen who chose to remain silent, arguing that struggle would result in nothing but torture and imprisonment.

<sup>4</sup> In this treaty the countries of Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan had united against Zionism; whereas the Shah, under America's instructions, gave direct support to Israel and was thereby an ally of Zionism. He indirectly lent support to certain treaties which served the interests of American policies; and not only did he not represent the slightest threat to Israel, but on the contrary he served to safeguard the territory of the Zionist regime.

both now and in the future (the audience cries “Amen”) and may He grant victory to Islam (the audience cries “Amen”).

## Permission

**Date:** May 3, 1963 [Ordibehesht 13, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 9, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** 'Abd ar-Rasul Taqwa'i Mazandarani

### *[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon the best of His creation, Muhammad, and his pure progeny.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh 'Abd ar-Rasul Taqwa'i Mazandarani (may God always assist him) is granted my consent and permission to be in charge of financial affairs whose supervision is not allowed but to an Islamic jurist or anyone granted permission by him. He is also permitted to collect religious taxes such as legal alms, expiations, and offerings, spending them in the religiously specified cases and to collect the blessed Imam's Share (may our souls be his ransom). He is to spend a third of it on his own living in case of need or the similar cases, and to deliver the remaining two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the seminaries.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist Him) to keep company of piety and to follow the course of caution.” May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him.

'Abd al-Hadi al-Husayni Shirazi  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 16, 1380 AH]

### *In the Name of God the Compassionate the Merciful*

He is also granted permission as stated above.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 9, 1382 AH

## Message

**Date:** May 4, 1963 [Ordibehesht 14, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 10, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The despotic regime's decision to change Islamic laws

**Addressees:** Sayyid Abu'l-Qasim Khu'i (one of the great religious authorities), 'ulama' and clergymen of Najaf seminary

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

C/O His Eminence Ayatullah Khu'i (may his blessings last), Najaf

Their Eminences Afadil al-Anam wa Thiqat al-Islam and the esteemed students of the holy city of Najaf (may God always assist them):

I was most grateful to receive Your Eminences' numerous telegrams containing your sympathies and condolences on the grave disaster brought to Islam and the Muslims in general and the clergy in particular. May God Almighty protect you, the gallant soldiers of the Living Imam and the Honor of the Time (may God Almighty hasten his glorious advent) for the sake of Islam and award you with the chance of serving the holy religion.

We are facing a despotic regime today that intends to alter the Islamic laws one after another. What they have mentioned so far in their speeches is the equality of rights between men and women in all aspects, because of which several essential laws of Islam will be trampled. In a recent bill prepared by the minister of justice, the prerequisites "being male and Muslim" have been dropped and there are horrible things still unveiled which can endanger the foundations of the religion.

The esteemed men of knowledge have to be aware of that today all groups of the people are held accountable. The great Authorities and 'ulama' of Islam, the esteemed scholars, and the other groups of the people are all obliged to unite their efforts as far as they can defend Islam and its holy laws. It is expected from the younger generation and the venerable scholars to implore the influential figures to show more concern about the situation in Iran-the only center of Shi'ism and to avoid any secret compromise and to be wary of enticing the whispers of the despotic regime.

In spite of all problems, threats, pressures and insults, I am, God willing, determined not to stop until either I attain the ultimate goal and prevent them from encroaching the obligatory law of Islam, or I will have a good excuse in the court of God Almighty. I firmly hope that I will succeed. I implore your

Eminences, the holy scholars (May God Almighty assist you and make you firm) to pray for the advancement of the Islamic causes. Your prayers shall be under the auspices of the holy shrines of the great Saints and Imams of mankind (may God's peace and salutations be upon them) especially the Commander of the Faithful and the Master of the Pious (Hadrat 'Ali ('a)), May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Message

**Date:** May 6, 1963 [Ordibehesht 16, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 12, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The despotic regime's decision to annihilate Islam and the Shi'ah creed

**Addressee:** The distinguished '*ulama*', Hujjat al-Islams and *fuqaha* (jurists) of Hamedan

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Their Eminences, the prominent '*ulama*', Hujjat al-Islams and the great Islamic jurists (may their blessing last and their names be exalted):

I was most grateful to receive your worthy telegram containing your sympathies and condolences on the grave disaster brought to Islam and the Muslims, and your support for the holy seminary and the legitimate aims shared by all of '*ulama*' of Islam and groups of the Muslims.

Being aware of the policy adopted by the despotic regime, it is evident that if Muslims become negligent, do not take special care and do not struggle for defending the domain of the Holy Quran and Islam, may God forbid, the unclean hands and the foreign agents step beyond the essential laws of Islam and strike the foundations of Islam. There is evidence showing that the despotic regime, because of its intrinsic malice, is aiming at annihilation of the foundations. The armed attack on the center of Islamic Jurisprudence, dishonoring the *maraji'* and *fuqaha* of Islam, imprisoning and torturing the students of the Islamic schools and insulting the Holy Quran and other sanctities are some of its explicit instances. Other clear instances include the announcing of absolute equality of the rights between men and women, dropping the prerequisites "being Muslim and male" for those who elect and those elected, and omitting the same prerequisites from the conditions for becoming a judge. Some other examples of the deviation of the despotic regime include being strict with the pilgrims to *Kabah* (the House of God) and overcharging them. Instead, they accommodated and facilitated the trip of a few thousand agents of Israel to London for conspiring against Islam, and recognized them as a religious minority (as mentioned in some of the newspapers which are surely government-directed institutes and it has been dictated to them). Another example is granting a discount of \$500 on the airfare of each member of the misled sect<sup>1</sup>. In

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<sup>1</sup> The Baha'i sect.

addition, I can mention the revival of the old rumors about “changing the handwriting” and other rumors, which cannot be mentioned openly, as well as the shameful phrases they use in their deplorable speeches. These instances and others like them are what make me fear and I have no doubt that keeping silent in front of the despotic regime will not only entail the annihilation of Islam and the Shi‘ism, but it will be a disgraceful destruction as well.

The Muslims, especially the distinguished ‘*ulama*’, are heavily held accountable before God, the Blessed and Exalted. If we keep silent, the next generation will be prone to going astray and will be eternally doomed, and it will be our fault. Islam and Iran are threatened to destruction by the lurking danger of Israel. In my opinion, it is not worth living the life of disgrace and shame even for a limited number of days. I expect the prominent ‘*ulama*’ and the other groups of Muslims to save Quran and Islam from the lurking danger, by combining their efforts. I ask God Almighty for the glory of Islam, the Muslims and the ‘*ulama*’ of Islam. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini



## Permission

**Date:** May 6, 1963 [Ordibehesht 16, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 12, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** 'Abbas-'Ali Kazimi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon their all enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence 'Imad al-Alam wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Shaykh 'Abbas-'Ali Kazimi (may God always assist him) who is endowed with trustworthiness, is granted my permission to be in charge of financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the Living Imam (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, taking caution.” He is also allowed to collect the sacred Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending it in part on his own living sparingly, one-third of the remaining on exalting the Word of God and to deliver the surplus to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary (may God protect it from evil incidents).

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Message

**Date:** May 7, 1963 [Ordibehesht 17, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 13, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Bad intentions of the despotic regime regarding the Islamic laws

**Addressees:** The '*ulama*' and clergymen of Kerman

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Their Eminences, the distinguished '*ulama*', Hujjat al-Islams in Kerman (may their blessings last and their names be exalted):

I have the honor to inform you that I would like to thank Your Eminences for exalting the word of truth and abolishing falsehood and ask God Almighty for the prominent '*ulama*'s victory and success in defending the Holy domain of Quran and Islam.

I have to notify you that the despotic regime has bad intentions towards the holy laws of Islam. This can be clearly inferred from their improper deeds and speeches. They mentioned and announced the equality of rights between men and women, which will cause several essential Islamic laws to become neglected. The Minister of Justice,<sup>1</sup> in a bill, has recently dropped the prerequisites "being male and Muslim" from the qualifications for becoming a judge. The despotic regime facilitated the gathering of the misled sect<sup>2</sup>, whose members are agents of Israel, in London. As it was published in some newspapers, each of the two thousand or more travelers was granted \$500 as well as about 1200 tumans as a discount, to hold the anti-Islamic meeting so that they would be introduced as a religious sect.

The distinguished '*ulama*' have to be aware that Islam and the Muslim country will be lost if we are least negligent and heedless while the danger will be over if the Muslims, especially the prominent '*ulama*' find unity in their words. You should make an effort to create unity and to notify the groups of Muslims to inform them of the great dangers threatening Islam. I am determined to stop the despotic regime, with all my power, from doing anti-Islamic acts, and ours will be the final victory, God willing; "*Allah's word it was that became the uppermost.*"<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Bahiri, an ex-member of the Tudeh Party.

<sup>2</sup> Baha'ism.

<sup>3</sup> Surah at-Tawbah 9:40.

Now the despotic corrupt regime has started to dishonor, threaten, and terrorize us by any means it has and commits whatever crime it can. It operates for Israel to uproot the seminary. It has signed agreements with Israel against the Islamic governments or is going to do so. Today is not a time for the Muslims to be inattentive to their interests and the interests of Islam, and to neglect the possible dangers. The prominent '*ulama*' (may God multiply the likes of them) are held more accountable in this regard. They are the guardians of the orphans of Muhammad's progeny (may God's praise be upon him and his progeny). I ask God Almighty for the glory of Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Permission

**Date:** May 9, 1963 [Ordibehesht 19, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 15, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Abu'l-Fadl Jazayiri

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Abu'l-Fadl Jazayiri (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them in part on his own living sparingly, delivering the surplus of the noble *Sadat*’s Share (may God multiply their blessed descendants) to its religiously prescribed area. He is to deliver the remainder of the Imam’s (*‘a*) Share to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminary (may God protect it from evil incidents).

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah 15, 1382 AH

## Letter

**Date:** May 10, 1963 [Ordibehesht 20, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Anti-Islamic acts of the government

**Addressee:** Sayyid Kazim Shahangiyan

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam wa Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Kazim Shahangiyan (may his blessings last):

I have the honor to inform you that I hope Your Eminence is in good health. I was most happy to receive your worthy letter. I would like to thank you for your sympathies and efforts. May, God willing, through Your Eminence's sincere prayers and determination of the clergy and other citizens of Iran, especially those of Tehran, we succeed in protecting religious customs and defending the holy domain of the Quran and Islam. We also hope to stop the opponents of Islam, Shi'ism and the country of Jafar ibn Muhammad as-Sadiq (may God's peace and salutations be upon him and his noble forefathers) from realizing their evil ends.

Your Eminence has to be aware that the anti-Islamic acts of the government have brought the danger closer. They have recently issued passports for 2,000 Baha'is for traveling to London to take part in a meeting against Islam. They have also been each granted \$500 and 1,200 tumans discount on the air ticket. God knows what evils this cursed meeting will entail for Islam. Please notify the distinguished '*ulama*' to look for solutions to these problems. Finally, I ask for Your Eminence's benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Speech

**Date:** May 13, 1963 [Ordibehesht 23, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 19, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The religion is in danger

**Occasion:** Arrival of the blessed *'Id al-Ghadir*

**Audience:** A group of the clergy and people of Hamedan<sup>1</sup>

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

#### **The government is strengthening Israel and Baha'is**

I am much obliged to you for taking the trouble. Please give my regards to the people and the clergy of Hamedan and say that the religion of you Muslim people is in danger of being assaulted; your administration intends to destroy you by Baha'is and Israelis. Be informed that your state has furnished 2000 Baha'is with \$500 each for the air tickets to London so that they can gather and make decisions against the Quran and your Prophet. In a trade contract between Oil Incorporation and Thabit Pasal<sup>2</sup> for selling him oil and petroleum, your state has granted him a profit of five million tumans, through a discount, which provided for the Baha'is trip to London and for their propagations. Please tell the people that your state expends on strengthening the Jews, the Israelis, and Baha'is from the taxes it exacts from you Muslims.

I am fully informed that they are going to officially recognize the Israeli Government, in spite of the wishes of the Muslim Iranian Nation and other Islamic and Arab nations. However, it seems that they are afraid of you and

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<sup>1</sup> Qum Intelligence and Security Organization (SAVAK), in its report sent to its headquarters writes: "Information on 2.23.1342 [SH] shows that a great number of tullab, tradesmen, and bazaar merchants from Tehran, Qum, Isfahan, and Hamedan have entered Qum to visit and greet Khomeini on the occasion of 'Id al-Ghadir. At about 5 pm, a group of about 100 from Hamedan arrived at his home. After being introduced to Khomeini, a person read out a statement on behalf of the crowd which said: "We have come to meet you on behalf of the people of Hamedan, its clergymen and tradesmen, both to have the honor of meeting you and greeting you on the occasion and to announce the support of Hamedan people for Your Eminence. We are representing the people of Hamedan to announce to you that they will support you to the last, for destroying the Mu'awiyah of our time". Then Imam Khomeini spoke [the above text]...

<sup>2</sup> He is a famous Baha'i capitalist. He owned the Pepsi Cola Beverage Company, and several other factories and commercial centers in Tehran and other provinces. His employees were all Baha'is.

are not sure yet whether to announce it officially. They attempted it two years ago, which was protested by '*ulama*' and the Muslim people and they had to deny it soon. They are planning to do it again. Please inform the others and they will in turn inform the rest; all of you should tell everybody to be ready, be united, until the day, it is the time to strike this government, which is a servant to the foreigners and an enemy of Islam, a blow to the mouth. God supports us and we will move forward.

## Message

**Date:** May 18, 1963 [Ordibehesht 28, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 24, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Inviting the clergy and the preachers to reveal the crimes and treason of the Shah's regime

**Occasion:** The beginning of the month of Muharram

**Addressees:** The clergy, preachers and the Muslim nation of Iran

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Honorable preachers, prominent orators (may God multiply their like) and all the honorable societies for mourning the Leader of the Oppressed (Imam Husayn) ('a):

I respectfully inform you that the despotic regime, being apprehensive of what may be said about their oppression and inhumane, anti-religious and treasonable acts on the pulpits of the mosques and in the gatherings of the Muslims, has recently taken another scandalous move. They are trying to press the honorable preachers and heads of the mourning societies to keep silent about their oppressions and so to leave the despotic regime at liberty. I have to notify that not only are these pledges legally invalid, and violating them is not prosecutable, but anyone trying to make you pledge anything is prosecutable. It is strange that the regime shamelessly claims to be supported by the overall majority of the nation, but at the same time, they are helplessly striving in all the provinces, towns, and villages to silence the nation using terror and threat. If their claim is indeed true, why do they not let the nation alone during the coming days so that they will enjoy the public support, and the whole world will witness that they will have six million voters? If they do not, one can infer that they have published lies to agitate public opinion, against the interests of Islam and the country, which is an offence to the law and is prosecutable.

Their Eminences, the great preachers, the honorable societies and the leaders of the mourning processions have to be aware that they should fulfill their religious obligation during these days in the gatherings of the Muslims. They should learn how to make sacrifices for reviving the *shari'ah* from the Leader of the Oppressed and not to be frightened by the fantasies of prison



and torture. *"Faint not nor grieve, for ye will overcome them if ye are (indeed) believers."*<sup>1</sup>

You should be aware that the danger lurking over Islam today is not smaller than the danger posed by the Umayyad dynasty. The despotic regime is helping Israel and its functionaries (the misled and misleading sect)<sup>2</sup> in any way they can. The propagation organization is delivered to them and they are free to do anything in the Royal Court.<sup>3</sup> They have penetrated in the army, and culture and other ministries and are given key positions. Notify people of the danger of Israel and its agents. Commemorate the disasters brought to Islam, centers of Islamic jurisprudence and the Companions of *Shariah* in your mourning chants. Renounce the treacherous government's assistance to some thousand enemies of Islam, the nation, and the country, facilitating their trip to London for taking part in an anti-Islamic and treasonable congress.

At this moment, keeping silent is an approval of the despotic regime and assisting the enemies of Islam. Beware of the consequences! Beware of the Wrath of God. If any harm is done to Islam because of your silence, you will be held accountable before God Almighty and the Muslim nation. "When a heresy appears, it is the *'ulama*'s obligation to reveal their knowledge (to defy it) or else they will be cursed by God."<sup>4</sup> Show your detestation toward the equality of the rights. Show your hatred for the engagement of women in the society which entails innumerable corruptions, and assist the religion of God and know that, *"If ye help Allah, He will help you and will make your foothold firm."*<sup>5</sup> Do not be intimidated by the terror and the threats of their organizations and police forces. They are also obliged and bound, but many of them concur with you and hate the regime. May peace be upon you and upon those follow the guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Surah Al-i 'Imran 3:139.

<sup>2</sup> Baha'i sect.

<sup>3</sup> It refers to the Iranian national TV which was owned by Thabit Pasal, a Baha'i, and General Ayadi (the Baha'i doctor of the Shah and a VIP of the court).

<sup>4</sup> This is a quotation from the Holy Prophet (s). Usul al-Kafi, vol. 1, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Surah Muhammad 47:7.

## Statements

**Date:** May 19, 1963 [Ordibehesht 29, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 25, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Revealing anti-Islamic acts of the Shah's regime

**Audience:** Three persons from Lorestan<sup>1</sup>

The reasons behind the regime's opposition to Islam

"... If they were not against Islam, they would not burn the Quran. When the heads of the Intelligence Organization ... and the Police Force ...<sup>2</sup> ordered copies of the Quran to be set on fire, prayer texts to be trampled and sent the police forces to the roofs to hit *tullab* and clergymen on the head with bricks, are these not signs of opposition to the holy religion of Islam? All these will be judged someday. I know how to deal with them if I live long enough ...<sup>3</sup>

In fact, scrolls have been written in the provinces and brought to Qum for the same reason. Of course, we were quite grateful to see people in the provinces collaborate with us on the issue of religion. This is all the fault of the country's Shah, for he cannot rule the country properly. Of course, he has an excuse for that: he has usurped the sovereignty, and anything, which is usurped, will soon be lost. Anyway, this is irrelevant now; let him have his sovereignty! What we say is why he does things against the religion. The Shah intends to promote secularism as his father did. We advised them many times that these acts entail no good consequences, but nobody lent an ear to me. Now that they do not pay any attention, we will overthrow the opponents of the religion with the help of God; in any position they may be; whether the Shah of the country or the government. We want to stop prostitution. The religion of the country is Shi'ism and such abominable acts should not take place in it. Either we will be killed in this struggle and our rightfulness will

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<sup>1</sup> Qum SAVAK report no. 457 dated 2/31/1342 AHS, to its Tehran headquarters records the meeting of three landowners from Lorestan with the Imam and the words of one of them after visiting Faydiyyah Madrasah. He had said: "The Shah who orders a bunch of atheists and opponents of Islam to assault on Faydiyyah Madrasah and destroy it, is surely an opponent of Islam himself." Then Imam Khomeini's words are quoted.

<sup>2</sup> In the SAVAK report, it has also been in this form (having ellipsis).

<sup>3</sup> The SAVAK report here goes: "At this moment, Khomeini asks the audience how the people of Lorestan are doing. They answer, "They are very upset about Faydiyyah Madrasah incident and intend to prepare a scroll in support of the 'ulama' of Qum." Then Khomeini went on talking."

be proved, and then people will revolt and kill the opponents, or we will destroy secularism. We are not afraid anymore of guns, rifles and bayonets. We have also sent missionaries to the provinces, towns and villages to tell the people of the truth and to make them prepared. Even if they prevent the preachers from speaking on the pulpits in the mosques, they will hold sessions in the houses and say what they meant to say...”

## Letter

**Date:** May 21, 1963 [Ordibehesht 31, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 27, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Thanking Mr. Milani for his support in the uprising against the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hadi Milani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Dhu'l-Hijjah 27, 1382 AH

His Eminence Ayatullah Milani (may his blessings last):

I have the honor to inform you that I was most grateful to receive your worthy letter which expressed your worry about the current circumstances created by the despotic regime and contained your support for me. The current affairs and those in the past are so serious that one cannot keep silent about them. The legacy of the Prophet of Islam (may God's salutations be upon him and his progeny) was the Book of God and his (Prophet's) progeny. These two weighty things are at risk today. You observed what a nefarious plan was designed by the malicious hands of the despotic regime for the Holy Quran. I do not know what would have happened if the distinguished '*ulama*' and the Muslims had not defended it. Dropping the prerequisite "being a Muslim" from the qualifications of the judges cannot also be interpreted but as the sequel to the same nefarious plan of the agents of Israel—the enemy of Islam, the Quran, nationhood, and integrity of the country. It is also a part of the same nefarious plan when two thousand (5,000 according to other sources) members of the misled sect<sup>1</sup> are granted a discount of 1,020 tumans on their air tickets and a sum of \$500 each. They are sent to London by the treacherous government and the despotic regime, using the earnings of the poor Muslim nation, to hold an anti-Islamic and treasonable meeting.

I call on Your Eminence's attention to...<sup>2</sup> speeches delivered at a ceremony held for the Indian President. These lectures are worth scrutinizing, for one can find many dangerous cues in them I had predicted before. I have to inform you openly that if this illusion is to be realized

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to Baha'ism.

<sup>2</sup> An illegible word.

someday, the revengeful hands of the Muslim nation will punish the offenders and traitors, and their hypocritical pretexts will be of no use to them. You have inquired about my health and that of the injured and the families of those killed; members of the bereaved families are still deeply mourning. The true number of the injured is still uncertain. Some of those injured have not gained in health yet, even after such a long time. Outwardly I am fine, but I am tormented by the current affairs and the possible dangers. I ask God Almighty for the victory of Islam and the Muslims. I have to express my gratefulness for your kind sympathies again. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Permission

**Date:** May 21, 1963 [Ordibehesht 31, 1342 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 27, 1382 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Ibrahim Khalkhali

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Rukn al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ibrahim Khalkhali (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God Almighty expedite his advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them in part on his own living sparingly, delivering the rest of the noble *Sadat*’s Share to its religiously prescribed area. He is to spend one-third of the blessed Imam’s Share on promoting the word of Islam and for the promoters of the obligatory law of Islam, and to deliver the remainder to this humble to be expended in the seminary. He can also act as my proxy in circulating, collecting and delivering (the funds).

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to follow the path of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.<sup>1</sup>

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1382 AH

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<sup>1</sup> It is written on the margin of this permission in Imam Khomeini’s file in SAVAK: “Discovered in Khomeini’s home. Keep in file of Sayyid Ibrahim Khalkhali, 12/23/66. Keep in the file of Khomeini after indexing. 2/11/47 AHS”.

## Permission

**Date:** May 26, 1963 [Khordad 5, 1342 AHS / Muharram 2, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad Arsanjani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Arsanjani (may his blessings last) is granted permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, taking caution.” He is also my proxy in collecting the religious taxes and payments such as the legal alms, charities and especially the two blessed Shares. He is to spend a half of it in the specified religious ways, and in case it is not sufficient, two-thirds of it in his district, and to deliver the remainder to this humble servant to be expended in the seminary. He is also my proxy, allowed to circulate, postpone as he finds fit, collect and deliver.

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Muharram 2, 1383 AH

## Reply to a Query

**Date:** Circa May-June 1963 [Khordad 1342 AHS / Muharram 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Answering an inquiry on the Baha'i sect

**Inquirer:** Muhammad-'Ali Gerami

[His Venerable Eminence Ayatullah al-'UZma Haj Aqa Ruhullah Khomeini (may his presence endure for Muslims):

Please clarify the Islamic decree on the Baha'i sect according to the enlightening Islamic law, concerning their marriage with Muslims—marrying and being married to them—and about their cleanness or uncleanness especially concerning their entering baths of the Muslims. Thanks in advance. The inquirer: Muhammad-'Ali Gerami al-Qummi]

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

This deviant sect is unbeliever, unclean; marrying them is not allowed and they should not enter the Muslims' baths.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini



# Letter

**Date:** May 28, 1963 [Khordad 7, 1342 AHS / Muharram 4, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Inviting Mr. Khwansari to sign a joint declaration against the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Sayyid Ahmad Khwansari<sup>1</sup>

(The content of Imam Khomeini's letter to Mr. Khwansari)

...You in the capital are confined to retirement. No speeches, no declarations; you do nothing effective. You in Tehran do not invite the people to the Quran, i.e. to unity and solidarity. Why should it be so? You have to invite people to uprising so that when we order the charge they are ready to overthrow the Shah and uproot the government.

Why are the '*ulama*' of Tehran silent against these brutal wolves? Why you are so silent against the secularists who intend to seize our religion? Why do not you rise up against the Shah of the country who means to eliminate the clergymen? Why do you keep silent before tyrants? You have heard that Hadrat 'Ali retired for a time, but there was more to it. He had an obligation to be retired for 25 years; but after this period, he dealt with the opponents. In fact, when the people witnessed Hadrat 'Ali was right; they rose up against the impious. We have already been patient for many years. During his father's time, nobody opposed whatever he did. They waited to see what would happen in the end until he died. Now his son is doing harm to the religion. We have to dethrone this Shah in one way or another. It is of no use to be quiet from now on. It is not a time for calm anymore. It is now the day

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<sup>1</sup> As recorded in the SAVAK files, Mawlawi adds (Tehran SAVAK's head) in the secret report No. 5322/S-T (dated: 3/7/1342 AHS) to Pakrawan (chief and Director General of SAVAK's Third Dept.) at the end of this document. "According to Qum SAVAK report on 3/7/1342 AHS, Mr. Khomeini states to the carrier of the letter to Mr. Khwansari: "Tell Mr. Khwansari that I am going to prepare a declaration. You too have to participate in it; that is, you should sign it. This is because if you do not participate in this declaration, the people and especially the government will assume that the '*ulama*' are all against each other, and will take advantage of it to attain their evil ends. Therefore, we have to find a fundamental solution and all must unite to defeat these impious ones, or else our religion and faith will be at risk. The Shah and the government's policy will do serious and irreparable harm to the religion of Islam; therefore, you have to ward off this grave danger through unity and solidarity and rising up against them. Besides, please let me know if none of the '*ulama*' is going to participate in this movement, so that I can decide what to do against them."

that we should rise up against the impious. If you do not want our Islamic country, our religion and faith to be destroyed, tell to me...<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Khwansari wrote this letter in response:  
“His Eminence Ayatullah Khomeini,

I received your letter. I will also follow your suggestions as far as I can. I agree with it the way you find most advisable. Be careful with the language, writing the declaration, since it may give rise to their spite! Write the declaration in a lenient way! Advise them against their actions which are against the Quran; that they would better not to enforce the new law for the benefit of the country, and because people are all worried. It is in the Shah’s interest not to endorse laws against Islam. The Shah needs the clergymen. The country without the clergymen is unthinkable. If there are no clergymen, communism will spread in our country, which is an Athna ‘Ashari (believing in the Twelve Imams) Shi‘ah country. The Shah and the government have to maintain order as far as they can and prevent the country from being controlled and ruled by the foreigners. It is and was the clergymen who stood up against the communists and they will continue to do so.”

## Statements

**Date:** May 30, 1963 [Khordad 9, 1342 AHS / Muharram 6, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Confronting the intrigues of the hirelings of the Shah's regime

**Occasion:** Mourning ceremonies of 'Ashura' (tenth day of Muharram) of Imam Husayn

**Audience:** Tehran Bazaar tradesmen<sup>1</sup>

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

### Following the Doyen of the Martyrs

...It will be an honor for us to be killed on the Day of 'Ashura' as Imam Husayn did; to have our children captivated and our property pillaged. We will have made our names immortal in return. That is because firstly there is no difference between their actions and Yazid's; secondly, if they attempt such a thing, that is to disrupt our mourning processions and kill people, we will announce, just like Imam Husayn did, that those who do not back us, should choose the side of Yazid's army. One of those whose blood is to be shed for the sake of the Doyen of the Martyrs' sake is Khomeini. It is the time now for us to turn Qum into the Karbala of Husayn on the Day of 'Ashura' and created a second Karbala that will be visited by the pilgrims. There is no honor higher than being killed for the sake of religion, for Husayn and for the sake of independence of the country. I am informed that the request for dispatching the gang of thugs from Tehran to Qum has been made by the head of Qum Security Organization. Qum Security Organization has requested about six hundred armed gangsters to be sent to Qum on the Day of 'Ashura'; however, I will not allow the head of the Security Organization<sup>2</sup> and the head of Qum Police Force<sup>3</sup> to do whatever they wish. At the right moment, I know how to deal with these...<sup>4</sup> and have them

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<sup>1</sup> Qum SAVAK in letter no. 5321 (dated 3/14/1342 AHS) to Tehran SAVAK headquarters, pointing to the meeting of a number of Tehran Bazaar tradesmen with Imam Khomeini, cites the words of one of them indicating that a thousand hireling cutthroats have been employed for disrupting the religious mourning processions on the Day of 'Ashura'. This person, relying on his information, says, "The hireling ruffians are meant to bother and harm the clergy and to assault their houses."

<sup>2</sup> Badi'i.

<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Husayn Partuw.

<sup>4</sup> In the SAVAK report, it has been in the same form (ellipsis).

decapitated. They were those who destroyed Qum; they were those who asked for the dispatch of the gangsters from Tehran and brought about the Faydiyyah Madrasah incident.

## Letter

**Date:** Circa May 22-31, 1963 [the first ten days of Khordad, 1342 AHS / the first ten days of Muharram, 1383 AH]<sup>1</sup>

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging Mr. Falsafi's revealing speech at Sayyid 'Azizullah Mosque, Tehran

**Audience:** Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Falsafi (may his graces last):

I am obliged to thank you for Your Eminence's crucial speech in this time of 'absolute suppression'. Today is the time the honorable preachers must repay their debts to the religion. Today is the time they earn the pleasure of the All-Forgiving Lord, or were stricken by His Divine Wrath (may God forbid). Today the Imam of the Time (may God's salutations be upon him) is regarding the honorable preachers of Islam with hope; and you observe how well the '*ulama*' are serving the sacred law and repaying their debts.

As I hear, most of the honorable speakers concur with us. May God Almighty awaken those who are afraid of imprisonment, torture and terror. Please give my regards and respects to the preachers. By the way, since an account has been opened at Bank Saderat, Qum Branch, for rebuilding Faydiyyah Madrasah, about which I had spoken with Your Eminence, and it is possible for the people to pay money from the Day of *Tasu'a* (Muharram 9) and '*Ashura*. Please notify the people of it. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> In Sahifeh-ye Nur, the date is given as Tir 1342 AHS, but since Imam Khomeini has written about *Tasu'a* and '*Ashura* in the text, which coincide with Khordad 12 and 13, 1342 AHS, the date of writing must had been before '*Ashura*, i.e. before Khordad 13.

# Speech

**Date:** Afternoon, June 3, 1963 [Khordad 13, 1342 AHS / Muharram 10, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Faydiyyah Madrasah, Qum

**Subject:** The Shah and Israel, the root of the Iranian nation's sufferings

**Occasion:** The arrival of 'Ashura

**Audience:** The clergymen, *tullab*, people of Qum, and pilgrims of the holy shrine of Hadrat Masumah (r)

## In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

### The regime's opposition to the foundation of Islam

It is now the afternoon of 'Ashura'... Sometimes when I reflect upon the events of 'Ashura', a question occurs to me: If the Bani Umayyah and the regime of Yazid ibn Mu'awiyah were at war with Husayn, then why did they commit such savage and inhuman crimes against defenceless women and innocent children on the day of 'Ashura'? What were the women and infants guilty of? It seems to me that their concern was far more basic; they did not wish the Bani Hashim to exist; the Bani Umayyah were hostile toward the Bani Hashim as a whole and their goal was to root out this goodly tree [*shajarah at-tayyibah*].<sup>1</sup> The same idea prevailed in Iran. What business did they have with our sixteen- and seventeen-year-old youngsters? What had the Sayyid aged no more than sixteen or seventeen years done against the Shah?<sup>2</sup> What had he done to upset the government? What had he done to upset the tyrannical regime? One is led to conclude that it is toward underlying principles that they are hostile rather than children. They do not wish these principles to exist, nor do they wish any of us to exist; the young and the old alike.

### Israel is the enemy of Islam and Iran

Israel does not wish there to be any learned men in this country. Israel does not wish the Quran to exist in this country. Israel does not wish the

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<sup>1</sup> Shajarah at-tayyibah is taken from verse 24 of Surah Ibrahim: "Have you not considered how Allah sets forth a parable of a good word (being) like a good tree, whose root is firm and whose branches are in heaven?"

In an exposition of this verse it is quoted from Imam as-Sadiq ('a): "This is an example given by God for the Ahl al-Bayt of his Prophet," meaning the family of the Prophet and their followers are the embodiment of shajarah at-tayyibah.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the late Sayyid Yunus Rudbari, one the martyrs of the Faydiyyah tragedy.

'*ulama*' to exist in this country. Israel does not wish to see Islamic precepts in this country. It was Israel that assaulted the *madrasah*<sup>1</sup> by means of its sinister agents. It is assaulting us too and you, the nation; it wishes to seize your economy, to destroy your trade and agriculture and to appropriate your wealth leaving this country without. Anything which proves to be a barrier, or blocks its path is to be removed by means of its agents. The Quran is blocking its path; it must be removed. The religious establishment is blocking its path, it too must be removed; Faydiyyah is blocking its path, it must be destroyed. The religious students might later prove to be barriers; they must be flung from the roof and their arms and necks broken. We are affronted by our very own government, which assists Israel in achieving its objectives by obeying her command.

### **Who is the parasite?**

You respectful people of Qum! On the day that mendacious, that scandalous referendum took place—that referendum which only a few thousand were in favor of and which was carried out contrary to the interests of the Iranian nation—you witnessed how certain persons were let loose onto the streets of Qum, and in this center of religious learning which stands beside the shrine of Fatimah Masumah ('*a*); and how thugs and ruffians were picked up and driven around the streets in cars, yelling, "Your sponging days are over! Your days of good living are at an end!" You look around; take note of the condition in which Faydiyyah Madrasah finds itself; take a look at the residential chambers. Those who spend the best and most active part of their lives in these small chambers, their monthly allowance not exceeding between 40-100 tumans—are they parasites? How about those who have one account containing 1000 million tumans, while thousands of millions more are elsewhere in other accounts—are they not parasites?! Is it we (the '*ulama*') who are parasites—people like the late Haj Shaykh 'Abdul-Karim whose sons possessed nothing, not even food to eat on the night of his death (the audience weeps intensely), or the late Burujerdi who was six hundred thousand tumans in debt at the time of his demise—was he a parasite?! Yet those who have filled banks all around the world, who have erected great towering palaces, who refuse to leave this nation alone and who continue in their endeavors to fill their own pockets and those of Israel with profits taken from the remainder of the national resources—they are not parasites?! It is for the world and the nation to judge who is parasitic.

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to the Faydiyyah Madrasah in Qum and Talibiyah Madrasah in Tabriz which were simultaneously subjected to the savage attacks of the Shah's agents.

### Advice and warning given to the Shah

Let me give you some advice Sir, Mr. Shah! Your Majesty! My advice to you is to abstain from such acts; you are being deluded. I would not like to see everyone rejoice if your departure was arranged. I will tell you a story that will be familiar to those aged thirty or forty years or more. Three foreign countries once attacked and then occupied Iran: the Soviet Union, Britain and America. The property of the people was exposed to danger and their honor was imperiled; but God knows how elated the people were when they saw that Pahlavi had gone. I do not want you to end up this way. Stop acting thus. It is not my wish that the same happens to you. Do not annoy the people so. Do not oppose the clergymen so. If what they say is true and you indeed oppose them, then it is wrong of you to think this way. If they hand you formerly-prepared material and then tell you to read it, give it some thought first. Why do you speak without first thinking? The '*ulama*' and the religious scholars of Islam, are they really defiled animals?! Does the nation see them in this light?! If they truly are defiled animals then why do people kiss their hands? Is it the hand of a defiled animal they kiss? And why do they regard the very water they drink as blessed? Is this the treatment afforded a defiled animal?! (The audience weeps intensely) Sir, are we really defiled animals? I hope to God that this is not what you mean. God forbid that you were referring to the '*ulama*' when you said, "The black reaction<sup>2</sup> is like a defiled animal which is to be avoided by the people," because if this is so then our task is made more difficult and so is yours. You will not be able to live. The nation will not allow you to live. Do not continue in this way; heed my advice. You are now forty-three years old; enough is enough. Do not listen to what others tell you. Think a little; ponder about where all this is leading

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<sup>1</sup> Rida Shah.

<sup>2</sup> The Shah refers to those clerics who struggled in opposition to the regime as the "black reaction". In the interviews, speeches and messages given by him from the year 1962 (1341 AHS) onward, he names the "black reaction" and the "red reaction" as opposites of the "White Revolution". At the Farmer's Congress held in January 1962, he said, "There is no doubt that the "black reaction" and the subversive "red" forces will not desist in their attempt to check Iran's reforms. Indeed, they will make every effort to avert them...!" Once again in a speech delivered in Qum a short while later, he insulted the '*ulama*' and most distinctly called the clergymen "black reactionaries". Again, in the book *Inqilab-e Sefid* (The White Revolution), with regard to the great uprising of Khordad 15 we read: "The shambles of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS (June 5, 1963) was the best illustration of the unholy union between the "black reaction" and the "red" subversive forces, which took place financed by a group of land owners whose interests were detrimentally affected by the laws of the land reforms"! See *Dayiratul-Mu'arife Tashayyu'*, pp. 566-567; *Musahibeha, Nutqha va Payamha-ye Muhammad Rida Shah*, pp. 3087, 3089, 3284; *Farhang-e Siyasi*, p. 5.



you. Learn at least something from your father's fate. Do not continue in this way. Listen to what I have to say; listen to what the *'ulama'* have to say; listen to what the religious scholars have to say—it is they who seek the welfare of the country and the nation. Are we reactionaries? Is the doctrine of Islam reactionary; and a “black reaction” at that? Is it you then who turned the “black” revolution into a “white” one?! Did you create a White Revolution? Which White Revolution did you make sir? Why do you try to deceive the people so? I swear by God, Israel is of no use to you, it is the Quran which can be of help to you.

I was informed today that a number of preachers were taken to the offices of SAVAK and were told that they could speak about anything they chose other than three subjects: they were not to say anything bad about the Shah; not to attack Israel; and not to say that Islam is endangered. The problem is that if we don't concern ourselves with these three subjects then what else is there to talk about? All of our difficulties without exception stem from these three issues. Sir, they themselves say this; it is not I who says it. Whoever you ask tells you that it was the Shah who ordered for such action to be taken; the Shah ordered for Faydiyyah Madrasah to be destroyed; the Shah ordered for those people to be killed... That man<sup>1</sup>—I will mention his name at the appropriate time when he has been duly punished (an outburst of emotion from the audience)—who came to Faydiyyah Madrasah, whistled to signal for the commandos to gather, and shouted, “What are you waiting for? Plunder the entire residential chambers and destroy whatever is there.” He gave the order to attack and they attacked; but when he is asked, “Why did you do such a thing?” he replies, “I was acting on His Majesty's orders.”

Are these (religious students) His Majesty's enemies? Is Israel His Majesty's friend? Israel will cause the country's collapse. Via its agents, Israel will cause the dissolution of the monarchy.

### **The Shah under the influence of Baha'is**

Beware, for one thing is certain—if you take a look at the Baha'i almanac of two or three years ago, you will read, ‘Abdul-Baha<sup>2</sup> advocates equal rights for men and women’; and this is the line that has been adopted

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Mawlawi (deputy-director of SAVAK).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Abbas Effendi, the celebrated “‘Abdul Baha” (1844-1921), son of Mirza Husayn ‘Ali (Baha'ullah) became the leader of the Baha'is after his father. He was amongst the British government's active spies who actually worked for the British in Palestine. The services rendered by ‘Abbas Effendi to the British government made him worthy of a knighthood and the title of “Sir”. ‘Abdul-Baha published *Talim-e Baha'iyyat* [The Teachings of Baha'ism] in which he addressed the issue of full and equal rights of the sexes.

by them. Then the ignorant Mr. Shah also steps forward and talks of equal rights for men and women! You poor wretch, they have purposely set you up so that they can say that you are a Baha'i, and so that I in turn can denounce you as an unbeliever and you are finally got rid of. Do not continue in this way, you fool; do not do it. Conscription for women is what 'Abdul-Baha advocates. The almanac in question is available, so why not read it. Has the Shah not seen this?! If not then those who have seen it and have set this poor wretch up to say these things are to be rebuked. I swear by God that I have heard that the security police have plans to ensure that the people see the Shah in a bad light, so that he can be expelled; and it may be for this reason that some of these matters are in fact kept from him. There are many such matters, more than you can possibly imagine. Both our country and our religion are in jeopardy. You repeatedly tell the '*ulama*' not to mention that our religion is endangered; but if we do not say this, does that mean that our religion is in fact not in danger? If we do not mention what the Shah is like, does that mean he is really not like that? Indeed, you must do something to change this situation. You are being blamed for everything. You helpless creature, you do not realize that on the day when a true outburst occurs, not one of these so-called friends of yours will want to know you. They are all friends of the dollar. They hold no belief or moral principles and they have no sense of loyalty.

### **The Shah's link to Israel**

We feel particularly emotional at present, not because of the fact that today is '*Ashura*' (although to a certain extent that is the case) but because of what is in store for this nation; because of that which is about to take place. That is the real cause of our extreme sorrow; we are truly apprehensive. What exactly is the relationship between the Shah and Israel anyway, which causes the secret service to tell us neither to speak of Israel nor of the Shah—what is the connection between the two? Can it be that the Shah is an Israeli? Does the secret service believe him to be Jewish? Surely this cannot be so; he professes to be a Muslim. He who claims to be a Muslim, according to the laws of Islam, is thereby a Muslim. The connection between us and Israel...perhaps this concerns some kind of confidential matter. Maybe there is truth in what they say about certain organizations wanting to destroy the Shah. Do you not consider it a probability? If so then resolve the matter in some way. Somehow inform this man of these issues; it may cause him to wake up and become somewhat aware of the situation. However, they have ensured that he is under constant surveillance and they

might therefore prevent such words of advice from reaching him. We are full of regret and sorrow. We truly regret the state in which Iran finds itself. We regret the state of our ruined country, of this cabinet and of those running our government. Kindly ask Mr. Shirazi to come and recite a prayer. I feel truly tired.

## Interrogation

**Date:** June 15, 1963 [Khordad 25, 1342 AHS / Muharram 22, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qasr Prison, Tehran

**Subject:** Lack of judicial independence in Iran

**Addressees:** Interrogators of Qasr Prison<sup>1</sup>

Since there is no judicial independence in Iran and as the esteemed judges are pressurized, I cannot answer the interrogation.<sup>2</sup>

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Khordad 15, 1342 AHS was the starting point of the Iranian people's revolution. Imam Khomeini was transferred to a prison in 'Ishratyab Garrison after being in jail at Bisim Garrison for 19 days. After the arrest of the leader of the movement and the brutal massacre of the people on Khordad 15, 1342 AHS the uprising was outwardly suppressed. In prison, Imam Khomeini courageously abstained from answering the interrogation, stating that the ruling regime and the judiciary system were incompetent in his opinion.

<sup>2</sup> In SAVAK documents on Imam Khomeini's struggle, the proceedings of his interrogation are recorded and reported as follows: "Proceedings, dated 3/25/1342 AHS, Saturday, 1000 hours (10 am). The session was held in Bisim Garrison at the above-mentioned time for interrogating Mr. Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini, son of Mustafa, ID No. 2741 from Khomein, born in 1379 AH. After introduction, the questions were asked to him, but he, the above-mentioned, abstained from answering. This is confirmed and attested by the undersigned: SAVAK representative, the Royal Guards headquarters representative, Captain Landabi."

## Letter

**Date:** August 2, 1963 [Mordad 11, 1342 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 12, 1383 AH]

**Place:** House in Qaytariyyeh district, Tehran<sup>1</sup>

**Subject:** Limitations set by the administration

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq Ruhani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I have the honor to inform you that I was most grateful to read your worthy letter containing the news about your health and your kindness to me. I am not free now, although the government arranged the scene to pretend they had set me free and to propagandize about it. I am under their control; I have no will of my own at all. I am not allowed to meet anyone or to be met by anyone without permission. I am to be transferred to the outskirts of the city<sup>2</sup> and this can be an exile of no certain end. So, as you see, I have good excuse for shirking all duties (regarding correspondence), but at the same time I have been most grateful to receive Your Eminence's kindness and that of the other honorable gentlemen, the distinguished '*ulama*' and all the Muslims. I have not received their telegrams. Four telegrams only were received which I have answered. I did not receive yours. Anyway, please inform the Muslims of these restrictions. I hope for Your Eminence's prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> At the height of the Islamic struggle of the people on Khordad 15, 1342 AHS, Imam Khomeini was arrested. At the time this letter was written, he was living in a house in Qaytariyyeh district, Tehran, being under control of the regime's security forces.

<sup>2</sup> Qaytariyyeh district of Tehran on the outskirts at that time.

## Letter

**Date:** Circa 1963-64 [1342 AHS / 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Khorramabad seminary and the need for strengthening it

**Addressee:** Sayyid 'Isa Jazayiri

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid 'Isa Jazayiri (may his blessing last):

I hope your worthy being is free from any indisposition. After being silent about Khorramabad Seminary for a time, due to being too busy and preoccupied, I feel it is my duty now to intervene, since the clergymen and the residents have been expressing their concern about the possibility of liquidation, if I did not intervene. Therefore, as I realized that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Qadi is trusted by all of those referring to me, especially by Your Eminence as I deduced from our talks, I appointed His Eminence to the supervision of this *madrasah*, so that the *madrasah* and the honorable *tullab*'s affairs will not be held in abeyance anymore.

Thanks to God, with good intention I ask you...<sup>1</sup> and your spiritual and material influence you have on those...<sup>2</sup> and being considered as a "father" by the '*ulama*', teachers, scholars, and the other classes of people in the region, I request you to spare no efforts in supervising and supporting Kamaliyyah Seminary and maintaining it. Please ask the esteemed residents not to withhold their material and spiritual support so that these scholarly works are maintained, God willing.

Of course, Mr. Qadi and other scholars and the well-known will still refer to you for solving their problems and you are supposed to help them, regarding Your Eminence's interest in maintaining the seminary.

I also request Your Eminence not to give up visiting the *madrasah*, which is an encouragement for the students. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's health and happiness. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup>This part is illegible.

<sup>2</sup>This part is illegible.

## Statements

**Date:** August 2, 1963 [Mordad 11, 1342 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 12, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Mr. Nijati's home, Tehran

**Occasion:** Imam Khomeini's transfer from prison to a house arrest

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad Behbahani<sup>1</sup>

I am very fine and sound... I will be here until tomorrow evening and then I will go to a house in Shemiran, which has been prepared before, and after a few days, I will leave for Qum. There are things, however, that should be done. I will persist on demanding for the release of all political prisoners. The scandalous elections should also be stopped.

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<sup>1</sup> The special SAVAK agent in a report dated 5/12/1342 AHS indicating the release of Imam Khomeini, writes: "Most of the clergymen and the distinguished 'ulama', merchants of bazaar, tradesmen, and other classes of people went to meet Khomeini at Ayatullah Najafi, the preacher's home. People had formed a long queue kissing Khomeini's chest, hand and feet while they generally looked touched and weeping. The only conversation between Khomeini and Ayatullah Behbahani was a greeting after which Khomeini stated... (the above text)." The SAVAK agent's report ends, thus: "...The crowd was still coming in, in large numbers until 9 [pm], entering from one door, kissing Khomeini's hand and feet and going out from another door. The conversations among the bazaar merchants had it that they apparently intended to illuminate the bazaar shops and celebrate today or tomorrow (Mordad 11 or 12, 1342 AHS). That is what they were talking about."

## Permission

**Date:** November 3, 1963 [Aban 12, 1342 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Muhammad Hashimiyan Rafsanjani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Hashimiyan Rafsanjani (may his graces last) whose trustworthiness and goodness is known to everyone is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the religious taxes, alms and property with unknown owners, delivering them to their religiously prescribed areas. In addition, he is allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, delivering a half to its religiously prescribed areas and spending it on exalting the word of Islam, and to deliver the other half to this humble servant to be expended in the holy seminary. He is also allowed to circulate, postpone as needed, to collect and to deliver the religious payments.

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1383 AH



## Permission

**Date:** December 30, 1963 [Dey 9, 1342 AHS / Shaban 13, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Ibrahim Amini Najafabadi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Mirza Ibrahim Najafabadi (may his graces last) who has spent a long period of his precious life acquiring religious knowledge and is—thanks to God—endowed with virtues, knowledge, trustworthiness, piety and goodness is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending it in part on his own living sparingly, spending one-third of the remainder on exalting the Word of God and in its religiously prescribed areas, and to deliver the remainder to this humble servant to be expended in the seminary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy, and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Shaban al-Mu‘azzam 13, 1383 AH

## Permission

**Date:** January 14, 1964 [Dey 24, 1342 AHS / Shaban 28, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Issuance of permission for meeting the needs of the poor with the blessed Share of the Imam ('a)

**Addressee:** The community of Azerbaijanis living in the capital

[*“Support each other in goodness and piety.”*]

His Venerable Eminence Ayatullah al-'Uzma Haj Aqa Ruhullah Khomeini (may his blessed life last long):

As Your Eminence is aware the severe and unprecedented cold this year which also coincides with the blessed month of Ramadan, has raised the urgency of helping the needy. So a number of the esteemed merchants and tradesmen of Tabriz<sup>1</sup> ask for Your Eminence's permission to grant help to the needy and poor in cash, in kind, or by providing them with fuel. May God endow the Muslims with your long life.

Community of Azerbaijanis<sup>2</sup> living in the capital  
Shaban 28, 1383 AH]

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I am deeply concerned about the conditions of the needy in this severe cold. However, unfortunately, I cannot help them effectively. Of course, it is the duty of the esteemed merchants and tradesmen not to let their religious brothers suffer any hardship or harm, may God forbid, with their collective aids. If it is not possible to meet their needs only with grant money and legal alms, then you are permitted to expend from the blessed Share of the Imam ('a) on providing their coal and other requirements. Of course, spending the blessed Share has to be supervised by a board of trustees from the district. I ask God Almighty for the welfare of the poor and abundance for the charitable.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Some of these trustees were Husayn Aqa-Chaychi, Mirza 'Ali-Asghar Mudarris, Haydar Khusrushahi, and Muhammad-Rida Mamaqani.

<sup>2</sup>That is, Azerbaijanis of the then single north-western Iranian province of Azerbaijan.

## Letter

**Date:** January 19, 1964 [Dey 29, 1342 AHS / Ramadan 3, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Tehran

**Subject:** Response to a letter and acknowledging the people's sympathies

**Addressee:** Muhammad-'Ali Gerami

[The supreme leader and the foremost of all *maraji'*, His Eminence Ayatullah al-'Uzma Khomeini (may his presence endure for Muslims):

I have to say with modesty that the offspring of the birds have to experience the separation from their mothers when it is the time for them to learn to fly. They have to learn it according to the law of natural evolution and grow into independence. They fall down, get up again, flutter, are exhausted, and go on again to reach their destination. This law, i.e. evolution through separation, seems to be universal and encompasses all, from the inanimate objects to the highest ranks of the (material) beings. No fruit ripens overnight and the sour grapes do not sweeten in one day. It is said about the evolution of sulfur and mercury, the two essential elements of the malleable metals, that the smoky and steamy material in the depths of the earth, after the recurrence of days and nights, after many periods of heat and cold, and many unions and separations, turn to sulfur and mercury. Then they form metals that do not lose their strength even under the hammer of a blacksmith. Even the most perfect of all beings, the luminous soul of the Holy Prophet should also undergo separation from the revelation so that he might suffer and agonize until he is kindly consoled by the Primordial Origin: *"Thy Lord hath not forsaken thee nor doth He hate thee... And verily thy Lord will give unto thee so that thou wilt be content,"*<sup>1</sup> and evolves...

Yes, the spiritual leaders of the *ummah* are the custodians and guardians [*wali*] of the nation. The nation should experience their union and separation many times until they become perfect, and are able to form a utopia through their independence. Therefore, the pupils of these scholars become experienced enough and ready to enter the society, over the years, to strengthen themselves and the leader himself experiences the 'pit' like 'Joseph' to be granted the vestment of *"Thus gave We power to Joseph in the land."*<sup>2</sup> We do not know that the divine evolutionary expediencies may be numerous. Yes, those who are always supervised by their fathers do not find

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<sup>1</sup> Surah ad-Duha 93:3, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Surah Yusuf 12:56.

development in their actions; there have to be incidents, there have to be voluntary transactions so that they would ripen and become experienced. I do humbly beg pardon for taking so much time of a man of divinity and a holy scholar. What can I do? Because I am confiding in him the agony and sufferings of the time of separation from 'him', hoping that I will be relieved a little. I am aware that this is not a respectful way of talking with a grand *marja*—or the foremost of all *maraji*—in my opinion—but there are verbal traditions, which encourage me! The traditions that consider *marjaiyyah* not only a social rule but also a sign of divine evolution. They express the separation of some people from this divine status in the phrase: "Our decree is not allotted, etc."—apparently the theme is mentioned in the traditions quoted by Abi al-Jahd—and so one of the consequences will be the love or 'wudd' mentioned in the holy verse: "*Lo! Those who believe and do good works, the Beneficent will appoint for them love [wudd].*"<sup>1</sup> Now that these words are uttered, the superficial is drawn aside, and affection, love, intimacy, holiness and, in short, the spiritual is brought into focus. I am encouraged to reveal the secrets of my heart:

It is a few years since the 'gardener of hearts' has sown an impeccable and desirable seed in the field of my heart, employed the elements of life to look after it, and prepared the nourishing material for it through certain channels. An animating and heavenly ray shone on it through radiant and absorbing eyes; it was irrigated by limpid and pure water from the spring of holiness. My heart was bestowed with a perfect enthusiasm and a great vigor. My mind was furnished with subtle and deep scholarly matters and essentials digested in the teaching sessions, all as a divine sustenance; and I was caressed by a gentle breeze from the direction of hope. The seed was gradually made ready with an equable prudence and the absolute patience, in spite of the inherent haste of human beings. Then, suddenly, when it was ready for mutation, an incident took place and affected it with separation! This has caused an ever-increasing growth and development, and the seed has grown into a sapling and run its root deep into the field of my heart...

Alas! The burning wind of separation did not give it a chance to bear fruit and withered its fresh leaves. The flame of ecstasy was extinguished and the sapling of hope was dried in my heart, but who knows, perhaps this agony and suffering is also a part of his wise prudence so that the pupil might evolve. O you, burning separation! Be gentler to me! O you, fire of parting! Get calmer, for this dejected heart cannot bear so much of pain...

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<sup>1</sup> Surah Maryam 19:96.

O Lord! Thou, who possess the heart, love, and the being, fill our hearts with Thy love and Thy friends' love. O Lord! Bestow on us the strength to walk toward Thee and show us the way that leads to Thee.

Now that the secrets are articulated and the heat of my heart has cooled down, wisdom reminds me that it is not good courtesy to speak like this! Yes, I have been always like this; shyness kept me from communicating it. Then my feelings accumulated and suddenly surfaced to make me look impolite or changeable. On the other hand, I remember a quotation from the book of justice that goes, "The person qualified for jurisdiction is obliged to present himself to the ruler." And the wisdom, which commands goodness, says that a sincere servant and an absolute imitator (in religious law) has to make himself known to the master [*mawla*], offering to fulfill his wishes; but these are all excuses.

I do hereby kindly request from that spiritual father to respond to the following questions.

Muhammad-ali  
Khan Madrasah, Qum  
Ramadan 3, 1383 AH]

Gerami

Qummi

### ***In His Most Exalted Name***

The emotions of my religious brothers, especially the most special of them bear a heavy burden on my shoulders. I hope this has been a hidden consolation sent by God through your surge of emotions to relieve me somehow of this heavy burden. The blessings appearing as misfortunes may be tendered and more affectionate than manifest blessings. I ask God Almighty for everybody's success in learning and doing good.

## Letter

**Date:** January 22, 1964 [Bahman 2, 1342 AHS / Ramadan 6, 1383 AH]<sup>1</sup>

**Place:** Tehran

**Subject:** Expressing concern over the conditions of the poor in Qum

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

My dear son,

As I have been told, the poor in Qum are in very bad condition. This has worried me much, but unfortunately, in my present situation I cannot serve well the people—the honorable servants of God Almighty. Please thank those who have contributed on my behalf and notify the honorable residents and the rich of high esteem that God Almighty brings about these times and conditions to examine us. You had better pass the divine test successfully by helping the noble *Sadat* and other poor people. If a person dies of the cold (may God forbid), we will all be held accountable and prone to the wrath of God Almighty. May God's peace and mercy be upon you and them.

Enclosed I send some money. Please have this sum, which is 60,000 tumans along with the money donated by the honorable residents distributed under the supervision of the trustees of the district whether for coal powder or for provisions and clothing.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini has written this letter to his son Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini during the Imam's house arrest in Tehran. The SAVAK has mentioned Bahman 2, 1342 AHS as the date of the letter.

## Message

**Date:** April 7, 1964 [Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS1 / Dhu'l-Qadah 23, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Expressing regret for the dominance of Israel and its agents on all aspects of the country's affairs

**Occasion:** issuance of the decree of Mr. Taleqani and Mr. Bazargan's conviction in the military court of appeal

**Addressees:** The Iranian nation

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

*"Those who do wrong will come to know by what a (great) reverse they will be overturned!"<sup>2</sup>*

I was afraid to write anything about the injustice done to Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Taleqani and Honorable Engineer Bazargan, lest it might bring them a severe treatment and they would receive sentences for 15 years instead of 10. Now that the unjust verdict of the court of appeal is issued, I have to express my regret about the conditions of Iran in general and the courts in particular. There is much injustice going on in the courts to everybody's surprise and regret: secret trials, imprisonments before the accusations are proved, ignoring the defense of the oppressed. The conscientious and religious people and I are very sorry about the injustice done to these two persons who have been sentenced to long-term imprisonment because of defending Islam and the Constitution, and should languish a long time in prison so that some other persons' desires are satisfied. Those who pronounced the judgment should await a severe fate.

A greater regret is the dominance of Israel and its agents over many crucial aspects of the country, taking possession of the economy with the aid of the government and its agents. While there is a state of war between Israel and the Muslim countries, the Iranian government treats them friendly, provides them with any means of propaganda, and imports their goods.

I have repeatedly warned you of the dangers: the danger to the holy religion, danger to the independence and economy of the country. I am sorry

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<sup>1</sup> Tir 1343 AHS is the date indicated in the Errata of this anthology's second printing.

<sup>2</sup> Surah ash-Shu'ara' 26:227.

that the quotation, "Atheism is one nation"<sup>1</sup> is repeated by some people after it was preached by some organizations. This statement is contrary to the text of the Holy Quran and is being utilized for supporting Israel and its agents. They are making preparations for formally recognizing Israel and supporting its agents and the deviant perverted sect.<sup>2</sup> It is to be regretted that misleading papers that are against the dictates of the Quran and the essential laws of the holy religion are published against the law in the Muslim country, and the governments support them. A book of criticism for refuting the Holy Quran and the draft of the Family Act are proposed and published against the essential laws of Islam and the text of the Holy Quran, but nobody impeaches the governments. I regret the way the organizations treat the preaching sessions and mourning sessions of Imam Husayn (peace and salutations be upon him). Whosoever talked about the oppression and tyranny was imprisoned, or has languished a long time in prison. All religious sessions are under pressure and their organizers are secretly under pressure, too. They imprisoned, tortured and persecuted the religious individuals with the accusation of conducting mourning processions on the day of 'Ashura' and carrying anti-Israeli banners and flags, while they had been moving peacefully; and they are still in prison.

I announce to all the Muslim governments and the Muslims of the world that the noble Shi'ah nation hates Israel and its agents and detests the governments who make peace with Israel. It is not the nation of Iran who has made peace with Israel; the Iranian nation is free from this shameful act. The blame lies upon the governments which are not approved by the nation. I ask God Almighty for the grandeur of Islam and the protection of the laws of Islam.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> It is a hadith attributed to the Prophet (s) that was used by the supporters of the regime as a slogan calling for the recognition of Israel (and Baha'ism) just as the Christian countries were. Imam Khomeini believed it to be contrary to the dictates of the Quran and Islam.

<sup>2</sup> Baha'i sect.



## Telegram

**Date:** April 7, 1964 [Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 23, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Message of acknowledgment for supporting 15th Khordad uprising

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi

232 Tehran

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Falsafi, the renowned orator (may his blessings last):

I thank Your Eminence for your considerable efforts in exalting the Word of God. Please give my acknowledgments to the honorable preachers (may God Almighty assist them).<sup>1</sup> I ask God Almighty for your success in establishing truth and refuting falsehood.

Khomeini

Qum

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Falsafi was first imprisoned and forbidden preaching on the pulpit after his release. Sending the above telegram on the first night after his release and return to Qum in 1343 AHS, Imam Khomeini thanks him and other preachers for their services.

## Telegram

**Date:** April 8, 1964 [Farvardin 19, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 24, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledgment message

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hasan Bahr al-'Ulum

Farvardin 19, 1343 AHS

From: Qum

To: Rasht

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Bahr al-'Ulum:

Thank you for your kind sympathies. I ask God Almighty for the success of the '*ulama*' of Islam in establishing the truth and refuting falsehood.

Khomeini

## Telegram

**Date:** April 8, 1964 [Farvardin 19, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 24, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledgment message

**Addressee:** Diyabari

From: Qum

To: Rasht

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Diyabari:

Thank you for your kind sympathies. I ask God Almighty for the success of the '*ulama*' of Islam in establishing the truth and refuting falsehood.

Khomeini

# Telegram

**Date:** Circa March-April 1964 [Farvardin 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledgment message

**Addressee:** Sayyid Ahmad Khwansari

Tehran

His Eminence Ayatullah Khwansari (may his blessings last):

Thank you for Your Eminence's considerable efforts. I ask God Almighty for the success of the '*ulama*' of Islam in establishing the truth and refuting falsehood.

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> This telegram has been sent on Farvardin 22 or 23, 1343 AHS, after Imam Khomeini's release from the prison. In the SAVAK file, the sentence, "The copy is the same as the original" along with the SAVAK stamp below it can be seen.

## Speech

**Date:** Morning, April 10, 1964 [Farvardin 21, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 26, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The clergy opposes the Shah's White Revolution

**Occasion:** The Imam's return to Qum after release from prison

**Audience:** A group of Tehran University students, *tullab* and people of Qum

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

#### **The target is Islam and independence of the country**

Do not be disheartened by the incarceration of Mr. Taleqani<sup>1</sup> and the engineer.<sup>2</sup> We will not succeed without the occurrence of such incidents.

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<sup>1</sup> Ayatullah Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani (1910-79/1289-1358 AHS) after having acquired education in Islamic sciences at the madrasahs of Radawiyah and Faydiyyah in Qum, went to Tehran in the year 1938 (1317 AHS) to preach and lecture in Islamic teachings. In 1939 he was arrested and imprisoned, charged with opposing the Pahlavi regime. From 1948 (1327 AHS) onward, his classes were held at Hidayat Mosque in Tehran which was the central gathering place for religious intellectuals and the religious members of the National Front [Jebheh-ye Milli], who later established themselves as the Liberation Movement (Nahdat-e Azadi). In the years 1951 and 1952 (1330 and 1331 AHS) he traveled to Jordan and Egypt. He participated in the struggle for the nationalization of the oil industry and was arrested following the coup d'état of Mordad 28 (August 19) accused of hiding Nawwab Safavi, the founder and leader of the Fida'yan-e Islam [Devotees of Islam] in his home. The late Taleqani was repeatedly imprisoned because of his activities and this was the case yet again in 1964 (1343 AHS) due to his support of Imam Khomeini's movement, his release being granted in the year 1967 (1346 AHS). In 1971 (1350 AHS) he was exiled to Zabol and then to Baft (a town in the province of Kerman); and in 1975 (1354 AHS), having been betrayed by one of the Munafiqin (MKO) he was arrested and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. On November 9, 1978 (Aban 18, 1357 AHS) he was freed along with Ayatullah Muntaziri and a group of other political prisoners. Following the victory of the Islamic Revolution he was appointed as head of the Revolutionary Council and selected as a member of the Assembly of Experts; and following the Imam's request he led the first congregational Friday prayer which was held at Tehran University. Among the many literary legacies of the late Ayatullah Taleqani are expositions of the Quran and books concerning Islamic teachings and socio-political issues.

<sup>2</sup> Here, the Imam is referring to engineer Mahdi Bazargan. Mr. Bazargan (b. 1907/1286 AHS) held official positions during Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq's government at the Tehran Water Board and the National Oil Company, while also holding posts in education as an academic member of staff and as head of the Faculty of Engineering at Tehran University. He had played a significant role in founding the Liberation Movement of Iran and had spent many years in the regime's prisons. At the height of the Islamic uprising in the year 1978 (1357 AHS), he was sent by the Leader of the Revolution along with others to attend to the affairs concerning the National Oil Company workers' strike. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the chairmanship of the provisional government was consigned to him; and the day after the occupation of the American Embassy (the Den of Espionage) by the Muslim students following the Imam's line, he resigned from his post as Prime Minister. Later, however, he became the Member of Parliament for Tehran during the first session of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

The ultimate goal which must be borne in mind at all times is more important than the release of a group of people. The objective is Islam; it is the country's independence; it is the proscription of Israel's agents; it is the unification of Muslim countries. The entire country's economy now lies in Israel's hands; that is to say it has been seized by Israeli agents. Hence, most of the major factories and enterprises are run by them: the television, the Arj factory, Pepsi Cola, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The two passenger planes scheduled to commute *haji* pilgrims to Mecca belonged to Israel! Saudi Arabia objected to them and they inevitably stopped doing it. Today, even eggs are imported from Israel.<sup>2</sup> Make firm your ranks. These are the agents of imperialism and imperialism must be uprooted.

### **The need to hoist the banner of Islam in the universities**

Gentlemen, do your utmost to raise the banner of Islam in the universities, to promote religion, to build mosques, to perform prayers in congregation and to let the act of prayer be seen by others. Religious unity is of the essence. It is religious unity that makes this society so great and firm; if you like Iran to be independent, then be united in religion.

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<sup>1</sup>The Thabit Pasa and Elqaniyan families were among those mediators of world Zionism who resided in Iran. They engaged in certain joint ventures with the Pahlavi family and with both indigenous and foreign capitalist networks. Elqaniyan was the owner of Iran Leyland Motor Company, Iran Goodrich, the factories of Pars and America, the SRS Company and dozens of other factories, companies and mother companies. See *Dawlat va Hukumat dar Islam*, pp. 264-267.

<sup>2</sup> During the Shah's "land reform" program the country's agriculture and dairy farming were gradually ruined and what remained of the oil revenue was spent on the purchase of wheat from America, oranges from South Africa, chickens from Holland, eggs from Israel and other needs from various other countries. The cost of eggs imported from Israel in the years 1976, '77 and '78 (1355-1358 AHS) amounted to two hundred and twelve million, two hundred and fifty-four million and one thousand and twenty-two million rials, respectively; figures that had been continually on the rise. See *Iran: Taswir-e Amari-ye Bazargani-ye Khariji*, p. 264.

### **The regime is forced to release the Imam**

The regime came to realize that it could no longer bear such opprobrium.<sup>1</sup> It sensed the resentment felt toward it by the Muslim countries and was subjected to pressures from all quarters of the Islamic and non-Islamic world.<sup>2</sup> Thus, in acknowledging the hopelessness of the situation, it decided that I was to be brought here during the night,<sup>3</sup> “to ensure my safe arrival,” as they put it. They repeatedly said that they must offer me protection and that they feared people might harm me!! Having suffered so many public scandals, they realized there was nothing more they could do. They did not enjoy the favor of any nation or foreign government; and when they saw that the period of *hajj* and the month of Muharram were approaching, during which time nothing was predictable, they chose to release me. However, shortly after, they decided to turn public opinion against me, believing that via the press they could make me despised and could create a rift between the people and the clergymen.

### **A conspiracy labeled as “Holy Alliance”**

A few days have now passed since my release but I have not in fact had the opportunity to read a newspaper. In prison, however, I was entitled to leisure-time and so I used to read; or so it was, until I was handed the *Ittilaat* newspaper dated Tuesday, April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS). I am upset with the ‘*ulama*’ for not having given this paper to me sooner. In the editorial of this abject newspaper, under the heading “Holy Alliance”, it was asserted that a compromise had been reached with the clergymen; furthermore, the clergymen are in favor of the ‘White Revolution’ of the

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to the quarantine and detention of Imam Khomeini.

<sup>2</sup> Maraji’, clergy, politicians, bazaar merchants, students, and other sectors of society had persistently requested that the Shah and the government grant Imam Khomeini’s release from prison. Likewise, prominent religious figures from countries such as Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Kuwait as well as those from several other countries had pressed the Iranian government for the Imam’s release, certain personages such as Shaykh Muhammad Shaltut, the distinguished Egyptian thinker and clergyman, making great efforts and actually taking action to secure the Imam’s freedom. See Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini, vol. 1, pp. 516-555.

<sup>3</sup> Having undergone ten months detention, the Imam eventually entered his home in Qum at 10 pm on Tuesday, April 7 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS). He did so under the watchful eye of the regime’s officers who were concerned to ensure that no one yet found out about his release. Later that night, cars and taxis repeatedly beeped their horns and by doing so informed everyone of the affair. Once informed, people immediately advanced toward the Imam’s home and they, along with the theological center in Qum and people of Tehran and other cities, held celebrations for his homecoming which in fact lasted for several days, people actually traveling from all quarters of the country to Qum to visit their leader.

Shah and the nation. Which Revolution? Which nation? Does this revolution really have anything to do with the clergymen and the people?!<sup>1</sup>

### **The clergy opposes the White Revolution**

Those of you who are in the universities,<sup>2</sup> let the clergymen's opposition to this "revolution" be known to everyone. Unfortunately, we do not possess the media necessary for such publicity. They have taken everything from us. They have taken the television and radio from us. The television lies in the hands of that fraud<sup>3</sup> and the radio is in the hands of the regime itself; and as for the press, that too is corrupt. Whatever they write or say immediately travels to the most remote of places; and knowing no better, people think that they speak for the clergymen, too. Let it be known, the clergymen do not favor such scandalous deeds, and as far as the *Ittilaat* newspaper is concerned, if it does not make amends for its misdeeds, then it will have to contend with the tough counteractive measures taken by us.

(A member of the audience: "Boycott it!")

The Imam: "No, this is not the time. There is a right time for everything.")

### **Khomeini will not compromise**

Even if they threaten to hang Khomeini, he will not compromise. Reforms cannot be made at gun point; nor will the country be reformed by writing "Khomeini, the traitor" on the walls of Tehran!<sup>4</sup> Now do you see that

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<sup>1</sup> The editorial of the *Ittilaat* newspaper dated April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS) carried an article entitled "Holy Alliance" in which was written:

"...It was the Shah himself who personally engineered the "six -point program" on the basis of which a new society was to be formed according to modern ideas and traditional cultures. This program in fact deserved to be carried by twenty million votes, for it was for everyone; for people from all walks of life. Everyone has a part to play in this national endeavor, no matter what sector of society they are from, or what class they belong to. How fortunate it is that the clerical community has also now joined forces with the people in executing the programs of the Shah-People Revolution, for indeed this revolution has been founded on the most worthy ambitions of the early leaders of Islam. It is also fortunate that the present government is fully aware of the public's support, and it spares no effort in achieving "national unity for the national program" and in attaining the mutual understanding of different sections of society."

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that the present speech was delivered at the Imam's home in Qum, in the presence of a group of Tehran University students, among others.

<sup>3</sup> Thabit Pasal, the renowned Baha'i capitalist who was also responsible for the television's executive affairs at the time of the Shah.

<sup>4</sup> After the event of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS (June 5, 1963) the Shah ordered for certain insulting remarks against the Imam to be written on the walls. However, when confronted by the people's anger he was forced to order for their erasure! *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 565; also certain instructions given by the SAVAK in this regard can be found in the file compiled on the Imam at the offices of the SAVAK.



you were wrong? Do you realize that you made a grave mistake? Submit to the doctrines of Islam. We will help you in this; but if by releasing me you have other ideas in mind, if you actually want to have a riot on your hands, then so be it—go ahead.

When I was brought from Qaytariyyah prison, the newspaper of August 4, 1963 (Mordad 13, 1342 AHS) wrote something to the effect that the clergymen will not interfere in politics.<sup>1</sup> I will now tell you the truth of the matter. A person who will remain anonymous once said, “Take it from me, politics involves nothing but lying, deceiving, cheating, misleading: in brief, politics means chicanery! And you should leave that to us!”<sup>2</sup> Because the time was not right I did not want to argue with him, so I merely commented, “From the very beginning, we played no part in the kind of politics of which you speak.”

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<sup>1</sup> The article, “Religion and Politics” printed in the Ittilaat newspaper of August 4, 1963 (Mordad 13, 1342 AHS) reads:

“...Some believe that the government is out to weaken the position of the clergy and they have thus based their judgments accordingly; but this is not the case. The Shah himself holds a special respect for the clergy. He worships Almighty God and is proud of the fact...it is the clergy who have exchanged their true mission to guide and lead the people with the sordid world of politics. That is to say, instead of offering people leadership and guidance they become involved in matters well below their station and dignity...one hundred and fifty years ago in certain countries it was rightly realized that religion and politics should be separated and hence His Imperial Majesty, the King of kings, the sole Shi‘ah Muslim ruler in the world, warned the clergy to dissociate themselves from those clergymen who are involved in non-religious activities. Therefore, it is essential that the eminent ‘ulama and fuqaha, and in particular their eminencies Ayatullah Khomeini, Ayatullah Qummi and Ayatullah Mahallati, who have now agreed to compromise, accept this point and ensure that others accept it for the sake of glorifying the standing of both the clergy and Islam.”!

<sup>2</sup> Pakravan, the commander of the army and head of SAVAK, during an audience with the Imam on August 2, 1963 (Mordad 11, 1342 AHS) at ‘Ishratabad garrison said: “...I took great pains to obtain a document confirming the relationship between a great marja and a foreign country; and to this end I even sent an Arab person to see you but I didn’t find the least evidence of a relationship between your great eminence and foreign agents... Your eminence is about to be released, but before this I have to tell you that politics means cheating and deceiving; politics means lies, hypocrisy and trickery. In brief, politics means chicanery. These matters are our concern and the leaders of the clergy must not soil themselves with these things; they must in no way indulge in politics.” The Imam in response to the latter part of Pakravan’s comments said: “From the very beginning we played no part in the kind of politics of which you speak.” See Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini, vol. 1, p. 575.

## Islam is politics in its entirety

Today, however, because the time has come, I say, “this is not Islam”. I swear by God that Islam is politics in its entirety but it has been misrepresented. Political science originates from Islam. I am not one of those mullahs who merely sit with rosary beads in hand. I am not the Pope to perform certain ceremonies on Sundays only, spending the rest of my time imagining that I am a sultan and not concerning myself with any other affairs.<sup>1</sup> This is where the key to Islamic independence lies. This country must be rescued from these difficulties. They do not want this country to be reformed. The foreigners do not want this country to flourish. Even water has not been provided for this nation! The water used by us in Qum would not even be given to animals in Europe!<sup>2</sup> If they are truly in earnest, then they ought to provide jobs for the unemployed. After twenty years of studying, this young man wants a job.<sup>3</sup> When he graduates in the near future, he will be left wandering aimlessly. If he is not provided with a means of living, then he will not be able to retain his religious beliefs. Do you really believe that the thief that climbs walls at night in spite of the dangers entailed, or the woman who sells her honor, is really blameworthy? No, it is a low standard of living which gives rise to all of these crimes and vices of which one reads in both the morning and evening press.

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<sup>1</sup> Another part of the article, “Religion and Politics” printed in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of August 4, 1963 (Mordad 13, 1342 AHS), reads: “...The truth of the matter is that His Imperial Majesty has realized that the foundations of religion have become weak in this country. The mosque and the pulpit have both been forgotten and in comparison to other Muslim nations, the Muslim nation of Iran is in a (spiritually) distressed condition. The Shah has realized that part of this moral and spiritual backwardness and depression is due to the fact that some individuals among the clergy have sacrificed their true mission of leading and guiding the people for politics and the sordidness which accompanies it... Thus, to rescue both the country and the nation from this group, he has adopted an approach to achieve that which the churches actually achieved one hundred and fifty years ago and that is to separate the Church from politics. As a result of this measure, no Christian now slights the fundamental precepts of his religion. They all attend church and perform their prayers and they listen with enthusiasm to the preachers’ sermons and act accordingly...”!

<sup>2</sup> Among the serious problems faced by the people of Qum was the severe shortage of water, the high salt content of the water, the unhygienic state of water held in reservoirs and the ill health which ensued from that very situation. Although this city is densely populated, is significant from both a geographical and a religious point of view and caters for many visiting pilgrims, it nevertheless lacked a current drinking-water supply.

<sup>3</sup> Indication is made to a student.

### **Cold weather of Hamedan and importing flowers from Holland**

While I was in prison, they informed me that the temperature in Hamedan had reached thirty-three degrees below zero.<sup>1</sup> Then they brought the news that two thousand people had lost their lives due to the cold. I was unable to do anything under the circumstances. What could I have done? This was the state of affairs in Hamedan, but in Tehran and other cities too further lives were also lost. In spite of all this, however, what action did the government take? Under such dreadful circumstances they had flowers flown in from Holland with which they could receive their masters from abroad. How they squander the money of this poor nation! To hire the airplane in question actually cost these country three hundred thousand tumans!<sup>2</sup> For God's sake, make amends for your misdeeds; observe the laws of Islam.

While in captivity, I read something about the state of hygiene and the material conditions endured by those living in southern Iran. I was surprised at how they had allowed such a thing to be written. After having made investigations about the living conditions of people living in the south, a reporter had written that in the rural areas in southern Iran there was absolutely no evidence of health care; there was no current water, and in one village the majority of people were actually blind.<sup>3</sup> In short, they were

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<sup>1</sup> The winter of 1963 (1342 AHS) in Iran was extremely severe and many lives were lost due to the acute poverty and hardship faced by the people as well as road obstructions resulting from bad weather conditions and the neglectfulness of the regime's functionaries. At the same time, however, the governmental officials and their coworkers in these districts were in fact supplied with their needs by helicopter. See the press reports of winter 1963.

<sup>2</sup> The splendid ceremonies of jubilation and festivity were meant to beguile and divert the Iranian people. The year 1966 (1345 AHS) witnesses the commemorative ceremony of a quarter of a century of Muhammad Rida's reign; in 1967 the royal coronation ceremony was held; and four years later we saw the celebration of two-and-a-half millennia of monarchical rule as well as other festivities. Great expense was afforded for each of these affairs, but the actual figures involved were never published. Moreover, these celebrations were in addition to the routine galas and parties of the Royal Court. A major item of expense in these celebrations was having the most expensive flowers flown in from Holland. In his description of the two-thousand-five-hundred-year festivities, Pierre Blanchet, the French author, writes in his book entitled, *Iran: La Revolution Au Nom De Dieu*: "...Private Boeing airplanes made daily deliveries of fresh flowers from Holland."

<sup>3</sup> With regard to the health and material conditions of Iranian villages at the time of the Shah-People Revolution, a report by one of the head supervisors of the organization established for the program of the Shah's regime reads: "In the villages, the father, mother, daughters, sons, grandfather, grandmother, groom, and bridegroom, all live together in one small room. The centre of this room is reserved for the cattle whose filth and putrid stench permeates everyday village life... facilities include: a few dirty, torn quilts which have never seen soap and water, a metal kettle and teapot, a few tumblers and a copper saucepan... Food at the best of times is merely bread with milk, yoghurt or even watered-down yoghurt...boiled millet and sometimes cooked turnips... In most of the villages things like doctors, medicine, shops, and bathing facilities just do not exist. The villagers' income is extremely low...and the best part of this is handed out to brokers, intermediators and pre-emptors. As a result, the village population comprises a wretched group of ailing and backward people who have neither food nor clothes." For the details of this report refer to *Iran va Tarikh*, pp. 179-182; also refer to the *Ittilaat* newspaper of July 19, 1967 (Tir 28, 1346 AHS) ("Five Years after the White Revolution") in which an open letter to the Shah can be found that was written by a group of villagers from northern Iran describing their way of life.

deprived of all basic facilities and the very bare necessities of life. At the ECAFE<sup>1</sup> conference, however, where delegates of world states had assembled to find a solution to the global economic situation-if they should ever wish to implement it-as participating members from countries both large and small discussed their economic problems, the Iranian body of delegates declared that our economic situation was wholly favorable and was without drawbacks! Is the economic situation in Britain bad and that of Iran good?! Is the state of India's economy after making such great progress bad, while that of Iran is good?! Likewise, is Japan's economy in an unhealthy state whereas the economy of Iran is healthy?!

### **“Progressive nation”**

Those lords seated in their palaces speak of “the progressive nation”; does a “progressive nation” die of starvation?! ‘Ali (‘a) the emir of Islam, used to eat barley bread, but now they spend 500,000 or 1,000,000 tumans, if

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<sup>1</sup> ECAFE is the United Nations' acronym for the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. This commission was set up by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization in the year 1947. Its function was to bring about integration between the governments of Asia and the Far East in order to raise the level of their economic activities and to step up relations both between the countries of this region and between these countries and the rest of the world. The members of this commission are from the Far East and Asian member-countries of the United Nations. Other regional commissions of the UN include the economic commissions of Europe, Latin America and Africa. In the twenty-fifth edition of the journal *Pasdar-e Islam*, a close associate of the Imam is quoted as saying: “Colonel Pakravan (commander of the army), who at that time was the head of SAVAK in Tehran, would visit the Imam from time to time while he was in Qaytariyyah. One evening, Pakravan's visit to the Imam coincided with the time when the ECAFE economic conference was in progress in Tehran. I distinctly remember the Imam's words to Pakravan on that evening and I hereby relate them to the reader. The Imam stated: ‘These economic delegates who have gathered here from all over the world, without exception spoke of the economic difficulties suffered by their home countries. The Iranian representative, however, who was the Minister of Economic Affairs (Dr. ‘Alikhani) had said: ‘Thanks to His Majesty (!) all of our economic problems have been solved!’ The Imam then asked Pakravan, what exactly had been solved and continued by saying: ‘Which part of the country's economy is healthy? Where is this healthy economy of ours? What do we have that can be called an economy?’”

not more,<sup>1</sup> for the receptions arranged in honor of their masters; and all they ever talk about is the “development” program! They maintain that our country is on a par with advanced countries, but how can the admission of a few women to Parliament cause a country to be developed?<sup>2</sup> You will not put the country right by implementing Israel’s policies.

### **Khordad’s mass murder**

Islam calls for man to abide by certain rules and regulations during his life. These apply to all stages of man’s life; that is from the day he is born until the day he is buried. It is not a question of opposing a particular person. At the end of the previous government’s term of office, I was approached by someone in prison who criticized the said government claiming that the new government (by contrast) had some progressive policies.<sup>3</sup> I told him that we the clergymen have no personal grievance with anyone and that we are concerned with the deeds of individuals. This poor nation needs to be rescued. Yesterday I held an audience here with the families of those martyred on Khordad 15. I was most disturbed by the fact that I was not

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<sup>1</sup> In 1963 (1342 AHS), after twenty-two years of monarchical rule, at a time when the Shah could see that his ambitions were being fulfilled, many world leaders were invited to Iran to experience the stately banquets of Iran’s Royal Court. These leaders included figures such as Heinrich Luebke, the West German President; De Gaulle, the President of France; and Leonid Brezhnev the Soviet Union’s Head of State. Whenever any of these guests visited Iran the world’s press, radio and television were filled with reports, pictures and accounts of after-dinner speeches which were invariably given in recognition of the progress achieved by Iran and the leading role played by the Shah. In addition to the world’s leaders, American consultants and experts in various fields also traveled to Tehran on a regular basis, and whilst receiving and entertaining them, the Shah made efforts to change his administrative systems to their liking. *Az Sayyid Diya ta Bakhtiyar*, p. 485.

<sup>2</sup> According to the precept “Reforming the Electoral Law”—one of the underlying principles of the Shah’s “White Revolution”—both the right to vote and the right to be elected to the Majlis had been given to women. In the first election to follow the “White Revolution” a number of women from the Royal Court and upper-classes entered the Majlis as parliamentary representatives. These included: Shawkat Jahanbani, Farukhrow Parsa (the wife of General Shirinsokhan), Hajar Tarbiyyat, Mehrangiz Dawlatshahi, and several others. *Az Zuhur ta Suqut*, publications of the Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> After ‘Alam’s dismissal, Dr. Sadr the Interior Minister of the former’s replacement Hasan ‘Ali Mansur, visited the Imam at Qaytariyyah. At this meeting, as well as announcing the Imam’s imminent release, Dr. Sadr, in order to please the Imam, strongly criticized ‘Alam’s government, blaming it for the periods of the Imam’s detention and incarceration; whereas he spoke highly of Mansur and described the new government as completely different to the previous one. In reply the Imam offered him a few words of advice and added: “We were neither the enemy of that government nor have we signed a contract of fraternity with this one. If you behave as the government before you did, then we will oppose you also.”

informed of the event of Khordad 15 until I came out of prison. Unlike the first time that the *madrasah* was attacked, when I was in fact informed of the affair on the afternoon of that very same day. The slaughter which took place on Khordad 15 was worse than the behavior exhibited by a military force toward a foreign nation. At least they would not have killed the women and children. Today is no time to celebrate.<sup>1</sup> As long as the nation lives, it will mourn the events of Khordad 15. A government official once said in a speech that Khordad 15 was a disgrace to the Iranian nation; I wish to complete this statement: Khordad 15 was a disgrace to the nation because weapons were procured with the money of this nation and it was with these very same weapons that they killed the people!

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<sup>1</sup> On Tuesday evening, April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS) Imam Khomeini entered the city of Qum after a lengthy period of detention and imprisonment. His return was celebrated in such a way that some historians have reported it as being beyond description. People from the capital city and elsewhere hastened towards Qum to meet the Imam, and both the Khan and Faydiyyah madrasahs held non-stop celebrations for three days and three nights. These historic festivities culminated in the reading of a ten-point declaration in the presence of the Imam and 'ulama' from the theological center. Matters stressed in this declaration included the making of necessary changes in the theological centers; the implementation of both the Islamic and constitutional laws; the abrogation of the Provincial and District Councils Bill; the annulment of both the upper- and lower-Majlis; the release of all political prisoners; the elimination of corruption; and the arrest of the regime's anti-Islamic campaigns. Programs similar to this were also held in other cities of Iran. For further information refer to Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran, vol. 4, p. 274 onward.

## Speech

**Date:** 9 am, April 10, 1964 [Farvardin 21, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 26, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The crimes of the Shah's regime and the divine duty of the seminaries

**Audience:** A group of the '*ulama*', clergymen and people of Shiraz

*[In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]*

### **Engendering disparity between the '*ulama*' and the nation**

Please give my regards to the '*ulama*' of Shiraz, especially to Ayatullah Mahallati.<sup>1</sup> Kiss His Eminence's hand for me and say: "You suffered much; your imprisonment and your efforts will never be forgotten; the thirteen days you spent in a place which is made for the ruffians will be remembered by the Master of the Age (may God Almighty expedite his advent)." Now you should know and inform the honorable people of Fars province and other places that they cannot advance, control the emotions of the Muslims or destroy Islam by using bayonets, killing and imprisoning and other brutal actions which are not practiced anywhere in the world today, not even in Africa or other places. They will be defeated. Now they have made a more prominent plot. It is not killing, imprisoning, or other harsh treatments for the time being. Of course, there was nothing wrong with it. Let them arrest everyone, take everyone away, kill some people. There will be still some more and more; but their major plan is to engender disparity between the '*ulama*' and the Islamic nation. They want to pretend that the '*ulama*' agree with the Shah's revolution so that they turn people away from them and deprive the '*ulama*' of their public support. Please tell Ayatullah Mahallati and the other '*ulama*' of Shiraz to notify the *tullab* of this and to unify the people. Be wary and watchful. Inform all people that they are the enemies; enemies of Islam; enemies of the whole nation.

### **We all belong in the same rank**

The Prophet of Islam was an Arab. We have no disagreement, and we should not be dispersed. There is no difference between our younger and older ones. No one is higher or lower than the others are; prior or posterior to others. We all belong in the same rank. We are all rising for the sake of Islam and God, and it should be for God's sake too, not for the sake of the world.

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<sup>1</sup> Baha'uddin Mahallati.

No one ranks above the other. It is not just the duty of the seminary but everybody is responsible. They thought Islam was dead as well, when Ayatullah Burujerdi died. They were wrong; they are mistaken. The Prophet, 'Ali and the other Imams ('a) all passed away but Islam remained. Khomeini will also die. My life is coming to an end. There remain only a few days of my life. You young *tullab* and the scholars, have to carry on. I will die; others will take over. They will depart and some one else will take over again. It is Islam that should be protected. Hand kissing, putting up someone's pictures, or using titles before or after somebody's name does not matter at all... Seminaries should be all useful to Islam. If the Seminary does not prove to be useful for Islam, it will be futile, worthless. It is the religious obligation for everyone, for all orators and all Muslims to inform the people, because the basis of Islam is in danger. We all concur in the essentials. Are there any secondary things at all to disagree about? Are they not sure that Islam is in danger? Nobody should recommend silence. Nobody should think it is advisable.

### **People's fondness of religion**

I suffer from seeing some excessive prejudices. When I hear some of the young *tullab*'s ideas, it gives me a headache. What is this superstition about my picture? People will destroy even Khomeini, if he doesn't work honestly for the sake of God... One should seek God's satisfaction, and working for the spirituality of the people, not for the worldly gains. By God, that those who kept silent—who will also lose their worldly gain—will become wretched. People esteem religion. The '*ulama*' and clergymen are servants of the religion, so they are liked by all. But if the people know that their effort is for the gain of the world and out of ambition or the like, they will not pay them any attention. I any more cannot collect the money and give it to *tullab* while people are hungry and miserable and the religion is being destroyed. They (*tullab*) should destroy and forsake me if I do that. People are quite aware. Faithful people need a person who serves the religion; they will like him who is more prominent. People like us because of religion. They express their fondness because they are fond of religion. Those who try to cause division among the '*ulama*', people, and in the religion are badly mistaken. Their intentions have been revealed to us. Sayyid Diya'1 has told the Shah

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Diya'iddin Tabataba'i, the experienced Iranian politician; he collaborated with Rida Khan and the British in Hut (Esfand) 1299 AHS coup which caused the fall of the Qajar dynasty and the formation of Pahlavi dynasty and Rida Khan's succession to the throne.



that it has been a mistake to arrest this man and another mistake to release him. They have become disgraced.

Although our press does not write about it, the foreign press does. I receive the news of their becoming scandalized abroad. It was proved to the whole world how the people hate them. Whosoever tries to deceive people is a traitor. The press here is a traitor. Answering my telegram, His Eminence Ayatullah al-'Uzma Khu'i, has made a big mistake. He had expressed what he meant in a few sentences and had refuted my words. He has said, "The '*ulama*' have not understood the truth of Islam. I understand the philosophy of Islamic laws." He has said that the Prophet wished for equality of rights [between man and woman]. They (the government) don't mean social justice when they talk about the equality of rights. Maybe if the '*ulama*' become quite, they will start talking about inheritance, divorce and equality in other rights. They are the enemies; you have to unite. Leave your disputes. Do not be afraid of imprisonment. Elimination of Islam is...<sup>1</sup> Islam has to be preserved, as well as the Quran. It doesn't matter if Khomeini is lost; if someone else is lost. Our aim is to preserve Islam and the Quran, not our worldly lives. We all have the same goal. We all share the same thing. There is no disagreement among us, and there should not be. I thank the whole nation of Iran, especially the '*ulama*' and the clergymen, as well as the people of Fars Province, its clergymen and '*ulama*'. May God assist all and make them victorious.

May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

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<sup>1</sup> An illegible word.

## Telegram

**Date:** April 11, 1964 [Farvardin 22, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 27, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Denying the news about the clergy's agreement with the anti-Islamic goals of the Shah's regime

**Occasion:** *Ittilaat* daily editorial (dated 1/18/1343 AHS)<sup>1</sup>

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Taqi Amuli

Hasanabad, Tehran

His Eminence Ayatullah Amuli (may his blessings last):

After extending my sincere regards, I have to kindly ask you to give my thanks to Their Eminences Hujjat al-Islams and distinguished '*ulama*' of Tehran—may God exalt their names—and ask them to deny strongly what was printed in *Ittilaat* daily on Tuesday about the clergymen's agreement with the government's goals. You should announce to the nation that no clergyman can agree with the anti-Islamic matters and they should not believe the content of the newspapers about the clergymen. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> After Hasan Pakravan (the Head of SAVAK) had met Imam Khomeini at the time of his house arrest in Qaytariyyeh, the *Ittilaat* daily published the news of an 'agreement between the clergy and the regime' which was protested and denied by Imam Khomeini and the other '*ulama*'.

## Telegram

**Date:** April 11, 1964 [Farvardin 22, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 27, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Denying the news about the clergy's agreement with the anti-Islamic goals of the Shah's regime

**Occasion:** *Ittilaat* daily editorial (dated: 1/18/1343 AHS)

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hadi Milani

Mashhad

His Eminence Ayatullah Milani (may his blessings last):

After extending my sincere regards, hereby the content of *Ittilaat* daily editorial, dated Tuesday, Farvardin 18 is denied. Please ask others to strongly deny it, too.

Khomeini

## Permission

**Date:** April 11, 1964 [Farvardin 22, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 27, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies, until the Day of Judgment.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-‘Ulama’ al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi (may his graces last) who is one of the prominent scholars and the great ‘*ulama*’, and—thanks to God—is endowed with virtues, goodness and piety, is a trustee of mine. He is granted permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of the *Wali al-Amr* (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” His Eminence is permitted to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them in part on his own living as much as is customary and usual, delivering the surplus of the noble *Sadat*’s Share to its religiously prescribed area. He is to spend one-half of the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share on promoting the obligatory *shariah* and exalting the word of Islam, and to deliver the remainder to this humble servant to be expended in the seminary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him and make him firm)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him, God’s pious servants and our faithful brethren.”

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Qadah al-Haram 27, 1383 AH

## Statements

**Date:** April 11, 1964 [Farvardin 22, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 27, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Providing the families of the martyrs with their needs

**Audience:** Families of the martyrs of the Khordad 15 uprising<sup>1</sup>

[If the families] have other needs, I will provide them later. Do not worry. May they be ranked among the martyred companions of the Doyen of the Martyrs. I share you in your bereavement, too. I am also bereaved. Most important of all is the disaster brought to the religion that is being damaged.

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<sup>1</sup> SAVAK report (dated 1/22/1343 AHS) before quoting the Imam, states: "Several men and women had come to Mr. Khomeini's house, giving him lots of letters. They had written, "Our husbands are dead; our youth were killed; what do we have to do, Mr. Khomeini? We have no one to look after us." Mr. Khomeini wept a lot and was very sad. To those who were well off and did not need anything, Mr. Khomeini gave money orders of 1,000 tumans and to each of the very poor families he gave an order of 3,000 tumans. They received their money yesterday."

## Telegram

**Date:** April 12, 1964 [Farvardin 23, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 28, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Denying the news about the clergy's agreement with the anti-Islamic acts of the Shah's regime<sup>1</sup>

**Addressee:** Husayn Khadimi

Isfahan

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Khadimi (may his blessings last):

Thank you for your considerable efforts. I ask God for the success of the '*ulama*' of Islam in establishing the truth and refuting falsehood. Please give my acknowledgements to their eminent Hujjat al-Islams (may their blessings last). In addition, it is necessary to ask them to deny the content of *Ittilaat* daily editorial, dated Tuesday, Farvardin 18.

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> The editorial in *Ittilaat* daily dated 1/18/1343 AHS.

## Telegram

**Date:** April 12, 1964 [Farvardin 23, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 28, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Denying the news about the clergy's agreement with anti-Islamic acts of the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Husayn Anwari Hamedani

Najaf

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Shaykh Husayn Hamedani<sup>1</sup> (may his blessings last):

I thank the distinguished '*ulama*' and Hujjat al-Islams (may God exalt their names) for their kind sympathies. Please give my sincere regards to them. I ask God for the success of the '*ulama*' of Islam in establishing the truth and refuting falsehood. Please ask them to strongly deny the contents of *Ittilaat* daily editorial, dated Tuesday, Farvardin 18. May peace be upon you.

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> At the time of sending the telegram, he had been living in Qum.

## Telegram

**Date:** April 12, 1964 [Farvardin 23, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 28, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Denying the news about the clergy's agreement with the anti-Islamic acts of the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Ahmad Ahari

Tabriz

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Ahmad Ahari (May his blessings last):

I thank their eminent Hujjat al-Islams (may their blessings last) for their kind sympathies. Please give my sincere regards to the scholarly society. I ask God for the success of the '*ulama*' of Islam in establishing the truth and refuting falsehood. It is necessary that the contents of *Ittilaat* daily editorial be strongly denied.

Khomeini



## Telegram

**Date:** April 12, 1964 [Farvardin 23, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 28, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Responding a telegram of congratulations on Imam Khomeini's release and his return to Qum

**Addressee:** Sayyid 'Ali-Naqi Tabasi Ha'iri

Mashhad No. 289 1.23=18

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid 'Ali-Naqi Tabasi (may his graces last):

Thank you for your kind sympathy.

Khomeini  
Qum

## Statements

**Date:** Nighttime, April 14, 1964 [Farvardin 25, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 1, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The unstable political conditions in the world and the region

**Occasion:** Release of the clergy in detention in Tehran

**Addressee:** Sayyid 'Abdul-Karim Hashimi-Nezhad<sup>1</sup>

For the time being, my intention is to unite all classes of the clergy so that we can make a more serious decision... The worldwide conditions are unstable in general and Iran's conditions are uncertain, too. Pakistan left the CENTO<sup>2</sup> treaty; Pakistan and Turkey have disclaimed their recognition of Israel; Hijaz (Saudi Arabia) has not permitted the landing of the Israeli airplanes carrying Iranian pilgrims to Mecca.<sup>3</sup> Khrushchev<sup>4</sup> is going to resign and the heads of the Communist Party are having disagreements. The dispute between the Soviets and the Chinese is deepening. America is busy with the elections and its national affairs. The Arab League is being formed and developed. The circumstances are unclear in general. That is why the gentlemen<sup>5</sup> were released and we have to take advantage of these conditions.

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<sup>1</sup> Martyr Hashimi-Nezhad has quoted Imam Khomeini's words, in Mr. Qummi's house in Mashhad, after his trip to Qum, and a SAVAK spy has reported it. (SAVAK document no. H9/2553, dated 1/29/1343 AHS).

<sup>2</sup> CENTO stands for Central Treaty Organization, which replaced Baghdad treaty on August 21, 1959. The member countries of the previous treaty except Iraq (Iran, Britain, Pakistan, and Turkey) participated in it and it was supervised and granted military support by the United States, although it was not one of the members. In fact, CENTO was the link between NATO and SEATO formed by the West against the Soviets and the Eastern front.

<sup>3</sup> The Iranian government had chartered a few airplanes from IL AL Aviation Company, belonging to the Quds-occupier regime to carry the pilgrims.

<sup>4</sup> Nikita Khrushchev, the Prime Minister and chairperson of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Socialist Soviet Republics.

<sup>5</sup> It refers to the released clergymen.

# Speech

**Date:** 8 am, April 15, 1964 [Farvardin 26, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 2, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Azam Mosque, Qum

**Subject:** Analysis of the Khordad 15 uprising; performance of the government and the mission of the 'ulama' and the clergy

**Occasion:** Imam Khomeini's release from prison

**Audience:** 'Ulama', clergymen, merchants, students and people from other sectors of society

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

*"I take refuge in God from the accursed Satan*

*We belong to God and to Him we shall return."*

## **Sign of civilization, the mass murder of Khordad 15!**

(The audience weeps bitterly) I have never felt so weak and incapable in speech before; I feel quite incompetent today. I am unable to express the sadness I feel for the general state of Islam and in particular for the state of Iran, as well as for the events which took place during the course of this ill-fated year<sup>1</sup> such as the storming of the centers of learning and the affair of Khordad 15. It was only when my imprisonment turned into detention that the outside news reached me and I became aware of what had occurred on Khordad 15.

God knows how devastated I was on learning of this incident (the audience weeps bitterly). Now that I have returned from my detention in Qaytariyyeh, I see young children without fathers (the audience weeps), mothers who have lost their children, women who have lost their brothers

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<sup>1</sup>Among the major events of that year were: the assault made by the Shah's agents on the Faydiyyah and Hujjatiyyah madrasahs and the killing and wounding there of a large number of clerics and religious students; the conscripting of academic students and students of religious learning centers to military service; the detention of Imam Khomeini; the holding of mass demonstrations and protests against the detention of the Imam and the quelling of demonstrations held in Qum, Tehran, Shiraz, etc.; the incarceration of Ayatullah Qummi in Mashhad and also Ayatullah Baha'uddin Mahallati, the latter's brother and son, the son of Ayatullah Dastghayb and others in Shiraz, all of whom were sent to Tehran as was Ayatullah Sayyid 'Abdul-Husayn when he too was arrested ten days later; the journey made by distinguished Ayatullahs and clergy to the capital city in protest against the detention of the movement's leader and the confinement of university lecturers and a great number of clergy from all over the country; and in addition to all of these events was the regime's increasing cooperation and collaboration with Israel.

and people with missing limbs (the weeping continues). Much despondency prevails. Indeed, this is the imprint of their “civilization” and our “reaction”. It is a pity our voice does not reach the outside world. It is a pity that the sound of weeping of these bereaved mothers does not reach the outside world (the audience weeps intensely).

### **Sinister propaganda against the clergy**

They introduce us as traditionalists, as reactionaries; they regard the ‘*ulama*’ of Islam as “black reaction”. Those heavily-subsidized foreign newspapers which have set out to ruin us,<sup>1</sup> introduce us abroad as anti-reformists, as those opposed to modernization.<sup>2</sup> *Akhunds* are presented as

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<sup>1</sup> The Shah used to spend part of the country’s revenue on heavily financing propaganda campaigns. Both ambassadors and the Royal Public Relations Bureau gave millions of dollars to writers and publicity agencies and to the press, radio and television, to ensure that the Shah’s crimes and treacherous activities remained concealed and that instead he was introduced as one of the world’s great politicians and outstanding thinkers. Le Point, printed in France, voted the Shah as “The man of the year”! Barry Rubin, the American researcher, in his book *The Power Struggle in Iran* writes: “The extensive nature of the propaganda which was spread by the regime was one of the main reasons why the latter’s shortcomings remained hidden.” The sums of money given by the Shah for propaganda purposes were so vast that rivalry broke out between Iranologists from America, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Holland over the translation of materials such as the Shah’s own book or the *Mu’arrifi-ye Tamaddun va Shahan-e Gozashteh*. Such payments were made in absolute secrecy and hence the exact amounts involved for these or other payments offered as bribes for propaganda are not yet known. Documents uncovered since the victory of the Revolution however, both in Iran and in Iranian embassies abroad, indicate that these amounts had been quite substantial. In America alone, millions of dollars were spent each year on popularizing the Shah’s regime. Among the contracts made to this end, was the five-hundred-and-seven-thousand dollar contract made with the New York public relations counseling agency, Ruder and Finn, Inc.; the agreement to pay Marion Javits, the wife of Senator Javits, an annual sum of sixty seven thousand five hundred dollars; and the regular payment of exorbitant sums to William Rogers, the former US State Secretary. Following his departure from Iran in November 1978 [Aban 1357 AHS], Siyamak Zand, the head of the press section of the Royal Public Relations Bureau, stated in an interview that he used to bribe most of the foreign journalists. In the same interview he clearly named four of the journalists in question to be the editor-in-chief of the American magazine *Newsweek*; two journalists from *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*; and the French reporter Gerard de Villiers. Refer to *The Power Struggle in Iran*, p. 117; *In the Service of the Peacock Throne*, p. 310; and the *Herald Tribune* newspaper of November 17, 1978 [Aban 26, 1357 AHS].

<sup>2</sup> *Time* magazine, June 14, 1963 [Khordad 24, 1342 AHS] reads: “...For three days during the past week, Tehran became a battleground. People were screaming, machine guns were rapping and... How ironic that this was a fight against ‘development’... Powerful opposition to him (the Shah) includes the corrupt leaders as a whole, big landowners and the mullahs who believe that his program...entails non-Muslim involvement.” *United Press International* writes: “...Demonstrations have taken place due to incitement by religious figures: those who are opposed to the Shah’s reforms since their interests have been damaged by them.” *Moscow radio*, on the eve of June 6: “The reactionary elements in Iran who are unhappy with the land reforms...held a demonstration today in the streets of Tehran, Qum and Mashhad. Certain religious leaders were the directors and main instigators of this unrest.”

those who travel on donkeys and who argue that they don't want electricity nor do they need airplanes. It is said that they want to return to the Dark Ages, that they are reactionaries. In fact it is this dark period brought about by you (the Shah) in this country to which the *akhunds* are opposed. Is this traditionalism? The virtuous '*ulama*' oppose these beatings and murders, and this autocracy, dictatorship and despotism. Do you call this traditionalism? It was the '*ulama*' of Islam who, at the dawn of Constitutionalism,<sup>1</sup> fought against the evils of despotism and procured freedom for the nation. They ordained laws which were in the interest of Islam and benefited the nation and which enhanced the country's independence, for they were Islamic laws. They ordained these laws with the blood that they sacrificed, the burdens that they bore and the trials that they endured. Are these *akhunds* reactionaries?

Today also, the clergy is rising up in revolt; it is embarking upon a movement and in following the clergy the nation too is rising up in revolt. Now, the Islamic nations are awakened, they are engaged in revolution. The clergy wants the laws of Islam to be implemented. Is this reactionary? <sup>2</sup>Inviting others to abide by the holy laws of Islam, these divine laws for which we undergo so much hardship and bear so many insults; is this in fact reaction? Is God, the Blessed and Exalted, a reactionary?! The virtuous (archangel) Gabriel, the mediator of divine revelation, is he a reactionary?! Is the Holy Prophet a reactionary?! Are the exemplary Imams reactionaries?! From the advent of Islam it has been the sole function of the '*ulama*', those who themselves possess nothing, to convey the laws of Islam—the divinely-revealed laws—to the people. Is it reactionary to convey these holy laws?

### **Islam approves true freedom**

If you truly believe in the precepts of Islam then this is what you should believe in: Islam has afforded man freedom and made him the master of his

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<sup>1</sup> Here, reference is made to the militant '*ulama*' such as the martyr Ayatullah Haj Shaykh Fadlullah Nuri, Ayatullah Sayyid 'Abdullah Behbahani, Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Tabataba'i, Ayatullah Mirza Muhammad Hasan Ashtiyani, Shaykh Muhammad Khiyabani, and Sayyid Jamaluddin Isfahani.

<sup>2</sup> In a speech given a few days prior to this address, the Shah had said: "We condemn traditionalism and reactionary thinking"; and similarly, he later wrote in the book *The White Revolution*: "The unrest of Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) which was financed by a group of landlords who had been hit by the Land Reform Bill was the best illustration of the 'unholy' alliance which exists between two camps: the black reaction and the red destructive force."

possessions, his family and his own self. In fact Islam demands man's freedom and self-determination. In Islam man is free to choose where he lives, what he eats and drinks and how he conducts his everyday life, as long as the holy laws are not breached. It is the law of Islam which affords one, whose home has been attacked, the right to kill the attacker. This is the extent to which Islam values freedom. So can Islam be described as 'black reaction'? The '*ulama*' do not speak for themselves, but merely quote God's Prophet, who in turn quotes the Almighty Lord. Thus, if we are reactionaries then the Holy Prophet must be a reactionary too. If you regard us, who merely repeat the words of God and His Prophet, as traditionalists—as that foolish man persistently insists on calling us—then you consider the Holy Prophet a traditionalist too! The Devil takes this 'civilized' thinking!

If however, you have faith in Islam and its laws—Islam which is the source of all freedom, dignity, glory, self-determination, and independence—and if we are the followers of Islam, then you have to accept that these are the precepts of Islam. In what way can they be said to be reactionary? Exactly what is it about the precepts of Islam that these gentlemen regard as black reaction? Why not come and discuss this issue with us? It really isn't right for you<sup>1</sup> to make speeches here and there saying, "We condemn traditionalism" and so on and to persist in your swaggering. Why not come forward and say that you believe what the Prophet has said to constitute black reaction, so that we may examine the validity of your claim and may prove that to the contrary it is not reaction?

#### **Abide by the law**

We say: "Don't be the slave of others." We want you to be honorable and dignified. We suggest sir, that as a Muslim government and as the so-called ruling body of the Muslims, you should be reverent, noble and great. You are to safeguard independence and to be your own master. At whichever meeting you attend you request more financial assistance.<sup>2</sup> Don't degrade yourself for the sake of begging for a few dollars. These are in fact the things that we oppose. If this is reaction then yes we are reactionaries; and if that is what being civilized is, then you are undoubtedly civilized. If you believe in the laws of Islam then they are as we have explained and you are fully aware

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<sup>1</sup> A reference to the Shah.

<sup>2</sup> Kennedy had given the Shah his word that Iran would receive both loans and foreign capital investment in return for the implementation of "reforms". By the word "dollar" the Imam means the American financial aid for which the Shah used to appeal. The New York Times with reference to the Shah's referendum and implementation of reforms writes: "Iran has discovered more suitable terms for the receipt of American aid."

of them. And if you say you prefer to rely on the constitutional law instead, then that too has given the right of freedom to people, be it with regard to their abode, their occupation, their wealth or their souls; and it in fact prohibits coercion. It isn't that you don't accept the constitutional law because you do; although even then some time ago you murmured something about it being fifty-years-old and so on. What nonsense! How can a constitution which argues for the freedom of the people and the press be criticized for being 'fifty-years-old'? All we are saying is that you should act according to the law. Let us take a good look at the constitutional law; you send your representative and we shall send ours. O you, who lay claim to being law-abiding, democratic, reformist and progressive, let us examine the constitutional law. You'll see that if you act according to this law then we won't say anything more. Abide by the Supplementary Constitutional Laws which were achieved through the 'ulama' sacrificing lives and delivering nations from captivity. The constitutional law grants freedom of the press; but are you prepared to free it? Is it we, the ones who say allow the constitutional law to be implemented, grant the press freedom and permit the press to enjoy freedom of expression, who is the reactionary? The press may well be corrupt, but in spite of all their malice, they still would prefer not to poison people's minds to the extent to which you force them.

### **Disgrace of the government**

Now you, gentlemen and people of Iran, you must have seen the editorial of the *Ittilaat* on Tuesday April 7 [Farvardin 18]. You read about the plans they had intended to carry out and the one which they now have in mind.<sup>1</sup> They saw that whatever move they made backfired. They used force, intimidation and threats; they brought about the episode of Khordad 15; they destroyed the Faydiyyah and Talibiyyah *madrasahs*;<sup>2</sup> they affronted the 'ulama'; they banished, deported, imprisoned, and much more. Not only did

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<sup>1</sup> The leading article of the *Ittilaat* newspaper on April 7, 1964 [Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS] reads: "How fortunate it is that the clerical community has also now joined forces with the people in executing the programs of the Shah-People Revolution."

<sup>2</sup> Early in the year 1963 [1342 AHS], at the time of the Faydiyyah incident, the Talibiyyah Madrasah was also attacked. A number of SAVAK agents and police officials in Tabriz proceeded toward this madrasah with the intention of tearing down Imam Khomeini's declaration which had been posted upon the wall there. However, on arrival they encountered the resistance and protests of the religious students. A violent scuffle broke out between the latter and the officials during which one police officer was killed. In the meantime, further officials surged towards the madrasah and employing both fire- and side-arms they destroyed whatever they came across. They beat and swore at the theological students and clergy, towards whom they fired, killing some and injuring others.

things go wrong, but they went so very wrong that even he<sup>1</sup> came to know about them. Indeed everyone knew about them. Moreover, objections raised by the outside world put the regime in a very embarrassing position.<sup>2</sup> The events of Khordad 15 had truly disgraced the government. We hadn't wished for them to be so disgraced, but the shame brought about by the events of that day was so deep that it irrevocably stained this country. This affair will be recorded in history. Even some members of the regime have themselves admitted what a disgrace Khordad 15 was and I too say this. But they failed to say why, so I will now do so: it was a disgrace because they had actually purchased the machine guns, tanks and bullets that they fired at the poor Iranian people with the wealth of this very same nation. They trampled this poor nation underfoot. Could anything be more disgraceful than this? Tell us exactly what these poor victims had done to deserve this? What could they possibly have done?

### **Who is the reactionary?**

We only gave you a piece of advice; surely it didn't warrant such a reaction. Our argument is quite logical. We merely say that we have laws and that they should be implemented. Is it that you don't recognize the constitutional law? If so, then get your governmental employee<sup>3</sup> to go to the Majlis and announce that this is the case so that you can then return to primitive times if that's what you really want. Are we, the ones who ask for the implementation of the constitutional law, reactionaries, or you, who imprison people and order for their exile? Your prison cells are packed with prisoners, with people of distinction, religious people, '*ulama*', professors; and places such as Bandar 'Abbas are full of exiles whose only crime was to have said, "We don't want to be slaves; we don't want to be the captives of imperialism."

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<sup>1</sup> The Shah.

<sup>2</sup> The tragedy of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS [June 5, 1963] was so great that news of it spread beyond the Iranian borders, the millions of dollars of money spent annually by the Shah on self-publicity failing to keep this horrifying news veiled. On June 6 and 7, 1963 the newspaper Al-Ahram took to describing the tragedy; an article entitled "The Great Deceit" was carried by the weekly The Arab Observer on June 17, 1963; on July 10, 1963 Shaykh Mahmud Shaltut, the head of Al-Azhar University in Egypt issued a statement with regard to this event; and "The Lebanese Islamic Scientific Society", the youth of Kuwait, Iranian Muslim students in Germany and other groups responded and voiced their objection by issuing statements, wiring telegraphs and sending open letters to both Muslim and international leaders.

<sup>3</sup> Reference here is made to the head of the government of the day (Hasan-'Ali Mansur).



What they said of us lately? Are you reactionaries as we say that you have to abide by the Constitution? Lay down the Constitution and let all of us abide by it; you accepted it. We say, observe the religion (religious precepts); you say that the Holy Prophet is a reactionary (we seek refuge in God). You do not speak literally; it means so. You do acknowledge the Constitution, yet at that time they used to utter that it is fifty-years old, so on and so forth. It is a constitution that has more than the affair of fifty years ago—a constitution that stipulates that the nations should be free; that the people of Iran should be free; that press should be free; that no one has the right to hinder others to write.

### **Slandering the clergy**

You no doubt read in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of Tuesday April 18 (Farvardin 29): “What welcome news it is that the clerical dignitaries have reached an agreement with the government concerning the Shah-People Revolution”—of course the same was written in other papers but this particular newspaper has a wider readership. Following this, some people who went to Tehran to voice objection requested that this clergyman be identified,<sup>1</sup> saying: “Is the person in question Khomeini? Please tell us so that we might execrate him; or is it perhaps another ‘*alim*’ of Islam? Come now, indicate who it is!” Some of our high-ranking ‘*ulama*’ are with us here today, may God preserve them (the audience cries “Amen”). Others are to be found in Tehran, Mashhad, Najaf and in other Muslim lands. May God praise them all (the audience cries Amen). Now then, these ‘*ulama*’ of whom you speak, do they exist out in space? Well if not, why do you not name those who have secretly made a deal with you? Name them if you dare. Tell us, was it Khomeini who made concessions while in prison? He had no right whatsoever to do something so contrary to Islam. How can Khomeini compromise with the cause of oppression? It would be damned wrong of him

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<sup>1</sup> Following the publication of the article, “Holy Alliance for a Holy Cause” (Ittihad-e Muqaddas beh Khatir-e Hadaf-e Muqaddas) in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS) covering the alleged unity between the Shah and the clergy over the “White Revolution”, Imam Khomeini sends Hujjat al-Islam Fadlullah Mahallati to the newspaper’s office to ask who these “clergy” are. The editor-in-chief of *Ittilaat* states that the article was sent to the newspaper from high-ranking government officials and that they had no choice but to publish it. The Imam demands that the editor-in-chief refute the report in question in his paper and that he follows up and acts upon his own decision with the utmost strength and firmness. Eventually the government is forced to send a representative to Qum to visit the Imam and apologize to him; and as well as asking forgiveness the representative was to give assurances that henceforth the publication of lies and defamatory statements pertaining to the clergy would be prevented.

to do so. Could he do other than to preserve the dignity of Islam while he was in prison?—which is in fact what he did. Could Khomeini and others like him possibly bring themselves to say something which was to the detriment of Islam: this Islam for which the Holy Prophet and the Immaculate Imams ('a) labored so hard and for which the 'ulama' have exerted so much effort? Indeed if Khomeini actually did do such a thing, then he would be cast out from the society.

### **The plot to introduce the 'ulama' and the clergymen**

They have hatched a plot which is to introduce the 'ulama' of Islam to the people as like them. They are ostracized by the society, and they like us also to be ostracized. The society does not accept them, and they like it (the society) also to say that it does not accept us. Through this sinister plot they like us to be hated by the society... What a calamity! Could I tell the corruptions of this country to this Majlis, its two, four chambers? Today, I am not also feeling well. Last night I slept only a little. Nevertheless, well, a general issue must be stated. Don't we have any right to defend ourselves?

### **Helplessness of the editor-in-chief of *Ittilaat***

These same people visited the editor-in-chief of the *Ittilaat*<sup>1</sup> and asked him: "Who actually told you of this matter concerning the alleged concessions made by a clergyman? Let us know who this treacherous<sup>2</sup> spy is who has accepted your terms and has compromised against the interests of Islam." Initially the poor wretch said in embarrassment that he hadn't been there at the time. Then, after giving a detailed account to absolve himself from the matter, an account which is far too lengthy to recount here today, he added: "This is the article which I had prepared for that day." He then showed it to those present and continued: "But some officials brought several attached sheets to me and told me that I must print those instead. It was an order; what could I do?" I will tell him what he can do. If the editor-in-chief of *Ittilaat* is someone who truly regrets such obtrusions, then luckily, being financially comfortable and not in need as such, he can quit journalism and become a minister. Fortunately, it is the done thing here (the audience laughs); so you too become a minister or a Member of Parliament or something. Of course you won't get the people's vote, but you can still be appointed to the office. It's not necessary for people to favor this

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<sup>1</sup> 'Abbas Mas'udi, the proprietor and editor-in-chief of *Ittilaat*.

<sup>2</sup> In the text reference is made to "ruhani-ye sazmani" meaning the pseudo-clergy agents of SAVAK.

appointment, since they have no mandatory rights anyway. No, there's no doubt that they will appoint you as a Member of Parliament, or they will nominate you as a senator.<sup>1</sup> So if you genuinely deplore these obtrusions, then why not quit journalism and find a better occupation? It must also be said however, that I actually sent a message to this editor-in-chief telling him to repudiate the article in question and from what I was told last night, he had said that he could no longer show his face to the nation or the clergy and that he would come up with an article which would refute the former one. Now, is it we who are reactionary or you?

### **Sheer lie**

You are mistaken to lay such a lie at our door as if we are deceased. Indeed, praise be to God, we have a large number of '*ulama*'. We have both distinguished and pre-eminent *maraji*'; we have many great philosophers and scholars of the religious sciences in theological centers and throughout the land. They will not just sit by while someone writes such a great lie in one of the popular newspapers stating, "Thank goodness they have compromised". However, even if we scream and cry out, they will ensure that our voices are not heard. Now you,<sup>2</sup> the one who either yesterday or last night declared that you will curb traditionalism, are not your censoring of and obtruding upon the press in itself a form of traditionalism? And don't claim that we are falsely accusing you because we have evidence of your actions. This is no lie. The very article which you ordered to be printed and which you later refused to allow to be refuted, now lies in the editor-in-chief's office of the *Ittilaat* newspaper.

### **I am not afraid and have never been afraid**

All we are asking is that you abide by the constitutional law. If you have a faith then act according to its ordinances; and if you regard religion as reaction then at least act according to the constitutional law instead. Allow freedom of the pen. This poor editor-in-chief was truly in a wretched state. I sent word to him that I am not one of those who make empty demands. No indeed, I follow my demands up. God forbid, but if I ever feel that I have to say something to defend the interests of Islam, then I shall surely say it and

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<sup>1</sup>The "Senate" (or Upper House) was the second Majlis of the late regime which was established according to Articles 43 and 45 of the constitutional law and comprised sixty members (senators): thirty members appointed by the Shah and thirty members popularly elected.

<sup>2</sup>The Shah.

follow it through without fear. I swear by God that I have never experienced fear (an outburst of emotion from the crowd). Even on that day when they were taking me away, it was they who were frightened, whereby I comforted them by telling them not to be afraid (the audience laughs).

Don't you see that if we fear while striving for the goals of Islam then we in fact have no faith. These are the goals for which the prophets made unrelenting efforts and for which great men of Islam gave their lives. In striving for these goals the noble '*ulama*' of Islam have been set on fire; they have lost their lives, been imprisoned and exiled and have served long sentences. Hence, if we fear for ourselves more than we are concerned about the interests of Islam then we cannot be said to have faith. Would anyone with faith be afraid to leave this world? In fact if we really believe in the afterlife then we should pray to be killed in the path of God and so join the martyrs. One who has no faith in the afterlife should fear, not us. We have been assured a good place (in the next life) by our Lord, the Exalted, the Merciful, as long as we live according to His religion; and we hope and believe that this is in fact what we are doing. Of what should we be afraid? Why should we fear you? The most you could possibly do would be to execute us, in which case our life of ease would then commence. We would leave all these iniquities behind us; we would be relieved of all the pains and anguish of this life. Our beloved master (Imam 'Ali) has said: "I swear by God that Abu Talib's son (Imam 'Ali himself) is as fond of death as a suckling baby is fond of its mother's breast."<sup>1</sup> Of course we cannot make such a claim, but nevertheless we are his followers. To fear death is to have no faith in the hereafter.

### **They made a mistake in releasing me**

Are we, who say the press must be free, traditionalists, while those who use force to demand that certain things be reported are progressivists? Unfortunately, however, whereas our voice doesn't go beyond these four walls, their voice reaches as far as America as well as the other countries from whence they obtain their dollars. They spend the wealth of this nation on the foreign press—a press which writes articles disparaging our clergy, Islam, our nation, and everything we have. I used to read these stories when I was in captivity. What a blunder they made in releasing me. They certainly made a grave mistake. In fact I told them while I was there that if they intended to continue with their scheming then it was best for them that I remained imprisoned, for my release would only create further unrest. Now I

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<sup>1</sup> Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 9.

am telling them again, we are not reactionaries in the sense that you mean. Islam does not disapprove of the fruits of civilization and neither do we.

### **Islam as the forerunner of independence and power**

Islam would like nothing more than for you to be in command over all of the world powers for after all it was Islam that drew its sword and conquered half or even more than half of the globe. Can this Islam be called reactionary? Islam once governed all of these countries that you are now governed by.<sup>1</sup> The sheer fact that those countries which implemented the commandments of Islam (of course this only applies to one or two Muslim governments, the rest never having really implemented Islamic precepts) considered themselves to be carrying the banner of Islam and to be identified with it; and the very fact that they implemented Islamic principles, even if only in appearance, meant that they were able to achieve such power and might that an army of a mere twenty-odd thousand Arabs succeeded in trampling such a vast country as Iran underfoot. This it did in order to make human beings out of its inhabitants and to bring civilization to the country, which indeed it succeeded in doing. The lofty thoughts held by the '*ulama*' and '*maraji*' in our country are all due to the light of Islam. They all come from Islam. The rotten and traditionalistic minds of this regime however, are the cause of the nation's servitude to all; offering this country lock, stock and barrel to foreigners and thus giving the country's entire wealth to others. This is true reaction. Shame on it!

### **The *Ittilaat* editor-in-chief to abide (by his promise)**

The Prime Minister sent someone to me yesterday who said: "We ask for your forgiveness, there has been a mistake. Please do your best to ensure no further unrest breaks out and we shall do as you ask," thereby uttering the usual rhetoric. In reply I said: "The *Ittilaat* newspaper maintains that it is not to blame for the article, but that it is in fact your fault; and you claim that you regret your past behavior. Therefore, you must promise that such things won't reoccur, because if they do then the consequences will be far worse next time. Don't persist in calling us reactionaries, for if you do we have no choice but to expand on the issue in order to determine who the real

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<sup>1</sup>At the onset of Islam's period of expansion, the Muslim armies captured Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Iran, Tripoli, Cyprus, and Punjab; and subsequently they went on to take Egypt, North Africa, Spain, Portugal, south-west Europe (the Iberian Peninsula), south-east France, and Athens. Refer to Faraz va Nashib-e Tamaddun-e Islami dar Espanya, p.6; and Inqilab-e Islami va Difai Muqaddas, p. 274.

reactionaries are, the dear '*ulama*' of Islam who ask that you don't oppress the people so, or yourselves."

### **Starvation and humiliation in the "progressive" country**

We were deeply distressed by the winter just passed, when lethally cold weather struck Isfahan, Hamedan, Tehran, Qum and elsewhere; but did you show any consideration or make any arrangements for those poor victims in this our "developed" society? I was told that in Hamedan more than two thousand people died due to cold weather which reached forty-three degrees below zero. O you who have caused our country to "develop", did you do anything for these people? We are not against development, in fact we truly want you to be modern, but please do something for these poor wretches. Must they suffer both from the pain of starvation and the pain of humiliation? Must they both walk barefoot and be struck on the head too? All we say is don't do this. Is it reactionary to say don't suppress people so; don't beat or insult them so; or to ask that you act according to either Islamic law or the constitutional law? You, however, the agents of despotism, who use force, intimidation, banditry and whatever other practices you choose against these people; you who violate the constitutional law and totally disregard Islamic ordinances, are you the progressivists?

### **Islamic university of the gentlemen!**

It's preposterous I know, but they have decided to establish an Islamic university.<sup>1</sup> Apparently they have allocated a budget of a few million tumans for this purpose. Well, those of you responsible for this scheme, if you really are sympathetic toward Islam then why do you demolish our university; yes look, the one standing over there? If you have genuinely reached the conclusion that Islam, Islamic precepts and the '*ulama*' of Islam must remain, then although it's true we don't expect any goodwill from you, at least don't subject us to your malevolence. Just give us a chance to render you a service. Fortunately, we don't receive a penny from the national budget. Instead we have to endure poverty and tolerate your mean treatment of us. Whoever so wishes is free to witness for himself the living conditions of these students of the religious sciences. Go and see how they have lived

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<sup>1</sup>Toward the beginning of the 1960's the regime decided to establish a university by the name of "The Islamic University"! Imperialist policies required that the religious and scientific teaching centers lay under government control and that the clerical community became attached to the government administration departments. The clergy of Iran, however, ever-vigilant, did not allow the Shah to succeed in this.

both before and after their rooms were plundered. What did these agents of the regime want to plunder; an old rug maybe or perhaps a broken samovar? Are these what they were after? God knows this is not the case. Their intention was to intimidate the religious students. Why not go and see our *madrassahs* and homes for yourselves? We have nothing to hide. Our entire annual budget which consists of money donated to us with the utmost sincerity by these indigent people for the safeguarding of Islamic principles, doesn't amount to the money spent on even one of the parties given by you in honor of a foreign guest. If our entire annual budget can be said to equal the cost of one of your parties, then you are entitled to say: "Fie to you reactionaries!"

### **The clergy is after the interests of the nation and country**

We argue that you ought not to squander so much of this country's budget. What is the point in holding so many parties? Is it reactionary of us to suggest that you be your own master and don't beg from people so much or that you don't incur unnecessary expenditure in the first place which indeed brings about the need to beg? If you come to believe in the precepts of Islam, all of us, the whole nation, will be behind you. Have we ever bribed this nation to love and support us to the extent that they do? No, in fact they have realized that all of us, the clergy, the great *maraji'*, this religious student Khomeini, we all feel affection for them and seek their interests and the interests of the country and nation. People truly believe this. This belief sits firmly in their hearts; and man generally follows his heart. That is why they support us.

### **Heed my advice**

Why don't you begin to heed my advice? Just as I told those who were sent by the regime to speak to me, so too I am now telling you that you must change the way you tackle things. You saw that by inflicting pain, by beating, torturing, imprisoning, exiling and throwing insults, nothing was achieved. Indeed you saw that the nation deeply resents such behavior; and that you cannot suppress a nation for ever. You witnessed all this for yourselves so why not change your policy somewhat and see what happens? Why, you are the ones who claim to be rational! So try out a new approach for a change and show people a little benevolence, a little courtesy. See here, the government actually belongs to the people. The national budget comes from the people's pockets. You are a servant of the people and governments are their attendants. Don't continually assert that you are the people's

servant, while in practice you hit the people on the head; don't trample these poor people underfoot. You obtain your means of livelihood from the nation's budget, and you enjoy a comfortable life. Very well let's regard that as a gift to you. You live in whatever manner you want and can have whatever you desire. The kind of life led by these people is inconceivable; you couldn't possibly imagine how they live. We still have difficulty in comprehending how an airplane can actually make a return journey from here to Holland in order to bring flowers for a party. I have heard that the rent for this airplane has been three hundred thousand tumans. This is something widely discussed and well-known, but we still find it hard to grasp. Even so, let us again look upon all of this as a gift to you. In fact it is from the wealth of this nation that you feed; from the wage of this laborer and this farmer. If, as you maintain, you feel for the laborers and farmers then why not throw a few crumbs to the poor? With as little as one million tumans almost everyone could have been saved from the bitter cold of last winter; after all one million tumans is a mere drop in the ocean for you. Therefore share out some of the money you have appropriated from the nation amongst these poor people. With a little help they could be active and earn themselves an honorable living. Such actions would safeguard your future. Not only would you not meet with opposition, but the people would warm to you. Then, just as I am sitting here talking and people are listening and trusting in what I say, so too, people will find confidence in what you have to say. As things stand however, no one has faith in you. Even if you were to say two times two is four, people would say that this is too obvious to be true.

#### **The clergymen oppose the violation of Islam and the law**

Someone approached me and apologized for the wrongdoings of the previous government. He thanked God that this government had eventually been dissolved; and he claimed that by comparison the members of the latest government were in fact religious people whose fathers had mostly been clergymen. In reply I said: "We were neither the enemy of that government, nor have we signed a contract of fraternity with this government. It is your deeds with which we are concerned and which we monitor. If you repeat the deeds of your predecessors then we shall relentlessly oppose you as we did them, for we are the same as we were before. Your names too will be blackened as were theirs. Nevertheless, if you change your attitude, then we are all Muslims and brothers together. Not only will we not oppose you, but we will lend you our support. I told you before and I will tell you again, you



must bow in humility before Islamic precepts, that is, if you really are the Muslims that you claim to be. Yes, you must submit to the precepts of Islam and of course abrogate those laws which contradict them.” Have we ever argued that there should not be a government? No indeed, but what we do say is that the government must obey the laws of Islam, or if not, then at least the laws of the Constitution. Neither have we ever advocated living the kind of life lived thousands of years ago, when people made their homes in caves. Which clergyman has ever said such a thing? Just name one clergyman who maintains that we are hostile to the signs of civilization.

### **Turning the signs of civilization into corruption**

When such signs arrived in this country, you tampered with them while in their unadulterated form, thereby transforming them into something unacceptable and prohibited according to Islam. Our radio service for example, is its purpose really that for which it is used here in Iran? Similarly, with regard to the television, should it be abused as it is here in Iran? Indeed, these modern devices are in fact also utilized by civilized countries in the same way as they are utilized here. The education and training received in this country is truly bad. Our educational system<sup>1</sup> is not capable of answering the needs of this country. It is incapable of rearing strong athletic youths who would confront the forces of imperialism, clench their fists, be killed and rescue the nation. No, our system of education is incapable of this. They undermine people’s resolve with this situation that they have brought about and by the kind of programs broadcast by our radio, television, etc. Our newspapers, our magazines, our books, in fact our entire publications, are in the hands of imperialists. It is the imperialist powers which vulgarize our newspapers in this way in order to poison the minds of our youth. It is they who organize our cultural programs in such a way as to ensure that we have no capable, virile youngsters. It is the imperialist powers who arrange such radio and TV programs so as to weaken people’s resolve and to make them lose their vigor, their potency. All this is the doing of the imperialists and it is to such imperialist manifestations that we object. Does that then make us reactionaries? What we have to say is extremely simple and doesn’t warrant aggression or hostility. Why not sit down and talk rationally? There is no need for anger and rage. There is no need to throw insults. All you have to do is to send some sensible representatives to talk with us and explain exactly what it is about cultural development and progress that we supposedly take

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to the Ministry of Training and Education that was called the Ministry of Education at that time.

issue with. What we do object to is all forms of corruption. We believe that your reform programs are in fact devised by Israel and it is to Israel that you turn for help and advice whenever you want to draw up a plan. You bring military advisers from Israel into this country.<sup>1</sup> You send students from our country to Israel. If only they were sent elsewhere; to America or even to Britain for example. But no, you send them to Israel! These are the kinds of issues we dispute.

### **The Muslim countries on one front, Iran and Turkey on the other**

We argue that the entire Muslim countries have formed a united front on one side, in opposition to infidelity and Israel, while you yourself and the Turkish government are stationed on the other side in support of Israel. We hold that this is ill-advised. For God's sake man, don't go against the sensibilities of the Muslim peoples so, for I swear by God this is suicidal. All of the Muslims on one side and Iran on the other! If this is to be the case, then the nation of Iran will become reproachable and our Sunni brothers will think that Shi'ah are Jew-worshippers.

### **Voicing out the opposition to Israel**

O people of the world! Let it be known that our nation condemns any alliance made with Israel. It is neither our nation nor our clergy who have made such an alliance. Indeed our religion beseeches us not to join hands with the enemies of Islam; just as our Quran implores us not to align with the enemies of Islam against the Muslim front. This is what we maintain. Can you call this being reactionary? If so then come and explain to us in what way this can be said to constitute reaction. You who boast a history of two-

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<sup>1</sup> The political relationship between Iran and Israel dates back to the post-1953 (1332 AHS) years. In 1960 (1339 AHS) the government of the day in Iran gave official recognition to Israel and a friendly relationship between the Shah and Israel got under way. During these years of friendship many army officers and SAVAK agents were sent to Israel to receive training from MOSSAD (the Israeli intelligence agency) agents, and hundreds of Israeli officers and agents came to Iran to supervise the army and the Shah's intelligence agency (SAVAK) and to assist the Shah's agents. Toward the end of the Shah's reign the transactions which passed between Iran and Israel had reached an annual sum of four hundred million dollars. The Shah had himself ordered for an arms purchase worth six hundred million dollars in one go alone. According to the documents which were obtained from the American "den of espionage" after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Shah's regime had in fact, since 1958 (1337 AHS), been a member of an official tripartite organization composed of the security services of Iran, Turkey and Israel which was named "The Triple-Headed Bayonet". Refer to Documents from the US Espionage Den, Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam.

and-a-half millennia of sovereign rule and endlessly crow about those rotten bones which have decomposed and are no more<sup>1</sup> and which you now want to dig up from beneath the soil to use in your confrontation with Islam, have you now at this late hour joined forces with Israel against the precepts of Islam and against the Muslims?! We are the ones who advocate your non-involvement with Israel, yet you now try to accuse us of collaborating with others and of being involved with so-and-so and whatever he brought with him.<sup>2</sup> The Devil takes this reasoning! Shame on you! Yes, this is what we have to say. Now in what way can this be called traditionalism, as that stupid man persists in asserting? What is traditionalist about our argument?

### **Islam at a superior level of civilization**

We enjoy a superior level of civilization; Islam enjoys a superior level of civilization; the greatly-esteemed *maraji'* of Islam also enjoy a superior level of civilization. You may go and see them for yourselves. They can be seen here or in Mashhad, Tehran, or Najaf. Go and see which of these great men is reactionary. Those in power travel around by air or by car and expect the nation to travel by donkey. Earlier this year however, we all saw how one of

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<sup>1</sup> The Shah had given himself the title "Aryamehr" meaning "light of the Aryan race" and had tried to give a new lease of life to the history of the Iranian monarchy. He also went through with the two-and-a-half-millennia celebrations in an attempt to bring to life the Iran of the past as well as its kings and to destroy Islamic culture and its teachings. In the book *Mission for my Country*, the Shah has immeasurably glorified past kings of Iran, kings not at all much different from himself.

<sup>2</sup> From the movement's onset admirers of the Imam both from within and without the country would come to see him in a show of support, and these would include outstanding national and revolutionary figures. On one occasion a person introducing himself as an Egyptian diplomat in Lebanon managed to meet with Imam with the help of an Iranian cleric who acted as intermediary. At this meeting this person said that he was commissioned by Jamal 'Abdun-Nasir, the head of the Egyptian government, to convey the latter's gratitude to the Imam for his having revolted against Israel. There is reason to believe that this man had probably been sent on behalf of the Shah's intelligence service. Jamal 'Abdun-Nasir was one of Israel's major enemies, while the Shah was regarded as one of its staunch supporters and the propaganda spread by the Shah persistently presented Egypt as Iran's enemy. With the intention of plotting against Imam and of generating suspicion toward him, the regime published this concocted report in the press of June 1963 (Khordad, 1342 AHS): "...On June 1 a person named 'Abdul-Qays Jowjow (or Muhammad Tawfiq al-Qiyasi) arrived at Mehrabad airport in Tehran from Lebanon. Since he was viewed as being suspicious by the custom officers he was taken for questioning and enquiries were held. As a result, a sum of about one million tumans was taken from him which, subsequent to investigations, he confessed to have brought from Jamal 'Abdun-Nasir to give to certain persons in Iran."!

these respected *maraji'* traveled to Mashhad by air;<sup>1</sup> and everyone knows that the other *maraji'* always travel by car. Again this year we witnessed how the *maraji'* journeyed to Tehran where they all assembled<sup>2</sup>—I would later like to praise this move—but the question is, did they go by donkey? Are these men hostile to the effects of development and progress?

### **The clergy as the usual supporter of the country**

We ask you not to behave in this manner. We are after all members of the same family; we are all fellow countrymen. So why do you want to divide us? We lend this country our unconditional support without making any demands upon her budget; and despite the beatings, insults, abuse, imprisonment, and torture we are made to bear, we still remain a solid column which remains standing at the service of our country. If, God forbid, any danger ever threatened this country, then we would stand steadfast in readiness to fearlessly confront it.

### **The *akhund* remains while you flee**

There are those who say that they want to protect this country and who brag about their courage and valor. But do you recall how, when the Allied Forces came to Iran, it was these very poor souls who fled even as far as Yazd?<sup>3</sup> Can you name just one *akhund* who fled though; just one? On that

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<sup>1</sup> Ayatullah Sayyid Hadi Milani was one of the *maraji'* of that time who was resident in Mashhad and who, along with other migrant 'ulama' and *maraji'* of Tehran, had gone to the home of Ayatullah Khwansari. The Imam's address indicates the extent of the regime's anti-clergy propaganda in that Imam was forced to make mention of something that seemed so trivial and obvious.

<sup>2</sup> Following the arrest of the Leader of the Islamic Revolution and the radio broadcast of 'Alam's (the Prime Minister) speech in which he gave notice that those who had been arrested would be tried and executed, the clerical community in Iran converged on Tehran from all over the country: from Qum, Ayatullah Mar'ashi, Mr. Shari'atmadari, Ayatullah Murtada Ha'iri; from Mashhad, Ayatullah Milani and Shaykh Mujtaba Qazvini; from Hamedan, Akhund Mulla 'Ali Masumi; from Ahwaz, Haj Sayyid 'Ali Behbahani; from Isfahan, Haj Husayn Khadimi and Baqir Zand Kermani; from Khorramabad, Ayatullah Kamalvand; from Yazd, Ayatullah Saduqi and other 'ulama' from all over the country. Refer to Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran, vol. 4, p. 132. The aforementioned clergy having assembled, issued a declaration headed, "The declaration of the clerical community in Iran," the complete text of which is to be found in *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> At 4 am on August 25, 1941 (Shahrivar 3, 1320 AHS), the British and Russian ambassadors went to the home of 'Ali Mansur, the Prime Minister of the day, to inform him of the Allies' attack on Iran. On the eve of September 13 (Shahrivar 22), Rida Khan (Shah) was informed that the Russians had entered Karaj and that they were advancing toward Tehran with great speed. On hearing this news the royal family and Rida Khan himself all made for Isfahan. Rida Khan went from Isfahan to Kerman and then to Bandar 'Abbas from where he was then taken to his place of exile by ship. Ministers, parliamentary representatives and army commanders too—i.e. those who make claim to being the country's protectors!—every one of them slithered into some hole or other! The commander of the Khuzestan troops surrendered without hesitation whilst the Americans, who were situated at the Ahwaz-Dezful frontier, continued to advance; the military commanders of Tabriz along with their soldiers and officers laid down their arms and fled toward the mountains and the Russians took over the region without meeting any opposition; the army of Gilan, whose commander was later decorated for bravery, fired a few cannon balls and then fled! The commander of the First Division which was stationed at Marzanabad lay in hiding and the troops of Mashhad fled toward the salt desert without water or food. Refer to The Memoirs of General Fardust, vol. 1, p. 87 onward.

day when airplanes were flying over Tehran in order to intimidate and terrorize the people, the late Ashaykh Husayn Qummi, may his soul rest in peace, and I, were somewhere in the vicinity of Shapur Square.<sup>1</sup> As these aircraft were ominously hovering above, his eminence was twiddling his moustache as if absolutely nothing was happening; and I likewise was very calm and collected. On the contrary, however, if the shoe was on the other foot, then the first ones to flee would be those decorated heroes who are so puffed up with self-esteem and who constantly boast of the services they render to the country. It is only when oppression reigns and when it is in their own interests that they are strong. Thanks to God, however, that we are the ones who will always remain until the very end. Unless of course they come and take us away; otherwise you can be sure that we will be here.

### **Religion versus religion**

Don't be mistaken in thinking that their plan to establish an Islamic university is due to their reconciliation with Islam; this is not at all the case. Instead, it is but a repetition of the time when the Quran was raised at the end of the bayonet in the confrontation with Amir al-Mu'minin (the Commander of the Faithful—Imam 'Ali ('a)).<sup>2</sup> Mu'awiyah defeated Amir al-Mu'minin by taking advantage of the power of the Quran and using it as a weapon. Yes, by using the Quran as a weapon! Otherwise there is no doubt

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<sup>1</sup>Shapur Square (currently named Wahdat-e Islami), is situated in one of the old areas of Tehran, which, due to urban expansion, is now to be found in the south of the city immediately north of the railway station.

<sup>2</sup>In the battle of Siffin, Mu'awiyah's soldiers, seeing that they were in danger of defeat, fixed copies of the Quran to the end of their spears under the orders of 'Amr ibn al-'As and proposed to 'Ali ('a) that God's Book be the arbiter between them. The purpose of this ploy was to sow discord amongst 'Ali's troops and indeed resulted in the latter ceasing to fight in the battle. No matter how much Hadrat 'Ali counseled them it was to no avail. Eventually the matter was taken to arbitration and 'Ali's near-victory turned into defeat. Refer to Waqi'at as-Siffin and Al-Imamah wa's-Siyasah.

that it would have taken a maximum of a few hours only to wipe the Bani Umayyad off the face of the earth. They drew up a plan, however, whereby the Quran was brought forward and they said: "We are Muslims and you too are Muslims. We both bear witness to the same God and quote this Quran saying: *There is no god but Allah.*" No matter how much Amir al-Mu'minin insisted on being patient and not rushing into war, arguing no good would come from it, the foolish Kharijites<sup>1</sup> who were the Imam's friends and companions (although they never really came to know him) ignored the Imam's pleas claiming that according to the Quran it was incumbent upon them to fight. They thought of an artifice: they fastened copies of the Quran onto their lances and raised them up into the air declaring: "The arbitrator between ourselves and yourselves is the Book of Allah; the arbitrator is the Book of Allah."<sup>2</sup> Hadrat Imam sent after those of his companions who were actually engaged in battle, telling them to cease fighting and to return. His companions however, returned a message stating that they needed to fight for a further hour. Thus, the Imam explained to them that the Kharijites, having been deceived by the enemy, had now surrounded him and with swords drawn were about to kill him unless they returned from the battle front. Hence, we see how Islam was defeated by misuse of the Quran.

### **The conspiracy to defeat Islam in the name of "Islamic university"**

Do you truly believe you can defeat Islam by establishing an Islamic university? Do you imagine we will sit back and permit you to execute your plans? Indeed, we shall anathematize whosoever enters that university. The people themselves will bring it down. Could they conceivably allow the religion, believers and '*ulama*' of Islam to be under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture? The Ministry hadn't better make the fatal mistake of interfering with our religion or with Islamic issues, because only if Khomeini or God forbid, all the '*maraji*' of Islam actually passed away could they continue to see this program through. Even when we have gone and are thereby relieved of our Islamic duties, the nation of Islam will live on; it has been revived and given a new lease of life. May God reward all those responsible for this revival.

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<sup>1</sup> Khawarij (Kharijites) is the plural of khariji ("foreigner/dissenter"); someone who turns against the government. After the battle of Siffin, a group of the Muslims who were later called the Kharijites left their ranks and chanting, "No arbitrator other than Allah" they held that the murder of 'Ali and Mu'awiyah was a religious duty.

<sup>2</sup> Refer to the book Waqi'atu as-Siffin, p. 481.

### **The nation as uncompromising**

The nation of Islam has arisen and will never again acquiesce. Even if I make a U-turn or compromise with you (the Shah), the nation surely will not. We still adamantly retain our stance in opposition to those laws which counter Islam and to unwarranted incarceration and all kinds of compulsion and pressure exerted upon the nation. Are we reactionaries because we ask why certain people had been imprisoned, or ask what those poor souls in Bandar 'Abbas had done to deserve banishment there or indeed to deserve execution; or what they had done to deserve detention?<sup>1</sup> Supposing their crime had been to utter a few words concerning your duty to abide by the law, do those few words warrant a life sentence in Bandar 'Abbas?

### **Savagery of the Middle Ages**

You ought to reconsider your stand somewhat. Amend your behavior and abandon this reactionary attitude of yours. Try not to behave so savagely. Make efforts to leave these medieval practices behind. Don't be so reactionary; be civilized, be progressive. Allow the country to develop and afford its people respect. Don't subject the people to such hardships. Ensure

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to the unfortunate episode of 1963. This episode concerns the execution at dawn of two combatants on November 2, 1963 (Aban 11, 1342 AHS)—Tayyib Haj Rida'i and Haj Ismail Rida'i—their crime having been their participation in the Khordad 15 uprising. During this event, Tayyib caused the gang of Shaban Jafari (known as "bi mukh" (brainless)) to flee: a group established by Jafari in support of the Shah's regime. Haj Ismail Rida'i was another of the devout, free-minded people of Tehran. By administering both mental and physical tortures to these two combatants the regime hoped that they would declare their receipt of a monetary payment from the Imam. Eventually, due to the resistance they exhibited they were both tortured to death. Once the news of their martyrdom broke, the theological center closed down and all religious classes were cancelled. On the seventh day following their martyrdom a group of well-known religious merchants and clerical combatants issued a declaration headed, "The United Islamic Councils". Part of this declaration reads:

"...Following the mock trial held on Saturday 2, two of the bravest of Iran's children... who were not prepared to accept the false charges made against the clergy by the security organization, despite the most inhuman tortures they were made to endure, lost their lives under the gunfire of the slaves of bloodthirsty foreigners. Their names however, now adorn the pages of a history of struggle against foreigners." With regard to the Bandar 'Abbas exiles and those imprisoned in Tehran, it must be remembered that the number of those arrested in the event concerning Tayyib and Haj Ismail was seventeen in all, for each of which the military courts' prosecutor requested execution. Five people were sentenced to death in court but this sentence was later commuted for three of the convicted in a second court. A number of those arrested remained incarcerated until the victory of the Revolution. This account is verified by a confession made by Marshal Davallow Qajar (the adjudicator of Tayyib and Haj Ismail), who was a trial witness in the Islamic Revolutionary Court of Tehran, and it has been recorded in the newspaper Jumhuri-ye Islami of November 25, 1979 (Azar 4, 1358 AHS).

that university curricula are such that our youth receive good moral and educational instruction. Train them to be combatants so that they refuse to tolerate imperialism.

### **“Progress”, or debauchery, corruption and despotism**

This is what we the reactionaries urge. If you still call this being reactionary then so be it. But it is you, the “progressivists”, who are systematically causing (moral and intellectual) damage to our youth by the score. As for your schools, they are not upright, thus rendering them untrustworthy. The educational programs implemented are in fact imperialist. Schooling entails nothing but games and football. Is this the situation in other countries? If so then who made all those major scientific discoveries? Who invented the airplane? It was the developed nations of course. Even the water-pipe installed in Qum is unfit for use because it was made in Iran. You and your “developed” country are not even capable of manufacturing a water-pipe. Interestingly, Razmara<sup>1</sup> made the claim: “We don’t know how to manufacture anything other than pipes” and he was subsequently killed as a result. How can you call a country which is totally dependent upon foreign trade for its every need, developed? You bring specialists to Iran from Israel and I believe it was the *Ustavar*<sup>2</sup> newspaper that carried an astounding report which told of people actually being sent to Israel from Qum in order to “learn something”. God only knows what kind of things they can learn from the Jews, other than the art of cheating, deceiving and betraying. What is there for this “developed nation” to learn? What do you think? What’s your opinion? Do you really think that words are sufficient? Can development result from sending a few women to the Majlis? Have the male members of the Majlis actually accomplished anything for you so far which leads you to believe that your women may now do so? We believe that sending women to the Majlis will result in nothing but immorality and we believe that in ten, twenty or thirty years time you will see that we were right. We in no way

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<sup>1</sup> Marshal ‘Ali Razmara, the supreme army commander during the time of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, who became Prime Minister in July of 1950 (Tir, 1329 AHS) advocating reforms in the system of government and a strengthening of the judicial system. He was among those who opposed the ratification of the bill to nationalize the Iranian oil industry, and in the National Consultative Assembly he said: “How can an Iranian who even manufacture a ewer, run the oil industry can’t should it become nationalized?” On March 7 (Esfand 16) of that same year Razmara was assassinated in the Shah Mosque (current name: Imam Khomeini Mosque) by Khalil Tahmasbi of the Fada’iyan-e Islam group.

<sup>2</sup> Refer to the local Qum-based *Ustavar* newspaper, No. 16, 3/5/1964 (12/25/1343 AHS).



oppose women's progress, but we do oppose fornication and other such sinful deeds.

It's all too easy to talk about "men's freedom" and "women's freedom", but will it be achieved by mere words; and anyway, do men themselves really enjoy "freedom" in this country that you now want to offer "freedom" to women? Exactly what is it men are free to do? I am unable to adequately thank all of the Muslim nations; the great nation of Iran; all the members of different sects and groups and all of those who joined forces with us and shared our grief. Particular recognition must be given to those most revered *maraji' at-taqid*, who took the trouble to travel to Tehran, where they experienced insults and abuse and truly went to great lengths. The eminent *maraji'* from all over the country assembled in the capital city having traveled from the cities of Mashhad, Ahwaz and Qum. Cooperation was forthcoming from all quarters, such as Najaf and even from the one person who had remained in Qum.<sup>1</sup> Everyone united and worked together thus proving the vitality and consciousness of the nation. We are prepared to endure anything for the liberty of this nation, whether it involves imprisonment, undergoing torture or bearing insults and abuse. I am pleased to say that those same distinguished *maraji'* are present with us today, may God multiply their like (the audience cries, "Amen"), including those from Najaf, Mashhad and Tehran, may God multiply their like (the audience cries, "Amen"). Islam is not a forlorn religion with merely one or two devotees, but rather every Muslim is a soldier of Islam. We must praise God that the '*ulama'* have joined hands and are prepared to sacrifice their lives in the path of Islam. It would be impossible for them to be any other way. We are all organs of the same body; we are as one, whether it be the person who considered it wiser to act temperately or the person who believed it better to take a dynamic course of action. I cannot adequately express my gratitude to these noble people. May Almighty God save them all (the audience cries, "Amen"); and may their protective shadow remain above us and above all the Muslims (the audience cries, "Amen"). Although we are many in number yet we are but one unit. Let no one presume that they can cause a rift between the '*ulama'* via mischievous propaganda, for this is not so. We are all together as one entity to fight in defense of Islam and its honor and in defense of Iran and the nation's independence. We are unified and have but one voice.

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<sup>1</sup> Following the Imam's arrest, Ayatullah Golpaygani did not travel to Tehran along with the other '*ulama'* and *maraji'* but instead he remained in Qum.

### **Insult to the *maraji'* means termination of *wilayah***

I feel I must offer a word of advice to the young theological students who have recently joined the clergy and who are full of vigor and vitality. They need to be aware that the least insult aimed by them at any of the *maraji'* of Islam would mean the termination of the *wilayah* between themselves and God. I assure you that to slight a distinguished *marja* is no trivial matter, so much so that if this great movement was to be impaired in any way as a result of such ignorance, then you would be chastised by God Almighty and the acceptance of your repentance would be problematic, for it is the honor and dignity of Islam that would have been damaged. I swear that if my children or myself were slapped in the face by someone, an act of retaliation would not please me and I would not agree to it,<sup>1</sup> for I am aware that there are those who would like to create discord within this circle, be it through ignorance or by intent. Such discord, God forbid, would be most injurious to Islam whereby the wishes of the imperialists would materialize.

We must all sacrifice ourselves for Islam. We must sacrifice our aspirations and desires for the sake of Islam. All of the *maraji'* are over sixty years old. Is it conceivable that someone who has grown old devoting his life to Islam can then act to the detriment of Islam? Of course not. If at any time a disagreement does arise however, concerning the *ijtihad* of the *maraji'*, as may also occur with any other Islamic issue, then the youngsters must not become involved or interfere in any way, for this would present danger. The enemy is vigilant and awaiting. Hence, be aware that to insult one member of the clergy is to insult the entire Muslim community and to weaken the Muslim society.

### **Extending a brotherly hand to the Muslims**

I who am now seated here before you, humbly kiss the hands of all the *maraji'*, wherever they may be; be it in Najaf, Mashhad, Tehran, or right here (in Qum). I kiss the hand of the entire '*ulama*' of Islam. It is the ultimate goal which is of primary importance. I extend a brotherly hand to all Islamic nations and to all the Muslims of the world, be they in the East or the West. We humble ourselves before all the '*ulama*' of Islam. You too must humble yourselves; all of you without exception. We are all from one nation and one country and we all have one religion. We are all seated at the table of the

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<sup>1</sup> A number of religious students objected to the uncooperative and cautious behavior of some of the *maraji'*. They thus behaved insolently towards the latter protesting that they did not confront the Shah in the way that the Imam did. In defending the *maraji'* and the unity of the religious teaching centers, the Imam reminded them of the aforementioned issues.

mercy of God, the Blessed and Exalted. We must thank God and be appreciative of the great *maraji'* with whom we are blessed. To honor them is to honor Islam and to insult them is to insult Islam. Bear it in mind never to insult a *marja* or indeed any Muslim, for that would deeply displease Almighty God and I fear He might at some time chastise us; *akhdha 'azizin muqtadir*.<sup>1</sup>

May Almighty God grant success to all of the '*ulama*' in their service to Islam ("Amen"). May God keep all the *maraji'* of Islam in the shelter of His protection ("Amen"). May the protective shadow of all the *maraji'* remain over all the Muslims ("Amen"). May God grant strength to the religion of Islam and may the hands of those who seek to betray this nation's independence and her economy be severed ("Amen").

May peace be upon you.

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<sup>1</sup>Ma'khudh or "overtook," from Surah al-Qamar 54:42: "They rejected all our communications so we overtook them after the manner of the Mighty, Powerful One."

## Letter

**Date:** April 15, 1964 [Farvardin 26, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 2, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the congratulatory message on Imam Khomeini's release from prison

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mahmud Shafi'i

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

Honorable Mr. Sayyid Mahmud Shafi'i (may he always succeed):

I was very happy to receive your kind letter. Thank you for your mindfulness about my release and return to Qum. I ask God for the success of all the Muslims in exalting the holy word of Islam and I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 2, 1383 AH

## Statements

**Date:** April 17, 1964 [Farvardin 28, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 4, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Mission of the religious propagators

**Audience:** Bazaar tradesmen of the Shahi municipality<sup>1</sup>

### Method of preaching; the duty of a preacher

Leave them alone for now. Invite as many youth as you can to the mosques. Discuss the Islamic subjects to them. We will deal with the Baha'is in this country later on. By the grace of God, we will do away with all the acts, which are against the Quran in this Jafari country. You '*ulama*' of the provinces should pay close attention on how you should go on preaching so that it could be effective. You should remind the people that the Holy Prophet went preaching on foot and delivered the message of God to the people. We have to make effort a lot for furthering the holy religion of Islam. It is the duty of all the people to make their efforts for promoting the religion...<sup>2</sup>

Preaching does not alter, does it? Go on preaching the same way you used to. Inform the people of the issues. A propagator should not be afraid or scared of anything. He should not be even afraid of the gallows. Those who are in exile in Bandar 'Abbas, those who were killed—were they afraid of dying? Closing their eyes at the last moment, they were smiling and raising their heads to heavens. We should also struggle like that.

### The best way of preaching

The best way of preaching is what I mentioned at the beginning. We should inform the people of what is going on. I take God as my witness that

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<sup>1</sup> The SAVAK special agent's report no. 193 (dated 1/30/1343 AHS) about the above talk reads:

"A great number of people gathered in Mr. Khomeini's house, from Tehran and other provinces. Thirty-one people of Shahi (now called Qa'im Shahr) Bazaar tradesmen were among them. Shaykh Saburi, one of the '*ulama*' from Shahi province led them. They had rented a Mercedes Benz. Then Saburi told Mr. Khomeini that they had many opponents in the Shahi. Mr. Khomeini asked who they were. Saburi said, "The Baha'is". Then Khomeini said [the above text]..."

<sup>2</sup> Here, the SAVAK special agent's report continues: "After Shaykh Saburi and Mr. Khomeini talked, Haj Aqa Nazari, a preacher of Zirab (one of the districts of Mazandaran province) and a resident of the area, who was among the 31 people, said to Mr. Khomeini, "We have to change the direction of our preaching," about which Mr. Khomeini said [the above text]..."

Khomeini, that is I, does not fear anything; I will express my ideas. They know themselves that the *maraji' at-taqlid* are right. The clergy's efforts are according to the laws of the Quran and their words are all based on logic. I have not ever faltered all along my struggle, which is still continuing, but sometimes I regret that such acts against the Quran are performed in our Jafari (Shi'ah) country. I was with Ayatullah Najafi for dinner the other evening. Mr. Shari'atmadari was also there. I told them that the previous *maraji' at-taqlid* were all held accountable; the same thing will be true if you do not promulgate the divine truths and defend the religion. We should all join hands to abolish the ratified laws. They themselves know that the '*ulama*' will not leave them alone until these laws are nullified. All foreign countries know the clergymen's demands and the way the ruling regime is treating the Shi'ah '*ulama*'; imprisons them, sends them in exile, and takes no heed of their admonitions...<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It seems that the talk had continued but it is not mentioned in the SAVAK report.

## Letter

**Date:** April 20, 1964 [Farvardin 31, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 7, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the congratulatory message on Imam Khomeini's release from prison

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Hasan Najafi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Hasan Najafi (may his blessings last):

I have the honor to inform you that I was very grateful to receive your kind letter indicating your health and expressing your congratulations on my arrival in the holy city of Qum. I heard about your kind efforts and Your Eminence's good offices while I was in Tehran. Surely, this has been observed by His Eminence Master of the Age (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent) and you will be awarded. I ask God Almighty for the success of their eminent distinguished '*ulama*' (may their blessings last). Please give my sincere appreciations to the honorable residents of Rafsanjan. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 7, 1383 AH

## Letter

**Date:** April 22, 1964 [Ordibehesht 2, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 9, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the congratulatory message on Imam Khomeini's release from prison

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Taqi 'Alimi Damghani

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi 'Alimi Damghani<sup>1</sup> (may his blessings last):

I have the honor to inform you that I was most grateful to receive your kind letter indicating your health and containing your congratulations on my arrival in the holy city of Qum.<sup>2</sup> I thank you for your kind sympathies. I have heard about your good offices and your struggles in the current affairs. May it earn the attention of His Eminence Master of the Age (may God expedite his glorious advent) and may you be rewarded, God willing. It is necessary to remind the Muslims and the faithful to gather in mosques for performing their religious obligations and ceremonies more frequently and regularly because, for now, the best way of struggle is the regular gatherings in which we can try to exalt the pure word of Islam. I ask God Almighty for the success of all the Muslims in establishing the truth and refuting falsehood. I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 9, 1383 AH

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<sup>1</sup> The envelope reads: "No. 3, Ujaq-Quli Alley, Hamedan; To His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi 'Alimi Damghani (may his exalted blessings last). From: Qum, Khomeini; Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 9, 1383 AH.

<sup>2</sup> After release from prison.



## Letter

**Date:** April 22, 1964 [Ordibehesht 2, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 9, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the congratulatory message on Imam Khomeini's release from prison

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Jawad Qa'imi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Muhammad-Jawad Qa'imi (may his successes last):

Thank you for your kind letter enclosing the piece of poetry about my arrival in the holy city of Qum, and containing your kind sympathies. I ask God Almighty for the success of all the Muslims in the world, and I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 9, 1383 AH

## Permission

**Date:** April 24, 1964 [Ordibehesht 4, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 11, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Muhammad Faqihi Marandi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Shaykh Muhammad Faqihi Marandi (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending one-third of the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share on his own living and delivering it to its religiously prescribed area. He is to spend one-half of the noble *Sadat*’s (may God increase their blessed progeny) Share in the prescribed area, and to deliver two-thirds of the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share and a half of the *Sadat*’s Share to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries.

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 11, 1383 AH

## Letter

**Date:** April 25, 1964 [Ordibehesht 5, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 12, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the congratulatory message on Imam Khomeini's release from prison

**Addressee:** Musa Yekta

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Musa Yekta (may his blessings last):

I have the honor to inform you that I was most grateful to receive your kind letter indicating your health and containing your congratulations on my arrival in the holy city of Qum, which was also signed by the honorable scholars and tradesmen of Sumi'ih Sara. I thank Your Eminence, His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Shaykh 'Abdul-'Azim Yekta, and His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam Shaykh 'Abdul-Karim Muhammadi (may their graces last) and the other honorable residents, for their kind sympathies. I ask God Almighty for everybody's success in exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope for Your Eminence's benevolent prayers whenever you feel God will accept them. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 12, 1383 AH

## Telegram

**Date:** April 26, 1964 [Ordibehesht 6, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 13, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Response to a telegram of congratulation on the blessed occasion of *Id al-Qurban* [Feast of Sacrifice]

**Addressee:** Ruhullah Kamalvand

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

From: Qum

To: No. 251, Muniriyyah St., Tehran

His Eminence Ayatullah Haj Aqa Ruhullah Kamalvand:

Thank you for your kind sympathies. May God make it a blessed occasion for all the Muslims.

Khomeini

## Permission

**Date:** April 27, 1964 [Ordibehesht 7, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 14, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Haydar-'Ali Ithna 'Ashari Ezhe'i

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Haydar-'Ali Ithna 'Ashari Ezhi'i (may his blessings last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the two blessed Shares, spending one-half of the noble *Sadat's* (may God multiply their blessed descendants) Share in the religiously prescribed area. He is to spend one-third of the blessed Imam's ('a) Share on his own living sparingly, in the religiously prescribed area and for exalting the word of Islam, and to deliver one-half of the *Sadat's* Share and two-thirds of the blessed Imam's ('a) Share to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries.

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 14, 1383 AH

## Permission

**Date:** April 27, 1964 [Ordibehesht 7, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 14, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Mahmud Shotorbani Tabrizi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Mirza Mahmud Aqa Shotorbani Tabrizi (may his blessings last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the two blessed Shares, spending a half of the noble *Sadat*’s (may God multiply their blessed descendants) Share in the religiously prescribed area and on exalting the word of Islam, and to deliver the other half to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries (may God Almighty protect them from evil incidents).

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 14, 1383 AH

## Permission

**Date:** April 27, 1964 [Ordibehesht 7, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 14, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid 'Ali-Muhammad Waziri

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam, the venerable orator, Haj Sayyid 'Ali-Muhammad Waziri (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the two blessed Shares, spending the noble *Sadat*’s (may God multiply their blessed descendants) entire Share and one-half of the Imam’s (*'a*) Share in the religiously prescribed area and on exalting the pure word of Islam. He is to send the remaining half to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries (may God protect them from evil incidents).

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 14, 1383 AH

## Letter

**Date:** April 29, 1964 [Ordibehesht 9, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Introducing a reliable treatise; paying the monthly salary

**Addressee:** Sayyid 'Ali-Naqi Tabasi Ha'iri

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

I have the honor to inform you that I was most happy to receive your kind letter indicating your health and containing the greetings on the blessed occasion of Ghadir festivity. May God make this occasion auspicious for all the Shi'ah of the world.

You have asked about a reliable treatise. I would recommend the published Explanations on *Wasilat an-Najah* [the Means of Salvation] and that of *'Urwat al-Wuthqa* [the Firm Handhold] along with an erratum that you can find in the bookstores. About distributing the general salary in the blessed seminary of the holy city of Mashhad, I should say that it is very timely but is not possible yet in my present conditions given a great number of people who refer to me everyday. Please pray that the obstacles are removed so that I could proceed with the salaries. I hope you will not forget me whenever you feel God will accept your prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 16, 1383 AH



## Permission

**Date:** May 7, 1964 [Ordibehesht 17, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 24, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Khayrullah Haydari Kermanshahi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Shaykh Khayrullah Haydari Kermanshahi (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs who supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending one-third of it on his own living sparingly, and the remainder in the religiously prescribed area and on exalting the pure word of Islam, and to remit the remaining two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries (may God protect them from evil incidents).

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 24, 1383 AH

## Permission

**Date:** May 8, 1964 [Ordibehesht 18, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 25, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Mirza Latif Qaysariyyah

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam wa ‘Imad al-Alam Aqa Mirza Latif Qaysariyyah (may his graces last) is granted my permission to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending one-third on his own living sparingly, and the remainder in the religiously prescribed area and on exalting the word of Islam. He is to remit also the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries.

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 25, 1383 AH

## Letter

**Date:** May 10, 1964 [Ordibehesht 20, 1343 AHS / Dhu'l-Hijjah 27, 1383 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Introducing a preacher

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi (may his blessings last):

After extending my greetings and best wishes, I have the honor to inform you that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Mahdi Rabbani (may his graces last) who is one of the esteemed scholars of Qum seminary, is departing for Kashan for the days of Muharram. It is hoped he would enjoy Your Eminence's hospitality and be appreciated by the honorable residents of Kashan. I ask God Almighty for the success of all propagators of the sacred religion in exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope you will not forget me when you feel God will accept your prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 27, 1383 AH

## Lease Contract

**Date:** Circa May-April 1964 [Ordibehesht 1343 AHS / Muharram 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Renting a house in Yakhchal Qadi district, Qum

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

Hereby it is certified that I have rented the two inner and outer buildings in Yakhchal Qadi district from the possessor, Honorable Nusrat Khanum, for the period of one year, beginning from Dhu'l-Hijjah 13,1383 AH, with the monthly rent of 400 tumans.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Muharram al-Haram 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** May 15, 1964 [Ordibehesht 25, 1343 AHS / Muharram 3, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The provocative acts of the Shah's regime in arresting the clergymen after Khordad 15, 1342 AHS

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hadi Milani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Eminence Ayatullah Milani (may his blessings last):

I have the honor to inform you that I was most happy to receive your blessed letter containing sublime facts and your kindness to me. I ask God Almighty for health, happiness, and grandeur of Your Eminence and all of the grand *maraji*' and other Muslims. May God Almighty make everybody aware of their religious duties and the profundities of the current affairs, and help them in taking action.

The present state of affairs is strangely ambivalent and the current events are quite unclear. The diverse local and foreign news have worried me a lot and it is probable that some unclean hands are at work to endanger the territorial integrity of the country, God forbid. The authorities either are ignorant or have an excuse. While because of the issues recently raised in Khuzestan and Kurdistan, about which much is written about in the press,<sup>1</sup> the government has to maintain the national calm, provocative acts are being observed in the country. They agitate and irritate the people in Shiraz by arresting Mr. Dastghayb;<sup>2</sup> in Jahrum and its suburbs by arresting Aqa Sayyid Husayn;<sup>3</sup> in Tabriz by arresting Mr. Qadi;<sup>4</sup> in Qum and Tehran by arresting a number of the preachers. They do this in Khorasan by arresting Mr. Tabasi<sup>5</sup> and other actions; in Isfahan by doing other things. The same story takes place in the other cities. These things have made me anxious and

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<sup>1</sup> At the time, the ruling government in Iraq used to show its hostility toward Iran by its destructive propaganda, using invented and distorted names such as 'Arabistan' instead of 'Khuzestan' and the 'Arab Gulf' instead of the 'Persian Gulf'. Further, there were treacherous persons in Kurdistan who talked about secession and plans for the formation of 'The Greater Kurdistan'.

<sup>2</sup> Sayyid 'Abdul-Husayn Dastghayb.

<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Husayn Ayatullahi.

<sup>4</sup> Sayyid 'Ali Qadi Tabataba'i.

<sup>5</sup> 'Abbas Waiz Tabasi.

worried and I am afraid that regretful scenes may be created (God forbid) which will be against the interests of Islam and the country. Admonitions do not work with the officials; as if they do things unconsciously or out of compulsion that may have evil consequences (God forbid). Considering Your Eminence's information about the political issues, it is necessary that you think for a solution. Notify the authorities, in one way or another, that provoking people in the present situation is dangerous although it may be of no use to admonish such a government. At the same time, having minded the current affairs, we should be most careful and wary, lest the Muslims and the clergy would become playthings in the hands of those with evil intentions. I have demanded a person trusted by the two sides to notify him of the future gains and losses, but I have received no response after three or four days and I may receive no answer at all. The government is not allowed to negotiate. This country, which is liked by all the clergymen, just as its independence and territorial integrity are, is being led to the abyss of destruction by some hidden hands unless God Almighty protects it through the grace of the Master of the Age (may Allah expedite his glorious advent). Please remember me in your benevolent prayers whenever you feel they are close to acceptance by God, on your visits to the holy shrine. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Ordibehesht 25, 1343 AHS  
Muharram al-Haram 3, 1384 AH

## Permission

**Date:** May 16, 1964 [Ordibehesht 26, 1343 AHS / Muharram 4, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Jafar Saburi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Jafar Saburi (may his blessings last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending a part of it on his own living and one-third of the surplus in the religiously prescribed area and on exalting the pure word of Islam. He is to remit the remaining two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries (may God Almighty protect them from the evil incidents).

“And I advise him (may God always assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Muharram al-Haram 4, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** May 19, 1964 [Ordibehesht 29, 1343 AHS / Muharram 7, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Gratitude to the people of Miyaneh for supporting the uprising of Khordad 15

**Addressee:** Sajjad Hujaj Miyane'i

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Sajjad Hujaj Miyane'i (may his graces last):

I have the honor to inform you that I was happy to receive your worthy letter indicating your health. I highly appreciate the struggles and good offices made by Your Eminence and the esteemed people of Miyaneh in the current affairs.<sup>1</sup> May you receive the attention of His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah expedite his glorious advent) and be rewarded by God. I ask God for the constant success of Your Eminence, the honorable people and the other Muslims of the world in exalting the pure word of Islam, and I hope for your prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Muharram al-Haram 7, 1384 AH

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<sup>1</sup> It refers to the Imam's struggles against the Shah's regime.



## Permission

**Date:** May 20, 1964 [Ordibehesht 30, 1343 AHS / Muharram 8, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Mirza 'Ata'ullah Sharif Isfahani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Mirza ‘Ata’ullah Sharif Isfahani (may his blessings last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” His Eminence is also permitted to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending it on his own living, and one-third of the surplus in the religiously prescribed area and on exalting the pure word of Islam. He is to send the remaining two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries (may God Almighty protect them from evil incidents).

“And I hope His Eminence (may his blessings last) will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Muharram al-Haram 8, 1384 AH

# Telegram

**Date:** May 25, 1964 [Khordad 4, 1343 AHS / Muharram 13, 1384 AH]<sup>1</sup>

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Answering a telegram of condolences on the anniversary of the Khordad 15 tragedy

**Addressee:** Hasan Lahuti

Garmsar

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Lahuti (may his blessings last):

I was most grateful to receive your worthy telegram, which expressed your condolences on the painful tragedy on Muharram 12, 1383 AH.<sup>2</sup> We can never forget this serious incident. I have announced the day as a national mourning day in the declaration, and mourning sessions were held. The Avenger God will enact vengeance for the oppressed ones whose blood was shed. Please thank the honorable residents on my behalf.

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> A copy of the telegram was found in the files on Imam Khomeini's struggles. Qum Police has reported the transmission of this telegram to the security department of the police headquarters in letter no. 5/746 – 3/5/43 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> Uprising of the Khordad 15, 1342 AHS.

## Letter

**Date:** May 29, 1964 [Khordad 8, 1343 AHS / Muharram 17, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the receipt of money

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi (may his blessings last):

I have the honor to inform you that I was happy to receive your kind letter, which indicated Your Eminence's health. The sum of 500 tumans, which you had sent for His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Rabbani,<sup>1</sup> was delivered to him. I have to thank you for your kindness on his behalf. May God always assist you in propagating the holy religion and exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope you will not forget me in your prayers whenever you feel God accepts them. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Muharram al-Haram 17, 1384 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Mahdi Rabbani Amlashi.

## Letter

**Date:** Circa May-June 1964 [Khordad 1343 AHS / Muharram 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Expressing regret for the fabricated gossips

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hadi Milani

“May God increase our rewards and yours for our mourning for Husayn  
(peace and salutations be upon him).”

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

I was most grateful to receive your letter, which had the good news of Your Eminence's health. I ask God for Your Eminence's health and grandeur under the protection of the Master of the Age (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent).

Since the time was very limited and it could not be delayed even for one or two hours, I could not manage to follow your directions. I couldn't get Mr. Shari'atmadari to sign it after many visits to him and many negotiations, but Mr. Najafi<sup>1</sup> did sign it and it was then printed and published. This (Mr. Shari'atmadari's refusal to sign the declaration) was really to our disadvantage. I called one of his relatives today emphasizing that he had better issue a declaration on his own and that it was for the good of the society and himself.

What makes me regret most is what Your Eminence has been told; that His Eminence (Mr. Shari'atmadari) had asked to visit me three times and I had refused, then His Eminence had come to my house himself but I had refused to see him. I wonder why His Eminence's companions or friends spread such false rumors and trade their faith for someone else's worldly gain. The people all witness how I behave toward His Eminence and the other gentlemen. On the evening prior to Dhu'l-Hijjah 19, on the festivity, I went to visit His Eminence, and in the morning of 19<sup>th</sup>, I went to see Mr. Najafi and Mr. Golpaygani. One of His Eminence's companions, who has been recently in Kuwait, has told lies to defame me. Some of His Eminence's friends have said that the government had paid 30,000 tumans for the improvement of the Faydiyyah Madrasah. These are calamities afflicting Islam and the Muslims. They also spread false rumors in Tabriz. The

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Shahabuddin Mar'ashi Najafi.

gentlemen assume it is to their advantage if Khomeini is destroyed. May God bring about whatever is good for the Muslims even at the cost of Khomeini's life. I am afraid that the status of these gentlemen would deteriorate in the society, and I do not want it to happen.

I ask Your Eminence to advise the gentlemen, if you find it appropriate—without letting them know that I have asked it from you—to reconsider their steps. By God, disunity and discord damage everybody's worldly and afterworld affairs and the enemy would take advantage of it...<sup>1</sup> but put right what I can, and I will not succeed but through the grace of God. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> An illegible word.

## Joint Declaration

**Date:** June 5, 1964 [Khordad 15, 1343 AHS / Muharram 24, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The joint declaration of the Grand Ayatullahs on the occasion of Khordad 15 uprising

**Addressees:** The 'ulama', clergymen and other classes of the Iranian Muslim nation

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

*"Verily, to Allah we belong and to Him we shall return."*

*"Those who do wrong will come to know by what a great reverse they will be overturned!"<sup>1</sup>*

One year has passed from the cruel disaster on Muharram 12, 1383 AH (Khordad 15, 1342 SH). A year has passed from the catastrophic deaths of the beloved ones of the nation. A year has passed since children lost their fathers, women lost their husbands, and mothers lost their children, and families lost their guardians. The Khordad 15 incident was a disgrace to the ruling regime. It was an unforgettable incident recorded in history. What offence had the Muslim nation committed to deserve such a punishment? Why did they machine-gun the innocent women and children? What were the 'ulama' of Islam and religious preachers guilty of? They were merely guilty of defending the truth, the Holy Quran. They were dishonored, imprisoned, isolated at home and endured disasters for their sympathetic advice and reformist ideas.

It is the duty of the 'ulama' of Islam to defend the indisputable laws of Islam, to support the independence of the Islamic country, to deplore any oppression and tyranny, to denounce any agreement with the enemies of Islam, independence and the enemies of the Muslim countries, to condemn Israel and its agents—the enemies of the Holy Quran, Islam and the country—to criticize the unjust executions, group exiles, illegal trials, and unjust condemnations, and any how to express the benefits of the nation and country. Are these crimes? Can you call it dark reactionism? All the deviant sects spread ant-Islamic propaganda, have free gatherings, and hold open sessions. The Christians have a broadcasting station in the Gospel Church in

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<sup>1</sup> Surah ash-Shu'ara' 26:227.

Tehran and an institute in Kermanshah. They have official schools. They enjoy governmental support. One is free to publish anti-religious books. But Muslims, religious preachers, the '*ulama*' of Islam are not free. Religious propaganda and voicing the violations of law are branded "dark reactionism" and banned. Religious societies and gatherings have to obtain permission from the police and other organizations. The mourning processions for the Doyen of the Martyrs (peace and salutations be upon him) are being limited and banned.

We know their alliance with Israel and its agents! Is it not a disgrace for an ancient country like Iran to be supported by Israel?! The great Iran, a protectorate of Israel!? Is it not against the interests of the country to publish the false claims of a rascal among the people and to let the press discuss it and so to reveal the weakness of the government? Isn't it a wrong policy? Isn't it a scandal? They think the nation is asleep.

We are always ready to defend Islam, the Muslim countries and their independence. Our programs are the programs of Islam: unity of expression of the Muslims; unity of all Muslim countries; brotherhood with all Muslim schools of thought all around the world; alliance with all; all Muslim governments around the world, against Zionism, against Israel, against the imperialist governments, against those who take the resources of this poor people away free of any charge and leave the poor nation alone with its misery, unemployment and poverty, while the governments speak of modernity and economic development for people who look pale from hunger and poverty.

These facts have driven us impatient and caused worry among the '*ulama*' of Islam. If these ideas are "dark reactionism" then let us be reactionaries! We are ashamed of the Muharram 12 (Khordad 15) incident. The inauspicious event on Khordad 15<sup>th</sup> and the incidents in Faydiyyah and other religious and academic schools is unbearable for us and for any zealous Muslim; what may the ruling regime think about it?! The Islamic nation will never forget this tragic event. We announce Muharram 12 a day of national mourning. Let them call us reactionaries and traditionalists.

We fear the consequences of these oppressive acts and we feel it is our duty to advise the ruling regime, while they have paid no heed to our repeated admonitions and advice. In our opinion, it is advisable for the government to change their policy, not to give the police and other organizations dominance over the oppressed nation, the '*ulama*' of Islam and the reverend preachers, to stop these illegal acts if they can. The attachment

of the *'ulama'* of Islam to the Islamic countries and laws is a permanent divine one.

It is our divine duty to protect the Muslim countries and their independence, and in our opinion shirking the duty of advising and keeping silence in case Islam and independence of the county are at risk, are grievous crimes, unforgivable sins, and welcoming ignominious death. Our great leader, the Commander of the Faithful (*'a*) did not consent to silence against tyranny, neither do we. It is our duty to guide the nation, the governments and all organizations. We will not shirk this duty, God willing.

At present, keeping silent against oppression is the same as aiding the oppressors. Islamic duties are not just ours, they are the duty of all classes of people; they are duties of the Islamic authorities, duties of the *'ulama'* of Islam, duties of the preachers of Islam; duties of all nations; duties of all Muslim countries and nations. We firmly believe that the Muslim nations will overcome imperialism in the near future and we will spare no self-sacrifice when it is time.

We ask God, the Exalted, for the best for Muslim countries, nations and governments. "O Lord! Make the hearts of people inclined to us." May peace be upon those who follow the guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini,  
Muhammad Hadi al-Husayni al-Milani,  
Shahabuddin an-Najafi al-Mar'ashi,  
Hasan at-Tabataba'i al-Qummi



## Letter

**Date:** June 8, 1964 [Khordad 18, 1343 AHS / Muharram 27, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Addressee:** Sayyid Sajjad Hujaj

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Sajjad Hujaj (may his graces last):

I was most grateful to receive your kind letter containing the news of your health and your sympathies. I have to appreciate Your Eminence's considerable effort in the recent affairs. May it be appreciated by Hadrat Baqiyyatullah (may Allah expedite his glorious advent) and may things gradually get better through his divine attention. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's constant success in propagating the sacred religion and the pure word of Islam. I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Muharram al-Haram 27, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** June 8, 1964 [Khordad 18, 1343 AHS / Muharram 27, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging a letter of congratulation on Imam Khomeini's release and return to Qum

**Addressee:** 'Abdul-Jalil Jalili Kermanshahi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh 'Abdul-Jalil Jalili (may his blessings last):

I was most grateful to receive your kind letter containing the news of your health and your sympathies. I appreciate Your Eminence's considerable effort in the recent affair. May it be appreciated by Hadrat Baqiyyatullah<sup>1</sup> (may Allah Almighty expedite his glorious advent) and may you be rewarded. I will do as you have written about the permissions, God willing. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's constant success in propagating the sacred religion and the pure word of Islam. I hope you will not forget me in your benevolent prayers whenever you feel God accepts them. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Muharram al-Haram 27, 1384 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Baqiyyatullah: another title of Imam al-Mahdi ('a) which literally means "The Last Proof of Allah".

## Letter

**Date:** *Unknown*

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging the sympathy and support of the '*ulama*' of Kermanshah

**Addressee:** Jalili Kermanshahi

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Jalili (may his blessings last):

I was most grateful to receive your letter, which indicated Your Eminence's health. I appreciate Your Eminence's considerable efforts. I read the paper you had sent. It was very good and comprehensive in content. Of course, you have to weigh up the circumstances and issue it if it seems suitable. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's health. Please extend my appreciation to Their Eminences, the distinguished '*ulama*' who have signed the letter. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** June 12, 1964 [Khordad 22, 1343 AHS / Safar 1, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging Mr. Ansari's support in the incidents following Khordad 15

**Addressee:** Muhammad-ali Ansari Araki

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam, the reverend orator, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali Ansari Araki (may his graces last):

I was most happy to receive your kind letter containing Your Eminence's sympathies. I also received another letter from Your Eminence with the same content from the holy city of Madinah. I highly appreciate Your Eminence's considerable efforts and your aid to the holy religion during the recent affairs. May it be appreciated by Hadrat Baqiyyatullah (may Allah expedite his glorious advent) and may you be rewarded. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's constant success in exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope to your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Safar al-Muzaffar 1, 1384 AH

## Permission

**Date:** June 18, 1964 [Khordad 28, 1343 AHS / Safar 7, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Muhammad ‘Ali Shari‘ati Nasrabadi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny; and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

Hereby it is confirmed that His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad ‘Ali Shari‘ati Nasrabadi (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah Almighty expedite his glorious advent); “so, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” His Eminence is also permitted to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending it in part on his own living sparingly, and one-third of the surplus in the specified religious ways and on exalting the pure word of Islam, and to deliver the remaining two thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries (may God Almighty protect them from evil incidents). He also is allowed to circulate the money or postpone the payments as needed.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs, and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Safar al-Khayr 7, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** June 19, 1964 [Khordad 29, 1343 AHS / Safar 8, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The bad conditions of the prisoners in the southern regions

**Addressee:** Jafar Saburi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

Khordad 29, 1343 AHS

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh Jafar Saburi (may his blessings last):

I was happy to receive your kind letter indicating your health and conveying your kind regards. I was sorry to hear about the prisoners in the South and their terrible conditions. I had received similar complaints before and I made efforts to relieve them; I have been given promises about this. I hope their release will become possible soon, and there will be no more worries. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's continuous success in promoting the holy religion and exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Safar al-Khayr 8, 1384 AH

## Permission

**Date:** June 28, 1964 [Tir 7, 1343 AHS / Safar 17, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Mirza Ahmad Hujjati

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny; and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

Hereby it is confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Mirza Ahmad Hujjati (may his blessings last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” His Eminence is also permitted to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, spending one-third in the specified religious ways and on exalting the pure word of Islam and to send the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries (may God Almighty protect them from evil incidents). Besides, he is allowed to circulate the money or postpone the payments as necessary.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and after world affairs, and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Safar al-Khayr 17, 1384 AH

## Statements

**Date:** June 29, 1964 [Tir 8, 1343 AHS / Safar 18, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Revealing the secularization policy of the Shah's regime

**Audience:** *Tullab* and clergymen from Tehran<sup>1</sup>

“Today, it is not the time for staying at home and praying; it is time for struggling. Today the enemy is attacking the religion and we have to stand up against them. I will resist until my last breath. You should also tell everyone and inform people on the pulpits in the mosques that the religion is at risk. If we leave the government alone they will not leave us alone. As I told the Interior Minister, Doctor Sadr,<sup>2</sup> in a recent meeting, “We’ve got nothing to do with you, provided that you leave our religion alone.” But that will not be; they will encroach on, little by little. One day they admit Baha’ism in the public sector and contact the Jews, and the next day they will try to eliminate religion from the law.

The danger is so great that one cannot be at ease if one understands it. The reason why some gentlemen were quiet was that they had not known the danger. Just as they didn’t let Mr. Hakim<sup>3</sup> come to comprehend the situation, and he remained silent.

The government doesn’t want powerful clergymen, and they don’t want them in Iran, either; so they moved toward Mr. Hakim after Ayatullah Burujerdi’s demise. Although they didn’t believe in Mr. Hakim, they preferred the *marja at-taqlid* to be in Najaf so he wouldn’t meddle; but it didn’t happen. They didn’t also benefit from imprisoning me, as Mr. Pakrawan<sup>4</sup> had said.”

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<sup>1</sup> SAVAK has recorded these words, in the top-secret report no. A 20/7670, date 4/14/43 AHS, which starts: “As reported, on Sunday, 4/7/43 AHS, at 18 o’clock, Mr. Shaykh Asadullah Kermanshahi, Shaykh Muhammad-‘Ali Ansari Araki and Shaykh Muhammad Nasiri left Tehran for Qum; on 4/8/43 AHS at seven they visited Khomeini. Then they contacted Shari‘atmadari at half past eight and Mr. Najafi Mar‘ashi at half past nine. Proceedings: They have met Khomeini in private at his home on Monday 4/8/43 AHS at 7 am. After inquiring about the situation in Tehran, Khomeini started to talk. Here is a summary (the above text).

<sup>2</sup> A son of Muhsin Sadr al-Ashraf, the speaker of the Senate (interior minister in Hasan ‘Ali Mansur and Howeyda’s cabinets)

<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Muhsin Hakim (a *marja at-taqlid* in Iraq).

<sup>4</sup> Hasan Pakrawan (the then head of the Intelligence and Security Organization of the country); in a meeting with Imam Khomeini in prison he had confessed that imprisoning the Imam had no benefit for the regime.



## Letter

**Date:** July 1, 1964 [Tir 10, 1343 AHS / Safar 20, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging receipt of the blessed Share of the Imam ('a)

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi (may his blessings last):

I do hereby confirm the receipt of your kind letter enclosing the sum of one thousand and five hundred tumans as the blessed Share of the Imam ('a) that was delivered to me through His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam Mr. Wafi Yazdi (may his graces last). I ask God Almighty for your constant success in promoting the sacred religion and exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope you will not forget me in your prayers whenever you feel God accepts them. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Safar al-Khayr 20, 1384 AH

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** July 7, 1964 [Tir 16, 1343 AHS / Safar 26, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The need for weekly sessions

**Addressee:** Muhammad Hasan Najafi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Najafi (may his blessings last):

After extending my salutation and regards, I have to inform you that since the sacred religion has always recommended collaboration and consultation, and this is one of the best things we can do against the enemies of the luminous religion especially at the present time, we have decided to ask the venerable prominent '*ulama*' to have weekly meetings for this purpose every Saturday evening. This decision has been communicated to most of the cities in Iran and even abroad. I hope Your Eminence will try to hold these sessions in Rafsanjan on Saturday evening, too. If there are any other important points, I will let the gentlemen know as soon as I can.

I ask God Almighty for the constant success of Your Eminence and other prominent '*ulama*' (may their blessings last) in exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Safar al-Khayr 26, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** July 7, 1964 [Tir 16, 1343 AHS / Safar 26, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Letter not received

**Addressee:** Husayn-‘Ali Natiq al-Islam

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam and Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Mirza Husayn-‘Ali Natiq al-Islam (may his graces last):

I received your kind letter and noted its contents. It seems that your last letter has not been received at all or I would have answered it, since the received letters are usually responded. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence’s constant success in promoting the sacred religion and exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Safar al-Khayr 26, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** July 15, 1964 [Tir 23, 1343 AHS / Rabi‘ al-Awwal 4, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Paying Najaf *tullab*'s monthly salary

**Addressee:** ‘Abdul-Jalil Jalili Kermanshahi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abdul-Jalil Jalili (may his blessings last):

I was happy to receive your kind letter which indicated your health and contained Your Eminence's sympathies, through His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam Mr. Hijazi. You had written about paying the monthly salaries to some of the gentlemen in the holy city of Najaf. No decision has been made in this regard and I do not know why this has been stated. I ask God Almighty to resolve the problems of all the prominent '*ulama*' (may their blessings last), for their unity and their success in exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope you will not forget me in your prayers when you feel God accepts them. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi‘ al-Awwal 4, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** July 17, 1964 [Tir 26, 1343 AHS / Rabi‘ al-Awwal 7, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging receipt of a letter

**Addressee:** Husayn Saatpur

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

Mr. Husayn Saatpur (may he always succeed):

I received your letter and noted its content.<sup>1</sup> I am not involved in what you had written about. May God Almighty make you successful in...<sup>2</sup> May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Rabi‘ al-Awwal 7, 1384 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini’s letter is the response to Mr. Saatpur’s letter, who had asked, “Would you please express your worthy opinion about Dar at-Tabligh-e Islami School which is being founded in Qum so that the followers may know their duty. Besides, as some of the religious leaders in Tabriz have said, there is no disagreement on this issue; can we contribute in this matter, in Your Eminence’s opinion?”

<sup>2</sup> This part is illegible.

## Letter

**Date:** July 18, 1964 [Tir 27, 1343 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 8, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The need for unity and solidarity against colonialism and the oppressing regime

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Rafsanjan

Rabi' al-Awwal 8, 1384 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam, the renowned orator, Mr. Falsafi (may his graces last):

I received a telegram from the worthy residents of Sirjan requesting me to ask you to accept their invitation. It would be advisable to accept their invitation to compensate for the past and to counteract the existing atmosphere of suppression. Giving my regards to the honorable people of Rafsanjan and Sirjan, notify them that it is necessary to be more serious performing the religious ceremonies, through unity and taking refuge in God, it is important to consolidate and strengthen your religious gatherings and meetings against imperialism and the oppressive regime, against the unclean hands of the foreigners, which are a great danger to Islam and the Muslims, and for establishing the truth and refuting falsehood. *"Then, as for the foam, it passeth away as scum upon the banks, while, as for that which is of use to mankind, it remaineth in the earth."*<sup>1</sup> Never be afraid of hollow threats and intimidation when expressing the truth and promoting the law of Islam, and call for your rights, which are the enforcement of Islamic law and release of the worthy preachers and writers, in calm, without provoking the tyrannical regime. Make the government aware of the danger of Israel and its agents and vehemently ask for stopping the enemies of Islam from appropriating the resources of the nation and the product of the workers and farmers. Question the government about the permission granted to the deviant books such as *"A Criticism and a Survey of the Family Protection Law"*. Reveal the offences and law-violations of the government in public places and make their oppressions known to all by any means you have. Pray for the grandeur of

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<sup>1</sup> Surah ar-Rad 13:17.

Islam and the Muslim countries and for expelling the intruding foreigners, especially Israel which is at war with the Muslims and Islam, in public sessions. Repent for your sins and seek refuge in the Master of the Age, the Honor of the Day (may Allah expedite his advent) from the difficulties. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** July 21, 1964 [Tir 30, 1343 AHS / Rabi‘ al-Awwal 11, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging receipt of the letter enclosing some poetry

**Addressee:** Husayn-‘Ali Natiq al-Islam

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam wa ‘Imad al-Alam Mr. Mirza Husayn-‘Ali Natiq al-Islam (may his graces last):

I received your kind letter enclosing your poems of eulogy to the prominent ‘*ulama*’ (may their blessings last). Thank you for your kindness. I ask God Almighty for your constant success in promoting the sacred religion and exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi‘ al-Mawlad 11, 1384 AH



## Letter

**Date:** July 21, 1964 [Tir 30, 1343 AHS / Rabi‘ al-Awwal 11, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Religious payments

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Hasan Sharif Qunuti

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Hasan Sharif Qunuti (may his blessings last):

I received your kind letter enclosing the money order to Saderat Bank for the sum of one hundred thirty five tumans. The receipt of the sum is enclosed. I ask God Almighty for your constant success in promoting the sacred religion and exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope for your benevolent prayers.

By the way, since the state of money paid by Mr. ‘Azizullah Jamshidi was unclear to me, your original letters are enclosed. Please be more exact when you are listing the money delivered so that no mistake is made in writing the receipts. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.<sup>1</sup>

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi‘ al-Awwal 11, 1384 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Two receipts for religious payments are issued along with this letter:

“In His Most Exalted Name

I do acknowledge the receipt of forty (40) tumans, of which thirty tumans are paid as Imam’s (‘a) Share and ten tumans as the Sadat’s Share by honorable Juri Khanum (may God Almighty always assist her) through His Most Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Hasan Sharif Qunuti (may his blessings last).

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi‘ al-Awwal 11, 1384 AHS”

“In His Most Exalted Name

I do acknowledge the receipt of one hundred sixteen tumans as the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, paid by His Eminence Mr. ‘Azizullah Jamshidi Qunuti (may God Almighty always assist him) through His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Qunuti (may his blessings last).

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi‘ al-Awwal 11, 1384 AHS”

## Letter

**Date:** July 23, 1964 [Mordad 1, 1343 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 13, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Responding a letter on the religious payments

**Addressee:** 'Ali 'Azizpur

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence 'Umdat al-Akhyar Mr. Haj Sayyid 'Ali 'Azizpur (may God Almighty assist him):

After extending my regards, I do acknowledge the receipt of the sum of three thousand, five hundred fifty tumans paid as the noble *Sadat's* Share and three thousand, seven hundred fifty tumans paid as the blessed Imam's ('a) Share, through His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ahmad Zanjani (may his blessings last), and as His Eminence has stated, if more budget is needed for the public bath which is being constructed in the district, this sum will be returned for the completion of the bath, and hereby I agree with it. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi' al-Awwal 13, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** July 24, 1964 [Mordad 2, 1343 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 14, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Commendation for founding the Chahardah Masum Religious Institute

**Addressee:** Sayyid Husayn Khadimi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Eminence Sayyid al-'Ulama' al-'Amilin wa Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Khadimi (may his blessings last):

After extending my sincere regards, I have to commend you on establishing the religious institute called Chahardah Masum ('a) in Isfahan with the help of the venerable preachers of Isfahan (may their graces last) under Your Eminence and a number of gentlemen's supervision. In the present circumstances when torrents of secularism have endangered the Muslim countries and our youth, our cultures cannot resist it, and they are negligent of proper training along with the teaching, the existence of such institutes is one of the most useful services to Islam. I hope God Almighty will make you and other gentlemen more successful than ever in advancing Islamic causes. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi' al-Mawlud 13, 1384 AH

P.S. Please extend the esteemed people of Isfahan my regards and my acknowledgments for their effort in doing religious and charitable acts.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** July 24, 1964 [Mordad 2, 1343 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 14, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging receipt of religious payments

**Addressee:** Yadullah Rahimiyan

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence 'Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Yadullah Rahimiyan (may his graces last):

I do acknowledge the receipt of your letter enclosing one thousand, one hundred tumans sent by your esteemed son. Enclosed you will find the receipt in which it is mentioned that four hundred tumans are permitted to be granted to the poor relatives according to your wish; but I hope more caution and care is taken when asking permission for spending money from the blessed Imam's Share. I ask God Almighty for your success in promoting the sacred religion and exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi' al-Awwal 14, 1384 AH

## Permission

**Date:** July 27, 1964 [Mordad 5, 1343 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 17, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Musawi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny; and may God's curse be upon all their enemies.

Hereby it is confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Musawi (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah Almighty expedite his glorious advent). "So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution." His Eminence is also permitted to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them in part on his own living sparingly, and one-third of the remainder in the specified religious ways and on exalting the pure word of Islam, and to deliver the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries. He is also allowed to circulate the money to postpone payment, to collect and to deliver.

"And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers." May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi' al-Mawlud 17, 1384 AH

## Receipt

**Date:** August 2, 1964 [Mordad 11, 1343 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 23, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Receipt of religious payments

**Addressee:** Sayfullah Karimi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

Hereby I do acknowledge the receipt of a sum of one hundred tumans paid, as the blessed Imam's ('a) Share, by His Eminence Mr. Karbala'i Sayfullah Karimi (may God Almighty assist him), through His Eminence 'Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Ridwani (may his graces last).

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi' al-Awwal 23, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** August 4, 1964 [Mordad 13, 1343 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 25, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Regret over the occurrence of educational problems and recommending patience

**Addressee:** Sayyid Nasrullah Husayni Mazandarani

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence 'Umdat al-Fudala' wal-Muhassilin Mr. Sayyid Nasrullah Husayni Mazandarani (may his success last):

I was most happy to receive Your Eminence's kind letter. I was deeply moved to know your distressing situation and educational problems. You have to overcome all difficulties through patience, endurance, ignoring the words of the enemies of the clergy and seeking help and assistance from the Lord, and relying on His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah Almighty expedite his glorious advent). Continue your studies with sincerity toward God, and do not let yourself be affected by the unpleasant incidents which have happened and do happen to the noble clergymen more than others. I will also offer my help, as far as I can, through the travelers visiting the holy city of Mashhad. I ask God Almighty for your constant success and I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi' al-Mawlud 25, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** August 4, 1964 [Mordad 13, 1343 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 25, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Religious decree about Friday Prayers

**Addressee:** Sayyid Fadlullah Hijazi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Fadlullah Hijazi (may his blessings last):

I was happy to receive your kind letter. I thank you for your considerable efforts in promoting the holy religion, and I hope your efforts will be appreciated by His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah Almighty expedite his glorious advent) and be rewarded. About performing Friday Prayers, I agree with the distinguished '*ulama*' (may their blessings last); that is, performing the Friday prayers, one does not need to say the noon prayers. I hope the problems will be resolved soon through unity and collaboration of the great gentlemen. Please give my regards to all the distinguished '*ulama*' and Hujjat al-Islams in Shahr-Rida (may their blessings last), Mr. Mahdawi, Mr. Hashimi, Mr. Imamjum'ah, Mr. Rahnama'i, Mr. Haj Sayyid 'Ali Hijazi, and Mr. Nasih. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi' al-Mawlud 25, 1384 AH



## Letter

**Date:** August 12, 1964 [Mordad 21, 1343 AHS / Rabi' ath-Thani 4, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Response to a letter and acknowledgements

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Taqi Murwarid

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence 'Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Murwarid (may his graces last):

I was most happy to receive your kind letter indicating Your Eminence's health. I was sorry to know about the plot of land allocated to the certain sect in Shahabad-e Gharb. I hope the problems will be resolved soon through unity and collaboration of the gentlemen, the distinguished '*ulama*' (may their blessings last) and the propagators of the sacred religion of Islam; and may we be able to cut off the encroaching hands of the enemies of religion through the attention of His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah Almighty expedite his glorious advent). I ask God Almighty for the success of Muslims and the grandeur of Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi' ath-Thani 4, 1384 AH

## Telegram

**Date:** August 22, 1964 [Mordad 31, 1343 AHS / Rabi' al-Thani 14, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Message of acknowledgment; insisting on the continuation of preaching and speaking in Isfahan and Shiraz

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi

Isfahan

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Falsafi:

After extending my regards, I would like to inform you that I have been asked in a telegram from Isfahan to ask you to go on giving speeches for ten more days. It would be advisable to accept. I should thank you for your considerable efforts and beneficial speeches. You have also been invited by the distinguished '*ulama*' of Shiraz; it would also be advisable to accept it. I ask God Almighty for the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims, and their unity of expression.

Khomeini

Qum, Mordad 31, 1343 AHS

## Permission

**Date:** August 25, 1964 [Shahrivar 3, 1343 AHS / Rabi‘ ath-Thani 17, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in collecting religious payments

**Addressee:** ‘Abdullah Masumi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

Hereby it is confirmed that His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdullah Masumi (may his graces last) is granted my permission to collect religious payments and the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share, delivering the money to this humble servant in return for receipts which will be delivered to the payers; he is also allowed to circulate the money, postpone the payment as needed, to collect, and to deliver.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent payers;” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi‘ ath-Thani 17, 1384 AH

## Permission

**Date:** August 27, 1964 [Shahrivar 5, 1343 AHS / Rabi‘ ath-Thani 19, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in collecting religious payments

**Addressee:** Sayyid Ibrahim Khaliqi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

Hereby it is confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Sayyid Ibrahim Khaliqi (may his graces last) is granted my permission to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them in part on his own living sparingly, and if anything remains, to deliver it to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries; he is also allowed to circulate the money, postpone the payment as needed, to collect, and to deliver.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers;” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi‘ ath-Thani 19, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** August 28, 1964 [Shahrivar 6, 1343 AHS / Rabi' ath-Thani 20, 1343 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Commending Mr. Hujjati on the sufferings he endured in the course of the struggle

**Addressee:** Muhammad-Jawad Hujjati Kermani

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

Rabi' ath-Thani 20, 1343 AH

His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Jawad Hujjati (may his graces last):

I was most happy to receive your kind letter. It was very upsetting to hear about what had happened when you were being welcomed. I ask God Almighty for the solution of the problems of all Muslims of the world, establishment of the truth and refutation of falsehood. I would like to commend Your Eminence, His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam, your brother,<sup>1</sup> and other esteemed gentlemen and scholars, for your considerable efforts and the sufferings and bereavements you have endured. May it be appreciated by His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah Almighty expedite his glorious advent) and be rewarded.

Please give my sincere regards to the Thiqat al-Islam, your esteemed brother and other reverend clergymen and great scholars. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> 'Ali Hujjati Kermani.

## Telegram

**Date:** August 30, 1964 [Shahrivar 8, 1343 AHS / Rabi' ath-Thani 22, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Mr. Qadi Tabataba'i's confinement to bed

**Addressee:** Sayyid 'Ali Qadi (Tabataba'i) Tabrizi

Mehr Hospital  
Tehran

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Qadi Tabrizi (may his graces last):

Upset for the recurrence of injustice. May you get well soon and may God Almighty set right the Muslims' affairs.

Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** August 31, 1964 [Shahrivar 9, 1343 AHS / Rabi' ath-Thani 23, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The need for the clergymen's weekly meetings

**Addressee:** Sayyid Sajjad Hujaj

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

Rabi' ath-Thani 23, 1384 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Sajjad Hujaj (may his blessings last):

I was most grateful to receive your kind letter. I ask God Almighty for the constant success of Your Eminence and all propagators of the sacred religion, and for the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims. May we attain the ultimate success through the unity of expression and total concordance of the distinguished '*ulama*' (may their blessings last). I hope you will not forget me in your benevolent prayers whenever you feel they are accepted by God. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Haj Mirza Hadi was here in Qum. I told him some points about the weekly gatherings of the distinguished '*ulama*' on Saturday evenings and the need for holding crowded religious sessions especially on Fridays, God willing. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** Circa August-September 1964 [Shahrivar 1343 AHS / Rabi' ath-Thani 1384 AH]

**Date:** Qum

**Subject:** Religious payments

**Addressee:** Husayn-'Ali Muntaziri

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I was most grateful to receive your kind letter. I ask God for Your Eminence's health and happiness. On the issue concerning Mr. Rahimiyan,<sup>1</sup> I did not mean to cancel the permission for spending the one-third, but it was only meant to remind him of being more cautious in granting the money to people and giving permission for the construction of mosques and baths. Any way, please tell him not to be upset about it. I cannot permit a laundry, however, about which I wrote a note at the back of his letter. Finally, I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup>Yadullah Rahimiyan Dastjerdi.



## Letter

**Date:** September 3, 1964 [Shahrivar 12, 1343 AHS / Rabi' ath-Thani 26, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledging receipt of religious payments and answering a question

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi (may his blessings last):

I was most grateful to receive Your Eminence's kind letter. Receipt of the religious payments you had sent is acknowledged. Enclosed you will find the answer to your question about the Explanations on *Wasilah* answered on the same paper.

I ask God Almighty for your constant success in exalting the pure word of Islam. I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Rabi' ath-Thani 26, 1384 AH

# Speech

**Date:** September 9, 1964 [Shahrivar 18, 1343 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 2, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Azam Mosque, Qum

**Subject:** The danger of the penetration of Israeli influence in Iran and the plots perpetrated by the imperialists in the Muslim countries

**Occasion:** The beginning of lessons at the theological center

**Audience:** Religious students, clerics, merchants of the bazaar and other residents in Qum

## *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

*“Verily, we are from God and to Him we shall return.”*

O God, preserve our tongues from vain discourse and lies. O God, enlighten our hearts with the light of Islam and devotion. O God, grant a listening ear to the kings of the Muslim governments, to the presidents of the Muslim governments, to the members of parliaments of Muslim governments, to the prime ministers and ministers of Muslim governments, to the heads of the universities of Muslim governments, to the employers and employees of Muslim governments. O God, place them amongst those who listen to all that is said and choose the best of it.<sup>1</sup>

### **Muslim states being under the imperialist influence**

In this short time, and because of the chest pains from which I am suffering,<sup>2</sup> I cannot convey all that has been on my mind; but I will talk about the important matters. I am deeply distressed about the general situation of the Muslim countries, and especially about the situation in Iran. The Muslim governments, whether led by Muslim kings, Muslim presidents or prime ministers, under the influence of imperialism are ignorant of the aims of the

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<sup>1</sup> In the existing recordings of the speeches, this prayer is recorded at the beginning of another speech. However, from the point of view of style and content it is related to this speech. Some books such as Sahifeh-ye Nur have included it in both speeches. Refer to Surah az-Zumar 39:18.

<sup>2</sup> The unpleasant events of 1962 (1341 AHS), 1963 (1342 AHS) and 1964 (1343 AHS), the problems and difficulties of the Islamic world, the anti-Islamic agreements made by the Shah's regime, and especially the tragedy of Khordad 15 (June 5, 1963) all affected Imam greatly, both mentally and physically, and placed him under severe mental strain. Physical illness and the pains in his chest had bothered him for years. For further information on this subject refer to the book Barrasi va Tahlili az-Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini, vol. 1, pp. 305-6.

Islamic religion. They are not aware of Islamic affairs. They do not want to be aware of the Islamic laws. They cannot, in their present situation, be aware of what Islam has brought for humanity and to what heights mankind will reach if the tenets of Islam are obeyed.

### **Creation of discord as an imperialist design**

The imperialist governments, those governments that seek to plunder the wealth of Muslims, deceive the Muslim countries, the heads of Islamic countries, through different means and numerous tricks. Sometimes they create differences in the name of Shi'ah and Sunni. Even in the East those who are not Muslims have been deceived. It has been said that in India on the Festival of Sacrifices<sup>1</sup> a large number of cows, which are sacred for the cow worshippers,<sup>2</sup> are brought to the Muslims and sold to them very cheaply. They make them slaughter these cows and then they tell them: "The Muslims have slaughtered your sacred cows." Disturbances are created between Hindus and Muslims, between the Indian sects, resulting in disputes which attract a lot of attention. They use these disputes to devour the East. Acting in the name of Islam and religion, they spread ideas amongst the Muslim sects in the Islamic countries, they sow dissension so that the Muslim sects start fighting each other, so that they discover differences between the Shi'ah and the Sunni. Thus, they find a way to get their hands on the wealth of the Muslims, and the Muslims cannot do anything about it.

### **The Muslim civilization as above other civilizations**

The Muslims are those whose greatness once conquered the world. Their civilization excelled all others; their spirituality was of the highest caliber; their officials were the best; the vastness of their lands was greater than all others; the power of their government dominated the world. They (the imperialists) saw that with this power, with this unity of the Islamic lands, they could not impose whatever they wanted on them; they could not seize their wealth, their black gold and their yellow gold, so they thought of a solution. The solution was to create divisiveness between the Muslim countries.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Id al-Qurban.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the Hindus. Hinduism is one of the religions of India whose followers are greater in number than those of any of the other religions in that country. The cow in Hinduism is held as being holy and sacred; to kill a cow and eat its meat is considered unlawful and a sin.

## Division of the Ottoman State

Maybe some of you remember the international war, the First World War, and what they did with the Muslims and the great Ottoman State.<sup>1</sup> The Ottoman State was that state which would sometimes prevail in its conflicts with Russia, while other governments could not stand up to her. The Ottoman State was a Muslim state, whose power spread almost from East to West. They realized that as long as this Muslim state with such power existed, they could not do anything, they could not rob the region of its wealth. So after their victory in the First World War, under those circumstances, they divided the Ottoman State into a number of petty states. At the head of each of these states they placed a king, an amir, a sultan or a president, and each of these was in the grip of the imperialists just as the helpless nation was in their grip. In this way, they destroyed the Ottoman State which had such greatness; and the Muslim governments did not stir from their slumber, or they pretended to be still asleep. This Ottoman State acquired such greatness under the patronage of the Islamic leadership [*khilafah*] and by relying on the Holy Quran. After it was divided, in our time, at the time of the evil Ataturk,<sup>2</sup> they destroyed Islam there and now the Turkish government is not an Islamic government; it does not take Islam into account; there are no religious ceremonies. The government does not have religious laws, but the noble nation of Turkey is a Muslim nation, and it is they who circumambulate the Kabah in Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage in relatively larger numbers than pilgrims from other nations. Yet, their

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<sup>1</sup> After the assassination of the Prince of Austria and the declaration of war by the Austrian Empire on the government of Serbia in 1914, the First World War began between the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, joined later by Ottoman Turkey, and Bulgaria) and the Allies (France, Britain, Russia, and minor European nations, joined later by Italy and America). The war ended in 1918 with the defeat of the forces of the Central Powers. The victors then proceeded to dismember the Ottoman Empire. All that has remained of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, which had survived for five hundred and fifty years, is the present day state of Turkey.

<sup>2</sup> In the First World War, Mustafa Kemal, later Kemal Pasha 1881-1938 known as "Ataturk" (i.e. father of the Turkish nation) was the commander of forces of resistance at the Dardanelles. Incited by the British, Ataturk rebelled against the authority of the Ottoman government and eventually turned the constitutional Ottoman Sultanate into the Republic of Turkey with himself as President. During his years as President, a post he held from 1923 until his death in 1938, Ataturk wielded almost dictatorial powers in his quest to westernize the new republic and in his battle with Islam. Separating religion from politics, which in effect eradicated the influence of religion; the unveiling of women; prohibiting the clerics from wearing their traditional clerical dress; changing the national script into Latin; closing down religious schools and mosques were just a few of the steps taken by Ataturk in his campaign against Islam.

government is such a government. That former greatness was acquired by relying on Islam, and when the imperialists saw that reliance on Islam was a very important element, that with this reliance they could not destroy the Muslim governments, they separated religion from the state in Turkey with the result that now, when some of the Turks are killed in Cyprus, there is not one Muslim who expresses sorrow. It is distressing when a government acts in such a way and other Muslim governments are indifferent when it is defeated by the Christians or some of its people are killed by them.<sup>1</sup> You may only find one person who expresses sorrow, someone like an old *akhund* like me. The governments of Muslim countries do not express sadness because they have lost the greatness of Islam.

### **Annihilation of Islam in the name of Islam**

The leaders of the Muslim countries should bear in mind that the differences that are created in Iraq, Iran and other Islamic countries are differences which will destroy their existence. They should act wisely and prudently and realize that the imperialists want to destroy Islam in the name of religion and in the name of Islam. The wicked hands that create differences between the Shi'ah and Sunnis in these countries, belong to neither Shi'ah nor Sunni. They are the hands of the imperialist agents who want to seize the Islamic countries from them. They want to take their resources and create a black market for these so-called advanced countries. They want to create a market in the East for the things that they have an excess of, that they normally throw away, throw into the sea, and the East buys them at a good price, at a satisfactory price. It was in the *Ittilaat* newspaper a few days ago that the amount of food the Americans waste in three days, the amount which they throw away, is equivalent to the amount of food the whole of the Chinese nation, 650 million people, use in a day! Three days wastage of American food, just the leftovers that they normally throw

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<sup>1</sup>The conflict between the Muslim Turks and the Christian Greeks has its historical roots in Cyprus. From medieval times the island was ruled alternatively by the Christian Front and the Ottoman Empire (the Islamic Front). In 1878, according to the Treaty of Berlin, the Ottoman government, while preserving its rights and receiving an annual capitation in return, handed over administrative control of Cyprus to the British. In 1882, Britain established a governing council on the island made up of six English men, three Turks and nine Greeks. The greater number of Greeks on the council brought about the idea of union with Greece. In 1925, Cyprus was made a Crown Colony by the British. In 1960, it became an independent republic within the Commonwealth. The island's recent history has been dominated by tension between the two major communities, the Christian Greek Cypriots and the Muslim Turkish Cypriots over the Greek Cypriots desire for union with Greece. The problem has still not been solved.

away, 650 million people can use in one day. So why shouldn't they bring the East under their own power, why shouldn't they subjugate them so they can sell their refuse to the East at a suitable price and turn it into gold and take the gold back? Why shouldn't they do this? Our governments, the Muslim governments, do not pay attention to these matters, they do not understand what happens to them, they do not realize that by neglecting the Quran and no longer relying on Islamic laws these disadvantages come about. The imperialists weaken the Muslim governments with the creation of religious differences so they can take away their ideology and religion. I seek refuge with God.

### **Warning to the heads of Muslim countries**

Shouldn't the heads of the Muslim governments, the presidents, the Muslim kings, the ministers and members of parliament of the Muslim governments, be vigilant? Really don't they know what is happening, or do they know but their desire for rank and office compels them to follow orders? You sirs, do you believe that those who are aware of the course of events, or claim to be, have not understood this simple matter that one Sayyid from Khomein has understood? Do you think that this is possible? If they have understood it, God forbid, they are either besotted by them or there is fear involved. Why should they be afraid? They are afraid because they have been divided into groups. The Ottoman state which covered such a vast area has been divided into how many states? Each one of them is smaller than the other. They have put the poor people—this multimillion nation—under the yoke of a few godless people and then they colonize them and these heads of state abase their own nation. Shouldn't these Muslim governments wake up? What misfortune have they experienced because of Islam? The West has used one great deception to influence, tempt or intimidate the governments of Islamic countries. We can see it in our newspapers and magazines, in their propaganda and in their radio broadcasts.

### **The race business**

That great deceit which debases the Muslim governments and distances them from the Quran is this race business. This man is from the race of Turks, he has to do his ritual prayers in Turkish. This one is from the Iranian race; his alphabet should be as such. That one is from the Arab race, Arabism should govern not Islam. The Aryan race should govern not Islam. The Turkish race should govern not Islam. Let us see where this racism, which is being developed amongst these men and is increasing and is encouraged,

leads us. This racism is a childish affair and it is as if they are making children play their games. They are making the heads of the governments play their games. You are Iranian, sir. You are Turkish, sir. You, sir, are Indonesian. Sir, what are you, where are you from? We should do such and such for our own country! They say all this and ignore that pivotal point which existed in the lives of all Muslims. Alas, alas, that pivotal point has been taken away from the Muslims and they are still distancing them from it, and I don't know where it will lead to. Islam came and drew a red line across racism and allowed no differentiation between black and white, between Turk and Iranian, between Arab and non-Arab. The only distinction it made between men stemmed from piety, fearing God, true devoutness, political piety, material piety and spiritual piety. This is the difference that was established: "*Verily the most honored of you in the sight of God is he who is the most pious.*"<sup>1</sup> There are no Turks and Iranians, Arabs and non-Arabs. Islam is the pivotal point for all Muslims. The matter of racism is retrogressive, these men see us as reactionaries, but they are retrogressing to two thousand five hundred years ago. Are we the reactionaries?

### **Negligence of the Muslim governments**

Why should the Muslim governments be ignorant of these matters? Why should these kinds of revolutions be created in each of these countries? Why should fronts be created between Muslim governments? One lot forms a "Triple Alliance"<sup>2</sup> against the other and the other creates another alliance against them, and each of them curses the other. Shouldn't they wake up? The Muslim kings who think of themselves so highly, shouldn't they pay attention to these matters? The Muslim presidents who have taken complete control of the Islamic countries, shouldn't they wake up?

### **Imperialism as the cause of wars among Muslims**

Are these things of which I speak untrue? Don't they accept this reality that I am telling them with deep sorrow? One of the realities is that they encourage animosity between the Muslim governments, arraying one group

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<sup>1</sup> Surah al-Hujurat 49:13.

<sup>2</sup> Here "Triple Alliance" refers to the CENTO agreement. In 1964, at the time of Hasan 'Ali Mansur's premiership, the Shah suggested the formation of a grouping within CENTO and America welcomed the idea. The agreement for the formation of the Regional Cooperation for Development organization (RCD) was concluded by the heads of Iran, Turkey and Pakistan. Led by Iran, the RCD was introduced as a non-military organization; Afghanistan and the sheikhdoms in the Persian Gulf were also expected to join it. This organization split the Muslim countries at a sensitive time in Middle Eastern politics.

against the other, and how they equip their armies on the borders! Now, as I speak to you, I have been informed that the Turks have massed 200,000 troops on one of their borders. Why? With whom do they have a quarrel? Why are the Muslims fighting one another? What has made the Muslims fight amongst themselves other than the hands of imperialism? If you remove the hands of imperialism from the Muslim governments then you will see what kind of government takes control, what kind of government comes into being. Protect your borders all of you. If it is supposed to be an Islamic government, if Islam is supposed to govern, then all the borders will be protected. There won't be one government attacking another. They will all be Muslim; they will all be united under the banner of Islam. The reason why you see this government attacking the other, this one sending arms for that one's army and that one sending arms for the other one's army is because they are not united under the banner of Islam.

It is misfortunate for the Muslim governments, for the Muslim countries and nations, that the imperialists began laying their plans many years ago. For a long time, the imperialist governments were busy trying to belittle the Prophet of Islam. Then they endeavored to propagate the idea that Islamic laws belong to a thousand years ago and now such and such has happened and the country has progressed and etc., etc... and now Islam cannot satisfy the needs of the nations. Sirs,<sup>1</sup> what have you seen of Islam? All your media, all your television programs, all your radio broadcasts, all your discourses, all your speeches in the Parliament are aimed at smashing the laws of Islam. If you do not do this purposely and have no evil intentions, then you have been made to do it, they have threatened, enticed, or deceived you. God willing, you have been deceived, and treason is not involved. You do not allow us to introduce Islam to the world.

#### **Advise to those who are complacent**

Only three or four days ago I received a letter from one of the students in America. I am not acquainted with him personally, but apparently he is a religious person who is distressed at the existing situation. He wrote that unfortunately the students, the university students there (in America) say that all our misfortunes stem from Islam. O you misfortunate students! The Islam that is introduced to you from the radio is not Islam. The Islam that you get from the newspapers is not Islam. That Islam which has been introduced to you is defective, it's something that none of the Muslims accept. I do not accept it, and the other clergymen do not accept it. This is not Islam. They do

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<sup>1</sup> Addressed to the heads of the Muslim countries.



not let us introduce (true) Islam. In this country, the television is independent and is controlled by an Israeli.<sup>1</sup> He says whatever he wants. The radio too, they produce its programs and its advertisements, and what good use they put it to! Not just in this country, in all Muslim countries; I am talking about all Muslim countries but I keep coming back to our own country.

### **The allegation of Islam as “worshipping the old”**

One of the ruses of the imperialists is to introduce Islam as an old defective truth in the Muslim countries. The heads of these countries say that Islam is “worshipping the old,” it’s “retrogressive”; this is how they introduce Islam to the people. Give us one radio transmitter so our preachers can introduce Islam to the world. Our voice does not reach the world. Our words do not leave this mosque. All this that I am saying now, and which is reasoned and rational, is illegal, it is smuggled out of this mosque. No one knows which of these men will be arrested when he leaves here and which one will be left alone. No one knows where these tape recorders (which the people bring with them to record the speech) will be seized. We are not speaking out against somebody here; we are speaking about the welfare of Islam and Muslims. This is not a tirade leveled at one person, it is a sermon meant to offer advice and it is directed at everyone. Its aim is to do good. God knows we want your well being. So then give us a radio transmitter as well. Let the Muslims organize a radio transmitter themselves and I guarantee that it will not be entirely to your detriment. Yes, this idea conflicts with the interests of the big bosses and they do not and will not allow this to happen. Here, somebody “worse than a Jew”<sup>2</sup> should control the television and propagate whatever he wishes, yet we are not free to propagate our ideas! “Oh no, these reactionaries should not speak,” is what they say, but where is the reaction?

### **Unity of the nation of Islam**

All we are saying is that you should be united; all Muslims should be united; we do not have relations with that one,<sup>3</sup> with you,<sup>4</sup> nor with anybody else, and yet we have relations with everybody. We see you all as being the same. All Muslims, in our view, if they act upon Islamic laws, are dear to us.

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<sup>1</sup>It refers to Habib Thabit Pasal, who for years was the owner and head of the Iranian television. He was one of the main figures in international Zionism.

<sup>2</sup>“Worse than a Jew” meaning in his animosity toward Islam.

<sup>3</sup>Asadullah ‘Alam and the previous government.

<sup>4</sup>Hasan-‘Ali Mansur, the Prime Minister at the time, and the new government.

We hold dear the nation of Islam, whether it be Turkish, Arab, Iranian, or from any other country, Africa, America, or wherever. We are saying join hands together; do not make a triple front and join Israel against another alliance, and the other Muslim countries too should not make an alliance against you. You should all form one alliance, you are all Muslims, you should rely on the Quran. But you do not know what the Quran is. All you do is put the Quran into your pocket! I don't have a Quran in my pocket, yet all the officials have a Quran in their pockets! They seem to show a greater interest in the Quran than we do! Do you really believe in the Quran? You just want to deceive us. Whenever you stand up to speak you take the Quran out and hold it up high for all to see. You put the Quran in your pocket and you want to destroy it.

### **The imperialists as aiming to plunder the Muslims' resources**

Now, are we being reactionary when we say that all of you should form one alliance, that you should stop them from plundering your resources? More important than the underground resources are those which lie above the ground: our youth. They are taking our youth; God knows they are taking the youth from the Muslim countries. One group is in America, one somewhere else and another I don't know where! And now our youth are going to Israel. I have in my house at present a journal; the journal of the Iranian Students Organization in Israel. It exists now. These youth are our resources. Our youth are being deceived. They are being injected with the idea that whatever misfortune befalls their people comes from Islam. What have you seen of Islam that you say Islam brings misfortune? You have seen the Muslims here who are a poor, unfortunate, beggared people—and the government proclaims loudly that, praise be to God, nobody goes to sleep hungry—praise be to God, I hope that this is so! But do these words change the reality? Does that which was reported about the southern ports of the country a short while ago in *Ittilaat*<sup>1</sup>—and *Ittilaat* is the government's official mouthpiece—change the reality? This will not change anything. These poor students of ours, they have seen that here the Muslims are hungry, helpless and misfortunate, their mosques are dilapidated, their places of worship are such and such. Then when they go to America and visit a church or a synagogue, they see that it is all neat and tidy, everything well-kept, everything just right, and they think that it is the laws of the Bible or

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<sup>1</sup>In the *Ittilaat* newspaper of December 25, 1963 (Dey 4, 1342 AHS) it was reported that in the villages in the south of Iran there were no doctors or drinking water, and in one of the villages most of the people had lost their sight because of a lack of adequate sanitation.

the Torah that have brought these people to this stage, while the laws of Islam have kept the Muslims back.

### **The reason behind the Muslims' backwardness**

No, it is the governments of the Islamic countries which have made us like this. These poor, deceived governments have brought us to this. They say that Islam is like this. There was a time when Islam held sovereignty over half of the world and was progressing farther and farther. Gustav Lebon,<sup>1</sup> in his book, *The Civilization of Islam*, looks at the Islamic civilization from a materialistic point of view; he doesn't know what Islam is. He believes neither in Jesus nor in Islam. He understands civilization to consist of the pillars of ancient buildings, just as our children do. So when our youth go abroad, they see all the ceremonies, all the magnificence, they see the Vatican<sup>2</sup> in all its splendor, while all our mosques are dilapidated and impoverished, and they think this is because of Islam. This has not come about because of Islam; the heads of the Muslim states have brought this about. The heads of the Muslim states that are under the domination of the imperialists have done this to us. They have given our resources to others and we have become unfortunate, impoverished and hungry.

### **Comparison of Islam and Christianity**

It is said that there (in the West), the great heads of state attend religious ceremonies on Sundays. Do you ever see any of our Muslim leaders in the mosque? Can you find them there at all? Yes, sometimes you can when his father dies or his brother dies or something else happens and he struts through the mosque on a fleeting visit. But this is not what going to the mosque is all about. Do they ever come to attend the daily prayer services? Over there, their presidents and kings attend the prayer services, and these are the services of a religion which today is nothing compared to what it was. They think that the Christian religion is that which exists today. Of course, at its own time it was right. Look at that which exists today of the Christian

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<sup>1</sup>Gustav Lebon (1841-1931), a French doctor, sociologist and historian who was also the author of a number of literary works. His most important work *The Civilization of Islam and the Arabs* was published in 1884 in French. He traveled widely in Arabia and other Islamic countries.

<sup>2</sup>The Vatican, the official residence of the pope, is an independent papal state in Rome, the seat of government of the Roman Catholic Church and one of the greatest Christian spiritual centers in the world. It has its own flag, anthem, postal service, stamps, radio station and police force which is formed by Swiss youths. St. Peter's Basilica, the largest Roman Catholic church, the Lateran Palace and the Castle Gandolfo villa all fall under papal authority.

religion and Christian laws, you students study Christianity, study what that is and what the Quran is. Study what the Christian laws are and what the Islamic laws are. The Islamic laws run into the millions; there are millions of Islamic laws which cover everything. There is not a single topic in human life for which Islam has not provided instruction and established a norm. In Islam a law exists for it even before it happens. Whatever happens, Islam has a law for it, even today. Is this a religion which is “worshipping the old” and “defective”? Are all our misfortunes created by Islam? It is the Muslim leaders who create our afflictions—these helpless heads of state who pay no attention to the welfare of their own nations, or who simply do not want to pay attention. They are the cause of our wretchedness. They have created dark days for our people. And still they don’t leave us alone; they continue to make problems for us.

### **The East’s resistance against the West**

These things of which I speak refer to matters which are the concern of the governments of the Islamic countries, and this is as much as I, as a member of the clergy and a seminarian, can offer by way of advice to the Muslim governments. I hope this advice reaches them. These are important matters; it is imperative that the Muslim governments pay heed to them. I hope that they come to understand this and that they create a real Islamic union. They should set some of their desires aside and extend the hand of brotherhood to one another. One shouldn’t be superior to the other; they should be brothers, united against the West. They shouldn’t be xenomaniacs, smitten by the West.<sup>1</sup> The governments of the East should stand up to the West; even the Buddhists<sup>2</sup> should stand up to the West. They should push the West back and then create a stable government and a peaceful society amongst themselves. All the countries should retain their statehood, but none should act aggressively against the other. All should be as brothers. If they are attacked by others, they should all form a united front and go forward together. If all the Muslims unite, no government can defeat them. It is

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<sup>1</sup> Xenomaniacs: those infatuated with foreign and especially Western models of culture. This is a translation of the Persian term, *gharbzadehha*, popularized by Jalal Al-i Ahmad in his book *Gharbzadegi* [Xenomania].

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the followers of an Indian prince, Siddhartha Gautama, known as the Buddha, who founded the religion of Buddhism in north east India in the 5th century BC. The teachings of Buddha overshadowed “Hinduism” in India for a long period, but eventually its influence waned in that country and it spread to other countries. Buddhism is one of the great religions of the world with over 500 million followers, who live mainly in the Far East.

wrong to think that the West has this and that. No, this is not the case. You do not have the courage to stand up to the West, you have been deceived.

### **Bogus parties**

When it comes to our own country, however, we cannot talk about the problems which afflict it in one or two days. The governments come and go, and each government creates a party. One makes a “People’s Party” [*Hizb-e Mardom*], one such and such a party; one makes the “Modern Iran Party” [*Hizb-e Iran-e Novin*],<sup>1</sup> and the other such and such a party. They are just creating parties all the time. Political parties have no meaning in Iran. A one-party state has no meaning anywhere in the world except in those countries which are like Iran. A party which is forced upon us has no meaning. They take the identity cards off the people of the villages. Go to these villages and see for yourselves, they take their identity cards off them and register them in the party. The poor person who has been registered doesn’t even know what “Modern Iran” means let alone understand its charter. This poor person doesn’t even know what a charter is. All that these irreligious people want from these poor souls is to gather them in a place and make them shout, “hurray” and “long live”. This is all they want from these poor people.<sup>2</sup>

### **The true party in today’s world**

In those countries which espouse a multi-party system, the governments are created from the parties. The government doesn’t come before the party is formed and then the latter finds itself dependent on the former! But here,

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<sup>1</sup>The Iran-e Novin party was formed by Hasan-‘Ali Mansur and a group of Iranians educated in America and Europe under the directorship of “Rockwell”, the chargé-daffaires of the US Embassy in Iran, for the purpose of carrying out the policies of Kennedy in Iran. The role of this party was to guard the Shah-People Revolution and to implement its principles. Iran-e Novin had the most seats in the government and Parliament, and high officials with key posts were members. With the assassination of Hasan-‘Ali Mansur, ‘Ata’ullah Khosravani took his place as Secretary General of the party. The Iran-e Novin party was dissolved after the formation of the “Rastakhiz” or National Resurgence Party when the Shah finished his charade of a party system and a one-party system was officially acknowledged in the country. Refer to Az Duhur ta Suqut, p. 207 and The Spy Nest Documents, vol. 7, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup>The Imam is referring to the comments made by Hasan-‘Ali Mansur (the then Prime Minister) who said in a meeting of the members of the central committee of the Iran-e Novin party on August 26, 1964 (Shahrivar 4, 1343 AHS): “Fortunately, in this brief period of time, the advocates of the Iran-e Novin party have been able to establish their ideas in the most remote areas of the country and amongst people of all classes of society and bring them together under one banner... Our party has been established in the hearts of the villages and has penetrated into the heart of the centers of the working class.” Khorasan newspaper, August 27, 1964.

well you can see for yourselves, first the government is formed, and there is no relationship between the government and the Parliament, or the government and you and I. First the government is formed and then they say—and these are their words, not mine—“We came upon orders and we’ll go upon orders, and nobody can do a damn thing about it!” No member of the Parliament can do a damn thing about it; not one of them dares to either. First the government is formed, and when it has gained control, then the party is formed. And then that party becomes the one from which the government was formed! Thus, our government is a party government! The government of these men represents a party system! Sir, who are you trying to fool? I as an *akhund* know what is really going on, don’t you think that the world governments also know!? They actually want you to be like this; they want you to be backward. Cast off this backwardness. Protect your country’s greatness. If you want to form a party, form it before your government is formed, and then let your party propose representatives for the Parliament the way that they should be proposed, according to the Constitution and other laws. The ministers and Prime Minister should be selected from the representatives that have been proposed by the party and elected by the people. Then you have a party system, a system which depends on the choice of the people. But you form the government first. First you appoint your Prime Minister then you form the party; and this is supposed to be the party system!? The newspapers cannot write about these things, they might want to, but you do not let them. We, however, are theologians; we do not have the same concerns as the newspapers. If the government wants to bother us then we are ready once more.

They put on such a show, a show of parties, just what we are witnessing now. Everyday they set off somewhere at the expense of this misfortunate nation. This hungry nation... God knows that sometimes when I think about our future, when I think about what next winter will bring, it saddens me, it saddens us all. Will the people have bread this year or won’t they? This year our food situation is not good. There isn’t even enough fodder for the animals. What will happen in this black winter for this misfortunate, poor nation? I don’t know what will happen. Is the government going to do something about it? Now that they have ruined the agriculture<sup>1</sup> they should at

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<sup>1</sup> 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 co-operation 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! Refer to Farhang-e Danestaniha, p. 239 and Tarikh-e Novin-e Iran [The Modern History of Iran], p. 219.

least get the agricultural goods from the black market which has come into being and fill the stomachs of these poor souls. Or should they still sleep with an empty stomach, and should it still be said that there is not another person who goes to sleep hungry!? Everyday a number of these people come to me, to me who is in no position to do anything about this problem.

### **Revealing the Shah's regime's relations with Israel**

This is the state of the party system in Iran; this is the state of the Iranian Parliament which we all know about; this is the state of their relations with Israel. When one of the country's top-ranking officials met me he told me that the Israeli problem was finished with, it was over and done with, it didn't exist any more. How powerful they are in lying! They are so powerful that they even deceive me who is careful and vigilant. He told me that the Israeli problem is solved and now that Israel is finished with in Iran, now as I am sitting here speaking to you, many of the good farms of Iran are in the hands of Israel! People have written to me from Ilam and told me that the good farms of this place have been given to Israel for farming sugar beets, and at the side of the road, these people who say we have nothing to do with Israel have placed a sign which reads: the Iran-Israel Joint Farming Project.<sup>1</sup> In an Israeli newspaper which was given to me recently, it was written about the Israeli ambassador in Tehran! And they say that we have nothing to do with Israel! A couple of days ago on September 7 (Shahrivar 16 AHS) in the Darvaz-e Dawlat district of Tehran, the Jews created such a hullabaloo. Four or five hundred thieving Jews gathered together, and all that their speeches boiled down to was a eulogy to one and a tirade against another, and then they proclaimed that greatness belongs to the Jews, the Jews are chosen by God, we are a people who should govern, we are against dictatorship, we are

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<sup>1</sup> Also the fertile, water-abundant lands of Qazvin were in the hands of the Israelis for creating modern farming corporations. All of the fertile lands of Khorasan province around the Bujnurd road to Mashhad were owned by Hujabre Yazdani who exploited those lands through his "Hujabre Yazdani Farming and Industry Company".

against Hitlerism, and so on and so forth. This was the content of their speeches. These people come with the full knowledge of our government and openly say these things. Well, if dictatorship is prohibited and they are against it...well, why don't you stop them? Don't let them say these things. They say all these things just for the sake of praising one person and abusing somebody else. It's wrong for a country to rely on the Jews. Is this that we say now very bad? Of course it's a bitter pill to swallow, it's bitter for you. Nevertheless, it is disastrous for a Muslim country, for Muslims, to rely on, to have relations or make agreements with a government which is now the enemy of Islam, which opposes Islam and has usurped Palestine.

### **Warning to the Muslim states concerning the Palestinian Question**

I ask the Muslim governments, why do you fight over rivers?<sup>1</sup> The land of Palestine has been usurped. O you hopeless ones, you should be throwing the Jews out of Palestine, instead you are fighting each other! Palestine has been usurped and you are squabbling over a river! While you dispute over a river, the Israelis have established a government in Palestine. They have driven those misfortunate Arabs out, and now a million or more of them are sleeping in deserts, hungry and bereft. They have become completely homeless and wretched. Shouldn't the Muslim governments raise any objections? Shouldn't they say something? Should you enter into an alliance with a government which has thrown one million Muslims out of their homeland and made them homeless? If you have not formed an alliance with them, well announce that you haven't in your newspapers; allow that which I am saying now to be published. If you refuse to do so, then obviously you have aligned yourselves with them, you have aligned yourselves with the Jews, with Israel! You see what the agents of Israel do in this country. Recently, I heard that now, because the regime has asked me not to say anything, I won't say anything. The government officials have said that

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<sup>1</sup>At the conference of Arab heads of state, which was held on September 5, 1964 in Egypt, in addition to discussing the differences that Egypt had with Yemen and Saudi Arabia, and the aims which each of the Arab governments had in their relationship with the newly established Palestinian Liberation Organization (which formally announced its existence in 1964), the most important matter discussed was how to divert the sources of the river Jordan in order to forestall the Israelis' irrigation scheme. The Israelis had at that time completed the work needed to enable them to divert some of the waters of the river Jordan, which runs through Syria, Occupied Palestine and Jordan, to irrigate the Negev Desert. The disagreement between the Arab countries was so intense that at the beginning of the conference the open session was closed and the heated discussions carried on behind closed doors. The conference eventually ended with no results.



they've corrected it.<sup>1</sup> Well, last night on the radio they spoke about this matter and announced that it won't be changed. But I don't believe a lot of what they say. It takes me a while to believe them. When they found out that I intended to preach today they said that this matter (the pledge of allegiance) has been corrected and shouldn't be spoken about. This is what they said on the radio last night as well.<sup>2</sup> But I don't believe them; and if they don't prove it to me I'll return another day to speak about this matter again.

### **The Israeli agents occupying the strategic centers in Iran**

These people, these Israeli agents in Iran, wherever you look in the country they are there. They occupy all the key posts, the sensitive posts in the country, and this, by God, could prove to be dangerous for the throne of this man.<sup>3</sup> They do not realize this. It was these people who plotted in Shemiran (a district in northern Tehran) to kill Nasiruddin Shah and take control of the country. Look at history; it relates how they plotted, how a few people tried to assassinate Nasiruddin Shah in Niyavaran, and how a group of people in Tehran tried to seize power.<sup>4</sup> These people think that they should

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<sup>1</sup>The Imam here is referring to the change in the method of swearing in the army personnel. According to the formal pledge of allegiance in use at that time, all of the army personnel, after a few months of training and after receiving their ranks, had to take an oath on the Holy Quran that they would be the guardians and protectors of the integrity of the country and the independence of the state, etc. At the time of the Imam's anti-Israeli struggle, the Shah, prompted by America, changed the words of the oath from "I swear on the Holy Quran" to "I swear on the Holy Book". With this change, he lays the way open for Zionism to enter the Iranian army and occupy the sensitive posts. Refer to the book *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 695.

<sup>2</sup>After the Imam's warning, the regime sent a representative to him. The representative claimed that the news that the words of the pledge of allegiance had been changed had no foundation. The Imam asked the government to formally announce that a change had not been made, consequently, in an interview on Radio Iran with one of the army heads on the evening of September 8, 1964 (Shahrivar 17, 1343 AHS), it was categorically denied that the oath had been changed.

<sup>3</sup>The Shah.

<sup>4</sup>In 1852, three followers of Mirza 'Ali Muhammad of Shiraz (1819?-1850), the founder of the Babi religious eclectic sect in Iran, made another attempt on the life of Nasiruddin Shah. Declaring himself to be the expected 12th Imam (Mahdi) long awaited by the Shi'ah Muslims as the herald of the manifestation of God's will, Mirza 'Ali Muhammad, known as the Bab (gateway), commanded the Shah of Iran, his subjects and even the kings and princes of the earth to follow him. During the short ministry of the Bab (1844-1850), Iran witnessed serious risings by his followers. In 1848, the Babis embarked on a series of revolts; the first in Mazandaran lasted from December 1848 to July 1849. It was followed by a second in Zanjan (May-December 1850) and a third in Neyriz. An attempt was also made on the life of the Friday Prayer leader in Tehran in a bid to seize the central positions of the country. The Babis, who were foiled in all their attempts, met with persecution and prejudice wherever they went in the country.

govern. They have written in their books, in their articles, that governance belongs to them, that they should create a new monarchy, a new government, a just government.<sup>1</sup> These people who have such malicious ideas and evil intentions are found throughout the country from the court down.

### **Danger of the penetration of the Zionist and Baha'i influence**

Sir, you should be afraid of these people, they are such animals. Some of them can be found in the ministries. I pointed one of them out to one of the ministers and he told me I was mistaken. Then I sent him documented evidence to prove my claim, but the man, I shall not mention his dirty name, is still there. They are in the ministries and they are in the army. O you respected army personnel, you are Muslim, hit these people in the mouth! A lot of the army leaders are good people and they sometimes contact me, they send messages to me. Most of them are good people, and so they should intervene and stop these people who are against their religion, who are against their throne and crown, their country, their independence, their

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<sup>1</sup>In 1850, the Bab, who had been arrested in 1847, was executed in Tabriz on the orders of Amir Kabir, the Shah's Prime Minister, and on the religious decree [fatwa] of the country's religious authorities. One of his devoted disciples, Mirza Husayn 'Ali Nuri (1817-1892), known as Baha'ullah, continued the Bab's teachings and in April 1863, he announced himself to be the new leader foretold by the Bab, henceforth his followers became known as Baha'is. The followers of Baha'ullah consider him to be the cofounder with the Bab of their faith and believe him to be a messenger of God, a "divine manifestation". In 1880, Baha'ullah took up residence near Haifa in present day Israel which is today the location of the administrative centre of the Baha'i community; he died there in 1892 following a short illness. The leadership of the Baha'i community then passed to his eldest son 'Abbas Effendi (1844-1921) who adopted the name 'Abdul-Baha. In Iran, 'Abdul-Baha co-operated closely with both military and non-military British personnel, and in 1920 he was knighted by the British government. Upon his death, his body was buried on Mount Carmel the site of the shrine containing the remains of the Bab, overlooking the city of Haifa. In his will, 'Abdul-Baha named as his successor his eldest grandson Shoghi Effendi Rabbani (1899-1957). The third leader of the Baha'is worked resolutely for the perpetuation of Baha'ism, overseeing the creation of its administrative and educational institutions and establishing an international organization known as the "Universal House of Justice" which is the seat of its governing body and is also situated in Haifa, Israel. A Baha'i community was set up in the United States in 1912, and in 1953, a temple was completed in Wilmette, Illinois. Effendi chose as his successor an American, Charles Mason Rimi, who worked closely with him in his plans for the establishment of a Baha'i government. In 1957, Effendi traveled to Britain and died, in mysterious circumstances, only one week after entering London. Charles Mason Rimi, the son of a bishop, took his place calling himself the "Shepherd" of the Baha'is. An insurrection which was started in Shiraz ended up as an established religio-politico organization in Israel and the US!

economy. You have to stop them. Go and ask that they be thrown out of the army, ask your superiors to throw them out. I swear to God I want your well-being. I am worried that one day you will open your eyes and see that they have destroyed your wealth, your being. I'm worried about this. If you will not stop them, then let us destroy them. I shall destroy them one day. I do not want to create disturbances. If you do not want to have trouble you should destroy them yourself; if you do not, you'll see that one day something else happens in some other way and at that time neither I can neither stop them nor you. This is the situation that we are faced with; you see it and we see it. I don't know what we should do about it or how we should put it right.

### **Sound country with a sound culture**

The way to ameliorate the country is to correct its culture. The correction must start with the culture. The hands of imperialism are very active in our culture. They do not let our youth grow up to be independent; they do not let our youth at the universities develop correctly. They do something to them from childhood so that when they grow up, Islam means nothing to them and they (the West) mean everything. If the culture is put right, the country is put right. For it's the culture which creates the ministers for the ministries; it's the culture which creates the representatives for the Parliament; it's the culture which creates the office workers. Either create an independent culture or give it to us to create. You are afraid of America; you are afraid of others. Give it to us to correct. Give us control of the culture.

### **Creation of Endowment Ministry**

Now the gentlemen (i.e. the government) want to create an Endowment Ministry!<sup>1</sup> It thinks it can copy the practices of other countries and bring the clergy under the authority of this ministry. You will take this dream to the grave with you, (God willing). Do you think that you can make the Muslim clergy become like the Christian clergy? It's impossible. The Shi'ah clergy are independent; they do not depend on any country. Let them come forward and tell (the world) whom they depend on. This is an independent clergy. We do not have to worry as to whether these respected religious students, who live with only thirty or forty tumans each month and work very hard, are supporters of another government or country. They are independent in their own ideas. It is amongst these people that human beings are found, that the

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<sup>1</sup> A ministry entrusted with government supervision of estates in mortmain.

Mudarrises<sup>1</sup> of this world are found. They won't let this happen. We won't be brought under this and that minister. To hell with what that minister says. The government is mistaken, it is mistaken once again.

There should be a Ministry of Culture, but a ministry of correct culture, a culture which should be in our hands. Shouldn't we have a ministry in this country? All the ministers are from America, well, one should be from us. Put the culture in our hands. We'll appoint somebody as the Minister of Culture and we'll administer it ourselves. If we do not administer it better than you after ten or fifteen years, sack us. Give it to us to handle for a time. Appoint a Minister of Culture from amongst us and give us some time so we can do the job right. Then you'll see whether we tell you not to study, not to study well, not to travel to the skies. By God, you are not able to do these

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<sup>1</sup> 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 ijthad, he returned to Isfahan and began teaching Islamic jurisprudence [fiqh] and 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'état, Mudarris was arrested and sent into exile, but after being freed he was again chosen by the people and again entered 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." For further information on the Imam's views on Mudarris see the Imam's historic decree dated September 19, 1984 (Shahrivar 18, 1363 AHS).

things, and because you cannot do them you say it is the clergy who do not let you. You tell me who is stopping you. Build your foundry. Which clergyman told you not to? Whoever he is tell us, so we know him. Start building your airplanes and your cars. Sir, you are not able to do these things. You poor people. You are a hopeless administration. Why? It's not because you are intrinsically hopeless, it's because the hands of imperialism have made you like this. You are xenomaniacs.

Is that which we say so outdated and time-worn that nobody will buy it any more?! I promise you that even Germany will buy it. You don't buy it. Give us a ministry. Give us a few hours on the radio; this radio which is driving our youth toward moral corruption with music and other things. Give us a few hours but leave us free to do it our way. Do not write the program yourself and then tell us to speak in such and such a way. We'll prepare the program and I promise you that it won't oppose your kingdom, your ministry or your leadership. It won't oppose any of them. If only the Ministry of Culture and the radio transmitters were in our hands for a short while. We would introduce the people and the world to Islamic laws and Islam. We would make the culture an independent culture, an Islamic culture, a culture that when one of its Arabs stands in front of the emperor he takes out his sword and pushes aside the fine silk and says: "The Prophet has said that we should not wear silk clothes nor sit on silk."<sup>1</sup> We nurture such men. Then

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<sup>1</sup>In his history book, Tabari describes the meeting of Rabi' ibn A'amer, one of the three representatives of the Muslim armies, with Rustam, the commander of the Yazdagird army, before the al-Qadisiyyah battle: Rab'i set off to Rustam's camp and those who were on the bridge stopped him while they sent somebody to Rustam to inform him of Rab'i's arrival. Rustam discussed his arrival with the Persian leaders and asked what they thought they should do, give a display of wealth and refinement or simply disregard him. All of them were in favor of the latter, so they brought all kinds of ornaments, silk cloth and carpets to adorn the room, omitting nothing. They set a golden chair in place for Rustam and decorated it and laid down carpets and spread cushions woven with gold. Rab'i arrived, riding on his small horse. He carried with him a sharp, shiny sword in a sheath made from a piece of material taken from old clothes. His spear was cracked and his shield was made of cow hide which had red leather on it which resembled bread. He carried his bow and arrows with him and when he got near Rustam, where the carpets were spread, they told them to dismount, but he rode his horse on the carpets and then he dismounted and he fastened his horse to two of the cushions, ripping them. They could not stop him so they pretended not to see him. He knew what they were trying to do and wanted to annoy them. He wore a chain-mail which seemed to be made of knitted hair. His kaftan was made from the cloth he used to cover his camel and which he had torn and put on himself. His belt was fastened with bark from a tree and he wore a head band which was part of his camel's rope. They said to him: "Lay down your sword." He said: "I did not come here upon your orders, so why should I lay down my sword? You invited me here and now if you do not accept me as I am, then I'll go back." They reported this to Rustam and he said: "Let him come to me; he's alone isn't he?" Rab'i went forward and as he did so he used his spear, which had a sharp point, as a kind of walking stick, taking small steps and making a hole in all the carpets as he went. There were no carpets or silk cloth which weren't torn or ruined. When he got close to Rustam the guards forced him to sit on the floor; he pushed his spear into the carpet and when they asked him why he had done this, he said: "I do not wish to sit on your adornments." Rustam asked him: "Why have you come here?" He answered: "God has created us and he has brought us here to take whomever He wants away from worshipping the servants of God to worshipping Him, from the poverty of this world to the wealth, and from the oppression of the religions to the justice of Islam. He has sent us to the people with his religion so that we can invite them to accept God's religion; whoever accepts us, we will accept him, and we will return and leave him with his country to rule it, and whoever rejects us we will fight him all the time until we attain God's promise." He asked: "What is God's promise?" Rab'i answered: "Heaven for those who get killed in the war with unbelievers and victory for those who remain." Refer to *Tarikh-e Tabari*, vol. 5, pp. 1690-92.

you'll see when one such man is nurtured by our school of thought and by our culture whether or not he will fall under the influence of imperialism. But the imperialists won't allow us to do this. The malicious hands of imperialism won't let them give us the Ministry of Culture. Otherwise, it is our right, we should see to the culture.

If you want to create an Endowment Ministry,<sup>1</sup> then we should organize it, not you. We should appoint people for it, we do not accept your appointees. You are not eligible to appoint people for it, we have to do it. Let us select the head of cultural affairs. Let us select the Endowment Minister, then you'll see what will happen: everything will be as it should be, it will not be as it is now with all these misappropriations. Then you'll see how we eliminate this poverty with these very same endowments. Submit to a few Islamic laws, give us permission to take Islamic taxes off the people, just as Islam took it off them by the sword, then you'll see if there remains one poor person (in this country). We'll build roads for you; we'll buy ships for you, just let us handle the religious endowments. But you won't allow it.

I know that this that I say now falls on deaf ears. Nothing will happen. You people will leave here and I will leave too and nothing will happen. They won't do anything about this matter. This is a pain which we all have to suffer. What should we do?

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<sup>1</sup> Khorasan newspaper reported on September 1, 1964 (Shahrivar 10, 1344 AHS): "There is talk that the Endowment Organization is to be separated completely from the organization of the Ministry of Culture. It has been known for some time now that a new ministry with the name of the Endowment Ministry is to be established." (The State Security and Intelligence Organization (SAVAK) of the Shah's regime)

### **Propaganda and the clergy**

The country's propaganda mechanisms should be controlled by us. Sir, we are the preachers, we are the ones with a message, not you. We should be given a program on the radio to convey our ideas, to propagate our message. Whatever you propagate is not Islamic propaganda, it is anti-Islamic. You have introduced Islam in such a way that an (Iranian) student in America writes to me saying that the other students over there believe that all misfortunes stem from Islam. O unfortunate students. All our miseries are caused by the heads of Islamic states, the Muslim governments. As God is my witness, Islam has not been put into practice in our country, even for one day. So what can I do now that the government has neither the time nor the energy to discuss such things? As soon as it is known that I want to say a few words, suddenly we see that a few thousand people are sent with the National Bus Company to Qum.<sup>1</sup> Do you have a quarrel with us, sir? Do you want to force a quarrel between us and the National Bus Company? Take away this knife which you hold at its throat and see how it comes out in support of us. Do you want to administer a country through force? By God, you cannot do it through force.

Reform yourself a little. Put your house in order just a little. Now, when we call for reform, the gentlemen say they have already reformed! One of their great reforms was making Friday a public holiday.<sup>2</sup> Take heed of what I say, you are duty bound to let everybody in Iran know that Friday has been made a holiday by force without the poor hungry shopkeeper wanting it. If they do not close on that day, they are fined a penalty of eighty tumans or so, and yet the centers of corruption stay open. The cinemas have to stay open, the theatres also, they say the other centers of corruption have to remain open too—I'll not mention their names but the newspapers have written about them. These places have to stay open from morning till night, while all kinds of shops, including the bazaar, have to close. Tomorrow the government will apply the law to Qum as well, and will say that Qum requested this also, just as Tehran did. Qum also wanted this misfortune. These people who "requested" this will wake up in the morning and ask "when did we request this?" The government quickly writes about this supposed request, the

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<sup>1</sup> On the day that Imam was due to deliver this speech, a few thousand commandos and soldiers were sent to Qum on buses of the National Bus Company in an attempt to intimidate him. They surrounded the Azam Mosque (where the Imam was to deliver his speech), Faydiyyah Madrasah, Astaneh Square, the courtyard of the holy mausoleum of Hadrat Masumah and other sensitive centers of the city.

<sup>2</sup> It was announced to all shops by the government that according to the law, working on Friday was prohibited.

newspapers also write about it. Some of these newspapers betray the country. These centers of corruption remain open, Friday is made a holiday and they provide all kinds of bacchanalian pursuits for the young people at the threshold of their lives. May God curse the traitors (the audience replies with "Amen"). Ten years from now there will not be one virtuous youth left for this country; all of them will have been dragged into these centers of corruption.

### **Holding religious gatherings**

I advise you gentlemen to make the country realize what is happening, make all those living in this country realize what is happening, in order to confront what they are doing with your youth and in order to stop them from taking your youth off you in droves you should hold religious meetings. On those Fridays that they want to entice the people into the centers of corruption, you should hold meetings, in which you propagate religion, invite people to religion, invite them to do good and dissuade them from that which is evil. It is our duty to do this. You have to do this, if you do not, they will take your youth away from you. Organize some centers for these young people so they can receive guidance there, so they can be told about the state of affairs, so they can be told, as much as that organization (SAVAK) allows them to be told, about the corruption which is being established in this country.

This holiday on Friday, observation of which is obligatory, is not to give the working class a day of rest,<sup>1</sup> it has been made into a holiday for the reasons I gave above. Perhaps, God willing, this is not their aim, but the outcome will still be the same. When the centers of corruption are open and everywhere else is closed, then naturally our youth will be enticed there. In these few weeks since they made Friday a holiday, the poor people, who need to go and earn some money for bread on this day and are not allowed to do so, have been made more impoverished, the youth, the fruit of the people, have been blighted. Go and see how the cinema has changed from one month ago. Perhaps there is some kind of collusion between those who propagate these things and the cinemas and centers of corruption. Perhaps they are getting something from these places to do this, otherwise, why wasn't some

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<sup>1</sup>As the Imam pointed out, the merchants were also against the obligatory holiday and this was reflected in some of the regime's local media. Khorasan newspaper wrote on September 6, 1964 (Shahrivar 15, 1343 AHS): "As was predicted, the law obliging shops to close on Friday was not implemented as expected; especially last Friday when most of the shops in Tehran were open."



healthy form of entertainment first provided for the people? A legitimate, healthy form of entertainment should have been arranged for these poor people before the shop doors were closed, to attract them towards that. But you haven't done this, you've left the corruption centers open and you've closed the shop doors. You may not have had any bad intentions, but now I've told you what the outcome of your actions will be, and if after these words of mine reach the administrative centers in charge of this matter the situation remains the same, then it will be clear that there is malice involved, that yet another "order" has been given.

O God, awaken these people (Shouts of "Amen" (so be it) from the audience). O God, humble the enemies of Islam ("Amen"). O God, make the heads of Muslim countries aware of their duties (Amen). O God, sever the hands of the imperialists ("Amen"). O God, sever the hands of those who want to appropriate the wealth of this country through imperialism ("Amen").

May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

## Permission

**Date:** September 15, 1964 [Shahrivar 24, 1343 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad Burhani

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Burhani (may his graces last) is granted my permission to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them in part on his own living sparingly, spending one-third of the surplus of the noble *Sadat*’s Share in the specified ways, and to deliver the remainder of the two blessed Shares to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries (may God Almighty protect them from evil incidents), getting the receipts in return, for the payers. He is also permitted to collect other religious payments such as *zakat* and expiations, spending them in the specified religious ways.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** September 22, 1964 [Shahrivar 31, 1343 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Commending Mr. Hijazi on his efforts and the pains he had endured

**Addressee:** Sayyid 'Abdur-Rida Hijazi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam, the venerable orator, Mr. Sayyid 'Abdur-Rida Hijazi (may his graces last):

I was most grateful to receive your very kind letter. I commend you on your considerable efforts and the hardships and limitations you have undergone and still do. May it be appreciated His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah Almighty expedite his glorious advent) and be rewarded.

About Dulab Mosque, I will take proper action, God willing, if the residents of the place would refer to me. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's constant success in promoting the sacred religion and exalting the pure word of Islam and defending its domain. I hope you will not forget me in your benevolent prayers whenever you feel God accepts them. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1384 AH

## Telegram

**Date:** October 3, 1964 [Mehr 11, 1343 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Message of condolence

**Addressee:** Murtada Muqtada'i

Mehr 11, 1343 AHS  
Isfahan

C/o His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Khadimi (may his blessings last)

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Muqtada'i (may his graces last):

After extending my most sincere condolences, I pray to God for Your Eminence's health.

Khomeini  
Qum

## Permission

**Date:** October 12, 1964 [Mehr 20, 1343 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in collecting religious payments

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Husayni Mehrizi Yazdi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Husayni Mehrizi Yazdi (may his graces last) is granted my permission to collect religious payments such as legal alms and expiations, spending them in the specified religious ways. He is also allowed to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them in part on his own living sparingly and in case there remains a surplus, paying one-half of the noble *Sadat*’s (may God increase their progeny) Share to the poor pious and chaste *Sadat*, and to deliver the rest of the two Shares to this humble servant to be expended in the sacred seminaries (may God Almighty protect them from evil incidents).

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and after world affairs, and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1384 AH

# Permission<sup>1</sup>

**Date:** October 12, 1964 [Mehr 20, 1343 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Hasan Mirza'i

## *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

Hereby it is confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Hasan Mirza'i (may his graces last) is granted my permission in financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to collect the two blessed Shares, spending them in part on his own living sparingly and, if there remains a surplus, to spend a quarter of the

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<sup>1</sup> [No.142-20, 6/18/1364 AHS:

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, the Leader of Islamic Revolution, Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini—may my soul be his ransom:

After extending my sincere regards and wishing you a good health and a long life, I have to say that Zarrin-Shahr Imam Khomeini Seminary has been revitalized for four years now and some tullab are studying here. Using the permission I have been granted by Your Eminence, a copy of which you will find enclosed, I have expended for the seminary, but regarding the increasing number of tullab which naturally calls for more teachers, and repair expenses, we need a large allowance. His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Aqa Jalal Tahir Shams Golpaygani, a member of the Directing Board of Qum Seminary, in a recent visit to this seminary was informed of the requirements here and His Eminence directed me to write this petition to Your Eminence and ask Your Eminence for some more attention.

May God endow you with a long life.

Sayed Hasan Mirza'i  
Zarrin-Shahr Friday prayers leader]

In His Most Exalted Name

You are permitted, as you have written, to spend one-half of the two blessed Shares in the mentioned way. May God make you successful

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

surplus of the blessed Imam's ('a) Share and a half of the noble *Sadat's* (may God increase their blessed progeny) Share in the specified religious ways and exalting the pure word of Islam, and to deliver the remainder of the two blessed Shares to this humble servant to be expended in the sacred seminaries (may God Almighty protect them from evil incidents). He is equally allowed to circulate the money, to postpone payment as needed, to collect, and to deliver.

“And I advise him (May God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1384 AH

## Permission

**Date:** October 12, 1964 [Mehr 20, 1343 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Murtada Muqtada'i

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

Hereby it is confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Murtada Muqtada’i (may his graces last) is granted my permission to collect the religious payments such as legal alms and expiations, spending them in the specified religious ways; also he is permitted to collect the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share, spending one-third on his own living and the similar cases, and to deliver the other two-thirds to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries (May God Almighty protect them from evil incidents).

“And I advise him (may God assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1384 AH



## Message

**Date:** October 13, 1964 [Mehr 21, 1343 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 7, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The unlawful acts of the regime's agents in Kerman and the migration of Mr. Hujjati Kermani

**Addressees:** People of the Kerman province

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

C/o The venerable orators and distinguished preachers of Kerman (may their blessings last)

The esteemed people of Kerman (may God Almighty assist them):

After extending my regards, I have to express my regret and sorrow about the offences being committed by the agents around the country. Among them were the recent incidents in Kerman which resulted in His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam, the venerable orator, Mr. Hujjati's<sup>1</sup> (may his graces last) migration. The agents, instead of punishing the wrong-doers, supported them by committing acts against the Islamic law and human conscience, and unlawfully bothered His Eminence. I have asked His Eminence to return home. I ask the worthy people to commend His Eminence for his endurance and keeping calm. Prevent the agents from perpetrating their indecent behavior. You venerable people have to make your gatherings more and more crowded, especially on Friday under the supervision of the prominent '*ulama*', the Hujjat al-Islams and the great preachers. Pay more attention to the religious customs and ceremonies. Do not be silent against oppressions and offenses and notify the oppressive regime's offences to the Iranian nation and all Muslim people in absolute sobriety. Ask God Almighty for help through the Master of the Age (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent), so that the tyrannical government cannot take any step against Islam and Quranic laws. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Jawad Hujjati Kermani.

## Letter

**Date:** October 16, 1964 [Mehr 24, 1343 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 10, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Response to religious questions

**Addressee:** Muhammad-‘Ali Nasrabadi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad-‘Ali Nasrabadi (may his graces last):

I was happy to receive your kind letter. About the first question I have to say that it cannot be permitted; and about the verbal traditions on the lawful ways of expending *khums*, these traditions refer to the properties transferred to the Shi‘ah people from those who do not believe in paying *khums*, and it is generally lawful in the cases like the above.

I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence’s success in promoting the sacred religion. I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 10, 1384 AH

# Telegram

**Date:** October 16, 1964 [Mehr 24, 1343 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 10, 1384 AH]<sup>1</sup>

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Condemning the isolation of Mr. Qummi by the Shah's regime

**Addressee:** Hadi Milani (one of the *maraji' at-taqlid*)

Mashhad

His Eminence Ayatullah Aqa Milani (may his blessings last):

After extending my sincere regards, I have to express my regret on the incident happened in the holy city of Mashhad. It seems that the agents want to arouse the people on purpose.

Isolating Ayatullah Qummi<sup>2</sup> will have no result for the ruling regime but causing disturbance among people and clergymen. I am looking forward to hear from the situation in Mashhad and Your Eminence's health.

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> According to the SAVAK report no. 2423, dated 7/25/43 AHS, Imam Khomeini has transmitted the above telegram to Mr. Milani in Mashhad on 7/24/43 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> Sayyid Hasan Qummi.

## Letter

**Date:** October 19, 1964 [Mehr 27, 1343 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Acknowledgements; acknowledging receipt of religious payments

**Addressee:** ‘Abdul-Jalil Jalili Kermanshahi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abdul-Jalil Jalili (may his graces last):

I was most happy to receive your very kind letter. Receipt of two thousand tumans sent through a Bank Melli order is hereby acknowledged. You have written about the examination program<sup>1</sup> which has been announced; do not respond any letters concerning this matter as you have not responded them so far. Even if they do what they are planning to (may God forbid) I do not think it is advisable to respond them. I ask God Almighty for the success of Your Eminence and the distinguished ‘*ulama*’ (may their blessings last) in promoting the sacred religion and exalting the pure word of Islam. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1384 AH

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<sup>1</sup> This refers to the schemes of the regime for gaining dominance over the seminaries through holding governmental examinations and sending the combatant tullah to military service, which were aborted through Imam Khomeini’s struggle and wise handling of the situation.

## Letter

**Date:** October 20, 1964 [Mehr 28, 1343AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** The need for the clergymen's unity in warding off dangers

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad-Husayn Musawi

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-Husayn Musawi (may his graces last):

I was most grateful to receive Your Eminence's kind letter. I would like to commend the distinguished '*ulama*' for their considerable efforts in holding the sessions on Saturday evenings and gathering on Fridays;<sup>1</sup> may it be appreciated by His Eminence Master of the Age (may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent) and be rewarded.

It is needless to say that now, while the enemies of Islam are trying to tarnish Islam and its holy laws, it is the duty of the distinguished '*ulama*' and propagators of the sacred religion (may their graces last) to strengthen their unity and to prevent the possible dangers through total solidarity.

It is also the duty of the Muslim people and the faithful in different cities to follow the orders of the distinguished '*ulama*' (may their graces last) and to consolidate their social gatherings, attending the mosques and religious meetings in order and calm, without provoking the enemies, and to implore God Almighty to help us.

I ask God Almighty for the success of all the gentlemen and for the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims. I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1384 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Muhammad-Husayn Musawi has explained the letter above in a letter dated Shaban 1, 1415 AH: "In 1342 SH Imam Khomeini ordered me to bring the '*ulama*' of the provinces together for presenting them with the current issues and to prevent disunity and discord among them, which was to the advantage of the Shah's regime. This was done and the weekly reports were presented to His Eminence."

## Message

**Date:** October 26, 1964 [Aban 4, 1343 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 20, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Protesting the Capitulation and inviting the people and 'ulama' to uprising

**Addressees:** The 'ulama', clergymen and other classes of the Muslim nation of Iran

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

*"Allah will not give the disbelievers any way (of success) against the believers."<sup>1</sup>*

Does the Iranian nation know what was going on in the Majlis these days? Do you know what crime was committed secretly without letting the nation know? Do you know that the Majlis signed the document of slavery of the nation, proposed by the government, which proves that Iran is a colony? They have presented the document of barbarism of the Iranian Muslim nation to America. They crossed out all our Islamic and national pride. This act cancelled out all the pride and boastings of the nation's leaders. It disgraced Iran and made it one of the most underdeveloped countries. It was an insult to the esteemed army of Iran and the commanders and officers. It was a disgrace for Iranian courts of law. Why did they ratify the shameless Bill of the previous government, proposed by the present government, without letting the nation know, after a few hours of secret discussion? Why did they sell the Iranian nation into slavery to the Americans? Now the American military and non-military advisers, their families and their servants are free to commit any crime and the Iranian police do not have the right to arrest them. The Iranian courts are not qualified to judge over them; Why? Because America is the country of dollars and Iran needs those dollars!

According to this shameful enactment, if an American adviser or the servant of an American adviser insults or offends against one of the *maraji' at-taqlid* of Iran, one of the esteemed people, one of the high-ranking officers, the police are not allowed to arrest him; the courts are not allowed to judge him. But if their dogs are offended, the police have to interfere and the court should investigate!

At a time when the colonial governments are courageously freeing themselves from the shackles of colonialism and reject slavery, the modernist

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<sup>1</sup> Surah an-Nisa' 4:141.

parliament of Iran, which boasts of a 2,500-years-old civilized history, and of ranking among the developed countries, has ratified the most disgraceful and insulting bill of the defamed government and introduces the noble nation of Iran as the most inferior and underdeveloped nation of the world. The government proposes and defends a wrongful enactment and the Majlis votes for it. It has been reported by some informed sources that this scandalous bill has been proposed to the governments of Pakistan, Indonesia, Turkey, and West Germany, but none of them has accepted the servitude. It is only the Iranian government, which makes a plaything of our national and Islamic honor and dissipates them.

When the *'ulama'* and clergymen say that military power should not interfere in the country's affairs, that the MPs should be elected by the people, that the governments should be independent, that the press should not be censored and the organizations should not control them, and that the nation should not be deprived of its freedom, it is all to prevent the imposition of these disgraces to the nation and these disasters from happening. Why do not the MPs utter even a word of protest, although they are utterly against such a contract of servitude and except for two or three of them who have apparently spoken anxiously, others remained quiet? That is because they do not have public support. They are mere instruments of others. They are not able to protest. They may all be expelled in a moment, or imprisoned.

Is the Iranian nation informed that the army officers have sworn oaths of the allegiance on "the Holy Book I believe in" instead of the Holy Quran? This is the danger I have repeatedly notified, the danger, which is lurking the Holy Quran, the beloved Islam, the Islamic country and the independence of the country.

I do not know why the tyrannical regime is trying to eliminate the name of the Quran. What harm has it done to them? If you seek refuge in the Quran and Islam, the foreigners will never dare to make you sign a contract of servitude. It will prevent your Islamic and national pride from being trampled. The gap between the ruling regime and the nation, and the lack of support by the people would naturally result in these disasters.

Now I announce that this disgraceful law of the Houses of the Parliament is against Islam and the Quran and so it is void, it is against the opinion of the Muslim nation. The MPs are not representatives of the nation; they are the representatives of the bayonet power! Their votes are worthless in the eyes of the nation, Islam and the Quran; and if the foreigners try to misuse this vile decree, the nation will know their duty then.

The whole world should know that all of the problems of the Iranian nation and other nations are caused by the foreigners; by America. The Muslim nations hate the foreigners in general and America in particular. The misery of Muslim governments is caused by the foreign interference in their affairs. It is the foreigners who plunder our precious subterranean resources. It is Britain who has taken our black gold away for years and is taking it away now. It is the foreigners who have invaded our beloved country, attacked it from three sides, and killed our soldiers. The Muslim countries were seized by Britain and its agents before, and now they are seized by America and its admirers. It is America, which emboldens Israel to render homeless the Muslim Arabs. It is America, which imposes the MPs, either directly or indirectly, to the nation of Iran. It is America who finds Islam and the Holy Quran harmful to its interests and so, tries to eliminate them. It is America that finds the clergymen a hindrance to imperialism and intends to kill them through imprisonment, torture and defamation. It is America who pressurizes the Iranian Parliament and government to ratify and enforce this scandalous enactment that tramples all our Islamic and national pride. It is America who deals with the Muslim nation like barbarians and even worse.

It is the duty of the Iranian nation to break these chains apart. It is the duty of the Iranian army not to allow such scandalous acts to be done in Iran. They have to ask their seniors to tear this document of imperialism; to overthrow this government; to expel the MPs who voted for the disgracing bill. It is the nation's duty to ask their '*ulama*' not to be silent about this affair. It is the distinguished '*ulama*'s duty to ask the authorities of Islam not to neglect this matter. It is the duty of the scholars and the teachers of the seminaries to ask the distinguished '*ulama*' to break their silence. It is the duty of the religious students to ask their teachers not to be negligent of these matters. It is the duty of the Muslim nation to ask the preachers and orators to inform those who are not aware of this great disaster. It is the duty of the orators and preachers to sternly protest against this disgracing issue, without any fear, and to awaken the nation. It is the duty of the university teachers to inform the youth of what is going on behind the curtains of secrecy. It is the duty of the young university-goers to severely oppose this scandalous bill; to announce the opposition of the university to the whole world while being calm and using enlightening slogans. It is the duty of students abroad not to be silent concerning this crucial matter, which has endangered the glory of the religion and nation. It is the duty of Muslim government leaders to convey our voices to the whole world and to notify the world of the request of this miserable nation. It is the duty of the '*ulama*' and preachers of the



Muslim countries to cleanse this stain from the faces of their Muslim brothers, the noble nation of Iran, by their overwhelming protest. It is the duty of all classes of the nation to set aside their minor temporary differences and all unify their efforts to attain the sacred goals of independence and breaking free from servitude. It is the duty of the noble men of politics to inform us of the words uttered secretly in the Majlis. It is the duty of political parties to collaborate on this joint effort.

The grand *maraji'* and clergy all have the same goal, which is supporting the sacred religion of Islam, the Holy Quran and backing the Muslims. There is no difference between the distinguished '*ulama*' and the protectors of Islam, concerning this sacred goal. There may be minor differences, regarding some of Islamic decrees and theoretical points, but it does not hinder their unity of opinion over the essentials. The governmental organizations are badly mistaken if they think they can make us deviate from our sacred goal by poisoning our opinions against each other, through some fanatical idiots, to fulfill their evil ends. As a servant of the distinguished '*ulama*' and the Muslim nation, I am prepared to show humility and curtsy before a person of the lowest social rank, let alone before the distinguished '*ulama*' and the grand *maraji'* (may God increase their like). The radical youth and the inexperienced *tullab* have to control their tongues and pens and keep away from whatever causes disturbance and disparity for the sake of Islam and the sacred goal of the Quran. The distinguished '*ulama*' are thinking of a general reform to end all confusions and disorders, if the governments give us a chance to think; if the problems caused by the ruling regime and our worries leave us an opportunity for an internal reform and refinement. This kind of issues is what deters us from refining the seminaries and a comprehensive reform that is our ultimate goal. Sensing the dangers lurking over Islam and the Quran leaves the nation no chance to think of other affairs. The importance of these issues is so much that they have overshadowed our particular occupations and duties.

Does the Muslim nation know that a number of the '*ulama*', preachers and *tullab* and many of the innocent Muslims are in prisons now, and have been imprisoned against the law, without being tried; and that there is no legal authority to end this chaotic medieval situation? These are the sequels to the massacre of Khordad 15, Muharram 12, whose scar will never be removed from the heart of the nation. Instead of finding solutions for the economy of Iran, preventing the esteemed merchants' bankruptcy, the sustenance of the poor, housing the homeless in winter and employing the graduated youth and other people, the ruling regime commits destructive acts

such as what is mentioned above and other acts; for example employing female teachers in the high schools for boys and male teachers in the high schools for girls, whose evil consequences are apparent to all; and insisting on the employment of women in the public sector whose evil consequences and its futility is clear. The economy of Iran is controlled by America and Israel today. The market of Iran is no longer in the hands of Iranians and Muslims; bankruptcy and poverty have cast their shadows on the merchants and farmers. These gentlemen's reforms have created a black market for America and Israel, and there is nobody to save this poor nation.

I am worried about the winter this year. I can foresee the severe hunger or even (may God forbid) starvation of many of the poor and miserable people. The nation has to take care of the poor themselves. It is necessary to provide for their needs before the winter arrives so that the disasters of the last year are not repeated. The distinguished '*ulama*' in the different cities have to invite the people to this urgent task.

I ask God Almighty for the glory of Islam and the Muslims and the release of the Islamic governments from the evil of the foreigners (may God Almighty make them wretched). May peace be upon those who follow the guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Speech

**Date:** October 26, 1964 [Aban 4, 1343 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 20, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Uprising against the approval of the Capitulation Bill and announcement of public mourning

**Audience:** Clerics, seminary students, merchants of the bazaar, university students, and people of Qum and other towns

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

*“Verily, to Allah we belong and to Him we shall return.”*

#### **They turned the Iranian festival into mourning**

I cannot express the sorrow I feel in my heart. My heart is heavy. Since the day I heard of the latest developments affecting Iran,<sup>1</sup> I have barely slept. I am profoundly disturbed. With sorrowful heart, I count the days until death shall come and deliver me (the audience weeps). Iran no longer has a festival to celebrate; they have turned our festival into mourning.<sup>2</sup> They have turned it into mourning and have lit up the city; they have turned it into mourning and are dancing together with joy. They have sold us, they have sold our independence, and still they light up the city and dance. If I were in their<sup>3</sup> place, I would forbid all these lights; I would tell the people to raise black flags over the bazaars and houses, to hang black awnings. Our honor has

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<sup>1</sup>It refers to the Capitulation Bill approved by the Shah's Parliament on October 13, 1964 [Mehr 21, 1343 AHS]. Capitulation is the name of all agreements that give the consular judicial rights or the extraterritorial judicial rights of a country within that country to a foreign government. According to this agreement, the citizens of the foreign country have legal immunity from the criminal and civil laws of the host country and the special courts of their sovereign government in the host country hold the right to judge their lawsuits and trials when they stand accused. According to the Capitulation Law and the Vienna Convention, these political and judicial immunities not only cover the American political agents, diplomats, military advisers and personnel, but their families and relatives also.

<sup>2</sup>The regime made sure that the news of the approval of the disgraceful Capitulation Bill was not divulged. On the day which coincided with the anniversary of the birth of Hadrat Fatimah ('a) and which under normal circumstances would have been an occasion for rejoicing, with the announcement that “our day of festivity has been turned into a day of mourning,” The Imam unveiled the shameful act of the regime.

<sup>3</sup>The Shah and the government of Hasan-'Ali Mansur.

been trampled underfoot; the dignity of Iran has been destroyed. The dignity of the Iranian army has been trampled underfoot!

### **Description of the Capitulation Bill**

They have taken a law to the Parliament according to which first of all we are to accede to the Vienna Convention,<sup>1</sup> and secondly we have to add a provision that all American military advisers, together with their families, technical and administrative officials, and servants—in short, anyone in any way connected to them—are to enjoy legal immunity with respect to any crime they may commit in Iran! If some American's servant, some American's cook, assassinates your *marja at-taqlid* in the middle of the bazaar, or runs over him, the Iranian police do not have the right to apprehend him! Iranian courts do not have the right to judge him! The dossier must be sent to America so that our masters there can decide what is to be done!

The previous government<sup>2</sup> approved this measure without telling anyone, and now the present government just recently introduced a bill in the Senate and settled the whole matter in a single session without breathing a word to anyone.

A few days ago, the bill was taken to the lower house of the Parliament and there were discussions, with a few deputies voicing their opposition, but the bill was passed anyhow. They passed it without any shame, and the government shamelessly defended this scandalous measure. They have reduced the Iranian people to a level lower than that of an American dog. If someone runs over a dog belonging to an American, he will be prosecuted. Even if the Shah himself were to run over a dog belonging to an American, he would be prosecuted. But if an American cook runs over the Shah, or the *marja* of Iran, or the highest official, no one will have the right to object. Why? Because they wanted a loan from America and America demanded this

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<sup>1</sup> After the Second World War, the United Nations set its International Law Commission the task of preparing and codifying a general and international agreement on the political relations between the countries of the world. After years of discussion and study, the draft of this Commission, including one introduction, fifty-three articles and two protocols (on how the agreement was to be implemented) was approved by the General Assembly, at the Vienna Conference, and was designated the Vienna Convention. From March 5, 1965 its stipulations became compulsory in Iran. The shortcomings of the Vienna Convention were corrected in 1967, with the general plan being preserved, and it was proposed by the UN in seventy-nine articles and was approved by the members. Two articles of the seventy-nine, Articles 32 and 37 were those to which Imam Khomeini objected.

<sup>2</sup> The government of Amir Asadullah 'Alam.

in return! This is apparently the case. A few days after this measure was approved, they requested a \$200 million loan from America and America agreed to the request. It was stipulated that the sum of \$200 million would be paid to the Iranian government over a period of five years, and that \$300 million would be paid back to America over a period of ten years. Do you realize what this means? In return for this loan, America is to receive \$100 million—or 800 million tumans—in interest! But in addition to this, Iran has sold itself to obtain these dollars! The government has sold our independence, reduced us to the level of a colony, and made the Muslim nation of Iran appear lowlier than savages in the eyes of the world! They have done this for the sake of a \$200 million dollar loan for which they have to pay back \$300 dollars! What are we to do in the face of this disaster? What are our clergymen to do? Where shall they turn to for help? To what country should they present their appeal?

Other countries imagine that it is the Iranian nation that has abased itself in this way. They do not know that it is the Iranian government, the Iranian Parliament—this Parliament which has nothing to do with the Iranian people. This is a Parliament elected at bayonet point; what does such a Parliament has to do with the people? The Iranian nation did not elect these deputies. Many of the high-ranking ‘*ulama*’ and ‘*maraji*’ ordered a boycott of the elections, and the people obeyed them and did not vote.<sup>1</sup> But then came the power of the bayonet, and these deputies were seated in the Parliament.

### **The conspiracy to curtail the clergy’s influence**

According to a history textbook printed this year and now taught to our schoolchildren, one containing all kinds of lies and inaccurate statements: “It has now become clear that it is to the benefit of the nation for the influence of the religious leaders to be rooted out.” They have come to understand well that: If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit this nation to be slaves of Britain one day, and America the next. If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit Israel to take over the Iranian economy; they will not permit Israeli goods to be sold in Iran—in fact, to be sold duty-free! If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit the government to impose arbitrarily such a heavy loan on the Iranian nation. If

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<sup>1</sup>The high-ranking ‘*ulama*’ and the clergy called for a boycott of the twenty-first round of parliamentary elections in September 1963 [Shahrivar 1342 AHS] and the people, without delay, started a general strike and did not participate in the referendum. For example, of the 300,000 people eligible to vote in Tabriz, the Member of Parliament with the highest vote in this city won only 2,283 votes.

the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit such misuse to be made of the public treasury. If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit any government to do whatever it wants, whatever is against the interests of the nation. If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit the Parliament to come to such a miserable state as this; they will not permit the Parliament to be formed at bayonet-point, with the ignominious results that we see. If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit girls and boys to wrestle together, as recently happened in Shiraz.<sup>1</sup> If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit people's innocent daughters to be under the tutelage of young men at school; they will not permit women to teach at boys' schools and men to teach at girls' schools, with the resulting corruption. If the religious leaders have influence, they will strike this government in the mouth; they will strike this Parliament in the mouth and chase these deputies out of both its houses! If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit a handful of individuals to be imposed on the nation as deputies and determine the destiny of the country. If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit some agent of America<sup>2</sup> to carry out these scandalous deeds; they will throw him out of Iran. So, the influence of the religious leaders is harmful to the nation? No, it is harmful to you, harmful to you traitors, not to the nation! You have realized that as long as the influence of the religious leaders exists you cannot do everything you want to do, commit all the crimes you want, so you wish to destroy their influence. You thought you could cause dissension among the religious leaders with your intrigues, but you will be dead before your dream can come true. You will never be able to do it. The religious leaders are united! Once again I esteem all religious leaders; I kiss the hand of all the religious leaders. If, in the past, I kissed the hands of the *maraji'*, today I kiss the hands of the religious students. I kiss the hands of the simple grocer (the audience weeps intensely).

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<sup>1</sup> The meaning here is the corruption which was created by allowing the establishment of mixed schools. The Shah, in his book *Mission for My Country*, said that in the fields of teaching and education he wanted to implement the Western method. He wrote: "In my country, the existence of women teachers for educating girls is not obligatory. In most schools and universities the classes are mixed and the lessons are given by both male and female teachers and lecturers without discrimination and sexual preference, the only concern being their expertise. I would also like to test the method which is customary in America (i.e. girls and boys marry while studying at the university) in establishing mixed universities where young girls and boys are educated together for the job of teaching."

<sup>2</sup> The Shah.

### **Warning of danger!**

Gentlemen, I warn you of danger! Iranian army, I warn you of danger! Iranian politicians, I warn you of danger! Iranian merchants, I warn you of danger! 'Ulama' of Iran, *maraji'* of Islam, I warn you of danger! Scholars, religious students! Centers of religious learning, Najaf, Qum, Mashhad, Tehran, Shiraz! I warn you of danger! It is a dangerous situation. It is clear that there are things kept under cover that we know nothing about. In the Parliament they have said that they have to be kept secret!<sup>1</sup> It is evident that they are dreaming up further plans for us. What else can they do that is worse than this? What are they planning? What will this loan inflict on this nation? Should this impoverished nation now pay \$100 million in interest to America over the next ten years and at the same time should you sell us for this?

### **The country under the American occupation**

What use to you are the American soldiers and military advisers? If this country is occupied by America, then what is all this noise you make about progress? If these advisers are to be your servants, then why do you treat them like something superior to masters, superior to a Shah? If they are servants, why not treat them as such? If they are your employees, then why not treat them as any other government treats its employees? If our country is now occupied by the US then tell us outright and throw us out of this country! What do they intend to do? What does this government have to say to us? What has this Parliament done to us? This illegal, unlawful Parliament; this Parliament that the *maraji' at-taqlid* have declared illegitimate with their edicts and decrees; this Parliament which not one of its representatives has been chosen by the people; this Parliament which makes such empty claims about independence and revolution saying: "We have undergone a White Revolution!" Where is this 'White Revolution'? They have made these people suffer! God knows that I am aware of what is happening (and my awareness causes me pain), I know what is happening in the remote villages and provincial towns, in this our own impoverished city of Qum (the audience weeps). I am aware of the hunger of our people and the depressed state of our agrarian economy.

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<sup>1</sup> Nasir Behbudi, in a meeting of the National Assembly on October 13, 1964 [Mehr 21, 1343 AHS] said of the Capitulation Bill: "Please agree to discuss this matter in the uncomplicated and private atmosphere of the commission. Do not let more than this be revealed in the Parliament." Parliamentary Proceedings, 21st session, meeting 104.

### **Silence as a grave sin**

Do something for this country, for this nation, instead of piling up debts and enslaving yourself. Of course, taking the dollars means that someone has to become a slave; you want to use the dollars and we have to become the slaves! If an American runs over me with his car, no one will have the right to say anything to him! So you use the dollars; this is the issue. Should I not be saying this? Those gentlemen<sup>1</sup> who say we must hold our tongues and not utter a sound—do they still say the same thing on this occasion? Are we to keep silent again and not say a word? They sell us and still we are to keep silent? They sell our Quran and still we should hold our tongues? By God, he who does not cry out in protest is a sinner! By God, he who does not express his outrage commits a major sin!

### **Come to the aid of Islam!**

Leaders of Islam, come to the aid of Islam (the audience weeps)! 'Ulama' of Najaf, come to the aid of Islam! 'Ulama' of Qum, come to the aid of Islam! Islam is destroyed! O Muslim peoples! Leaders of the Muslim peoples! O presidents and kings of the Muslim peoples! O Shah of Iran! Look at yourselves; look at us. Are we to be trampled underfoot by the boots of the Americans simply because we are a weak nation? Because we have no dollars? America is worse than Britain, Britain is worse than America and the Soviet Union is worse than both of them. Each one is worse than the other; each one is more abominable than the other. But today we are concerned with this malicious entity which is America. Let the American President know that in the eyes of the Iranian nation, he is the most repulsive member of the human race today because of the injustice he has imposed on our Muslim nation. Today, the Quran has become his enemy; the Iranian nation has become his enemy. Let the American government know that its name has been ruined and disgraced in Iran.

### **Immunities for the American advisers**

You get immunities for the advisers? Those helpless deputies in the Parliament who shouted out "ask our friends (the Americans) not to make such impositions on us,"<sup>2</sup> not to insist that we sell ourselves, not to turn Iran

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<sup>1</sup> Referring to those maraji' who believed in keeping silent.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Sartipur, in a speech given at a parliamentary meeting on October 13, 1964 [Mehr 21, 1343 AHS] in which the Capitulation Bill was discussed, said: "He—Mr. Mansur, the Prime Minister—has the opportunity to discuss this and ask our friends to keep us in a favorable position. One of the conditions of our friendship is that our friends should respect our loyalties to that which we regard as sacred." Parliamentary Proceedings, 21st session, meeting 104.



into a colony,” did anyone listen to them? There is one article in the Vienna Convention they did not discuss at all—Article 32.<sup>1</sup> I don’t know what article that is; in fact, the speaker of the Parliament himself doesn’t know. The deputies also don’t know what that article is; nonetheless, they went ahead and approved and signed the bill. They passed it, even though some people said, “We don’t know what is in Article 32.” Perhaps those who objected did not sign the bill. They are not quite so bad as the others. Those who did sign are a group of illiterates.

One after the other, our statesmen and leading politicians have been set aside. Our patriotic statesmen are given nothing to do. The army should know that it will also be treated the same way: its leaders will be set aside, one by one. What self-respect will remain for the army when an American errand boy or cook has priority over one of our generals? If I were in the army, I would resign. If I were a deputy in the Parliament, I would resign. I would not agree to be disgraced.

The influence of the Iranians should be rooted out! American cooks, mechanics, technical and administrative officials, together with their families, should enjoy legal immunity, but Mr. Qadi<sup>2</sup> should be imprisoned! Mr. Islami should be taken in shackles from this place to that! These servants of Islam, the *‘ulama’* and preachers of Islam should be imprisoned. The supporters of Islam should be imprisoned in Bandar ‘Abbas<sup>3</sup> because they are religious leaders or the supporters of the religious leaders. These are the ones

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<sup>1</sup> It was pointed out earlier that one of the seventy-nine articles of the Vienna Convention, Article 37, stipulates that the diplomats of each country are granted certain immunities in other countries, and sometimes this implies legal immunity. If a diplomat, who enjoys this immunity, commits a crime in the host country, he is exempt from legal prosecution and punishment and his case will be handed over to the courts in his own sovereign state for them to deal with. However, in the first paragraph of Article 32 of the said convention, permission has been given to the sending state to waive the immunity from jurisdiction of diplomatic agents and of persons enjoying immunity under Article 37. The omission of Article 32 prepared the grounds for Iran’s unconditional surrender.

<sup>2</sup> Ayatullah Qadi Tabataba’i was one of the famous *‘ulama’* and preachers of the province of Azerbaijan and the city of Tabriz, and was the leader of the Islamic movement in that district. This clergyman, along with many others who were arrested and imprisoned both before Imam’s arrest and after it in the bloody uprising of Khordad 15, 1342 [June 5, 1963], was in prison at the time of this historic speech. Throughout the course of the Islamic movement and his short life after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatullah Qadi was in the front line of the Revolution. He was martyred by the Mujahidin-e Khalq (the Munafiqin) on ‘Id al-Qurban [Feast of Sacrifice], November 1, 1979 [Aban 10, 1358 AHS].

<sup>3</sup> Bandar ‘Abbas: a port on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf to which opponents of the regime were frequently banished because of its remoteness from all urban centers as well as its inhospitable climate.

who gave the history of Iran to the people! The government clearly documents its crimes by putting out a history textbook that says: “It is to the benefit of the nation to root out the influence of the religious leaders.” This means that it is for the benefit of the nation that the Messenger of God should play no role in its affairs. For the religious leaders of themselves have nothing; whatever they have, they have from the Messenger of God. So the government wants the Messenger of God to play no role in our affairs, so that Israel can do whatever it likes and America likewise.

### **All our troubles are caused by America**

All our troubles today are caused by this America. All our troubles today are caused by this Israel. Israel itself derives from America. These deputies and ministers derive from America. They have all been appointed by America. If they were not, then why don't they stand up and protest?

### **A cleric vis-à-vis the Russian ultimatum**

I am now thoroughly agitated, and my memory is not working so well. I cannot remember precisely when, but in one of the earlier parliaments, where Sayyid Hasan Mudarris was a deputy, the government of Russia gave Iran an ultimatum—I can't remember its exact content—to the effect that: “Unless you accept our demand, we will advance on Tehran by way of Qazvin and occupy it!” The government of the day put pressure on the Parliament to accept the Russian demand. According to an American historian,<sup>1</sup> a religious leader with trembling hands came up to the tribune and said: “Now that we are to be destroyed, why should we sign the warrant for our own

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<sup>1</sup>The American historian Morgan Shuster, in his book, *The Strangling of Persia*, writes: “A venerable priest of Islam arose. Time was slipping away and at noon the question would be beyond their vote to decide. This servant of God spoke briefly and to the point: ‘It may be the will of Allah that our liberty and our sovereignty shall be taken from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands!’ One gesture of appeal with his trembling hands, and he resumed his seat.

“Simple words, these, yet winged ones. Easy to utter in academic discussions; hard, bitterly hard, to say under the eye of a cruel and overpowering tyrant whose emissaries watched the speaker from the galleries and mentally marked him down for future imprisonment, torture, exile or worse...

“And when the roll call was ended every man, priest or layman, youth or octogenarian, had cast his own die of fate, had staked the safety of himself and family, and hurled back into the teeth of the great Bear from the North the unanimous answer of a desperate and down-trodden people who preferred a future of unknown terror to the voluntary sacrifice of their national dignity and of their recently earned right to work out their own salvation.” *The Strangling of Persia*, p. 182.

destruction?" The Parliament took courage from his act of opposition, rejected the ultimatum, and Russia was unable to do anything! This is the conduct of a true cleric; one feeble, aged cleric in the Parliament, a mere heap of bones, rejected the ultimatum and demand of a powerful state like Russia.<sup>1</sup> This is why they realize that they should destroy the influence of the clergy in order to attain their aims and desires!

### **The need to inform the people**

What should I say? There is so much to be said, there are so many instances of corruption in this country that I am unable in my state at the moment to present to you even what I know. It is your duty, however, to communicate these matters to your colleagues. It is your duty to inform the people; the '*ulama*' must enlighten the people, and they in turn must raise their voices in protest to the Parliament and the government and ask, "Why did you do this? Why have you sold us? Are we your slaves that you sell us? We did not elect you to be our representatives, and even had we done so, you would forfeit your posts now on account of this act of treachery." This is high treason!

### **Dismissal of the Members of Parliament**

O God, they have committed treason against this country. O God, this government has committed treason against this country, against Islam, against the Quran. All the members of both houses who gave their agreement to this affair are traitors. Those old men in the Senate are traitors, and all those in the lower house who voted in favor of this affair are traitors. They are not our representatives. The whole world must know that they are not the representatives of Iran! Or, suppose they are, now I dismiss them. They are dismissed from their posts.

### **Illegality of the parliamentary bills**

All the bills they have passed up until now are invalid! From the very beginning of the constitutional period in Iran according to the text of the law,

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<sup>1</sup>On November 29, 1911, the Russian empire, which exerted great influence in Iran, sent troops into Iranian territory and delivered an ultimatum to the Iranian government which was supported by Britain. The ultimatum called for the dismissal of the American advisory group led by Morgan Shuster; a guarantee that no foreign adviser would be hired in future without the consent of Russia and Britain; and payment of an indemnity to the Russian troops in Iran. The ultimatum was discussed in a meeting of the Second National Assembly on December 1, 1911 and was met with strong opposition from Ayatullah Mudarris and other members of Parliament.

according to Article 2 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law, no law is valid unless the *mujtahids* (Islamic jurists) exercise a supervisory role in the Parliament. Which *mujtahid* is supervising the Parliament now? They have to destroy the influence of the clergymen! If there were five clerics in this Parliament, if there were only one clergyman in this Parliament, he would punch them in the mouth! He would not allow this bill to be enacted.

As for those deputies who apparently opposed this affair, I have this to say to them: “Why did you not do something? Why did you not stand up and seize that despicable man<sup>1</sup> by the collar?” Is this how you show your opposition; you simply sit there and say: “We are not in agreement,” and then continue your flattery as usual?

Is this opposition?<sup>2</sup> You must create an uproar, right there in the Parliament. You must not allow them to pass this bill when you are opposed

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<sup>1</sup> Hasan-‘Ali Mansur.

<sup>2</sup> Details of the parliamentary proceedings of October 13, 1964 [Mehr 21, 1343 AHS] which resulted in the Capitulation Bill being approved show how the Pahlavi regime had for years allowed the Americans to exploit the Constitution, the sanctities and the Islamic and national affairs of the country in order to satisfy their avaricious desires. The manner in which the Capitulation Bill was presented to the Parliament went against normal legal procedures and the charter of the Parliament. The contents of the bill grossly contradicted the numerous articles of the (former) constitutional law. This bill was nothing other than a bill of sale of the judicial and hence the political independence of the country. Apart from those who approved the bill in the parliamentary discussions, who with closed lips or shouts of ‘bravo’ voted in favor of the bill, the method of opposition of a few representatives—even then this opposition was not to the bill itself rather to how it was presented to the Parliament—was the cause of great surprise and regret and served as another example of the injustice suffered by the Iranian nation throughout the fifty years of Pahlavi rule. On this day, October 13, 1964 [Mehr 21, 1343 AHS], Mr. Sartipur, as an opponent of the bill, said that the aforesaid bill conflicted with three articles of the Constitution. At the end of his speech he said: “I would like Mr. Mansur, who really wishes to adhere to the law and respect the Constitution, to find the opportunity to discuss this matter with our friends (meaning the American government) and ask them to keep us in a favourable position.”

Mr. Sadiq Ahmadi, another opponent of the bill, after some initial adulatory remarks said: “I still cannot say whether I am for or against because my investigations are incomplete.” The third opponent, Mr. Fakhr Tabataba’i, said: “The respectful advisers who have been given technical jobs are necessary for our country, we want to make use of these advisers and we employ these respectful advisers, they are our employees. I want to see whether it is wise to give them such immunities; this most certainly does not have an international aspect... Mr. Mansur’s government does not think of anything but the good of the country and whatever service the government gives or whatever positive steps it takes, I approve of.”

Mr. Nasir Behbudi said: “My request is this that you agree to discuss this bill in the uncomplicated and private atmosphere of the commission. Do not let more than this be revealed in the Parliament.”

The most comprehensive speech in opposition to the bill was from Mr. Zahtabfard. Announcing that he was at one with Mr. Mansur and was not ready to oppose the matter, he presented some of the facts, intertwining them with flattering remarks and allusions. He said: “Mr. Mansur, everyone has the right to ask yesterday’s Dr. Musaddiq and today’s Mr. Mansur what is the reason for granting such privileges to the American technical advisers. I am speaking logically, and I am not afraid of anybody because I rely only on God, the king, the nation and the Constitution.” Mr. Zahtabfard ended his speech with this conclusion: “We must give this assurance to the public, who are our family, that if, God forbid, the Parliament takes steps towards approving this bill, it also acts for the benefit of this great nation of Iran.” See Parliamentary Proceedings, 21st session, meeting 104, pp. 16-64.

to it. Is it enough to say simply I am opposed? Well, we see that when you do they pass it anyway! You must not permit there to be such a Parliament. Kick these people out of the Parliament.

We do not recognize this bill they have passed—as they claimed—as a law. We do not recognize this Parliament as a true Parliament. We do not recognize this government as a true government. They are traitors, traitors to the people of Iran!

O God, remedy the affairs of the Muslims (the audience replies with “Amen”). O God, bestow majesty on this sacred religion of Islam! (“Amen”) O God, destroy those individuals who are traitors to this land, who are traitors to Islam and to the Quran. (“Amen”)

## Permission

**Date:** October 27, 1964 [Aban 5, 1343 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Permission in collecting religious payments

**Addressee:** 'Iwad Talibzadeh

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

Hereby it is confirmed that His Eminence Maladh al-Anam wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Shaykh 'Iwad Talibzadeh (may his successes last) is granted my permission to collect religious payments such as legal alms and expiations, spending them in the specified religious ways; also he is allowed to collect the blessed Imam’s (‘a) Share spending it in part on his own living sparingly, and to deliver the surplus to this humble servant to be expended in the holy seminaries, in return of the receipts for the payers.

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to avoid carnal desires, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1384 AH

## Letter

**Date:** November 1, 1964 [Aban 10, 1343 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 26, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Qum

**Subject:** Refraining from granting permission for financial affairs

**Addressee:** Yusuf Siddiq

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence ‘Imad-al-Alam wa Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Shaykh Yusuf Siddiq (may his graces last):

I was happy to receive your letter. The issuance of permission in financial affairs needs the obtaining of some qualifications, and if the qualifications are met, the permission will be issued. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence’s success in promoting the sacred religion, and I hope for your benevolent prayers. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jumadi ath-Thani 26, 1384 AH

## Telegram

**Date:** November 4, 1964 [Aban 13, 1343 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 29, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Ankara, Turkey

**Subject:** Assuring the family of being fine

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Qum, Iran

Dear son, Aqa Mustafa Khomeini,

I safely arrived in Ankara, Turkey. Do not be worried. I am fine and comfortable.

Khomeini



## Letter

**Date:** November 4, 1964 [Aban 13, 1343 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 29, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Ankara, Turkey

**Subject:** Advising the relatives to be patient

**Occasion:** Imam Khomeini's arrival in Ankara after being exiled from Iran

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

My dear son, Aqa Mustafa Khomeini (may God Almighty assist him and fulfill his wishes),

Thanks to God Almighty; I safely arrived in Ankara, Turkey, on Wednesday before noon. The weather here is nicer than in Qum. Do not worry about me. I am fine and there is nothing to worry about. May the Lord predestine the best for us. After extending my regards to all of the relatives and members of the family, I have to advise you all to be elegantly patient and not to wail and cry at all. Whatever God Almighty has predestined will happen. My son, if you want God Almighty and me to be pleased with you, be absolutely kind and respectful toward your mother, sisters, brother, and all relatives. They all need your gentility. Please behave kindly toward everybody. The family was allowed to see me off when leaving, and to join me here, but although I am very eager to see you all, I prefer you not to come; because you will not have a good time away from home. I will be accommodated soon, God willing. Please have someone deliver the following to me. Someone is to take them from you and deliver them to me. Here I write the things I can remember now; if you find anything forgotten here, please send it, too: The books of *Mafatih*, *Sahifah as-Sajjadiyyah*, *Makasib* and *Hawashi*; clothing such as *'aba* (a kind of cloak), shirts, etc. *muh*r and *janamaz* (a praying spread with a smooth piece of clay in it, used for praying); the rings are here with me. Please send a towel, too. The money for this month is with Mr. ..., please take it and pay the rent. Also take some to pay the remainder of coal money.

## Letter

**Date:** November 10, 1964 [Aban 19, 1343 AHS / Rajab 5, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Ankara, Turkey

**Subject:** Recommending the family

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Rajab 5, 1384 AH

Dear son,

I arrived in Ankara on the same day I left Qum, before noon, and I am fine, thanks to God. Do not worry at all. Surely, God Almighty has predestined the best. May He endow us all with a chance to do our duties. About your mother, sisters, brother, and relatives I have to emphasize that God's pleasure and mine lies in your gentility toward them. Your mother needs more care than everybody else needs; you have to satisfy her materially and emotionally; do not let her worry; make her feel comfortable.

They are going to take me to Bursa<sup>1</sup> that seems to be a religious city; I will let you know when I arrive, if possible. I am looking forward to know about you, too. If you can, please send me my teaching books of Islamic jurisprudence, i.e. *Makasib* and *Hawashi*, through the Iranian embassy. Your letters should apparently be sent through the embassy, too. Please, pay Mr. Tabataba'i the rest of his coal money. Take the money for the rent and pay it if you could. You can send me dry food like *gaz* [a kind of sweet] and pistachios.

I repeat again; I am alright, but need to take a rest. Pay the allowance I used to pay the daughters out of the money from Khomein and the rest out of *Sadat's* Share. Give your mother her allowance. Keep Ahmad happy and give him his allowance.

They told me in Tehran that they would also send the family if I wanted to, but it is not advisable. They will not feel comfortable here, and I will be uneasy because they are uncomfortable. I do not need any clothing; just send the *'aba*.

Finally, I wish you all health. Give my regards to all the friends and companions; I ask them all to forgive me. The verdict will surely be

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<sup>1</sup> Bursa (ancient Prousa): city in northwestern Turkey.

moderated. I ask God Almighty for a good ending and soundness for myself and for all of you. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

P.S. Give my regards to the attendants. Give my special regards to my esteemed brothers,<sup>1</sup> when you meet them. Peace [be with you].

Khomeini

P.S. Please send me "*Wasilah*" and "*Hashiah*". Maybe you can send them via mail, through the Iranian embassy in Ankara. But it will be better to go to the organization<sup>2</sup> and let them know.

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh and Sayyid Nuruddin Hindi.

<sup>2</sup> State Intelligence and Security Organization (SAVAK).

## Proxy

**Date:** November 10, 1964 [Aban 19, 1343 AHS / Rajab 5, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Ankara, Turkey

**Subject:** Appointment of proxy and executor

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Praise be to God for both happiness and hardship; may peace be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny.

Hereby I appoint my dear son, who is a trustee of mine, as my proxy to do all my tasks for me. He will be given all I am owed for supplying the esteemed *tullab*'s monthly salary. He is my representative to collect and circulate the two blessed Shares, and any other payments that should be delivered to me, and to deliver them to where they belong. He is also my executor. My will is kept in one of the notary public offices. I owe the performance of fast of several years, just for assurance, and prayers of two or three years should also be performed for me for assurance. My books will belong to Mustafa. The furniture of the house will completely belong to Mustafa's mother. Do the rest according to my will. By "my dear son" mentioned above, I mean my eldest child, Aqa Mustafa Khomeini (may God Almighty assist him); "and I advise him to be God-fearing and to follow His commands, and I hope for his prayers for me both during my life and after death."

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rajab al-Murajjab 5, 1384 AH

## Message

**Date:** November 14, 1964 [Aban 23, 1343 AHS / Rajab 9, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Bursa, Turkey

**Subject:** God is the best judge; do not implore anyone

**Addressee:** Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Thursday, Rajab 9, 1384 AH

My dear son, Mustafa Khomeini (may God Almighty assist him and make him respected):

I am living in Bursa, Turkey now and I am healthy and fine. Do not worry about me. I accept and thank God Almighty for what He has predestined for me. I have sent a cable and a letter before. Let me know of your health through the organization.<sup>1</sup> Send me the book, *Makasib* and its explanations, along with the *Wasilah*, *Hashiyah* and *Rasa'il* if they agree. Please send me my winter 'aba, some shirts, as well as pants, if you can. Be kind to your mother and other family members; serve particularly your mother, which will make God Almighty pleased with you. The weather here is more pleasant than Iran's. Anyway, do not worry about me, and do not implore anyone for me.

God, the Blessed and Exalted, is the best judge. My will shows my wishes. The furniture will belong to the mother. The books will be yours. Hire someone to perform the fasts of several (ten) years and the prayers of two-three years for me, in case I die. I ask God Almighty to assist you and make you successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Give my regards to all family members especially your mother. You do not need to worry about me. I [am] alright.

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<sup>1</sup> State Intelligence and Security Organization (SAVAK).

## Letter

**Date:** Circa December 1964-January 1965 [Dey 1343 AHS / Shaban 1384 AH]

**Place:** Bursa, Turkey

**Subject:** Acknowledgements

**Occasion:** Imam Khomeini's exile to Turkey

**Addressee:** Sayyid Shahabuddin Mar'ashi Najafi (one of the *maraji' at-taqlid*)

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Eminence Ayatullah Najafi (may his blessings last):

I was most happy to receive your kind letter that indicated Your Eminence's health, and contained your kind sympathies and affections. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's health and happiness. I am fine, thanks to God, and there is no need to worry. Whatever God Almighty has predestined is fine. May I be able to accept divine predestination easily. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's health and success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** January 2, 1965 [Dey 12, 1343 AHS / Shaban 28, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Istanbul, Turkey

**Subject:** Informing friends of leaving for Bursa

**Addressee:** Nasrullah Khalkhali (in Najaf)

### *In His Most Exalted Name*

Shaban al-Mu‘azzam 28, 1384 AH

His Eminence, Hujjat-al-Islam Mr. Khalkhali<sup>1</sup> (may his graces last):

I hope you are fine and in good health. I hear that you have had a pilgrimage to Mecca. May your pilgrimage be accepted by the Lord. I am fine, thanks to God. I have been in Istanbul for a few days. I leave for Bursa today. You and other friends need not to worry about me. Whatever God Almighty has predestined is for my own good, and I am grateful. Please give my regards to His Eminence Hujjat-al-Islam Mr. Lavasani<sup>2</sup> if he is still in the holy city of Najaf. I hope for Your Eminence’s benevolent prayers, asking for a good ending for me. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Nasrullah Khalkhali, an old friend of Imam Khomeini.

<sup>2</sup> Sayyid Muhammad-Sadiq Lavasani, a friend of Imam Khomeini.

## Letter

**Date:** January 10, 1965 [Dey 20, 1343 AHS / Ramadan 6, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Bursa, Turkey

**Subject:** Announcing Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini's arrival in Turkey

**Addressee:** Khadijah Thaqafi<sup>1</sup>

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

Holy Month of Ramadan 6, 1384 AH

Thanks to God Almighty, Mustafa arrived here safely and we are both fine. Do not worry about us at all, and let me know of you, each in your own handwriting. The weather is moderate and nice here. I wish you health and happiness. Please let me know the condition of all the relatives and give them my regards. Let me know how Mr. Pasandideh, Mr. Hindi<sup>2</sup> and my sister<sup>3</sup> are and give them all my regards. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini's wife.

<sup>2</sup> Sayyid Nuruddin Hindi, Imam Khomeini's younger brother.

<sup>3</sup> Aghazadeh Khanum, Imam Khomeini's sister.



## Letter

**Date:** March 24, 1965 [Farvardin 4, 1344 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 20, 1384 AH]

**Place:** Bursa, Turkey

**Subject:** Sending regards and asking about the situation in Iran

**Addressee:** Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Dhu'l-Qadah 20, 1384 AH

I was most happy to receive your kind letter a few days ago. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's health and happiness.

I am fine, thanks to God. May God Almighty endow us with a chance to pray for Islam and the Muslims. I have no worries, thanks to God. Only being ignorant of the relatives' conditions makes me worry. May God Almighty protect you all. I acknowledge Ayatullah Khwansari's<sup>1</sup> considerable efforts. Please give His Eminence my regards. I hope for His Eminence's and your benevolent prayers. I will tell Mr. 'Ali Bayk<sup>2</sup> about the photograph; maybe he can get one. Would you please deliver the enclosed paper to Qum<sup>3</sup> and send back if it is given a response. I ask God Almighty for the well-being of Muslims and the grandeur of Islam. Mustafa is fine—thanks to God and send his regards. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Ahmad Khwansari (one of the maraji' at-taqlid).

<sup>2</sup> The agent of the Turkish Security Organization who was working as the Imam's attendant.

<sup>3</sup> The addressee of the above letter was living in Khomein then.

## Letter

**Date:** March 24, 1965 [Farvardin 4, 1344 AHS / Dhu'l-Qadah 20, 1384 AH]<sup>1</sup>

**Place:** Bursa, Turkey

**Subject:** Announcing good health and recommending patience to the family

**Addressee:** Khadijah Thaqafi

Dhu'l-Qadah al-Haram 20, 1384 AH

Mustafa's honorable mother<sup>2</sup> (may God keep her alive and make her patient),

I hope you are healthy and happy. I am fine, thanks to God. Do not worry about me. Whatever God Almighty has predestined will happen: "*It may happen that ye hate a thing which is good for you.*"<sup>3</sup> Mustafa is also fine, thanks to God, and there is nothing to worry about. I am only a little unhappy because I do not know your conditions. May God, the Blessed and Exalted, protect you all. Give my regards to all the children and their families. If you receive this letter, please reply soon through His Eminence Hujjat-al-Islam Haj Aqa Fadlullah Khwansari;<sup>4</sup> maybe he can somehow send it to me. Please have all children write a few words in their own handwritings, when you reply the letter. Give my regards to Mustafa's wife.<sup>5</sup> Let her write a few words, too. Give my regards to my honorable brothers.<sup>6</sup>

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> In the latest edition of *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, vol. 1, p.169, the date is printed 12/15/43, but the manuscript's date reads as above.

<sup>2</sup> Imam Khomeini's wife.

<sup>3</sup> Surah al-Baqarah 2:216.

<sup>4</sup> Sayyid Ahmad Khwansari's son-in-law.

<sup>5</sup> Masumah Ha'iri.

<sup>6</sup> Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh and Sayyid Nuruddin Hindi.

## Letter

**Date:** May 22, 1965 [Khordad 1, 1344 AHS / Muharram 20, 1385 AH]

**Place:** Bursa, Turkey

**Subject:** Announcement of good health and sending greetings

**Addressee:** Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Muharram al-Haram 20, 1385 AH

His Eminence Hujjat-al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Pasandideh (may his blessings last):

I hope Your Eminence is healthy and happy. I ask God Almighty for Your Eminence's happiness and grandeur. I am quite fine, thanks to God, and you do not need to worry about me. Whatever God Almighty has predestined is the best thing. May God Almighty give us the power to be pleased with the divine decrees. Please give my regards to all relatives. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Mustafa, thanks to God, is also well and sends you his regards.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** May 22, 1965 [Khordad 1, 1344 AHS / Muharram 20, 1385 AH]

**Place:** Bursa, Turkey

**Subject:** Sending regards to the family and asking them to be patient and calm

**Addressee:** Khadijah Thaqafi <sup>1</sup>

Muharram al-Haram 20, 1385 AH

I was most happy to receive the kind letter from you and my dear children. I ask God Almighty for your health and happiness, and ask Him to protect you all. Mustafa and I are quite fine, thanks to God, and there is nothing to worry about us. I submitted to whatever God Almighty has predestined for me. May He make us feel satisfied with our lots and make you feel grateful for His endowments. Please write back soon; write a few words each, just as you did this time.

Let me know, please, how the relatives are in Qum, Tehran and Khomein. I send my regards to all of my dear children and their families and ask God Almighty for their success. If you can obtain the permission,<sup>2</sup> would you please send me my light *'aba* and *qaba* (piece of clothing for the clergymen), and a series of books on *usul* [principles of jurisprudence] which are transcriptions of my own lessons, volumes 1, 2 and 3; and if my *Istishab*<sup>3</sup> is published, send me a volume; if you can't get the permission, it doesn't matter. I repeat that Mustafa and I are fine and there is nothing wrong with us. The weather is very nice here, thanks to God. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

It is needless to say that you have to kindly look after Husayn,<sup>4</sup> his mother<sup>5</sup> and also the others. Ahmad! You have to pay close attention to your lessons and behavior inside and outside home. I pray to God for the welfare of everybody.

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini's wife.

<sup>2</sup> The permission of the security authorities regarding the restrictions being exercised at that time.

<sup>3</sup> One of Imam Khomeini's valuable works.

<sup>4</sup> Sayyid Husayn Khomeini, the Imam's grandson, Mr. Aqa Mustafa's son.

<sup>5</sup> Masumah Ha'iri, Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini's wife.

## Letter

**Date:** May 22, 1965 [Khordad 1, 1344 AHS / Muharram 20, 1385 AH]

**Place:** Bursa, Turkey

**Subject:** Sending regards and enquiring about the relatives' condition

**Addressee:** Sayyid Nuruddin Hindi

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Eminence Mr. Hindi<sup>1</sup> (may he live long),

I was very happy to receive your kind letter recently. I wish you and your family health and happiness. I am quite fine, thanks to God, and there is nothing to worry about. You and the family do not need to worry about me; I even feel better here than in Iran. Please write to me every now and then to let me know of your health. Please give my regards to all, especially our respected sister.<sup>2</sup> I ask God Almighty for everybody's health. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Mustafa is fine and sends you his regards.

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini's younger brother.

<sup>2</sup> Aghazadeh Khanum, Imam Khomeini's sister.

## Letter

**Date:** Circa June 1965 [Khordad 1344 AHS / Safar 1385 AH]

**Place:** Bursa, Turkey

**Subject:** Thanking for the books sent

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq Lavasani

\* It is to be sent to Qum to be delivered to the recipient.

### *In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Sadiq Lavasani:

I was most happy to receive your kind letter and the books you had sent. May God Almighty endow you with health and happiness. I am very fine, thanks to God. May God Almighty endow me with a chance to do my duties sincerely. I hope your respected wife has got well now. I ask God for her honor's health. Please give my regards to your esteemed sons. Please give my regards to all of the friends.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

## Letter

**Date:** September 15, 1965 [Shahrivar 24, 1344 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 19, 1385 AH]

**Place:** Bursa, Turkey

**Subject:** Sending regards

**Addressee:** Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi

Night of Jamadi al-Awwal 19, 1385 AH

I was most happy to receive your kind letter. May you be healthy and happy. Mustafa and I are both fine and there is nothing wrong with us. I have submitted to whatever God has predestined for me. I hope for your benevolent prayers, wishing me a good ending. Please give my regards to Aqa Hasan.<sup>1</sup> May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Hasan Thaqafi, Imam Khomeini's brother-in-law.

## Telegram

**Date:** Circa October 1965 [Mehr 1344 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 1385 AH]

**Place:** Najaf

**Subject:** Message of acknowledgement

**Addressee:** ‘Ali Iranpur

From: Najaf

To: Qum

C/o His Eminence Haj Aqa Shahabuddin Ishraqi

Dear Mr. Shatir-‘Ali Iranpur:<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your kindness.

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini’s telegram is in response to a kind telegram sent by (Haj Shatir) ‘Ali Iranpur, one of the sangaki (a kind of bread) bakers, district 2, Qum.



## Telegram

**Date:** October 10, 1965 [Mehr 18, 1344 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1385 AH]

**Place:** Najaf

**Subject:** Message of acknowledgement

**Occasion:** Imam Khomeini's arrival in Najaf

**Addressee:** 'Ali Safi Golpaygani

From: Najaf

To: Qum

His Eminence Ayatullah Haj Aqa 'Ali Safi:<sup>1</sup>

Thank you and His Eminence, your brother, for your kindness.

Khomeini

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini's telegram is in response to a telegram of congratulation, dated 7/17/44 AHS sent by 'Ali Safi and Lutfullah Safi, on His Eminence's arrival in Najaf.

## Letter

**Date:** Circa October-November 1965 [Mehr or Aban 1344 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal or Jamadi ath-Thani 1385 AH]

**Place:** Najaf, Iraq

**Subject:** Response to a telegram of congratulation on Imam Khomeini's arrival in Najaf

**Addressee:** Sayyid Sadiq Ruhani

I was happy to receive your worthy letter expressing congratulations on my arrival in the holy city. I had sent you a telegram before which may have not been delivered, since they have not been sending my telegrams for some time; just as they have not delivered the telegrams from Iran to me. Please inform the respected clergymen and other people of this matter. I ask God Almighty for the success of all distinguished '*ulama*' (may their blessings last) in exalting the pure word of Islam, and I pray for your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

I thank you for all the trouble you took. May God Almighty reward you for all this and may He endow you with good health and happiness.

## Permission

**Date:** October 23, 1965 [Aban 1, 1344 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1385 AH]

**Place:** Najaf, Iraq

**Subject:** Permission in financial and religious law affairs

**Addressee:** Sayyid Muhammad Nabawizadeh

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny; and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

Hereby it is confirmed that His Eminence ‘Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Nabawizadeh (may his graces last) is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-qualified jurist, during the occultation of His Eminence Master of the Age (may Allah expedite his glorious advent). “So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution.” He is also permitted to circulate the money or postpone the payment as needed, and to collect the two blessed Shares, spending a half of *Sadat’s* Share and one-third of the blessed Imam’s (*‘a*) Share on his own living and in other specified religious ways, and to deliver the rest to this humble servant to be expended in the blessed seminaries (may God Almighty protect them from evil incidents).

“And I advise him (may God Almighty assist him)—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors—to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini  
Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1385 AH

# Index of Religious Permissions

**Date:** Aban 1, 1344 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1385 AH –  
Ordibehest 21, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 3, 1389 AH

**Place:** Najaf

**Subject:** A list of religious permissions [*ijazat*] issued during the residence in the Holy City of Najaf.<sup>1</sup>

## *In His Most Exalted Name*

### **List of the Religious Permissions [*ijazat*] I have Issued in the Holy City of Najaf**

**1. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Nabawizadeh Kazeruni

**Recommender:** ...<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic law evidences, during the Occultation of the 12th Imam ('a) the affairs dealing with collecting religious payments and spending them in the specified ways should be performed by a fully-qualified jurist. It is not allowed to spend this money without an Islamic jurist's permission. Therefore, for a long time the jurists and Authorities of Imitation [Marja at-Taqlid] used to select some persons for collecting and delivering the religious payments or supervising how it is expended, according to their own acquaintance with the candidates or having to know them through the recommendation of fair Islamic experts; those selected are granted written sealed permission in which the scope of authority in doing financial and religious law affairs is specified. Imam Khomeini, as one of the great Authorities of Imitation, has issued numerous Permissions out of which those received by the Institute for the Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works are published in this series in chronological order.

The detailed list cited in this chapter is the exact copy of a notebook prepared by Imam Khomeini, in his own handwriting, when a resident in the Holy City of Najaf from Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1385 AH to Jamadi ath-Thani 4, 1398 AH. Not only this index has been considered and referred to as one of His Excellency's written works, but it demonstrates Imam Khomeini's orderliness and accuracy in affairs like that. Titles and names mentioned in the list—except the words in the brackets—have been in the Imam's own handwriting. The original list comprises of five horizontal columns including "No.", "first and last name of the recipient", "date of issuance (AH)", "recommender", and "scope of authority."

<sup>2</sup> The recommender is not mentioned.

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, circulating and distributing *Sadat's* Share [*sahm-i sadat*] and delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1385 AH

**2. To:** Mr. Haj Mirza 'Ali Aqa Falsafi Tonekaboni

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, proxy to collect and distribute the two shares, etc.; a third of the share goes to himself

**Date:** Shaban 11, 1385 AH

**3. To:** Mr. Haj Aqa Mustafa Masjid-jame'i, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Hasan Aqa Said and Mustafa<sup>1</sup>

**Scope of Authority:** Permission to collect shares, spending a part on his own living, delivering the rest (to me) and permission for financial affairs

**Date:** Shaban 11, 1385 AH

**4. To:** Mr. Aqa Shaykh Mustafa Fa'iq Tehrani

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Nominally allowed to collect Imam's ('a) Share, spending on living, delivering the rest

**Date:** Shaban 12, 1385 AH

**5. To:** Mr. Haj Hasan Aqa Said Tehrani

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Proxy to collect and deliver, a third goes to himself; permission for financial affairs

**Date:** Shaban 14, 1385 AH

**6. To:** Mr. Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-Husayn Yazdi

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid 'Abbas Khatami Yazdi and Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-Rida Yazdi

**Scope of Authority:** Permission to collect and spend on his living, delivering the rest (to me), permission for financial affairs

**Date:** Shaban 14, 1385 AH

**7. To:** Aqa Shaykh Mahdi Mushafi Kermani

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali and Aqa Sayyid 'Abbas Yazdi

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting and spending the Share as far as needed and delivering the rest; permission for financial affairs

**Date:** Shaban 20, 1385 AH

**8. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Mustafa Tabataba'i, Tehran

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-'Ali Shirazi and Mr. Ansari, Aqa Shaykh Ahmad

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Share, spending as far as needed; financial affairs

**Date:** Shaban 20, 1385 AH

**9. To:** Aqa Sayyid Hasan Shari'atmadari-Tehrani

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the two Shares, delivering the remainder of Imam's Share to me, financial affairs

**Date:** Ramadan 9, 1385 AH

**10. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Husayn Amini, Kermanshah

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh 'Ali Aqa Tehrani and Aqa Shaykh 'Ali Sattari

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Share, spending a part on his own living, delivering the remaining two thirds; financial affairs

**Date:** Ramadan 9, 1385 AH

**11. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-'Ali Muhyiddini, Rafsanjan

**Recommender:** The two Mr. Mar'ashis of Najaf

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting the Share and delivering it

**Date:** Ramadan 8, 1385 AH

**12. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Jawad Sarrafi, Rafsanjan

**Recommender:** The two Mr. Mar'ashis of Najaf

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; collecting Imam's share; delivering the rest after spending a part on living

**Date:** Ramadan 9, 1385 AH

**13. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Dibaji, Shemiran, Ramadan 11, 1385 AH (A second copy issued for Mr. Dibaji since the first one dated Shaban 6, 1386 AH had not arrived)

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali and Mr. Mar'ashi

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting property with unknown owner, the two Shares; spending a part on his living; delivering a half  
**Date:** Ramadan 11, 1385 AH

**14. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Murtada Muwahhid Abtahi, Isfahan

**Recommender:** Mr. Sani‘i

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the two Shares; financial affairs

**Date:** Ramadan 27, 1385 AH

**15. To:** Mr. Sayyid Nuruddin Mahdawi Langarudi, Langarud

**Recommender:** Mr. Kha’efi and others

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the two Shares for his own living

**Date:** Ramadan 27, 1385 AH

**16. To:** Aqa Shaykh Yusuf Sani‘i

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; collecting the two Shares; delivering more than one third

**Date:** Shawwal 14, 1385 AH

**17. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali-Muhammad Jami and also ‘Uliya-ye Fasa

**Recommender:** Mr. Sadiqi and Mr. Gharawi Khorasani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; delivering the remainder after spending the Share in part

**Date:** Shawwal 14, 1385 AH

**18. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad Mahdawi Lahijani, Holy City of Najaf

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; collecting the Share, spending in the specified ways

**Date:** Shawwal 26, 1385 AH

**19. To:** Mr. Sayyid ‘Abdullah Jafari Tehrani, Vicinity of Tehran

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Sadiq Tehrani and Mr. Shaykh ‘Abbas Mahfuzi

**Scope of Authority:** Quoting verbal traditions, collecting the payments, delivering it after spending a part on his own living, delivering *Sadat’s* Share to where it belongs religiously

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 14, 1385 AH

**20. To:** Aqa Sayyid Ruhullah Khatami Ardakani

**Recommender:** Renowned himself, also introduced by Mustafa

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting, spending a half and distributing

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 20, 1385 AH

**21. To:** Aqa Shaykh 'Ali Qadiri, Isfahan

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two thirds and distributing

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 20, 1385 AH

**22. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Salih Fa'izi Tehrani-'Aynud-Dawlah

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid 'Abbas Yazdi

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the payments, spending the Share in part on living, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 25, 1385 AH

**23. To:** Aqa Sayyid Nurullah Ayatullahi Yazdi, Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. Fakur Yazdi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; collecting the Share and delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 25, 1385 AH

**24. To:** Aqa Sayyid Yaqub Zanjani, Qum

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; collecting the two Shares and delivering the remainder of the Imam's ('a) Share

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 25, 1385 AH

**25. To:** Aqa Shaykh Kamaluddin Mujtahidi—Jawadiyyeh, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali and Mr. 'Amid, on behalf of some others

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; spending a part and delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 29, 1385 AH

**26. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Mu'min Qummi

**Recommender:** Renowned himself



**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; delivering the remainder after spending a part on his living

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah *ghurrah*,<sup>1</sup> 1385 AH

**27. To:** Aqa Shaykh Lutf-‘Ali Faqih Najafabadi

**Recommender:** Mr. Sani‘i and Mr. Khadimi

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the share and delivering it after spending a part on his living

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah *ghurrah*, 1385 AH

**28. To:** Aqa Shaykh Hasan Khusrawi Pakistani

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Muntaziri Qummi and Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali Pakistani

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Share, enough for his living

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 16, 1385 AH

**29. To:** Aqa Sayyid Mustafa Siyadati-Sabzevar

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abdullah Sabzevari and Mr. Waizi Sabzevari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; collecting the two Shares and delivering two thirds of the Imam’s (‘a) Share

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 22, 1385 AH

**30. To:** Aqa Sayyid Mirza Husayn Afghani, Afghanistan

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Ibrahim Rahmani and an Afghani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, power of proxy and delivering two thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 25, 1385 AH

**31. To:** Aqa Sayyid Hasan Musawi Isfahani

**Recommender:** Haj Aqa Baqir Khwansari and Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-‘Ali Shirazi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 25, 1385 AH

**32. To:** Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Zahid Isfahani, Najaf

**Recommender:** Mr. Pishva‘i Kazeruni

**Scope of Authority:** Authorizing the late Mr. Shirazi (*r*)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ghurrah: First day of the month.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the late Mr. Sayyid ‘Abdul-Hadi Shirazi.

**Date:** Muharram 17, 1386 AH

**33. To:** Haj Aqa Muhammad Muntaziri Qummi, Qum

**Recommender:** Mustafa; renowned himself, too.

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting the Shares as needed

**Date:** Muharram 17, 1386 AH

**34. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Husayni Gharawi, Tehran

**Recommender:** Haj Aqa Nasrullah and Aqa Ruhullah Shahabadi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; collecting the two Shares and delivering two thirds

**Date:** Muharram 18, 1386 AH

**35. To:** Haj Aqa Mustafa Burqi'i Qummi, Qum

**Recommender:** Renowned himself, also introduced by Mustafa

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; collecting the two Shares and delivering the remainder of the Imam's ('a) Share

**Date:** Muharram 19, 1386 AH

**36. To:** Aqa Dawud Tehrani

**Recommender:** Mustafa, also known to me

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Share for his living and delivering the remainder

**Date:** Muharram 19, 1386 AH

**37. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Ali Muhammadpur Najafabadi, Najafabad

**Recommender:** Mr. Muntaziri and others

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; collecting the Share and delivering two thirds

**Date:** Muharram 21, 1386 AH

**38. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-'Ali Pakistani, Pakistan

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Murtada Khalkhali and Aqa Shaykh 'Ali from Pakistan

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Shares as much as needed and delivering the remainder

**Date:** Muharram 21, 1386 AH

**39. To:** Mr. Salamuddin Radawi, Tehran

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Akhawan Ansari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; collecting the Shares and delivering the remainder

**Date:** Muharram 1386 AH

**40. To:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Ali-Akbar Yazdi

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas Yazdi and Mr. Gharawi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs and collecting the two Shares as much as needed

**Date:** Muharram 1386 AH

**41. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Abd ar-Rida Jawadi Khorasani, Tehran

**Recommender:** Aqa ‘Ata’ullah Ansari and Mr...<sup>1</sup>

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting the Share enough for living

**Date:** Safar 2, 1386 AH

**42. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-‘Ali Tehrani, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; collecting the Share and delivering the remaining two thirds

**Date:** Safar 5, 1386 AH

**43. To:** Aqa Rida-Kani, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Sadiq Tehrani and Mustafa

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering after spending

**Date:** Safar 6, 1386 AH

**44. To:** Aqa ‘Imaduddin Jaza’iri, Khorramabad

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the two-thirds

**Date:** Safar 13, 1386 AH

**45. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Hadi Barikbin, Qazvin

**Recommender:** A trustee himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the two-thirds

**Date:** Safar 13, 1386 AH

**46. To:** Mr. Haj Mirza ‘Ali-Asghar Harandi, Tehran

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<sup>1</sup> Originally the name is incomplete.

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abdul-‘Ali Qarehi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering three quarters  
**Date:** Safar 13, 1386 AH

**47. To:** Aqa Shaykh Diya’uddin Ayatullahi Abhari  
**Recommender:** Mr. ‘Amid Zanjani and Mr. Gharawi Khorasani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the two-thirds  
**Date:** Safar 14, 1386 AH

**48. To:** Mr. Sayyid Hadi Khosrow-Shahi, Qum  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs and collecting the two Shares, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Safar 20, 1386 AH

**49. To:** Aqa Shaykh Jawad Karbala’i  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the two thirds  
**Date:** Safar 28, 1386 AH

**50. To:** Haj Aqa Husayn Darb-e Imami, Isfahan  
**Recommender:** Haj Aqa Ahmad Imami  
**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the two Shares, delivering the remainder of Imam’s Share  
**Date:** Safar 28, 1386 AH

**51. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali Hujjati Kermani, Qum  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the surplus  
**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 1, 1386 AH

**52. To:** Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-Muhammad Pakistani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 3, 1386 AH

**53. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Nasiri Dawlatabadi  
**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-‘Ali Abtahi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 6, 1386 AH

**54. To:** Aqa Shaykh Husayn Tehrani (son-in-law of Aqa Shaykh Aqa-Bozorg)

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 6, 1386 AH

**55. To:** Aqa Sayyid Ibrahim Samiti Qa’ini, Najaf

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Aqa Qa’ini and Mr. Furqani

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the two Shares; delivering the remainder of the Share; financial affairs

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 10, 1386 AH

**56. To:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Ali Khamene’i, Mashhad

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting the two Shares, delivering two-thirds of the Share

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 18, 1386 AH

**57. To:** Aqa Muhammad Muwahhidi Lankarani, Qum

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting the Share and delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 18, 1386 AH

**58. To:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Faqih Neyrizi, Neyriz

**Recommender:** Mr. Ansari Shirazi and Mr. Gharawi Rafsanjani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting the Shares and delivering the remainder of the Imam’s (‘a) Share

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 24, 1386 AH

**59. To:** Mr. Shaykh ‘Abdulkhalig Darzi Qazvini

**Recommender:** Mr. Madani and Mr. Sattari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 29, 1386 AH

**60. To:** Aqa Shaykh Mahmud Fumani, Najaf

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder after spending a part

**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 4, 1386 AH

**61. To:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Murtadawi Langarudi, Tehran

**Recommender:** Aqa Mujtaba Langarudi on his behalf

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; spending a half of the Share and delivering a half

**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 11, 1386 AH

**62. To:** Mr. Shaykh Haydar-‘Ali Dust Husayni, Vicinity of Karaj

**Recommender:** Mr. Gharawi and Mr. Safi (one of the clergies)

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 13, 1386 AH

**63. To:** Aqa Shaykh Ismail Ansari Mazandarani

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdur-Rahim Sadiqi and Mr. Muhaqqiq Damghani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 7, 1386 AH

**64. To:** Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Mirza’i Gorgani, Gorgan

**Recommender:** Mr. Mahamidi and Mr. Sayyid ‘Abbas Yazdi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 23, 1386 AH

**65. To:** Aqa Sayyid Musa Khwansari Hamedani, Hamedan

**Recommender:** Mr. Ishraqi, also renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 5, 1386 AH

**66. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Abd...<sup>1</sup>, Hamedan

**Recommender:** Mr. Ishraqi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs and delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 5, 1386 AH

**67. To:** Aqa Sayyid Ahmad Husayni Qummi, Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. Mu’min and Mr. Ali-Taha

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini’s entry is not complete.

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 6, 1386 AH

**68. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Husayn Sultani, Abadan

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abdul-Ala Sabzevari and Aqa Sayyid Jafar Mar‘ashi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 8, 1386 AH

**69. To:** Mr. Shaykh Mahdi Amali, District between Kazimayn and Baghdad

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid Hafiz; Mr. Haj Husayn, one of the good people

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 8, 1386 AH

**70. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Tahiri Khorramabadi

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1386 AH

**71. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Qurban-‘Ali Dhu’l-Qadri Zanjani, Qum

**Recommender:** The late Aqa Shaykh ‘Abbas Tehrani and some others

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1386 AH

**72. To:** Mr. Sayyid Mirza Aqa-ye Hashimi Isfahani

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abdul-‘Ali and the late Mr. Shirazi’s signature

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rajab 11, 1386 AH

**73. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Ghulam-‘Ali Muhammadi-Rudbone’i

**Recommender:** Mr. Fumani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rajab 21, 1386 AH

**74. To:** Mr. Aqa Asadullah Qudsi, Qazvin

**Recommender:** Mr. Barikbin and Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Muzaffari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rajab 22, 1389 AH

**75. To:** Aqa Sayyid Murtada Murawwij al-Ahkam, Ahwaz

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Murtada Nakhjawani and Mr. Murawwij al-Ahkam's uncle

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Rajab 23, 1389 AH

**76. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Hasan Yazdizadeh

**Recommender:** Mr. Qa'ini, also renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds after spending

**Date:** Shaban 6, 1386 AH

**77. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad-'Ali Behbahani, Behbahan

**Recommender:** The two Mr. Mar'ashis and Mr. Haj Sayyid Jafar Jazayiri

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Shaban 11, 1386 AH

**78. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid 'Ali Hashimi Golpaygani, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Mar'ashi and Aqa Shaykh 'Abbas Kazimi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Shaban 11, 1386 AH

**79. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Muqaddasi Golpaygani, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Farid Golpaygani; known to me, too.

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, spending a part, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 17, 1386 AH

**80. To:** Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-'Ali Qasimi

**Recommender:** The two Mr. Qa'imi Isfahanis and Mr. Shaykh Mahmud Gharawi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering after spending a part on living

**Date:** Shaban 20, 1386 AH

**81. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Ghadir-'Ali Mumayyiz Shahrda'i

**Recommender:** Mr. Gharawi and Mr. Sattari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs and delivering the remainder after spending



**Date:** Shaban 22, 1386 AH

**82. To:** Aqa Shaykh Husayn Amin Shahrudi

**Recommender:** Mustafa and Mr. Sattari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs and delivering the remainder after spending

**Date:** Shaban 24, 1386 AH

**83. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Jafar Sulaymani Behbahani, Behbahan

**Recommender:** Mr. Ishkiwari, Mr. Radawi and Mr. Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Hasan Behbahani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs and delivering the remainder after spending

**Date:** Shaban 25, 1386 AH

**84. To:** Aqa Shaykh Fakhruddin Pakistani, Pakistan

**Recommender:** Mr. Sadiqi Tehrani and Mr. Mudarris Afghani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder after spending

**Date:** Shaban 27, 1386 AH

**85. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali Fadili Pakistani, Pakistan

**Recommender:** Mr. Sadiqi Tehrani and Mr. Mudarris Afghani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder after spending

**Date:** Shaban 27, 1386 AH

**86. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdullah Muhammadi ‘Alamarwashti, Ahwaz

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali, Mr. Gharawi Nakhjawani, and Mr. Muhammad Baqir Ihsani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Shaban 28, 1386 AH

**87. To:** Mr. Shaykh Jafar Mustawli Qazvini, Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. Ansari Shirazi and Mr. Subhani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Shaban 28, 1386 AH

**88. To:** Mr. Sayyid ‘Ashiq Husayn

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali Islami and Mr. Shaykh Musa Qummi, Mr. Muslimi Kashani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 28, 1386 AH

**89. To:** Mr. Sayyid Hashim Rashti, Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. Banifadl and Mr. Sayyid Yusuf Tabrizi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 29, 1386 AH

**90. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Mar‘ashi

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Jafar Mar‘ashi and the Mar‘ashi brothers

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Ramadan 1, 1386 AH

**91. To:** Mr. Shaykh ‘Abul-Qasim Hujaji, Abadan

**Recommender:** Mr. Rida Hujaji, Aqa Shaykh Mahmud Najafabadi and Shaykh Ramadan-‘Ali

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Ramadan 11, 1386 AH

**92. To:** Haj Aqa Husayn Isfahani, Tehran

**Recommender:** Haj Aqa ‘Ata’ullah and Haj Shaykh ‘Abdul-Jawad Isfahani

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Share as much as needed, spending the rest

**Date:** Ramadan 23, 1386 AH

**93. To:** Mr. Sayyid ‘Abbas Abu Turabi Qazvini, Qum

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting the two Shares, delivering the surplus of the blessed Share

**Date:** Ramadan 27, 1386 AH

**94. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Ali Mishkati Sedehi, Isfahani

**Recommender:** Mr. Sani‘i and Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abdul-‘Ali; also renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting the Share, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Ramadan 28, 1386 AH

**95. To:** Mr. ash-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Jalil Sharif

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid Muhammad-‘Ali and Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Ibrahim Shirazi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting the payments

**Date:** Shawwal 9, 1386 AH

**96. To:** Mr. Shaykh Husayn Shahrudi

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Yusuf al-Karbala’i al-Ha’iri and Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali-Asghar Shahrudi

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Share to be expended on living

**Date:** Shawwal 11, 1386 AH

**97. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Muzaffar Muzaffari Thiqat al-Islam, Rudsar

**Recommender:** Mr. Muhammadi Gilani, Mr. Kha’ifi and Mr. Haj Aqa Mujtaba

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds of the Share. A second copy was sent on Jamadi ath-Thani 4, 1387 AH.

**Date:** Shawwal 25, 1386 AH

**98. To:** Mr. Sayyid Diya’ Husayni Jasbi, Qum

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Fadlullah Qazvini and Mr. Kawthari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder of the Share

**Date:** Shawwal 29, 1386 AH

**99. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid ‘Ali Batha’i Golpaygani, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Rasuli, also renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder of the Share

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 4, 1386 AH

**100. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Mahdi Khalkhali Muqarrir, Tehran

**Recommender:** The two Messrs. Akhawan Mar’ashi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds of the Share

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 4, 1386 AH

**101. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Mahdi Ruhani (son<sup>1</sup> of Haj Aqa Ahmad Qummi)

**Recommender:** Haj Aqa Nasrullah Shah-Abadi and Mr. Rasuli

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

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<sup>1</sup> The original word is najl, which means son/daughter.

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 5, 1386 AH

**102. To:** Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-Husayn Haqqani

**Recommender:** Mr. Rasuli and Mr. Zamani Najafabadi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 6, 1386 AH

**103. To:** Aqa Sayyid 'Abdur-Rida Hijazi, Tehran

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs and delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 13, 1386 AH

**104. To:** Aqa Sayyid 'Abdur-Rasul Hijazi, Qum

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs and delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 13, 1386 AH

**105. To:** Aqa Sayyid 'Ali Khosh Suluk, Kharashtam, Langarud

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Abul-Fadl Khwansari and Mr. Nasr Isfahani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 13, 1386 AH

**106. To:** Aqa Sayyid 'Ali Shah-Cheraghi, Tehran, Nayib as-Saltanah

**Recommender:** Mr. Sadiqi and Haj Aqa Murtada Tehrani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 14, 1386 AH

**107. To:** Aqa Shaykh Jawad Gharawi 'Aliyari Tabrizi, Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. 'Amid Zanjani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the rest

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 14, 1386 AH

**108. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Baqir Tusi

**Recommender:** Mr. Mahjub Shirazi and Mustafa Khomeini

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Share as much as needed, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 15, 1386 AH

**109. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Ghulam-Husayn Taslimi Ranani

**Recommender:** Mr. Dibaji Shemiran and Mr. Dhu'l-Fiqari  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 16, 1386 AH

**110. To:** Aqa Shaykh Mirza 'Ali Hashimi Araki  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 17, 1386 AH

**111. To:** Aqa Shaykh 'Abbas Dust-Husayni Yazdi  
**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Jafar Husayni Yazdi and Mr. Mahjub Yazdi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 18, 1386 AH

**112. To:** Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-Rida Yazdi, Najaf  
**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid 'Abbas Yazdi and Mr. Gharawi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 20, 1386 AH

**113. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Fadlullah Mutlaq-Aghajari  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Fathullah and Mr. Sayyid Nasrullah Ayati Behbahani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 20, 1386 AH

**114. To:** Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Ahmadi, Isfahan  
**Recommender:** Mr. Muntaziri  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 23, 1386 AH

**115. To:** Aqa Shaykh Ilyas Sharifi Eshkevari  
**Recommender:** Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Muzaffari Qazvini and Mr. Sayyid 'Abdul-Ghani Eshkevari, Najaf  
**Scope of Authority:** As much as needed, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 29, 1386 AH

**116. To:** Mr. Shaykh Ghulam-Husayn Izadi  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Husayn-'Ali Muntaziri

**Scope of Authority:** ...<sup>1</sup>

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 9, 1386 AH

**117. To:** Aqa Mirza Bozorg Farzaneh Istahbanati

**Recommender:** The permission signed by the late Mr. Shirazi

**Scope of Authority:** Delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 14, 1386 AH

**118. To:** Haj Aqa Diya' Faqih Imani

**Recommender:** Mr. Muntaziri and Mr. Dhu'l-Fiqari

**Scope of Authority:** Delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 15, 1386 AH

**119. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn Amrullahi Yazdi

**Recommender:** Mr. Ha'iri and Aqa Sayyid 'Abbas Yazdi

**Scope of Authority:** Delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 15, 1386 AH

**120. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Ata'ullah 'Ata'i, Isfahan

**Recommender:** Mr. Muntaziri, Aqa Shaykh Ramadan-'Ali Isfahani

**Scope of Authority:** Delivering the surplus

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 15, 1386 AH

**121. To:** Haj Aqa Kamal Faqih Imani, Isfahan (Brother of Mr. Khu'i's son-in-law)

**Recommender:** Oral permission was granted.

**Scope of Authority:** Two thirds to be delivered; written permission granted through Mr. Abtahi, a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 17, 1386 AH

**122. To:** Mr. Hasan Aqa Mustafawi

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Shahristani and Mr. Lavasani (The permission was sent through Mr. Lavasani)

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 19, 1386 AH

**123. To:** Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Ravari Tawakkuli Kermani

**Recommender:** Mr. Ha'iri, Mr. Murtada, Mr. Ruhi

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<sup>1</sup>The scope of authority is not mentioned.

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 20, 1386 AH

**124. To:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Mir Ghanizadeh, Bafq

**Recommender:** Mr. Ha'iri, Aqa Murtada, Mr. Ruhi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 20, 1386 AH

**125. To:** Aqa Shaykh Husayn Muhaddith Khorasani

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 23, 1386 AH

**126. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhsin Gharawi, Najaf

**Recommender:** Messrs. Akhawan Mar'ashi and Mr. Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali Shirazi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 24, 1386 AH

**127. To:** Aqa Sayyid 'Ali-ASghar Mirdamadi, Tehran

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn Imla'i

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 25, 1386 AH

**128. To:** Aqa Shaykh Mahmud Firuzja'iyani

**Recommender:** Mr. Karimi and Mr. Mahamidi

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Share as much as needed

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 25, 1386 AH

**129. To:** Aqa Sayyid Jalaluddin Hamedani, Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Zanjani and the late Aqa Shaykh 'Abbas Tehrani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 25, 1386 AH

**130. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Taqi Muhassil Yazdi

**Recommender:** Mr. Fakur and Aqa Sayyid 'Abbas Yazdi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 25, 1386 AH

**131. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Jalal Tahiri, Isfahan  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds  
**Date:** Muharram 4, 1387 AH

**132. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Ahmad Mujtahidi Tehrani, Tehran  
**Recommender:** Mr. Shaykh Ahmad Masumi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds  
**Date:** Muharram 4, 1387 AH

**133. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad-‘Ali Qadi, Tabriz  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half  
**Date:** Muharram 4, 1387 AH

**134. To:** Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Rida ‘Abdul-Hamidi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Said Khorasani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds  
**Date:** Muharram 12, 1387 AH

**135. To:** Aqa Sayyid Ahmad Aqa Mar‘ashi, Rafsanjan  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Akhawan Mar‘ashi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds  
**Date:** Muharram 16, 1387 AH

**136. To:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abdullah Shirazi Zebarjad, Qum  
**Recommender:** Mr. Ansari Shirazi and Aqa Shaykh Husayn Nuri  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Muharram 18, 1387 AH

**137. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Jawad Azadeh  
**Recommender:** Mr. Shaykh Jawad Karbala’i and Sattari  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Muharram 21, 1387 AH

**138. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Misbah al-Huda  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Fumani and Ruhani Gorgani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder



**Date:** Muharram 22, 1387 AH

**139. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdul-Hamid Hushyar

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Mahmud Khadimi and Mr. Haj Aqa Muhammad-‘Ali Nasr

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Muharram 26, 1387 AH

**140. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Ghulam-‘Ali Furqani, Shahmirzad

**Recommender:** Mr. Muttaqi, also one of the known permitted persons

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Muharram 26, 1387 AH

**141. To:** Mr. Mirza Muhammad-Wali Zaimi

**Recommender:** Messrs. Shaykh ‘Ali Aqa and Shaykh Fadlullah Qazvini

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Muharram 28, 1387 AH

**142. To:** Mr. Sayyid ‘Abu’l-Hasan Radawi Kashmiri

**Recommender:** Messrs. Shaykh ‘Ali Aqa and Aqa Sayyid Hasan Isfahani

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Shares to spend them

**Date:** Muharram 28, 1387 AH

**143. To:** Haj Aqa Mujtaba Meybodi, Kermanshah

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abdul-Husayn Waiz Khorasani and his brother

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Share as much as needed for the living

**Date:** Safar 1, 1387 AH

**144. To:** Mr. Mirza ‘Ali Qaradaghi Bajvani Tabrizi

**Recommender:** Mr. Bani Fadl Aqa Sayyid Yusuf Tabrizi, Qum

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the surplus

**Date:** Safar 3, 1387 AH

**145. To:** Mr. Haj Mirza Yusuf Iravani, Tehran

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Safar 7, 1387 AH

**146. To:** Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn Hindi Tabbati, Tibet  
**Recommender:** Mr. Mudarris Afghani and Mr. Shaykh ‘Ali Qazvini  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, enough for living  
**Date:** Safar 7, 1387 AH

**147. To:** Mr. Haj Mirza ‘Ali Wuthuq  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Safar 8, 1387 AH

**148. To:** Mr. Sayyid Salih Musawi Anzabi Tabrizi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Fumani and Mr. Khalkhali  
**Scope of Authority:** Collecting as much as needed  
**Date:** Safar 10, 1387 AH

**149. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali Hindi Tabbati, Tibet  
**Recommender:** Mr. Mudarris Afghani and Mr. Shaykh ‘Ali Qazvini  
**Scope of Authority:** Collecting as much as needed for the living  
**Date:** Safar 10, 1387 AH

**150. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Mirza Muhammad Tabibzadeh, Isfahan  
**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-‘Ali Abtahi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Safar 10, 1387 AH

**151. To:** Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Imam Shushtari, Shushtar  
**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Jafar Jaza’iri and Aqa Sayyid Hasan Imam  
**Scope of Authority:** Enough for living  
**Date:** Safar 11, 1387 AH

**152. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Husayn Dawlatabadi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Baqir and Mr. Shaykh Ramadan-  
‘Ali Rida’-i  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Safar 12, 1387 AH

**153. To:** Aqa Mirza ‘Ali Katibi Marandi, Najaf  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the rest

**Date:** Safar 15, 1387 AH

**154. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Guhari Khorasani

**Recommender:** Mr. Rasuli and Mr. Ardakani, Shemiran

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Safar 16, 1387 AH

**155. To:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Ali Hashimi Bojnurdi

**Recommender:** Mr. Rabbani Amlashi and Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Sadiq Tehrani

**Scope of Authority:** Enough for living, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Safar 19, 1387 AH

**156. To:** Mr. Mirza Husayn ‘Ilmi

**Recommender:** Aqa Mirza ‘Abu’l-Fadl Khwansari and Mr. Dhul-Faqari

**Scope of Authority:** Enough for living, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Safar 19, 1387 AH

**157. To:** Mr. Shaykh Mahdi Kazimi, Khorramshahr

**Recommender:** Mr. Qa’imi, Abadan

**Scope of Authority:** Enough for living, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Safar 19, 1387 AH

**158. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Kazim Mahamidi

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas, also renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Enough for living, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Safar 26, 1387 AH

**159. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-‘Ali Nurbala’i, Yazd

**Recommender:** Permission from Mr. Khwansari et al.

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, enough for living

**Date:** Safar 28, 1387 AH

**160. To:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Tahajjudi Save’i

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 2, 1387 AH

**161. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali-Muhammad Samadi Shirazi

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Baqir Rida'i  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, enough for living  
**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 17, 1387 AH

**162. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Mujtaba Mir-Sadiqi, Zanjan  
**Recommender:** Aqa Mirza Baqir Zanjani and Mr. Milani's permission  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting enough for living, delivering the remainder—on the margin of Mr. Milani's permission  
**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 18, 1387 AH

**163. To:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Kho'eini  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Muntaziri and Dhu'l-Faqari  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 21, 1387 AH

**164. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Rida 'Alawi  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 21, 1387 AH

**165. To:** Aqa Sayyid Mahdi Jamarani, Jamaran  
**Recommender:** Mustafa and Mr. Said Tehrani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 21, 1387 AH

**166. To:** Mr. Shaykh 'Ali-Bakhsh Afghani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Mudarris and Mr. Shaykh Ghulam-Husayn Tawassuli, the Afghanis  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting for living  
**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 23, 1387 AH

**167. To:** Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Ghadiri  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting enough for living, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 29, 1387 AH

**168. To:** Haj Sayyid Mahdi Fasih Shirazi, Tehran  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Shiraziyan, al-Mar'ashiyan and ar-Radawi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, collecting enough for living, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 29, 1387 AH

**169. To:** Aqa Sayyid Kazim Dehdashti, Abadan

**Recommender:** Mr. Sani‘i

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, permitted to collect and delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 1, 1387 AH

—Apparently sent to Qum up to here—

**170. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abbas Mashkuri, Shemiran

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Husayn Mashkuri and Aqa Sayyid Kazim Mar‘ashi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, permitted to collect and deliver two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 4, 1387 AH

**171. To:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-Madad Qa’ini, Mashhad

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali, Najaf

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half of the two Shares

**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 6, 1387 AH

**172. To:** Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Ahmadi Varamini, Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. Sotudeh and Mr. Mu’min Qummi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 8, 1387 AH

**173. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abdullah Quchani

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Qa’ini Mr. Haj Shaykh Ramadan-‘Ali Quchani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 18, 1387 AH

**174. To:** Mr. Mirza Yahya Wahidi Mehrjerdi

**Recommender:** Mr. Fakur Yazdi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 26, 1387 AH

**175. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Mahmud Hashimi ‘Aligudarzi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Fakur Yazdi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 26, 1387 AH

**176. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abbas Ghaybi Shahraki Yazdi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Fakur Yazdi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 26, 1387 AH

**177. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Shari‘atmadari, Tehran  
**Recommender:** Mr. Ishraqi and Aqa Muhsin Muhaddithzadeh Qummi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half  
**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 6, 1387 AH

**178. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Ali Mawaddat, Najaf  
**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas Yazdi Mr. Karimi Mazandarani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, enough for the living  
**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1387 AH

**179. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Abbas Farrukhi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haqqshenas from Jahrom and his son (apparently)  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, enough for the living  
**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 20, 1387 AH

**180. To:** Aqa Sayyid Mahdi Makki Kashani, Kashan  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Husayn Rahi and Mr. Muslimi Kashaniyan  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 4, 1387 AH

**181. To:** Aqa Sayyid Mahdi Hijazi, Isfahan  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Husayn-‘Ali Muntaziri  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1387 AH

**182. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad ‘Alimi Semnani, Semnan  
**Recommender:** Mr. Ashtiyani Danesh and Mr. Fadil Hamedani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 28, 1387 AH

**183. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-‘Ali Nurullahi, Shahrekord

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Husayn-‘Ali Muntaziri and Haj Aqa Husayn Khadimi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rajab 11, 1387 AH

**184. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Azizullah Khushvaqt, Tehran

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Jawad Karbala’i, Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-‘Ali Tehrani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rajab 18, 1387 AH

**185. To:** Aqa Shaykh Jawad Mahamidi, Qum

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Jafar Karimi and Aqa Shaykh Kazim Mahamidi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rajab 28, 1387 AH

**186. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Nasir Abtahi, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid ‘Ali Khalkhali and his son

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Shaban 2, 1387 AH

**187. To:** Aqa Nuruddin Muqaddas

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Zahid and Aqa Shaykh Mahdi Sultani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, living expenses, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 11, 1387 AH

**188. To:** Aqa Shaykh Hasan Yazdani

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Mahmud Gharawi and Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdul-‘Ali

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, living expenses, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 11, 1387 AH

**189. To:** Mr. Shaykh Fathullah Behbahani, Najaf

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Mujtaba Lankarani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, living expenses, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 11, 1387 AH

**190. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdurrahman Fiqhi, Najaf

**Recommender:** Mr. Mir-‘Abdul-‘Azimi and Mr. Kha’ifi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 12, 1387 AH

**191. To:** Aqa Sayyid Diya Ruhani Rudsari

**Recommender:** Mr. Mir-‘Abdul-‘Azimi, Mr. Muhammadi and Mahfuzi, Qum

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Shaban 22, 1386 AH

**192. To:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Imla’i

**Recommender:** Mr. Karrubi and Mr. Kiyani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Shaban 25, 1387 AH

**193. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali Kho’eini, Najaf

**Recommender:** Mr. Ridwani Khomeini and Mr. Qadiri

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Ramadan 1, 1387 AH

**194. To:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Khyaraji Thiqa al-Islam

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Nasrullah Mustanbit and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Burujerdi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Ramadan 16, 1387 AH

**195. To:** Aqa Shaykh Faydullah Dara’i, Murawwij al-Ahkam

**Recommender:** Mr. Karimi and Aqa Shaykh Mahmud Panahandeh

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Ramadan 23, 1387 AH

**196. To:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdun-Nabi Sulaymani, Murawwij al-Ahkam

**Recommender:** Mr. Karimi and Mr. Mahammadi



**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, enough for the living expenses

**Date:** Shawwal 10, 1387 AH

**197. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, Haj Aqa Murtada Tehrani (son of the late Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdul-‘Ali)

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half

**Date:** Shawwal 15, 1387 AH

**198. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Jaza’iri

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Jafar Jaza’iri and Aqa Sayyid Hasan Imam

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, the two Shares, enough for the living

**Date:** Shawwal 24, 1387 AH

**199. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Mahdi Najafi, Rafsanjan

**Recommender:** Messrs. Akhawan Mar‘ashi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder of the living expenses

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 3, 1387 AH

**200. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Jawad Mudarrisi, Yazd

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid ‘Abbas Khatami, and Mr. Shaykh Ghulam-Rida Yazdi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder of the living expenses

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 5, 1387 AH

**201. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Mahdi Ruhani Qummi

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half of the two Shares

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 9, 1387 AH

**202. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Mahmudi Golpaygani, Shahriyar

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, spending the remainder in the religious ways

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 13, 1387 AH

**203. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Du‘a’i Yazdi, Yazd  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali and Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas Khatami  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder of the Share  
**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 14, 1387 AH

**204. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Ibrahim Bahr al-‘Ulumi Khwansari Mirkhani—in the Air Force  
**Recommender:** Well-known to me  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, reckoning, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 16, 1387 AH

**205. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Mir Sayyid Muhammad Abtahi Sedehi, Tehran  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Akhawan Mar‘ashi bore witness that a group of trustees bore witness about him.  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, reckoning, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 20, 1387 AH

**206. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Masumi Tehrani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Ridwani and Mr. Halimi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 4, 1387 AH

**207. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid Hasan Naqawi  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdullah Tehrani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 22, 1387 AH

**208. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Mirza Muhammad Husayn Danesh, Zhaleh Square Mosque  
**Recommender:** Aqa Mirza ‘Abul-Qasim Danesh  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 24, 1387 AH

**209. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Hikmat  
**Recommender:** Mr. Madani and Mr. Ridwani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 24, 1387 AH

**210. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Rida Golesorkhi Kashani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Halimi and Mr. Mas'udi Khomeini  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 24, 1387 AH

**211. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Rida 'Andalib...<sup>1</sup> Gilani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid 'Abdul-Ghani Eshkevari, Mr. Sayyid Hadi Musawi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 26, 1387 AH

**212. To:** Mr. Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Mirza Muhammad Anwari Yazdi  
**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid 'Abbas and Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-Rida Yazdi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 28, 1387 AH

**213. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Mahdi Subhani Qummi  
**Recommender:** The Ansari Qummi brothers [*akhawan*]  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, portions of the Shares enough for the living expenses  
**Date:** Muharram 3, 1388 AH

**214. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Mirza Yadullah Khoda'i—in Shahr-e Rey  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Borujerdi, Mr. Angaji, son of the late Aqa Sayyid Mahdi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Muharram 4, 1388 AH

**215. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Ahmad Naqibzadeh—in Mahan  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Akhawan Mar'ashi, et al.  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Muharram 4, 1388 AH

**216. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Aqa Husayn Burqi'i Qummi  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Muharram 7, 1388 AH

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<sup>1</sup> There is a word here which is illegible.

**217. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Haj Shaykh Muḥammad Fadili Ishtahardi

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Muḥarram 9, 1388 AH

**218. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Haj Sayyid Fadlullah Zaki

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas Yazdi and Mr. Sayyid Husayn Mutahhari Yazdi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Muḥarram 11, 1388 AH

**219. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid Jafar Qadawi Tehrani

**Recommender:** ...<sup>1</sup>

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Muḥarram 11, 1388 AH

**220. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Husayn Hashtrudi

**Recommender:** Renowned himself

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Muḥarram 12, 1388 AH

**221. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Jafar Husayni Yazdi, Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. Fakur and Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas Yazdi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder to the specified places

**Date:** Muḥarram 15, 1388 AH

**222. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Taḳi Rida’i Fumani

**Recommender:** Mr. Kiyani, Mr. Mir ‘Abdul-‘Azimi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** ...<sup>2</sup>

**223. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khu’i, Khuy

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid ‘Ali Angaji and Mustfa

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Muḥarram 20, 1388 AH

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<sup>1</sup> The recommender is not mentioned in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Imam Khomeini’s entry has no date.

**224. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Ali Aqa Siddiqi Qazvini, Tehran

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Musa Zar-Abadi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Muharram 20, 1388 AH

**225. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn Wasi‘i Qa‘ini, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Qa‘ini and permissions from the prominent ‘*ulama*

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs and delivering the remainder

**Date:** Muharram 25, 1388 AH

**226. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam and Mr. Shaykh ‘Isa

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Hashimi, Mr. Sayyid Murtada Firuzabadi and some others

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Shares enough for living delivering the remainder to the ‘*ulama*

**Date:** Safar 3, 1388 AH

**227. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Mahdi Hijazi Shahreda‘i

**Recommender:** Mr. Shaykh Ramedan-‘Ali and Shaykh Muhammad Baqir Isfahani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Safar 11, 1388 AH

**228. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam and Shaykh ‘Ali-Asghar Faqihi Khyaraji, Qazvin

**Recommender:** Akhawan Mar‘ashi (Mar‘ashi brothers)

**Scope of Authority:** Living, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Safar 11, 1388 AH

**229. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam and Aqa Shaykh Husayn-‘Ali Muhammadi

**Recommender:** Mr. Shaykh Mahmud Gharawi and Aqa Shaykh Hasan Yazdani

**Scope of Authority:** Deducting living expenses

**Date:** Safar 11, 1388 AH

**230. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Mahdi Sahhafi Ravandi

**Recommender:** Mr. Muslimi and Mr. Madani Kashani

**Scope of Authority:** Deduction of living expenses, delivering the remainder.

**Date:** Safar 11, 1388 AH

**231. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Tehrani, Tehran

**Recommender:** Aqa Nizam Qomshe'i and Mr. Haj Aqa Nasrullah Shahabadi

**Scope of Authority:** Delivering half, financial affairs

**Date:** Safar 13, 1388 AH

**232. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Masumi Eshkevari, Gilan...<sup>1</sup>

**Recommender:** Mr. Muhammadi and Mr. Mahfuzi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds and maybe financial affairs

**Date:** Safar 18, 1388 AH

**233. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Najafi

**Recommender:** ...<sup>2</sup>

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Safar 20, 1388 AH

**234. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Dhabihullah Mutahhari, Chalus

**Recommender:** Mr. Muhammadi, Mr. Gerami, and Mr. Mahfuzi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds

**Date:** Safar 25, 1388 AH

**235. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Hasan Jafari—Kang, Shahr-e Babak

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Yazdi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half

**Date:** Safar 28, 1388 AH

**236. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Husayn Zarandi

**Recommender:** Mr. Khosrushahi and Mr. Haj Akhund

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the surplus

**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 1, 1388 AH

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<sup>1</sup> There is a word here which is illegible.

<sup>2</sup> Imam Khomeini's entry has no recommender.

**237. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Sadiq Karimiyan, Kermanshah

**Recommender:** Mr. Khosrowshahi and Mr. Haj Akhund

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 1, 1388 AH

**238. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Husayn Hujjat, Qum

**Recommender:** Known to me

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 5, 1388 AH

**239. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Aqa Shaykh Mahdi Karrubi

**Recommender:** Known to me

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 5, 1388 AH

**240. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali-Akbar Mas‘udi

**Recommender:** Known to me

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds (a second copy)

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 5, 1388 AH

**241. To:** Rukn al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Rahmat Sirjani

**Recommender:** The writing by a number of ‘ulama, Mr. Hakim’s signature in permission

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 9, 1388 AH

**242. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Shaykh ‘Abbas-‘Ali

**Recommender:** Mr. Qa’imi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 12, 1388 AH

**243. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Sayyid Mahdi Mir Sharifi Golpaygani, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Muzaffari, Mr. Shaykh ‘Abdolkhalig Qazvini and Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Ayazi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 12, 1388 AH

**244.** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Muhami Mashhadi is granted permission.<sup>1</sup>

**245. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Ghulam-Rida Karimi Yazdi

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas Yazdi and Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali-Asghar Muslimi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 13, 1388 AH

**246. To:** Thiqt al-Islam, Aqa Kamal Faqih-Imani

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Safi and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-‘Ali Abtahi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 14, 1388 AH

**247. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid Husayn Musawi, Khomein vicinity

**Recommender:** Mr. Abu Talibi quoting some others, Mr. Hakim’s signature

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 17, 1388 AH

**248. To:** Thiqt al-Islam, Mr. Mirza Muhammad-‘Ali ‘Alimi

**Recommender:** Messrs. Shaykh ‘Abdul-Husayn Mansurian and Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Nasiri Semnani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering after spending

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 19, 1388 AH

**249. To:** Thiqt al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid ‘Ali Yaman Zaki, Yazd

**Recommender:** Messrs. Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas Yazdi and Aqa Sayyid Husayn Mutahhari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 21, 1388 AH

**250. To:** Thiqt al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid ‘Abdul-Ghani Husayni Eshkevari

**Recommender:** Messrs. Aqa Sayyid Mujtaba Rudvari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering the remainder, a half of *Sadat’s* Share

**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 28, 1388 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Such is the entry itself of Imam Khomeini.



**251. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Aqa Mirza Sadruddin Ha'iri, Shiraz

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half

**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 29, 1388 AH

**252. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh 'Ali-Ahmad Gushe'i

**Recommender:** Mr. Sattari and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn Zamani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half

**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 2, 1388 AH

**253. To:** Rukn al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Muzaffari 'Irfani Afghani

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half

**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 6, 1388 AH

**254. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Mirza 'Abdullah Shahidi Qazvini

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Mirza Qawam Bishnu'-i and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Muzaffari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half

**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 7, 1388 AH

**255. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid 'Abul- Hasan Hukmi, Saveh

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Sadiq Khalkhali and Mr. Mutahhari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 8, 1388 AH

**256. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad 'Aba'i Khorasani

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Taqi Bakhtiyari and Aqa Sayyid Majid Iravani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 15, 1388 AH

**257. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Mahdi Pishnamazi, Sari

**Recommender:** Mr. Karimi, Aqa Shaykh Mahmud Muhaqqiq

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half

**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 18, 1388 AH

**258. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Mir Sayyid Hasan Ahmadi Isfahani (son-in-law of the late Mr. Shahabadi)

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Aqa Nasir Shahabadi, also known to me  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half  
**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 19, 1388 AH

**259. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Aqa Diya’uddin Astarabadi  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half  
**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 1388 AH

**260. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid ‘Ali Rida Mudarrisi  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half  
**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 23, 1388 AH

**261. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Kashfi Tehrani  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half  
**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 23, 1388 AH

**262. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Shaykh Mahmud ‘Abidi, Khalkhal  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Sadiq Khalkhali  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder  
**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 23, 1388 AH

**263. To:** Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, Mr. Haj Shaykh Ismail Japolqi, Tehran  
**Recommender:** Renowned himself  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, a half  
**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 26, 1388 AH

**264. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Mustafa Kashmiri Safari, Kashmir, Bedon Gam, Shari‘atabad<sup>1</sup>  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali, Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Mukhtar-Shahi and Aqa Shaykh Husayn Kashmiri  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half  
**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 29, 1388 AH

**265. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Kashmiri, Kashmir

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<sup>1</sup> It is the recipient’s address.

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali, Mr. Haj Shaykh Husayn Kashmiri and Aqa Sayyid Mukhtar-Shahi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering a half of the blessed Share

**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 29, 1388 AH

**266. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Fakhruddin Afqahi Bardari, Sabzevar

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abdul-Ala Sabzevari and his son

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering a half of the blessed Share

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 1, 1388 AH

**267. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid ‘Ala’iddin ‘Alawi Taleqani

**Recommender:** Known to me

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1388 AH

**268. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali Awsati Tehrani

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Zanjani and Mr. Budala Qummi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, living expenses (permission granted on the margin of Mr. Zanjani’s permission, Qum)

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1388 AH

**269. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Ghulam-‘Ali Kumari, Tehran

**Recommender:** Aqa Mirza ‘Ali Gharawi Tabrizi, also renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, delivering a half

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal *salkh*,<sup>1</sup> 1388 AH

**270. To:** ‘Imad al-Alam al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Husayn Husaynpur, Mashhad

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Mustafa Ashrafi and Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs, two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1388 AH

**271. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Sadiq Tehrani

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** My proxy in Qum

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1388 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Salkh: Last day of any lunar month which has 30 days.

**272. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Mustafa Fattahi, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Jalali Khomeini and Haj Sayfullah's son

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1388 AH

**273. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Abdur-Rahim Sadiqi, Mazandaran

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Muttaqi and Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-'Ali Tehrani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half

**Date:** Rajab 6, 1388 AH

**274. To:** Mr. Murawwij al-Ahkam, Sayyid Muhsin Ahmadi, Abadan

**Recommender:** Mr. Rasti and Mr. Ridwani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, as much as living expenses

**Date:** Rajab 14, 1388 AH

**275. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Kazimi, Kermanshah

**Recommender:** Mr. Madani and Mr. Khaz'ali

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half

**Date:** Rajab 25, 1388 AH

**276. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Shaykh Hadi Quds

**Recommender:** Mr. Lahuti

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Rajab 24, 1388 AH

**277. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid Musa Bani-Taba

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-Husayn Tabataba'i Borujerdi and some others

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Rajab 28, 1388 AH

**278. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Quadratullah Sadiqi

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh 'Abdul-'Ali, et al.

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Rajab 29, 1388 AH

**279. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Haj Aqa Rida Bani-Taba

**Recommender:** Many such as Mr. Rasuli, Aqa Shaykh Mahmud Khadimi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder  
**Date:** Rajab [1388 AH]

**280. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Yadullah Sharbiyani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Jalali Khomeini  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder  
**Date:** *salkh*<sup>1</sup>

**281. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Yusuf Ahmadi Hamedani, living in Qorveh, Hamedan  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Shaban 2, 1388 AH

**282. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Nasir-‘Ali Pakistani, living in Kuwaitah, Pakistan  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdul-Latif Mawlawi, et al.  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering to specified palces after spending  
**Date:** Shaban 3, 1388 AH

**283. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Haj Sayyid Ismail Musawi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Aqa Ahmad Imami and Mr. Haj Aqa Kamal Faqih-Imani  
**Scope of Authority:** Expending on the living and delivering the remainder to where it belongs  
**Date:** Shaban 4, 1388 AH

**284. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Sayyid Hasan Fadil Afghani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Mudarris Afghani and Mr. Fayyad Afghani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, expending on the living and delivering the remainder to where it belongs  
**Date:** Shaban 7, 1388 AH

**285. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid Muhsin, Balkh area  
**Recommender:** Mr. Tawassuli Afghani and Mr. Mudarris  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Shaban 7, 1388 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Date of this religious permission: Last day of Rajab 1388 AH.

- 286. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Yusuf Kashmiri Safawi, in Kashmir (one of the venerable *'ulama*. Address: Bedon Gam, Shari'atabad  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali, et al.  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half  
**Date:** Shaban 10, 1388 AH
- 287. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Sayyid Rida Muzaffari  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder  
**Date:** Shaban 10, 1388 AH
- 288. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Kiyani-Nezhad, Qum  
**Recommender:** Two persons from the district and ...<sup>1</sup>  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, two-thirds  
**Date:** Shaban 10, 1388 AH
- 289. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Misbah Khorasani, one of the congregational prayers leaders of Mashhad  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, two-thirds  
**Date:** Shaban 11, 1388 AH
- 290. To:** Thiqat al-Islam al-Waizin, Haj Aqa 'Ali Mu'tadid al-Waizin  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder  
**Date:** Shaban 17, 1388 AH
- 291. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Mirza Muhsin Tehrani Khorasani (son of Mr. Haj Shaykh Abul-Fadl)  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half  
**Date:** Shaban 14, 1388 AH
- 292. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Rida Muqaddasi Mahallati  
**Recommender:** Aqa Taha Muqaddasi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Shaban 16, 1388 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini's entry remains incomplete.

**293. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Haj Mirza Baqir Aqa Bostanabadi, Tabriz

**Recommender:** Mr. Tawhidi and Mr. Nakhjavani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Shaban 18, 1388 AH

**294. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Shaykh Husayn Rajabi, in Qum

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali-Panah and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Mu’min

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 18, 1388 AH

**295. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Muhammadi Bujnardi

**Recommender:** ...<sup>1</sup>

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half

**Date:** Shaban 21, 1388 AH

**296. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid ‘Abdul-Majid Irvani, Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Aqa Mujtaba Tehrani; known to me; also Aqa Sayyid Kamal Musawi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half

**Date:** Shaban 21, 1388 AH

**297. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Murtada Fahim Kermani, Qum

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Kamal Musawi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 21, 1388 AH

**298. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Faqih Qummi, Qum

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 24, 1388 AH

**299. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Sayyid Hasan Suhufi, Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. Mu’min and Mr. Sayyid Mahdi Suhufi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 24, 1388 AH

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<sup>1</sup> The recommender is not mentioned in the original.

**300. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-‘Ali Shar‘i, Qum

**Recommender:** ...<sup>1</sup>

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 24, 1388 AH

**301. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali-Akbar Tuba’i

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid Kamaluddin Musawi and Mr. Sayyid Muniruddin

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs

**Date:** Shaban 1388 AH

**302. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Mahmud Musawi, author of the book, “Index to the Four Books” [*Fihrist-e Kutub-e Arbaah*]

**Recommender:** Mr. Safi Isfahani and Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-Rida Baqiriyani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Shaban 27, 1388 AH

**303. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Mahmud Mujtahidi Sistani (brother of Aqa Sayyid ‘Ali, living in Mashhad)

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Ali Sistani and Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali Aqa Tehrani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half

**Date:** Shaban 28, 1388 AH

**304. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Sayyid ‘Abdul-‘Azim Gorgani, lives in Minudasht, Gorgan

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Mustafa Ashrafi and Aqa Shaykh Murtada Ashrafi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Ramadan 6, 1388 AH

**305. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh ‘Ali-Asghar Rizi Isfahani

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Baqir Natanzi, Mr. Shaykh Ramadan-‘Ali Rida’i

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder

**Date:** Ramadan 9, 1388 AH

**306. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-Rida Rahmani Hamedani

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<sup>1</sup> The recommender is not mentioned in the original.



**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, the remainder  
**Date:** Ramadan 19, 1388 AH

**307. To:** Mr. Haj Sayyid ‘Ali Ra’isi, Gorgan  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Mar‘ashis, the brothers  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Shawwal 2, 1388 AH

**308. To:** Mr. Mashhadi Sayfullah Tawalla’i Abarqu’i  
**Recommender:** A number of the residents of the district  
**Scope of Authority:** Permitted to reckon, collect; delivering and getting receipts  
**Date:** Shawwal 5, 1388 AH

**309. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Zayn al-‘Abidin Thaqafi, Mashhad  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Ashrafis and Mr. Malayeri  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Shawwal 5, 1388 AH

**310. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid ‘Abbas Mir Yunusi  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Shawwal 14, 1388 AH

**311. To:** Mr. Haj Nuruz-‘Ali Nuruzi Harati, Sultani Bazaar, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Haj Mahdi Yawari Commercial Office, Tehran (Tel: 50662)  
**Recommender:** Mr. Waizi and Mr. ...<sup>1</sup>  
**Scope of Authority:** Proxy to collect and deliver  
**Date:** Shawwal 19, 1388 AH

**312. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Jawad Mumajjad  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Kazim Mir ‘Abdul-‘Azimi and Mr. Haj Aqa Mujtaba Rudbari  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Shawwal 20, 1388 AH

**313. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali-Rida Mumajjad

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<sup>1</sup>The name is incomplete in the original.

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Kazim Mir ‘Abdul-‘Azimi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Shawwal 20, 1388 AH

**314. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali Ghiyathi, Qum (on mission to Amol outskirts, Mazandaran)

**Recommender:** Mr. Muhammadi, Mr. Gerami and Mr. Karimi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Shawwal 21, 1388 AH

**315. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Jawad Haydari, Yazd

**Recommender:** Mr. Waziri Yazdi, Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas Khatami

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, a half (vast authority granted verbally)

**Date:** Shawwal 27, 1388 AH

**316. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid Rida Muqaddasi Mahallati

**Recommender:** Aqa Taha and Mr. Ruhani and Mr. Tawassuli

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the *Sadat’s* Share, a part of Imam’s Share; delivering the rest

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 11, 1388 AH

**317. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdul-Khaliq Isfahani

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj ‘Ata’ullah and Mr. Khosrowshahi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 20, 1388 AH

**318. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Husayn Kermani

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Mirza ‘Ali Meshkini

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 20, 1388 AH

**319. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Hasan Musawi Na’ini

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid Jalal Yazdi, Mr. Haj Sayyid Husayn Fatimi Na’ini

**Scope of Authority:** Enough for living expenses, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 23, 1388 AH

**320. To:** Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Musawi

**Recommender and Date:** ...<sup>1</sup>

**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs; the late Sayyid's signature in permission,<sup>2</sup> et al.

**321. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid Jafar Mirdamadi

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Abdul-'Ali and Mr. Sadiqi

**Scope of Authority:** Delivering a half of *Sadat's* Share and two-thirds of the blessed Share

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 25, 1388 AH

**322. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh Mahmud Bayani

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 25, 1388 AH

**323. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid 'Ali Beheshti, residing in Shahabad-e Gharb

**Recommender:** Mr. Sattari, Mr. Shaykh Ibrahim Borujerdi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering remainder of the half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 26, 1388 AH

**324. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Ali-Muhammmad Nijat, resident of Semnan

**Recommender:** Mr. Sabzevari and Mr. Shaykh Hasan Namazi Shahrudi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering remainder of the half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 26, 1388 AH

**325. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Hasan Habibullah, Khomein

**Recommender:** Mr. Pasandideh

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Share, enough for the living expenses

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 4, 1388 AH

**326. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam Mr. Haj Mirza Muhammad Kawthari—Zhaleh Square, Shekufeh Street

**Recommender:** Mr. Ishraqi

**Scope of Authority:** Two-thirds, financial

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<sup>1</sup> The recommender and the date are not mentioned in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the renowned Reference Authority (marja at-Taqlid), Mr. Sayyid Abul-Hasan Isfahani is meant.

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 5, 1388 AH

**327. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Shaykh 'Ali-Naqi Fara'i Zanjani, in Qum

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Qurban-'Ali Dhul-Qadr

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 13, 1388 AH

**328. To:** Thiqa al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Ahmad 'Abdul-Wahhabi

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 13, 1388 AH

**329. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Sayyid Rida Muqaddasi

**Recommender:** Aqa Taha Muqaddasi and Mr. Ruhani Mahallati—apparently, as I have been told.

**Scope of Authority:** Recounting verbal traditions [*ahadith*], delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 13, 1388 AH

**330. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Sayyid Muhammad-Jawad Musawi

**Recommender:** Mr. Sadiqi and Mr. Husayni Ansari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 15, 1388 AH

**331. To:** Thiqa al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid Nasrullah Dibaji

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Dibaji and Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-'Ali Shirazi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 17, 1388 AH

**332. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid 'Ali-Naqi Husayni Qazvini, in Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. Muḥammadi and Mr. Mahfuzi, Qum

**Scope of Authority:** Financial, delivering half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 21, 1388 AH

**333. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Nahwi Ramsari, in Qum

**Recommender:** Mr. Muhammadi and Mr. Mahfuzi, Qum

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 21, 1388 AH

**334. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Murtada Mutahhari Khorasani, in Tehran

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 1388 AH

**335. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Ghulam-Husayn Ishraqi

**Recommender:** Mr. Mir 'Abdul-'Azimi and Aqa Mujtaba Rudbari

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 27, 1388 AH

**336. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Ali Aqa Tehrani—has the honor to be in Mashhad

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 28, 1388 AH

**337. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Hasan Gonabadi

**Recommender:** Mr. Sadiqi and Mr. Ghulami

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting the Share; delivering the remainder, taking it to the specified places

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 29, 1388 AH

**338. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Ali-Akbar Sadrzadeh Khorasani

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 29, 1388 AH

**339. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-Husayn Muhammadi Khomeini

**Recommender:** Mr. Ridwani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 29, 1388 AH

- 340. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Baqir Siddiqin, Isfahan  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 30, 1388 AH
- 341. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Nasiriyān Arāni, Qum  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Aqa Mirza Husayn Nuri and Aqa Muḥammad Fadil  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 30, 1388 AH
- 342. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Husayni—near Qa'imiyah Mosque, Tehran  
**Recommender:** Mr. Said Khorasani and Mr. Taleqani's recommendation  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Muharram 2, 1389 AH
- 343. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid 'Abdul-Karim Ardabili, resident in Tehran  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Muharram 2, 1389 AH
- 344. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Husayn Ra'is Bakulangi, in Afghanistan  
**Recommender:** A trustee  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Muharram 4, 1389 AH
- 345. To:** His Eminence Haj Muhammad-Mahdi Fadl Mashhadi—Saray-e Haj Mulla 'Ali, Tehran  
**Recommender:** ...<sup>1</sup>  
**Scope of Authority:** He is granted the permission to act as proxy in Tehran, collecting religious payments.  
**Date:** Muharram 5, 1389 AH

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<sup>1</sup> The recommender is not mentioned in the original.

- 346. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Beheshti-Nezhad  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Jalal Tahiri, Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half of *Sadat's* [Share]; two-thirds of Imam's [Share]  
**Date:** Muharram 5, 1389 AH
- 347. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh Ramadan Zamani Najafabadi, in Shahr-e Rey  
**Recommender:** Mr. Ghayuri and Mr. Zamani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Muharram 5, 1389 AH
- 348. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Ashrafi Isfahani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Aqa 'Ata'ullah, Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Abdul-Jawad  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; expending on living  
**Date:** Muharram 8, 1389 AH
- 349. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Mahmud Maliki  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Aqa 'Ata'ullah, quoting Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Abdul-Jawad  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; expending on living  
**Date:** Muharram 8, 1389 AH
- 350. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Muballigh  
**Recommender:** Aqa Muhammad Fadil and Aqa Shaykh Yahya Ansari  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial affairs  
**Date:** Muharram 11, 1389 AH
- 351. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh 'Abdur-Rahim Rabbani  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; permitted to expend  
**Date:** Muharram 2, 1389 AH
- 352. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Jalil Najafi Yazdi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh Jawad Karbala'i and Mr. Khatami  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; living expenses  
**Date:** Muharram 19, 1389 AH

**353. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Yaqub Waizi—a religious teacher in Mashhad and congregational prayers leader [*imam*]

**Recommender:** Messrs. Ashrafi brothers

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Muharram 23, 1389 AH

**354. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Nuruddin Waizi

**Recommender:** Mr. Khatami and Aqa Shaykh Kazim Mahamidi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Muharram 25, 1389 AH

**355. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Haj Aqa Kamal Murtadawi—one of the congregational prayer leaders in Tehran

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Muharram 26, 1389 AH

**356. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Nuruddin Abhari—a congregational prayer leader in Tehran (son of Mr. Abhari)

**Recommender:** Mr. Abhari and Mr. Sadiqi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Muharram 27, 1389 AH

**357. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Lashkari

**Recommender:** Haj Aqa Bozorg ‘Alawi Qazvini and Mr. Barikbin

**Scope of Authority:** Reckoning for the believers and delivering a half

**Date:** Safar 5, 1389 AH

**358. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Hadi Shari‘at Afghani

**Recommender:** Messrs. Muslimi and Du‘a’i

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half of the Share

**Date:** Safar 7, 1389 AH

**359. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Ibrahim Khalili Afghani

**Recommender:** Messrs. Mudarris and Fayyad Afghani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering the remainder to seminaries

**Date:** Safar 7, 1389 AH



- 360. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Ibrahim Rabbani—a congregational prayer leader and Islamic teacher in Birjand  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Muslimis, Aqa Shaykh Yusuf Jafarzadeh and Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali Qazvini  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Safar 9, 1389 AH
- 361. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh ‘Abbas ‘Abbas-Nezhad Birjandi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Shahabadi, Mr. Ashrafi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Safar 12, 1389 AH
- 362. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abdullah Shafi‘i  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Asadullah Eshkevari  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Safar 12, 1389 AH
- 363. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Kazim Mir ‘Abdul-‘Azimi  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Safar 23, 1389 AH
- 364. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Neyshaburi  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Husayn Ansari Khorasani, Mr. Marvi Khorasani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Safar 27, 1389 AH
- 365. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Baqir Nasiri Dawlatabadi  
**Recommender:** ‘*ulama*’s permission; also renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Safar 27, 1389 AH
- 366. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh Abul-Qasim Mudabbiri Yazdi  
**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas, Aqa Sayyid Jawad Haydari  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Safar 28, 1389 AH

**367. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Mahdi Imami Sedehi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Mahdawi Isfahani and Mr. Sultani Borujerdi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Safar 28, 1389 AH

**368. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abbas-‘Ali Muqaddasi  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Kushki and Haj Shaykh Hamzah  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Safar 29, 1389 AH

**369. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Hasan Mudarrisi (son of the late Sayyid Abul-Qasim Yazdi), in Tehran  
**Recommender:**  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 6, 1389 AH

**370. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Sayyid Hasan Ismailiyan Najafabadi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Kiyani and Mr. Baqiri  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 8, 1389 AH

**371. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Hasan Namazi Khorasani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 11, 1389 AH

**372. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Aqa Murtada Mahdawi (brother of Mr. Mahdawi Isfahani)  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Baqir and Mr. Shaykh Ramadan-‘Ali Rida’i  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 18, 1389 AH

**373. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Bakhtiyari  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; the remainder  
**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 18, 1389 AH

- 374. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Haj Aqa Rida Mahdawi (brother of Mr. Mahdawi)  
**Recommender:** Mr...<sup>1</sup>  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering one-half of the *Sadat's* (Share), two-thirds of the Imam's Share  
**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 20, 1389 AH
- 375. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad-'Ali Husayni Tehrani Lalehzari  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 22, 1389 AH
- 376. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Murtada Ashrafi, Shahrud  
**Recommender:** ...<sup>2</sup>  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 8, 1389 AH
- 377. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Ismail Sajjadi Tabrizi—The mosque near Imamzadeh Zayd (a Saint's shrine), Tehran  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Mar'ashi brothers  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 10, 1389 AH
- 378. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Saidi Khorasani, Shahbaz, Ghiyathi, Imam Mosque No. 7, Tehran  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 18, 1389 AH
- 379. To:** Sulalat as-Sadat, Haj Sayyid Kazim Samadani Tabrizi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Mu'min and Mr. 'Ali Taha—both Qummi  
**Scope of Authority:** For the living expenses  
**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 23, 1389 AH
- 380. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Ibrahim Hijazi Khorasani

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<sup>1</sup> The recommender is not mentioned in the original.

<sup>2</sup> The recommender is not mentioned in the original.

**Recommender:** Mr. Khakhali and Mr. Shahabadi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 2, 1389 AH

**381. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Ibrahim Qazvini, Tehran  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Murtada and Haj Sayyid Muhsin Khalkhali  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 2, 1389 AH

**382. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abbas Marandi, Tehran  
**Recommender:** Mr. Rasuli and Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhsin Khalkhali  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 2, 1389 AH

**383. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Hamidi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Shaykh ‘Abdul-Husayn and Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Khorasani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; enough for the living  
**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1389 AH

**384. To:** Sayyid al-Alam, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Najafi  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Quchanis, the father and the son  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a third  
**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 20, 1389 AH

**385. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Baqir Musawi  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Abul-Qasim Ruhani and Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Jajromi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; living expenses and delivering the remainder  
**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 23, 1389 AH

**386. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Yadullah Pur-Hadi Najafabadi, resident in Ahwaz  
**Recommender:** Mr. Muntaziri  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1389 AH

**387. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Sayyid Abul-Fadl Sajjadi, Qum  
**Recommender:** Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Sotudeh and Mr. Mu’min

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1389 AH

**388. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh ‘Ali-Akbar Firuzkuhi, in Firuzkuh

**Recommender:** Mr. Fakur, Mr. Karimi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 28, 1389 AH

**389. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Mahdizadeh, in Najafabad

**Recommender:** Mr. ‘Irfaniyan and Mr. Judi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; enough for living expenses

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 1, 1389 AH

**390. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Ramadan-‘Ali Mu‘allimi, Mazandaran

**Recommender:** Mr. Karimi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; enough for living expenses

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1389 AH

**391. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Muslim Darab Ardebili

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Kazim Sarabi and Aqa Shaykh Shafi‘ Judi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering the remainder

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1389 AH

**392. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Sayyid Husayn Abtahi Golpaygani, in Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Batha’i Golpaygani and someone else

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1389 AH

**393. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Jafar Muhajirani Hamedani

**Recommender:** Messrs. Mar‘ashi brothers

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; as much as the expenses

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 29, 1389 AH

**394. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Sayyid Asadullah Musawi Khorasani

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Najafi

**Scope of Authority:** Enough for living expenses

**Date:** Rajab 5, 1389 AH

**395. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Dawudi Shahrudi

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Mustafa Ashrafi and Haj Aqa Nasrullah Shahabadi

**Scope of Authority:** A half

**Date:** Rajab 21, 1389 AH

**396. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Nuruddin Tahiri Shirazi

**Recommender:** Mr. Rasuli; also renowned

**Scope of Authority:** A third; financial

**Date:** Shaban 1, 1389 AH

**397. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Husayn Budala' Qummi

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** The late Mr. Sayyid 'Abdul-Hadi's (r) signature in permission

**Date:** Shaban 2, 1389 AH

**398. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Husayn Mahdawi Ardakani, Isfahan

**Recommender:** Mr. Safi and Messrs. Mar'ashis

**Scope of Authority:** A third; financial

**Date:** Shaban 7, 1389 AH

**399. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Dorche'i

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Musawi Jezini and Mr. Haj Mirza 'Ali-Asghar Harandi

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting enough for living expenses

**Date:** Shaban 22, 1389 AH

**400. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Husayn-'Ali Dawari Isfahani

**Recommender:** Mr. Khadimi Isfahani and Mr. Mahdawi Isfahani

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting enough for living expenses

**Date:** Shaban 24, 1389 AH

**401. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Mamaqani, Tehran

**Recommender:** Known to me

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half

**Date:** Shaban 26, 1389 AH

**402. To:** ‘Umdat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid ‘Ali Mihri (son-in-law of Mr. Mihri, Kuwait)

**Recommender:** Aqa Mirza Ahmad and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Jawad Dashtiyani

**Scope of Authority:** Living expenses

**Date:** Shaban 26, 1389 AH

**403. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Aqa Shaykh Husayn Haqqshenas

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Jawad Dashti and Mr. Ridwani Khomeini

**Scope of Authority:** A half; financial

**Date:** Ramadan 8, 1389 AH

**404. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Amini Khorasani, Khorasan area

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Mahdi Murwarid and Mr. Hakimi Khorasani

**Scope of Authority:** A half; financial

**Date:** Ramadan 9, 1389 AH

**405. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Kadim Habibullah Jahromi, in Sanandaj

**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Mirza ‘Ali Meshkini and Aqa Shaykh Husayn Shabzendedar

**Scope of Authority:** A third; financial

**Date:** Ramadan 21, 1389 AH

**406. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid ‘Abdul-‘Ali Taqawi Shirazi

**Recommender:** Mr. Safi and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Gharawi

**Scope of Authority:** A third; financial

**Date:** Ramadan 29, 1389 AH

**407. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Kazim Sajjadi Mehri

**Recommender:** The late Sayyid ‘Abdul-Hadi Shirazi’s signature in permission; Messrs. Akhawans and Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Dashti

**Scope of Authority:** A third; financial

**Date:** Shawwal 7, 1389 AH

- 408. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Sayyid Hashim Mehri, Khorramshahr  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abbas Dashti and Mr. Haj Shaykh Mahmud Bayani  
**Scope of Authority:** A third; financial  
**Date:** Shawwal 10, 1389 AH
- 409. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Muhsin Muhsini, in Tehran  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abdur-Razzaq Qa’ini and Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Shahrestani  
**Scope of Authority:** The remainder; financial  
**Date:** Shawwal 10, 1389 AH
- 410. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Shaykh Ibrahim Arafi Shudaki Yazdi  
**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas Khatami and Mr. Shaykh Ahmad Wahidi Yazdi  
**Scope of Authority:** A half; financial  
**Date:** Shawwal 13, 1389 AH
- 411. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Shaykh Ahmad Mutahhari Sawuji  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** A half; financial  
**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 8, 1389 AH
- 412. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Sayyid Nuruddin Eshkevari, Kazimayn  
**Recommender:** Mr. Halimi and Mr. Rudbari  
**Scope of Authority:** A half; financial  
**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 20, 1389 AH
- 413. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Sayyid Asadullah Meybodi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khatami  
**Scope of Authority:** Collecting and delivering  
**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 26, 1389 AH
- 414. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Ibrahim Ha’iri—he goes to Pakistan  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Hadi Marifat and Mr. Mirza Ahmad Marifat  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; living expenses



**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 29, 1389 AH

**415. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Abdur-Rasul Qa'imi, Abadan

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 1, 1389 AH

**416. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Shaykh Husayn Yazdi Isfahani

**Recommender:** Mr. Muntaziri

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 4, 1389 AH

**417. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Haj Aqa Husayn Dorche'i

**Recommender:** Mr. Muntaziri and Mr. Saidi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 5, 1389 AH

**418. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Sayyid 'Ali-Akbar Mir-Abu-Talibi, Tonekabon

**Recommender:** Mr. Muhammadi and Mr. Mahfuzi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 5, 1389 AH

**419. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Shaykh Yusuf Qazwini

**Recommender:** Mr. Subhani Tabrizi and Mr. Salihi Najafabadi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 5, 1389 AH

**420. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn Imani Shahrudi, Mashhad—prayer leader in Mashhad

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh 'Ali Aqa Tehrani and Mr. Shaykh 'Abul-Qasim Ruhani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 6, 1389 AH

**421. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Shaykh 'Abbas Yazdi, Karaj

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid 'Abbas Yazdi, Mr. Ridwani and Mr. Karimi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Dhu'l-Hijjah 19, 1389 AH

- 422. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Sayyid Muhammad Mudarrisi Yazdi, Yazd  
**Recommender:** Mr. Ha'iri, the late Mr. Damad (Mr. Borujerdi's permission was signed)  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds to be delivered  
**Date:** Muharram 8, 1390
- 423. To:** Sayyid al-Alam Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Hakim, in Shemiran, Niyavaran  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali and Mr. Haj Sayyid Jafar Jazayiri  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds  
**Date:** Muharram 16, 1390
- 424. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Haj Shaykh 'Abbas Hujjati Khorasani, around Mashhad  
**Recommender:** Mr. Hakimi Khorasani and Mr. Shaykh Mahdi Morvarid Khorasani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Muharram 18, 1390
- 425. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Rukkai Rida'iyye'i, in Qum  
**Recommender:** Mr. Muntaziri  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Muharram 18, 1390
- 426. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Ghulam-Husayn Ghaffari, Western Pakistan (now Bangladesh)  
**Recommender:** Mr. Rasti and Mr. Muttaqi  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; remainder  
**Date:** Muharram 28, 1390
- 427. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Shukrullah Rida'i  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khersan and his son  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; for living expenses  
**Date:** Safar 4, 1390 AH
- 428. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn Bihjati Ardakani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Fakur, also renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; enough for living expenses, delivering the remainder

**Date:** Safar 8, 1390 AH

**429. To:** Mr. Jalili Kermanshahi

**Recommender:** ...<sup>1</sup>

**Scope of Authority:** Permission granted to the people of Kermanshah and its vicinity, to pay him; he will deliver a half and get receipts

**Date:** Safar 15, 1390 AH

**430. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid Tahir Murtdawi Isfahani

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Sadiq Khalkhali and Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Jannati

**Scope of Authority:** Living expenses; delivering the surplus

**Date:** Safar 28, 1390 AH

**431. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Aqa Baha'uddin Muhammadi 'Iraqi, in Kermanshah

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Enough for living expenses; delivering the surplus

**Date:** Safar 28, 1390 AH

**432. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Shaykh Nusratullah Ansari

**Recommender:** Mr. Sani'i and Mr. Barikbin

**Scope of Authority:** Living expenses; delivering the remainder

**Date:** Safar 29, 1390 AH

**433. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid 'Ali Musawi Qazwini, Garmsar

**Recommender:** Mr. Lahuti

**Scope of Authority:** Delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 2, 1390 AH

**434. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Shaykh 'Abul-Qasim Ruhani Khorasani—goes to Mashhad

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali and Mustafa

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 19, 1390 AH

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<sup>1</sup> The recommender is not mentioned in the original.

**435. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Sayyid Fakhrud-Din Fayd Dezfuli

**Recommender and Date:** ...<sup>1</sup>

**Scope of Authority:** Mr. Borujerdi's permission was signed

**436. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-'Ali Rabbani

**Recommender:** Mr. Safi and Mr. Shaykh Ghulam-Rida Baqiriyan

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 22, 1390 AH

**437. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn Sharifnezhad

**Recommender:** Mr. Karimi and Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Abdullah Darabi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 22, 1390 AH

**438. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Sayyid Jawad Husayni

**Recommender:** Mr. Karimi and Mr. Haj Aqa Nasrullah Shahabadi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half of *Sadat's* Share, two-thirds of the Imam's (Share)

**Date:** Rabi' al-Awwal 22, 1390 AH

**439. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Murad-'Ali Bakhtiyari, in Sistan

**Recommender:** Mr...<sup>2</sup>

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half of *Sadat's*, two-thirds of Imam's

**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 3, 1390 AH

**440. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn Jawadi

**Recommender:** Aqa Muhammad-Fadil and Aqa Shaykh Husayn Nuri, Qum

**Scope of Authority:** As much as living expenses

**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 7, 1390 AH

**441. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid 'Abu'l-Fadl Khalkhali, resident in Rasht

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Sadiq Khalkhali and Mr. Haj Aqa Taqi Khalkhali

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two thirds

**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 8, 1390 AH

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<sup>1</sup> Both the recommender and the date are not mentioned in the original.

<sup>2</sup> The recommender is not mentioned in the original.

- 442. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Sayyid Muhammad Hashimi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali, the late Mr. Hakim's signature in permission  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 1390 AH
- 443. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Shaykh Musa Ruhani Jami—Jam, close to Afghanistan  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 13, 1390 AH
- 444. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Shaykh 'Abdul-Latif  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Mar'ashis, the brothers  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 15, 1390 AH
- 445. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Shaykh 'Abdul-Khaliq Dashti, resident in Ganaveh  
**Recommender:** Messrs. Rasti and Sattari  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 17, 1390 AH
- 446. To:** Mr. Sayyid Abu-Talib Nazarizadeh, merchant in Shiraz  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali  
**Scope of Authority:** Proxy to collect and deliver  
**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 19, 1390 AH
- 447. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Shaykh Musa Cheshmeh-Ilakhi, in Jam—near Afghanistan  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali and Mr. Hakim's written permission  
**Scope of Authority:** ...<sup>1</sup>  
**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 23, 1390 AH
- 448. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Husayni Sistani  
**Recommender:** Mr. 'Irfaniyan and Mr. Shaykh Mahmud Bayani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; spending a half  
**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 25, 1390 AH

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<sup>1</sup>The scope of authority is not mentioned in the original.

**449. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Sayyid ‘Abdul-Husayn ‘Allamah Lahiji

**Recommender:** Mr. Rudbari and Mr. Kha’ifi

**Scope of Authority:** A number of ‘ulama’'s signatures in permission

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 2, 1390 AH

**450. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn Akhtari

**Recommender:** Mr. Rahmani and Mr. Ridwani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1390 AH

**451. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali-Akbar Shamsabadi

**Recommender:** Mr. Muttaqi and Mr. Shari‘ati

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1390 AH

**452. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid ‘Izzuddin Imam Zanjani

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1390 AH

**453. To:** Mr. Haj ‘Ali-Murad ‘Abbasi

**Recommender:** Mr. Muntaziri has said that five persons recognize him as trustworthy.

**Scope of Authority:** Proxy in Kazerun and its vicinity and permitted to expend a third

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1390 AH

**454. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid Mir Diya’uddin Karamati

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Karamati and Aqa Shaykh Asadullah Rafi‘i

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering all

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 13, 1390 AH

**455. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid Mir Mahdi Karamati

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid Muhammad-Taqi Karamati and Aqa Shaykh Asadullah Rafi‘i

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering three quarters

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 13, 1390 AH

**456. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Sayyid Shamsuddin Shujai, in Fariman

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali

**Scope of Authority:** Financial

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 13, 1390 AH

**457. To:** Sayyid al-Alam, Haj Sayyid Muhammad Lavasani, in Madinah

**Recommender:** Mr. Sattari and someone else

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1390 AH

**458. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Shaykh Najaf-‘Ali Ardebili

**Recommender:** Messrs. Mar‘ashi brothers

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1390 AH

**459. To:** Thiqat al-Ahkam, Haj Shaykh Hadi Ruhani

**Recommender:** Messrs. Karimi and Haj Shaykh Asadullah Rabbani Mazandarani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1390 AH

**460. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Sayyid Husayn Manaqib

**Recommender:** Messrs. Muslimi and Ridwani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 22, 1390 AH

**461. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Haj Shaykh ‘Ali Aqa Mahmudi—orator and religious teacher in Shiraz

**Recommender:** Messrs. Sayyid Muniruddin, Aqa Shaykh Habibullah and Yusuf Shiraziyun

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1390 AH

**462. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abbas-‘Ali Adib Isfahani

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 30, 1390 AH

**463. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Kaf'ami Khorasani

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 30, 1390 AH

**464. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh 'Ali Qasimi Mehri, in Shiraz

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali; permission of the late Messrs. Shirazi and Hakim

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a third

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 5, 1390 AH

**465. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid 'Abdullah Mu'allim Shushtari

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid 'Abbas Khatami and Mr. Jamali

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; as much as the living expenses

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 10, 1390 AH

**466. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid Abu-Talib Dawudi

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid 'Abbas Khatami and Mr. Jamali

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; as much as the living expenses

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 10, 1390 AH

**467. To:** Hujjat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Mirza Hasan Salihi—a famed religious teacher in Mashhad

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali quoting a number of persons

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1390 AH

**468. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Fakhruddin Ayatullahi

**Recommender:** The late Mr. Hakim's permission was signed

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1390 AH

**469. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Muhammad-Husayn Tahiri

**Recommender:** Mr. Lavasani

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1390 AH

**470. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Mirza Abul-Qasim Ashtiyani

**Recommender:** Renowned



**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1390 AH

**471. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Haj Shaykh ‘Ali Sohrabi, in Khomein

**Recommender:** Mr. Pasandideh; also known to me

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering all

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1390 AH

**472. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Shaykh ‘Abbas ‘Abidini; Taft, Yazd

**Recommender:** Mr. Khatami and Mr. Shahrudi’s permission

**Scope of Authority:** Collecting, as much as living expenses

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 23, 1390 AH

**473. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Shaykh Muhammad-‘Ali Muwahhidi Kermani

**Recommender:** Mr. Lavasani has attested to his repute.

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1390 AH

**474. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Shaykh Abu Talib Islami

**Recommender:** Mr. Muttaqi and Mr. ‘Alimi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1390 AH

**475. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh ‘Abdus-Samad Mina

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Mahmud Quchani and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Borujerdi

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rajab 5, 1390 AH

**476. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Aqa Majduddin Mahallati

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Rajab 5, 1390 AH

**477. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh ‘Ali-Akbar Hasani

**Recommender:** Mr. Muhammadi and Mr. Mahfuzi, Qum

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds

**Date:** Rajab 8, 1390 AH

- 478. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Rahimi Isfahani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abdul-Jawad and Aqa Shaykh Abu’l-Fadl Khwansari  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rajab 8, 1390 AH
- 479. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Shaykh ‘Ali Ansari  
**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid Muhammad-‘Ali Ruhani, Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Muntaziri and Mr. Hujjat  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rajab 8, 1390 AH
- 480. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Jalal Ayatullahi Yazdi  
**Recommender:** Mr. Khatami  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Rajab 9, 1390 AH
- 481. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid ‘Abdullah Diya’i, Astaneh ‘Ashrafiyyah  
**Recommender:** Mr. Muhammadi and Mr. Mahfuzi, Qum  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering a half  
**Date:** Rajab 12, 1390 AH
- 482. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh ‘Abdur-Rahim Shari‘ati Behbahani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Hasan Mudarris and Sayyid Nasrullah Ayati  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds  
**Date:** Rajab 29, 1390 AH
- 483. To:** ‘Imad al-Alam, Mr. Sayyid ‘Ali-Akbar Waiz Isfahani  
**Recommender:** Mr. Halimi and Mr. Khatami  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds  
**Date:** Rajab 30, 1390 AH
- 484. To:** ‘Imad al-Alam, Mr. Sayyid ‘Ali Husayn Madani Muhri  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Ahmad Dashti; Mr. Hakim’s permission was signed  
**Scope of Authority:** As much as living expenses, financial

**Date:** Shaban 6, 1390 AH

**485. To:** ‘Imad al-Alam, Sayyid Abu-Turab Husayni Afghani, in Qal‘eh Lusha...<sup>1</sup>

**Recommender:** Mr. Sayyid ‘Abdul-Hamid and Mr. Sayyid Sajjad Afghaniyan

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds

**Date:** Shaban 10, 1390 AH

**486. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Shaykh Ahmad-Husayn ‘Alami, in Gorgan

**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali-Muhammad Akhundi, Muhaqqiq

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a third

**Date:** Shaban 10, 1390 AH

**487. To:** Al-Fadil, Aqa Shaykh ‘Abduz-Zahra, in Ahwaz

**Recommender:** The late Mr. Shahrudi’s permission signed

**Scope of Authority:** And permitted to collect religious payments

**Date:** Shaban 10, 1390 AH

**488. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Shaykh ‘Ali Shafaqi Taleqani

**Recommender:** Mr. Khwansari’s permission signed

**Scope of Authority:** ...<sup>2</sup>

**Date:** Shaban 13, 1390 AH

**489. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Muhammad Imami Kashani, in Iran

**Recommender:** Mr. Tawassuli Mahallati and Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-Rida Kani

**Scope of Authority:** ...

**Date:** Shaban 16, 1390 AH

**490. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Haj Sayyid ‘Ali Tawassuli Afghani, in Iran

**Recommender:** Mr. Sajjadi and Mr. Shaykh Haydar-‘Ali Mudarris

**Scope of Authority:** ...

**Date:** Shaban 17, 1390 AH

**491. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Haj Sayyid Ismail Muhri

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali and Mr. Murtada Muhri

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently, some other regions of Afghanistan were mentioned which are illegible.

<sup>2</sup> The scope of authority is not mentioned in the original.

**Scope of Authority:** The surplus

**Date:** Shaban 27, 1390 AH

**492. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Haj Mirza ‘Ali Katibi, in Iraq

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Two-thirds

**Date:** Shaban 28, 1390 AH

**493. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Sayyid Muhammad-Kazim

**Recommender:** Mr. Hakim and Mr. Najafi’s permission

**Scope of Authority:** ...

**Date:** Ramadan 1390 AH

**494. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Mudarrisi, in Yazd

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali

**Scope of Authority:** Two-thirds

**Date:** Ramadan 13, 1390 AH

**495. To:** Mr. Haj Muhammad-Hasan Imaniyyah Shirazi

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali

**Scope of Authority:** Proxy in Shiraz and and [its] outskirts

**Date:** Shawwal [1390 AH]

**496. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Mr. Haj Mirza Hasan Thaqafi

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** A half; financial

**Date:** Shawwal 8, 1390 AH

**497. To:** Thiqaṭ al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn Mu’mini  
Dezfuli

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali

**Scope of Authority:** Two-thirds to deliver; financial

**Date:** Shawwal 13, 1390 AH

**498. To:** Mr. Haj Jawad ‘Ashuri

**Recommender:** Mr. Jafari Isfahani

**Scope of Authority:** In Amul, and my proxy to collect and to deliver

**Date:** Shawwal 16, 1390 AH

**499. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Shaykh Muhammad-Husayn ibn Shaykh Murtada Rokhshad Kermani, in Karachi (Pakistan)

**Recommender:** Mr. Madani and Mr. Rasti

**Scope of Authority:** ...<sup>1</sup>

**Date:** Shawwal 22, 1390 AH

**500. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Murtada Husayni Mehri, in Mehr and its outskirts

**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid ‘Abbas Khatami and Mr. Muttaqi

**Scope of Authority:** ...

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 6, 1390 AH

**501. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Sayyid Abu’l-Fadl Tabrizi—Bagh-e Shah

**Recommender:** Mr. Lavasani

**Scope of Authority:** ...

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 7, 1390 AH

**502. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Sayyid Abu’l-Fadl Kazimi, in Shahr-i Rey

**Recommender:** Written permission of Mr. Burujerdi and Mr. Khaz‘ali’s recommendation

**Scope of Authority:** ...

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 1390 AH

**503. To:** Sayyid al-Alam, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Musawi Kashani, in Kashan

**Recommender:** Mr. Shaykh Abu’l-Fadl Khwansari and Mr. Muslimi

**Scope of Authority:** ...

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 22, 1390 AH

**504. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh ‘Abdul-‘Ali Qarahi

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; spending a third

**Date:** Dhu’l-Qadah 24, 1390 AH

**505. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Paravi, in Kaharlang

**Recommender:** Mr. Hakim’s permission

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half

**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 7, 1390 AH

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<sup>1</sup> The scope of authority is not mentioned in the original.

**506. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh ‘Ali Aqa Khwansari

**Recommender:** Messrs. Mar‘ashi brothers

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a third

**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 13, 1390 AH

**507. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Sayyid ‘Ali Aqa Atashi

**Recommender:** Messrs. Mar‘ashi brothers

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a third

**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 13, 1390 AH

**508. To:** Mr. Muhammadi Mahdi Zaman

**Recommender:** The late Mr. Burujerdi’s power of attorney

**Scope of Authority:** To be proxy in Kazerun; collecting, delivering and receipts

**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 1390 AH

**509. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Najafi Neyshaburi, in Neyshabur

**Recommender:** Mr. Shahrudi’s signature in permission

**Scope of Authority:** ...<sup>1</sup>

**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 15, 1390 AH

**510. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Kazim Malik Afdali

**Recommender:** The Gentlemen’s signature in permission

**Scope of Authority:** ...

**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 21, 1390 AH

**511. To:** Thiqat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid Abu Talib Mahmudi Golpaygani, Muniriyyah Street, Tehran

**Recommender:** Mr. Farid Golpaygani

**Scope of Authority:** A third of the Share and all of *Sadat*’s

**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 21, 1390 AH

**512. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Baqir Muhammadi (Haj Aqa Bozorg), in Kangavar

**Recommender:** Renowned

**Scope of Authority:** A third, financial

**Date:** Dhu’l-Hijjah 22, 1390 AH

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<sup>1</sup> The scope of authority is not mentioned in the original.

- 513. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Abu'l-Hasan Shirazi, in Khorasan (son-in-law of Mr. Shaykh 'Ali-Muhammad)  
**Recommender:** Mr. Hakimi and Mr. Murwarid Khorasani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Muharram 19, 1391 AH
- 514. To:** Thiqt al-Islam, Haj Sayyid Husayn Jaza'iri Shirazi—prayer leader in Shiraz  
**Recommender:** Mr. 'Alawi Shirazi and Mr. Dastgheyb  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Muharram 24, 1391 AH
- 515. To:** 'Imad al-Alam, Shaykh 'Abdur-Rahim Dehqani Khatib, in Kazerun  
**Recommender:** Mr. Mahjub and Mr. Shabzendedar  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds to be delivered  
**Date:** Muharram 24, 1391 AH
- 516. To:** 'Imad al-Alam, Sayyid Husayn Nasiri Zanjani, in Qum  
**Recommender:** Mr. MuntaZiri and Mr. 'Ali Ahmadi MiyANJI  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Muharram 24, 1391 AH
- 517. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh 'Abdur-Rahim Fayd Gonabadi, in Mashhad (son-in-law of the late Muqarrar)  
**Recommender:** Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Sabzevari  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Muharram 26, 1391 AH
- 518. To:** Thiqt al-Islam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Boyuk Khatami Zanjani—prayer leader in Zanjan  
**Recommender:** Mr. Haj Sayyid Ahmad Zanjani and Mr. Shaykh Musa Zanjani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds  
**Date:** Safar 4, 1391
- 519. To:** Thiqt al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Habibullah MehmannaWaz—the honorable religious teacher in Neyshabur

**Recommender:** Mr. Ansari Khorasani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Safar 12, 1391

**520. To:** Thiqtat al-Islam, Haj Shaykh Jawad Meybodi— prayer leader in Sonqor, also owns a religious school there  
**Recommender:** Aqa Sayyid Hasan Tahiri and Mr. Khaz‘ali  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Safar 12, 1391

**521. To:** Thiqtat al-Islam, Shaykh ‘Abdullah Baqiri  
**Recommender:** The late Mr. Hakim’s permission signed; trusted [muwaththiq]<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Yazdani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; two-thirds  
**Date:** Safar 19, 1391

**522. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhmmad Sadiqi Tehrani  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a half  
**Date:** Rabi‘ al-Awwal 23, 1391 AH

**523. To:** ‘Imad al-Alam, Mr. Haj Shaykh Mahdi Waizi Sabzevari  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 3, 1391 AH

**524. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Muhammad-Sadiq Shari‘atmadari  
**Recommender:** Renowned  
**Scope of Authority:** Permission to collect the Shares and deliver two-thirds  
**Date:** Rabi‘ ath-Thani 3, 1391 AH

**525. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid ‘Ali-Rida Zahidi—Hujjat Mosque, Sarasiyab-e Dulab, Dulab  
**Recommender:** Mr. Ishraqi, Mr. Gharawi and Mr. Lawasani  
**Scope of Authority:** Financial; delivering two-thirds  
**Date:** Rajab 7, 1391 AH

**526. To:** Murawwij al-Ahkam, Mr. Sayyid Muhammad-Husayn Abtahi

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<sup>1</sup> That is, recommended.



**Recommender:** Mr. Meshkini, et al.

**Scope of Authority:** As much as expenses, delivering the surplus

**Date:** Shaban 21, 1391 AH

**527. To:** Thiqaat al-Islam, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Ahmadi Mashhadi

**Recommender:** Mr. Khalkhali

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a third

**Date:** Ramadan 1391 AH

**528. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Jamaluddin Malayeri

**Recommender:** Renowned, Mr. Shahrudi's permission signed

**Scope of Authority:** Financial; a third

**Date:** Dhu'l-Qadah 1391 AH

**529. To:** His Highness Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi, in the USA

**Recommender:** —

**Scope of Authority:** And permitted to use a fifth of the Share

**Date:** Rabi' ath-Thani 1395 AH

**530. To:** Hujjat al-Islam His Highness Haj Muhammad-'Ali Nassabeh, in Darab

**Recommender:** Mr. Ha'iri Shirazi and Mr. Mahallati's letter

**Scope of Authority:** Permitted to collect and expend a half

**Date:** Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1395 AH

**531. To:** Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Mustafa Ha'iri

**Recommender:** Aqa Najafi Mar'ashi and Mr. Ruhani Mahallati

**Scope of Authority:** To collect, spend on living expenses and expending half of the remainder

**Date:** Jamadi ath-Thani 3, 1398 AH