



*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 3

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Transliteration Symbols

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا, آ, 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

چ	ch
ژ	zh
گ	g

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا	a
ی	i
و	u

Persian Letters

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
پ	p



Figure 1. Map of Iran

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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Message

Date: October 8, 1973 [Mehr 16,¹ 1352 AHS / Ramadan 10, 1393 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Summoning the Muslims of the world to struggle against Zionism

Occasion: The continuation of the Third Arab-Israeli War, October 1973 [Ramadan 93 AH]

Addressees: Heads of Islamic states and Muslim nations

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*“And slay them wherever ye find them, and drive them out of the places
whence they drove you out, for persecution is worse than slaughter.”²
And fight them until persecution is no more.”³*

The usurper regime of Israel has now geared itself to perpetrate more mischief and aggression in Arab lands, in order to perpetuate its usurpation of these territories. To this end, it is fanning the flames of war for the umpteenth time. Our Muslim brethren are resisting bravely, giving their lives on the battlefield of honor in order to uproot this source of evil and, thereby, liberate Palestine.

It is, therefore, incumbent on all Islamic and, especially, Arab governments to trust in God Almighty and, by mobilizing all their forces, hasten to the aid of these devoted fighters in the vanguard of the battle who have pinned their hopes on the Muslim nations to join them in this *jihad* for the liberation of Palestine and the restoration of the glory and eminence of Islam.

They should set aside their differences and their debasing, destructive discord and, instead, strengthen and organize their ranks by giving the hand of brotherhood to one another. They should not allow themselves to be intimidated by the flimsy power of the supporters of Zionism and Israel, nor pay heed to their empty threats and promises. They should desist from indolence and negligence that only entail a humiliating defeat with all the dire consequences.

¹ In the book *Sahifeh-ye-Nur* (22-volume edition) this message is dated November 7, 1973 [Aban 16, 1352 AHS]. Mehr 16 is the correct date.

² *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:191.

³ *Ibid.* 2:193.

The heads of Islamic states should bear in mind that this seed of evil that has been planted in their midst is not only to suppress the Arabs; its dangers and perils menace the entire Middle East. The Zionists' design of domination and hegemony over the Islamic world is to exploit its abundant resources. Only through steadfastness, devotion and unity can the Arabs rid themselves of this ghastly nightmare of Zionist expansionism. If any country shirks its responsibility concerning this grave predicament confronting Islam, it will be binding on other Islamic governments to compel its support by giving reprimands, warnings, and even severing ties if need be. The oil-rich Islamic countries should use their oil and other resources as weapons against Israel and also refrain from supplying oil to the countries helping it.

It is the humanitarian and brotherly duty of the Muslim countries, in keeping with Islamic norms and rationality, to spare no effort in selflessly striving to eliminate this agent of imperialism; to give moral and material support to their brothers in the field of battle; to send those supplies of blood, medicines, provisions and weapons. It is especially incumbent on the noble Muslim people of Iran not to remain indifferent to the savage attacks of the Israelis and to the problems now besetting the Arabs. They must assist their Muslim brothers in whatever way they can in order to liberate Palestine and destroy Israel.

The Iranians must compel the government to break its silence and join the ranks of the governments of Islamic countries to fight Israel. All freedom-loving people should join the Islamic nations in condemning its inhuman aggression.

The countries now at war with Israel must be earnest and determined in this sacred, Islamic struggle. They must resist firmly, keeping in mind God's command of exhorting one another to truth and exhorting one another to endurance.⁴ They should not heed the orders or advice of organizations affiliated to the imperialist powers. Rest assured that with patience, perseverance and attention to Islamic injunctions, they will emerge victorious and triumphant.

"O ye who believe! If ye help Allah, He will help you and make your foothold firm.⁵ Faint not, nor grieve, for ye will overcome them if ye are (indeed) believers."⁶

⁴ Surah al-Asr 103:3 "...and exhort one another to truth and exhort one another to endurance."

⁵ Surah Muhammad 47:70.

⁶ Surah Ali-Imran 3:139.

I beseech God, the Most Exalted, for the victory of the Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 1393 AH

Message

Date: October 9, 1973 [Mehr 17, 1352 AHS / Ramadan 11, 1393 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The need to support the combatant Muslims in the war with Israel

Occasion: The Third Arab-Israeli War, October 1973 [Ramadan 1393 AH]

Addressees: The Muslims of the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Considering the present conditions and circumstances, I request all Muslims to repose their trust in God and, while observing Quranic precepts, join battle alongside the armies that are now the defending Palestine, and lay no store on their lives and possessions in the defense and liberation of that occupied land.

All Muslims, particularly the heads and leaders of Islamic countries, are duty-bound to close their ranks and fight imperialism and Zionism, and strike at American interests. They must also do their utmost in serving the Muslim people.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Iraqi and other Arab governments whose armies are fighting, for all they are worth, this war of destiny against Israel on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts.

In this blessed month of Ramadan, I beseech God to Whom belongs all honor and glory, to free the Muslims from the clutches of the imperialists and their camp-followers, and cut off the hands of their vile hirelings who are trifling with the Muslim countries.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: October 14, 1973 [Mehr 22, 1352 AHS / Ramadan 16, 1393 AH]¹

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The duty of Iranians to struggle against the Shah's regime because of his cooperation with Israel

Occasion: The Arab-Israeli War and the 2500th anniversary celebrations of the Iranian monarchy

Addressees: The Muslims of the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

At this time when war is raging between the Muslims and the Zionist infidels, and the Islamic nations are fighting tooth and nail for the restitution of their rights, the Iranian government is holding celebrations throughout Iran at the behest of the Shah to mark the 2500th anniversary of the Iranian monarchy; celebrations for the bloodthirsty Shahs, an example of whom can be witnessed today. While Muslims are fighting in the blood-soaked, muddy battlefields for the glory and honor of Islam, the Shah is busy with celebrations and revelries for the base monarchy.

Concomitant with the defense of the honor of Islam put up by the great Muslim and Arab nations, the Islamic schools for Iranian girls have been attacked, violated and deprived of their freedom at the order of this vicious noon. When the enemies of the faith are menacing Muslim countries, and the zealous people have risen courageously to retrieve their rights, the Shah is stage-managing demonstrations throughout Iran. He is also sending congratulatory telegrams, drafted by the *waqf*² and security organizations and signed by bogus clerics, affiliated to the court, under the guise of distinguished *ulama*.

Notwithstanding the conditions in which Muslims are risking their lives to liberate Palestine and their own lands, the Shah has imprisoned and exiled many of the distinguished *ulama*,³ scholars and professors of the seminaries and also many intellectuals of Iran, subjecting them to the most inhuman torture.

¹ In the book *Sahifeh-ye Nur* this message is dated as September 14, 1973 [Shahrivar 23, 1352 AHS / Shaban 16, 93 AH], but the date given in the handwritten manuscript is October 14, 1973 [Ramadan 16, 393 AH / Mehr 22, 1352 AHS].

² *Waqf*: pious endowments.

³ Savants, people learned in religion.

It can be said that all these put-on acts and arrests are just to divert the people's attention from their own problems and away from the war of the Islamic world against Israel. It is the Shah's dread of the campaign spreading and the coordination among the people from various walks of life increasing—as well as the support of the whole Muslim world for the just cause of the Arabs—that has led him to imprison and exile, unlawfully and without any reason, the *ulama* and intellectuals lest they protest against the indifferent attitude of the Iranian regime to this vital matter confronting the Muslims, and against its support of Israel. And despite the fact that the vast majority of the people along with the Islamic governments, and even many of the non-Islamic ones, have supported the Arabs over the war, the disreputable Shah, in his allegiance and increasingly manifest servility to America, is ostensibly silent but, in reality, supporting Israel.

It is the Shah who has given free rein to Israel in Iran, thus compromising this country's economy, and, according to foreign press reports is sending Iranian officers to be trained in Israel.

It is the Shah who has surrendered Iran's oil to the enemies of Islam and of mankind so that they may use it in the war against the zealous Muslims and Arabs. By the recent scandalous agreement calling for an increase in the extraction of oil, he has risen against the oil-producing countries that want to use this weapon against America. And finally, it is the wanton plunder; the purchase of armaments worth billions of dollars and the back-breaking succession of celebrations that have caused the enormous escalation in the prices of goods and the cost of living, threatening Iran with total famine. I fear that the billions of dollars of weapons that he has acquired from his world-devouring masters—taking Iran to the brink of bankruptcy in the bargain—will now be sent to Israel. I fear that he will compel the Iranian army with its weapons, purchased at the cost of scarcities, hunger, and ultimately, the blood of the deprived people of Iran, to target the warm-hearted, sympathetic crusaders of Islam.

I sense danger to the Islamic world from this unquestioning servant of America. It is now up to the noble nation of Iran to prevent this tyrant from committing these crimes. It is up to the officials and army not to suffer farther ignominies; to seek remedies to safeguard the independence of their country.

It is the duty of the zealous Iranian nation to inhibit the activities of the Americans and Israelis and strike at their interests in Iran, regardless of it resulting in the total destruction of such interests. It is the duty of the distinguished *ulama* and the preachers to point out in mosques and at

religious gatherings, the atrocities of the Israelis. The prominent religious figures and the noble nation of Iran should not remain silent in this matter. They must force the Shah in every possible manner to join the ranks of the Muslims, and desist from further acts of treachery to the Quran and its adherents. They must divulge the crimes of this bloodthirsty fiend so that his real self may be better known. And if the Iranian Jews are helping Israel (which they are and, undoubtedly, enjoying the Shah's support in the process), it is the responsibility of Iranians to put a halt to this trend. It is their duty to establish a relief fund for the soldiers of Islam who are in the thick of the bloody fray, and spare no effort in assisting them.

I have repeatedly pointed out the danger posed by Israel and its stooges, the foremost of whom is the Shah. Iran will not see a happy day until and unless this nucleus of evil is rooted out; nor will it be free while it is in the clutches of this ignominious dynasty.

I pray to God, the Exalted, for the triumph of the Muslims and the helplessness and vulnerability of Israel and its stooges.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 16, 1393 AH

Letter

Date: October 15, 1973 [Mehr 23, 1352 AHS / Ramadan 17, 1393 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Refutation of a rumor

Addressee: *Unknown*

In His Most Exalted Name

Siyam¹ 17, 1393 AH

I wish to inform you that I have received your letter. I pray to God Almighty for your health and success.

According to the above-mentioned letter, certain malicious people, bent on preventing the religious law payment to the holy seminaries, have said that certain people do not receive money. This is a lie; the money is remitted through various means. Please refute this rumor. I hope that you will pray for me. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ *Siyam*: the month of fasting (Ramadan).

Letter

Date: November 7, 1973 [Aban 16, 1352 AHS / Shawwal 10 1393 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Muhammad Thaqafi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 11, 1393 AH

Thank you for your esteemed letter sent through Mr. Kashmiri. I wish you health and prosperity. People say that you are, thanks to God, in good health. I hope that it gets even better, though untoward occurrences leave one out of spirits.

All of us were really sorry to hear about the demise of the late Mr. Esfandiyari.² May God give you comfort and the bereaved, fortitude and forbearance.

I am keeping well, by the grace of God, though old age often takes its toll. In any case, I am grateful to God for His mercies. I solicit your prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Give my regards to your dear son.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Imam Khomeini's father-in-law.

² Mr. Thaqafi's son-in-law.

Permission

Date: November 21, 1973 [Aban 30, 1352 AHS / Shawwal 24, 1393 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Ali Asghar Baghani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Shaykh Ali Asghar Baghani, 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 competent 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 while exercising the necessary caution." Also, His Eminence is permitted to collect the blessed Imam's share, spending one-third of it in the specified religious ways, and the balance to be remitted to me or to my legal representatives in Qum. He is also permitted to distribute the blessed Imam's Share or postpone the payments as needed.

"And I admonish him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been admonished by the pious predecessors, to adhere 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 and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal al-Mukarram 24, 1393 AH

Letter

Date: Circa November 27-December 21, 1973 [Azar 1352 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1393 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Faridah Mustafawi

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear daughter,

I have received your letters, and was happy to learn about your welfare. I pray that you will always be happy and prosperous by the grace of God.

Your father has many concerns and worries that are increasing day by day. He needs your prayers. Give my regards to Mr. Arabi and to my dear Fereshteh Khanum.¹ I solicit the prayers of all of you.

May peace be with you.

Your father

¹ It refers to Faridah Mustafawi's spouse and daughter respectively. *Khanum*: literally means 'woman' or 'wife'. It is formally used as a title of respect for women.

Letter

Date: Circa December 27, 1973-January 20, 1974 [Dey 1352 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 25, 1393 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission to make the payments stipulated by religious law in the manner mentioned in the letter

Addressee: Muhammad Hadi Taqwai Jahrumi

In His Most Exalted Name

[His Eminence, Hadrat¹ Grand Ayatullah Haj Aqa Ruhullah Khomeini, may his blessings last:

While extending my greetings and best wishes to Your Eminence, I pray to the Almighty for your good health which is the prayer of all the Shi'ah. I hereby request you to kindly permit me to give one share of the Imam's (A)² blessed Share to the poor and the needy neighbors whom I have in mind. Please also permit me to collect the *Sadat's* Share on your behalf and, during the course of the year, pay it to the poor *Sadat* of the locality. Also, kindly allow me to pay the sum of one thousand tumans annually to certain poor people as atonement regarding unknown persons. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Yours humbly,
Muhammad Hadi Taqwai Jahrumi
P.O. Box 1251, Doha, Qatar]

In His Most Exalted Name

May you be successful, God willing. You are hereby permitted to pay one-fourth of the blessed Share to the pious, religious poor and remit the balance. You are also authorized to pay for atonement. You can also pay the *Sadat's* Share to the pious, religious, poor *Sadat* in the manner mentioned in the letter. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Hadrat: The word *Hadrat* is used as a respectful form of address.

² The abbreviation, "A" stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *Alayhis-salam*, *Alayhimus-salam*, or *Alayhas-salam* [may peace be upon him/them/her], which is used after the names of the prophets, angels, Imams from the Prophet's progeny, and saints (A).

Letter

Date: January 17, 1974 [Dey 27, 1352 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 22, 1393 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The timid attitude of some *ulama* vis-à-vis the Shah's regime

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Langarudi

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 23, 1393 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Langarudi, may his blessings last:

I have received your letter, and pray to God for your health and welfare. With regard to what had been written about the timidity and apathy of the distinguished *ulama*, especially the senior ones, towards the establishment, I wish to say that such deeds and even worse are expected. For every backward step of ours, they take one forward. For the time being, they are engaged in their transgressions without any hindrance; it is all up to God. I solicit your prayers, and beseech the Almighty for the amelioration of the lot of the Muslims. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: January 27, 1974 [Bahman 7, 1352 AHS / Muharram 3, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The impracticability of composing new rituals

Addressee: Muhammad Kiyai-Nezhad

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Imad al-Alam Mr. Kiyai-Nezhad, may his blessings last:

I received your letter. May God grant you health and prosperity. You have asked me to compose other rituals.¹ It is not possible for me to do so considering my frail condition, ailments and concerns. I hope you would include me in your prayers.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ "To compose other rituals" is among the cover up terms used by Imam Khomeini in his letters to misguide the SAVAK agents who were known for monitoring the flow of communications between him and the people in Iran.

Permission

Date: January 29, 2974 [Bahman 9, 1352 AHS / Muharram 5, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in religious law affairs

Addressee: Hasan Thaqafi

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 5, 1394 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Aqa Hasan Thaqafi,¹ may his blessings last:

I received your letter informing me of your good health. I pray for your well-being and prosperity. Permission for the carpet is difficult, as you have heard. You are permitted to take one-third and send two-thirds to Mr. Lavasani.² Please convey my regards to your father,³ may his blessings last. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Imam Khomeini's brother-in-law.

² Mr. Muhammad Sadiq Lavasani, Imam Khomeini's fully-empowered representative in Tehran.

³ Mr. Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi, Imam Khomeini's father-in-law.

Permission

Date: February 6, 1974 [Bahman 17, 1352 AHS / Muharram 13, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Mirza Husayn Nuri

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 may His curse be upon all their enemies.

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence, Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam, Haj Mirza Husayn Nuri, may his blessings last, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully competent jurist during the occultation of the Living Imam, may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent, and is also permitted to collect the money as per religious law; even the blessed Share of the Imam (A) spending one-third of it for purposes made mandatory by religious law and remit the other two-thirds to me to be expended in the theological centers. He is also permitted to distribute, postpone as needed, to collect and deliver the religious payments in the prescribed manner.

“And I advise him, may God always assist him, as we have been advised by the pious predecessors, to adhere to 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 prayers.” May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram al-Haram 13, 1394 AH

Permission

Date: February 19, 1974 [Bahman 1352 AHS / Muharram 26, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs (for the villages and some districts of Afghanistan)

Addressees: Sayyid Husayn Musawi and Muhammad Jan Dahan Zarsang

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

After praising (God) and sending salutations (to Prophet Muhammad and his pure progeny), let it be known to the faithful believers of the following villages and districts that Messrs Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Sayyid Husayn Musawi and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Jan Dahan Zarsang, may God assist them, under the supervision of Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Sayyid Ali Asghar Lali, may God assist him, are my legal representatives in the stated places in financial and religious law affairs while exercising the necessary caution: Talkhak, Sefid Cheshmeh, Sar Jangal Nokamaran, Qaltesh Pain, and Lal from Dahan Mashkno upwards consisting of Siyasang, Dashk, Qaleh-ye Muhammad Qadam, Qaleh-ye Shekarki, Bunab village, Nuqubad Shekarki, Mushkhurdih, Qar Sangak, Hisar, Dahan Bum, Darrih Mazar, Qurubih, Divalak Lal uliya, Sarshikaraki Nuabad, Shikaraki, Sar Siqaye, Kajmazar, Irdad Talpich, Arg, Dahan Gunbad, Keji Shakhla, Rashk on the left, and Dahan Tukani consisting of Ache Bazar Abiyenu, Siyahnu, and the area of Qadam, Shahristan, Sardasht, Sarlafandi, Joqlak Uliya wa Sufla, Qaryugh Uliya wa Sufla, Juye Badalha, Dan Siqaye, Aludalal, Kajnu, Kand, Fak, Siyah Chishmah and Bitab.

They are also permitted to collect the blessed Share of the Imam (A), one third of which must be spent on purposes as per religious law, and the other two-thirds to be remitted to me, the receipts being sent to the payers.

Let it also be known that the aforesaid districts were in the name of Mr. Sayyid Ali Asghar Lali who, to the best of his ability, has divested himself in this manner.

“I advise them, may God always assist them, as we have been advised by the pious predecessors, to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires, and to be cautious in the worldly and afterworld affairs; and I hope that they will not forget me in their benevolent prayers.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon them and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram 26, 1394 AH

Letter

Date: Circa 1974 [1352 AHS / 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Giving caution about the book, *Shahid-e Javid*

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Dear Ahmad,

I have received your letter. I hope that you are doing well, God willing.

1. The letter has been misinterpreted; you must apologize to Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Rabbani whom I hold in great esteem.

2. I do not disapprove of, now or ever, helping the theology students and the poor. Please act according to what you and your respected uncle¹ think well; likewise what Mr. Rabbani deems advisable I approve fully.

3. Please endeavor earnestly to ensure that there is good will among the gentlemen; differences are harmful for them and for all.

4. Take the sum of two thousand tumans from Mr. Lavasani, or Uncle or Mr. Tehrani and hand it over to Mr. Khalkhali,² and also five hundred to Mr. Kiyani.

5. Do not embroil yourself in the disputes between the theology students and the preachers over the book³ and other things. God will rectify matters if He so wills. Remember me in your prayers. Give my regards to the girls and your dear wife.

Your father

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

² Mr. Sadiq Khalkhali.

³ It refers to the differences that arose over the book, *Shahid-e Javid* [The Immortal Martyr] by Mr. Salihi Najafabadi.

Letter

Date: Circa 1974-1975 [1352-1353 AHS / 1393-1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Establishment of Islamic school for girls in Kuwait

Addressee: Sayyid Abbas Muhri

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

Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam al-Mujahid Sayyid Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini, may his sublime presence for the Muslims endure by the grace of God:

After extending my greetings and best wishes for you, I wish to state that in order to protect the Muslim girls from corrupting influences and dissoluteness, I have taken steps to establish a modern, Islamic school in Kuwait named Jafari Girls' School so that the necessary grounds are laid for their sound Islamic education and upbringing as pleases God and His Messenger, and as expected from our girls.

The pious are not favorably inclined nor deem it proper to donate money for such religious purposes unless they are approved by the religious authorities. Therefore, it is hoped that they would be encouraged to help in the establishment and completion of the school so that they realize fully that assisting and supporting such Islamic centers is a social obligation, and renders valuable service to the ShiAh whose future generations will never forget.

Sincerely yours,

Sayyid Abbas Muhri]

Reply

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your admirable and religiously-oriented efforts in Kuwait to protect the Muslim children from moral depravity, and for their proper Islamic upbringing-as we hear from well-informed, trustworthy people-are hereby

appreciated and gratefully acknowledged. God will reward you for your goodness. The respectable Kuwaitis are expected to extend their moral and material cooperation in this important religious duty; to endeavor their utmost for the propagation of the lofty Islamic culture among the youth, thus earning God Almighty's pleasure and approval. I beseech God to grant you firmness of purpose and success in the task, and to Islam and the Muslims, glory and honor.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 22, 1974 [Esfand 3, 1352 AHS / Muharram 29, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission to expend the *Sadat's* Share

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Wahidi Jahrumi

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram al-Haram 29, 1394 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Aqa Sayyid Ahmad Wahidi, may his blessings last:

I have received your esteemed letter and pray to God to grant you success and to approve of your actions in discharging your religiously-mandated duties. I need your prayer which, in my opinion, will be answered, especially where it concerns the theological centers.

With regard to the *Sadat's* Share that you had mentioned, there is no objection for you to spend it or give it to the *Sadat* there. Regarding the issuing of a written permission, it is some time now that I have discontinued this practice.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 23, 1974 [Esfand 4, 1352 AHS / Muharram 30, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Addressee: Muhammad Sadiqi, Lebanon

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 30, 1394 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Sadiqi, may his blessings last:

Thank you for your esteemed letter and the kindness expressed therein. I pray for your health and welfare. I, myself, am in good health, thanks to God. But, the ever-increasing worries necessitate your prayers, gentlemen. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 2, 1974 [Esfand 11, 1352 AHS / Safar 7, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Recommendation on building houses for the theology students

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Dear son,

I hope you are fine, God willing. A few days ago I had sent you a letter through Mr. Sultani.¹ In case you have not received it, I am sending you another one. Please wish Aqa,² may his blessings last, and tell him that it is a good idea to construct dwellings for the theology students; however, it must be done gradually, anonymously and without fanfare, ten at a time, albeit rapidly. With regard to the costs, I do not want anything from Qum, nor from Mr. Abdullah Islami in Tehran. But if action is taken and the necessity arises, I will tell the representatives in Tehran to pay. Now, I hardly need anything for a prolonged period and I receive sundry remittances. If action is to be taken on the matter, it should be as early as possible, informing me of it. If possible, you may involve Mr. Haj Aqa Mahmud Tabatabai Qummi, Mr. Nilchi, Mr. Mimar, Mr. Haj Sayyid Jafar Yazdi and such people. You may also involve Mr. Hairi if you deem it advisable; if he agrees, he may act directly which, perhaps, would be better. In any case, it is up to you to act in consultation with others as you see fit. I do not think that the expenses will pose any problems. May peace be upon you.

Your father

¹ Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Tabatabai Sultani, father-in-law of Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

² Mr. Sayyid Murtada Hairi Yazdi, son of the founder of Qum's Theological Center.

Letter

Date: *Unknown*

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The regime's prevention of Imam Khomeini's letters from reaching the addressees

Addressee: Muhammad Ali Ansari

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence, Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Ali Ansari, may his blessings last:

Thank you for your esteemed letter informing me of your good health, and expressing your kindness to me. I ask God to give you health and success. You have written that you had sent me many letters but have received no reply. This letter of yours is the first one that I have received. They are not delivering my letters.¹ Apparently, travelers are also afraid to bring letters with them.² I do not even know whether or not this letter will reach you. I am sincerely requesting for your prayers which will, in all likelihood, be granted at this juncture. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The Shah's regime and the agents of SAVAK (State Security and Intelligence Organization) used to prevent Imam Khomeini's letters and telegraphs from reaching the addressees, and would confiscate them, just as they would prevent the letters and telegraphs of the Imam's followers from reaching Najaf.

² Referring to these travelers, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini writes: "...the person, hesitantly would take the letter (to be delivered) and, as in usual procedures take the corresponding amount. Subsequently, he would tear up the letter and throw it away because of his fear of being caught by SAVAK agents."

Letter

Date: March 23, 1974 [Farvardin 3, 1353 AHS / Safar 28, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Instructions to make payment

Addressee: Sayyid Kamal Faqih Imani

In His Most Exalted Name

Safar 28, 1394 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Kamal Faqih Imani, may his blessings last:

After extending my greetings to you, I wish to say that owing to the difficulty that has cropped up for the respected Imad al-Alam Mr. Sayyid Tahir Murtadawi, may God assist him, please give him one thousand tumans from my account, and also pay him the sum of three hundred tumans per month for a period of one year which is acceptable. And if anybody wanting to help him requires my permission, may do so from the blessed Shares to the extent of fulfilling his needs until such time as the problem persists. May God's peace and mercy be upon you

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 23, 1974 [Farvardin 3, 1353 AHS / Safar 28, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Expressing sympathy

Addressee: Sayyid Tahir Murtadawi

In His Most Exalted Name

Safar 28, 1394 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam Mr. Murtadawi, may his favors last:

I received your esteemed letter and was distressed to know of the misfortune you and your respected wife are faced with. I hope that God Almighty will grant swift recovery to the sick persons in your household, particularly that child. Please do not neglect me in your prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Reply to Query

Date: *Unknown*

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to query on the payment of religious dues

[Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Haj Aqa Ruhullah Khomeini, may his sublime existence endure:

After extending my greetings to you, I wish to state that in reply to the query made earlier, you had stated that in case the followers wish to approach people other than your representatives and deputies—for example, the other *mujtahidin*¹—to pay the religious dues (*khums*,² *zakat*),³ they first have to obtain your special permission. If not, they cannot be freed of their obligation.

Please advise me whether or not this *fatwa* [religious edict]⁴ is still in force.

Respectfully yours]

In His Most Exalted Name

They must give the dues to me or to one of the known representatives. To whomever they give the money, they must demand the receipt either from me or my brother in Qum. Otherwise, they must not pay.

¹ *Mujtahidin*: clergymen competent to deduce decrees based on religious jurisprudence.

² *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>.

³ *Zakat*: annual levy on specified items to be used for Muslims' welfare.

⁴ *Fatwa*: religious edict.

Letter

Date: March 24, 1974 [Farvardin 4, 1353 AHS / Safar 29, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to a letter

Addressee: Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani, Kermanshah

In His Most Exalted Name

Safar 29, 1394 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Aqa Ayatullah Ashrafi, may his blessings last:

I received your esteemed letter. May God grant you health and prosperity. Please include me in your prayers. Please send what you have with you to my brother¹ in Qum. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

Letter

Date: May 5, 1974 [Ordibehesht 15, 1353 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related; conveying state of health

Addressee: Faridah Mustafawi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear daughter,

I received your precious letter. May you and the others be healthy and happy. We are all right in terms of health, but have many concerns and worries. Please pray that everything ends well. So far, we have not been on the roof-top. Though it is advisable to do so, my wife does not allow it; either out of laziness, or the fear of catching cold. I also have to acquiesce. Give my regards to Mr. Arabi² and my dear Fereshteh.³ Do not forget me in your prayers. May peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Imam Khomeini's daughter.

² Mr. Muhammad Hasan Arabi, Imam's son-in-law.

³ Imam Khomeini's granddaughter.

Permission

Date: Circa April 24-May 21, 1974 [Ordibehesht 1353 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to letter and permission to collect and spend religious dues in the prescribed cases

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Rahmani

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Blessed Eminence Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma al-Imam Khomeini, may his sublime presence endure:

I have the honor to inform you that a pious believer, Haj Mahmud Asadullahi, has paid half of the sum of eight tumans for the *Sadat's* Share and, approached me regarding the balance. I told him that I have to get your permission for whatever action is to be taken. Please let me know whether to send you the aforesaid sum which is four tumans or give it on your behalf to the needy of Quchan, or remit it to your brother in Qum. May these glorious days last.

Muhammad-Ali Rahmani
Ordibehesht 8, 1353 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

You are hereby permitted to use half of the money, given to you, for your own expenses or spend it locally as prescribed and remit the other half of the sum to my brother in Qum. Please include me in your prayers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 20, 1974 [Ordibehesht 30, 1353 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 27, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to a letter

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 27, 1394 AH

My dear Ahmad,

I received two letters from you. I was glad to know that you and rest of my dear ones are doing well. I pray for the health and happiness of all. Regarding what you had written, I must say that it is not practicable for me to obtain permission¹ in this extremely grave situation with the instability in the theological center and the people not knowing what they are supposed to do. On the other hand, granting that there exists a remote possibility, you must not close your eyes to the humiliation that will be brought to us by the malicious ones of various places. In any case, do not take any action for the time being until it becomes clear as to what we have to do.

I beseech God to set things right. Convey my regards to all the girls and to your wife; kisses to Hasan.² May peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has explained the matter thus: "The expulsion of the combatant Iranians from Iraq made me suggest (to Imam) that in the event of his own expulsion, permission should be sought from one of the Muslim countries for him to reside in. The priority I had in mind was Syria or Lebanon, and, as a last resort, Pakistan.

² Sayyid Hasan Khomeini, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's son.

Letter

Date: May 22, 1974 [Khordad 1, 1353 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related; conveying state of well-being

Addressee: Zahra (Fahimah) Mustafawi

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1394 AH

My dear daughter,

I have received your letter, and ask God to give you and the others health and happiness. We are in good health, but the conditions here are causing anxiety. We do not know what is going to happen to us ultimately; only God should set matters right. Please pray for us, and convey my regards to Mr. Burujerdi.¹ He must be all right now God willing. In closing, I pray for the children and the others. May peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Mr. Mahmud Burujerdi, Imam's son-in-law.

Letter

Date: May 22-June 20, 1974 [Khordad 1353 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29-Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Faridah Mustafawi

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear Faridah,

I received your letter and was glad to know of your well-being. I had already replied to your letter before, congratulating you on your good deed.¹ I pray to God for their health, prosperity and welfare. It is a very good match; they have certainly made inquiries about the young man. Give my regards to Mr. Arabi,² and congratulate him on my behalf. My best wishes to Fereshteh for whose health and happiness, I always pray for. There is no fresh news to give you except that all of us are all right. They say that Dr. Mudarrisi³ has passed away. Is it true? God willing, it is not. Peace [be with you].

Your father

¹ The wedding of Khanum Fereshteh Arabi; Imam Khomeini's granddaughter.

² Mr. Muhammad Hasan Arabi, Imam's son-in-law.

³ One of the reputable doctors of Qum.

Letter

Date: June 23, 1974 [Tir 2, 1353 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The manner of remitting money

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1394 AH

Dear Dr. Yazdi, may God assist him:

I have received your letter. May God Almighty assist and bless you. I made inquiries about the parcels and was told that they were sent by Mr. DuAi. Apparently, they were collected from my house and sent. Therefore, do not take the money. Mr. DuAi is not in Najaf for further inquiries to be made, but the matter remains the same. Regarding the remittance of money, this should not be done through means except the bank. Sometimes money is received through other means as well. I hope that you and the other friends would pray for me. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: July 12, 1974 [Tir 21, 1353 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Khadijah Thaqafi

In His Most Exalted Name

Respected Khanum,

I received your letter after waiting for a long time.¹ It seems that you had forgotten us the moment you left Najaf, not thinking how anxious we would become on the delay of your letter. In any case, I hope you are happy and healthy, God willing.

We, thanks to God, are all right and passing the days in the usual way. The weather here keeps changing but, on the whole, it is good. Please keep us informed of your welfare, even if it be in a few words, once a week or at least once in two weeks. There is no fresh news to give. The same worrisome problems exist; and neither do we know what will happen. May God set matters right.

Give my regards to the family and all our relatives, particularly Siddiqah² and Fati Khanum.³ Kisses to Hasan.⁴ You must bear in mind that if the time to return elapses, it is not certain whether we can apply and whether it would be granted. You should hurry so that it would not be late. Do not listen to anybody; or else you will remain in Iran.

Myself

Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1394 AH

Iqlim⁵ sends his regards to you and Faridah.⁶ Since the time you left, he has been in good health.

¹ Imam Khomeini's spouse, during her sojourn in Najaf, used to visit Iran for one or two months at a time every two or three years in order to see her children and relatives.

² One of Imam Khomeini's daughters.

³ Khanum Fatimah Tabatabai, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's spouse.

⁴ Sayyid Hasan Khomeini, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's son.

⁵ Iqlim (or Iqlima) Imam's servant in Najaf.

⁶ Imam Khomeini's daughter and Mr. Arabi's spouse.

Letter

Date: Circa 1974-75 [1353 AHS / 1394-95 AH]

Place: Najaf

Subject: Reply to a condolence message

Addressee: Fatimah Tabatabai¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Respected Khanum and Hasan's dear mother,

Thank you for your letter of condolence. May God keep you and the other relatives in good health. You had not mentioned in your letter that you would go to Mashhad with Khanum.² Inasmuch as all the letters were from Tehran, it is clear that you are both together.

May your pilgrimage be accepted, God willing. We are doing well. Please include me in your prayers. Kisses to Hasan.³ May peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's wife.

² The letter concerns the time when Imam Khomeini's spouse had come to Tehran, Iran from Najaf, Iraq to visit her children and relatives.

³ Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini.

Letter

Date: July 16, 1974 [Tir 25, 1353 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Instructions to make payments

Addressee: Muhammad ShariAt Isfahani (Shaykh ash-ShariAh), Pakistan

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1394 AH

His Eminence Shaykh al-ulama al-Amilin wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. ShariAt Isfahani, may his blessings last:

I hope that you are in the best of health, God willing. I understand that Mr. Rustami has come to Pakistan owing to the difficulty created for him by the Iranian Embassy in Beirut. Give him one thousand tumans in draft through Mr. Khalkhali,¹ and we will reimburse it. Do not forget me in your prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Also, pay him two hundred tumans per month, while he is there, in draft through Mr. Khalkhali and I will pay.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali, in charge of Imam Khomeini's legal and financial affairs in Najaf, Iraq.

Permission

Date: July 24, 1974 [Mordad 2, 1353 AHS / Rajab 4, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Mustafa Ashrafi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may God's peace and salutation 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 Shaykh Mustafa Ashrafi, 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 competent jurist during the occultation of the Living Imam, may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent; "so that he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs exercising the necessary caution." Also, His Eminence is permitted to collect the blessed Imam's (A) Share, one-third of which he should expend on the basis of specified religious laws, spending part of it for personal expenses, and the other two-thirds to be delivered to me for expenses of theological centers, may God protect them from evil incidents.

"And I advise him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been advised by the pious predecessors, adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in 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
Rajab al-Murajjab 4, 1394 AH

Letter

Date: August 18, 1974 [Mordad 27, 1353 AHS / Rajab 29, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear Ahmad,

I received your two letters, and was happy to know that you and the others are well. May you always be well, God willing. Please inquire about Mr. Lavasani¹ whenever you see fit, and try to solve his problems. Also, send somebody to call on him. Do not talk to anyone² about assigning somebody. I, myself, will not assign anyone for the time being, nor have I one in mind. Do not spare any effort in taking care of your respected uncle.³ He is in poor health and needs attention. We are expecting Khanum⁴ to arrive on Wednesday. May peace be upon you.

Your father
Rajab 29, 1394 AH

Tell Mr. Shaykh Abdul-Ali that in case he wants to send a parcel to Kuwait it must be done through Mr. Haj Ismail and nobody else.

Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has explained the footnotes to this letter, thus:

¹ SAVAK could not tolerate Hadrat Ayatullah Lavasani. Ultimately, they arrested and imprisoned him, later on banishing him to Hashtpar (in the north). The Imam had instructed that someone should go there to visit him. I went, but was prosecuted by SAVAK for doing so.

² After the banishment of Hadrat Ayatullah Lavasani, somebody had to be assigned to attend to the payments in Tehran. The Imam had warned me not to take any action in the matter as the person assigned may be inexperienced. So I did nothing as per his instructions, and the Imam, out of his great attachment to Hadrat Ayatullah Lavasani, did not appoint anybody at all.

³ Ayatullah Pasandideh.

⁴ The Imam was very fond of my mother and her absence hurt him. She was also devoted to him, but had to leave him every two or three years to visit her children in Iran for two or three months at a time.

Letter

Date: August 20, 1974 [Mordad 29, 1353 AHS / Shaban 1, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law payment

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Honorable Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Pasandideh, may his blessings last:

I wish to inform Your Honor that I beseech God to keep you in good health. I request you to pay the sum of ten thousand, eight hundred and seventy-eight tumans to Mr. Sayyid Muhammad, son of Sayyid Mahmud, which is acceptable.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-MuAzzam 1, 1394 AH

Letter

Date: August 25, 1974 [Shahrivar 3, 1353 AHS / Shaban 6, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Pointing out various matters

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 6, 1394 AH

My dear Ahmad,

Today I received a letter from you, and one from Aqa¹ in Damascus. I will answer his letter later on. Tell him not to write the figures in the Siyaqi² style; it is out-dated and could lead to errors. Khanum is all right. Mr. Sadr's family just came and she has gone to meet them.

Concerning the replacement...³ it is not advisable. Do not even speak to anyone about it. I do not approve of those you have in mind. Let it remain as it is till we see what happens. I will send Aqa's receipts to Syria through the Afghani;⁴ perhaps they will reach him. Let me know of your welfare. Convey my regards to the virtuous Fatimah Khanum, and kisses to my dear Hasan. May peace be with you.

Your father,

They had sent a message that three hundred tumans have been paid. It is not known when. The money has not arrived yet.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

² *Siyaqi*: an old, difficult manner of notation.

³ It relates to choosing someone in lieu of Mr. Lavasani who was in exile. His Honor did not give his consent to such a move till the very end. In the Imam's letter also, the matter has been stated in this way [...]

⁴ Mr. Jalaluddin Farsi who used to reside in Syria at that time.

Letter

Date: September 14, 1974 [Shahrivar 23, 1353 AHS / Shaban 26, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 26, 1394 AH

My dear Ahmad,

I implore God to keep you, the family and dear Hasan¹ safe and sound. We are doing well, thanks to God. What worries me is that Aqa² had told your mother that the sum of three hundred tumans has been given through Mr. Sayyid Hasan for prayer [*namaz*] and fasting [*ruzeh*].³ The money has not been received until now; apparently your mother has made a mistake. A sum of two hundred tumans and a hundred tumans for prayer and fasting had been received previously through him and Mr. Gareschi⁴ respectively. However, this happened several months ago. Write to me about this matter sooner so that the mistake is rectified. Give my regards to Aqa. Peace [be with you].

Your father

¹ Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini.

² Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

³ *Namaz*: the obligatory prayers said five times a day, in Farsi. *Ruzeh*: the dawn to dusk fast in Farsi.

In this connection, Imam's Memento (i.e. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini) writes that these two words have been used as a cover.

⁴ Imam's representative in Tehran Bazaar.

Letter

Date: 1974 -75 [1353 AHS / 1394 - 95 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Publication of a letter regarding the book, "Imam Khomeini's Stand regarding Israel"

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

In His Most Exalted Name

This morning an unsigned letter was dropped at our door. The subject pertains to the objections raised regarding the recent book:¹

1- The accusation made against you ten years ago, concerning Abdul-Nasir, has been raised again. This is not appropriate.²

2- The telegrams sent concerning your coming to Iraq, despite their being unrelated to the matter, were attributed to some telegrams of the Front.³ This could lead to discord.

I have not read the book again. If you consider the objection as valid, please think it over.

¹ The book "Imam Khomeini's Stand regarding Israel", authored by Sayyid Hamid Ruhani and published in Najaf.

² In order to cloud the Khordad 15 Uprising, the Shah's regime had concocted the news of the arrest at Mehrabad Airport of Jamal Abdul-Nasir's emissary with a lot of money on his person. This "news" was published in the media. Mr. Sayyid Hamid Ruhani had dwelt at length on this matter in the aforesaid book, to which Imam Khomeini alludes.

³ The National Front.

Letter

Date: Circa 1974 -75 [1353 AHS / 1394-95 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Disapproval of the inclusion of an article from “Contemporary History”, to the monthly, *15th Khordad*¹

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

In His Most Exalted Name

1- The details given have some discrepancies, among them the extolling of the massacre of people. It is not proper for this to appear in your monthly and the present facts be subject to doubt and criticism. Also, I have something on my mind that I cannot mention.

2- The second page too, is not to my liking, particularly in a monthly like yours.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Hamid Ruhani, publisher of the monthly, *15th Khordad*, in Najaf, which carried the news of the events of Imam Khomeini's movement, has this to say about the letter: “The matter referred to in the letter is about an article lauding an active political current in the decades of the twenties and thirties. This article had been written to be published in the monthly. However, I withheld publication after Imam disapproved of it.

Letter

Date: October 1, 1974 [Mehr 9, 1353 AHS / Ramadan 14, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Release of the addressee from jail or exile

Addressee: *Not known*

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting 14, 1394 AH

After extending my greetings and salutations to you, I wish to express my joy at your release. I pray that you will always be blessed with health and happiness. Thanks to God, "The agony and suffering are no more, the reward is eternal." During this period, I have been praying daily for all the friends who have undergone trials and tribulations. I have also paid visits to the holy places on their behalf whenever I had the honor of doing so. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Letter

Date: October 2, 1974 [Mehr 10, 1353 AHS / Ramadan 15, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Faridah Mustafawi

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting 15, 1394 AH

My dear daughter,

I hope you are doing well, God willing. I received your letter and was very happy to know that you are fine. I hope that you will always be prosperous. We are all fine, thanks to God.

Give my regards to Mr. Arabi,¹ and also to my dear Fereshteh² for whose welfare I pray. Peace [be with you].

Your father

¹ Mr. Muhammad Hasan Arabi, Imam Khomeini's son-in-law.

² Mrs. Fereshteh Arabi, Imam's granddaughter.

Letter

Date: October 5, 1974 [Mehr 13, 1353 AHS / Ramadan 18, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission for spending Imam's (A) blessed Share

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

[In the Name of God

Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Aqa Khomeini, may his sublime presence endure:

I would like to bring to your respected attention that Mr. Aqa Muhammad has paid the sum of one thousand five hundred (1,500) dollars from the blessed Share of the Imam (A) on your behalf, to Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi who resides in America. Dr. Yazdi who is a religious and trustworthy person, wishes to give this amount of money to respectable, dignified and religious people who are worthy of the same, subject to your esteemed approval. Kindly advise me whether he has your permission to do so.

Ramadan 18, 1394 AH]

In His Most Exalted Name

I, hereby, grant permission. May he be successful, God willing.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: October 6 [Mehr 14 / Ramadan 19]¹

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Sending payment receipts

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Najafi²

In His Most Exalted Name

Eve of Ramadan al-Mubarak 19

May God assist you and grant you success. I have received your letter, and have remitted the receipts for the sum of six thousand five hundred, which you will receive, God willing. I am requesting prayers from you and Mr. Haqshenas, in this blessed month. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The year is not known.

² On the envelope, Imam Khomeini has written: "His Eminence, Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam, Aqa Sayyid Ahmad Najafi, may his blessings last."

Letter

Date: October 13, 1974 [Mehr 21, 1353 AHS / Ramadan 26, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related; wedding greetings

Addressee: Fereshteh Arabi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting 26, 1394 AH

My dear child Fereshteh,

I was happy to hear the good news of your blessed and auspicious wedding. It was a really good match. May God grant both of you health, happiness and prosperity, and may He bless this good deed. I am extending my best wishes to you, Mr. Arabi² and my dear Faridah,³ praying for your well-being. We are all right here and hoping for your prayers. May God's peace and mercy be with you.

Your father

¹ Imam Khomeini's granddaughter.

² Mr. Muhammad Hasan Arabi, Imam's son-in-law.

³ Imam's daughter.

Letter

Date: Circa October 23-November 15, 1974 [Aban 1353 AHS / Shawwal1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds and conveying greetings to relatives

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear Ahmad,

May you be healthy and happy, God willing. We are in good health, yet our spirits suffer. May God set aright the affairs of Muslims and relieve them of their problems.

I have sent the draft of thirty five thousand (35,000) tumans. Please take it, the money intended for the house, from Aqa¹ and hand it over to Mr. Hairi² and get the receipt for the same. Also give him the enclosed document for his attestation as well. They must give the dowry document³ so that action is taken according to the law. There must be no negligence in these official matters. Please act in accordance with what I have written. Please ask your respected uncle⁴ about the standard procedure; ask him to guide you. Give him my best regards as well as to sisters and Fati⁵ Khanum. Kisses to Hasan,⁶ just as I kiss his photograph, I have with me. Peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

² Mr. Murtada Hairi, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's father-in-law.

³ The dowry document pertaining to the wedding of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini and his spouse.

⁴ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

⁵ Khanum Fatimah Tabatabai, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's spouse.

⁶ Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini.

Letter

Date: October 29, 1974 [Aban 7, 1353 AHS / Shawwal 12, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Securing funds for mosque repairs

Addressee: Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani, Kermanshah

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 13, 1394 AH

His Eminence Imad al-ulama al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Aqa Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani, may his blessings last:

Your letter was received. May God grant you health and success. Regarding my permission in financial matters and receiving salary from the government and others, you are hereby permitted to allow those whose deeds are permissible. Regarding the mosques, do not give permission even...¹ In cases you deem necessary, you may permit more than one-third with certain stipulations such as it not being possible from other funds, the mosque being needed, and its repairs essential. I will speak to Mr. Khusrushahi, God willing. Please include me in your prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ It is not legible; probably "to friends".

Letter

Date: Circa October 23-November 15, 1974 [Aban 1353 AHS / Shawwal 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Pronouncement regarding the publication of a paper on the tenth anniversary of the restoration of Capitulation Bill

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

In His Most Exalted Name

May you be successful, God willing. They informed me last night, but I had completely forgotten. I remembered it when I saw you. These are the effects of senility. With regard to the papers that you had sent, I approve of “Restoration of Capitulation”, but not “What Transpired in the Majlis”.¹ There are two reasons for this: One, unworthy people are shown in a good light, being clear that all the debates were just a farce. Secondly, they sanction freedom of speech and opposition to the Shah’s regime, which is not the case. If it were not on the orders of the security apparatus, they would not have dared to hold such debates, nor would they have remained unscathed. So, they should not be mentioned anymore. I am indifferent to the other matter, but I do not know how the revision of that day’s speech² which was published, is. About the other paper³ also, I do not know what the outcome will be, though it does not seem very right; however I will not oppose it. May peace be upon you.

¹ On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Imam’s uprising against the Capitulation Bill, Mr. Sayyid Hamid Ruhani wanted to write a short history of capitulation and its deleterious effects, the proceedings of the debates of the Majlis deputies for and against the Bill, the Capitulation Bill in the National Consultative Assembly, and also the speech and proclamations of Imam on Aban 4, 1343 AHS [October 26, 1964] when, by means of the aforesaid letter, Imam Khomeini made known his views in both cases.

² Imam Khomeini’s speech of Aban 4, 1343 AHS against capitulation which led to his exile to Turkey.

³ Imam Khomeini’s proclamation of Aban 4, 1343 AHS against capitulation.

Letter

Date: November 3, 1974 [Aban 12, 1353 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear son,

I hope that you are well and happy, God willing. I have not received the reply to my two letters concerning the assessment of the house¹ which was to have been done by somebody assigned by Mr. Hairi. Time is short. Your prompt reply is necessary. Therefore, expedite the matter and let me know. Send two letters so that at least one of them reaches me. My regards to sisters and your good wife; kisses to Hasan. Peace [be with you].

Your father

¹ In relation to this, the Imam's Memento (Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini) writes: "The property referred to is Imam's house in Yakhchal Qadi. He had designated one-sixth of it as the dowry of Masumah Khanum, Haj Aqa Mustafa's wife, who had asked for it in Najaf. The Imam had requested Ayatullah Murtada Hairi to get somebody to estimate the value of the property in order to give Masumah her dowry. This was duly done and Masumah received it. As Imam considered himself a debtor in this matter, he had emphasized its urgency in his letters, requesting immediate action to be taken and, that too, by Masumah's father himself to prevent discrepancies in the appraisal of the property.

Letter

Date: November 13, 1974 [Aban 22, 1353 AHS / Shawwal 27, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 28, 1394 AH

My dear Ahmad,

May God grant you and your respected family health and happiness. I have written to you two or three letters, and in all of them I have laid emphasis on the fact that Masumah¹ Khanum wants to sell her house in order to go to Mecca. Please find out the value of the house with Mr. Hairi to guide you, and both of you, write to me and let me know. Give my regards to Fatiimah² Khanum, and to sisters; kisses to Hasan.³ Peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Masumah Hairi, daughter of Murtada Hairi, and spouse of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

² Khanum Fatimah Tabatabai, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's spouse.

³ Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's son.

Statements

Date: December 5, 1974 [Azar 14, 1353 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 20, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Protest to the action taken by the Iraqi regime against the Muslim revolutionaries of Iraq

Addressee: The Governor of Najaf¹

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

...Please inform the Iraqi authorities that such atrocities and killings entail ominous consequences for you. Like you, Rida Shah Pahlavi used to imprison, torture and hang innocent people, and would leave no stone unturned in committing crimes against the Iranian people. Eventually, he was forced to relinquish the throne and flee country. Slaughter and bloodshed cannot insure your government. It behooves you to learn a lesson from the fate that befell others, and not to behave so ruthlessly against Islam, the *ulama* and the faithful Muslims. [Some such message.]

¹ At sunset on December 5, 1974 [Azar 14, 1353 AHS], when the news came to Imam that the abovementioned were to be hanged on the eve of December 16, 1974 [Azar 15th] in Baghdad; he at once summoned the governor of Najaf. The governor, together with the head of the security organization and the head of police of Najaf came to see the Imam who told the governor of Najaf in a harsh tone: "....." *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement, vol. 3, p. 97.

Permission

Date: December 7, 1974 [Azar 16, 1353 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 22, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Ayatullahi Sayyid Husayn Jahrumi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God's salutations be upon our Master 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 Ayatullah Aqa Sayyid Husayn Jahrumi, 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-competent 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, exercising the necessary caution." He is also permitted to collect the blessed great *Sadat's* and the Imam's (A) Shares, and deliver the *Sadat's* Share to the poor, pious *Sadat* and spend a quarter of the blessed Imam's (A) Share in the specified religious ways, sending the remaining three-quarters to me to be expended in the theological centers, may God protect them from evil incidents; and send the receipts to the owners of the money.

"And I advise him, may God always assist him, as we have been advised by the pious predecessors, to adhere to 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 prayers."

May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Qadah 22, 1394 AH

Letter

Date: December 21, 1974 [Azar 30, 1353 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to greetings on the auspicious occasion of *Id al-Fitr*¹

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul- Hijjah 6, 1394 AH

Dear Dr. Yazdi, may God assist him:

Thank you for your *Id al-Fitr* greetings. May it be auspicious for the Muslims, and help them rid themselves of the outsiders and their masters who have turned the people's happiness into mourning. It is hoped that the elimination of these hirelings is at hand, and the dignity of Muslims and Islam restored. Please excuse the delay in replying. Old age, the host of adversities, external and internal, and the preoccupation with developments—positive and negative—hinder me from being prompt. I hope you and the others will include me in your prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Id al-Fitr*: the religious festival marking the end of the blessed month of Ramadan.

Letter

Date: Circa 1974-75 [1353 AHS / 1394-95 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The necessity to attend to religious law payments

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

This is perhaps the fifth time that I am writing as nothing has yet been done. Haj Shaykh¹ says that he does not recall the matter of a little more than a hundred dollars sent to him for *namaz* and *ruzeh* through Husayn Taqawi, and that whoever has paid has obtained the receipt. Please ask Husayn Taqawi for the receipt, or send him to Haj Shaykh in Syria, and advise me of the same. People's property should not be lost. Do not be negligent; I am really upset. In case he has the receipt, send it here or to Syria through somebody trustworthy.

¹ Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali, in charge of Imam Khomeini's financial affairs in Najaf.

Letter

Date: January 9, 1975 [Dey 19, 1353 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 25, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Instructions regarding religious law payments

Addressee: Muhammad Kiyai-Nezhad

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 25, 1394 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam Hajj Shaykh Kiyai Nezhad, may his blessings last:

I received your esteemed letter from Makkah al-MuAzzamah.¹ I hope that the great saints and the Exalted Lord will accept your pious deeds, and that you will be consistently successful in giving guidance and control. There is no objection to your going to Mecca in later years in the manner explained.

With regard to the money that Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Taleqani wants to be distributed, it is better to approach him and do whatever he thinks best after consulting him. It is all right for the money to be sent to him, he has my permission. Please include me in your prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Makkah al-MuAzzamah: literally, the Glorious Mecca.

Letter

Date: Circa 1974 -75 [1353 AHS / 1394-95 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to a request for financial assistance in publishing a manifesto

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

In His Most Exalted Name

May you be successful, God willing. You are perhaps aware that I do not even have a single *fil*¹ to my name, and that whatever I have belongs to the public, to be spent in accordance with set criteria. I do not know if there is anything really convincing in these publications and printed matter. I, therefore, request you, gentlemen, to exercise caution.

¹ *Fils*: unit of Iraqi currency, a hundredth of a dinar.

Letter

Date: January 11, 1975 [Dey 21 1353 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1394 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reminders regarding financial matters

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1394 AH

My dear Ahmad,

I hope that you are fine, God willing. Mustafa returned safely from *Hajj*.¹ We are all right, thanks to God. Please collect the sum of thirteen thousand, six hundred and fifty (13,650) tumans from your respected uncle,² may his blessings last, after conveying my regards to him, and hand it over to Mr. Hairi.³ Please tell him that somebody has given this money to be in his safekeeping until further notice. Also, give him my regards. Let me know of your welfare early enough. Give my best wishes to your sisters and your spouse, and kisses to Hasan; let me know how he is faring. Khanum has just come from the bath, and sends her best regards. She wants you to write to her about your welfare and that of Khazanjun.⁴ We have had no news of her for quite some time. Please phone her and inquire about her welfare; write and let us know. Also, ask her to write to us. May peace be upon you.

Your father

Please inform me of the aforesaid sum.

¹ *Hajj*: the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca, at least once in a lifetime.

² Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

³ Mr. Murtada Hairi Yazdi.

⁴ Khanum Khazan al-Muluk, Imam Khomeini's mother-in-law.

Letter

Date: Winter of 1974 [winter of 1353 AHS / 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Circumstances surrounding the dispatch of letters

Addressee: Muhammad Hasan Arabi¹

...Though I had written to you recently, but since I have not been receiving any letters from you and the others, and as rumors are rife that correspondence is banned, I have had this written by another person. Perhaps it will reach you.

If you so wish, you may send your letters to the addresses mentioned herein. Please also send word through Mr. Qarahi² or anybody else, to those in Tehran, who want to send money that letters are not reaching by the ways hitherto used. They must write to the following:

1. Mr. Gharawi; 2. Mr. Haqqshenas; 3. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Langarudi; 4. Haj Murtada Tehrani; 5. Haj Aqa Mujtaba Tehrani; 6. Mr. Ruhani, son of the late Haj Sayyid Ahmad Qummi, the brother of the late Haj Mirza Mahmud; apparently his mosque is in Gorgan Avenue; 7. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Ali Lavasani; 8. Haj Shaykh Ahmad Mujtahidi; and, likewise, others. But the letters must be private, and they must be told not to divulge the contents. Mr. Qarahi should also correspond in this manner.

The addresses are:

1- Haj Sayyid Ismail Behbahani, P.O. Box 100, Kuwait

2- Hujjat al-Islam Khalkhali, c/o Sayyid Kamal al-MarAshi, An-Nabi Street, Beirut, Lebanon

3- Shaykh Isa Abdul-Hamid P.O. Box 2352, Doha, Qatar

Of course, to one of these each time. Place your letter in an envelope and place the envelope in another one, and send it to one of the persons mentioned. God willing, it will reach its destination.

¹ This letter was recovered from SAVAK's file on Imam Khomeini's struggle. SAVAK, in its report labeled "Confidential, Classified, Security", comments thus on this letter: "Recently, a letter from Khomeini was sent to a Qum address to Haj Muhammad Hasan Arabi. Enclosed with this was another letter addressed to Ahmad Khomeini, the contents of the letter are as follows (the above mentioned text)."

² Mr. Abdul-Ali Qarahi.

Letter

Date: January 20, 1975 [Dey 30, 1353 AHS / Muharram 7, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Insistence on Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh having authorization

Addressee: Saburi, Kashan

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 7, 1395 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Saburi, may his blessings last:

I received two letters from your. I beseech God to grant you health and success. May your pilgrimage be accepted, God willing.

As regards the payments, the believers are permitted to give their money to Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Pasandideh, my respected brother. You may consider his hand as mine, and his seal and signature as my own. May they be successful. Please inform Mr. Haj Muhammad Taati Kashani, may God assist him, about this, as well. You may also give him whatever you want; it is acceptable to me. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: January 20, 1975 [Dey 30 1353 AHS / Muharram 7, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Asghar Dastghayb, Shiraz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds; may God's salutations be upon our Master Muhammad and his pure progeny; and may His curse be upon all their enemies.

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ali Asghar Dastghayb, 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-competent jurist during the occultation of the Living Imam, may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent, "so that he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs exercising the necessary caution." He is also permitted to collect the blessed Imam's (A) Share, spending a third of it in the specified religious ways, among them for personal expenses, sparingly and deliver the other two-thirds to me to be expended in the theological centers.

"And I advise him, may God Almighty assist him, as we have been advised by the pious predecessors, to adhere to 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
Muharram al-Haram 7, 1395 AH

Letter

Date: January 29, 1975 [Bahman 9, 1353 AHS / Muharram 16, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 16, 1395 AH

My dear Ahmad,

I hope you are fine, God willing. We are also all right, thanks to God. Please let me know of your welfare. In case you or Aqa Shaykh Qarahi¹ have received the sum of 65 tumans on account of reciting prayers from Mr. Hashimian Rafsanjani please have it sent to Haj Shaykh. Tell Aqa that three hundred tumans, for prayers and fasting, have been received through Mr. Qarahi, but it is not clear how much of it is from you and how much from Mr. Qarahi. Perhaps it will become clear later on.

With regards to the house, I had previously written to you to take the necessary legal steps to transfer it on the instructions of Hadrat Aqa, as per my advice. I am receiving letters regularly at present; it is not necessary to send them by other means. Please give my regards to sisters and your noble spouse. Kisses to Hasan;² give me the pleasure of knowing about his welfare. May peace be upon you.

¹ Mr. Abdul-Ali Qarahi, in charge of Imam Khomeini's financial affairs.

² Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's son.

Letter

Date: February 13, 1975 [Bahman 24, 1353 AHS / Safar 1, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Delivering the religious law payments to Imam Khomeini's representatives in Tehran and Qum

Addressee: Haqqshenas

In His Most Exalted Name

Safar al-Khayr 1, 1395 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam Aqa Haqqshenas, may his blessings last:

I have received your esteemed letter. I beseech God to grant you health and prosperity. I direly need the sincere prayers of you gentlemen. Please deliver whatever money is given to you either to Haj Sayyid Muhammad Rida Qarawi, who has a shop in Hadrati or Darvazeh Bazaar in Tehran, or to my brother Mr. Pasandideh in Qum. There are no impediments to what I have stated. After the payments are made, they will remit the same whereupon I shall send you the receipts. Please do not forget me in your prayers for my salvation. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 16, 1975 [Bahman 27, 1353 AHS / Safar 4, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Paying the domestic attendants

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Safar 4, 1395 AH

My dear Ahmad,

May God grant you good health and, also, success in the pursuit of knowledge; and in performing good deeds. May He also help you to be pious and morally refined. We are fine, thanks to God. I had written to you some months ago to give five hundred tumans to Iqlim's¹ son, and six hundred and twenty tumans to Faridah² for her to give to Sughra's³ daughter. It seems you have not acted upon the letter. I must know what happened. If you have not paid them yet, please do so and let me know or in case the letter has not reached you, inform me accordingly. Give my regards to my daughters who are the apples of my eyes, and to your spouse; kisses to Hasan.⁴ Peace [be with you].

Your father

¹ Iqlim (or Iqlima) one of Imam's domestic attendants.

² Khanum Faridah Mustafawi, Imam Khomeini's daughter and Mr. Arabi's spouse.

³ An attendant in Imam's house.

⁴ Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's son.

Reply to Query

Date: March 4, 1975 [Esfand 13, 1353¹ AHS / Safar 20, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Spending on publication of books on Islam and politics

Questioner: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

[In His Most Exalted Name

The Great Leader of Muslims, Hadrat Ayatullah Khomeini, may God favor the Muslims with his enduring existence:

Greetings and salutations to you. I wish to have your opinion on spending one-third of the possessions (which must be used for charity and clearance from obligations as per the will) on the publication of books on Islam and politics. Such books would portray the truths of Islam and the views of religious authorities on combating oppression, as well as the ruthless rulers and imperialists. They would also serve to enlighten the people and revolutionize their thinking on Islam. Your esteemed views are solicited. May your sublime presence endure for Muslims, God willing.]

In His Most Exalted Name

Matters which relate to propagating divine laws and enunciating the Islamic position vis-à-vis tyranny and oppressive rulers are all regarded as Islamic issues. The publications of books on such topics are not only charitable acts, but constitute charity of the highest order. If the will stipulating one-third, or any vows, pledges, etc. concern charitable purposes, expending the money there from on such matters is permissible and relevant.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In the book, *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22-volume edition), p. 221 dated February 21, 1975 [Esfand 2, 1354 AHS], it is stated that according to the available sources, March 4, 1975 [Esfand 13, 1353 AH] is the correct date.

Letter

Date: March 4, 1975 [Esfand 13, 1353 AHS / Safar 20, 1395 AH]

Place: Karbala, Iraq

Subject: Reply to letter on the issuance of the manifesto concerning the Rastakhiz Party¹

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

[In His Most Exalted Name

I cannot say what the recent calamity—the formation of the Rastakhiz Party with its back-breaking burdens—will bring upon the heads of the helpless Iranians. As I am going to proceed to Najaf, I wish to ask you that, in case you have taken a decision in this matter, advised us so that whatever our colleagues have in mind would be prepared and given to you. I feel very embarrassed about the poor quality of yesterday's tape. I have sent a new one which is usable and quite comprehensible.]

In His Most Exalted Name

May God grant you success. I must get all the facts and then decide. This should not prevent you from preparing your topics.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Hamid Ruhani has thus explained this letter:

“When the Shah announced the formation of the Rastakhiz [Resurgence] Party, the Imam was in Karbala. I taped the Shah's speech broadcast on the radio, and took the tape (which had not recorded the speech properly) to Karbala. I, subsequently, took another recording with another tape from the Farsi program of Baghdad Radio, and gave it to the Imam, suggesting that he issue a proclamation. The Imam's reply is the one given above.

Message

Date: March 12, 1975 [Esfand 21, 1353 AHS / Safar 28, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Boycotting Rastakhiz Party

Occasion: Announcement of the establishment of Rastakhiz Party by Muhammad

Rida Pahlavi¹

Addressees: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

In view of the fact that this party is against Islam and the interests of the Muslim nation of Iran, membership to it and participation in its activities is forbidden to all, as it will contribute to tyranny and the misery of Muslims. On the other hand, opposing the party is the clearest example of forbidding evil. This new tune—composed by the plunderers adept in diverting the people's attention from crucial matters—that has sprung up from the Shah's throat is meant to suppress the nation and so prepare the grounds in hatching their evil designs. It is also to stifle the voice of the people and so deprive them of their right to resist. Therefore, as per my duty, I deem it necessary to urge the Muslim nation to put up increased and multidimensional resistance, while there is still time, thus thwarting their ominous schemes.

It should be mentioned first of all that the Shah has admitted that this imperialist scheme, the so-called 'Sixth of Bahman Revolution', has suffered a signal defeat and lacks popular support. One, who has been trumpeting for more than ten years that Iranians approve of this revolution, and has named it the 'Shah-People Revolution', has today split their ranks and wants to draw support for himself by means of the bayonet. If this so-called "revolution" owes itself to the Shah and the people, then what need is there for a party to be imposed on the nation?!

It must be pointed out that this party, the so-called National Resurgence Party of Iran, is to all intents and purposes contrary to the constitution and to international norms in its imposed form, without parallel in any part of the

¹ The establishment of the Rastakhiz Party on March 2, 1975 [Esfand 11, 1353 AHS] was announced by Muhammad Rida Pahlavi. In a press interview he made it mandatory for all Iranians to become members of this party on pain of expulsion from the country if they refused. The three conditions the Shah had stipulated for membership were: Faith in the monarchy, the so-called 'White Revolution', and the constitution.

world. Iran is the only country to have a party established on royal command, with the people being compelled to be its members; on pain of imprisonment, torture, exile or the deprivation of their rights if they refused. The downtrodden people of this country are thus obliged to approve of the monarchical system, a rotten system that Islam rejects; that inflicts daily blows on Islam so much so that it will not hesitate to do away with Quranic tenets if the opportunity, God forbid, presents itself; a system that has ruined the existence of the nation, depriving it of all kinds of freedom; that has imprisoned the youth and intellectuals or sent them into exile—thus denying them their existence—and, by means of such subterfuges, wants to swell the members of those killed and jailed.

The Muslim people of Iran are compelled to bow their heads to a king whose hands are stained with the blood of the *ulama* of Islam and of the Muslims. To a king who wants to sell the last drop of this country's oil and, under various pretexts, offer the proceeds to the capitalists and plunderers, and consider it an honor to do so.

The imperialist America does not exploit its own huge oil reserves, buying its requirements from others in order to protect its country's interests. On the contrary, the Shah of Iran sells this black gold, thereby depleting Iran's oil reserves. Moreover, instead of using the income for the benefit of this poor, hungry nation, he loans it to his imperialist masters, or purchases weapons of destruction so as to safeguard and further their interests and ambition in Iran and the region, and also to continue the massacre of people and the suppression of anti-imperialist movements.

Until recently, he used to take burdensome loans from foreign countries thus jeopardizing Iran's economy, and now, by the awarding of loans and purchasing weapons, he is pushing the country into bankruptcy and arresting its development. Enslaving transactions, especially the recent fifteen-billion-dollar deal with the imperialist government of America is another deadly blow that the Shah has dealt the Iranian economy, and the latest act by which he has brought the wealth and resources of the deprived nation of Iran under the hammer.

The nation is obliged to approve of someone who has so retarded its agriculture and animal husbandry that wheat, rice, meat, cooking oil and other provisions have now to be imported at exorbitant costs. At the beginning of the so-called 'White Revolution', the Shah had promised the farmers that under land reform, the country's requirements of cereals would be met by domestic production. But now, instead of being ashamed of himself, he is boasting that two and a half million tons of wheat and four

hundred thousand tons of rice have been imported in the current year, whereas informed persons know that just one province of Iran—Khorasan for example—had the potential of supplying the wheat needed by the whole country; the potential destroyed by the Shah's 'White Revolution'.

It is now more than ten years that the Shah has been crowing about the country's progress while plunging the majority of the people into poverty and indigence. He has adorned the face of Tehran with multi-storied buildings put up with the wages of the people. But there is no sign of the basic necessities of life in the small towns and villages where most of the people live. He is now giving the people a twenty-five year promise but the people of Iran are aware of the fact that such promises are hollow and unrealistic. The country's agricultural potential has been destroyed and the condition of the farmers and laborers worsens day by day. There is no sign, except in name, of industrialization independent of foreign alignments, and will not be so until and unless this corrupt regime is changed, God willing.

By exhausting the oil reserves, this regime has so impoverished the people that it will result in their enslavement. The noble nation of Iran, devoid of industry and agriculture, will have to grapple with poverty and adversity, or labor for the capitalists.

The Shah keeps on harping on the constitution, whereas he leads the pack opposed to it. He has destroyed its basic principles, a clear manifestation of which is the recent interview and the ensuing hubbub over his violations of the constitution such as:

- Compulsory membership in the party;
- Compelling the people to demonstrate enthusiastically in favor of something that is against their wishes;
- Suppressing the press and forcing it to follow a line contrary to the good of the country;
- Infringing on the people's rights and depriving individuals and society of freedom;
- Bogus elections and the convening of a 'made-to-order' parliament;
- Establishing military bases, communications links and spy networks for foreign powers;
- Giving control of the country's most fertile lands to foreigners and their vile hirelings such as Israel, thus depriving the nation of the same, which is an act of treason;
- Allowing foreigners to invest and control the affairs of the country, and likewise plundering the nation's oil in the name of "national sovereignty",

and preventing the people from engaging in economic activities, all of which are treacherous acts;

- Giving immunity to foreigners and their hirelings; and
- As a rule, the interference of the Shah (who has no responsibilities per se according to the wording of the constitution) in state and other affairs, which is a return to the dark days of dictatorship.

This man keeps on harping on the ‘White Revolution’ that has been the cause of so much misery, that has done nothing for the people except to immobilize them, that, after a lapse of ten years, has been exposed as a sham by the Shah himself—a revolution that aims to bring colonialist culture to the remotest hamlets and villages, thus corrupting our youth in the process. Those who oppose this so-called revolution must undergo torture and be stripped of their rights. The *ulama*, religious personalities, students, university professors, and others who are against this corrupt, oppressive regime and its disgraceful revolution are either ‘stateless’ or must go to torture chambers, or be denied their social rights. Merchants, farmers, and laborers who have seen nothing those past ten years except empty promises, and will hear more of the same hereafter, and who oppose this cursed revolution will all suffer the same fate.

The distinguished religious scholars and the others must know that the formation of this party is the precursor of many misfortunes whose deleterious effects will gradually become manifest. It is binding on the *maraji* of Islam to forbid membership in this party, and not allow the rights of the people to be trampled upon. It is the duty of all the various strata of society, particularly the respected preachers, university students, laborers, farmers, traders and the guilds to demolish the very foundations of this party by means of an all-out, unremitting campaign and passive resistance. They should be rest assured that the regime is on the verge of collapse and that victory will be theirs. The nation should not be deceived by the hollow propaganda of the establishment, which is giving prominence to the holding of “Kumayl Supplications”¹ and mourning ceremonies in the propagandist

¹ Kumayl ibn Ziyad was born in Yemen. He belonged to a famous tribe of Nakha, which later settled in Kufah, Iraq. Kumayl was a staunch supporter of Islam and a loyal companion of Imam Ali (A). He received his training from Imam Ali, who filled his heart with the love of Islam. He was not a small fry but an honest and pious Muslim and more than that he was a mystic. During the Caliphate of Imam Ali he was appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer [*Bayt al-Mal*] and for some time the Governor of Hyt. Kumayl, the sincere soldier of Islam, also participated in the battles which Imam Ali fought against MuAwiyah, and those who had deviated from Islam. The mystic position of Kumayl was so elevated that Imam Ali personally taught him the Supplication of Khizr, which was later known as the Supplication of Kumayl. At last Kumayl ibn Ziyad was killed by the despotic Umayyad Governor Hajjaj ibn Yusuf for his being an affectionate friend of the family of the Holy Prophet (s).

Usually offered on every night preceding Friday [*Laylatul-JumAh*] individually or in congregation after *Isha’* prayers, this supplication envisages divine teachings and solid foundations of religion in order to enable everyone to follow the right path for becoming a worthy Muslim. The Arabic text, English translation and commentary of this famous supplication are available online at <http://www.al-islam.org/kumayl/index.htm>.

media, and are violating Quranic injunctions, by printing and publishing these according to their own fancies.

The deplorable state of affairs of the Iranians torments me in exile. How good it would have been had I been in their midst in such difficult times to cooperate with them in this sacred struggle to save Islam and Iran. I pray that the imperialists and their hirelings leave Iran alone. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar 28, 1395 AH

Reply to Query

Date: Circa February-March 1975 [Esfand 1353 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Forbidding people from joining Rastakhiz Party

Questioners: The combatant clergy of Najaf

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

The Honorable *Marja*¹ of the ShiAh, the great leader of Muslims, Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Khomeini, may his sublime presence endure:

After extending our profound greetings and salutations to you, we would like to request for your esteemed opinion on the Rastakhiz Party² which has been recently established by the regime. Kindly elucidate the stand and statement of the Iranian nation vis-à-vis the party.

A group of clergymen]³

In His Most Exalted Name

Considering the opposition of this party to Islam and to the interests of the nation, membership therein is forbidden to all the people as it would contribute to tyranny and the misery of the Muslims. On the other hand, opposing the party is the clearest example of forbidding evil. I have given my views in detail on this party.⁴

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Marja* or *Marja at-Taqlid*: the top religious authorities who are fully-competent to guide and advise the community on religious matters and practice.

² Resurgence Party.

³ Mr. Sayyid Hamid Ruhani had asked Imam Khomeini to publish in full his decree boycotting the Rastakhiz Party in reply to the advice sought. In reply, the Imam has written: "What you have written is all right. Take two or three copies and send one to me. Also, have it translated into Arabic and, if possible, have it printed here. But it should not be published here, and if this is not possible, the matter should be thought about." This handwritten reply of Imam is with the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works.

⁴ The opinion of the Imam, in full, appeared in his message of March 12, 1975 [Esfand 21, 1353 AHS / Safar 28, 1395 AH]

Letter

Date: March 19, 1975 [Esfand 28, 1353 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 5, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The manner of sending letters

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear Ahmad,

May you be successful and in good health, God willing. I received your letters from Kuwait and Lebanon. I also got your recent letter¹ from Syria, in which you had asked me to give the sum of three thousand to Mr. Samii.² He is not here, nor do I know where he is. Please inform me of your welfare constantly with different addressees. An address which is perhaps better than the others, is that of our Haj Kuwaiti:

Mr. Haj Raisi Ashkanani Institute
P.O. Box 690
Suq as-Salah
Kuwait³

Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has written, about the footnotes to this letter, thus:

¹ "As the letters were of a political nature, those who used to travel to Iraq were not willing to take them with themselves. Therefore, we were obliged to send them through travelers who used to travel to countries like Syria, so that from there the travelers could post them or send them through somebody to Najaf."

² "This refers to the great revolutionary Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shahid (Martyr) Muhammad Muntaziri to whom I would send money, news and other necessities. As he had gone to Najaf, I had written to the Imam to give the money to him and I would give it to my uncle (Hadrat Ayatullah Pasandideh), the Imam's representative in Qum. But, he (Muntaziri) had left Najaf without notifying anybody. He would normally keep his departure dates concealed from people."

³ "On no account would letters be sent directly to this address as the destination from the place of origin, Iran; but would be sent from other countries."

Letter

Date: April 6, 1975 [Farvardin 17, 1354 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 23, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law payments

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 23, 1395 AH

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Pasandideh, may his blessings last:

After extending my salutations and greetings, I wish to inform you that I have received your esteemed letter dated Rabi al-Awwal 1. I pray for your health and happiness. I will send Mr. Majid's receipt, God willing. You had written: "I had said give three thousand tumans to Mr. Khatam² and two thousand to Mr. Shaykh Farajullah, and had mentioned nothing about Mr. Sattari." I have not yet received your letter concerning this matter, and neither had I stated anything about Mr. Sattari. Anyhow, the matter is ambiguous, but I will pay the said amounts after asking Mr. Khatam. A cause of concern is the sum of ten thousand (10,000) tumans (a hundred thousand rials), please pay it to Mr. Haj Shaykh Mahmud Fadilzadeh, Mr. Ridwani's³ son-in-law. That is acceptable. I pray for your well-being. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

² Mr. Sayyid Abbas Khatam Yazdi.

³ Mr. Ghulam-Rida Ridwani.

Letter

Date: April 7, 1975 [Farvardin 18, 1354 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 24, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Payments of religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 24, 1395 AH

Dear son,

May you be healthy, happy and prosperous, God willing. We are fine, thanks to God. I have no fresh news to give you, except that I have paid Mr. Samii¹. Please tell Aqa that I have paid Mr. Khatami² and Mr. Yazdi. Please keep me informed of your well-being. Convey my regards to your sisters and your spouse; kisses to Hasan.³ May peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Mr. Muhammad Muntaziri's pseudonym.

² Mr. Sayyid Ruhullah Khatami.

³ Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's son.

Permission

Date: April 8, 1975 [Farvardin 19, 1354 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 25, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Ali Nassabeh, Darab

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God's salutations be upon our Master 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 Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Ali Nassabeh, 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-competent jurist during the occultation of the Living Imam, may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent, "so that he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs, exercising the necessary caution." He is also permitted to collect the alms, as well as spending them in the prescribed religious ways. He may also collect the blessed Share of the *Sadat* and Imam (A), spending the *Sadat's* Share and one-third of the Imam's (A) in the specified religious ways, and sending the remaining two-thirds to me to be expended in the theological centers, 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 adhere to 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 25, 1395 AH]

Telegram

Date: April 16, 1975 [Farvardin 27, 1354 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 4, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Addressee: Sayyid Shahabuddin MarAshi Najafi

[In His Most Exalted Name]

Qum, Iran

Hadrat Ayatullah Aqa Najafi, may his blessings last:

I am fine, thanks to God. Thanks for your kindness. May God keep you healthy.

Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 20, 1975 [Farvardin 31, 1354 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reminders regarding religious law payments

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1395 AH

I have received your esteemed letter. I pray for your health and happiness.

1- I have paid Mr. Khatami¹ three thousand and Mr. Haj Mirza Farajullah (who had come from Yazd) two thousand. I had also previously paid five thousand to Mr. Khatami and three hundred and sixty to Mr. Sibuyeh of Yazd, and had duly informed you.

2- You had sent money for Mr. Shaykh Hasan Karrubi which I handed over to him. You have again written, but I do not know if it is something else or the same. Please write. These repetitions inconvenience both of us. It is better for you to tell them to send through other means, for instance Mr. Madani to Mr. Khalkhali.² Please reply soon regarding Mr. Karrubi, so that I may know what to do.

3- The things mentioned in Mr. Qarahi's³ handwriting have all been received; that of Dhul-Qadah 1, Dhul-Hijjah 25 and Safar 12; whether through Fakhiri or somebody else.

4- The one who has the enclosed permission is in Darab.⁴ Please send it if you deem it advisable; they say he is an honest person.

5- It is better that you let me know of one particular place to which I can send all the letters; Tehran is best.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Ruhullah Khatami.

² Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali.

³ Mr. Abdul-Ali Qarahi.

⁴ Mr. Nassabeh – the letter of permission dated Farvardin 19, 1354 AHS [April 8, 1975].

Letter

Date: *Unknown*

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Zahra (Fahimah) Mustafawi

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear daughter,¹

It's been quite some time that I have not heard from your dear self. May you always enjoy health and happiness, God willing. We are fine, thanks to God. I hope that I will be able to see my near and dear ones in the dusk of my life. Please convey my regards to Mr. Burujerdi. I would like to express my gratitude to him and you for showing so much affection to Khanum.² I pray for the Apples of my eyes'. May peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Khanum Zahra (Fahimah) Mustafawi, Imam Khomeini's daughter and Mr. Mahmud Burujerdi's spouse.

² Khanum Khadijah Thaqafi, Imam Khomeini's spouse, who had traveled to Iran to see her children, and had returned to Najaf after some time.

Letter

Date: April 20, 1975 [Farvardin 31, 1353 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Faridah Mustafawi

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1395 AH

My dear daughter,

May you be fine and happy, God willing. We are all right here, thanks to God. I hope that I can see you all once more in the dusk of my life. Give my regards to Mr. Arabi¹ and to my dear Fereshteh;² and let me know of your own welfare.

Give the enclosed sheets to Uncle.³

¹ Mr. Muhammad Hasan Arabi , Imam Khomeini's son-in-law.

² The granddaughter of Imam Khomeini and daughter of Faridah Khanum and Mr. Arabi.

³ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

Letter

Date: April 28, 1975 [Ordibehesht 8, 1354 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 16, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The manner of utilizing religious law funds

Addressee: Muhammad Ali Rahmani¹

In His Most Exalted Name

You are hereby permitted to spend half of the money given to you for yourself or locally in the specified cases, and remit the balance to my brother in Qum.

Please include me in your prayers. I, on my part, pray for your success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The addressee had asked the Imam in a letter about expending the religious payments. The Imam's reply was given at the bottom of that letter itself.

Permission

Date: April 28, 1975 [Ordibehesht 8, 1354 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 16, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in religious law affairs

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi, may God assist him, is permitted as my representative to collect the religious payments consisting of the blessed Imam's (A) Share, and the noble *Sadat's* Share, and all the other religious law fund, remitting them to me. He is also permitted to spend one-fifth of the blessed Imam's (A) Share on exalting the faith, propagating Islam, and on all the other specified cases. May he and his friends include me in their prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon them.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 16, 1395 AH

Letter

Date: April 30, 1975 [Ordibehesht 10, 1354 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 18, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Rastakhiz Party

Addressee: Muhammad ShariAt Isfahani (Shaykh ash-ShariAh), Pakistan

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 18, 1395 AH

I wish to say that owing to the delay in hearing from you, I wanted to bother you with my letter when your own letter arrived informing me of your well-being which was most gratifying. I beseech God for your well-being and may He grant you propriety. I, myself, am in good health, but need your sincere prayer.

There is no sign yet of the gentlemen's cooperation. Let us see what happens afterwards. I think it unlikely that the gentlemen in Iran will oppose the party. Had they done so, the news would have been given here. In any case, if they have shown their opposition, it is most timely and appropriate.

There is no news so far of the money you mention. However, I have sent the receipt. Please do not forget me in your prayer.

Mr. Samii¹ is not here. Perhaps I will inform those who know of his whereabouts to send it. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Martyr Muntaziri's pseudonym.

Letter

Date: May 7, 1975 [Ordibehesht 17, 1354 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 25, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to some queries on religious law

Addressee: Probably Abdullah Islami

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 25, 1395 AH

After extending my greetings to you and praying for your welfare and success, I wish to inform you that I have received your esteemed letter.

The following are the replies:

1- The matter on which you asked for advice occurred in Kermanshah. Perhaps some misconception has arisen. Those people whose occupation, unlike traveling salesmen, does not involve traveling should perform shortened prayers while on a journey even if they travel a thousand times. Also, they must not fast. I have written to Aqa¹ as well.

2- You are entitled to ordinary expenses. But your question indicates compulsive behavior.

3- Regarding the bank, if it has taken any money from them as interest, requital of the same amount or less is permissible; it does not need permission.

4- 505 tumans have been received for reciting prayers.

5- Whatever letter received from you has been answered.

6- You have been permitted in all the cases about which you have asked questions; I have permitted all of them.

7- They are permitted to purchase something on account of the *Sadat's* share and give it to them.

8- I hope that you will not forget me in your prayers.

9- It is better that you specify a place in Tehran or in Qum to which I can sometimes send my letters

10- I have placed some of Aqa's receipts in the envelope.

May peace be upon you.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

Letter

Date: May 11, 1975 [Ordibehesht 21, 1354 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Draft of religious law funds

Addressee: Muhammad ShariAt Isfahani (Shaykh al-ShariAh), Pakistan

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1395 AH

His Eminence Shaykh al-ulama al-Alamin wa Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh ash-ShariAh, may his blessings last:

I hope you are in robust health, God willing. I have already replied to your letter. Now, owing to the request of some of the gentlemen, may you take the trouble of paying five thousand Pakistani rupees to Mr. Taqawi. I have received the approximate equivalent of the same. In case I do not have any more with you, please write and let me know, and I will pay through Mr. Khalkhali.¹ May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali, in charge of Imam's financial affairs in Najaf.

Permission

Date: May 14, 1975 [Ordibehesht 24, 1354 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 2, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Wahidi Jahrumi

[In the Name of the Most Exalted

Muharram al-Haram 5, 1395 AH

After praising (God) and extending salutations (to Prophet Muhammad and his pure progeny), it is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Imad al-Alam, Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ahmad Wahidi, may his munificence last, who is one of the learned and trustworthy persons of the theological center, and has been propagating and serving the true religion of Islam, is hereby permitted, on behalf of myself, Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh, Ayatullah al-Uzma Khomeini's (may his sublime presence endure) legal representative, to be in charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious law payments including the blessed Imam's (A) Share and the great *Sadat's* Share. He is also permitted to collect other such payments (using whatever sum is required, or as religious law exigencies demand) in the prescribed cases, remitting the balance to his honor through one of his established legal representatives, and to obtain all the receipts for delivery to the payers. He also has the right to effect settlements and to distribute the money, the doubtful cases being settled for an estimated amount. He must also give appropriate grace periods to those liable. "So, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs exercising the necessary caution and observing integrity, adhering to piety, evading carnal desires and holding fast to the Cable (of the Almighty). 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.

Sincerely yours,

Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh]

In His Most Exalted Name

He is permitted to do so, on my behalf, strictly in accordance with the contents of his letter. May he be successful, God willing.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 2, 1395 AH

Letter

Date: Circa 1975 [1354 AHS / 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reminder concerning the remittance of money to one of the Lebanese combatants

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

In His Most Exalted Name

May you be successful and prosperous, God willing. I had apparently forgotten to remind you that three thousand tumans from the money enclosed in the packet concerns a young man that you had mentioned.¹ May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ According to Sayyid Hamid Ruhani, the money sent belongs to Mr. Sayyid Husayni, the Lebanese translator of the book: "*Mawqif al-Imam al-Khomeini Tijah Israil*" and "*Min Huna al-Muntaliq*". It should be pointed out that following the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, he was martyred in Beirut by the agents of the Iraqi Baath Party.

Permission

Date: *Unknown*

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission for spending religious law fund on six cases stated in the letter

Addressee: Hadi Ruhani (Imam Khomeini's representative in Babol)

[In His Most Exalted Name

After extending my greetings and sincere regards to you, I would like to know whether I have your permission to spend the amount required from the blessed share for the following purposes:

- Administering the affairs of the Babol Theological Center commensurate with its needs.
- Assisting the poor, pious *Sadat* according to their needs.
- Attending to the living conditions of some of the indigent men of letters of the town.
- Encouraging and fulfilling the needs of some of the “reawakened” that, in full awareness, have recently left the misguided Bahai sect, becoming conscious of the truth.
- Appointing competent people as guardians, when and where necessary, for minors.
- Making use of the properties of anonymous owners in paying the government employees their allowable salaries.

Sincerely Yours,

Hadi Ruhani
Khadim ash-ShariAh]

In His Most Exalted Name

You have my permission in all the aforementioned cases. But send half of the blessed Share to the theological center of Najaf.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Telegram

Date: June 23, 1975 [Tir 2, 1354 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Expulsion of the Iranian clergy from Iraq

Addressee: Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr (President of Iraq at that time)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

After extending my greetings to you, I wish to inform you that the Iraqi officials have repeatedly promised to extend the stay of the distinguished spiritual leaders and the students of the theological center, and have also conveyed your concern for their welfare. In spite of this, the authorities have unexpectedly started harassing and arresting them in a most deplorable manner recently. They have also notified them to leave the country within a week.

I do not wish to bother you, but I think it my duty to draw your attention to the telegram of Dhul-Qadah 4, 1395AH in which I had explained the matter to you. Now, also, I would like to point out, as per my duty, that it is not proper to close down, during your tenure, the more than a thousand-year-old theological center of Najaf which was established to impart knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence, and has played an important part in eradicating moral and social corruption. It is not right that more than a thousand distinguished scholars, so offended, be expelled from your country in such a manner and get dispersed in various countries. It is not prudent that the high-ranking religious authorities and the respected shaykhs, who may emigrate following the expulsion, leave your country in such circumstances.

You are aware that Islamic jurists and leading religious authorities are held in high esteem by the Muslims. It is not advisable to make people feel offended with your government at this juncture, thus giving the opportunity for ill-intentioned people to indulge in propaganda. I feel that, in all probability, the antagonists posing as friends have a hand in this affair. I do not suppose that this matter is the outcome of any benevolent idea.

The unity of Muslims and Islamic governments is foremost in my life's work. I am perturbed about the differences among the Islamic states. I feel apprehensive about the occurrences that lead to discord between Muslims and their governments, and draw your attention to the harm it causes. I therefore deem it advisable for you to order the authorities not to intrude

upon the blessed theological center and to grant the clergy residency in accordance with the undertaking given. And also allow the rest of them, residency so that the students pursue their studies with all confidence and engage themselves in serving Islam and Islamic countries. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1395 AH

Message

Date: June 30, 1975 [Tir 9, 1354 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 20, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Emphasis on the authorization given to Mr. Pasandideh

Addressee: The people of Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and other lands

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

As it is very difficult nowadays to collect receipts for money given to me and to forward them to the payers, the respected residents of Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the other countries are hereby informed that the seal and signature of His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh, may his blessings last, my respected brother and representative in these affairs, has the same legal standing as mine. So, the faithful may send him any money for whatever purpose it would be. That would be acceptable to me. They will also be relieved of their obligation. There is no need for my seal and signature. May peace be upon the believers and the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi ath-Thani 20, 1395 AH

Permission

Date: July 5, 1975 [Tir 14, 1354 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Ghulam-Husayn Amiri, Afghanistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

After praising (God) and extending salutations (to Prophet Muhammad and his pure progeny), it is hereby confirmed that His Eminence, Murawwij al-Ahkam Mr. Shaykh Ghulam-Husayn Amiri, may God Almighty assist him, is my legal representative in financial and religious law affairs in the regions of Shakhdar, Zuj, Meqzar, and Suk, which concern the prerogatives of a fully-competent jurist utilizing the necessary caution. He is permitted to collect the blessed Share of the Imam (A), one-third of which should be spent in the prescribed cases, remitting the other two-thirds to me. He should also obtain the receipts and send them to the payers.

“And I advise him, may God Almighty assist him, to be pious and cautious, 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 25, 1395 AH

In His Most Exalted Name

He is also my legal representative in Fort Amir Hajji, Dahan Murghi, and their environs.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: July 7, 1975 [Tir 16, 1354 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Faridah Mustafawi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1395 AH

My dear daughter,

May you be happy and healthy, God willing. If you want to know about your old father's condition, I am in good health, thanks to God. However, now in the dusk of my life, I have some concerns which are wearisome whether about the conditions here, or there. May God set matters right. Please convey my regards to Mr. Arabi² and my dear Fereshteh. I hope all of you are happy. Peace [be with you]. Give the enclosed to Uncle.³

Your father

¹ Imam Khomeini's daughter.

² Mr. Muhammad Hasan Arabi, Imam Khomeini's son-in-law.

³ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh, Imam Khomeini's elder brother.

Letter

Date: July 7, 1975 [Tir 16, 1354 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Concerning religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1395 AH

I wish to bring to your kind attention that I received your letter dated J II 8.¹ I have replied to all your letters, sending some of them directly to Iran, and some to Lebanon.² They will reach their destinations, God willing, but if they do not, it is not my fault. The items of Rabi al-Awwal 20, 1395 [April 3, 1975] and Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1395 [June 10, 1975] have arrived, and none after that. Regarding Mr. Fakhir, please do not give your consent, nor give him anything. Also, do not on any account send anything until further notice, as I do not know what will happen. I will let you know after I receive information, God willing. May peace be upon you.

¹ Jamadi ath-Thani 8, 1395 AH [June 19, 1975].

² Some of the correspondence had to be necessarily exchanged via other countries, including Lebanon as SAVAK would interpret Imam Khomeini's mail and telegrams, whether from or to him, and so prevent them from reaching their destinations.

Reply to Queries

Date: Circa 1975 [1354 AHS / 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to two queries on religious law

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

Query: [There are people who work in the notary public offices, making entries in ledgers, and who write: “so many amounts received as tax.” Please let me know whether or not they should be allowed to continue working.]

Reply: You may allow them to do so if you deem it advisable.

Query: [There are others who pay the revenue, so received, into the banks but have nothing to do with collecting it. Should we allow them or not?]

Reply: There is no objection.

Message

Date: July 11, 1975 [Tir 20, 1354 AHS / Rajab 1, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Expressing regrets on the suppression of the people, hoping for their awakening

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rajab 1, 1395 AH

To the courageous and oppressed nation of Iran, may God assist them:

In the wake of the Shah's disgraceful defeat in his new game, the party¹, the news received from Iran, though sad and lamentable, appears to be the bright harbinger of freedom, and a source of hope. Lamentable, because in this day and age when nations, one after another, are throwing off the yoke of imperialism, thereby gaining their liberty and freedom, the great Muslim nation of Iran has been deprived of all the virtues of liberty. It now finds itself in confrontation with all the manifestations of despotism and reaction owing to the presence of one of the most reactionary persons, an unquestioning mouthpiece of imperialism, who has cast the terrible shadow of savagery over the length and breadth of the country. On the orders of the Shah, the security organization of Iran (SAVAK) has assumed the character of the Inquisition of medieval times, subjecting the opponents of the Shah's imposed party, who constitute a significant majority of the religious people, to a variety of threats, insults, chastisement and brutalities. The people of Iran, whether the *ulama* or the university fraternity, merchants or peasants, laborers or officials and petty employees, must all conform to the Shah's ideas even if these go against Islam and the interests of the Muslims and our nation; even if they deprive the people of their freedom and independence. If there is any dissent, the dissenters end up being beaten, imprisoned, tortured, stripped of their rights, and dubbed "black reactionaries" and "the stateless red", which ought to be crushed. It is lamentable, because of the suppression of the oppressed people, and the attacks on the country's universities; lamentable because of the heartbreaking tragedy of the June 7, 1975 [Khordad 17, 1354 AHS] that took place in the Faydiyyah Madrasah and the

¹ The Rastakhiz Party of Iran, set up by the Shah.

Dar ash-Shafa, events that evoked the massacre of June 5, 1975 [Khordad 15, 1342 AHS]; and the ruthless armed attacks of imperialism's lackeys on the theological centers of learning—whose sole concern is the pursuit of knowledge, Islamic jurisprudence, and the vindication of the Quran and constructive Islamic injunctions—smashing doors and windows, breaking people's heads and hands, beating them to the point of death, as well as flinging defenseless youths from roof-tops. All for the 'crimes' of expressing opinions contrary to those of the Shah's party and for holding memorial services for those slain on June 5 [Khordad 15], forty-five in numbers, according to some foreign press reports, with many more injured who were refused admission into hospitals. Then, there are over three hundred people incarcerated whose fate is not known. Such is the condition of this 'progressive' country; these are the Shah's democratic principles; this is the state of the 'free' men and women! It is lamentable, because of the predicament of the country's press which, being directly controlled by the security apparatus,¹ prints whatever it is told and hurls whatever accusations dictated to it against any public figure it wants.

Notwithstanding all these troubles, the awakening of the nation is a source of hope. The opposition of the country's universities (to which the Shah himself has admitted) the distinguished spiritual leaders, students and the other strata of society, in spite of all the pressures and the strong-arm tactics, heralds the attainment of liberty and freedom from the clutches of imperialism. The nonparticipation of the vigilant nation in the party-by-decree and the perfidious elections is an instance of vigilance and victory.

After expressing my condolences to the great, esteemed Iranian nation on these heart-rending calamities, and the irreverence shown to the Holy Quran and the Prophet's pure progeny (A), as well as the tragic events of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS and Khordad 17, 1354 AHS, I would like to offer my congratulations on this enlightenment and the yearning for freedom; congratulations on the dawn of freedom and the uprooting of imperialism along with its evil stooges. I salute the slain and wounded of the Khordad 15, the wounded and oppressed of the Khordad 17. I salute the savants and the respected preachers; the zealous youth of Iran's universities, and the believers and Muslims throughout the country who, by their nonparticipation in the activities of the imposed party and the illegal elections have given a slap in the face to those who write and talk nonsense, thereby proving their loyalty to Islam and Muslims. I salute the prisoners who are undergoing

¹ SAVAK.

torture for the sake of Islam and to the zealous Iranian youth and students abroad who are serving Islam and their Muslim brothers by their worthy efforts, and are exposing the atrocities of imperialism and its hirelings.

I have many worries in these last days of my life. I fear that this man, who resorted to every artifice when confronted with the opposition of the nation and its youth, will suffer further nervous breakdowns causing more bloodshed in the country. I fear that he will slaughter the Islamic *ulama*, the savants and the intellectuals by accusing them of being 'black reactionaries' and 'the stateless red'. I seek refuge in the Almighty from the wickedness of evil elements, and beseech Him to sever the hands of the hirelings of aliens. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: Circa 1975 [1354 AHS / 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Suggestion concerning medical treatment; lack of facilities for printing manifesto, etc.

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

In His Most Exalted Name

May you be successful and cured of your illness, God willing. It will be good for you to proceed to Baghdad for treating your ailment; do not neglect it. Let me know in case you decide to go. Regarding the announcement, I have the book¹ that you have sent. But it is incomplete. In any case, I am undecided for the time being because I am not inclined to do anything² about the attack made lately against me in radio broadcasts and newspapers. Besides, there are no means of printing and publishing here, neither in Lebanon nor Iran.

I was sorry to hear about father's³ illness. May God restore him to health. I have written to Ahmad⁴ to pay him a visit if possible, and do whatever he wants done. I will send it today through those who are traveling to Iran. May peace be upon you.

I have also sent you the calendar⁵ as I have one myself.

¹ The book pertaining to the atrocities committed during the 2,500 years of the monarchy, published in Iraq.

² Following the expulsion of the *ulama* and the Iranian residents of Iraq by the Bathist regime in 1975 [1354 AHS], the security organization and the Shah's regime also stepped up their propaganda against Imam Khomeini and those opposing the Shah which culminated in the uprising of the theology students of the Faydiyyah Madrasah on June 5, 1975 [Khordad 15, 1354 AHS], leading to the onslaught them by the regime's agents, and the arrests of those who had staged a sit-in there.

³ Mr. Sayyid Ali Ahmad Ziyarati who had been exiled to Kashan by the Shah's regime.

⁴ Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

⁵ The calendar published by the supporters of the National Front, abroad.

Dialogue

Date: July 18, 1975 [Tir 27, 1354 AHS / Rajab 8, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Objection to the expulsion of the clergy of Najaf theological center

Addressee: The Governor of Najaf

Governor: [The Sayyid Rais¹ sends you his greetings and special regards. He has pointed out that in accordance with your wish; we have passed orders that the residence of the theology students possessing residency permits shall be renewed from tomorrow. Also, those desiring to proceed to Mecca for *Umrah*² be granted return passage, with the exception of those linked to foreign intelligence agencies – from among the spies – and the lawbreakers. They must leave Iraqi soil by the end of the current Gregorian month. Otherwise, they will be handed over to the revolutionary court in accordance with the law.]

Imam: You do whatever you like, then come here and say that Sayyid Rais sends his regards. With that, you want to complicate the matter. Can matters be set right by sending regards? You have given exit permits to about three hundred students and have forced them to leave Iraq. But now you say that their residence permits will be renewed from tomorrow?

You mention that there are people who are spies with links to intelligence apparatuses. You must know that there are no such persons in the Najaf theological center. You will, perhaps, not be able to point a finger at even one or two whom you can call spies. It is not proper on your part to expel tomorrow whomever you wish on the excuse of being spies and intelligence agents.

Governor: [Firstly, the people to be deported are all lawbreakers. According to international law, they are offenders and should be handed over to courts of law. However, because of his interest in the theological center and to meet your demands, Sayyid Rais has cancelled the order to send them to the revolutionary court so as to facilitate their work. As for the doubtful cases, we will not take any action until we are a hundred per cent sure. We are prepared to give you our reasons and evidence to substantiate our claims

¹ *Sayyid Rais*: an Iraqi title of certain government officials.

² *Umrah*: the lesser pilgrimage to Mecca, made optionally at any time of the year other than the prescribed time for the obligatory *Hajj* pilgrimage.

in both cases. Let us know the instructors, *ulama* and students whom you hold in esteem and who have your confidence; we will allow them to stay.]

Imam: If you feel an attachment to the theological center and do not wish to see it closed down, allow the offenders residency, or renew their permits so that they stop committing offenses. Secondly, what you mention about letting you know of the people whom I hold in esteem, I should say that all of them are esteemed. There is absolutely no difference between the Afghan, Pakistani, Arab and Iranian students. I think highly of them; I respect them all.

Letter

Date: July 22, 1975 [Tir 31, 1354 AHS / Rajab 12, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Najaf theological center's indifference toward Iran's problems

Addressee: Muhammad Shari'at Isfahani (Shaykh ash-Shari'ah) (Imam Khomeini's legal representative in Pakistan)

In His Most Exalted Name

Rajab 12, 1395 AH

Thank you for your esteemed letter informing me of your well-being. I pray for your health and happiness. There is no need to mention the happenings here and at your end;¹ you are aware of what happened. I am really astonished, and have not taken any decision as yet. I beseech God Almighty to rectify matters. What pains me is the indifference of Najaf toward the events in Qum and, perhaps, its backing the adversary. "*And Allah, all unseen, surroundeth them.*"² Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers.

In connection with the topic mentioned, it should be avoided for now. I also had wanted to pay a monthly stipend previously through Mr. Khalkhali,³ but the conduct was such that I dissuaded myself. Regarding Mr. Khalkhali's draft, I, firstly, do not know if this is the same previous amount of money that had been mentioned in a letter from Karachi or another amount. In any case, I referred to Mr. Khalkhali and he accepted. However, I did not receive the previous amount, and I had already sent the receipt for sixty thousand rupees before. Perhaps it has not reached; if that is the case, it is the same. Please let me know of your welfare sometimes, I pray to God for your prosperity. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Expulsion of the Iranian clergy from Najaf, and the closure of Faydiyyah Madrasah by the regime.

² *Surah al-Buruj* 85:20

³ Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali, one of Imam Khomeini's friends and his legal representative in Najaf.

Letter

Date: July 27, 1975 [Mordad 5, 1354 AHS / Rajab 17, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Rajab 17, 1395 AH

My dear Ahmad,

I hope you are fine, God willing. The others and I are all right, thanks to God. However, the troubles and vexations of which you cannot imagine are many; nor of the snags (in terms of religious law and rationally)¹ besetting Khanum's coming. You write letters in succession, you write about her coming, making us anxious. She would have come if there were no obstacles. I hope God settles the matter so that favorably, you do not come and she does. Give my regards to all the daughters and to your spouse. I have replied to Hadrat Aqa's² letters. Give him my regards and remind him of this. Peace [be with you].

Your father

¹In connection with this, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has written:

"Apparently, [from] 'religious law' it could be inferred that the Imam had run out of his own money. Money from sources other than the Shares was profusely given to him as gifts by various people. This money too, he would give away to the poor and to the needy. This practice continued even after the revolution. Apart from this, the things which used to be presented to him as gifts would be sold by Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Kamal Isfahani and he himself would give the proceeds to poverty-stricken people. 'Rationally': also the probability of SAVAK forbidding her (my mother) from returning to Najaf, was high."

² Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

Letter

Date: *unknown*

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Advice to follow-up with treatment and ...

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani

In His Most Exalted Name

Your indisposition is causing distress and anxiety. I pray to God Almighty for your speedy recovery. The *istikharah*¹ was not good. It is better that you consult other doctors as well. If they think it advisable for you to be hospitalized, so be it after a few days. About the prescription you want to give Muhri,² it is all right to do so. However, as it is not easy at present to read it, I have sent the photocopy. May peace be upon you. I thank you for your kindness.

¹ *Istikharah*: looking for a good augury for something by consulting the Quran. See Muhammad Baqir Haydari, *Istikharah: Seeking the Best from Allah* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 2002).

² Mr. Sayyid Abbas Muhri.

Letter

Date: September 9, 1975 [Shahrivar 18, 1354 AHS / Ramadan 2, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting 2, 1395 AH

Dear Ahmad,

I hope that you are healthy and prosperous, God willing. Always keep me informed of your and Uncle's¹ well-being, and that of the others. Give my regards to all. I do not have any more time now. Peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

Message

Date: September 21, 1975 [Shahrivar 30, 1354 AHS / Ramadan 14, 1395 AH]¹

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The resistance of the various groups of people; the promise of future successes

Occasion: The 11th meeting of the Union of Islamic Associations of Students in Europe

Addressee: The Union of the Islamic Associations of Students in Europe

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan al-Mubarak 14, 1395 AH

The Union of Islamic Association of the Students in Europe, may God assist them:

After extending my greetings and salutations to you, I wish to say that I have perused the 20th issue of *Maktab-e Mubariz*² and the letter of the board of directors.

The host of troubles and the accumulation of worries arising from the woeful condition of the Muslims in general, and the beloved nation of Iran in particular, together with the lack of attention on the part of the authorities to the interests of the Muslims, as well as the brutal behavior of the oppressive administration towards the Iranians, particularly the *ulama*, zealous theological center students and university students, drains one's energy and stamina and would crush any person, conscious of these conditions, in the absence of hope and future promise. By the will of the Exalted Lord, the promise is real, raising hopes high for the country's bright future that is at hand. Man's natural disposition is such that when oppression and injustice intensify in society; his power of resistance intensifies proportionately. The recent events in Iran bear vivid testimony to this.

With the sizable police force at his command, the Shah is trying to crush the people so that he may continue to serve his foreign masters conveniently, and to cover up his acts of treason committed against the Muslims and Islam: giving and taking loans, making massive purchases of armaments, and

¹ In "*Sahifeh-ye Nur*", Shahrivar 30, 1354 AHS has been mentioned as the date, whereas the date in the handwritten draft is Ramadan 14, 1395 AH [Shahrivar 30, 1354 AHS].

² The Combatant Doctrine.

establishing military bases for foreign powers. All the stage-managed acts of his are faced with the opposition and resistance of the people. The imposed party,³ without any precedent in the world, was up against the people's opposition to such an extent and so disgraced the Shah that, in order to cover it all up and dissuade the people, he has futilely resorted to every possible means. According to the news that has reached us, his lackeys could not muster more than 200,000 people to vote in the elections in Tehran which is purported to have a population exceeding three million, notwithstanding all the means of propaganda and the police at their disposal, together with intimidation, threats and the various unconventional methods they use. In Qum, with its 200,000 inhabitants, they could not get in more than 4000 people by force.

This growing inclination to resist heralds certain victory. The unprecedented demonstrations held in the theological centers and the universities throughout Iran—to which the Shah himself has admitted—on the anniversary of Khordad 15, that so disconcerted and dazed him, reveals the maturity of the nation and its reaction to pressures and repression. The reaction to the uncouthness and injustice of the administration is seen in the traditional schools and universities drawing closer to one another and the old and new fronts, as well as the Unions of Islamic Associations of Students of Europe and America joining forces. It is my hope that these unions of Europe and America consolidate with the rest of the students in other countries such as India, Pakistan, Arab countries, etc. and so expand their activities. They should strive to make Islam and Islamic justice accessible to all so that the misconceptions of the past centuries with which the agents of imperialism have concealed the radiant face of Islam, are removed.

I pray to God Almighty to give success to all the Muslims, particularly the youth, in wiping out imperialism and its treacherous hirelings. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

³ The Rastakhiz Party.

Letter

Date: September 21, 1975 [Shahrivar 30, 1354 AHS / Ramadan 14, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related: conveying state of well-being

Addressee: Zahra Mustafawi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting² 14, 1395 AH

My dearest daughter,

We have received your precious letter and we're glad to know of your good health. May you be always healthy and happy, God willing. We, on our part, are all right. Please keep me informed of your well-being. I hope that you have been successful in your devotions in this blessed month of Ramadan. Give my regards to Mr. Burujerdi.³

I pray for my beloved ones. Peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Imam Khomeini's daughter.

² Ramadan.

³ Imam Khomeini's son-in-law.

Message

Date: September 24, 1975 [Mehr 2, 1354 AHS / Ramadan 17, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The political awakening and maturity of the nation

Occasion: The Seventh Congress of the Union of Islamic Associations of Students in America and Canada

Addressee: The Union of Islamic Associations of Students in America and Canada

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan al-Mubarak 17, 1395 AH

The Islamic Association of Students in America and Canada, may God assist them:

I have received your esteemed letter. I beseech God the Almighty to give guidance and success to you the zealous youth and all the other discerning students who strive for the attainment of Islam's lofty goals, the foremost being social justice and the eradication of oppression and ignorance.

We have heard and also learnt from history about the cruel and bloodthirsty sultans and tyrannical governments. In addition to these, we have been witnessing these last ten years—the period in which powerless nations have been throwing off the yoke of imperialism—the worst and most terrible atrocities perpetrated by the degenerate regime of Iran which stoops to commit any crime or act of treason in order to safeguard foreign interests. We have been witnessing the squandering of money from the treasury of the Muslims, and spending the hungry nation's reserves on meeting the demands of foreign powers. We have been witnessing the massive purchases of armaments worth billions of dollars for the protection of the foreigners' bases. We have been witnessing loans being given and taken contrary to law and logic, and also the killing, imprisonment and torture akin to those of medieval times. What gives hope and comfort is the dawn of awakening and political maturity of the various strata of society. It is because of the political maturity of the nation that the evil designs of the foreign powers, implemented by the Shah, face nationwide opposition. It is the nation's political maturity that humiliated the Shah's bogus party in spite of all the thunderous fanfare, utterly disconcerting and stunning him, and stopped the people—apart from his relations and a handful of those in his pay—from voting in the scandalous elections. It is the political maturity of the old and new students that has made them immune to the several hundred years of the

foreigners' propaganda and the divide-and-rule policy of imperialism, bringing them into the united fold vis-à-vis the regime, to stand up gallantly in defense of the rights of the oppressed nation fearless of torture, imprisonment, and deprivation. It is the political maturity of the traditional and modern students that made them demonstrate throughout the country on the anniversary of Khordad 15, the day of the nation's resurgence, which greatly staggered the Shah causing him to order the barbaric assault on the Faydiyyah Madrasah and Dar ash-Shafa—the cradle of Islamic education and training, the focal point of the explosive uprising against tyranny and despotism—driving the students of the Quran and Islamic jurisprudence, after beating and injuring them, into jails and military barracks on the pretext of being communists.

Notwithstanding all these anti-Islamic deeds and the barbaric behavior towards the Islamic savants, the regime does not abstain from its hypocritical acts. In this blessed month of Ramadan, the organs propagating obscenity, and the radio broadcasts, which constantly air Subjects against the religion throughout the year, have started broadcasting the call to prayers and invocations in order to deceive the simpletons. But a nation which is aware of the heart-rending cries arising from torture chambers and the wailing of mothers who have lost their young sons should not be misled by such hypocrisy on the part of the regime. The supplication which is the means to beseech the Just God has now become the means of spreading oppression and deceiving the uninformed so as to plunder the resources of the nation to a greater extent.

The striking point about this that gives me hope in the dusk of my life is the awareness and awakening of the young generation and the movement of the intellectuals which is growing rapidly. With God's help it will culminate in a decisive result: cutting off the hands of foreign powers, on the one hand, and the propagation of Islamic justice, on the other. You, pure-hearted youth, are duty-bound to raise the level of people's awareness to the greatest extent and in every possible manner. You must unmask the various artifices of the regime and introduce Islam, the dispenser of justice to the world. I pray to the Exalted Lord to give all of you success in this task. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: September 25, 1975 [Mehr 3, 1354 AHS / Ramadan 18, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Sending a message to the Students' Union

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Ramadan al-Mubarak 18, 1395 AH

The Honorable Dr. Yazdi, may God assist him:

I hope that you are in good health, God willing. I am sending you what I have written briefly in my feeble condition and am giving you the trouble of forwarding it, as I do not have the Union's address at hand.¹

I have no news yet of the amount you had sent to Mr. Khalkhali in Beirut, which you have mentioned in your letter to Mr. DuAi. I have said to enquire from him. There is no news from Kuwait either, but it is not late. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers in this blessed month. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ It refers to the message to the Union of Islamic Associations of Students in America and Canada (Mehr 2, 1354 AHS / September 24, 1975).

Letter

Date: October 5, 1975 [Mehr 13, 1354 AHS / Ramadan 28, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Increase in stipends

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting 28, 1395 AH

Dear Ahmad,

Thank you for your letter. I always pray for you and the family to be healthy and happy. It appears that you had been somewhat careless. I hope that the increase in stipends does not cause difficulty.¹ Our stipends have also increased much despite the few people and the very few students. Aqa Shaykh² and you should send, in the same manner as done previously although it would be to our advantage if sent to Kuwait; the money for prayers and fasting³ would be easily paid. Also tell Aqa Rida⁴ to proceed in the same manner.

Give my regards to Hadrat Aqa and take very good care of him. Please inform me of Mr. Hindi's trip.⁵ Convey my regards to all the girls and ladies.

Your father

Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has given the following explanation on the footnotes to this letter:

¹ The Imam believed that enhancing the stipends would increase the pressure exerted by SAVAK and some of the clergymen attached to it. Some other clerics would also be provoked. Ultimately, it became clear that the Imam was right because they withheld the Imam's stipend and would pay it in Ayatullah Haj Shaykh Ashtiyani's name.

² Haj Shaykh Muhammad Sadiq Tehrani, the Imam's authorized legal representative.

³ "Money for prayers and fasting would be easily paid": This is to divert SAVAK's attention from the letters or money belonging to the blessed Share of the Imam (A) sent to Imam (Khomeini). Though people would bring these letters, they would be written in the manner stated as the possibility of being uncovered existed, in which case the carrier of the letter would at least have an explanation, albeit rather unconvincing, to give.

⁴ Aqa Rida is the son of Hadrat Ayatullah Lavasani, and in most cases in the letters the name refers to Aqa Lavasani himself.

⁵ Mr. Hindi, Imam Khomeini's younger brother, had been abroad for the treatment of a fever that could not be cured in Tehran. He finally died because of it.

Letter

Date: October 19, 1975 [Mehr 27, 1354 AHS / Shawwal 13, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 13, 1395 AH

My dear Ahmad,

I have received your letter. I pray to God Almighty for your and the family's health and happiness. While we are in relatively good health, thanks to God, my life passes while coping with the consequences of old age. The thing I had written about...,¹ apparently the previous manner is better. Act in the same way as far as possible. Also, tell Aqa Shaykh² to tell the others. Let me know of your welfare. Give my regards to your sisters and your spouse; kisses to Hasan.³ I beseech God to keep him healthy. May peace be upon you.

Your father

¹ Not legible.

² Mr. Muhammad Sadiq Tehrani, Imam Khomeini's authorized representative.

³ Sayyid Hasan Khomeini, Imam Khomeini's grandson.

Letter

Date: October 29, 1975 [Aban 7, 1354 AHS / Shawwal 23, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The manner of sending the letters

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 23, 1395 AH

My dear Ahmad,

May you be successful and prosperous, God willing. We are relatively fine, thanks to God. I beseech God Almighty to keep you healthy and happy. Please inform me of your welfare. If you can, act just as you had done previously.¹ If not, the other and better way is Kuwait so that the prayers and the fast² of people are not delayed. Peace [be with you].

Your father

¹ I (Ahmad Khomeini) had selected an anonymous person to send my mail to the Imam via Europe. The Imam preferred this way to that of Kuwait, the person in this case, also, being anonymous.

² The mention of prayers and the fast is a cover.

Letter

Date: October 30, 1975 [Aban 8, 1354 AHS / Shawwal 24, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Sending the rites and treatise to Lebanon

Addressee: Muhammad Sadiqi

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 24, 1395 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Sadiqi, may his blessings last:

After extending my greetings to you, I wish to say that I have received your esteemed letter, and pray for your health and happiness. The situation in Lebanon is distressing and disturbing, especially for our friends. May God rectify the matters. In such circumstances,¹ sending the rites and treatise to Beirut is not advisable; if necessary give the Damascus address for these to be sent there. Concerning the students there, I had written before to Mr. Khalkhali² that the stipends should be given there. It transpired that the matter was dealt with imprudently. I am not to blame for this. Perhaps, you haven't grasped, once again, the profundity of the matter; it may become apparent to you later. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The civil war in Lebanon, and the assault of the occupying Israeli forces.

² Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali, Imam Khomeini's legal representative in Najaf and responsible for his financial affairs.

Letter

Date: November 15, 1975 [Aban 24, 1354 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 11, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Anxiety over the imprisonment of the *ulama*

Addressee: Mustafa Ashrafi

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 11, 1395 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Ashrafi, may his blessings last long:

I have received your esteemed letter. I ask God to grant you health and success. I am fine, thanks to God, but have many difficulties at present that cause me anxiety. There are now about five hundred of the clergymen in jail who have been caught for¹ Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

Please convey my regards to Thiqat al-Islam my honorable brother, may his blessings last long.

¹ Not legible.

Letter

Date: November 16, 1975 [Aban 25, 1354 AHS / Dhul-Qadah12, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Non-remittance of funds to Najaf

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 12, 1395 AH

My dear Ahmad,

I hope that you are doing fine, God willing. We are in good health, thanks to God, but downhearted. May God set matters right. It seems from the way things are that the theological centers will cease functioning unless God Almighty grants some respite. What is important now is to tell Aqa¹ not to send the funds for the time being, and neither should anybody else until we see how things turn out. The second point to tell him is that the ten dollars for absolution from obligations regarding unknown persons has not been received yet, and I do not know the concerned person. Another thing is that according to what we hear, the late Mr. Burujerdi's² spouse is not in good condition. Tell Aqa to send her 500 tumans a month. Also, let me know of your welfare. Convey my regards to your sisters and spouse, and kisses to my dear Hasan.³ Peace [be with you].

Your father

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

² Mr. Sayyid Husayn Burujerdi (one of the leading religious authorities).

³ Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini.

Letter

Date: November 29, 1975 [Azar 8, 1354 AHS / Dhul-Qadah25, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The condition of the Najaf theological center

Addressee: Probably Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 25, 1395 AH

After extending my greetings and salutations to you, I wish to inform you that I have replied to all your esteemed letters that I have received. This letter I am writing is in reply to your letter dated Dhul-Qadah 7. I received a hundred dollars on account of absolution from obligations to unknown persons, 810 tumans for prayers and fasting. God willing, may your performance of the *Hajj* rituals be accepted by the One God, glory be to Him. We are in good health, thanks to God, but you will hear about the difficulties. It must be said of the theological center that it has stopped functioning or is in the process of doing so; unless God Almighty grants a respite. I am passing the last days of my life in absolute uneasiness. Please don't forget me in your and your other friends' benevolent prayers.

It is necessary that you discontinue sending money for prayers until further notice; please inform the others as well. It is not known whether the holding of prayers will continue. May peace be upon you.

Letter

Date: December 13, 1975 [Azar 22, 1354 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of felicitations

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Pasandideh, may his blessings last long:

At the outset, I would like to extend my greetings to you and felicitations on the auspicious *Id*. I pray to God to grant you health and prosperity. I received your letter via Holy Mecca. I had also previously said that 268¹ received one hundred dollars and eight hundred and ten (tumans), which will be spent for absolution from obligations to unknown persons from Mr. Haqqshenas. 168² requested by the owner that 30 tumans be given on account of the share to his sister; I give my consent to half the amount. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. According to the request of some of our associates, please deliver the sum of seventeen thousand tumans (17,000) to Imad al-Alam Aqa Shaykh Ghulam-Rida Karimi Yazdi, may God assist him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1395 AH

¹ "268" is probably a code number of a person which Imam Khomeini used for personal security of the person in question in case the letter is confiscated by the agents of the Shah's regime.

² See *ibid*.

Letter

Date: December 27, 1975 [Dey 6, 1354 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 23, 1395 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledgment of the receipt of religious law funds

Addressee: Probably Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 24, 1395 AH

I wish to inform you that I have received your esteemed letter dated Dhul-Qadah 21 on Dhul-Hijjah 23. I wanted to enquire about your health but the host of difficulties besetting the theological center and some vexing matters did not give me the time to do so. Now, having received your esteemed letter, I am extending my sincere regards to you. I am sorry about your indisposition. I pray and have prayed for you a number of times. May the Almighty God grant you optimum health and prosperity. In connection with the two amounts mentioned, one, 12710 and the other, 13967, an error had cropped up in both cases which was rectified some time ago, and was put into my account. In other words, they were paid to Mr. Khalkhali¹. I am requesting you to keep me informed, even if briefly, of your health every few weeks. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali, Imam's representative in financial affairs.

Letter

Date: January 3, 1976 [Dey 13, 1354 AHS / Muharram 1, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear Ahmad,

I have received your letter and am pleased to know of your well-being and that of the others. May you all be healthy and happy, God willing. We are fine here, thanks to God, but there is no sign of happiness. May God set things right.

You had not written to say whether or not any acquaintances among the *hujjaj* [pilgrims] had been hurt in this incident.¹ I heard that Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Burujerdi² has arrived safe and sound. I have no exact information on Mr. Shaykh Abdul-Ali.³ In any case, write and give me some news from there.

The other matter is that Uncle⁴ had written to say: "We have sold a lot;⁵ let me have your permission to give in the same manner that I used to give the girls and Ahmad." I replied that he may do so.

As I have heard, it has been two months now that they have not given Faridah⁶ what they used to give her.

About the footnotes to this letter, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has written the following:

¹ It refers to the blaze that broke out during the *Hajj*.

² Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Muhammad Husayn Burujerdi, one of Imam's sincere friends and the father of Dr. Muhammad Burujerdi, Imam's son-in-law.

³ Haj Shaykh Abdul-Ali Qarahi was for a time the head of Imam's office in Najaf and would visit Qum occasionally. Apparently, one in his family had contracted some incurable illness, and upon the Imam's insistence, proceeded to Qum from Najaf.

⁴ Ayatullah Pasandideh.

⁵ The Imam had an annual income of approximately four thousand tumans from the sale of wheat grown in his tract of land in Khomein. He would give his children 110 or 120 tumans monthly from this amount. When the land in Khomein could not yield any more income, the Imam sold a lot so that his children's income wouldn't be cut off. When that money was exhausted, the Imam gave a monthly sum of 200 tumans to one of his children who was in financial straits, and would pay into the Treasury from his own money in Najaf.

⁶ Khanum Faridah Mustafawi, Imam Khomeini's daughter.

In case there is no money, or it has been exhausted, you may pay her, without mentioning it to anybody, the sum of two hundred tumans per month. That is, collect from Aqa⁷ and give it to her. Apparently, she has expenses to meet and is upset. I have nothing more to add.

Your father

⁷ Ayatullah Pasandideh.

Letter

Date: January 5, 1976 [Dey 15, 1354 AHS / Muharram 3, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Receipt of religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram al-Haram 3, 1395 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Pasandideh, may his blessings last long:

I beseech God Almighty to grant you health and happiness. I would like to tell you that someone by the name of Haj Ahmad Farahnakzadeh took a draft in the month of Rabi ath-Thani which, according to him, has been lost. This letter serves as a duplicate copy. Please take the trouble of paying him the sum of one thousand and thirty-three tumans and five rials in case he has not been paid.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: January 7, 1976 [Dey 17, 1354 AHS / Muharram 5, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Regret about the Mina tragedy

Addressee: Abdullah Islami

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 5, 1395 AH

Mr. Abdullah Islami, may God, the Most Exalted, safeguard him:

I have received your esteemed letter, and would like to state that all your previous letters have been answered. In connection with the incident in Mina,¹ I had no news of the gentlemen's fate for some time, but was relieved to know of their safety, thanks to God. But the incident itself is regrettable. Please suspend contributions to the *Sadat* until further notice. The conditions here are most harrowing. I beseech God to rectify matters. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

¹ It refers to the fire that broke out on the plain of Mina in 1975 [1354 AH] during the *Hajj* causing many casualties.

Letter

Date: January 23, 1976 [Bahman 3, 1354 AHS / Muharram 21, 1396]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledgement of the receipt of letter

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad DuAi

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram al-Haram 21, 1396 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Ahmad DuAi, may his blessings last long:

After extending my greetings to you, I would like to inform you that I have received your letter. May God grant you health and success. I hope that you will pray for my salvation and also for the theological center. My respected brother is fine, thanks to God, and has no worries. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 2, 1976 [Bahman 13, 1354 AHS / Safar 1, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Safar al-Khayr 1, 1396 AH

The Honorable Dr. Yazdi, may God assist him:

I have received your esteemed letter attached to the lengthy one. I do not know the writer of letter and have had no previous contacts with him. My address has, also, not been correctly written. However, there is no need for you to mention this to him; silence is the best. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

I thank the Muslim brothers who have shown their support. May they be successful, God willing.

Letter

Date: *Unknown*

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to a religious law query on *khums*,¹ key-money for a shop and telephone

Addressee: *Unknown*

In His Most Exalted Name

I have received your esteemed letter, and pray for your health and success. Regarding the key-money for the shop and telephone, the prescribed alms should be given if this has been paid from the profits accruing within the year. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Khums*: one-fifth of the annual income that must be given as alms.

Letter

Date: February 24, 1976 [Esfand 5, 1354 AHS / Safar 23, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: How to obtain a letter of permission concerning religious law funds

Addressee: Haydar Miri

His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Shaykh Haydar Miri, may his blessings last long:

I have received your esteemed letter. I hope that you will be successful and prosperous, God willing. In connection with obtaining permission, if the intention is to safeguard the purposes of religious law, you are permitted to take the money thereof and spend one-third in the prescribed religious law cases, and send the balance to Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Pasandideh in Qum, obtaining the receipt from him and forwarding it to me so that ...¹ be given to the payers. In case you want written permission, you must first approach Mr. Pasandideh in Qum. I will give the permission if he certifies that there is no objection as there have been some people who obtained permission and then did things contrary to moral principles and religious law. For this reason, it is to be done as stated. May God grant you health. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Not legible.

Letter

Date: February 28, 1976 [Esfand 9, 1354 AHS / Safar 27, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The stipends for students of Pakistan and Syria; religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Safar 27, 1396 AH

I would like to inform your honor that I have received your esteemed letter dated Muharram 14. I pray for your health and happiness. Concerning the stipends for Pakistan and Syria, I have been getting requests for a long time, but I have not accepted. The reason is that those people who have collected in Zaynabiyyah are not the scholarly type. Besides, some of them act imprudently; therefore, do not accept. With regard to Pakistan, the matter should be referred to Mr. ShariAt in Karachi. In case he deems it advisable, it could be done through him. So, please write to him. I have also written to tell him to do whatever is best. Some of these who are well informed say that if the stipends are paid there, many unemployed people will swarm into the place, creating difficulties. In any case, do not accept for the time being, and to free yourself of the matter, you may entrust it to me.

Concerning the debts of Mr. Ata, you are at liberty to pay. A sum of seven hundred rials is to be given.

The address of Mr. ShariAt is 116, Parsi Colony, Karachi. Write to him respectfully.

Suppose it is decided to pay stipends in Syria, the sum mentioned is inadequate. There are about 200 or more students there. In this matter, you yourself must designate the bursar; on no account should you empower anybody else. It is possible to avail of the services of Mr. Khalkhali¹ who is there and to appoint one of your own people as deputy; otherwise it is not advisable in matters pertaining to stipends. In connection with what Mr. Shaykh Ali Fadilzadeh has written to Mr. Ridwani that (1) assistance be given to the family of his brother, Mr. Shaykh Ahmad, who is facing difficulties; (2) he himself has incurred a debt because of the house he has purchased, do whatever you think best, and assist them. I have already

¹ Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali.

written to Ahmad.² Mr. Muhsin the son of Shaykh Habibullah Araki has been in Qum for some time. The stipend has not been received from you. Do appropriately what is necessary.

As Ahmad will not be needing money for a long time, give the students whatever you had been giving him; there is no obligation, God willing.

² Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

Letter

Date: March 8, 1976 [Esfand 18, 1354 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 6, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Answering questions on religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 6, 1396 AH

My dear Ahmad,

May you enjoy health and happiness, God willing. We are fine, thanks to God, but the difficulties remain.

These are the replies to the questions you had asked in your letter:

1- With regard to Mr. Sadiqi¹ you are permitted to collect the money from Aqa and deliver it to him. He will be kind enough to do what is necessary.

2- Concerning Fati Khanum,² she may rest assured that she is absolved from debt from this date.

3- Concerning permission,³ please excuse me for the time being.

4- Aqa had written about his paying Mr. Aqa Ata's debts. I have replied to this in some of my letters; perhaps they have not reached him. Please tell him to defray Aqa Ata's debts.

Regarding the acceptance of money from Mr. Bahrami who claims to have suffered burns, there is no objection. You may accept. Also convey my regards to him, as well as to sisters and Fati Khanum; kisses to Hasan. That is all.

In connection with the footnotes to this letter, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has written the following:

¹ Ayatullah Haj Shaykh Mahdi Sadiqi is my teacher and one of the Imam's companions who was in dire straits. I wrote to the Imam about him and he gave his permission.

² When I, my mother and Fatimah Tabatabai (my wife) went to Mecca, somebody gave us money for our *Hajj* expenses. My wife had no money; Aqa was not prepared to pay her saying that he does not have money at present. Ultimately, it was decided that Aqa give her a loan, and Fati would pay it back in Iran. So Fati wrote to ask the Imam to whom she should pay the money. The Imam, however, absolved her of her obligation and it transpired that he had received his own money.

³ I do not recall for whom I had asked permission.

Letter

Date: March 29, 1976 [Farvardin 9, 1355 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 27, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds

Addressee: Probably Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 27, 1396 AH

I would like to extending my greetings and salutations to you, and inform you that I received your letter dated Safar 12, yesterday. I pray to God to assist you and give you success.

The important matter to tell you is that I have sent a little more than a hundred dollars—for the seven hundred tumans that had been mentioned—to Mr. Hajj Shaykh Nasrullah¹ through Husayn Taqawi-Nezhad. I had written that the money was received as I was under the impression that he had intimated the receipt of the money. But on exchanging correspondence, he has written several times to say that he does not recall such an item. It is essential that you send Husayn Taqawi immediately to Syria to remind him of the matter by means of clues and tell him to let me know of the receipt of the money. I do not know what can be done if the money has not been received; in any event, please take urgent action. Your letters were dated Shawwal and Dhul-Qadah. Whatever the case, this item has not arrived. I have again made enquiries from him without any response as yet.

You may give Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Hasan² the money that he wants to borrow; it is all right. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

¹ Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali, the Imam's representative in Najaf.

² Mr. Muhammad Hasan Burujerdi.

Letter

Date: April 8, 1976 [Farvardin 19, 1355 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 7, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related; conveying the state of well-being

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 7, 1396 AH

Dear Ahmad,

I have had no news about your welfare for quite some time. Perhaps it is so because of the full devotion of your time to study and research, God willing. I beseech the Almighty to keep you all in good health. Khanum underwent an operation on her gall bladder, recently, which was successful, thanks to God. She is now well and cheerful. Give the girls the good news of her well-being and send them my regards. Also, convey my regards to your respected spouse; kisses and prayers for Hasan.¹ Peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini.

Letter

Date: April 8, 1976 [Farvardin 19, 1355 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 7, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 7, 1396 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Pasandideh, may his blessings last long:

I was pleased to learn, among other things, from your recent esteemed letter about the well-being of Mr. Mustawfi. I have replied to it via Syria. I hereby request you to kindly take the trouble of paying the sum of seventeen thousand, five hundred and thirty tumans (17,530) to the honorable Imad al-Alam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Muradi Kushki; it is acceptable. May God's peace, mercy and the blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 9, 1976 [Farvardin 20, 1355 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1396 AH

Dear Ahmad,

I received your letter and was pleased to know that all are fine. I have replied to Aqa's letter which I hope he will receive, God willing. Now that I have found a traveler going by air, I am writing a few words to you.

Khanum had a gall bladder operation in Baghdad and returned safe and sound, thanks to God. She is now sitting in the room talking to Masumah¹Khanum. She is perfectly well, and so are we. Please convey my regards to all. Peace be with you.

¹ Khanum Masumah Hairi, Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini's spouse and Mr. Murtada Hairi's daughter.

Letter

Date: April 19, 1976 [Farvardin 30, 1355 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 18, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 18, 1396 AH

His Eminence Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Pasandideh, may his blessings last:

I would like to inform you that I had already replied to our previous letter. I pray for your health and happiness. I have already replied to you in connection with Aqa Ata's debts. Please pay twenty eight thousand tumans (28,000) to His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Bahauddin Faqih Mazandarani, may his blessings last; it is acceptable. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 21, 1976 [Ordibehesht 1, 1355 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds and recommendation for their safe keeping

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Qum

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Pasandideh, may his blessings last:

I pray to the Almighty to keep you healthy and happy. Mr. Haj Shaykh says that he does not recall the seven hundred tumans for prayers and fasting that you had sent him through Mr. Husayn Taqawi a few months ago. In case he has the receipt, it is necessary for him to send it urgently to either Haj Shaykh or to me; or send Taqawi himself. The people's property should not be lost; please hurry.

Meanwhile, please pay the sum of twenty three thousand tumans (23,000) to His Eminence Aqa Shaykh Jafar Yusufi, may God assist him; it is acceptable.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 21, 1396 AH

Letter

Date: April 22, 1976 [Ordibehesht 2, 1355 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 22, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Inquiring about well-being

Addressee: Muhammad Sadiqi

Rabi ath-Thani 22, 1396 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Sadiqi, may his blessings last:

I received your esteemed letter. I hope that you are fine, God willing and that your health would improve and recover fully. My own health is good, thanks to God, but I am passing the days in anxiety and worry. I hope that your prayers, gentlemen, will put an end to my worries and that the situation will improve. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 4, 1976 [Ordibehesht 14, 1355 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 4, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related; conveying the state of well-being

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 4, 1396 AH

My dear son,

I hope, God willing, that you are fine and engaged in acquiring theoretical and practical knowledge. We are all right, thanks to God. You had mentioned that I had called for the doctor and that oxygen was administered. It is true that the doctor came but it is a lie that oxygen was given. It was a heart ailment about which, he assured me, was nothing much. Now, I am fine and have no ailment whatsoever, except mental stress which is increasing. I beseech God to set matters right. Please convey my regards to your sisters and your spouse. Please take good care of Uncle.¹ It seems that the girls do not go there. Please urge them to visit him sometimes and to look after him. It is necessary to take care of his food and other things, because of his age. This is your responsibility. I pray to God Almighty for the health of all. My kisses and prayers for Hasan.² Peace [be with you].

Your father

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

² Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's son.

Permission

Date: May 9, 1976 [Ordibehesht 19, 1355 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Haydar Miri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God's salutations be upon our Master Muhammad and his pure progeny; and may His curse be upon all their enemies.

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Haydar Miri (may God assist him) resident of Zabol, is granted my permission to be in charge of the financial and religious law affairs whose supervision is the duty of a fully-competent jurist during the occultation of the Living Imam, may God Almighty expedite his glorious advent "so that he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs exercising the necessary caution." His Eminence is also permitted to collect the blessed Imam's share spending one-third of it in the specified ways. In case the local students are in need, he is permitted to spend up to half of it, remitting the balance to me or to my legal representative in Qum. He must also obtain the receipts and forward them to the payers. He is also permitted in ambiguous cases, and in distribution and postponement of payments as needed.

"And I advise him, may God always assist him, as we have been advised by the pious predecessors, to adhere to 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 prayers." May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1396 AH

Letter

Date: May 19, 1976 [Ordibehesht 29, 1355 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 19, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Expressing gratitude for sending a book

Addressee: Hasan Thaqafi

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 19, 1396 AH

I would like to extend my greetings and salutations to you and thank you for your esteemed letter informing me of your well-being and that of Hadrat Ayatullah, your father.¹ I beseech God to grant you health and happiness. I wish to express my deepest gratitude for having sent me the book, *Man la Yahdur*.² We are all fine, thanks to God, but are passing the days in unpleasant circumstances. I beseech God Almighty to rectify matters. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. My sincere regards to Hadrat Aqa. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi, Imam Khomeini's father-in-law.

² *Man la Yahduruh al-Faqih*: written by Shaykh Saduq, among of the *Hadith* sources and one of the four basic Shi'ah books on *Hadith*.

Reply to Query

Date: Circa May-June 1976 [Khordad 1355 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission to use religious law funds for the publication of books on religion

Addressees: Muslims in general

In His Most Exalted Name

Whatever is concerned with propagating the sacred laws and proclaiming the eternal truths of Islam, vis-à-vis oppressive and cruel rulers, and also with enlightening the people is an Islamic issue. Therefore, publishing books concerning such issues is a benevolent deed and constitutes the highest form of charity. If a will stipulating one-third, or vows and commitments, etc. relates to charity and inheritance, spending the money there from on such matters is permissible and relevant.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Believers, may God assist them, are permitted to spend one-tenth of the blessed Share of the Imam (A) on the matters mentioned herein² under the supervision of trustworthy and religious people. May they be successful, God willing.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi ath-Thani, 1396 AH

¹ The subject raised in this document was put to Imam Khomeini in a letter dated [Esfand 13, 1353 AHS] to which he replied in a case to case basis, the relevant documents being recorded in chronological order.

² That is, the topic in the above-mentioned religious decree.

Letter

Date: June 19, 1976 [Khordad 19, 1355 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 10, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to queries on religious law funds

Addressee: Haydar Miri

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 10, 1396 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Miri, may his blessings last long:

After extending my greetings to you, I wish to inform you that I have received your letter. May God give you success and assistance.

1- Concerning the money, you may send to Qum whatever you want to send. Send it through somebody trustworthy to be delivered to Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Pasandideh, my brother. It is not needed here. If you wish to correspond, you may write to this address: c/o Sattari, Aqa Burujerdi Madrasah, Najaf. It will so reach its destination, God willing.

2- You are permitted to collect and deliver the things that are given on behalf of the government to the people mentioned.

3- With regard to the people mentioned as acting against the way of the clergy, let me tell you that there are many of them everywhere. Standing up to them requires power which is not there at present. I beseech God to make them mend their ways.

My deepest gratitude for your expression of sympathy towards me and for remembering me in your prayers. I pray for God Almighty to bless you and make you successful in this world and in the hereafter.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: June 13, 1976 [Khordad 23, 1355 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Faridah Mustafawi

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1396 AH

My dear daughter,

I was pleased upon receiving your precious letter, giving me the good news of your well-being and the wedding of my dear daughter.¹ I pray to God Almighty for the health and happiness of all. We, on our part, are all fine. I pray that I succeed in seeing my beloved ones in these last years of my life. Convey my regards to Mr. Arabi and Fereshteh Khanum; and keep me informed of your welfare. May peace be upon you.

Your father

¹ Mrs. Fereshteh Arabi, Imam Khomeini's granddaughter and Faridah Khanum's daughter.

Letter

Date: June 23, 1976 [Tir 2, 1355 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: A reminder concerning the strangers

Addressee: Muhammad Hasan Arabi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1396 AH

I wish to state that I have received your esteemed letter informing of your well-being and that I pray for your health and happiness.

When you were leaving, I reminded Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Baqir of a certain matter which had your approval. Now, some people who have come from Europe have said something based on the suspicion about the authorities and your being influenced. Now, I am reminding you once again to be very careful of yourself and cautious of those who are connected. It should not cause the people apprehension, God forbid.² Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Imam Khomeini's son-in-law

² Imam Khomeini's warning on the influence of those connected with the Shah's regime.

Letter

Date: June 23, 1976 [Tir 2, 1355 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Pasandideh, may his blessings last:

While praying for your health and happiness, I would like to state that I sent a draft of ten thousand tumans (10,000) on 1/3/96 AH¹ to be paid to His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Ardebili, may his blessings last. That draft has been lost according to what I hear. Therefore, please give him the above-mentioned sum of money in case the payment has not been made. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1396 AH

¹ The month of Rabi al-Awwal .

Letter

Date: *Unknown*

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Siddiqah Mustafawi

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear Siddiqah,¹

May you enjoy good health, God willing. All of us are fine, thanks to God. Please inform us soon of your well-being, and convey my regards to Hadrat Aqa Ishraqi; kisses to my dear ones, the apple of my eyes. May peace be upon you.

Your father

¹ Imam Khomeini's daughter and Mr. Shahabuddin Ishraqi's spouse.

Letter

Date: *Unknown*

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Faridah Mustafawi

My Faridah,¹

I received your letter today, and am pleased to know that all of you are fine. May you always be happy and prosperous, God willing. I miss you very much, but we want you to be safe and happy. The weather here is not bad, and we are not having a bad time. Give my regards to Mr. Arabi and Khanum Fereshteh.² Peace [be with you].

Your father

¹ Imam Khomeini's daughter and Mr. Muhammad Hasan Arabi's spouse.

² Fereshteh Arabi, Imam Khomeini's granddaughter.

Letter

Date: July 2, 1976 [Tir 11, 1355 AHS / Rajab 4, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Hasan Thaqafi

In His Most Exalted Name

Rajab 4, 1396 AH

I wish to say that I have received your esteemed letter. I pray for your success and well-being. I am in good health, thanks to God, but in need of sincere prayers of the gentlemen. Please convey my regards to your honorable father,¹ may his blessings last. Please ask him not to forget me in his benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi, Imam Khomeini's father-in-law.

Letter

Date: July 4, 1976 [Tir 13, 1355 AHS / Rajab 6, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Payment of funds to Mr. Qadiri

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Rajab 6, 1396 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Pasandideh, may his blessings last long:

I pray for your health and happiness; I, myself, am fine, thanks to God, but faced with many adversities. I beseech God to set matters right. Please pay the sum of ten thousand tumans (10,000) to His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Qadiri, may his blessings last; it is acceptable. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Kindly inform me of your well-being and that of Mr. Hindi.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: July 21, 1976 [Tir 30, 1355 AHS / Rajab 23, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Recommendation to proceed to Iran

Addressee: Muhsin Quchani Gharawi

In His Most Exalted Name

Rajab 23, 1396 AH

After extending my greetings and salutations to you, I wish to say that I was pleased to receive your esteemed letter indicating your well-being. Owing to the dreadful news that came, I have made repeated inquiries about the gentlemen there, and, especially, you. It was said that there was no way to pay a visit and make inquiries. I pray to God Almighty to rectify matters. In my opinion it is best for you to proceed to Iran as it is not clear what lies in store for Lebanon. May God Almighty bring about whatever is best for you. I told Mr. Khalkhali¹ that something be written about you. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali, responsible for Imam Khomeini's financial affairs in Najaf.

Letter

Date: July 26, 1976 [Mordad 4, 1355 AHS / Rajab 28, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related; grief on the loss of a brother

Occasion: The demise of Mr. Sayyid Nuruddin Hindi¹

Addressee: Khadijah Thaqafi, Qum²

In His Most Exalted Name

Rajab 28, 1396 AH

My dear Khanum,

I am now sitting alone and thinking about my brother whom I could not see in the remaining years of my life. I received your letter in which you had written about the deceased. I, at once, wrote him a letter and sent it through Ahmad. But, as fate would have it, he did not even see the letter. I was not destined to see my dear brother. The memorial services will be held from tonight in the Shaykh Mosque.³ Fate decreed that I be present in the gathering to mourn, my brother; that I live to bear the sad loss.

I telegraphed Hadrat Aqa⁴ and expressed my condolences to the family. I did not know the addresses of the others. Please convey my condolences to all, especially his respected family and his dear children, after giving them my greetings.

Mustafa is fine, thanks to God; he usually has his food here. Let me know of your welfare, and give my regards to all the girls, Ahmad and his spouse. Also, give them my condolences. I have written this letter in a most depressed mood. I pray to God Almighty for the health of all of you. May peace be upon you.

Myself

¹ Imam Khomeini's brother.

² Imam Khomeini's spouse who was in Iran at the time, visiting her children and relatives.

³ The Shaykh Ansari Mosque in Najaf.

⁴ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

Letter

Date: July 28, 1976 [Mordad 6, 1355 AHS / Rajab 30, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Explanation regarding religious law funds

Addressee: Abdullah Islami

In His Most Exalted Name

Rajab 30, 1396 AH

The Honorable Abdullah Islami, may God assist him:

1- I have received your esteemed letter, and wish to inform you that the previous receipts have been sent already. Some of the items are doubtful. The letter will be in safe keeping until the matter is clear.

2- You are permitted to pay the amount, for which you had sought my permission for your son, exactly in the manner stated.

3- Give 320 to the *Sadat*. Apparently, it has become common in Iran to say that they should not be given, and that I have prohibited it. This is not true except in some exceptional cases. In any event, please give to certain *Sadat*.

4- I received the 70 that you had sent in dollars; I have written this repeatedly.

5- The person who wants to take into account about four to five thousand that he has loaned to some of his relations, is permitted to do so. However, this should not be repeated.

6- Permit those people who have taken something from the office, and are not in a position to return it, to give alms on the owner's behalf.

7- Concerning the permission you had wanted for active and religious people and only for augmenting their means of subsistence, you are allowed to give permission with due caution and courtesy.

8- You are permitted to assist in any way you deem fit the people who take letters to Syria, etc.

In conclusion, I pray for your success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Letter

Date: July 29, 1976 [Mordad 7, 1355 AHS / Shaban 1, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The necessity of obtaining receipts for payments made

Addressee: Haydar Miri *In His Most Exalted Name*

His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Shaykh Haydar Miri, may his blessings last long:

I received your letter and noted the contents therein. Please send the money to Qum in the same manner; there is no need for notification, every time you do so. Obtain the receipts from Hadrat Aqa¹ and submit them to the payers. With regard to the people who collect money by virtue of having my authorization, money should not be given to them if they do not submit the receipts from me or my brother, Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh, to the payers, and receipts must be demanded for the money already given. Now, that some of the turbaned men say that they send money placed inside loads, please note that this is false and slanderous; may God guide them. I have never given absolute permission to anybody in cases where receipts are not needed. Please refute this after giving advice. But it is best to leave it to the person who claims *ijtihad*² and is engaged in writing his treatise, so that no differences arise in the place. In any event, please inform my followers that they should not give money meant for me to anybody without forwarding the receipt. In the case of the employees, you can allow those to be given salaries, whose occupations are permissible and do not involve the forbidden. They must give one-fifth of their earnings at the beginning of every year as prescribed by religious law. You have my permission in financial affairs and in collecting and delivering religious law funds as well as in distribution and postponement of appropriate amounts. I will give you written permission if needed on another occasion, God willing. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-MuAzzam 1, 1396 AH

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

² Person who claims *ijtihad*: competent to provide religious guidance and practice Islamic jurisprudence.

Letter

Date: August 14, 1976 [Mordad 23, 1355 AHS / Shaban 17, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to message of condolence on the demise of Imam Khomeini's brother

Addressee: Muhammad Thaqafi¹, Tehran

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 17, 1396 AH

I wish to thank you for your esteemed letter of condolence on my bereavement, and pray for your health and happiness. I am beset by various woes and beseech God Almighty to grant me patience and fortitude. I request you not to forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. Please convey my regards to your respected son. Mustafa expresses his high regards for you. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Imam Khomeini's father-in-law.

Letter

Date: August 16, 1976 [Mordad 25, 1355 AHS / Shaban 19, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to condolences on the demise of Imam Khomeini's brother

Addressee: Ghulam Abbas Rais Ashkenani¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 19, 1396 AH

The Honorable Haj Rais, may God assist him:

I wish to thank you for your condolence telegram. I pray for your health and success. As I do not know the addresses of some gentlemen who had sent me telegrams, I am hereby giving you the trouble of thanking them on my behalf. Please telephone the following gentlemen and remind them that since I do not have their addresses I am conveying my gratitude to them through you: Messrs Haj Abbas Rais, Muhammad Rais, Abd ar-Rida Rais, Aqa Shaykh Ali Pakistani, Abd ar-Rahman Taqi, Ahmad Safar, Ali Safar, Abdullah Safar, Abdullah Mukhtar, and also Mr. Asifi. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ One of the well-known businessmen residing in Kuwait.

Letter

Date: *unknown*

Subject: Replies to various questions

Addressee: *Unknown*

In His Most Exalted Name

I have received your esteemed letter. I hope that this union be auspicious and blessed, God willing. I have filled out the marriage contract and sent it under separate cover. Your letter states that the terms of the marriage contract have been written on a separate page; there was no such page mentioning these. Nevertheless, Mr. Bujnurdi and I have executed the contract according to the terms agreed upon between you. Yesterday, they brought me the ten dinars from Mr. Khalkhali's¹ house that you had sent. But its purpose could not be ascertained. Perhaps, it is the sweet for the wedding; please write and let me know. With regard to his annoyance with the people mentioned in the letter, I should say that the matter did not concern Mustafa² whatsoever. But the people with ulterior motives who were looking for an opportunity did what they wanted to do. But I do not know the reason for his trip. He, on his part, did not tell me. However, it became clear from Mr. Madani that it concerned accounts. It is not true that I have people around me. Just one person to whom they have attributed an apparent lie; he stays in the exterior part of the house to answer those seeking advice. In any case I feel sorry that such a misunderstanding arose after a friendship of forty years or more with Mr. Khalkhali, and it so happened that the malicious people exaggerated the matter. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali.

² Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

Letter

Date: August 17, 1976 [Mordad 26, 1355 AHS / Shaban 20, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Stipends and expenses for the Quetta Madrasah building

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 20, 1396 AH

I pray to the Almighty for your health and happiness, and beseech Him to grant you forbearance. I have replied to all your letters, but now a letter from Mr. ShariAt¹ has arrived, the contents of which must be brought to your notice.

1- He writes to say that he has so far been paying the stipends of the Quetta² Madrasah, and can continue to do so for another two or three months. He needs assistance from Qum which has not come up to now. Kindly write to him in whatever way possible, and assist him in connection with the stipends.

2- Concerning the Madrasah building, he has stressed that it is essential; abandoning it would give rise to some forms of corruption. Kindly send him the required amount little by little after corresponding with him. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ Imam Khomeini's representative in Pakistan.

² Quetta: the capital of Pakistan's Baluchistan Province.

Letter

Date: August 17, 1976 [Mordad 26, 1355 AHS / Shaban 20, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Faridah Mustafawi

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 20, 1396 AH

My dear daughter,

I have received your affectionate letter of condolence on the demise of my dear brother.¹ It is difficult for me to bear this loss, more so by being far away from home. I pray for God's protection of my dear children and for the welfare of all.

I have had no letter from Khanum² apart from those first two ones. However, I am kept abreast of her well-being from you. May God keep her for you, and all of you for her. I am passing the days in great sorrow. Give my regards to Mr. Arabi if he has already come; also to Khanum, sister³ and the others. Keep me informed of your welfare. Peace be with you.

Your father

Please send the enclosed letter to Uncle;⁴ place it inside an envelope.

¹ Mr. Hindi, Imam Khomeini's brother.

² Imam Khomeini's spouse.

³ Khanum Sadiqah Mustafawi, Imam Khomeini's eldest daughter.

⁴ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

Letter

Date: August 17, 1976 [Mordad 26, 1355 AHS / Shaban 20, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Fereshteh Arabi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear Fereshteh,

I have received your letter of condolence,² my kind daughter. I, on my part, also express my condolences to you and the rest of the family. May God protect all of you, my dear ones. We are fine, thanks to God, though the untoward occurrence does not give me respite. I pray to God to grant me fortitude and forbearance. Peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Imam Khomeini's granddaughter.

² On the demise of Mr. Hindi, Imam Khomeini's brother.

Letter

Date: August 18, 1976 [Mordad 27, 1355 AHS / Shaban 21, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Pasandideh, may his blessings last long:

After extending my salutations and best wishes to you, I would like to inform you that I have sent you a reply to your letters together with the authorization mentioned. I am hereby giving you the trouble of paying His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam Aqa Haj Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Ardebili, may his blessings last long, the sum of ten thousand tumans; it is acceptable.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-MuAzzam 21, 1396 AH

Letter

Date: August 21, 1976 [Mordad 30, 1355 AHS / Shaban 24, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 24, 1396 AH

My dear Ahmad,

I have received two letters from you, one dated 9th instant, and the other undated, which arrived together. May God Almighty grant you health and success. The condolence telegram was also delivered directly to me, causing me great distress.¹ I, on my part, wish to offer you my condolences as well. May God bless his soul. I do not know the topic on which the aforementioned had spoken from the pulpit that irked the gentlemen.² In any case, such things occur. Please give the enclosed letter which is in the late uncle's handwriting to Aqa Mansur.³ Give me more news of your well-being. Is uncle buried in Ali ibn Jafar,⁴ or somewhere else? I do not know when Khanum intends to come. Is she coming with Husayn or not? Your brother is fine, and usually has his lunch and dinner with me. I pray to the Almighty to keep everybody happy and healthy. May peace be with you.

Your father

Convey my regards to Hadrat Aqa,⁵ and let me know of his well-being.

In connection with the footnotes to this letter, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has written the following:

¹ The condolence telegram concerns the death of Hadrat Aqa Haj Sayyid Nuruddin Hindi, Imam's brother. I had sent this telegram to my brother (Aqa Mustafa) so that he gradually breaks the news to the Imam. But the staff at Imam Khomeini's office in Najaf delivered it directly to him. As the Imam was very fond of his honorable brother, he became grief-stricken at the news.

² Probably, Ayatullah KhazAli had ascended the pulpit that provoked the ire of the agents of the Shah's regime.

³ The late Mr. Hindi's eldest son.

⁴ Ali ibn Jafar: an *Imamzadeh* (son of Infallible Imam) whose shrine is located in Qum.

⁵ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

Letter

Date: September 27, 1976 [Mehr 5, 1355 AHS / Shawwal 2, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Remittance of religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Pasandideh, may his blessings last long:

While always praying for your health and happiness, I would like to inform you that I have received your esteemed letter. With regard to Mr. Tehrani, please make inquiries and let me know. Meanwhile, I have paid Mr. Sattari the sum of thirteen thousand seven hundred and nineteen tumans, six rials (13,719.6) to deliver to the bearer; it is acceptable.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal al-Mukarram 1396 AH

Letter

Date: Circa 1976 [1355 AHS / 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The necessity of obtaining receipts for payments of funds made

Addressee: Husayn Dadshafai Qul Khulishgi, Afghanistan

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

The distinguished personage, the sole leader, crusader and devotee of Islam, Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Aqa Khomeini, may his benign existence for the Muslims endure:

I would like to inform your honor that there are people who collect the money for the Share of the Imam (A), some of whom have your authorization, some represent them, and some others do not have your authorization but take money nevertheless without bringing the receipts for this money taken as the Imam's (A) Share. Should money as the Share of the Imam (A) be given to these people or not? And do the amounts given to such people absolve the payers of their obligations?

Yours humbly,

Husayn Dadshafai Qul Khulishgi]

In His Most Exalted Name

Those who are not authorized by me should not be given the religious law funds. Those doing so will not be absolved of their obligations. The funds may be given to those who have been authorized by me, and the receipt demanded. If my receipt is not presented, the funds they gave should be taken back. Subsequent to this, funds should not be given to such people as the payers will not be absolved from their obligations.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: Circa September 23-October 22, 1976 [Mehr 1355 AHS / Shawwal 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledging the receipt of letter

Addressee: Abdullah Islami, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear Islami:

I would like to extend my greetings and salutations to you, and to inform you that I received your esteemed letter dated Shawwal 4. I ask God to grant you success and to guide you. I am fine, thanks to God, but the woes are many. Kindly pray for God Almighty to remove them. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: September 26, 1976 [Mehr 4, 1355 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Exposing the crimes of Iran's ruling administration

Occasion: The auspicious *Id al-Fitr*¹

Addressees: All Muslims and students in Iran and abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shawwal 1396 AH

Greetings to all Muslims, the students in Iran and abroad, and the Muslim youth (may God assist them) on the auspicious occasion of *Id al-Fitr*. Felicitations to you, the enlightened and religious people who are making sacrifices for the realization of Islam's sublime goals that guarantee the welfare of the people, and fulfill their spiritual and material needs. Felicitations to the Muslims who submit to imprisonment, exile, torture and death defending Islamic tenets and the Muslim countries; and in freeing themselves from the yoke of imperialism and its evil agents; who endure every kind of deprivation in uprooting the forces of oppression.

Fitr is the day appointed by God Almighty for the Muslims so that, by their congregation for the prayers and sermons, relevant to every era, they can find their path in relation to Islam and its bloodthirsty enemies. However, Friday and Friday congregations have lost their impact owing to the pernicious propaganda, leaving the Muslims bereft of *Id* in the present circumstances.

The conspiracies that are hatched in every *Fitr* by the agents of foreign powers against Muslim countries run counter to Islamic precepts and the independence of countries. Iran is the focal point for transgressions by foreign powers, particularly America and its evil accomplices. Political players and foreign pundits devise new schemes daily to weaken the nation and beloved Islam; sinister schemes that will undermine the very existence of the country in due course. The vast resources of this affluent country are being squandered for the sake of some weapons, which Iran neither has use nor knows how to use them. Recently the Shah—this perpetrator of such acts—has spoken of purchasing three times as much of what has been bought

¹ The feast marking the end of the Ramadan fast.

hitherto. And so for the sake of the useless scraps of iron, Iran will lose its identity and the people will become steeped in poverty and adversity in the course of time.

The experts who want to plunder our resources unimpeded have composed a sinister tune; they have changed the starting date of the calendar.² This is among the big crimes committed in this era by the vile dynasty. It is the duty of the whole nation to oppose the use of this criminal's calendar. As this change is disrespectful to Islam and is, God forbid, the prelude to its obliteration, using it is forbidden to all and is tantamount to supporting the cruel despot and opposing the justice-seeking religion of Islam.

The people are obliged to hold celebrations for a year for the dynasty of such criminals and their fifty years of treason though this inauspicious tune was also confronted with disapprobation, nobody taking part except their own people; nor did anybody look pleased unless coerced. Faydiyyah Madrasah and Dar ash-Shafa, the base of Islamic jurisprudence and the center of the enlightened and devoted youths, have been usurped and closed. On the other hand, the centers of vice and corruption are spreading, thereby preventing the spiritual development of our youths and leading them to ruination as well as making them incapable of standing firm against the foreigners.

While greatly regretting the situation in Iran, I am hopeful of you students in Iran and abroad; hopeful of the day when the country will become purified of the foul presence of the foreigners and their stooges. O you young people do not despair; truth will triumph. This is a short account of the situation in Iran. Many of the other Muslim countries have endless troubles as well. Take the case of Lebanon; it has turned into rubble. What a great loss of life and property have the Muslims, especially the ShiAh, suffered. The foreigners and their treacherous henchmen are fanning the flames of destructive wars, depriving people of their means to exist. Then, there is Palestine with its problems increasing day by day. What is regrettable is the lack of maturity of the governments and community leaders who, owing to the machinations of foreign powers, rise to confront one another.

Now it is up to you, the young intellectuals and scientists to learn a lesson from the prevailing conditions; to come together and eschew groundless differences; to put aside the empty doctrines of others and turn to the progressive religion of Islam; to tread, hand in hand, the true path of God

² It refers to the replacement of Iran's Islamic calendar by one based on the 2,500-year-old Iranian monarchy.

and wipe out what is false; to inform people of Islam's sublime goals; to expose the atrocities and treacheries of the agents of imperialism and to seek the help of God the Almighty. "May God give you success." I pray to God Almighty to restore Islam to its pristine greatness and seek His blessings on the auspicious occasion of this *Id* of the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: September 30, 1976 [Mehr 8, 1355 AHS / Shawwal 5, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The difficulties facing the theological centers' students

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Wahidi Jahrumi, Syria

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Wahidi, may his blessings last long:

Thank you for your esteemed letter. Concerning the first topic, please note that the gentlemen have repeatedly made this request under various pretexts. Action was taken on this matter at the outset, and in that very first stage they behaved in a surprising manner upsetting even the mediators. Subsequently, they did certain things that were most deplorable. I have asked the people who come and go there about the status of their lessons, and their conduct. In reply, I was told that not more than fifteen to twenty students are doing well. Certain things that I have heard recently have upset me. One of these is what the person who reported the matter said, more or less, that going to the cinema is usual for them.

In any case, please do not tell them anything about what I have written. You know that there are very few among this group who are studious, as the case was when they were here.

With regard to the second part of the letter, a large budget is required for the construction of a mosque or a *husayniyyah*¹ and such places. With the daily worsening situation created by the government for my legal representatives, many of whom as well as many of my colleagues having left, and with the insignificant amount of money being received through unconventional means, the budget is not sufficient for two theological centers, and that too, such as the one at Qum, with thousands of people.

I hope that the difficulties will be surmounted by the prayers of people such as you to enable me to be of some service. May peace be upon you. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Husayniyyah*: a place where people gather to mourn for the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (A) and his votaries at Karbala, Iraq.

Letter

Date: October 2, 1976 [Mehr 10, 1355 AHS / Shawwal 7, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Imperialist activities in Iran, Lebanon and Palestine

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 7, 1396 AH

The Honorable Dr. Yazdi, may God assist him:

Thank you for your kind letter of felicitations on the auspicious occasion of *Id al-Fitr*, even if they have left no more *Ids* for Muslims. Imperialism and its evil lackeys have turned the Muslim lands into their spheres of mischief. You will see every corner of Islamic countries subjected to transgressions under a bunch of mercenaries because of the intrigues of foreigners. Look at the tragic state of Iran, its prisons filled with religious personages and godly intellectuals; our Muslim brothers and sisters languishing in torture chambers in extremely harsh conditions for the crime of proclaiming the truth; or Lebanon in its lamentable situation with the fires of strife started there by foreign powers and their treacherous hirelings, turning the land into a scene of desolation; or Palestine and other countries, and their treacherous leaders, may God forsake them.

Regrettably, I am passing my days in this place of exile. I beseech God Almighty to return the *Id* to the Muslims. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: October 20, 1976 [Mehr 28, 1355 AHS / Shawwal 25, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to a letter; religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 25, 1396 AH

I would like to inform you that I have received your two esteemed letters. I pray to God Almighty for your health and happiness.

1. Five apportionments should be made of the pumps for cultivation.
2. Concerning the eighty tumans of Farazi of Kuwait, I have perhaps said on more than four or five occasions that I have received it. Please give two thousand tumans.
3. Concerning the people who make false claims for fund, the Almighty should remedy matters. May He shun them in every respect.
4. With regard to Quetta,¹ there is no objection to the Madrasah on the land which is in the name of Mr. Sayyid Yusuf Hakim, provided that the difficulty is removed.
5. Regarding Lahore, there is no need to send funds. And likewise, in the case of Syria, please do not give them any reply.
6. Regarding Lebanon, I have said nothing as yet, and sending the fund poses difficulties. Some of the well-informed persons have written to say that the fund sent for those who need it do not reach them, and are used for political purposes. In any case, I will not permit religious law fund to be sent, particularly with the condition that has been written.
7. With regard to what you have kept in Faridah's² house for safe keeping, it is all right provided you are absolutely sure that it is safe to keep it there; if not keep it in your own house. It is better if you increase the stipend to be sent. In any case, do as you deem fit.

¹ Quetta: the capital of Pakistan's Baluchistan Province.

² Khanum Faridah Mustafawi, Imam Khomeini's daughter.

Letter

Date: October 23, 1976 [Aban 1, 1355 AHS / Shawwal 28, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Expressing regrets on the situation in Lebanon

Addressee: Jalaluddin Farsi

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 28, 1396 AH

The Honorable Mr. Farsi, may God assist him:

I thank you for your esteemed letter, and beseech Almighty God to assist you and grant you success. I hope that you have been successful in the service you have started and that you take it to its completion. The trouble you have taken is worthwhile and praiseworthy. With regard to the regrettable matters mentioned about the problems of Lebanon and the immaturity of the Muslim heads of state, as well as the treachery of some of them, had my situation been normal, I could have been possible of help to the extent deserved. But perhaps you are not aware of the whole matter. Nearly all my legal representatives are either cut off or almost so. What seems unusual is not something with which one could accomplish a task of such moment. Partiality is not proper for me.

I pray to God to rectify all matters. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 7, 1976 [Aban 16, 1355 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 14, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds and inquiring about Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's health

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 14, 1396 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Pasandideh, may his blessings last long:

I would like to inform you that I have received your letter dated Shawwal 26 and that I pray for your health and happiness. The four thousand that you gave to that person is sufficient; two thousand is not necessary.

Do not revoke Mr. Haqqshenas' permission; I have apologized. Meanwhile, please pay the sum of three thousand tumans (3000) plus the value of three hundred and fifty (350) Iraqi dinars as per the latest exchange rate to His Eminence Imad al-Alam Aqa Haj Shaykh Husayn Tehrani.

Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. Let me know of your well-being. As I have no news from Ahmad; please tell him to inform me of his well-being. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 11, 1976 [Aban 20, 1355 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 18, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds and urging Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini to send a letter

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 18, 1396 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Pasandideh, may his blessings last long:

While praying for your health and happiness, I would like to inform you that, a few days ago, I gave you some trouble through the honorable Aqa Shaykh Husayn Tehrani. Now, I wish to bother you with the request of paying the honorable Imad al-Alam Aqa Shaykh Hasan Jawahiri (may his favors last long), the sum of ten thousand tumans (10,000); it is acceptable. Please inform me of your well-being.

Please instruct Ahmad¹ to let me know of his welfare. I have had no news from him for a long time. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

Letter

Date: November 19, 1976 [Aban 28, 1355 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 26, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to eleven queries concerning religious law funds, cancellation of narcotics deals, etc.

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 26, 1396 AH

I would like to inform you that I have received your esteemed letter dated Dhul Qadah 8. May God keep you healthy and happy. I and the others are fine thanks to God.

1. Regarding the majority who take fund and have many requests, you may do as you deem fit.

2. The money that Mr. Haj Husayn has given to the Friday prayer leaders and to the gentlemen is acceptable, but reminds him that it should not be repeated.

3. I will send Aqa Shaykh Qurban Ali's receipt through of someone else, God willing.

4. With regard to the Lebanese, it is all right for them to send the money to Mr. Khalkhali.¹ Please send him whatever is received.

5. I will write to Mr. ShariAt about the matter.

6. In connection with narcotics, I have replied twice up to now that they should not enter into any transactions, and to cancel those that they have already made. Also, the fund referred to should be returned to the owners. If these are not known, the fund should be given as charity.

7. In case Haj Muhammad Ali Hujjati's receipt has not been sent yet, I will send it through other means.

8. Regarding the person who has purchased a house for a hundred and forty thousand (tumans) for his sister from the fund, please note that I do not approve of this.

9. In connection with the land purchased in Mr. Hairi's name, please inform him that the matter is acceptable to me.

¹ Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali.

10. Please write and convey my best wishes to the gentlemen, including the honorable Haj Aqa Ayatullah,² who have sent their regards.

11. It is said that the honorable Haj Aqa Hasan Thaqafi, son of Mr. Thaqafi has some difficulty. Please send him the sum of fifty thousand tumans through Ahmad³ and let me know later. May peace be upon you.

² Mr. Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani.

³ Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

Letter

Date: November 22, 1976 [Azar 1, 1355 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 29, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to eleven queries particularly on religious law affairs, stipends, the religious school of Quetta, cancellation of transactions concerning narcotics, etc.

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 29, 1396 AH

I would like to inform you that I have replied all your letters, and am sending you herewith the receipt you and Mr. Islami had requested.

1- I will not issue a receipt for the fund claimed to have been stolen in Afghanistan.

2- There is no objection to sending the fund, meant for Lebanon, to Mr. Khalkhali.¹

3- Do not distribute the fund among those who are known to prevaricate.

4- Do not reject what Mr. Haqqshenas has written.

5- Caution should be exercised in giving *khums* of an insane person who has an income.

6- Regarding Syria, first consult Mr. Khalkhali before sending the fund.

7- In connection with the Quetta Madrasah, Mr. ShariAt has written to say that this place is not the one which is in the name of Mr. Sayyid Yusuf. Therefore, there is no objection to sending fund for the construction. I have sent you his letter for your consideration. I do not know in what manner the fund can be remitted; you must ask him. Kindly pay the stipends as well.

8- I had already told you that the transactions concerning heroin and such things must be cancelled, and the proceeds returned to the owner, or given to charity on the owner's behalf in case he is not known. Also, tell them not to make cabinets for television sets, nor make any contributions whatsoever to this end.

9- I have signed that which has been transferred to Mr. Hairi; please inform him.

¹ Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali.

10- I had mentioned in my previous letter to send fifty thousand tumans through Ahmad to Mr. Haj Aqa Hasan, Mr. Thaqafi's son. He is said to have many difficulties.

11- I will not give permission to the person who has purchased a house, costing one hundred and seventy thousand, for his sister.

Correction Note

Date: Circa 1976 [1355 AHS / 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Suggestions for making some corrections in the book, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement] (Volume One, before being printed)

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

Page 3, year 1350 AH:

Though the topic is not important, it is nevertheless contrary to the fact. Therefore, I wish to point out that when I was residing in the Dar ash-Shafa Madrasah,¹ I taught philosophy there for a long time. I left the Madrasah in 1348 AH² because of my marriage.

Page 3:

The basic reason for expansion of this class³ was the total prevention of mourning gatherings, sermons and such things by Rida Shah's police. For this reason, the people were interested, and so I improved my private lessons of "Manazil As-Sa'irin"⁴ so as to include all and to be understood by all.

I remind you again that exaggeration is not right; the topics should be written strictly according to the facts.

¹ One of the old and reputable Madrasahs of the Qum Seminary, situated adjacent to the Faydiyyah Madrasah, in the vicinity of Hadrat Masumah's shrine.

² Corresponding to the year 1308 AHS.

³ The ethics class of Imam Khomeini.

⁴ An outstanding literary work in Islamic mysticism, by a mystic named Jihan-e Islam Khwajah Abdullah Ansari (died 481 AH), relating to the enunciation of the stages of "Sayr wa Suluk", in connection with which many accounts have been written, one of the most famous being the class textbook on mysticism.

Letter

Date: Circa 1976 [1355 AHS / 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Confirmation of the subjects mentioned in the letter sent to the clergymen in India

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

[In His Most Exalted Name

May peace be upon you. I beseech God, the Beneficent to hasten your recovery and grant you perfect health.¹

I have written a letter to our brothers residing in India. As you have been quoted in the letter, it is necessary for you to peruse it so as to obviate any discrepancies. And if you think it advisable, please allow me to convey to them your regards, and also your regrets over their differences.² Concerning Lebanon, I have not yet received what you have written.³ May your benign existence endure. Ruhani]

In His Most Exalted Name

May peace be upon you. I hope that you will be successful, God willing. There is no objection to conveying regards and expressing regrets. Mustafa⁴ told me briefly about the printing of the aforesaid book that dismayed me. I cannot ignore your difficulties.⁵ Write and let me know how much debt you have incurred in the matter.

¹ In the year 1355 AHS, Imam Khomeini, while in Najaf, had suffered a heart attack.

² It refers to the differences that had cropped up between two of the clergymen resident in India.

³ It refers to the proclamation of Imam Khomeini, concerning the condition in Lebanon that he was supposed to send to Mr. Ruhani for printing in that country.

⁴ Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

⁵ The book "The Call of the Revolution" which had been published in Lebanon by Mr. Sayyid Hamid Ruhani, and the reason for his arrest by the agents of the Iraqi Baath in Beirut, He was incarcerated for a week in the party's premises in Beirut.

Letter

Date: Circa 1976 [1355 AHS / 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to nine religious queries on religious law funds, vows, wages for making television cabinets, stipends, etc.

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

I would like to inform you that your letter sent through Mr. Karimi has just arrived. As he is to travel and is in a hurry, I am giving you briefly the replies that I know:

1- Please, on no account, give your permission to those who deceitfully collect neither fund for prisoners, etc. nor give receipts. Tell them to claim their fund from them unless you wish to avoid the issue and keep silent.

2- In case the vow conforms to religious law formalities, it should be fulfilled in the said holy shrine. If not, it is not necessary.

3- Permit the competent people to disallow those who are engaged in usury. I had also mentioned this before.

4- Television cabinets should not be made.¹ Also, taking wages or selling them is not proper.

5. Do not take any action regarding Syria at present, the situation there is unfavorable.

6. Do not distribute among those who are known not to pay or are strongly suspected of not paying religious law fund.

7. Do not reject what Mr. Haqqshenas has written; I have apologized.

8. If an insane person has an income, it is exercising caution to pay the *khums* thereof.

9. I will send your receipts and those of Mr. Abdullah Islami later, God willing.

¹ The query is about making cabinets for television set. Imam Khomeini had considered the wages for making them and their sale and purchase as improper because of the programs, in conflict with religious law, that were being shown during the Shah's regime.

Letter

Date: November 24, 1976, [Azar 3, 1355 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1396 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1396 AH

Dear Ahmad,

I hope you are healthy and happy, God willing. I am fine thanks to God, but the difficulties are many. May God Almighty eliminate them. If it is possible for you, please send me a black, light Rashti cloak. I have told Hadrat Aqa¹ to give you fifty tumans to deliver to Aqa Haj Mirza Hasan Thaqafi.² He seems to be having some problems concerning construction matters. Please inform me of your welfare and that of the family members. Also, convey my regards to them. Kisses to Hasan;³ let me know about his well-being. May peace be upon you.

Your father

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

² Imam Khomeini's brother-in-law.

³ Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini.

Letter

Date: January 7, 1977 [Dey 17, 1355 AHS / Muharram 16, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to a letter

Addressee: Kiyai Nezhad, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 16, 1397 AH

His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Kiyai-Nezhad, may his blessings last long:

Thank you for your letter. I pray to God to guide you and make you successful. I request you and the other colleagues not to forget me in your benevolent prayers. Please convey my regards to Mr. Qadiri, may God assist him. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: January 7, 1977 [Dey 17, 1355 AHS / Muharram 16, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to a letter concerning the issuance of a letter of permission

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Allam al-Huda

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Ahmad Allam al-Huda, may his blessings last long:

I have received your esteemed letter. May God Almighty assist you and give you success. The permission that was mentioned by my brother will be, God willing, sent. As the permissions are to be sent to Qum to my brother Mr. Pasandideh, and he is to forward them, God willing it will be acted upon. Please convey my regards to brother, may his favors last. I request you and him not to forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: January 14, 1977 [Dey 24, 1355 AHS / Muharram 23, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Haydar Murtadawi, Afghanistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

Let it be known to all the esteemed believers of the said regions from Bamiyan (Sayyidabad, Haydarabad, Sarasiya, Dasht-e Isakhan, Gurvan Bala va Pain, Surkhdar, Alituychi and Patsati) that His Eminence Murrawvij al-Ahkam Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Haydar Murtadawi is my legal representative in the above-mentioned districts in collecting the blessed share of the Imam (A). He is permitted to spend one-third in cases prescribed by religious law, and another one-third with a quarter of the *zakat*, to be spent in the Bamiyan theological center under the supervision of the honorable Aqa Imad al-Alam Murawwij al-Ahkam Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fahimi Katway. Moreover, he should send the balance to me for the maintenance of the important theological centers, obtain the receipts thereof and forward them to the payers.

“And I advise him, may God always assist him, to be pious and cautious, and I hope that he will include 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 23, 1397 AH

Letter

Date: Circa 1976-1977 [1355 AHS / 1396-1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledgment of the receipt of a letter sent

Addressee: Muhammad Kiyai-Nezhad, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

The Honorable Imad al-Alam Aqa Muhammad Kiyai-Nezhad, may God Almighty assist him:

I have received your letter, but do not recall having received any other letter from you. I request God Almighty to grant you success and happiness. I request you and the other friends not to forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Reply to Queries

Date: Circa 1976-1977 [1355 AHS / 1396-1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Replies to queries on religious law

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

Query: [A religious person in the Air Force is in charge of helicopter repairs. The officers give him television sets to repair; he cannot disobey them. Should he leave the job or continue to work and receive his salary?]

Reply: In His Most Exalted Name. Let him leave it, if he can.

Query: [A person in the tax assessor's office is in charge of assessing the taxes. He tries as far as possible to exempt those who are not liable or – if possible – those who are liable. Also, he reduces the taxes when assessing them or is negligent in the matter to a certain extent. Thus, he serves the people. Should he and others like him be permitted to continue working or not?]

Reply: Give him permission.

Message

Date: January 22, 1976 [Bahman 2, 1355 AHS / Safar 2, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The need to assist the people of Lebanon who are living in chaotic conditions following the bloody civil wars

Addressees: The Muslims of Iran and the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Verily, to Allah we belong and to Him we shall return.”

The tragedy that occurred in Lebanon and the woes that have beset our brothers-in-faith are beyond description. The war that was waged by the hidden hands of humanity's enemy in the interests of imperialism and Israel, and reduced Lebanon to rubble has seemingly abated. However, the thousands of families, who led comfortable and respectable lives until recently, have lost their near and dear ones. Their homes having been destroyed and their possessions lost, they are now suffering indescribable hardships and adversities in this winter, bereft of shelters and protectors. The assistance rendered by the benevolent people, though appreciated and acknowledged gratefully, cannot compensate for the afflictions of our dear brothers, the dear ones whose forefathers fought courageously against the puppets of imperialism and the various savage entities of medieval times for the sake of the glory and grandeur of their traditions and conventions; who shed their own blood in order to uphold their honor and dignity. “May the Lord appreciate their efforts and reward them well.” Now the survivors—the dear little children without fathers and protectors, the mothers and fathers who have lost their sons and daughters and thousands of the injured and maimed—have remained, beset with multiple sorrows and the daily-increasing grief and misery. It is the duty of the noble people, the pure-hearted Muslims, the followers of the Most Noble Messenger (s)¹ and the Commander of the Faithful (A) to rise up to the occasion and rescue the children of Islam. It is up to the zealous, affluent people to look after the children of the Quran and hasten to their aid—humanitarian and respectable

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

aid—as a mark of gratitude for God’s bounties; to consider the survivors of the sons of Islam as their own children, and even more.

The respected heads of their families gave their lives gallantly for the honor of their religion and for their dignity, thus immortalizing their names, as well as honoring Islam and the Muslims. “May God reward them well for serving Islam.” We must be of help to their survivors and their dear ones in order to recompense their services; in a way that is respectable and dignified for them. The Muslims, especially the noble Iranians, may God assist them, can easily compensate for the damages that could be recompensed.

With their magnanimity, they can help manage the lives of the survivors of our brothers-in-faith, thereby being proud before God Almighty and humanity.

I, in my present sick and feeble condition, in all humility hope, that my brothers-in-Islam take urgent, immediate action, outdoing one another in this godly, Islamic task before the opportunity is lost, and thereby alleviate the immense hardships faced by our brothers. I hope that the Merciful Lord will honor and extol them for their services. In case they wish to give the money requiring the permission of jurists, I will give permission to one-fourth from my part. I beseech God to uproot the agents of the enemies of humanity and their camp-followers, and to give guidance and success to our brothers-in-faith. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon His righteous servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar al-Muzaffar 2, 1397 AH

Letter

Date: February 21, 1977 [Esfand 2, 1355 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 2, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The theological center's students

Addressee: Wahidi Jahrumi, Syria

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 2, 1397 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam Aqa Wahidi, may his blessings last long:

I have received your esteemed letter some time ago. My indisposition and ill-health, as well as difficulties, have caused the delay in my reply to you. In connection with the stipends, please write and let me know the number of students engaged in studies who have taken their examinations and about their obtaining employment while being students, married or single. It is better for the list to have all details together with the level of their education. The appropriate amount will be given, God willing, after receiving the list. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. You had written to say: "You did not write anything about the arrangement." I do not remember what it is about. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 10, 1977 [Esfand 19, 1355 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Expressing gratitude for the enlightening activities of various groups and students

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1397 AH

The Honorable Dr. Yazdi, may God Almighty assist him:

After extending my greetings and salutations to you, I would like to inform you that I have received telegrams from abroad following my indisposition. I replied to you and some others whose addresses were known. However, as I do not know the addresses of the others, I am hereby requesting you to kindly convey my thanks to the various student groups.

I request God Almighty to give guidance and success to all in enlightening the people on the radiant injunctions of Islam, and in serving the Muslims. I am requesting you and the others, not to forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 25, 1977 [Farvardin 5, 1356 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 4, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission to spend part of the Imam's (A) Share on the publication of a book concerning religion

Addressee: Mustafa Ashrafi

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 4, 1397 AH

After extending my greetings and salutations, I would like to inform you that I have received your esteemed letter. I pray to the Almighty for your success and well-being. Concerning the matter stated, you are permitted to allow Mr. Ridaghuli Muharramzadeh to spend a quarter of the blessed Share on publications beneficial to religion. Of course, determining their advantage is the job of the scholars, such as you and the other gentlemen. You are also permitted to similarly allow others who approach you. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 28, 1977 [Ordibehesht 8, 1356 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in religious law funds

Addressee: *Unknown*

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1397 AH

After extending my greetings and salutations, I would like to inform you that I have received your esteemed letter and that I pray to the Almighty to assist you and give you success. The letter mentions permission: You are permitted to collect and utilize the various types of funds for religious law purposes. However, more than half of the Imam's (A) blessed Share is not advisable. You should know that very few people have permission for half, the permission usually being given for one-third. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 9, 1977 [Ordibehesht 19, 1356 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 20, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The amount expendable from the blessed Imam's (A) Share

Addressee: Probably Sadiq Khalkhali, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 20, 1397 AH

After extending my greetings and salutations, I would like to inform you that I have received your esteemed letter, and that I pray to God Almighty to assist you and give you success. I hope that, you and the other gentlemen will not forget me in your prayers for my salvation. In connection with the items mentioned on which to spend the blessed share, if such an increase is your idea, perhaps nothing will then be left for the important theological centers! Therefore, you may spend and allow to be spent one-third of the share in cases that are important and that you deem essential. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 21, 1977 [Ordibehesht 31, 1356 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude and recommendation to pursue the matter concerning the Qum building

Addressee: *Unknown*

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1397 AH

I wish to inform you that I have received with thanks your esteemed letter indicating your well-being, and containing your expression of sympathy for me. I beseech God Almighty to keep you healthy and happy, and hope that you will always be successful and triumphant, with God's assistance, just as you have been successful in serving Islam and Muslims, up to now. I am in relatively good health thanks to God, but the troubles and vexations do not leave any time for me. I beseech God Almighty to rectify matters.

Regarding the Qum building, in my view, this should not be abandoned. I hope that the time will be found to take this worthy task to its completion. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers, especially for my salvation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: June 2, 1977 [Khordad 12, 1356 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Refuting a rumor

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1397 AH

The Honorable Dr. Yazdi, may God Almighty assist him:

I have received your esteemed letter. I pray for your health and success. Concerning the film about which it is written "It is well-known that I have forbidden it", I do not have any knowledge about this at all, and have neither forbidden nor approved of it. It is best that you remind the gentlemen that the malicious accusations leveled against me these days are many, particularly in Iran. They should not accept nor take any action on whatever they hear or have heard before referring the matter to me. I have received a letter from Kuwait through Mr. Behbahani, the receipt of which I have sent through him. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: June 14, 1977 [Khordad 24, 1356 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 26, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Payment of religious law funds

Addressee: Muhammad Ali Amrullahi, Kuwait¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 26, 1397 AH

May you be successful, God willing. I have received your letter, and request God to grant you success. The fund you have given to Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Jafar Yazdi is right and acceptable. Whatever you give him from now on is also acceptable. However, I have accepted only up to now whatever you have given the others whose names are mentioned in your letter. Henceforth, please give the money either to Mr. Haj Sayyid Ja'far or to Aqa² in Qum.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The following is written on the envelope: "Through His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Abbas Muhri, may his blessings last long, the fully-authorized Mr. Haj Sayyid Muhammad Ali Amrullahi, may God assist him."

² Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh, Imam Khomeini's brother.

Letter

Date: July 7, 1977 [Tir 16, 1356 AHS / Rajab 19, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude and encouragement in the establishment of a charity institute

Addressee: Tawliyat

In His Most Exalted Name

Rajab 19, 1397 AH

The Honorable Mr. Tawliyat, may God make him successful:

Thank you for your two letters mentioning your well-being and expressing your sympathies for me. If you do not take into account my weakness and old age, as well as the many difficulties and constantly increasing vexations that beset me, the reason for the delay in replying to your first letter will not be evident to you. I request God to improve the lot of the Muslims. According to what is said, the establishment of the charity institute is for your own good. I hope that you will be successful in taking effective steps in the propagation of the sacred creed, and immortalize your good and honored name. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: Circa July 23-August 16, 1977 [Mordad 1356 AHS / Shaban 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Expression of antipathy toward traitors and revisionists

Addressee: The public

[The distinguished personage Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Aqa Khomeini, may his sublime presence endure:

I would like to bring to your kind attention that, there have been unwarranted attacks recently on the sacred religion of Islam—especially on the righteous path of Shiism, the soul of Islam—by the communists, the followers of Marxist ideology and those who have strayed from the path of the Commander of the faithful and his honorable, infallible descendants (A) as well as from the precepts of the sacred religion of Islam. Aspersion have also been cast from various quarters on the lofty status of the clergy. Unfortunately, some of these people have introduced themselves as being connected to you, calling them your supporters. I request you to kindly let me have your very explicit opinion on these points and on such people so that any doubts and misunderstanding be cleared.]

In His Most Exalted Name

I have repeatedly given my opinion, verbally and in writing, on such matters. It does not seem unlikely that the groups who are engaged in anti-Islamic and anti-religious activities in Iran are, with a change of name and tactics, the political factions that have been set up by foreign powers to undermine Islam and the sacred creed of Shiism, as well as the eminent stature of the clergy; to make the people inattentive to the current state of affairs. These groups have rallied under a common cause to betray the Islamic nation and crush its defenders. As the foes of Islam and the plunderers of powerless nations see their interests imperiled by the influence of the clergy—who are the sole protectors of the Holy Quran and the redeeming injunctions of Islam—they have inevitably resorted to forming revisionist parties in order to protect their expansionist interests. Such parties are connected to groups seemingly attributed to Islam, but are actually against it.

Islam and the sacred Jafari creed is the bastion against foreign powers and their puppets, whether leftists or rightists. The clergy, the protectors of the creed, constitute the bulwark because of which foreigners cannot do as they wish with Islamic countries, particularly Iran. Therefore, for centuries they have been using various subterfuges in plotting to demolish this bastion: sometimes by making their evil agents dominate the Islamic countries; sometimes by creating false creeds, and propagating Bahaism, Babism and Wahhabism, and sometimes by means of revisionist parties. Now, that the baseless Marxist ideology is facing its downfall, and its futility has been exposed, the foreign stooges who are themselves against it are propagating it in Iran. They are doing this to shatter Islamic unity and to stamp out the Holy Quran and the clergy in Iran, the cradle of training based on the chaste and pure Household. The plundering foreign powers will never be able to realize their inhuman aspirations while this grand religion exists. So they have no alternative but to weaken and crush by every possible means the sacred creed of Shiism and the clergy who are its defenders. The falsehoods ascribed to me by some of these revisionists relate to these tactics of theirs.

I would like to say clearly that I detest and am disgusted with these treacherous groups, whether communists, Marxists, or deviants from the ShiAh creed and the teachings of the Prophet's virtuous Household (A) in whatever form and name they be. And I consider them traitors to creed and country and to Islam.

Let the malevolent people and those with ulterior motives know that they cannot sow discord among the clergy by such falsehoods and trickery. Those who are allied to the clergy and defend Islam should detest these mischief-making groups. They should defend the eminent clergy and also avoid discord and disagreements. They must be alert in neutralizing the machinations of the enemy. I request the dignified clergy to show fatherly affection to the youth. And it is up to the youth to protect the dignified clergy, diligently.

Finally, I find it necessary to point out to the respected writers and thinkers that they should earnestly desist from commenting on and interpreting the Quran and Islamic precepts. I also request all the people (may God assist them) to block the path of the enemies of Islam, who are also the enemies of humanity, by maintaining their unity. I beseech God Almighty—Exalted is His Magnificence—to uproot the foreigners and their evil hirelings from Islamic lands and this country of the Prophet's Household. "He is the supreme authority". My salutations to the dignified clergy and all the believers, may God assist them.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 1397 AH

Reply to Queries

Date: *Unknown*

Subject: The need to safeguard the prestige of the leading religious reference authorities; religiously-mandated permission, prayers, etc.

Questioner: Ali Aziziyan Gharawi

Query: [...Some of your young followers have shown disrespect to the clergy and explicitly say that the reference authority who is their source of reference has not permitted them to recite the mandatory daily prayers led by us as we clerics have not been given this responsibility.]

Reply: I have not said that. The prestige of the *ulama* must be preserved.

Query: [Suppose someone lives in Karaj but works in Tehran; what is the status of his prayers and fasting?]

Reply: They are shortened when one travels outside his or her hometown [*watan*].

Query: [In the Qum theological center where I have benefited from your lessons, you had given me verbal permission. I request you to give me your written permission if you deem fit.]

Reply: You are permitted.

In His Most Exalted Name

May God Almighty assist you and make you successful. I do not think it proper to interfere in matters that are the cause of discord.¹ May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ The above-mentioned lines were written at the bottom of Mr. Aziziyan's letter in reply to his query concerning the Imam's opinion on the books written by Mr. Ali Shari'ati (which, in the view of the writer of the letter, contains passages against the Shi'ah clergy).

Letter

Date: July 23-August 21, 1977 [Mordad 1356 AHS / Shaban 5-Ramadan 5, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledging the receipt of telegrams from students in America and Europe on the demise of Mr. ShariAti

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban al-MuAzzam 1397 AH

The Honorable Dr. Yazdi, may God assist him:

I have received many telegrams on the demise of Dr. Ali ShariAti from various parts of Europe and America sent by the Islamic Associations of students in those countries and also by our other honorable brothers resident abroad, may God Almighty assist them. As it is not possible to reply to all of them because of certain considerations and nor is it proper to reply to some, leaving out the others, I hereby request you to convey my gratitude to all our honorable brothers, may God Almighty assist them.

With my life nearing its end, I am pinning my hopes on the youths as a whole, on the students in Iran and abroad, including the clergymen and others. It is hoped that the scholars and the enlightened thinkers tell the public about the benefits of the redeeming religion of Islam which is good for every aspect of the lives of human beings and leads to the blessed path in this world and the hereafter. It is the preserver of the independence and liberty of nations, the trainer of people as well as guidance in life for mankind. Rest assured that by projecting Islam the way it is, by dispelling doubts and correcting aberrations caused by those who are malevolent, the decent people, who have not deviated from their innate godliness and have not fallen victim to futile desires and animal passions, will turn toward it with their whole being, thus benefiting from its blessings and its many splendors. I would like to give the dear youths the glad tidings of victory and deliverance from the enemies of humanity and their servile lackeys. The discerning youth, here and abroad, should stand firmly together under the banner of Islam, the sole banner of monotheism, and defend human beings and human rights with one voice so that, God willing, foreign hands are cut off from the Islamic countries. They must be wary of and ostracize mysterious elements

who, surely being foreign agents, intend to sow discord among the Islamic associations. *“And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.”*¹ May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103.

Message

Date: July 25, 1977 [Mordad 3, 1356 AHS / Shaban 7, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Calling on the cultural circles to expose the crimes of the regime

Addressee: Islamic Association of Students in America and Canada

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shaban al-MuAzzam 8, 1397 AH

The Islamic Association of Students in America and Canada:

I have received your esteemed letter and would like to say that the points you have mentioned constitute part of the mischief perpetrated by this corrupt, puppet regime and a page of the afflictions of the Muslim nation of Iran. What is going on behind the scenes is much more than we can imagine. The misdeeds of this father and son—two of the stooges of foreigners—are the prelude to other radical things in the offing for the Iranians, if, God forbid, they find the opportunity and the nation loses the opportunities. Owing to the internal and external conditions and the repercussions of the regime's crimes among people and in the foreign press, it is now an opportune moment for the scientific and cultural communities, the patriotic dignitaries, the students in Iran and abroad and the Islamic associations, wherever they are, to rise up, at once and vociferously protest the prevailing conditions as also the atrocities of fifty years perpetrated by the illegal, slavish Pahlavi regime. They must also let their voices be heard by the international community and make the US president understand that the Islamic nations attribute the crimes of this dynasty, especially in recent years, to the American leadership. By supporting this regime, the US government appears to the Muslims as the head of the tyrants and despots of history. In order to freely exploit the rich resources of the Muslims, the American government has entangled millions of decent people with those dirty and inhuman elements. If the present US president¹ does not revise his policy, if he does not part company with the kernel of impiety, then the responsibility for all the crimes committed by a bunch of godless and inhuman people will lie on him.

¹ Jimmy Carter, the US president at the time.

Ignoring the right of hundreds of millions of Muslims, placing their destinies in the control of a bunch of ruffians, giving the illegal regime of Iran and the bogus government of Israel the opportunity to usurp their rights, and deprive them of their freedom, and also treating them as they have treated people of medieval times, are all crimes that are being recorded in the dossiers of American presidents. It is essential that the incumbent president, in keeping with his promises, refrain from the criminal acts of previous administrations.

We are now waiting to see whether the present American administration will sacrifice its honor and that of its people for the sake of material gain and use the oil of a poor, noble nation to wash away its own prestige, or whether, by eschewing its support for these evil elements, it will restore its reputation and honor. I request all the Islamic Associations to consolidate their relations with one another and to exclude those mysterious people who plan to sow discord and dissension among them. I request them to use Islam and its redeeming tenets as their rules of conduct. I beseech God Almighty to guide all the Muslims and make them successful in observing the enlightening injunctions of the Quran and Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: July 26, 1977 [Mordad 4, 1356 AHS / Shaban 8, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The lack of a role for Islam in the Shah's regime

Addressee: The Union of Islamic Associations of Students in Europe

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Union of Islamic Associations of Students in Europe:

Thank you for your letter. The matter that I had addressed to in all the publications was my particular interest in the unity and harmony among all the Muslims, especially the youth and the dear scholars in Iran and abroad. I thank the Islamic Associations abroad and the youth in Iran and abroad for their loyalty to the ideals of Islam which is the eternal guarantor of mankind's salvation in this world and the hereafter.

The dissension of some of the ruffians and foreign lackeys should not and certainly cannot, weaken the resolve of the gentlemen in the pursuit of their sublime aim. Islam has faced such elements in the course of its history. The hypocrites have been a disgrace from the beginning of Islam to the present time. They have always wanted to prevent the true Muslims from following the path of truth by their ruses and Islamic pretensions.

Now, in our own time, pretensions to Islam, in order to consign its progressive tenets to oblivion are a priority in the designs of the Shah and his avaricious accomplices. These Islam-destroying pretensions are, regretfully, excuses for the complacent profiteers who want to evade their responsibilities, little knowing that their deceit is not hidden from Almighty God and His watchful, committed creatures. With his pretensions to Islam, he is violating Islamic principles one by one. He is obfuscating the glorious history of Islam and replacing it with the shameful history of tyrants and despots. He makes a show of Islam in Iran whereas in his interviews with the foreign media he says that religion has no rule in the country's administration. Religion should have no role with this filthy element at the helm of affairs. If it did play a role, it would have brought the palaces of those plunderers crashing down on their heads. If religion did have a role, it would have uprooted this corrupt regime treacherous to Islam and the nation. It is Islam not having a role in your government that has allowed you to place all the resources of the country at the disposal of Islam's enemies for the sake

of a dishonorable life of a few days. It is religion not having a role that has given rise to the towering mansions of a bunch of parasites beside which stand the humble hovels of the needy, poor, believers. It is because of religion not having a role that its respected *ulama* spend their days in prison and torture chambers; that the sons of Islam whether the university fraternity or the students of Islamic sciences are harmed and tortured. If religion had a role it would not have given the opportunity to some like your good-for-nothing relations to deprive the girl students of the universities and schools of their liberty. If Islam had a role it would not have given the likes of you the opportunity to start rumors of changing the Friday holiday of the Muslims to the holiday of the Christians on the excuse of gain.

All our woes are due to the fact that religion and Islam have no role in your government. Stripping the country of its freedom and its appearing in the form of a colony, the widespread suppression in the country, the prisons crammed with freemen, the lack of the basic necessities of life, the plunder of the country's resources, the dominance of the market by Israel and its not giving an opportunity to non-Jewish businessmen; all of these are attributed to religion not being given a role by the Shah and his government.

It is now the duty of the intellectuals, the young and the rest of the people of every kind and occupation to strive so that a religion can find a role. We can give religion a role by means of unity of expression, by eschewing periodic differences and by passive resistance which becomes active when the occasion arises, and thereby giving those who talk nonsense a tight slap in the face. I beseech God to set the affairs of the Muslims right and assist those who serve Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-MuAzzam 9, 1397 AH

Letter

Date: Circa 1977-1978 [1356 AHS / 1397 - 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Pointing out some corrections to be made in the book, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement] (before publication)

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

In His Most Exalted Name

In my view this list ought to be deleted as, firstly, some people might not want their names to be mentioned. Secondly, transpositioning names, discrepancies in surnames and such things cause dissatisfaction. Thirdly, listing the names of research scholars with those of common people is not right. Fourthly, there are people whose names have not been listed; this itself is disconcerting. Fifthly, in the case of those who have come to study in Najaf, listing some names below some others is not proper; neither is it right to list all the names.

In short, not mentioning the names at all is the best thing to do, depending on the discretion of the gentlemen themselves.¹

¹ In this connection, Mr. Sayyid Hamid Ruhani has given the following explanation:

“Only He is venerable. With regard to the list of the students that appeared in the first volume of the book on the Imam's movement, the Imam did not approve of the list and stated his reasons thereof. After talking it over with him, I was able to secure his consent.”

Correction Note

Date: Circa 1977-1978 [1356 AHS / 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Confirmation of a recollection for interpolation in the book, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

On Monday, Farvardin 17, 1343 AHS, [the Minister of Interior¹ for the second time and] Colonel Mawlawi² came to the Imam and told him that he was free and could go to Qum. [He replied that if they were to continue with their previous ways and treat the people as before, it is better for him to remain where he was. Mawlawi swore by his rank, saying that such things are over.] When he was sure of His Honor's readiness to leave for Qum, he, to prevent the surge of the clamoring crowd and mass demonstrations, stated that in order to protect and guard him from any unexpected happening, it was his duty to arrange for the Imam's departure and to see to his safe arrival at his residence!! And it was with this in mind that they wanted to take His Honor supposedly safe and sound to his residence and keep him protected from any unexpected happening! They arranged for him to leave at night so that he should arrive in Qum in the quiet of the night.³

¹ Mr. Jawad Sadr.

² The head of Tehran SAVAK in 1964 [1343AHS].

³ The above passage with the exception of the sentences within brackets [] has been written by Mr. Sayyid Hamid Ruhani in the book, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]. In order to be sure of the veracity of the topic he presented it to Imam Khomeini and the Imam made the corrections in the margin in his own handwriting which is clearly seen in the brackets.

Letter

Date: August 26, 1977 [Shahrivar 4, 1356 AHS / Ramadan 10, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Fahimah (Zahra) Mustafawi

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting¹ 10, 1397 AH

My dear daughter,

Only God knows that I cannot get you all out of my mind. May God keep you dear ones for me. I thank you for the affection shown during these few days that passed so quickly.² I pray to God Almighty for the well-being of all. Please convey my regards to Mr. Burujerdi.³ I pray for my dear ones. Peace be with you.

Your father

¹ The month of Ramadan.

² It refers to Khanum Mustafawi's trip to Iraq.

³ Mr. Mahmud Burujerdi, Imam Khomeini's son-in-law.

Letter

Date: September 24, 1977 [Mehr 2, 1356 AHS / Shawwal 10, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Inquiring about one's welfare

Addressee: Mirza Hasan Mustawfi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 10, 1397AH

I wish to inform you that I have received your esteemed letter after many years. I pray to God Almighty for your health and happiness, and hope that you have recovered completely during this trip. I never forget to include you and the others in my prayers, and beseech God Almighty to keep all of you in good health. I am in relatively good health though I have many anxieties. May God rectify the situation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ One of Imam Khomeini's relatives.

Speech

Date: September 28, 1977 [Mehr 6, 1356 AHS / Shawwal 14, 1397 AH]

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Warning on misconceptions on Islam

Addressees: Clergymen and students of Najaf theological center

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Time management, obligation on not wasting the affluence of youth

Yesterday, I discussed the issue of usurpation [*ghasb*]. After the discussion, one of the gentlemen pointed out that I had previously spoken on this issue and was repeating myself. This is not unusual for people such as myself, for as man ages all his faculties become weak, and just as physically, he becomes frail, so too his mental and spiritual powers, his ability to worship, become impaired. All of these are strong in youth, and that is why I have told you gentlemen many times that now that you enjoy this blessing of youth make use of it and do not waste it. I am not saying that the young people should not have any kind of recreation, or that they should study all the time, what I mean is that they should divide their time between recreation and study and that most of their time should be spent on the latter. You, gentlemen, who are devoting your life to study, now that you enjoy the blessing of youth, divide your time and spend the better part of it on debate, discussion, study, lessons and teaching. Do not suppose that you can squander your youth and put off worship and study until the end of your lives, for when one reaches that stage in one's life, one can neither worship nor study, nor is one's cogitative faculty strong or clear enough for one to be able to understand scientific matters. It is now in youth that you should strengthen your understanding of the fundamentals of science and religious jurisprudence so that when you reach old age and you have mastery over these, your knowledge will bear fruit and you will be able to utilize it. But if you squander your youth and waste this blessing, you will not be able to compensate for this later. So, you, gentlemen, should bear this point in mind that the period of old age is a period of forgetfulness, thus you see that I begin to discuss a matter which I have already discussed. This is due to the weakness that comes to man in old age.

Different dimensions of the human being

Another matter which I think is very important and which I feel should be given due attention is that man—this creature which is the essence of all creation—is himself a multi-dimensional creature possessing as he does different qualities. From one aspect, he is similar to vegetables; just as vegetables need water and the nutrients they get from the earth to grow, so too man depends on the earth and the blessings of God, the Blessed and Exalted, for his growth. In addition, he has an animalistic aspect just like other animals; he has eyes, ears and so on, and other senses which he shares with other animals. That which is more predominant in him—although it can be found to a lesser degree in animals too—is his ability to ideate¹ at which level other things are added to the animalistic qualities that he possesses. The human being is characterized by his reasoning, spirituality and the “immateriality of his rational soul”² which other animals do not enjoy.

The Holy Quran, which is supreme among all other ideologies and books, was revealed to develop man, to turn a potential human being into an actuality. This was the reason behind the revelation of the other divine books also. The missions of all the prophets, regardless of the period, were to turn the human being into a true human being. All the sciences, the acts of worship, the religious learning and the rules for worship are all a means to turn a defective human being into a perfect human being. The Quran is a book of human perfection which, when turned to, provides for every stage of man's development.

Islam and other divine religions do not envisage a government which is like other governments; the government of Islam is not like other governments. The materialistic governments—whatever their leanings—are only concerned about preserving order in their own countries. If the government is a true exponent of justice, it will attempt to guarantee that oppression does not exist outside its own boundaries, and if the rulers are themselves just, they will not tyrannize others. But in principle, such

¹ This is the ‘mithali’ stage which is between nature [*tabiAt*] and reasoning [*Aql*]. At this stage, physical images and perfect forms exist but there is no matter which force or effect has. This world, which is the stage between reason and matter, exists for some animals too, for example some animals have the intelligence of knowing their master, but this stage is stronger in human beings.

² In the explanation for the ‘mithali’ stage of the human being, it was said that some intelligent animals also experience a weak form of this stage, but the stage of reason [*Aql*] and that of immateriality of the rational soul which perceives the ‘whole’ belongs only to human beings and the animals do not possess it. The highest stage of an animal's existence is the ‘mithali’ stage and the ideational stage.

governments only guarantee order in their own countries and whatever happens within the home is of no concern to them so long as it poses no danger to the regime. The people can drink wine, gamble, perpetrate all kinds of scandalous deeds within their homes and the government will not interfere. However, if they come out of their homes and start to riot, then the government will clamp down on them for then they are going against the order of things. Whether the government is just or unjust, it will not interfere in that which people do in their own homes, unless an oppressive act takes place in the home and somebody complains to the authorities, in which case the government may decide to do something about it. However, such is not the case with Islam and divine governments. They have rules for everyone wherever they are. So if someone wishes to carry out a vile and unlawful act in his own home, the Islamic government will have something to say about this. Although corruption within people's homes will not be purposely sought out by the Islamic authorities, still, unlawful acts are forbidden and a ruling has been given that they should not be carried out. Those who perpetrate such acts are made punishable by the law, and if the government finds out about their actions then it has to follow its legal rulings and mete out the necessary punishment.

Islam's attention on all aspects of man

Islam as well as other divine governments and calls involve themselves with all aspects of man's development, from the lowest level up to the highest to which he can ascend. It is not like those governments which only concern themselves with the governing of a country, for Islam, in addition to having many rules pertaining to the politics of a country, also has spiritual laws. It deals with both the material and the spiritual. It has rules pertaining to man's spiritual education, his spiritual development, and, at a more mundane level, which concerns man's character; it has rules for his moral edification. Islam has moral teachings and it has rules which govern his social relations, his relationship with himself, his wife, his children, his neighbors, his friends, his fellow countrymen, his co-religionists, and people of a different religion. Islam has rules for man which extend from before his birth until after his death. It contains provisions relating to the preliminaries of marriage and the form in which it should be contracted, and others relating to the development of the embryo in the womb until birth. It specifies how the child should be reared, it has rules for him at puberty, in his youth, in old age, when he dies and is laid in his grave and even after that, for this is not the end; it is only the beginning. These rules pertain to all aspects of man's

life here, to his intellectual and moral education, but they don't end here, they are continued even when he enters the grave, when he is separated from this world¹ and reaches the realm of perfection and incorporeality. For the world of the grave is itself the beginning of another life, it is the beginning of the spiritual life of the grave, the spiritual life in the intermediate area between Heaven and Hell [*barzakh*], and then the spiritual life on a level even higher still. Islam and its laws which God, the Blessed and Exalted, has sent for man are not confined merely to this world or the next.

The disaster of a one dimensional look at Islam

Throughout the ages, there have been many groups of philosophers, gnostics, Sufis, Muslim scholastics and others who looked for the spiritual aspects of life and found them, each according to his own level of perception, and who then charged the so-called ordinary people with error for looking only at exoteric meanings. They considered anybody apart from themselves as being 'exoterics' and charged them with error. In their exegeses of the Quranic verses too they explained most, if not all, of the verses in mystical, philosophical and spiritual terms, and they ignored those aspects which referred to the worldly life and those teachings which are needed for this temporal life. Based on their own ideas, they sought meanings which were above the understanding of the so-called ordinary people, and, in addition, they saw themselves as being endowed with a special knowledge and rejected all others apart from themselves. At the same time, another group of people existed who busied themselves with matters of jurisprudence and worship; they rejected the first group and regarded their ideas as erroneous, denouncing them as heretics or unbelievers, among other things. However, both these two groups were unrealistic, one confined Islam to the branches and secondary aspects [*furu*] of the laws and the other to spiritual laws. One group believed Islam to be concerned only with the supernatural and the other believed that Islam was all about the laws of nature and jurisprudence, that everything else was irrelevant.

Recently another situation has arisen whereby some good, pious people, writers who work for the people just as the religious jurists [*fuqaha*], the scholastics and philosophers do, wish also to serve Islam. They too, based on their own individual understanding of the subject, wish to explain the laws of Islam to the people and expound on them. Now this new group of writers, who write very well, is doing the opposite to that which the philosophers and

¹ When the soul leaves its material shell.

gnostics did; they are now trying to make the verses of the Quran conform to their own materialist notions.

The philosophers and gnostics believed that Islam had come to instruct man in monotheism and other divine and theoretical matters and that anything else was merely an introduction to these. They said that one should ignore these other matters and concentrate only on the divine aspects of Islam.¹ Because of these ideas, some of them, not all of them of course, paid no attention to religious jurisprudence or to the jurists, the traditions, the literary meaning of the Quran and many of the Quranic laws. They did not reject them; they simply ignored them, which is the same as rejecting them. When one has nothing to do with these things, when one is indifferent and rejects those who believe in these matters calling them ‘exoterics’ this means that one has not accepted these things and “*we believe in some of God’s prophets but reject others.*”²

Materialism has now gained predominance across the globe creating a garish, gaudy world and the proponents of this ideology have also increased greatly in number. Recently, a group of people have appeared who say that the reason for all Islamic laws is nothing more than to create a just society and do away with classes. They claim that the monotheism [*tawhid*] of which Islam speaks means that all peoples should live equally, as one, as a single unity, and that Islam’s justice seeks to create a just and egalitarian society. In other words, Islam seeks to create an egalitarian but animalistic life whereby everyone eats the same grass, everyone lives together as equals and no one has anything to do with anybody else, everyone eats from the same trough. As for all the verses which have been revealed about the Day of Resurrection and about monotheism [*tawhid*], and all those proofs which have been given for the existence of another life, these are all ignored by those who are religious but who espouse certain principles of materialism. They close their eyes to such verses and concentrate on other verses, while those people who espouse such views and are not so religious simply explain such verses away.

During my youth, I met a few religious students who said that they had discovered something new and that was that the Day of Judgment took place here, in this life, that whatever was to happen, happened here, the punishment was meted out here and everything ended here. Of course in those days there were people who had deviated from what is right, but such

¹ “Pay attention to the objectives and ignore the principles” is one of the generally known proverbs and is cited when one wants to emphasize the importance of outcome.

² *Surah an-Nisa* ’ 4:150.

ideas were not very common. They believed in an animalistic life which ended with death. They did not actually say that they did not accept the Day of Judgment or the verses in the Quran which pertain to it, but they believed the Day of Judgment to be a thing of this life and the verses referring to it to mean something which would happen here.

Negligence of the multidimensional view on Islam

This group which has appeared now is a group of people who are religious and who attract many followers, but they are in error. In their books and writings, in the articles that they have written in magazines and the suchlike, they say that Islam came to develop the human being, but they maintain that it aims only to create a classless human being. In other words, Islam did not come to develop man spiritually and take him from his animalistic stage to a higher one, but only to make him classless, to make all men live equally under one governing system which pays everybody equally and which in return is to be served by everyone.

It is as if they ignore all the proofs which are found in all religions, and, as far as they can, they interpret the verses of the Quran according to their own beliefs; those that they cannot explain in this way they just ignore completely, they simply forget about them. The other group (the philosophers and mystics) do likewise, they speak of those verses which they can relate to the spiritualism and mysticism that they understand, but they too ignore the rest. Look at how those who believe in these matters have interpreted the story of Moses and Khizr.¹ God only knows where they got their ideas from.

When man reaches this stage whereupon his whole attention is focused on the unseen and he completely ignores those teachings which are for this earthly life, when he reads into things that are not there, as in the case of the story of Khizr and Moses, when he sees only the spiritual aspects and nothing else, then his heart becomes totally engrossed in spiritual matters and he does not concern himself with the fact that worldly affairs and the teachings for this temporal life form one aspect of the religion, just as prayer and worship are another. He interprets everything to suit his own particular

¹ According to the traditions, Khizr was a prophet who had the power to perform miracles. His name derives from an Arabic root meaning 'green' and it is said he was called this because wherever he went became green. His real name was Tali ibn Malikan ibn Afkhashad ibn Sam ibn Nuh. According to the traditions, Khizr had eternal life due to drinking the water of life. Refer to the translation of *Tafsir al-Mizan*, vol. 26, pp. 243-245.

point of view, and those things which oppose his viewpoint he does not try to understand at all.

On the other hand, when he understands nothing other than this material world, then his ability to perceive is defective; he cannot understand how anything can exist beyond this. These people are not concerned about 'proof', one cannot demonstrate something to them with proofs, they are people of 'exposition' and they want to present an eloquent exposition. They can perceive nothing beyond this world and so they either explain the verses in accordance with their own beliefs in a bestial, worldly life, a classless prosperous life where, if possible, everyone lives as equals, or else they don't accept those verses which pertain to spiritual matters—of course they haven't the nerve to say they don't accept them—and if they do accept them, the degree of their acceptance is very weak. They have a strong belief in their hearts about this life but they cannot properly perceive the existence of the unseen, their hearts are defective and their belief weak in this regard.¹

Islam contains all the material and spiritual aspects

It must be stated that Islam was unknown at the beginning and even now it is unknown.² Throughout Islamic history, Islam has remained unknown among men. The mystic recognizes Islam to be concerned only with mysticism and the unseen, whereas that group of people who are found today who write in newspapers and magazines, they understand Islam in terms of what its form of government is, what its teachings, manifestations and justice comprise of. They understand it only in terms of this material, natural world, and they believe it to go no further than this. Islam then for them does not go beyond the bounds of creating a prosperous, animalistic life whereby man lives like other animals which graze on the mountainside eating grass equally and having nothing to do with one another, a life like that at the time of primeval man when, according to them, the fish of the seas, the deer and other animals hunted in the wilderness were equally at the disposal of everyone. They claim that this was the best period of man's history and Islam seeks to re-create this period. In their view, Islam and the other divine religions came to return the people to that time when life was a prosperous, animalistic life. At that time they lived off the fish from the sea, and now they live off chicken and fish! All that matters is that man has a prosperous life, that he eats the right food and wears the right clothes. These people have

¹ Refer to the Quran, *Surah al-Kahf* 18:60-82.

² Referring to a Prophetic tradition which says: "Islam was a stranger at the beginning and will return to that state again. Blessed are the strangers." *Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal*.

nothing other than knowledge of God; they cannot understand anything apart from this world, this natural realm. They cannot perceive anything beyond this. The existence of another world and what kind of a world it is lie beyond the scope of their perception. So what are they to do when they don't have this perception?

Consequently, such groups do not have the right to tell you gentlemen who are busy with your studies here, who really understand Islam and know what Islam is, nor do they have the right to say that the bearded and turbaned men are good for nothing and these lessons are of no use anymore. Such things are said by those who do not understand Islam properly. Likewise, you too do not have the right to impose your ideas of the divine sciences on them, and if you do you will be no different from them. Neither group has the right to do anything like this. You cannot condemn them for saying that there should be no oppression and that justice should prevail, for this is true, Islam calls for this too, but it is not confined to this. Islam aims to develop a human being who is a seeker and protector of justice, who has high morals and divine knowledge so that when he leaves this world he will enter the next as a true human being.

The understanding of those who see only one side of the coin and are blind to the other is incomplete: *"Show us the straight way, the way of those on whom Thou hast bestowed Thy grace, those whose (portion) is not wrath and who go not astray."*¹ There is a tradition, I'm not sure whether it is correct or not, but they say that according to the exegetes of the Quran, those who have brought about the wrath of God consist of the Jews, and those who go astray consist of the Christians. In another tradition it is said—and again I cannot say whether this is truly a saying of the Prophet or not, I am simply repeating what I have heard—that the Prophet said: "My brother Moses was blind in his right eye and my brother Jesus was blind in his left, but I have sight in both my eyes."² Those who wish to expound on this say that Moses was blind in his right eye because his teachings as laid out in the Torah concentrate mainly on the material world and political and worldly affairs—and as you see the Jews have grasped the world with both hands and are devouring it with an insatiable appetite, they are devouring America and have now turned their attention to Iran and still they are not satisfied—and

¹ *Surah al-Fatihah* 1:6-7.

² This is said to be a saying of the Prophet. Imam Khomeini refers to it in the book *Sirr as-Salat* (p. 92) and interprets it thus: "Moses' multiplicity dominated his unity, and Jesus' unity dominated his multiplicity; the Prophet of Islam was the great isthmus (between the two) which is the middle road and the right path."

Jesus (A) was blind in his left eye, which represents the realm of nature, because his book (the Bible) pays more attention to spiritual matters. "But I have sight in both my eyes." The Prophet of Islam, however, paid attention to both aspects, both the material and the spiritual. The rules of Islam testify to this as do its policies.

Separation of religion from politics

Of course, in the opinion of many of the educated class, and especially many of the religious scholars, Islam has nothing to do with politics. They believe Islam and politics to be issues separate from one another. This is what the governments would like us to think; this is the idea that the foreigners have instilled in us from the beginning. Many promote the notion that the *akhunds* should have nothing to do with political matters. When they want to defame an *akhund* they say: "This is a political *akhund*!" They say that Islam is separate from politics; that religion is separate from politics, but these people haven't understood Islam. The government of Islam was formed at the time of the Prophet and was continued after him, whether in a just or unjust manner. At the time of Imam Ali (A), however, the government was a just, Islamic one. It had policies for everything. Just what is politics? Politics is the formation of policies dealing with the relationship between a ruler or government and the people or other governments, and with the prevention of corruption in society. In Islam, all these policies exist. In fact, Islam has more rules pertaining to politics than it does to worship. The books relating to the political aspects of Islam by far outnumber those concerned with worship. This mistaken notion has been put into our minds so that now some of the gentlemen (the clergymen) believe that Islam has nothing to do with politics, that it consists of a few ordinances concerning worship which is itself a personal matter between God and man. You can go to your mosques and pray as much as you like, read the Quran to your hearts content and the governments will leave you alone. But this is not Islam. Islam stands up to the oppressor, it orders the people to do battle with the *taghut* [oppressor], with the unbelievers who reject divine guidance, and with those who rebel against God. So with all these rules for battle, for *jihad* and so on, is Islam so far removed from politics?! Does Islam mean nothing other than going to the mosques, praying and reading the Quran?! Islam is not only this. Islam has political laws which must be implemented.

The necessity of giving attention to spirituality

At this stage then one may ask that if this is the case and Islam is concerned with political affairs, then what is the point in going to the mosque? What's the use of performing the ritual prayer [*namaz*]? This view is a mistaken one also. Islam is concerned with prayer; Islam is based on prayer.¹ Islam is not concerned only with this worldly life, with an animalistic life whereby one questions the need for prayer once one's life is put right. If one denies the existence of anything other than this worldly life, then he is right to question the reason behind prayer, for it no longer matters. If one is only aware to this extent, then everything ends once social justice has been created among men and the world has been set right. But when there is another world, when proof exists, when all religions assert the existence of a world beyond this corporeal one, then just as this material world should be reformed with its own tools and social justice should be spread among the people by a just government, so too the tools which exist for the other world should be put to use. For according to the proof and according to all religions, there is another world apart from this one, there is eternal life after death, and the tools for that life have been brought by the prophets. Supplicatory prayer, invocation of God [*dhikr*], the Quran and the ritual prayer [*namaz*] are all tools for the other life. The rules for worship are tools for the afterlife, the divine sciences likewise. These are to help man in his life in the next world, to illuminate his life there.

So those whose predilections tend toward the material aspects of this natural realm should not charge those who incline toward mysticism with error. To find fault with them is a mistake and is adopting a narrow-minded attitude. Likewise, the mystics and philosophers also do not have the right to charge with error those who say that we should struggle against tyranny and oppression and establish social justice. Do not say that your only duty is to sit down and study. No, it is the duty of all Muslims to both implement and study Islam, to study it and fight against oppression with all their might. If everyone were to observe this duty, then no government could tyrannize its people or another government. Tyranny occurs when the people do not support their government, when they follow one path and the government another. This happens when the government has not treated the people in a way so as to secure their support, when those in authority have done things that turned the people against them.

¹ "Islam is based on five things: prayer, alms-giving [*zakat*], *hajj* and governance [*wilayah*] and nobody is invited to anything more than governance." A tradition from Imam al-Baqir, the fifth Imam from the Prophet's Progeny. *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 3, p. 29.

The gulf between the government and the nation of Iran

Just look at the situation in our own country. The regime there has created such a gulf between it and the people that if, God willing, it is brought down, the people will light up the streets in celebration. Why should this be so? If someone such as Imam Ali were overthrown, would the people act the same way? No, but the regime in Iran is now greatly out of touch with the people, it is not concerned about the people, it has nothing to do with the people apart from oppressing, tyrannizing and spreading corruption among them.

Obscenities at the Shiraz arts festival

You do not know what kind of obscenities have been started in Iran recently. You have not been informed about it, and it is difficult to speak of. Indecent acts have taken place in Shiraz¹ and it is said that such acts will soon be shown in Tehran too, and nobody says a word. The gentlemen (clerics) in Iran don't say anything. I cannot understand why they don't speak out! All this corruption is taking place and I don't know if it will end with this or not. They put on a show which included the sex act itself, the actual act itself was shown in front of a live audience and nobody breathed a word. What are they waiting for? When and where are they going to speak out, to object?

Interestingly enough, all the organizations which arrange such events, including the government itself, do everything with his (the Shah's) permission. Nothing can be done without his approval; such lewd acts cannot be shown without his permission. He arranges for such things to be shown and then orders the newspapers to condemn them as shameless acts so that the people themselves will not take any action, so that if passions are inflamed they will be tempered by this press criticism. God forbid, in the not too distant future such shows will take place in Tehran too. Yet nobody objects, no *akhund*, no politician, no doctor, no engineer. They should voice their opposition, if all the people objected together, if they all stood up for

¹ In the art festival of Shiraz, two artists, a man and a woman, performed sexual intercourse in front of a live audience. The act was so obscene and shameful that Anthony Parsons, the British ambassador to Iran at the time, in his memoirs writes: "The effect of this bizarre and disgusting extravaganza on the good citizens of Shiraz, going about their evening shopping, can hardly be imagined. This grotesquerie aroused a storm of protest which reached the press and television. I remember mentioning it to the Shah, adding that, if the same play had been put on, say, in the main street of Winchester, the actors and sponsors would have found themselves in trouble. The Shah laughed indulgently." For more on Anthony Parsons' comments on this incident refer to pages 54-55 of his book *The Pride and Fall*.

the Islamic laws and spoke out then such events would never occur. They take place now because of our indolence and our weakness which are played upon by others. They call you (the clergy) a group of weak and hopeless people, whereas in fact you are powerful, you command the support of the nation. The nation is Muslim and the Muslim nation is devoted to Islam and to the clergymen of Islam. The clerics must in turn serve the nation, and if they do not then the people will no longer give them their support.

Be that as it may, Islam is concerned with all of these matters; it comprises of both material and spiritual aspects, and deals with both the unseen and the manifest. For man is a multi-dimensional being and the Quran is a book designed to produce true human beings, the book of God was revealed to bring the true human nature of man forth from a potentiality into an actuality, and as it corrects society, so too it takes man to a higher stage of human perfection. So these groups should not oppose one another. The spiritual and material are both separate matters. If you are unable to comprehend what *fiqh* is then why do you belittle it so, when in reality you simply do not understand it. Likewise philosophy, if you do not understand philosophy and transcendental philosophy then why do you belittle the philosophers so when you simply don't understand what they are saying? Simply because one does not understand what a certain group is saying and what it is aiming at does not give one the right to oppose it. Maybe this shows narrow-mindedness.

All groups should join hands and unite. Islam's jurisprudents [*fuqaha*] with its engineers, its doctors, its university and school students, should all join hands together so that they can achieve something, so they can escape from these pressures which are being exerted upon them more and more with each passing day. But they do not unite, and I can't understand why!

They have begun to a certain extent in Iran now. An opportunity has presented itself and the people have taken it and we hope, God willing, that more opportunities present themselves in the future.

May God, the Blessed and Exalted, grant you all success. May He assist Islam, the *ulama* of Islam, the students and all Muslims.

Letter

Date: October 21, 1977 [Mehr 29, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 7, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Expressing concern over the condition of the theological centers

Addressee: Sayyid Jalaluddin Tahiri Isfahani

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 7, 1397 AH

Thank you for your esteemed letter indicating your well-being, and expressing sympathy for me. I pray to God Almighty to assist you and give you success. I, myself, am in relatively good health, thanks to God. However, the many untoward happenings and the troubles, internal and external, do not give me any opportunity for meditation. I beseech God Almighty to set the situation right.

The topic mentioned is part of our disorganized state of affairs. I am apprehensive about the latest setback for the clergy, which will unfortunately arise from our own situation. Only the kindness of God Almighty can awaken us so that with prudent planning and attending to our duties we would be able to endure for some time. Please do not neglect me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhallah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Memorial Note

Date: October 23, 1977 [Aban 1, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 9, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: A note on the date of Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini's martyrdom

In His Most Exalted Name

"To Allah we belong and to Him we shall return."

Mustafa Khomeini, the light of my eyes and the soul of my heart departed this world for his heavenly abode, on Sunday, Dhul-Qadah al-Haram 9, 1397 AH.

"O God, have mercy on him, forgive him and admit him to paradise for the sake of Your holy saints, upon whom be peace and salutations."

Speech

Date: November 1, 1977¹ [Aban 10, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 18, 1397 AH]

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The power of the clergy and the political, intellectual and religious services rendered by the Shi'ah *ulama*

Addressees: Religious students, clergymen and Iranians residing in Iraq

***I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful***

I must firstly thank all the different strata of society; I must thank the various orders of the religious ministry in whichever country they may be—be they in Iraq, in Iran or elsewhere—for showing such concern. I must thank everyone including the *maraji* of Islam, may blessings last long; the learned *ulama* both in Iran, here in Iraq, or elsewhere, may esteem their esteem last long; the accomplished orators; the students, both from within the universities and from elsewhere; and those who have shown concern from various countries abroad—countries such as America, Europe and India for example. I thank them all and pray for their success and good health. I thank all of those who have shown their concern and have organized gatherings and I ask them to forgive me if, because of my old age, I have been unable to visit them or to participate in all of these gatherings. I hope that they will accept my apologies.

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22-volume), vol. 1, p. 255 and in the new edition, vol. 1, p. 427, the date of the present speech is given as December 31, 1977 [Dey 10, 1356 AHS].

God's hidden favors

These kinds of affairs¹ are of no real importance; these things happen. Everyone experiences this kind of thing at some time. God, the Blessed and Exalted, shows His mercy in ways both manifest and hidden. He has a hidden beneficence of which we have no knowledge; a beneficence about which we are uninformed. It is because we are deficient with regard to knowledge, with regard to our deeds, and indeed in every respect that we grieve and make a fuss when these kinds of matters arise. We show no tolerance at such times. This is due to a lack of understanding on our part with regard to God the Exalted. If only we were aware of that hidden beneficence which God the blessed, the Most High shows toward his servants—*And surely He is Gracious to His servants*²—and if only we had a true understanding of these occurrences, then we would not show such a lack of tolerance in the face of

¹ It refers to the martyrdom of Haj Aqa Mustafa Khomeini (1930-1977 / 1309-1356 AHS), Imam's eldest son, who began studying Islamic sciences at the age of fifteen and attained the level of *ijtihad* at the age of twenty-seven. He became an expert in Islamic sciences in his youth, his teachers being Imam himself, Ayatullah Burujerdi and Haj Sayyid Muhammad Damad. On November 4, 1964 [Aban 13, 1343 AHS], he was arrested on the orders of the regime and imprisoned in Qezel QalAh prison for fifty-seven days. After his release, he went to Qum, where he was given a grandiose welcome by the clerics and people there. Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini who was present during a telephone conversation between Mawlawi—the head of SAVAK in Tehran—and Haj Aqa Mustafa, relates the story of the latter's release and his expulsion from Iran to Turkey as follows: "In prison, the head of SAVAK in Tehran proposed that they would release Mustafa on condition that a few days later he would leave the country to join his father in Turkey. Haj Aqa Mustafa at first agreed to do this, but upon being released he met with his mother who advised him that such an action was not right and thus he decided to remain in Iran. When Colonel Mawlawi found out about this, he telephoned Haj Aqa Mustafa and while uttering obscenities and abuse, he threatened him. My brother answered him in a similarly harsh tone. At 10 am the following morning (January 3, 1965 / Dey 13, 1343 AHS) he was arrested again and sent into exile first in Turkey and later in Iraq along with Imam. Haj Aqa Mustafa, like his distinguished father, was of an uncompromising nature and he believed that in order to sweep away the Pahlavi regime, an all-encompassing uprising was required, and he himself took great pains to realize this. However, in 1969 [1348 AHS], the Iraqi secret police, who were keeping a close eye on things, arrested him and took him to the presidential palace in Baghdad. Hasan al-Bakr, the Iraqi President of the time, who was well aware of Haj Mustafa's secret meetings with Ayatullah Hakim, threatened Haj Mustafa and then suggested that he embark on a struggle against the regime in Iran with the help of the Iraqi Baathist regime. Although Haj Mustafa rejected this proposal of cooperation, nevertheless the Shah's regime began a propaganda campaign against him in Iran, accusing him of collaboration with the Iraqi government. Haj Aqa Mustafa was martyred on November 23, 1977 [Azar 2, 1356 AHS] at the age of forty-seven, just over a year before the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran."

² It refers to *Surah ash-Shura* 42:19: "*Gracious is God to His servants. He gives sustenance to whom He pleases, and He has power and can carry out His will.*"

such affairs—affairs which are indeed trivial and unimportant. We would realize that some kind of divine grace is involved in all this; that this is some form of guidance.

This world as the passage to the hereafter

This world is one through which we must pass. It is not a world in which to abide forever; it is a path. If we are able to tread this path correctly, as did God's prophets—"Juzna wa hiya khamidah"¹—and we are able to travel this path safe and sound, then we shall attain salvation. But God forbid, should we slip and stumble along the path of this world, then the same will occur when we cross over the *Sirat*² in the Hereafter; there too we will stumble and run into problems. I pray that God, the Blessed and Exalted, may awaken us; that he may make us aware of those hidden blessings of which we are now unaware, so that God willing, we may succeed in attaining the stage of awareness attained by those who have grasped both the heights of divinity and the various stages of mankind—those who do not overestimate the world; who do not view the world as an independent entity; who do not regard their worldly ambitions as ends in themselves but instead regard this world as a means of reaching other places, of attaining other, higher forms of bliss and felicity. May God allow us to reach such higher stages. Indeed, we cannot perceive these higher stages. While here in this world we cannot fully comprehend the various stages which exist, the various worlds which exist, or the true magnitude of this world. How deceptive this world is—this world, which is the only world we have ever been able to see; a world which according to a tradition: "*Ma nazarallahu ilayhi mundhu khalqih*";³ a world of matter which God, the Blessed and Exalted, held in contempt after having created it, even though the little that they have so far been able to discover and to grasp shows this universe to be so stupendous that it lies beyond the powers of the human intellect. So far they have reached a stage where they have now realized the mind-boggling and inexplicable nature of this world of matter, yet this is a realization which will indeed grow in intensity as time

¹ It is transmitted in a tradition that one of the Imams (A) was asked to explain the meaning of *Surah Maryam* 19:71: "*Not one of you but will pass over it. This is with thy Lord a decree which must be accomplished.*" He said: "We were allowed to pass through Hell while the fire was out." Refer to *Ilm al-Yaqin*, vol. 2, p. 971.

² *Sirat*: a kind of bridge which only the righteous can cross on the road to Paradise.

³ Imam Ali, in denouncing the world, said: "The world has no value or esteem before God, the Glorious and Dignified, and from among all that He has created and we can perceive, nothing is more odious in the sight of God than the world; and from the time that He created it, He has not looked upon it." *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 3, p. 214.

goes by. They have so far been able to conclude that there are certain stars whose light takes six billion years, yes, six billion years to reach the earth. Such a figure is beyond our imagination. Some have written that if certain stars were to be split open, 500 million suns could be accommodated inside them; and there are some stars which are so big that were they to be placed at the sun's center, they would extend as far as the earth. This vastness, which is beyond human comprehension and which is inaccessible to human investigation, constitutes the cosmos of the 'world'; it constitutes the meanest of worlds. Indeed, some of those who were acquainted with these matters used to say that this world has been designated as the 'Earth' to reflect God's disdain toward the essential nature of this world. This world which is so vast and so immense is yet but the 'Earth'; and the heavens, along with all that has so far been discovered to lie therein, are but the "nearest of heavens" according to the Quran which states: "*Surely We have adorned the nearest heaven with an adornment, the stars.*"¹ Thus, the Quran speaks of the skies and all that lies within them as the "nearest" heaven; nothing yet having been discovered by man about the more distant heavens. But even so, despite such magnitude the tradition tells of how God, the Blessed, the Exalted, "held the world in contempt" after He had created it; while the Quran speaks of the life of this world as but "a provision" (for a time). Indeed, life in the Hereafter is true life. That is where everything is really alive. We are not really in a state of life here; we are in a state of death. True life is to be found in the Hereafter—the next abode "*that most surely is the life*".² But we are not now able to grasp this fact.

Divine duties: God's favors to His servants

While we are here in this world, God, the Blessed and Exalted, has given us certain missions to accomplish. While here in this worldly existence, we have certain duties to fulfill—duties assigned to us by God, the Blessed and Exalted, to which we must attend. We must not neglect our religious duties. All religious duties are in fact blessings from God, blessings which we mistakenly regard as duties. They constitute blessings, whether they are individual duties assigned to train the individual and to enable him to mature—there being no other means of attaining maturity or of improving the self, and there being certain stages of human development which are unattainable other than by following this path—or whether they are social duties which we are obliged to fulfill, duties to which we must attend in order

¹ Surah as-Saffat 37:6.

² Surah al-Ankabut 29:64.

to regulate society. Both the prophets and the Quran have spoken of those things which concern the spirit, things which concern the different stages of understanding and which relate to the realms of the unseen. The traditions and the Holy Quran have spoken both of issues which concern individual duties and which play a part in man's development and maturation, and of political issues, economic issues; issues which concern society and are to do with the regulation and moral teaching of society. We, and all of mankind, have a duty to pay due attention to all of these stages, to all of these different levels of human development and we are not to concentrate solely on one aspect alone.

The role of the clergy in preserving Islam

Let me now discuss the sense of attachment that I feel toward all of the various fronts which serve Islam, be they those clerical fronts which have always served Islam from the beginning, or other fronts which are also now actively serving Islam; fronts which are composed of intellectuals and of those who are involved in politics. I am fond of all these fronts, but at the same time I have a grievance to voice against them all. Indeed, when any Muslim, any human being, sees how these people are serving humanity and the human cause, and therefore how they are serving Islam—the school of thought which has come to develop true human beings—he cannot help but feel a sense of attachment toward these people or groups; groups which are serving Islam either by their use of the pen or by taking certain actions. There is nothing wrong with him feeling this sense of attachment. But, nevertheless, there is a grievance which must be voiced against these various groups; a well-intentioned grievance. I have a complaint to make against those intellectual and academic groups and those students who are striving in the path of Islam—may God always assist them; and this complaint concerns their having overstepped the mark in some of the things they have written about the *faqih*, about *fiqh*, and about the *ulama* of Islam—a complaint about them having said things on occasion which were uncalled for. The people who have said these things do not mean ill. I know that on the whole it is not that those who want to serve Islam are spiteful and therefore say something out of bad faith, but rather they do so because they are insufficiently informed. Similarly, my knowledge of history is lacking. I am now eighty years old. I have been among academic circles for almost sixty years and have taken an active interest in current affairs for almost thirty years. I have also probed into the history of the last one hundred and odd years, but my knowledge of history prior to this time is slight. My knowledge

of foregone eras, of bygone ages, of the period which stretches from the beginning of the Islamic era down to the recent past, is rather superficial. Nevertheless, even a cursory glance at past history reveals how the clergy have been the ones who have preserved this Islam in all of its dimensions. That is to say, the gnosticism of Islam has been preserved by the clergy; the philosophy of Islam has been preserved by the clergy; the ethics of Islam have been preserved by the clergy; the *fiqh* of Islam has been preserved by the clergy; the political precepts of Islam have been preserved by the clergy. All of these fields of knowledge have been preserved due to the painstaking efforts of those in the clergy. This rich science of *fiqh* that we now enjoy—the *fiqh* of Shiism being truly the most comprehensive in the world—is a set of religious laws, the exposition and analysis of which has been due to the efforts of the ShiAh *ulama*.¹

The *fiqh* of ShiAh Islam is the most comprehensive of all the religious jurisprudence. There is not another set of religious laws in the world which is so comprehensive. Those religious laws outside ShiAh Islam which were initially divine laws and which, like the *fiqh* of ShiAh Islam, were also comprehensive at one time, have not survived. They have been substituted by terrestrial laws, laws which have been devised by the earth's inhabitants, by people whose understanding is so little that traditions relate how the human brain would not even satisfy the appetite of a sparrow.² Yes, these terrestrial laws have sprung from such brains, or more precisely from those brains which function correctly, for those which do not function correctly are indeed void of knowledge, period. All of these man-made laws are defective. These laws are defective regardless of where they may have been devised; and moreover, they are laws which have been devised to suit a particular environment, or a particular situation. They have been devised to regulate the affairs of a particular country, for example or to regulate the political relations between one country and another; but apart from this, their laws serve no other purpose. The place where other laws can be found, laws to suit all purposes, is in Islam; and the most comprehensive of Islamic *fiqh*, is that which is found in ShiAh Islam. The *fiqh* of ShiAh Islam is unique in the world—it is not to be found among other Muslim sects, may God increase them in number, nor is it to be found elsewhere, among the non-Muslims. And this *fiqh* has developed because of the painstaking efforts made by the ShiAh *ulama*. From the advent of Islam, that is, throughout the Prophet's

¹ Deducing secondary aspects [*furū*] from the principles and fundamentals [*usul*] of Islam.

² A saying from Imam as-Sadiq: "Oh son of Adam, if a bird were to eat your brain, it would not be satiated." Refer to the book, *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 1, p. 126.

lifetime and after that, during the time of the Immaculate Imams, peace be upon them, it was these ShiAh *ulama* who would gather around the latter and would record the Islamic precepts narrated to them. Subsequently, the *ulama* compiled four hundred different works from these recorded utterances; works which became known as the *Usul* [the Principles].¹ Later still, various compendiums were made from these *Usul*, such as *Al-Kutub al-Arbaah*.²

These have all been the results of efforts made by the ShiAh *ulama*. All of the different dimensions of Islam and the Quran, those dimensions which can be grasped by man's narrow understanding that is, have been preserved and expounded by the *ulama*, by these "bearded men who wear turbans", to quote the words of these intellectuals and academics. It is the *ulama* who have managed to keep Islam alive until the present. It is they who have written books on any topic you care to mention; on the subject of theology; on the science of Islam; on Islamic sciences; and it is they who have taken great pains to this end thus enabling the fruits of their labor to now be passed on to this present-day clerical order.

***ulamas* compromise with the kings for the sake of Shiism's propagation**

With regard to political affairs, as I mentioned before, my knowledge of history is slight and I can no longer remember everything that I may have read or seen in the past; but even so, the history of the past one hundred years or so is something which is known to us all. If we were to go back a little further in time however, we would see how a certain section of the *ulama* had made self-sacrifices and had had connections with certain kings.

¹ A large number of the disciples and students of Imam as-Sadiq wrote down his replies to various questions and collected them together in book form. These sayings, which fill four hundred volumes, later became famous as *Usul al-Arbaamiah*. Shahid al-Awwal in his book *Dhikrah* and Muhaqqiq Hilli in his book *Mutabar* and a number of other writers in their literary works have explained certain factors concerning the above-mentioned principles [*usul*]. A number of these principles were used by the authors of *al-Kutub al-Arbaah* in their compositions, and some of them have not yet been explained. Refer to *al-Mutabar fi Sharh al-Mukhtasar*, p. 15 and *Dirasa Hawl al-Usul al-Arbaamiah*, p. 12.

² *Al-Kutub al-Arbaah* [The Four Books] are the most reputable of the ShiAh *hadith* sources. These books are *al-Kafi fi Ilm ad-Din* [The Sufficient in the Knowledge of Religion] by Thiqat al-Islam Muhammad ibn Yaqub al-Kulayni (d. 940 CE); *Man la Yahduruhu al-Faqih* [For Him Not in the Presence of a Jurisprudent] by Shaykh as-Saduq Muhammad ibn Babuyah al-Qummi (d. 991 CE); *Tahdhib al-Ahkam* [Rectification of the Statutes] by Shaykh at-Taifah Muhammad at-Tusi (d. 1068 CE) and *al-Istibsar fi ma Ukhtulif fihi min al-Akhbar* [Reflection upon the Disputed Traditions] also by at-Tusi.

Although these *ulama* could see that the people disapproved of this situation, they still had connections with the kings of the time; but they did this in order to propagate faith, to propagate ShiAh Islam, and to propagate the religion of Truth, for whether they liked it or not, the kings were obliged by these *ulama* to go along with the propagation of faith, of religious faith, of the faith of Shiism. Thus, these were not *akhunds* of the Royal Court, as some of our writers mistakenly claim. On the contrary, it was the kings who followed and paid allegiance to the *ulama*. The sanctum of Shah Sultan Husayn¹ can still be seen in the Chahar Bagh Madrasah in Isfahan² even today; and it was they, the *ulama* who led him to use such a chamber. It wasn't a case of him holding sway over the *ulama*. There were political motives behind the *ulamas* behavior; there were religious motives. Thus, when one hears for example that Majlisi,³ Muhaqqiq ath-Thani,⁴ or Shaykh

¹ Among the rooms of the Chahar Bagh Madrasah the first room in the north-west wing is a special room famous as the Shah Sultan Husayn room. Shah Husayn (1688-1726), one of the Safavid rulers, spent a lot of his time in this room in consultation with the great *ulama* of his time.

² The Chahar Bagh Madrasah which is also famous as the "Shah's Mother's" Madrasah was built during the Safavid era on the orders of Shah Sultan Husayn.

³ Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (1625/6-1698/9), commonly known as "the Second Majlisi", was one of the great ShiAh *ulama* and transmitters of Prophetic traditions during the Safavid period. He compiled more than sixty books, the most famous of which is his *Bihar al-Anwar* [Oceans of Lights], a monumental encyclopedia of traditions and narratives which attempts to present all ShiAh traditions in a single work, classifying them by subject matter. Since its compilation, its value as the standard reference work for all ShiAh studies can hardly be overemphasized. One indication of its popularity is that despite its enormous size, it was published twice in lithographed form in the nineteenth century. The modern edition of the work fills 110 volumes of approximately 400 pages each. His other works include: *Ayn al-Hayah*; *Mishkat al-Anwar*; *Hilyat al-Muttaqin*; *Hayawat al-Qulub*; *Tuhfa az-Zayir*; *Jala al-Uyun*; *Miqyas al-Masabih*; *Rabi al-Asabi*; *Zada al-MuAd*; *Haqq al-Yaqin*. Majlisi lived during the Safavid era. His great personality and position among the Iranian ShiAh and his sittings with the Safavid king, Shah Sultan Husayn Safavid (1688-1726), even though these lasted for only four years, constituted one of the causes of Iran's stability at the time and contributed toward the preservation of her territorial integrity. Not long after Majlisi's death, and due to the incompetence of the king, Iran fell into anarchy, Ghalzai Afghans took control of Isfahan, the Safavid capital, in 1722 and the south of the country fell under their control, while the Russians and Ottomans controlled the north. Allamah Majlisi's grave is situated in the Jami Atiq of Isfahan. Refer to *Danesh-e Muslimin*, p. 222.

⁴ Shaykh Zayn al-Abidin Abul-Hasan Ali ibn Husayn ibn Abdul-Ali known as 'Muhaqqiq Karaki or 'Muhaqqiq ath-Thani (d. 1534 in Najaf) was one of the famous *ulama* of the Safavid period at the time of Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576) and held the position of Shaykh al-Islam or Chief Jurist-consult in Iran. His most important works include: *Jami al-Maqasid fi Sharh al-Qawaid*; and commentaries on *Sharayi al-Islam* and *Sharh al-Fih Shahid al-Awwal* and the book *Tahrir* by Allamah.

Bahai,¹ may God be well pleased with them, held ties with the kings of their time, that they cooperated with them and accompanied them, one must not assume that the *ulamas* continued attachment to the court was for the sake of obtaining position and status and that they were in need of some favor or other to be bestowed upon them by Shah Sultan Husayn and Shah Abbas! This was not at all the case. These *ulama* made self-sacrifices; they both sacrificed and struggled against the self so that they could propagate this religion of Islam by means of the kings themselves. These *ulama* even managed to continue their crusade to preserve Islam and the ShiAh faith within an environment where cursing the Commander of the Faithful (Imam Ali (A)) was a common occurrence and at a time when there was no mention or sign of Shiism. I even heard somewhere that once, when the authorities had decided to desist from making such curses against the Imam, people from an Iranian city requested permission to continue with this practice for a further six months. Yet in spite of such difficult circumstances and such a hostile environment, the *ulama* continued with their struggle. They humbled themselves before the people and continued with their mission although the latter at that time were hostile toward them—a hostility which probably stemmed from the people's ignorance.

Similarly, today, if anyone objects to and criticizes the *ulama* it is because they are not aware of the facts. It is not that they cherish a grudge against the *ulama*, but rather it is a case of them not understanding the situation. At the time of the Immaculate Imams the case was the same. People were unaware of what was really going on and wrongly accused the *ulama*—*ulama* such as Ali ibn Yaqtin who served as a minister of the Royal Court; or even the Commander of the Faithful (A), he too can be cited as such an example. For twenty-odd years the Commander of the Faithful joined in with the rulers of the land when they performed their prayers and he

¹ Muhammad ibn Husayn Amili known as Shaykh Bahai was an outstanding scholar at the time of Shah Abbas Safavid (1588-1629). He went to Iran from Lebanon in his youth with his father Husayn ibn Abdus-Samad who himself was one of the ShiAh *ulama*. He learnt *fiqh*, *usul*, literature, the science of religious traditions and Quranic exposition from his father. He later benefited from the teachings of such scholars as Mulla Abdullah Yazdi and when he himself reached the position of professor [*ustadh*], religious scholars such as Mulla Muhsin Fayd Kashani, Makki Amili, Shaykh Muhammad Taqi Majlisi (the father of Muhammad Baqir Majlisi) and many others studied under him. Shaykh Bahai was an expert in *fiqh*, mathematics, physics, mechanics and astrology. He was the author of 88 books and treatises in Persian and Arabic. His most important works are: *Jami Abbasi* (concerning *fiqh*); *Khulasah al-Hisab* (mathematics); *Tashrih al-Aflak* (astrology); *Kitab Arbain*; *Kashkul* (narratives, traditions, science and poems); *Mathnawi Shir va Shikar*; and *Mathnawi Nan va Halva*. He died in Isfahan and, according to his own will, was buried near Imam Rida's shrine.

paid them his allegiance.¹ But he did these things for the good of Islam, because there were certain benefits to be gained for Islam which overrode these side-issues. The other Immaculate Imams (A) also fraternized with the sultan of the day at times; but when this was an impossibility then they behaved otherwise. The interests of Islam are of far more importance than we imagine. They override any other concern that we may consider important. The reason that you now criticize these *ulama* who put their lives in danger for a certain cause and who were forced in the past to behave in a certain manner to this end, is because you are unaware of the truth of the matter. It is not that you bear malice or have bad intentions; it is that you are unaware of the actual facts. If I thought I could guide an unjust sultan to the straight path, then I too would fraternize with the king. You too would have a duty to do the same if, as a result, you could reform an unjust, cruel sultan. It is not a question of being attached to the court; it is a question of reforming individuals. These *ulama* did not join the Royal Court as such, instead their intention was to reform individuals; and I therefore have a grievance to voice against those who state otherwise.

The clergy at the forefront of the uprisings and movements

So far I have discussed the *ulama* with regard to *fiqh* and concerning their association with the authorities of the day, and I have done so to the best of my knowledge. Now, I shall turn to political aspects and to the *ulamas* involvement in the political affairs of recent history; and again I shall discuss this matter to the best of my knowledge. One of the movements that occurred during the past one hundred years or so in opposition to certain things which were detrimental to Islam, was the movement concerning the tobacco issue²—an issue with which you are all familiar. The great Mirza

¹ It refers to the three caliphs before Imam Ali.

² In 1891, Nasiruddin Shah granted yet another in a long line of concessions he had already given to foreigners in return for money to satisfy court consumption and to finance his tours of Europe. This time, in return for a personal gift of twenty-five thousand pounds, an annual rent of fifteen thousand pounds to the state and a twenty-five percent share of the profits for Iran, one Major Gerald Talbot acquired a fifty-year monopoly over the distribution and exportation of tobacco. *Akhtar* [Star], a liberal Persian paper published in Istanbul at the time, expressed the general concern of Iranian merchants: "It is clear enough that the concessionaire will commence the work with a small capital and will purchase the tobacco from the cultivators and sell it to the merchants and manufacturers for higher prices, and all the profits will remain in the purse of the English. As the Persian merchants have no right to export tobacco from Persia, those who were formerly engaged in this trade will be obliged to give up their business and find some other work. The concessionaire does not take into consideration how many merchants who were engaged in this business will be left without employment and will suffer loss in finding other occupations." The clergymen and *maraji* of the time immediately opposed the concession and demanded its cancellation. Ayatullah Mirza Shirazi, the *maraji-e taqlid*, determined the destiny of this struggle. He issued a religious *fatwa* stating that the use of tobacco in whatever form was *haram* [forbidden] and was tantamount to declaring war with Imam az-Zaman (the Twelfth Imam). The bazaar in Shiraz, the main tobacco-growing region, shut down and a general strike of the leading bazaars particularly Tehran, Isfahan, Tabriz, Mashhad, Qazvin, Yazd and Kermanshah ensued which spread into a state-wide consumer's boycott. Ayatullah Shirazi's representative in Tehran, Mirza Hasan Ashtiyani, led the protest there. Hookahs were smashed and tobacco was set on fire as the consumer's boycott received support from practically all classes of Iranian society, even members of the royal harem. Consequently, Nasiruddin Shah, seeing his position threatened by this rebellion was forced to annul the concession and pay the penalty. See Nikki Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Tobacco Protest of 1891-92*.

Shirazi, may God rest his soul, issued a decree of prohibition and, led by Mirza Ashtiyani¹ in Tehran, the *ulama* of Iran, the *ulama* from all over Iran, may God rest their souls, embarked on their crusade, rescuing the fallen Iranian government as a result. The government had collapsed because of a certain few who had sought revelry and pleasure and who had wanted to peddle the wares of the country. These people had sold Iran to the foreigners. Hence, Mirza Shirazi, may Allah be pleased with him, issued a decree and the other *ulama* of Iran, in obeying this decree, laid their lives on the line. They endured hardships, went to great lengths, rose up in opposition and persuaded the rest of the people to rise up, until eventually the tobacco concession was annulled. So much for the movement which fought against despotic rule. As for the fight for constitutionalism, this involved a movement which in fact sprung from Najaf and which once more was pioneered by the *ulama*.² Here again, the *ulama* in Iran rose up against despotic rule, against ruthless despots who did as they pleased and killed as they pleased... On one occasion, a group of poor soldiers who were not even given bread to eat, had assembled in the street to protest. At the same time, His Majesty was passing by in the royal carriage on his way to pay a visit to the shrine of Hadrat Abdul-Azim. At this point, one of the aforesaid soldiers threw a stone. According to historical accounts, these soldiers were brought before the king as a result, and the latter ordered for their execution! A great number of soldiers were therefore executed, until someone known as Mustawfi al-Mamalik³ interceded and spoke out against these measures taken by the king. These are the kind of despotic people, the kind of despotic kings they were. Muhammad Ali Mirza⁴ was yet another of these despots, and

¹ Haj Mirza Hasan (or Muhammad Hasan) Ashtiyani (d. 1902) was a famous *mujtahid* and one of the *Usulis** of Nasiruddin Shah's reign. He was a student of Shaykh Murtada Ansari and attained the level of *ijtihad* in Najaf. He came to Tehran in 1865 and began teaching the religious sciences. His grave is situated in Najaf. His works include: *Kitab al-Waqf*; *Kitab al-Awani ath-Thahab wal-Fida* and *Kitab al-Qada*. Refer to the *Encyclopedia of Shiism*, vol. 1, p. 116. *The adversaries of the Akhbaris. They hold that the *faqih* may legitimately apply rational exertion to the solution of legal problems. The Iranian religious scholars have been overwhelmingly Usuli since the late 18th century. See Hamid Algar's *Religion and State in Iran, 1785-1906* pp. 33-36.

² The Iranian constitutional movement (1905-1911) greatly benefited from the support and co-operation it received from such personalities as Akhund Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khorasani and Aqa Shaykh Abdullah Mazandarani both *maraji* of Najaf, and from Sayyid Abdullah Behbahani and Sayyid Muhammad Tabatabai, two of Tehran's prominent *ulama*. Akhund Khorasani issued a *fatwa* [decree] about the importance of the Constitution and in this way made the constitutional movement in Iran indebted to him. Shaykh Abdullah Mazandarani was one of Akhund Khorasani's close associates throughout the movement. A proclamation issued by these two religious scholars read: "The Constitution of each country limits and conditions the will of the ruler and the offices of government so that the divine ordinances and common laws based on the official religion of the country are not transgressed."

³ Mirza Yusuf Ashtiyani (1810-1886) known as "Mustawfi al-Mamalik" or "Aqa" was one of the leading personalities of the Qajar period. He was a noble, virtuous man who was a close associate of Mirza Taqi Khan (Amir Kabir).

⁴ Muhammad Ali Shah, the sixth monarch of the Qajar dynasty and the son of Muzaffaruddin Shah, ruled for only two years from January 1907 to July 1909. At the beginning of his rule he was sympathetic toward the demands of the constitutionalists. However, he soon began to oppose the movement. On June 23, 1908, with the help of the Cossack Brigade commanded by its Russian colonel named Liakhoff, he staged a successful coup d'état against the first Iranian Majlis; the Majlis building was bombarded and closed, and a number of political figures were arrested and executed including Malik al-Mutakallimin and Mirza Jahangir Khan, the editor of the paper *Sur-e Israfil* [Trumpet Call of Israfil]. Ayatullahs Behbahani and Tabatabai, the two prominent *ulama* of the movement, were arrested and sent into exile. In 1909, as forces loyal to the constitutional movement converged on Tehran and the royalists fled in disarray, Muhammad Ali Shah sought sanctuary in the Russian legation. Five hundred delegates, drawn from the dissolved parliament, from the Bakhtiyari and guerrilla forces, from the bazaar and from the liberals in the court, met promptly in Tehran and declared themselves a Grand Assembly. Functioning as a constituent body, the assembly deposed Muhammad Ali Shah, nominated his twelve-year-old son, Ahmad, to be the new Shah, and elected Add al-Malik, the aged but liberal ilkhani of the Qajar tribe, to serve as royal regent. Subsequently, Muhammad Ali Shah sought refuge abroad. Throughout the reign of Muhammad Ali Shah, the Russians directly interfered in the internal affairs of the country and were the instigators of many outrages. Among these was the bombardment of the holy shrine of Imam ar-Rida in

indeed everyone is aware of the kind of person, the kind of beast he was. Other kings have also been the same. And it was this kind of despotism that the *ulama* rose up against at the time when they formed a movement in the struggle for constitutionalism. They were the ones who, more than anyone else, wanted to achieve constitutional rule; but they did not succeed in this.

No, they were unsuccessful. Had they succeeded, all would have been well, but they were unable to do so. This was through no fault of their own however. Indeed, they tried their best, and because of their efforts the resultant situation was at least an improvement on the former state of affairs when those in authority were unaccountable for their deeds. Things did not turn out as the *ulama* had wanted though, because even though the *ulamas* efforts had brought about the drafting of the Supplementary Constitutional Laws, these were not in fact adhered to. This present-day government of Iran is unsanctioned; it is illegal. These parliamentary deputies in Iran are illegal; they are not sanctioned. According to the laws of the Constitution, this present-day Majlis is not sanctioned. The Constitution states that the Majlis of Iran must lie under the supervision of five *fuqaha*; but can even one such person now be found to occupy such a role? Indeed, can any kind of supervision of the Majlis be seen to exist at all? Is there any kind of true popular representation there at all? Or is it a Majlis which has been set up without popular approval? Yes, it is a case of it having been forcibly installed. Therefore, we see that although the *ulama* tried their utmost to achieve constitutionalism, they were prevented from doing so. Having said that, it was nevertheless the clergy who, as always, were the vanguards of the movement and who brought about changes, albeit ones which fell short of their initial objectives. Once again it was the clergy's endeavors which were paramount, other forces playing a supportive role only. Needless to say, others did in fact play a part in this movement, but as ever, it was the clergy who were in the forefront.

The struggles of the *ulama* in Iraq

Again, what would have happened had the *ulama* not engaged in combat in Iraq?¹ On this occasion, the son of the Sayyid² was killed in the

¹ During the First World War, the Ottoman government sided with Germany against the armies of Britain and France. As the war spread to Iraq, which at the time formed part of the Ottoman Empire, and the situation became critical, the great ShiAh *ulama* of the time, residing in Iraq, declared *jihad* against the British and eminent *mujtahids* and scores of religious students led the army in defense of their Islamic homeland. Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi (d. 1921) an important ShiAh jurisprudent and *marja* of the time, encouraged the people to rise up through his stirring proclamation in which he stressed the incumbency of *jihad* against the British. He was a leading force in the resistance staged by the ShiAh *ulama* opposed to the imposition of British rule on Iraq at the end of World War I. Among other *ulama* who took part in the *jihad* the following can be cited: Mirza Shirazi's son; Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Kashani and his son Ayatullah Sayyid Abul-Qasim Kashani; Ayatullah Sayyid Muhsin al-Hakim; Ayatullah Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Kashif al-Ghita and Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khwansari.

² Imam is referring to Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Tabatabai Yazdi, the son of Ayatullah Muhammad Kazim Tabatabai Yazdi. Sayyid Muhammad Tabatabai was one of the famous *ulama* residing in Iraq and was the *marja* of the ShiAh there. He proclaimed *jihad* against the British in Iraq and was one of the leaders in the Iraqi uprising (1920) in which he himself was killed.

war; the son of the late Sayyid Muhammad Kazim¹ was killed in the war. Yes, the *ulama* there, in Iraq, shouldered arms and went into combat. The late Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khwansari,² may Allah be pleased with him, was imprisoned; that is, he was taken captive along with a number of others and was sent abroad. He himself told of how they were counted one by one as they were handed over by the foreigners into the custody of others, and of how the latter explained to him that this was a precaution which had to be taken for his own safety since it was believed that cannibalism was practiced by the inhabitants of that region. During this period, it was the second Mirza Shirazi, that outstanding personality, that great man who shone both in learning and in deeds, who rescued the country of Iraq. He issued the order for *jihad* and called on the people to participate in this crusade. People therefore responded to this call, for at that time, unlike today, people used to take their lead from the *ulama*. Hence, in answering the call to war made by Mirza Shirazi, the people fought; they gave lives and battled on throughout the traumas of the crusade until they eventually won back Iraq's independence. Had it not been for their efforts we would now be captives; we would now be a British colony; but yet again, the vigorous efforts of the *ulama* saved the day.

¹ Imam here is once again referring to Sayyid Muhammad Tabatabai (see previous footnote). His father Sayyid Muhammad Kazim Tabatabai Yazdi (d. 1920) was one of the great Shi'ah *ulama* and *maraji* and was a student of Mirza Hasan Shirazi. His most famous work is *Urwat al-Wuthqa*. After the death of Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khorasani he attained the position of *marjaiyyah* (authority). As a *marja* he issued a number of *fatwas* ordering his followers to resist the foreign imperialists. Consequently, at the time of the occupation of Iraq by the British and of Libya by the Italians, and the Russian and British invasion of Iran, it was the *fatwas* of this great clergyman which encouraged the people to free their lands from foreign occupation.

² Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khwansari (1888-1952) was one of the great religious scholars of Iran. He studied the science of *usul* under Ayatullah Akhund Khorasani and combined militancy with learning. He fought against the British occupiers of Iraq under the leadership of Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi and spent a period in exile on the island of Hengam in the Persian Gulf. For a period of eight years (five years during the reign of Rida Khan and three years during that of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi) he administered the theological center in Qum alongside Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Hujjat and Ayatullah Haj Sadruddin Sadr, two great jurisprudents and theologians of the time. Ayatullah Khwansari struggled alongside Ayatullah Kashani in the movement for the nationalization of oil in Iran.

The reason why certain *ulama* in Iraq were sent into exile in Iran was because of their opposition to foreign forces. The late Messrs Sayyid Abul-Hasan,¹ Naini,² Shahrestani,³ and Khalisi⁴ were all sent into exile in Iraq because they spoke out against these forces and their agents; and I myself can vouch for this.

The clergy's struggles at the time of Rida Khan

Again, at the time of that man from Siyahku, that abhorrent ruffian Rida Khan, the *ulama* once more rose up and this time they did so in the city of Isfahan.⁵ I was present on this occasion. Both the *ulama* from Isfahan and

¹ Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Abul-Hasan Isfahani (1858-1946) was educated initially in Isfahan but traveled to Iraq in 1889 to complete his education under the tuition of Akhund Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khorasani and Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi. He attained the position of *marjaiyyah* in 1921. His 'practical treatise' [*Risalah al-Amaliyyah*] is known as *Sirat an-Najah*. He participated in the Iraqi revolution of 1920 as one of the leaders of the ShiAh population and was banished from Iraq for a while.

² Ayatullah Haj Mirza Muhammad Husayn Naini (1860-1936) was one of the great *mujtahids* and religious jurists of the early twentieth century. He studied under Mirza Shirazi and proved to be one of the latter's most outstanding pupils. He played a crucial role in the progress of the constitutional movement, and was one of those Iranian *maraji* residing in Iraq who was sent back to Iran after the Iraqi uprising of 1920. However, after six months he returned to Iraq and took up residency in Najaf. His most famous work is *Tanbih al-Ummah wa Tanzih al-Milla* which discusses ShiAh political theory including government from the Islamic point of view and which he wrote at the beginning of the constitutional movement in Iran. He was famous for his eloquence of speech and his fine handwriting and is recognized as one of the great scholars of the science of *usul* (principles of religion or dogmatic theology).

³ Ayatullah Ali Shahrestani was one of the famous Iranian *mujtahids* and one of the ShiAh leaders during the Iraqi revolution of 1920. He was exiled to Iran by the British after their occupation of Iraq, and he spent the rest of his life in Bakhtaran (Kermanshah).

⁴ Ayatullah Khalisi was one of the ShiAh religious scholars and a leader of the movement in Iraq against the British occupation of that country. In 1922, the Iraqi monarch King Faysal banished more than forty of the ShiAh *ulama* from Iraq. Ayatullah Khalisi was sent into exile in the Hijaz for ordering a boycott of the elections and for suspected opposition to the heads of Iraq. His expulsion from Iraq sparked strong opposition from the *ulama* and Muslim people of Iran, such that the Iranian government was compelled to hold talks with British and Iraqi officials to try to persuade them to allow Ayatullah Khalisi to travel to Iran from the Hijaz and the other *ulama* to return to Iraq. The Iranian government was successful in its efforts, but as Ayatullah Khalisi stepped onto Iranian soil at Bushehr, he was killed by a follower of the British. His works consist of *Al-Anawin fil-Usul* and *Mukhtasar ar-Rasail wal-Wusul ila Kifayat al-Usul*.

⁵ In September 1927, Rida Shah issued a decree which implicitly prohibited the clergy from carrying out some of their duties and from involvement in the country's affairs. His decree was in fact a declaration of war against the clergy. First reactions came when protests against the military service law were held by the people of Isfahan and about one hundred *ulama* and *mujtahids* of Isfahan, together with a group of other inhabitants of that city, traveled en masse to Qum. The "Qum migrants" as they became known, were led by one Haj Aqa Nurullah Ruhani. Upon arrival in Qum, the migrants called on the *ulama* and *maraji* from across the country to join them in Qum in their show of opposition. About seven hundred clergymen responded to their call. Contemporaneous with this event, people in different Iranian cities held anti-government demonstrations. The spread of this opposition to his new policies compelled Rida Khan to respond. He sent some of his representatives along with his Prime Minister and Court Minister to Qum to speak with Haj Aqa Nurullah and the other *ulama*. Eventually, the government was forced to give in to the migrants' demands which included a review of the military service law; the selection of five *ulama* to take seats in the Parliament and the appointment of an overseer of Islamic laws in the towns and cities of Iran. However, Haj Aqa Nurullah, who had stipulated that the migrants would return to Isfahan only when their conditions were met and officially ratified, died under mysterious circumstances during the night of December 25, 1927. Subsequently, with the death of their leader, the protesters dispersed, returning to their respective home towns. Refer to *Tarikh-e Bist Saleh-ye Iran*, vol. 4, p. 396 and *Nihdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 2, p. 157.

those from other Iranian cities, converged on Qum where they assembled and rebelled against the regime. However, the regime resorted to trickery and the movement was crushed. Whether defeat in fact resulted from the regime's trickery or whether it was due to other factors, the point is that it was indeed defeated. Yet another movement was embarked upon by the *ulama* of Khorasan.¹ The late Messrs Aqazadeh² and Sayyid Yunus³ along with other of their contemporaries, were arrested and taken to Tehran where they were imprisoned. I myself saw how the late Aqazadeh, may Allah be pleased with him, was seated on the ground with his turban removed, and how no one was allowed to go near him. He was led through the streets in this state, with his turban removed, and was taken to a court of law where he was tried. Throughout the whole of this time however, there was no sign of these political parties. These parties were not at all in evidence during these uprisings which were staged by the *ulama*. Yes, they existed, but they were inert.

Azerbaijan⁴ was the spring-board of yet another movement during which the late Messrs Mirza Sadiq Aqa⁵ and Angaji⁶ were arrested and exiled for

¹ After the enforcement of Rida Khan's decree requiring everyone to wear uniform dress and the Islamic veils of women to be removed, the *ulama* in Khorasan rose in revolt. In order to suppress the uprising, Rida Khan ordered his agents to attack the protesters who had gathered at the mosque of Gauhar Shad in the city of Mashhad. A great number of innocent people were massacred in this incident and about one hundred clergymen and other influential people were arrested. Some of the great *ulama* of the time, such as Aqa Sayyid Yunus Ardebili and Aqazadeh were taken to Tehran to stand trial. See *Nihdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 2, p. 165.

² Mirza Muhammad (Aqazadeh) Najafi Khorasani (1877-1938) the son of Akhund Khorasani began his studies with his father and received the authorization for becoming a *mujtahid* from him. In 1907, he left Najaf for Khorasan in Iran and took up residence in Mashhad where he taught *usul* and *fiqh* for a while. He was a staunch supporter of the constitutional movement and with the rise to power of Rida Khan and the establishment of his despotic rule, he continued struggling against oppression and called upon the people to rise up against the first Pahlavi monarch. After the barbaric events at Gauhar Shad Mosque in Mashhad, Khorasani was arrested and sentenced to death. However, measures taken by those at the Najaf theological school forced Rida Khan's regime to commute his sentence. Consequently, he was held in prison for a while and upon his release he was expelled from Mashhad and forced to move to Tehran. There his home was kept under constant surveillance. It is believed that he died at the hands of one Doctor Ahmadi who killed him while treating him for an illness. His body was laid to rest at the shrine of Abdul-Azim. Some of his most notable works are *Kitab al-Qada*; *Ash-Shahadat* and *Mabhath al-Fazz*. Refer to *Tarikh-e Bist Saleh-ye Iran*, vol. 6, p. 252.

³ Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Yunus Ardebili (1876-1959) was one of the famous Shi'ah *maraji*. He left his place of birth (Ardebil) for Zanjan to study *fiqh* and *usul* under Akhund Mulla Qurban Ali Zanjani, and rational sciences [*Ulum al-maqul*] under Akhund Mulla Sabz Ali Hakim. In 1892, he traveled to Najaf where he attended the theological centre studying under notable instructors. He later moved to Karbala to study with Mirza Shirazi the second, eventually returning to Ardebil in 1916. In 1923, at the time of the struggle against Rida Khan, Sayyid Yunus went to Mashhad. Following events at the Gauhar Shad Mosque, he was arrested and sent to Ardebil. In 1938, he once again returned to Mashhad where he began teaching. He died there not long after his return. His body is buried in the Dar as-Saadat at the shrine of Imam Rida (A). He is famous for authoring such books as *Dawreh-ye Kamil-e Fiqh* and *Risalat dar Qaidah ladarat*. Refer to the *Encyclopedia of Shiism* and *Tarikh-e Bist Saleh-ye Iran*.

⁴ One of the freedom movements during the despotic reign of Rida Khan was that of the *ulama* of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan. This movement was led by Mirza Sadiq Aqa and Angaji, two of the great religious jurists [*fuqaha*] and *maraji* of the people of Azerbaijan. In order to suppress the movement, Rida Khan sent these two theologians first to Kurdistan and then to Qum. Angaji was able to return to Tabriz after a while, but Sadiq Aqa remained in exile in Qum until the end of his life.

⁵ Ayatullah Mirza Sadiq, the great religious jurist [*faqih*] and *marja* of the people of Azerbaijan province, resided in Tabriz. He was one of the great theologians and *mujtahids* of the Shi'ah during the first half of the twentieth century.

⁶ Haj Mirza Abul-Hasan Angaji (1862-1937) the son of Sayyid Muhammad Shaykh Shari'at was one of the religious jurists and *maraji* of Tabriz. He studied under Haj Mirfatah Sarabi and Mirza Mahmud Usuli in Tabriz until 1884 when he went to Najaf to study under Fadil Irvani, Haj Mirza Habibullah Roshani and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Mamqani. Four years later, toward the end of 1888, he returned to Tabriz and began teaching. In 1933, he was arrested and sent into exile first in Sanandaj and then in Qum. He died in Tabriz in 1937. His works include *Kitab-e Hajj* and *Hashiyeh bar Riyad*.

their participation in this campaign. Following a long period in exile, the late Mirza Sadiq Aqa never actually returned to Azerbaijan although he was held in high regard by the people there. Instead however, he came to Qum where I would occasionally pay him a visit and where he in fact remained until the end of his life.

Mudarris' resistance against Rida Khan's oppression

Someone else with whom I was acquainted, was the late Mudarris, may he rest in peace. He was yet another *Alim* who stood in confrontation against oppression, against of the oppression of that man from Siyahkuh, that ruffian Rida Khan. He stood up in opposition in the Majlis... Other *ulama* had sent him to Tehran as a leading representative of theirs, yet he traveled to Tehran in a horse-drawn carriage. According to a reliable source, Mudarris had bought this carriage in Qum, and had personally ridden the horse several times during his journey to Tehran. Having reached the capital, he bought a modest house in which to live, where I would often go to visit him. I visited Mudarris, may Allah be pleased with him, regularly. He was the most popular Member of Parliament in Tehran. He used to stand alone and fearlessly speak out against oppression; and he enjoyed a following which included people like Malik ash-ShuAra.¹ But in spite of this following, it was he who stood up and spoke out against oppression and against the injustices committed by that man (Rida Khan).

This all happened during the time when the Russian government had sent an ultimatum to Iran and when its soldiers had entered Iran, advancing as far as Qazvin. I can't remember exactly what it was that Russia wanted from Iran, but it is documented in history, and it concerns a matter which would have more or less reduced Iran to servitude; a matter which the Russians insisted on being ratified in the Iranian Majlis. The matter was taken to the Majlis and everyone there was at a loss as to what course of action they should take, hence, they remained silent in their stupor. A foreign journal recounts how a clergyman came and stood at the back of the speaker's platform, his hands trembling from age and infirmity; and the journal quotes him as saying something along these lines: "It may be the will of Allah that our liberty and sovereignty shall be taken away from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands," He then cast a negative vote, and others, finding courage, followed suit, thus dismissing the ultimatum. As for the Russians, there wasn't a damned thing they could do about it.²

This is the policy politicians usually follow. Firstly they play the bogeyman to see how their opponent reacts. Should their opponent stand up and confront them, then they beat a retreat; but should the poor opponent step

¹ Muhammad Taqi Bahar known as Malik ash-ShuAra was a great Iranian poet and scholar. During the Constitutional Revolution, he was one of the friends and followers of Sayyid Hasan Mudarris. His revolutionary essays and poems written at the time of Rida Khan's suppression were the cause of his incarceration and banishment from one town to another on many occasions. Bahar was elected to the Parliament on several occasions.

² In May 1911, the Iranian government recruited sixteen American financial experts—headed by Morgan Shuster—to reorganize the tax administration in the country. The Russians were strongly opposed to the presence of the Shuster mission in Iran and in October of the same year they threatened to occupy northern Iran if Shuster, who was seen to be treading on Russia's toes, were not brought to heel. In November the Russians introduced fresh troops into the country and made further demands that: the Shuster mission be dismissed; the appointment of other foreigners be made subject to British and Russian consent and an indemnity be paid to the expeditionary force which had occupied Anzali and Rasht near the northern Iranian border! They threatened to occupy Tehran without further ado unless these demands were met within forty-eight hours. 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 in particular, whose brave stance in the face of the threatening ultimatum encouraged other members of the Assembly to oppose it. Three hundred women marched into the public galleries with pistols hidden under their long veils, and threatened to shoot any deputy willing to submit to the Russian ultimatum. Angry demonstrators attacked the city trams that were partly owned by the Russians, and a huge crowd, described by one eyewitness as the "largest up to that point in Iranian history," gathered outside the parliament building shouting, "Independence or Death". However, Premier Samsam as-Saltanah, along with the regent (of Ahmad Shah who was still a minor), the Cabinet and Yeprem Khan with his fighters from the Caucasus, decided to accept the ultimatum to avoid a Russian occupation of the capital. As the Prime Minister accepted the Russian demands and as the regent accused the deputies of acting unconstitutionally, Yeprem Khan barred shut the doors of Parliament and the Second National Assembly was dissolved. See Ervan Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, pp. 108-110 and *Tarikh-e Bist Saleh-ye Iran*.

back, then they close in. Animals also behave in this way. An animal also has this property, whereby it comes forward at first to sass out its opponent. If the latter takes the offensive, then the animal runs away; but if its opponent flees, then the animal chases after it. This is normal practice for an animal. And so we see what a fearless opponent this clergyman, Mudarris, was. He was someone who would stand up to a great power, who confronted a power as great as Russia. He was someone who, to quote the aforementioned journal, stood up with trembling hands and said: "It may well be the will of Allah that our liberty and sovereignty shall be taken away from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands." He then cast a negative vote; and others, finding courage, did the same. Now, wouldn't you say that this clergyman is worthy of appreciation? And what about these past movements...and this recent movement which led to the event of Khordad 15 and again, all of those lives given by the people? During the movement of Khordad 15, it was the religious scholars who were at the forefront; it was the *ulama*; and this has continued to be the case right down to the present. Even now it is the religious scholars who create uproar and make their voices heard more than anyone else. Of course some of those from the university are also now involved in this struggle; they too are playing a part in the

movement as are the rest of the people. But it is the *ulama* that they follow and not anyone else. A great number of the *ulama* from Tehran have been imprisoned by the regime; many of the preachers and the *ulama* have been arrested and sent to prison where they have been kept for several days and where they have undergone persecution.¹

Invalidity of the theory, Islam without the clergy

My good men, you are mistaken in believing that you want Islam but not the mullah. How can you have Islam without the mullah? Again, it is these very mullahs who step forward and who get things done. It is they who sacrifice their lives. Even now some of our mullahs are in prison; some of our *ulama*, our self-sacrificing *ulama*, are in prison as we speak, refusing to give in to these acts of oppression. They are approached by agents of the regime who ask them to express regret for their actions, but they do not comply. The things I have so far discussed are just some of the things that I have personally witnessed during my lifetime, many other such things having by now escaped my memory; and as for incidents from an earlier period in history, since I am no historian I am not really in a position to discuss them. However, with regard to the grievance I wish to voice against these intellectuals, I would ask them not to brush aside this powerful force which has the support of the nation; and not to dismiss the *ulama* arguing that: "We want Islam, but we don't want the mullah". This is against reason; it does not make political sense. You must welcome the *ulama* with open arms; and should they be found wanting in their knowledge of political affairs, then come together and give them the political instruction they need. The relationship they have with the people is much better than yours. They command a greater influence over the people than you do, indeed, you have no such influence. They are influential among the people. Each mullah carries weight within his own parish. Those of you, who are concerned about Islam and who say that you want Islam, are not to say that you want Islam but that you don't want the *akhund*. You should say that you want Islam and that you want the *akhund* too.

If an *akhund* is unaware of certain political issues for example, then you are to make a joint effort to help him. You are to teach him about these political issues so that he may then practice what he has learnt, and as a result, is able to retain the nation's support thus enabling you to administer the country. If you want to engage in struggle alone, without assistance from

¹ Nearly fifty-three clergymen were arrested and imprisoned during the bloody events of June 5, 1963 [Khordad 15, 1342 AHS].

the *akhund*, then you will remain oppressed by others till doomsday. You are to come together, to unite, to be brothers together. Don't spurn those within the clergy. The latter constitute an imperishable force; they constitute the power of the nation.

Therefore, do not brush the power of the nation aside by saying that you don't want to have anything to do with the clergy. No matter how much you may say this, the fact remains that the people certainly do want the clergy to be involved. You are but an isolated group compared to the rest of the people, people who indeed want the *ulama* to be involved in things. People such as those in the bazaar or the ordinary man in the street, they all want the *ulama* to be involved. Therefore, while I feel a sense of attachment and fondness toward certain intellectuals—intellectuals who serve Islam, and in particular those who are abroad, those in America, Europe and India for example, with whom I correspond and who are at the service of Islam, who want to serve Islam, who have a love of Islam, and who want to eliminate oppression, on occasion having firmly resolved certain difficulties which have arisen abroad in the past—at the same time, I believe that they should not disregard those services rendered by the *ulama* of Islam and the *akhunds*, arguing that “We want Islam minus the *akhund*”. Don't you see that this is not possible? Islam and the *akhund* are inseparable entities. To say “We want Islam minus the *akhund*”, is like saying “We want Islam, but an Islam which does not concern itself with politics”. Indeed, this is the extent to which Islam and the *akhund* are intertwined. There is no way that you could have Islam without the *akhund*. The Holy Prophet (s) was also an *akhund*; he was one of the greatest *akhunds* of all time. The Prophet was the *akhund* above all *akhunds*. And Hadrat Jafar as-Sadiq (A), he too was an *Alim* of Islam. These men were the *fuqaha* of Islam; they stand supreme among the *fuqaha* of Islam. So how on earth can you now say “I don't want the *akhund*”?! Indeed, this is why I nurse a grievance against these intellectuals.

However, I also have a complaint to make against the honorable gentlemen of the clergy. They too are guilty of overlooking many factors. They too, because of their purity of heart, are influenced by the malicious propaganda which is put out by the regime. The latter dreams up some machination or other daily. It continually makes an issue out of nothing so that the prime cause of our suffering will be overlooked and the *ulama* will become inattentive. That is to say, there are certain elements which often purposely create a sensation, thus causing some predicament or other to arise. Every so often some kind of trouble crops up in Iran; and at such times,

instead of the honorable preachers, the learned *ulama*, concerning themselves with the political matters found in Islam, with the economic matters found in Islam, they spend their time talking about “this person” being a heathen, “that person” being an apostate, and “so-and-so” being a Wahhabi. They accuse the scholar who has toiled hard for fifty years, and whose knowledge of *fiqh* is more thorough than that of the majority of themselves, of being a Wahhabi.¹ But it is wrong of them to say such things. You are not to create a rift between yourselves. If you continually reject people one by one by saying that this person is a Wahhabi, that person is an unbeliever, and so-and-so is whatever, then at the end of the day who will remain?

Two lessons from the Prophet (s)

I mentioned earlier that I am no expert as far as history is concerned, but nevertheless there are certain things which I have seen or heard in the past and have committed to memory. One such thing concerns something which the Noble Prophet, may peace and blessings be upon him and his family, did following his capture of Hunayn; something from which two lessons can be learned for those who are keen to understand. On the occasion in question the Noble Prophet did two things: firstly, according to historical accounts, when he heard that one of the leaders of these unbelievers had got away and fled to Jeddah and that he had boarded a boat there with the intention of escaping, the Prophet handed his *Aba* [cloak] to someone, ordering for it to be taken to the escapee and for the latter to be brought back for he had been spared;² and secondly, he again behaved in a similar manner with Abu Sufyan³ (and later

¹ It refers to Ayatullah Muntaziri.

² This was Safwan ibn Umayyah, one of the leaders of the unbelievers who, upon the Prophet's triumphant return to Mecca in 630 CE, fled the city for Jeddah from where he hoped to go on to Yemen. Umayr ibn Wahb approached the Prophet and told him of Safwan ibn Umayyah's flight, saying: “Oh Messenger of God, Safwan is one of the elders of this city who because of his fear of you has fled to Jeddah to throw himself at the mercy of the sea. Grant him quarter.” The Messenger of God replied: “It is granted.” Umayr ibn Wahb then said: “Oh Messenger of God, give me a token that I may take to him so that he will believe he has been granted amnesty.” The Prophet handed him the turban he had worn upon his head when he had entered Mecca after the city had surrendered to him. Umayr took it and set off to Jeddah. He arrived there just as Safwan was about to board a ship. Safwan returned with him to Mecca and went to the Prophet and said: “This man tells me that you have granted me quarter.” The Prophet replied: “That is so.” Safwan ibn Umayyah said: “Grant me a two-month respite. The Prophet answered: “I will grant you a four-month respite.”

³ Abu Sufyan was one of the aristocratic and influential figures of the Quraysh tribe during the Age of Ignorance (before the dawn of Islam). It is said that he was an exciter of discord and was either the instigator of each disagreement which occurred among the Quraysh or played an active role in the dissension. According to one narrative, he lost the sight of both his eyes during the course of two battles. Abu Sufyan opposed the Prophet and the message of Islam until the defeat of Mecca in 630 CE when he embraced Islam and was granted amnesty by the Prophet. He died *circa* 651 or 654 CE.

with Abu Sufyan's offspring), a person who throughout his whole life continually refused to accept the faith of Islam. Thus, when the spoils which had been won during the Battle of Hunayn were brought forward for distribution, in spite of all that this Abu Sufyan and those pagans of the Quraysh had done in the past, the Prophet gave generously to them all, giving as many as a hundred camels to one, three hundred camels to another, and goodness knows how many camels and other things to the rest. And he did this even though he knew that they were pagans; even though he was well aware of them being polytheists. As a result however, the devotees protested that their own share of the spoils had been inadequate and that these unbelievers had been too greedy. In reply to these protests the Prophet said: "They (the unbelievers) have taken camels away with them whereas you have got me with you. Wouldn't you prefer to have the Prophet of God with you rather than some camels?!"¹

Hence, we see what a noble person this man was. Irrespective of his prophetic role, we can see what an exalted mind he had. And at the same time we see how the beneficence shown by the Prophet toward the pagans of the Quraysh led the latter, who were probably impure at heart, to at least make an outward appearance of being Muslim, and to therefore join the fold

¹ After his victory in the Battle of Hunayn, the Prophet gave most of the spoils to the Quraysh and the Meccans for he knew that this would reconcile them to Islam. However, the Ansar (=the helpers, the epithet given to the Medinans who helped Muhammad after his migration to Medina) received only a small portion of the booty and this caused them much discontent. When the Prophet of God was informed of their objections, he gathered them together and said: "Are you now upset over a small amount of the wealth of this world that I have used to reconcile some hearts and thus strengthen Islam and you don't consider important the great blessings that God has bestowed upon you and the fact that he has guided you to Islam? Oh Ansar, are you not content that some take with them camels and sheep while you take with yourselves the Messenger of God? I swear by God in whose hands lies my life that if the people had all gone along one path and the Ansar along another, I would have gone along the path of the Ansar. And had I not migrated here, I would still have been one of the Ansar. Oh God, grant forgiveness to the Ansar and the sons of the Ansar and their grandsons." These words of the Prophet had such an effect on the hearts of the Ansar that they began to weep aloud. Their shaykhs and leaders stood up before him and kissed his hands and feet. Then they said: "We are content with God the Almighty and with your mission and are happy with this portion." Refer to *Kitab al-Irshad* (The Book of Guidance) by Shaykh al-Mufid translated by I.K.A. Howard, p. 90; *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* by Hugh Kennedy pp. 43-44 and *Tafsir al-Mizan*, vol. 18, p. 62.

of Islam. Furthermore, we see how admirably, how marvelously, the Prophet replied to those who voiced protest, thus making them content.

The necessity of the clergy's attention to the intellectuals

Returning to the present-day situation, if some patent error is to be found in the work of those who are currently striving for the sake of Islam, and who are writing material to this end, then you are to rectify this error. As ones who are learned, you are to rectify this error and are not to ostracize the persons concerned. Do not drive them away. Indeed, today we need the support of as many people as possible. Right now, we are to make the most of every single person. At times like this, when whatever the regime writes is against us; when all its measures and propaganda are aimed against us; when neither the press nor the radio are free to convey our message or to broadcast even one word of our argument; at a time when our hands are bound and we have been placed in a strait-jacket whereby we cannot get our message across and have no means of propagation at our disposal; indeed, we need every single person we can get. Therefore, even supposing that there are a few mistakes to be found in the work of those who are writing to promote Shiism, you are to rectify these mistakes. Do not ostracize these people; do not drive them away. Do not reject those from the university. These are the people in whose hands this country's destiny will lie in the future. It is not you who will become a government minister in the future. You and I are not the country's future ministers. We are in a different profession. Tomorrow, this country's destiny will lie in the hands of these people from the university. It is they who will become Members of Parliament, government ministers or whatever. Therefore, you are to be on friendly terms with these people. Do not persist in your rejection of them. Do not continue to mount the pulpit and denounce them. Mount the pulpit and advise them instead of reviling them. Where will reviling people get you? Advise them. Welcome these credit-worthy fronts which are currently active. Like yourselves, their members have also suffered imprisonment and persecution; they too have suffered exile; they too have been forced to live abroad and are afraid to return to their own country. If you ostracize those who are currently writing and publishing material abroad on Islamic and religious issues, then tomorrow, should the country's destiny fall into the hands of some of these people, what will they do with the future generation of *akhunds* having been tormented so by *akhunds* in the past? Everyone must join hands together.

The meaning of the Shah's regime's 'land reforms' law

Both the country of Iran and the Islamic countries as a whole, of which Iran is but a member, are hovering on the brink of a disaster. God knows how distressed and worried I sometimes become when I think of how many days Iran would be able to survive on its own supplies, if, God forbid, it should become involved in a war. Experts say that were these 'supplier countries' to cut their supplies to Iran, then the latter would only be able to sustain itself for a thirty-three-day period. Yet what kind of a country are we talking about here? We are in fact talking of an Iran whose province of Khorasan alone was capable of supplying the country's needs all year round, in addition to producing a surplus for export to others. Yes, just one of its provinces—the province of Khorasan. But what did they do? They went and implemented land reforms! They implemented those damned land reforms, and as a result all the land has been taken from the people and we have now reached a stage where Iran's total agricultural produce is enough to suffice for a mere thirty-three-day period—if the published figures are accurate that is, otherwise the period could in fact be even shorter still.

What would happen if, for just one day, these ships and those people¹ who have built a market here in which to sell their goods did not come to Iran? Yes indeed, that is what 'land reforms' actually means: the opening up of a market here for use by foreign countries. These countries have been known to have poured wheat into the sea in the past; they have had a wheat surplus and so they have poured it into the sea.² But why should they do this when instead they can implement 'land reforms' in Iran and export this wheat surplus to her, receiving cash payment in return? They have left our agriculture in a paralyzed state, everything now coming to us from there, from abroad. Just take a look at the various journals. In them you can sometimes see with what swelling pride the government boastfully brags about how much wheat it has imported, how much barley it has imported and so on. But you bungling idiots, don't you see this is in fact something of which you should be ashamed! You are the ones who should be exporting wheat. You are the ones whose province of Azerbaijan alone was once enough to supply you with all of your agricultural needs as well as producing

¹ The Americans.

² According to a United Nations report, while millions of people in developing countries were dying from malnutrition because of the shortage of food, America decided not to cultivate millions of hectares of farmland in order to stop the decrease in the price of agricultural commodities. America controls the distribution and price of wheat by destroying it (throwing it into the sea) or preventing its cultivation. See *The Food Crisis*, p. 16.

a surplus for you to export. Yet now you sit and boast about being the ones who have to import goods! Yes indeed, you should be ashamed of these 'land reforms' of yours and of whatever other 'reforms' you have brought about.

The need for collaboration between the clergy and the intellectuals

To return to my grievance against the honorable gentlemen of the clergy, I ask them not to divorce these other fronts from themselves, but instead to bring all the different fronts together. Moreover, those in the clergy must value this group of people who are striving in the path of Islam and who are writing material to this end. They (the clergy) must make use of these people. My good men of the clergy, extend the right hand of fellowship. Do not talk of a deprave, libertine university and...do not continually divorce other fronts from yourselves. And the same goes for the members of other fronts; they too must not divorce the clergy from themselves by saying, for example, that they are reactionaries and old-fashioned. In what way can the *akhund* be said to be reactionary? How can the *akhund* be said to be reactionary when he stands as a forerunner of progress? Thus, we have a situation where one front accuses the clergy of reactionism and so on, while another front makes defamatory statements about those in the university saying so-and-so is an atheist and so on. But this is totally wrong.

Both fronts are to extend a brotherly hand to each other, so go ahead and do this and set out a joint course of action which you can both follow. Today we have been presented with an opportunity. Iran would not be in the terrible state it is now if this were not the case. This is an opportunity which has been granted us and which, if capitalized upon, presents us with an ideal opportunity. The gentlemen must avail themselves of this opportunity. They must protest in writing. Some writers from certain parties are already busy making such written protests to which they are also adding their signatures. Such people write, air their views and sign their work.¹ You are to do the same, and you are to get a hundred *ulama* to sign your work. You must hammer the message home; you must come out with the problems which are facing Iran. Now is the time to say these things; and if you do so then you will achieve results. However, my concern is that should this opportunity be

¹ By way of example one can cite the Iranian Society for the Defense of Freedom and Human Rights affiliated to the International Committee for Human Rights in America, the Assembly of Iranian Writers and the Assembly of Attorneys. Two months before the present speech, Iranian writers, academics and politicians issued a statement in which, without mentioning the Shah's name, they called for the government to act according to the constitutional law and for the rights and freedom of the people to be respected. Refer to *Zendegi-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [The Political Life of Imam Khomeini], p. 366.

wasted and should this man's¹ position be strengthened, then the regime will come down on the people so hard that they won't know what hit them; and it is you clergymen who will bear the brunt of this attack. This is what is worrying me. Therefore, do not waste this opportunity. All fronts must unite and write about the problems facing Iran. Announce them to the world. If it is not possible to do so in Iran, then send what you have written abroad; they will publish it there for you. Somehow send your work here (abroad) and we will send it to be published. Get your criticisms down on paper; protest against the regime itself as others have... We ourselves have seen how several people have already criticized the regime in writing; we have seen how they have got away with saying many things to which they have given their signature. This is an opportunity not to be missed so do not let it slip by.²

¹ The Shah.

² Jimmy Carter, the Democrat candidate in the US presidential elections, was voted in as the new American President over his rival from the Republican Party on November 3, 1976 [Aban 12, 1355 AHS]. He took office on January 20, 1977 [Dey 30, 1355 AHS] espousing defense of human rights as one of the main planks of his platform. This may have been a customary gesture expected by the audience at home, but the reasoning behind the emphasis on human rights was prompted by other objectives too, among them the need to: improve America's image, particularly in the wake of the brutal events of the Korean and Vietnamese wars, and mollify the still strong global anti-US feelings brought about by those events; increase the propaganda against and psychological pressure on the Kremlin and attract disgruntled Russian elements to the American side; and to place US-installed or backed dictators in a favorable light by making them appear to be making strides toward the improvement of human rights and the democratization of their countries and thus meriting further US support or aid—in this way, the US government hoped to prevent uprisings against dictators in its client states and thereby secure its own interests in the various regions of the world. Throughout the presidential campaign, the Shah had put his support and oil money firmly behind the Republican candidate, Gerald Ford. The Shah's ambassador in London wrote in his diary on August 8 that the Shah "fears that Jimmy Carter may have 'Kennedy-type pretensions' and would much prefer to see Ford re-elected." (p. 23 of Parviz Radji's *In the Service of the Peacock Throne, The Diaries of the Shah's Last Ambassador to London*). In his many years of dealing with US Presidents, the Shah had found his despotic nature and policies were less censured by the Republicans than the Democrats. This was confirmed throughout the 1976 campaign when the Democrats criticized the torture and political repression which was increasingly becoming more commonplace under the Shah in Iran and used his abuse of human rights to discredit the Republicans in their support of him. Upon assuming office, Carter, confident in the stability of the Shah's regime, placed Iran at the top of the list of those countries which were expected to at least put on a show of liberalization and present some modicum of respect for human rights (although, as was to be seen, Carter would in no way allow abuse of the latter to stand in the way of US lucrative ties with Iran). Hoveyda was then dismissed from office and Jamshid Amuzegar took his place. A Society for the Defense of Human Rights was formed by some of the more moderate elements of the opposition. The administrating body of this society comprised of Mahdi Bazargan, Hasan Nazi, Ali Asghar, Haj Sayyid Jawadi, Ahmad Sadr Haj Sayyid Jawadi, Rahmatullah Muqaddam Maraghii, Lahiji and Minachi.

The regime in Iran is now doing its best to straighten things out with the imperialist powers. It is seeking to fully establish its puppet status with these powers once and for all, for it has not yet been given their full assurance on this. It is therefore busy making plans either to bring the representatives of these powers over here or for its own representatives to go there or whatever in order to straighten things out for good.¹ And my worry is that, God forbid, should this opportunity be lost, and should this regime receive the assurance it is seeking from the imperialist powers, then unlike former times, untold damage will be inflicted upon Islam.

I beseech Almighty God to grant success to you all; and to grant glory to Islam. O God, in the name of the Immaculate Imams, exalt Islam; bestow dignity and greatness upon it; awaken us from the slumber of ignorance; bring together all of our different fronts; and enable us to speak with one voice. May God's peace mercy and blessings be upon you.

¹ Initial doubts which hung over the future course of US-Iran relations upon the new President assuming office were cleared up when in November 1977 the Shah traveled to Washington to seek further support for his regime from the Carter administration. Carter had earlier approved billions of dollars worth of military sales to Iran signaling that no drastic change in the relationship was to come about even in the light of scant improvement in Iran's human rights record. Gary Sick in his book *All Fall Down*, p. 78 says: "The tone of policy in Washington had changed sharply from the days of Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, but the emphasis was definitely on gentle persuasion, not heavy pressure or fundamental shifts of alliances. If that was not evident to the Shah prior to his arrival, there could have been little doubt in his mind after the nearly five hours of face-to-face meetings with President Carter on November 15 and 16."

Letter

Date: November 4, 1977 [Aban 13, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 21, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Occasion: The martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 21, 1397 AH

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Ruhani, may his favors last:

Thank you for your esteemed letter expressing your deep sympathy. I pray to God Almighty to grant you health and success. Although the tragedy was unexpected and sudden, nevertheless what was entrusted (to us) has been given to its Owner, praise be to God, and reposes close to his ancestor. It is hoped that he has departed with a clean soul unpolluted by this world. Thanks be to God Almighty that there are many children of Islam ever ready to stand firm for the sake of God. It is also hoped that having awakened from their past slumber of neglect, amends will be made for the defects, and that the path of Truth will shine ever brighter and Islamic justice established.

Please do not neglect me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah

al-Musawi

al-Khomeini

Message

Date: November 4, 1977 [Aban 13, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 21, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The atrocities of the hegemonic powers and the Pahlavi monarchy

Occasion: The martyrdom of Aqa Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Yasir Arafat

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Honorable Yasir Arafat,
Head of the Executive Committee
Palestine Liberation Organization

Thank you for your esteemed letter and for the sentiments expressed therein. These sorrowful events are trivial as compared to the calamities that are being visited upon Islam and the Muslims.

Owing to the influence of foreign powers, the sacred religion of Islam has, for centuries, been faced with deviations and misconceptions. With the malicious propaganda of their lackeys, the foreigners have portrayed the unique, divinely-inspired, combative doctrine of Islam in a different light. They have presented in another way the Holy Quran which is the command of God to fight the polytheists and the hedonists, and is the only heavenly Book that is the motivator against hegemony and oppression. The radiant and soul-saving tenets of the sublime religion of Islam are being violated one after another by the schemes of hegemonic powers carried out by their evil agents. "Islam the Great", the bulwark against foreigners, is being wrecked by knaves who have sold their souls so as to pave the way for their masters to plunder and pillage. The negligence of the heads of Islamic states and the discord and divisions among them have led to the ever-increasing control of the imperialists over the sanctities and destiny of the Muslims. In the course of the fifty-year rule of the illegitimate and disgraceful Pahlavi dynasty that—according to the present Shah's own admission—has been the direct agent of foreigners, we have been beset by adversities in comparison to which our grief pales into insignificance. During the era of the previous Shah, we witnessed the killings, plunder and intolerable repression. We were witness to the massacre in the Gauhar Shad Mosque; adjacent to the sacred mausoleum of the Eight Imam (A). We witnessed the imprisonment of the

leading *ulama* of Khorasan and Azerbaijan and the killing of some of them. We witnessed certain things that will be recorded in detail in the future.

Also, in the reign of the incumbent Shah, we have witnessed and are witnessing atrocities being perpetrated that have made Genghis¹ appear honorable. We saw the outrageous, inhuman massacre of Khordad 15 [Muharram 12] the number of those killed being 15,000 according to what is said, and the number of wounded being God alone knows how many! We witnessed the assault on the theological centers and the universities where there was much slaughter and destruction, as also the irreverence shown to the Holy Quran and holy Islamic books; dishonoring and beating up the seminarians and burning their books, while in the universities we saw the young men and girls being beaten up. We saw the prisons full of *ulama*, scholars and those yearning for freedom, and where tortures of medieval times were, and are, an ordinary occurrence.

We witnessed that at the time the Muslims were engaged in a war with the Israeli infidels, the government of Iran, on the order of the Shah, granted official recognition to the Israeli government amid the *ulamas* opposition. We witnessed the assistance rendered to Israel by this black-hearted man while they were turning the Muslims into refugees and killing them. He would put oil, weapons and other forms of assistance, the funds for which would be provided by the wages earned by the toiling, suffering Iranians, at the disposal of Israel. We witnessed the so-called 'land reforms' that ruined the agriculture of Iran and created a market for America, pulling the country to the edge of the precipice. We witnessed and are witnessing, all these calamities, deviations and treacheries in the face of which we must overlook our personal tragedies.

As I attach importance to the problems of Lebanon, I am apprehensive that just as he has turned Iran into an American colony, the same scene will be re-enacted in Lebanon as well by means of the trickery of the vile operatives in the embassy in Lebanon allowing Israel to conveniently implement its designs in the region. You must, with all vigilance, keep a watch on the operatives of the Iranian embassy and foil their ruses.

I have said whatever needs to be said, in Iran as well as in exile. Whatever I say constitutes part of the Muslims' adversities. However, I am obliged to repeat for the umpteenth time that my extreme regret is over the discord of the heads of Islamic states, particularly the Arab governments. As soon as the murmurings of unity and harmony arise, the agents of

¹ Genghis Khan: the Mongolian conqueror of the 13th century.

imperialism sow discord and differences by means of their peculiar machinations. Seven hundred million or more Muslims and a hundred million or more Arabs have not been able to achieve real independence. They have not been able to free themselves from the clutches of imperialism. They have not been able to push back the handful of usurping Israeli Jews—who pose a danger to the people's lands and to our history and heritage—and retake their territories. For nearly fifteen years, I have spoken and written about these and many other matters.

It is your Islamic and national duty, in addition to your revolutionary one of liberating Palestine, to strive earnestly and devotedly for the unity and unanimity of Arab governments. We will not forget your sacrifices and holy crusade. We solicit God Almighty to make you successful and triumphant for the greatness of Islam and the Muslims, and hope that the hands of the imperialists and the wicked elements be cut off. Our wish is to see Palestine and the Al-Aqsa Mosque cleansed of the Zionist presence, and the Palestinians' return to their land.

May peace be upon those who follow the guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Qadah al-Haram 21, 1397 AH

Letter

Date: Circa 1977-1978 [1356 AHS / 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Accepting to pay the debts incurred on cultural and combatant activities

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

In His Most Exalted Name

May you be successful and fine, God willing.

I feel that you have probably become indebted in Lebanon and Syria. If the people from whom you have borrowed are there, write and let me know, as well as the amount borrowed so that I can give instructions to make the payment there. In case they are here, write to me about the amount.¹ May peace be upon you.

¹ The above mentioned debts concerned the publication in Beirut (1396) of propaganda material against the Shah's regime, especially the printing and publication of a book on reviewing and analyzing Imam Khomeini's movement.

Letter

Date: November 4, 1977 [Aban 13, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 21, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to condolences on Aqa Mustafa Khomeini's martyrdom

Addressee: Jalaluddin Farsi, Lebanon

Dhul-Qadah 21, 1397 AH

His Eminence Mr. Jalaluddin Farsi, may God always protect him:

Thank you for your esteemed letter containing your kind sentiments and condolences on this occurrence. I pray to God for your health and happiness. It was my hope that the deceased would be of service and benefit to Islam and the Muslims; however, "*nobody can change his destiny*" and "*Lo! Allah is altogether independent of (His) creatures.*"¹

Thanks to God that all the Muslims, especially in Iran, are pursuing, in full awareness, a movement that is not at all dependent on any person or persons. It is hoped that it will soon have the desired result which is the implementation of Divine injunctions and the severance of the hands of despots and hedonists. Also, with the abundance of knowledgeable and concerned writers, the obvious deviations will be removed, leaving the nations, especially Iran, to witness the government of Islamic justice and righteousness. "*Verily, He the Acceptor of prayers is near.*" I thank you for your assistance in making arrangements for the war-stricken people. In case you need my assistance, write to me about the particulars so that, if possible, it would be put into effect, God willing. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Surah al-Ankabut 29:6.

Letter

Date: Circa October 23-November 21, 1977 [Aban 1356 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to condolences on the martyrdom of Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Muhammad Fadil Lankarani ¹

I wish to inform you that I have received with thanks your esteemed letter indicating your well-being and expression of your sympathy for me. I hope that you will be successful in serving the Islamic theological centers and that the scholars will benefit from your blessings. We have to traverse this path willy-nilly. So, it is better that our lives be spent in the service of Islam and the Muslims, and in the service of knowledge and guidance; not in futile, meaningless pursuits. I beseech God to protect all of us, in this path full of peril, from the wicked who are outwardly human beings but in reality satanic, and from carnal temptations. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. My thanks to all the scholars, the spiritual leaders, and the students of the theological centers for having participated in this event, which I hope Your Eminence will convey to the gentlemen when you meet them. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ It is written thus on the envelope containing the letter: "To His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Fadil, may his blessings last."

Message

Date: November 12, 1977 [Aban 21, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 29, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The duty of the public vis-à-vis the Shah's regime; the Iranian nation's yearning for Islam

Addressee: The distinguished *ulama* and the Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

"Lo we are Allah's and lo! Unto Him we are returning."

I wish to thank all of the strata of Iran's oppressed people who have shown their kindness and sympathy on this unexpected happening. The principal religious authorities—may their blessings last; distinguished spiritual leaders—may their existence endure; the respected preachers; scholars; the teachers and students of theology; the deprived intellectuals; the merchants and traders who are under the pressure of the usurping government and all other classes of the oppressed Iranians, may God Almighty always assist them; I thank them all.

We are confronting tremendous difficulties and heart-rending woes in the face of which we should not mention our personal calamities. However, these massive demonstrations¹ at this juncture were the answer in words and action to the absurdities of many years of this unworthy element who undermined the prestige, dignity, independence and economy of this great and noble nation for the sake of his own and his plundering family's desires. These demonstrations were not for any person; they were the manifestations of abhorrence for the despotic establishment, the real referendum and no-confidence vote for the treacherous set-up. They should know that if they are not protected by the bayonets of the foreigners for even a single day, the noble nation of Iran will avenge the blood of their youth and dear ones. I am obliged to give notice of a great danger and save the nation from being misled and tricked by the foreigners and their agents. This recent indulgence on the part of the establishment, which gave the opportunity to the writers to write and the speakers to speak, is a big ruse to absolve the Shah and pretend that there is freedom. It is also to attribute the atrocities to the government which is nothing but a tool. The writers, in this suppressive and intimidating

¹ It refers to the holding of commemorative services and demonstrations of the Muslims of Iran after hearing of the martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

atmosphere, cannot make it known that the locus of the atrocities is the Shah himself. Perhaps, there are even among their own writers, mingling with the decent ones, those who attack the government and mention some of the atrocities. So, they divert the people's attention from the crucial issues of crimes and treacheries, and sway the opinion of those who are simple-minded and credulous whereas all the difficulties of the Iranian nation during these fifty years of the rule of the illegitimate, traitorous Pahlavi dynasty were and are being caused by that dishonorable father and this dishonorable son. These were and are the ones whose hands are stained up to their elbows with the blood of the oppressed nation. That father who perpetrated the massacre at Gowharshad Mosque and disrespected the holy shrine of the Thamin al-Hujjaj (A),² and this son who perpetrated the massacre of Khordad 15 and disrespected the holy shrine of Fatimah Masumah. That father who, for the "crime" of telling the truth, imprisoned, tortured, exiled and killed the prominent *ulama*, the leading jurist-consults and the freedom-seekers, and this son who meted out the same treatment in a harsher manner to the *ulama*, orators, freedom-seekers, intellectuals and all the other classes. That father who so deprived the nation of its freedom that neither the people nor the Majlis and media had the right to utter a single word of the truth, and this son whom all the people can see for what he is and who are aware of the state of the various classes of the people, the Majlis and the media. That father who forcibly seized all properties in the north from the people, imprisoning, banishing and killing them and registering their properties in his own name. And this son, who has accumulated the reserves of the nation in foreign banks and, with his family and relations, has sucked and is sucking the blood of the people to the last drop. That father, with all his atrocities and treacheries, we saw and underwent suffering. And now you and we are encountering and suffering from the atrocities of this true son! Now they want to give this person a clean image so that he can continue with his crimes. They want to calm the simple souls by giving limited freedom in the context of attributing the atrocities to the government, so influencing the clear minds of the people and making them forget the kernel of the crimes and treacheries, heedless of the fact that the time has passed and that the nation, from the clergy and university fraternity to the ranks of the laborers and cultivators, man and woman, have become vigilant. It is impossible that these people, who have suffered and have experienced tragedies, come to

² The eighth Imam from the Prophet's Progeny.

terms with this dynasty and consent to the continuation of the illegitimate monarchy even for a single day.

The Iranian nation is Muslim and wants Islam—Islam under the protection of which there is freedom and independence; where the agents of foreigners are eliminated; the strongholds of oppression and corruption eradicated; the hands of criminals and traitors severed. The nation does not want that dynasty which has handed over all its sanctities and destinies to foreigners, has squandered all its oil and other resources, has ruined the country's economy, has undermined the agriculture, has handed over the authority of the army to American officials and specialists, giving them immunity and full authority, as well as the crimes and treacheries that will be recorded in history in the future. Now with all the mess there is, as he finds himself in a quandary because of the exigencies of the time and the economic, social and political crises, he is planning to extricate himself from the imbroglio by giving limited, meaningless freedoms, so consolidating his position and preparing the stage that would allow him to continue his rule. Then he will again commence his fierce attacks more brutal and painful, neither sparing sower nor seed. It is now the duty of all the Muslims, especially the distinguished spiritual leaders, the intellectuals and the university students of the traditional and modern sciences, to avail themselves of this opportunity to say and write what must be said—in defense of dear Islam and its life-sustaining precepts that guarantee freedom and independence, and also in defense of their great country, the cradle of great and freedom-loving people, that is now on the verge of collapse. It is also the duty of the army and its heads to deliver themselves from ignominy of subjugation to foreigners, and save their country from destruction and disintegration. Finally, I would like to impress upon you that the worthy and committed people who have the initiative should positively refrain from letting themselves be known and should be guided by previous experiences, engaging themselves in activities in the refuge of Islam and in the framework of Islamic tenets. They should desist from cooperating with those whose activities are not a hundred percent within this framework. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the magnificence of Islam and the Muslims, and hope that the hands of the foreigners be severed. I pray for the health, success and God's assistance for all the people. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Qadah al-Haram 29, 1397 AH

Message

Date: Circa October 23-November 21, 1977 [Aban 1356 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude for the condolence telegram on the occasion of the martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressees: The *ulama* of Azerbaijan (Province)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The honorable gentlemen, the distinguished spiritual leaders and the learned dignitaries of Azerbaijan residing at the Qum theological center, may their favors last:

I wish to thank you for your esteemed letter indicating your kind sympathies and religious sentiments. I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to the learned gentlemen of all the theological centers, particularly the Qum Seminary, for the hardships they have endured and the exhausting efforts they have made. This world, whether pleasing or not, will pass on and all will have to go to the world of retribution. So much the better that we spend our short lives in the service of Islam and the Muslims so that we stand honored in the Holy Presence of God, the Blessed and Exalted, and join the ranks of those who have served. You, the learned youths who are the future guardians of Islamic precepts, have a heavy duty to discharge. From now itself, you must equip yourselves to safeguard and serve Islam and the Muslims. I pray to God Almighty for the glory of Islam, the Muslims, the *ulama* of Islam and for the prestige in the two worlds of you dignified scholars.

May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 14, 1977 [Aban 23, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Expressing thanks for the letter sent

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad DuAi

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1397 AH

I wish to inform you that I have received with thanks your esteemed letter indicating your well-being and expressing your sympathy for me in this bereavement.¹ I thank your honor and all the other honorable gentlemen and the people and believers of Yazd for the kind sentiments expressed. I request your honor to convey my thanks to all the gentlemen after giving them my regards. I also thank all those who sent telegrams that were not received.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ It refers to the martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini on October 23, 1977 [Aban 1, 1356 AHS].

Message

Date: November 16, 1977 [Aban 25, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1397 AH]¹

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Continuation of the struggle until the deliverance of Islam

Occasion: The martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressees: The students abroad and the Muslims of Iran and the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To all the respected students abroad and all the other worthy people and groups in Europe, America and India and the other countries, who are spending their time and lives in the pursuit of the sublime goals of Islam in order to attain the perfect state of humanity, and to rescue mankind from the clutches of people who are outwardly human, and from the savage beasts in human garb.

I thank all the esteemed gentlemen who have been kind enough to commiserate with me on this tragedy, which is but a paltry part of the calamities besetting the children of Islam. I also pray beside the grave of the Master of the Pious (Imam Ali), may peace and salutations be upon him, for all those people or groups who have emigrated from their beloved country because of the chaos and police repression. I beseech God, the Exalted, to give all of them maximum success in serving Islam, the guarantor of mankind's deliverance from all the aspects of backwardness.

I would like to give the hope of triumph and victory to you and all the other brothers within the country who are living under police heavy-handedness, and in prisons and torture chambers, grappling with enervating privations and hardships. Also, to the families of those who, under the Shah's torture, have sacrificed their lives in the way of God, on condition that the efforts continue for the sake of righteousness and the triumph of the creed of Truth, by adhering to which you will be blessed with God-given victory. Also, on condition that you strive for unanimity and solidarity in the way of God, and for the salvation of your country, as well as all the other Islamic countries under the pressure of aliens.

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22-volume edition), vol. 1, p. 252, the date given is 9/24/56 AHS but the date mentioned under the handwritten manuscript is Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1397 AH.

I am hopeful about this widespread movement and vigilance that has emerged in Islamic countries in general and Iran in particular, and about the general disgust and abhorrence felt for the organs of oppression and brutality, as well as of expansionism and expansionists. This public vigilance and disgust is not temporary or fleeting; it will continue until the despotic establishment is put to an end and the tyranny of the oppressors terminated. Following the ruthless establishment's boundless oppression and the ever-increasing privations of the oppressed nations, there will be an upheaval that will swallow the puppet governments set up to subjugate the nations as well as to plunder their resources, and divine vengeance will be wreaked upon the oppressors.

You and we, wherever we are and with whatever situation we are confronted, should consider ourselves as brothers and form a lasting bond, giving the hand of brotherhood to our brethren within the country, whatever their garb may be. We must strive to eliminate the differences that the foreigners have occasioned and the despotic establishment and its mercenaries are exacerbating. We should bear in mind that until differences exist among the various strata of the people, especially between intellectuals of the clergy and the students, we should despair of victory.

Now that a temporary opportunity has arisen, the groups that are a hundred per cent committed to Islam and are concerned about the Muslims should, with alertness, foresightedness and unanimity, avail themselves of it. They should not allow the opportunists, who have not taken a single step or written a single word for Islam and the noble nation of Iran, to now use this opportunity to infiltrate the ranks of the suffering people by passing themselves off as patriots and freedom-lovers in order to attain ministerial and parliamentary positions. They should not be allowed to find a place for themselves among the people by writing some articles in which neither Islam nor the nucleus of mischief is mentioned. If, God forbid, they do attain positions of authority, a repetition of the same treacheries and allegiance to foreigners, the same woes and misery should not be permitted. Such articles and announcements from some of the known elements—even if they have not been written by the security apparatus, or for the purpose of preserving the Shah, the source of all the misfortunes of the country and nation—are, undoubtedly, not for the good of the nation; nor for safeguarding the basis of Islam which is the protector and guardian of the country's independence and integrity, and the guarantor of social justice and freedoms.

Those days when the various categories of the Muslims: the clergy, the university fraternity, engineers, doctors, traders, workers and farmers were

being crushed under the boots of the foreign mercenaries; that day when the massacre of Khordad 15 and the destruction of the religious schools and others took place; those days when the prisons were crammed with the defenders of Islam and freedom-lovers; that day when the much-honored calendar of Islam—the origin of justice, freedom, and individual, social and political development—was changed to that of the reactionary monarchy and Magianism;² that day when they announced the formation of the disgraced Rastakhiz Party for suppressing the nation and making embezzlement and oppression all the more prevalent; those days when, in the name of the White Revolution, the bloodiest of the revolutions, they created a market for their masters; when the nation's agriculture was destroyed, the days when they perpetrated all the atrocities against the religion and nation, not one of these people uttered a word, whereas the youthful clergy and university students defended their rights with their lives, with the support of the nation, including the farmers, workers and merchants.

Now that there is the probability of gaining benefits, either as a reward from the Shah for diverting public opinion from himself and attributing the atrocities to the government, or from the nation on the likelihood of a change of regime, they have picked up their pens and have written certain matters in a restrained, hypocritical manner. The Iranians of every hue, the clergy and others must disappoint these few opportunists by taking the initiative with the greatest of caution and discernment. The Shah and his pack of relations and followers should understand that, in his meeting with the President of the United States, whether or not he agrees to renew his servility and stabilize his illegal position, the Iranian nation does not want him and will not abandon their campaign until they have avenged their blood-soaked youth and delivered Islam and its tenets from this dynasty. I entreat the Exalted Lord to ameliorate the condition of the Muslims and to rescue the Islamic states from the clutches of the alien powers, whether rightist or leftist. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 4, 1397 AH

² Magianism: the philosophy or doctrines of the Magi, a priestly caste in ancient Media and Persia supposedly having occult powers.

Message

Date: *Unknown*

Subject: Thanking the Isfahan Seminary for supporting the Islamic movement, and commendation for patience and courage

Addressees: The scholars and students of the Isfahan Seminary

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To all the blessed, honorable students and the venerable savants of Isfahan Seminary, may God always assist them:

I respectfully thank you for your esteemed letters expressing your religious sentiments, and your support for the sacred Islamic goals. I request God, the Exalted, to give you health, success and guidance. May God protect the grand savants—the treasured wealth of the sacred religion of Islam—from the mischief of the wicked people by keeping them in the shelter of His patronage. I would like to assure you, the grand savants, that if you sincerely serve the holy religious law, pride and glory will be yours. “*Might belongeth to Allah and to His Messenger and the believers.*”¹ Be firm and unswerving in your sacred objective, which is the preservation of Islam and Islamic precepts. Also, seek the help of Almighty God, and take refuge with the Master of the Age, may God expedite his glorious advent. Do not fear the satans of the time.

I pray to God, the Exalted, for the glory of Islam and those who serve Islam. May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

The matter that was mentioned has been considered. I do not differentiate between the savants here and elsewhere. I am sincere to all of them.

¹ *Surah al-Munafiqun* 63:8.

Letter

Date: Circa November 22-December 11, 1977 [Azar 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply letter and greetings to the relatives (Family-related)

Addressee: Zahra (Fahimah) Mustafawi

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear Fahimah,¹

Though I am so very anxious about the situation that I should not have the disposition for anything, yet it is necessary to enquire about you in a few words, even if you hardly or never think about us. Please convey my regards to Mr. Boroujerdi.² I pray to the Almighty for my dear ones and for the well-being of all. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ Imam Khomeini's daughter.

² Mr. Mahmud Burujerdi, Imam Khomeini's son-in-law.

Letter

Date: November 24, 1977 [Azar 3, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 12, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Explanation regarding the appointment of the executors of will

Addressees: Habibullah Araki, Ridwani Khomeini, Sayyid Abbas Khatami Yazdi, Sayyid Jafar Karimi,¹ Najaf

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 12, 1397 AH

With reference to the will I made and appointed Messrs. Araki, Ridwani, Khatami, and Karimi as its executors, in the event of any circumstance arising for one, or more of them, such that he is not able to attend to it, the other gentlemen should appoint somebody reliable and known for his integrity and trustworthiness. The purpose is that until such time as the will has not been executed, four reliable persons should be the acting authority, and in the absence of one or two persons, the other gentlemen should do the needful until he is present again. I pray to the Exalted Lord for the success of all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The will, written by Imam on Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1397 AH, was cancelled after Imam Khomeini's return to Iran.

Letter

Date: November 28, 1977 [Azar 7, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 16, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Occasion: The martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Bahauddin Mahallati,¹ Shiraz

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 16, 1397 AH

I wish to state that your honor had evidently telegraphed me on this tragedy. I thank you for your noble sentiments and pray to God the Almighty for your health and happiness. It is likely that the other gentlemen have also expressed their kindness. Please tell one of the attendants to convey my thanks to all of them. As I do not know which of the gentlemen have sent telegrams that have not reached me, I should be excused from thanking them individually. I send my best wishes to your revered son,² may his favors last long. Please do not neglect me in your benevolent prayers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The following is written on the envelope containing the letter: "To the venerable Ayatullah Mr. Mahallati, may his blessings last long".

² Mr. Majduddin Mahallati.

Letter

Date: November 28, 1977 [Azar 7, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 16, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude for the condolence telegram on the occasion of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini's martyrdom

Addressee: Muhammad Saduqi

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 16, 1397 AH

I wish to say that evidently your honor had telegraphed me on this tragedy and that commemorative services were held in Yazd. I would like to thank your honor and all the other gentlemen. As I do not know which individuals have telegraphed me, I should be excused from thanking them individually. I pray to God Almighty for the health and happiness of your honor and of the other gentlemen. I hope that none of you will forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you. I request you to convey my thanks to all of the gentlemen.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 30, 1977 [Azar 9, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 18, 1397 AH]¹

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Occasion: Martyrdom of Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Sadiq Khalkhali, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

Eve of Dhul-Hijjah 18, 1397 AH

His Venerable Eminence, Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Sadiq Khalkhali, may his favors last long:

I have received with thanks your esteemed letter expressing your sympathies and manifestation of kind sentiments on this tragedy. May God give us all the good fortune to be of service. I cannot forget your kindness; in fact, your role in this sacred movement. The trouble you have taken at crucial junctures in dangerous situations can never be forgotten. As this has been for the pleasure of the Almighty and for serving Islam, you will, God willing, be honored in the Holy Presence of the God, the Exalted. It is hoped that God will grant you and us maximum success in serving Truth and the glorious tenets of Islam. The gentlemen must excuse me in case I have been negligent at times in answering their letters. Weak, ailing and beset with anxieties, I am impatiently counting the days. I request you to convey my thanks and appreciation to all the savants and theology teachers of the seminary that have shown their kindness. I hope that they will not forget me in their benevolent prayers for my salvation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22-volume edition), vol. 22, p. 233 and (new edition) vol. 4, p. 185, the date of the letter is mentioned as 2/25/1357 AH, whereas the date in Imam Khomeini's handwriting is Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 8, 1397 AH (9/9/1356 AHS).

Permission

Date: December 1, 1977 [Azar 10, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 19, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Abu Talib Fadili

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

It is hereby confirmed that His Venerable Eminence, Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Abu Talib Fadili, may his bounties last long, 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 Living Imam, may God expedite his glorious advent, "so that he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution." He is also permitted to collect the religious taxes and even the blessed Share of the Imam, may salutations and peace be upon him, spending one-third of it on the specified religious law cases, and sending two thirds to me, or to my known legal representative in Qum for the maintenance of the 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; and 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 19, 1397 AH

Letter

Date: December 1, 1977 [Azar 10, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 19, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission to spend the Imam's (A) Share

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 19, 1397 AH

His Eminence Dr. Yazdi, may God always assist him:

I hope that you are fine, God willing. I must thank the gentlemen for their sympathy regarding this tragedy¹ and for their worthy efforts. I pray to God, the Exalted, to give them success in serving Islam and the Muslims. Meanwhile, from the money of the blessed Share of the Imam (A) that is in my account, you are permitted to send to the European friends—that is, the Union of Islamic Students—an amount equal to that which you are permitted to use for the propagation of Islam in America. Also, point out to them that the money is to be used on Islamic publications and propagation. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ It refers to the martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

Letter

Date: December 2, 1977 [Azar 11, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 20, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledgement of condolence on the martyrdom of Aqa Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Mustafa Ashrafi

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 20, 1397 AH

I wish to thank you for your esteemed letter indicating your well-being and expressing your sympathy for me in this tragedy. I pray for your health and prosperity. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation.

It is hoped that all of us will be successful in serving Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: December 6, 1977 [Azar 15, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 24, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Payment of stipends to Khuy and Maku Seminary; recommendation on ministering to the servants of the Qum office

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 24, 1397 AH

I respectfully wish to tell your honor that in pursuance of the request with which I had bothered you two or three days ago concerning Khuy and Maku, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Maqbarei, who is one of my old friends, will explain the matter to you. In case you deem it advisable, please extend assistance to those places in any appropriate way as regards support and payment of stipends. From what Ahmad¹ has repeatedly pointed out, Mashhadi Rida, your servant is very hard-working and has a large family. His salary is very low and he is living hand-to-mouth. Your Eminence should show more kindness to him so that he does not become impoverished, and is able to continue working. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

[In the margin of the letter and under the signature:]

I have sent my permission for two persons through Mr. Maqbarei. Please submit it through him after making investigations.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

In His Most Exalted Name

Please increase the salary of Mashhadi Rida by five-hundred per month, and that of Mashhadi Nad-Ali by two-hundred tumans. Also, please give three-hundred tumans per month to Iqlim's daughter whom Mashhadi Rida and Nad-Ali know. Apparently it used to be given previously and then stopped.

Letter

Date: December 7, 1977 [Azar 16, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 25, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Occasion: Martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: *Unknown*

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 25, 1397 AH

I would like to let you know that I always pray to God, the Exalted, for your honor's health and prosperity. It is necessary for me to thank all the gentlemen who have expressed their kind sentiments on this tragedy. It is not easy for me to thank them individually and in detail. Therefore, I request you as one who has a share in this matter to thank on my behalf the respected gentlemen who have held a commemorative service in Ark Mosque and, as stated above, have telegraphed me. You may do this either by phoning them or in any other matter you deem advisable. Though I have expressed my thanks, I, nevertheless, find it necessary to show my gratitude and appreciation especially to those respected gentlemen: the clergy, the distinguished religious authorities, orators, scholars, engineers, doctors and others. I am giving you this extra trouble as you are in contact with all of them and know the way of doing it very well. I beseech God to keep everybody prosperous and healthy. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: December 8, 1977 [Azar 17, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Expressing thanks for a letter sent

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Ansari, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 26, 1397 AH

His Venerable Eminence, Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Ali Ansari, may his bounties last long:

I have received with thanks your esteemed letter indicating your well-being, and expressing your sympathy for me. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your health and happiness. It is hoped that, God willing, you will include me in your prayers with the thought that they will be accepted. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Will

Date: December 9, 1977 [Azar 18, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Appointment of executors of the will¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1397 AH

I, Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini, being in sound health, have appointed as executors the honorable Hujjaj of Islam Mr. Aqa Shaykh Habibullah Araqi, Mr. Ridwani Khomeini, Mr. Aqa Sayyid Abbas Khatam Yazdi and Mr. Aqa Sayyid Jafar Karimi, may their bounties last, in affairs pertaining to religious law money which is with me. All the money with me and Mr. Khalkhali² is religious law money; not a single *fils*³ of it is mine that should come to concern my heirs except a small amount of money contained in a packet on the back of which is written: "My personal money." The gentlemen should use this money as stipends in the seminaries in whatever manner they think appropriate. A statement of the money is in my office; I cannot give it as the money is received and spent little by little. In case my family and that of the late Mustafa, may God have mercy on him, wish to remain in Najaf, they should be given the usual amount for their expenses.

I entreat God, the Exalted, to give you success and assistance. I trust that you will exercise the greatest of caution in the matter. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.⁴

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ This will as well as other wills, which have been recorded in chronological order of the documents, were amended afterwards. The last will (which is valid) is the one published in 1368 AHS (1989) after Imam Khomeini's demise.

² Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali, responsible for Imam Khomeini's financial affairs in Najaf.

³ *Fils*: the unit of lower denomination currency in Iraq.

⁴ On the back of the packet Imam Khomeini has written: "This packet should be in Mr. Aqa Sayyid Jafar Karimi's custody, and should be opened and read after my death. Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini".

Letter

Date: December 9, 1977 [Azar 18, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledgment with thanks of a letter

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Allam al-Huda

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 27, 1397 AH

After greeting and saluting you, I wish to thank you for your esteemed letter. I pray that God give you success and assistance. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers.

I will, God willing, inquire Qum about the matter you have mentioned. I hope that the Exalted Lord will give us the good fortune to serve Islam and Muslims. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: December 10, 1977 [Azar 19, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 28, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Occasion: The martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Muhammad Kiyai-Nezhad, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 28, 1397 AH

His Venerable Eminence, Imad al-Alam Mr. Kiyai-Nezhad, may his favors last long:

I wish to thank you for your esteemed letter expressing your sympathy for me in this tragedy. May the Exalted Lord give you health and success. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: December 11, 1977 [Azar 20, 1356 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 29, 1397 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Occasion: The martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Sayyid Ali-Naqi Tabasi Hair¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 29, 1397 AH

I would like to inform you that I have received your esteemed letter indicating your well-being and expressing your sympathy for me in this tragedy. May the Exalted Lord give you health and success. It is hoped that we have the good fortune to be of service to Islam and Muslims in this perilous path. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

The money they will bring you is nothing much; you may use it there in any way you deem appropriate. If there is much of it, please send it on my behalf to my brother, who is my legal representative, in Qum.

¹ The following is written on the letter's envelope: "Iran – Mashhad al-Muqaddas, His Venerable Eminence Sayyid Ali-Naqi Tabasi Hair, may his bounties last long."

Letter

Date: December 14, 1977 [Azar 23, 1356 AHS / Muharram 3, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude and referring the matter of the lands transferred to the Imam's (A) Share to Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

Addressee: Muhammad Saduqi

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 3, 1398 AH

His Venerable Eminence, Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Saduqi, may his bounties last long:

I am in receipt of your esteemed letter and am thankful for your sympathy. May you always be healthy and happy. I have replied to your previous letter; perhaps it has reached you by now. As regards the lands they wish to give for the blessed Share, I am not aware of the situation. Please consult my brother¹ and take action if you deem it advisable. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

Letter

Date: December 16, 1977 [Azar 25, 1356 AHS / Muharram 5, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Occasion: The martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Abbas-Ali Amid Zanjani

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 5, 1398 AH

May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you. I have received with thanks your esteemed letter indicating your well-being and expressing your sympathy for me on this tragedy. May the Exalted Lord give you health and success. It is hoped that God the Almighty will give us success in traversing with a clean soul, this perilous path to serve Islam and the Muslims. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: December 17, 1977 [Azar 26, 1356 AHS / Muharram 6, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Non-receipt of condolence telegrams

Occasion: The martyrdom of Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani, Kermanshah

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 6, 1398 AH

I wish to inform your honor that as I have heard, letters and telegrams have been sent concerning this tragedy, which quite often, have not reached me. Also, it is evident that you held a commemorative service¹ and have undergone a lot of trouble. It is necessary for me to thank you and all the other gentlemen who have shown their kindness. I beseech the Exalted Lord to give all of you health and happiness and hope that we will succeed in spending the remaining few years of our lives in the pursuit of the sacred Islamic goals. You and the rest of the gentlemen should kindly not forget me in your benevolent prayers. It is requested that you convey my thanks to our friends and the respected citizens. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ It refers to the commemorative service on the martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini.

Letter

Date: December 21, 1977 [Azar 30, 1356 AHS / Muharram 10, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Condolence message

Occasion: The martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi, Tehran¹

In His Most Exalted Name

*Ashura*²

May God increase your reward.

I wish to inform your honor that I have received with thanks your blessed letter on this tragedy. I hereby reciprocate your honor's condolence, and hope that you will do him the favor of forgiving him. I entreat the Exalted Lord to bestow His Mercy on him and give us success in traversing this perilous path with moral integrity and in the service of Islam and the Muslims.

May God the Almighty grant your honor health and fortitude, and may you be completely rid of your ailment. Khanum's condition is known; she needs your honor's sincere prayers, and is in good health thank God. Ahmad³ and Husayn⁴ kiss your blessed hands. I am herewith sending my regards to the honorable Haj Hasan Aqa,⁵ may God always assist him, and hope to have his prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ On the packet is written thus: "To the venerable Mr. Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi, may his blessings last long".

² The 10th of Muharram. The tragedy of Karbala, in which Imam Husayn (A), the Prophet's grandson was martyred.

³ Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

⁴ Mr. Sayyid Husayn Khomeini.

⁵ Mr. Hasan Thaqafi.

Letter

Date: Circa December 22, 1977-January 10, 1978 [Dey 1356 AHS / Muharram 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Fereshteh Arabi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram, 1398 AH

My dearest, the light of my eyes:

I received your letter, and am grateful for your sympathy. May the Exalted Lord keep you well. It is hoped that you are passing the days happily and cheerfully. Please convey my regards to your respected spouse². I am also thankful to him for his sympathy. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Imam Khomeini's granddaughter.

² Mr. Sayyid Murtada Tabatabai.

Permission

Date: December 29, 1977 [Dey 8, 1356 AHS / Muharram 18, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Haydar Ali Mudarrisi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; praise and peace be upon Muhammad and his progeny, and may God's damnation be upon their enemies all.

His Eminence, Murawwij al-Ahkam Mr. Shaykh Haydar Ali Mudarrisi, may God always assist him, is my legal representative for financial and religious law affairs concerning the people of Qanbar Ali, Dust Ata and Kabul, which depends on the permission of a fully-qualified jurist using the necessary caution, and in collecting the blessed Share of the Imam (A), half of which he should spend on the prescribed religious law cases, remitting the other half to this humble servant. He should obtain the receipts and forward them to the payers. He is also permitted to allow the payers themselves to give the noble *Sadat's* Share to the poor, modest *Sadat*, and also to send the share to my legal representative, obtaining the receipt thereof.

"And I advise him (may God Almighty always assist him) to be pious and cautious. And I solicit his prayers and guidance." May God's peace and mercy be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Muharram al-Haram 18, 1298 AH

Letter

Date: ?

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The manner of spending religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

I wish to inform your honor that your esteemed letter of Shawwal 20 was received in the second ten¹ of Muharram. May God keep you healthy and happy. The matters over which I am greatly perturbed and would like to bring your notice concern that which is in the possession of Mr. Haj Muhammad Hasan and is devoid of a receipt. This would be highly incriminating for him and for me. Gossip has already started here and there nowadays, and it is possible that the establishment¹ might find an excuse to make an issue out of it. You must definitely think about getting the receipt for this case. They should be transferred to another place in the custody of an administrative board that is very reliable – in my opinion, to that bank in which Mr. Musawi² is a member and is said to be an upright person. In any case, please think over the matter as it poses a great danger to him, to your honor and to me. It is also necessary for the stipends to be doubled or tripled by various means... If there are any obstacles, give them by exercising dissimulation. Also, increase the disbursements in these hallowed days, and help the poor and the weak. Please rid me of this anxiety. I have thought about this place; the stipends of forty dinars are much, and seasonal disbursements will also be made. The enclosed receipts are from Mr. Tehrani; I do not know whether they are from Mr. Haj Murtada or his brother. They are from someone at the bottom of whose letters you had written your regards. Please give ample assistance to three-year travelers...³ extend them your help.

Please write if those three checks are cashed. I have no further time to say anything. The persons such as Mr. Rasti and the other one whom you

¹ That is, the second ten-day period of Muharram.

¹ The Shah's regime and Security Organization (SAVAK).

² Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khuiniha, a member of the board of trustees of the Islamic Cooperative Bank.

³ Not legible.

have appointed are not those that I have in mind. I will appoint the persons myself, God willing, and inform you. Please give stipends in the provincial seminaries. Put the little there is to use; transferring from that place is essential. They intend to accuse him, and possibly you and me. What Mr. Ridwani's father has given you, he has taken here to give there. He was to have previously given 73 tumans as well; he says that he has given it but there has been no news from your honor. I will let you know of the balance later. You write very detailed letters which are troublesome to you; nor can I peruse them with these eyes of mine and the lack of time.

Will

Date: January 5, 1978 [Dey 15, 1356 AHS / Muharram 25, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Personal will¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God's curse be upon all their enemies.

As my elder son who was an executor of my will has most regretfully passed away, I, being of sound mind and health, have therefore, designated on this day, the 25th of the month of Muharram al-Haram 1398 AH, my dear, honorable son Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, may God always assist him, as the executor of my will. After my death and the completion of obsequies in conformity with convention, he should take the necessary steps to carry out the tasks that I have entrusted to him. May God, the Exalted, give him health, success and assistance.

1. All the money that is in the house and with Mr. Khalkhali², as well as in Qum in my brother's³ possession, is religious law money as well as that of the blessed Share of the Imam (A) and of the noble *Sadat*. Not a *fil*⁴ of it concerns my heirs for whom I have drawn up a separate will. They have no right to contest the will with the executors to whom I have assigned the matter of religious law money. In case there is any money to my name with any of my representatives, wherever they may be, they should send it to the executors or to a just authority.

2. If the books and furniture plundered from my library and house by the government of Iran are returned, whatever books had been gifted by the honorable Aqa Najafi MarAshi⁵ should be given back to his library, and the rest of the books handed over to the same or other libraries. In case my own plundered books are returned, whatever of these and of those in the executor's custody in Najaf are needed by him or by my dear Husayn the son

¹ This will and the other ones that have been recorded in the chronological order of the documents were later changed. The last will that is valid is that of 1368 AHS (1998) which was published after Imam Khomeini's demise.

² Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali, responsible for Imam Khomeini's financial affairs in Najaf.

³ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

⁴ The lowest denomination of the currency used in Iraq.

⁵ Mr. Sayyid Shahabuddin MarAshi Najafi (one of the Religious Reference Authorities).

of the late Mustafa, may God have mercy on him, may be taken by them and the rest handed over to a library.

3. My house in Qum near Bagh-e Qal'eh and a little property that I have in Kamareh⁶ which I do not know what and how much it is, but Mr. Pasandideh knows, should be divided among the heirs as ordained by God. However, the heirs are obliged not to inconvenience their mother⁷ during her lifetime in case she wants to reside there. In other words, the residence and the benefits thereof, given to her by me, are hers while she lives and nobody has any right to trouble her.

4. I have given the household effects, apart from the books already mentioned, to my children's mother; nobody has the right to bother her.

5. Prayers and fasting for two or three years should be made good on my behalf as a precautionary measure. If I have a property in Kamareh or any personal benefit in it, they should give it, or Ahmad donate it for God's satisfaction, in which case he is empowered to do so.

6. My handwritten books should be published if possible. In case anyone wants to publish them, they should be given to him in such a way as not to be damaged; especially the books on morals.

7. It is the duty of all my children in general and Ahmad in particular, to obey their mother and to treat her with respect. They should earn her satisfaction as their good in this world and the hereafter lies in it. In case she wishes to live independently, they should make the necessary provision for her if possible.

8. The last part of my will is that my children should live in peace and harmony, and behave with kindness and loyalty. They must show the utmost affection and kindness to the late Mustafa's, may God have mercy on him, wife and children, and Ahmad should not be niggardly towards them as far as possible and feasible.

May God the Almighty give success and assistance to all. It is hoped that the Exalted Lord will protect everybody from the wickedness, especially the moral pollution of the world and its allurements. I also hope that their sinful father who, heavily burdened with troubles, has set off from the world to meet the Supreme Being, *The acceptor of penance and the forgiver of sins*, will not be forgotten in their benevolent prayers and supplications for forgiveness. *"Verily, He is the best Helper."* *"All praise be to God the First and the Last, the Outward and the Inward..."* May peace be upon you.

⁶ The previous name of Khomein and the surrounding regions.

⁷ Khanum Khadijah Thaqafi.

Will¹

Date: January 6, 1978 [Dey 16, 1356 AHS / Muharram 26, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Appointment of the executors of will concerning religious law funds

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I, on Muharram 26, 1398 AH, appointed as the executors of my will Hujjaj al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Murtada Hairi,² Aqa Haj Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Sultani³ and Aqa Haj Shaykh Husayn-Ali Muntaziri, may their blessings last long, with respect to the money which is with my legal representatives in Qum or other cities and towns of Iran, and has been received in my name about which the honorable Aqa Pasandideh is often aware. All this money should be used in religious law cases according to the discretion of the esteemed gentlemen. None of their (heirs) has any right to it and should not bother the venerable executor. If any one of the executors encounters any hindrance such that he cannot attend to the matter till the end, the others should assign somebody else who is acceptable. If any of them is absent the others should implement the provisions of the will. I have already made arrangements for the money that is in Najaf. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the health and happiness of the gentlemen and hope that they will not forget me in their benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ This will and the other ones that have been recorded in the chronological order of the documents were later changed. The last will that is valid is that of 1368 AHS (1998) which was published after Imam Khomeini's demise.

² Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini's father-in-law.

³ Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's father-in-law.

Speech

Date: Circa January 1978¹ [End of Dey 1356 AHS / Safar 1398 AH]

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: Crimes of the Pahlavi regime

Occasion: Tragedy of the massacre of people of Qum on Dey 19, 1356 AHS [January 9, 1978]

Addressees: Clergy, theology students and a group of people

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Condolence on Qum tragedy

I am at a loss as to whom I should offer my condolences on this tragedy, this great tragedy.² Should I offer them to the Most Noble Messenger, peace be upon him and his family, to the *Masumin*, peace be upon them, to Hadrat Hujjat (the Twelfth Imam) peace be upon him, or to the Islamic *ummah*, to the Muslims, to the oppressed in all countries of the world, or should I offer them to the oppressed nation of Iran or the respected people of Qum. Should I condole with the bereaved, with the fathers and mothers who have borne so much suffering, or with the theological schools and the *ulama*? To whom should I offer my condolences and whom should I thank for these events that have come about for Islam. The awakened nation of Iran is plundered and dishonored, it suffers many tragedies and yet it stands firm in the face of these and it sacrifices lives. They have opened up fire on the people with machine-guns without right or reason, and so far, according to the information that we have received, they have killed seventy people.

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, vol. 1, p. 267, the present speech is said to have been delivered on January 9 [Dey 19], but in view of Imam's remarks this is a definite mistake, the said speech having been made at least several days following the event which occurred on January 9.

² It refers to the killings of January 9 [Dey 19] which took place following the printing of the defamatory article entitled: "The Red and Black Reaction in Iran" which appeared in the *Ittila'at* newspaper of January 7, 1978 [Dey 17, 1356 AHS]. The said article which openly insulted both Imam Khomeini and the other *maraji*, carried the fictitious author's name "Ahmad Rashidi Mutlaq"; and after its publication, the people were so enraged that they immediately collected all of the newspapers in question, set them ablaze, and then began to shout out anti-Shah slogans in the streets. Two days later, on January 9, the theological teaching centers closed down and the general public, including those from the bazaar, headed for the homes of the *maraji* to demonstrate their support for the clergy. On their way however, they were suddenly attacked by armed troops who immediately opened fire on them.

However, we have been given varying reports and some news agencies report that a hundred people have been killed; the most oft-repeated figure is one hundred or two hundred and fifty dead, but some telegrams that have arrived here from European countries or America speak of three hundred dead, so it is still not clear how many have actually been killed. The number of injured is also not yet known. The correct figure will probably come to light later, if that is possible, if the regime has not thrown the bodies of the people into the Hawd-e Sultan Lake, as they did on Khordad 15 [June 5, 1964].¹ I wonder if the true figure will ever be discovered. We have received confirmed reports that some people went to the hospitals to donate their blood, but they were arrested and hence some of those in need of blood died. The regime's agents didn't give the bodies of those killed to their relatives, and if the latter persisted, they made them pay five hundred tumans before they handed the bodies over to them.² Whom should we thank for this and with whom should we condole?

We should be thankful to the Iranian nation. It is an awakened nation; it is a vigilant, renitent nation in the face of oppression. The Iranian people witness so much injustice, they sacrifice so many lives yet still they resist, still they persevere, and this perseverance will bear fruit. There is no doubt that when a nation awakes, when even its women rise up against the government and against these oppressors, it will be victorious, God willing.

Weapons in the hands of the wicked

I have heard that at the time of Rida Khan, the father of this Khan, the late Mudarris told him that he believed Shaykh ar-Rais³ had once said that he feared a bull with horns for it had a weapon but no intellect or wisdom [*Aql*]. Even if this does not prove to be a saying of Shaykh ar-Ra'is, it is still a wise adage, for what heinous acts are perpetrated when weapons fall into the hands of the impious and the unworthy. From the very beginning, man has suffered because weapons have been in the hands of impious, unsuitable people. From the very time that man became civilized, as he believed, weapons have been in the hands of the impious and all the problems which

¹ The Hawd-e Sultan (Qum Lake) is situated on the lowest stretches of the plain which lies between the cities of Tehran, Qum and Saveh; and it is a well-known fact that the corpses of the victims of Khordad 15 were deposited into this lake by government agents.

² Those who came to claim the corpses of either the people killed during the demonstration or those who had been executed following a predetermined trial, were asked by the Shah's agents to make a payment which would cover what they termed 'bullet costs'.

³ Avicenna.

mankind has had to suffer stem from this. So long as these unworthy weapon-bearers remain armed, mankind will not find its ultimate destiny. One of the missions of the prophets was to disarm the unworthy, injudicious weapon-bearers, but they could not, for these people held power and authority. Worthy people too in every age tried to wrest the arms from the hands of the unworthy, but they were also unsuccessful. So it has been the unworthy, injudicious and ungodly people who have always been armed and this is the cause of all the problems that you witness (in the world). From the very beginning, when man first came to this earth and the door of struggle between the just and the unjust was opened, and throughout all ages, arms have been in the hands of the unjust—very rarely has it been otherwise. We don't need to delve far back into history to see what crimes have been committed because of this; we only need to look at the wars which have occurred over the past hundred years. The First World War,¹ the Second World War,² the Vietnamese War³ of recent history and the killings that accompanied them, these all came about because the arms were in the hands of the unworthy, they were the ones who had the weapons.

The crimes of Rida Khan

I myself can remember and have witnessed the bloodshed that has occurred over the past fifty years in Iran because of the unlawful rule of these criminals. Such sorrow and bitterness it has caused us. Perhaps some of you

¹ World War One, which broke out in 1914 and came to an end in 1918, was initially sparked off by an Austrian attack against Serbia, other countries, including the Soviet Union, Germany, France, Belgium, Britain, Japan, America, Finland, Bulgaria, Italy and Hungary also later becoming involved in the battle. This war left almost 13,500,000 people dead and numerous cities razed to the ground.

² World War Two broke out in 1939 with a German attack on Poland; and in support of the latter, the French and British governments subsequently declared war on Germany. Italy, Somalia, India, Libya, Yugoslavia, Greece, the Soviet Union, Iran, America, Japan, Algeria, Morocco, Romania, and several other countries were all involved in this war. On August 6, 1945 [Mordad 15, 1324 AHS], America dropped the first atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, and this, together with a second attack on Nagasaki three days later, led directly to Japan's surrender and to the end of the Second World War—a war which claimed the lives of 39,000,000 people.

³ Vietnam was occupied by the French in 1880, but in 1940, following the defeat of France in Europe, the reins of the government in this country were seized by the Japanese. In 1945, the year of Japan's surrender to the Allies, France yet again set its sights on Vietnam but this time it experienced a defeat at the hands of the latter. In 1954, as a result of the agreements concluded at the Geneva Conference, the temporary partition of Vietnam into two areas of North Vietnam and South Vietnam came about. An American-backed government was installed in South Vietnam which, in its attempts to consolidate the regime's position, came down hard on all dissidents who were thus sent to labor camps. Between the years 1956 and 1960, as much as one billion dollars was given by America to the South Vietnamese government by way of military and economic aid, in addition to military equipment which was also dispatched by the US to support the regime there. In 1960 a guerrilla campaign was launched against the Vietnamese regime by South Vietnamese guerrilla forces known as the 'Vietcong'. Thousands of Vietcong members were either arrested or killed by both government and American forces throughout the following four years, until in 1964, America officially waged war with both North Vietnam and the Vietcong of South Vietnam. During the period which stretched from 1962 until 1968, more than 400,000 Vietcong members and North Vietnamese combatants were killed in war and conflict. From February 1965 until January 1968 alone, 2,582,000 bombs were dropped on the defenseless people of this country during 107,700 air raids which were carried out by US aircraft on North Vietnam; and in 1969, hundreds of the inhabitants of Mylai, a small village situated in South Vietnam, were killed in a general massacre which was carried out by American troops there. On August 10, 1969, approximately 500,000 young people from North Vietnam were reported to have been killed in the war. From 1971 until 1973 the Vietcong managed to topple down the South Vietnamese regime with several severe blows; and eventually in 1975, a defeated America was forced to withdraw from Vietnam. This withdrawal was concurrent with an all-out attack on South Vietnam which was staged by both the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese forces, and which resulted in the collapse of the South Vietnamese regime, the liberation of South Vietnam, and the latter's unification with North Vietnam. According to Western sources, the killing of each Vietcong member cost America as much as 350,000 dollars, let alone the moral, social and psychological damages inflicted upon the American nation—damages which were in fact far greater than any economic losses it sustained.

too share this sorrow or perhaps you are too young to know of everything that has happened, but I am old, I have witnessed the people's misfortunes and the crimes and killings perpetrated by these unjust weapon-bearers from the time that the first coup d'état was carried out.¹ I was in Arak then,² and the English criminals, the unjust British who possessed arms, armed an unworthy, ignoble Rida Khan and imposed him on the people. After World War Two began, and the British had kicked him out of Iran for disobeying them, they admitted in a broadcast over Radio Delhi that they had engineered

¹ Rida Khan Mirpanj, who held military command over a Cossack unit in Qazvin, occupied Tehran in 1920 [1299 AHS] in accordance with a plan devised by the British government, and by carrying out a coup d'état he forced Ahmad Shah to appoint Sayyid Diyauddin Tabatabai as the Prime Minister. Rida Khan gradually consolidated his position and took steps to establish a unified national army. In 1923, Ahmad Shah appointed Rida Khan to act as Ministerial Chairman after which he then left Iran to visit Europe. Eventually, in 1925 [1304 AHS], parliamentary representatives were pressurized by Rida Khan into presenting a single article to the Majlis by virtue of which Ahmad Shah was ousted from the throne and Rida Khan became elected as monarch. This article was ratified by the Majlis in spite of opposition voiced by the clergy and certain crusaders such as Mudarris.

² In 1920 (1299 AHS—the year of Rida Khan's coup d'état), having received an education in Khomein, Imam Khomeini went to the theological center of Arak where he continued his studies.

the rise to power of this blackguard.¹ At the time, the people suspected this to be the case, but they didn't know all the facts because the evil propaganda of the time did not allow it. I have witnessed the indescribable crimes that he committed during his stay in power.

The conspiracy of “removal of the Islamic veil” [*kashf-e hijab*]

I cannot describe for you the sorrows of those days. I'm sure his heinous deeds have been recorded in the annals of history and God willing, after the overthrow of this evil monarchy, the historical facts will be disclosed and the records will be made available for you or for future generations to read. Then you may be able to understand a little better, that is if these accounts can describe what bloodshed he caused, how many of the *ulama* he incarcerated, how much pressure he brought to bear on this poor nation in order to impose uniform dress, how he hit the oppressed, how he humiliated the *ulama* and how many turbans he removed from the heads of the religious scholars. It is said that when this ungodly man went to Turkey and saw what misdeeds Ataturk had done there, he sent a telegram to his agents in Iran telling them to make the people wear uniform dress. At the time, he used the excuse that the farmers who worked out in the sun should wear a peaked cap so that they wouldn't be troubled by the sun—however, it was obvious that this was not the real reason for imposing this law. When he returned from his trip, then the pressures began in earnest.²

A series of intense pressures and outrageous atrocities followed the issuance of this Uniform Dress Law. The *ulama* were tormented greatly because of this law, many of them were sent into exile and some of them were killed because of their objections to it.³ The second excuse used to bring

¹ On November 5 1941 [Aban 14, 1320 AHS], two months after Rida Khan had fled Iran, British Radio, in one of its political commentaries, openly spoke of Britain's tendentious friendship with Iran and of having brought Rida Khan to power. In this regard it stated: "British political policy in Iran is one based upon friendship: both a friendship with an underlying purpose and a friendship without an underlying purpose. As for the friendship which has no underlying purpose, this is enjoyed by the learned men only, for other than this the friendship held between the British government and Iran or any other country for that matter is not and cannot be void of personal motives... Once we saw how suspicious the Iranian nation was towards the treaty concluded in 1919, believing it to be based upon ulterior motives, we annulled the treaty and instead gave the Iranian government help and encouragement to establish order in its own country. The underlying reason why we gave help and encouragement to Rida Khan was that...our opponents used to accuse us of controlling Rida Shah's actions and claim that whatever he did was in compliance with our instructions. But this was not in fact the case! When we realized however that Germany's evil designs and the Shah's negligence were endangering our interests, then we were forced to reluctantly take this course of action (i.e. the sending of Rida Khan into exile)". Refer also to *Tarikh-e Siyasi-ye MuAsir-e Iran*, vol.1, pp.127-128.

² When Rida Khan returned to Iran having visited Turkey and talking with Ataturk, he began to speak of modernization. Ataturk had taught him that the greatest barrier preventing the Westernization of a nation was the *ulama* and the clergy, and that only by foreshortening the arms of the latter was he himself able to persuade the men to wear a neck- or bow-tie and a hat and to prohibit the women from wearing the Islamic covering! Hence, in following Ataturk's example, and after consulting with Britain, Rida Khan also embarked upon a new program of "reforms". In a personally-issued writ, Rida Khan banned the donning of religious dress for all clergymen save a few who had been made an exception. Other steps taken by him in bringing about uniformity of social dress included the compulsory wearing of the Pahlavi hat (semi-brimmed), and later the Chapeau hat (full-brimmed), frock-coat and jacket. Regulations concerning the compulsory wearing of a hat, and the color and type of shoes and clothing which were to be worn, were conveyed via the governors of the various provinces in the form of official notices which were handed down to the latter from the Ministry of the Interior! But even this did not satisfy Rida Khan, who then began to consider further measures which could be taken to crush Islam and the Muslims in Iran. However, having been discharged from this mission, he did not actually get the chance to implement these measures but instead left his son to carry out the rest of his proposed plans.

³ In 1935 [1314 AHS], Rida Khan forced the people of Iran to abandon the national and traditional form of dress for a foreign one. The writ which was issued in this regard was called the "Uniformity of Appearance Writ" and it applied to everyone including even the clergy. The people, who were truly angered by these measures, turned to the clergy for guidance and the latter thus commanded them to rise up in opposition. In the struggle which ensued,

pressure on the people came when he called for the unveiling of women, which again he did in imitation of the ungodly Ataturk, the unjust, armed Ataturk. What a shameful act this was. God only knows how this nation of Iran suffered when he forced the women to remove their veils.¹ The veil of

Ayatullah Husayn Qummi was sent into exile in Iraq (the home of the holy shrines of some of the noblest figures of Islam); and Yunus Ardebili, Muhaqqiq Khorasani and the latter's son were tried in court and sentenced to imprisonment, Ayatullah Khorasani's son actually dying shortly after having been forcibly divested of his religious garb. Furthermore, about one hundred of the country's most distinguished clergymen and preachers were also arrested and imprisoned during the course of this protest.

¹ On December 2, 1935 [Azar 11, 1314 AHS], Mahmud Jam, who had been appointed by Rida Khan to form a Cabinet, was asked by the latter: "How can we get rid of this chador (a full-length veil worn by women)? Ever since I went to Turkey and saw how the women there have discarded the black veil and the Islamic form of covering, I have come to despise any woman who wears the chador. Indeed, the chador is the enemy of progress and development. It has assumed the exact properties of a boil, in that it must be lanced with great care." On January 7, 1936 [Dey 17, 1314 AHS], after having consulted with Jam, Rida Khan escorted his wife (Taj al-Muluk) and daughters (Shams and Ashraf) to a Teachers' Training College ceremony, the latter having discarded their Islamic covering. Consequently, the wives of both ministers and certain figures of high national standing also attended this official function alongside their husbands, while lacking any form of Islamic covering. Once the occasion had drawn to a close, Rida Khan ordered Jam (the Prime Minister) to arrange for other such gatherings so that the women of Iran could get used to the new state of things in the country and could become accustomed to fraternization between the sexes! Hence, from that time onwards, many such social functions were organized to this end, and government officials received strict orders to treat those women who appeared in public wearing Islamic dress with the utmost harshness.

humanity was rent asunder. God knows which women he dishonored in this way, which people he humiliated. He forced the *ulama* at bayonet-point to attend celebratory parties with their wives, which they did with heavy hearts and which ended with the people crying. Other people as well, different groups in turn, were invited and obliged to attend parties with their wives. This was the freedom for women which Rida Shah enforced. He used bayonets and the police to compel the respected people, the merchants and the *ulama*, to attend these parties on the excuse that he himself had organized them. At some of these celebrations—as the regime called them—the people cried so much that those agents with a sense of shame regretted having forced them to attend. This was just one way he used to put pressure on the people, and God only knows what repercussions this measure had.

Prevention of *rawdah* assemblies

Another way was he stopped the clergymen from going to the pulpits and delivering sermons of any kind.¹ He also prevented them from holding *rawdahs*—indeed at one time in Iran no *rawdahs* assemblies were held at all during *Ashura*. Some fearless people did however dare to hold assemblies, but these had to be held late at night or in the early hours of the morning and they had to end before the call to morning prayer was sounded. In this way, he kept everybody in Iran from this divine bounty, from commemorating the sufferings of Imam Husayn and reciting narrations (of the martyrdom of the *mams*).

¹ The law which was established to bring about uniformity of social dress applied to everyone except those muftis who were Sunni and a limited number of clergymen who, prior to this law, had obtained government permission to don the religious dress. Other than these exceptions, no one had the right to wear religious garb unless they possessed a certain certificate which was issued by the Ministry of Education. Subsequent to the announcement of this law, disciplinary officers and gendarmes would interrogate any clergyman on sight, and should the latter not possess the aforementioned certificate, then they would remove his turban from his head in full view of the public and summon him to the police station. Moreover, the officers at police headquarters would sometimes disregard the certificate in question and would take those wearing turbans into custody anyway and force them to shave off their beards. These measures became so strict that the clergy could rarely be seen in the streets, only venturing out from their homes after nightfall and only using those alleyways which were less crowded and busy; and following the quelling of the popular and clerical uprising in the Gauhar Shad Mosque in Mashhad, even more pressure was brought to bear by Rida Khan on those who belonged to society's clerical class.

This came about because the weapons were in the hands of the injudicious. Arms should be borne by those who are worthy of bearing them. When weapons are in the hands of the unjust, then iniquities ensue. The crimes that have occurred! The mass murder that took place in the Gauhar Shad Mosque and the subsequent arrest of the *ulama* of Khorasan and their incarceration in Tehran, the trial, imprisonment and murder of some of the great *ulama*; these events came about because the weapons were in the hands of the injudicious. The *ulama* of Isfahan and the *ulama* of Azerbaijan were arrested and banished merely for uttering a word or standing up to Rida Shah. Apparently the *ulama* of Azerbaijan were forced to stay in Sunqur¹ and the late Aqa Mirza Sadiq, may God grant him mercy, never returned to Tabriz.² This was another way through which that evil man repressed the people. The atrocities that he committed cannot be spoken of in one or two meetings.

Massacres by Shah's orders

And now, during your own lifetime, you too are afflicted with misfortunes inflicted upon you by another injudicious horned beast.³ For do not be mistaken in thinking that even one bullet is fired without the Shah's permission. Do not suppose that the head of Qum's police or the head of Qum's SAVAK, or any of Qum's policemen have the nerve to open fire on the people and kill them without his permission. No wise person should suppose that this could be so. All these incidents are reported to him and clearly this evil man has to give the orders to shoot. It is said that on Khordad 15, he circled above the demonstrators in a helicopter and gave the command

¹ Sunqur is situated 97 kilometers north-east of Bakhtaran and lies 58 kilometers away from the historical monuments of Bistun.

² In 1934 [1313 AHS], Rida Shah's Minister of Education, Ali Asghar Hikmat, was at a ceremony in Shiraz when, to the surprise of most of those present, a group of girls began to dance before the audience. As a consequence, those guests who had not expected to witness such a spectacle left the ceremony and since the public had also become aware of what had taken place, they arranged for a protest demonstration to be held. Sayyid Hisamuddin Fali, an influential cleric and *Alim* of Shiraz, voiced strong objection to the Iranian government concerning the behavior witnessed at the ceremony, and he was then arrested and sent to prison. The news of events in Shiraz and the arrest of Sayyid Hisamuddin reached the *ulama* in the theological centers of Qum, Mashhad and Tabriz. In Tabriz two distinguished *ulama*, their eminences Sayyid Abul-Hasan Angaji and Aqa Mirza Sadiq Aqa, remonstrated with the government and as a result were also arrested and banished, firstly to Kurdistan (Sanandaj) and several days later to Qum. After a while Ayatullah Angaji eventually returned to Tabriz, but Ayatullah Aqa Mirza Sadiq Aqa actually passed away while still in exile in Qum.

³ The Shah.

to open fire, as if he were giving the command to open fire on foreign armies!¹ On armies that were attacking Iran!² This useless lot is so humble and meek before the kings and presidents of other countries, especially the American President, they flatter them and align themselves with them, but in their dealings with their own people, because of the authority they exercise over them, they harass them and cause them suffering. When they go abroad they spend their time groveling and eulogizing, but when they return to their own country, they begin their wickedness. Previously, when it was said that the Shah had granted some freedom in Iran, I told the gentlemen here that if this man reaches an agreement with this evil Carter³ and strengthens his servile position, he will hit the people harder than ever before. But I didn't think he would do it as soon as this. Almost immediately after he had finished his talks with Carter and had confirmed his servitude, he created a pretext for showing some muscle.

¹ Imam sarcastically calls those people of Iran who had risen up to demand justice "an army of foreigners" in scoffing at the government's claims.

² It is said that on Khordad 15 and 16, 1342 AHS [June 5 and 6, 1963], the Shah had given his military commanders the permission to "shoot as they saw fit", and he had stressed that soldiers were not to waste their bullets, nor to fire into the air, but instead, they were ordered to target the upper-part of the body when firing. Furthermore, it is also said that on Khordad 15 the Shah actually flew above the city of Tehran in a helicopter from where he personally took it upon himself to command the operations in progress. In his memoirs (p.51), General Fardust writes: "On the morning of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS...(Pakravan) spoke with Muhammad Rida (Shah) over the telephone, and the latter gave orders for Oveissi to assume responsibility for the operation to exterminate and suppress the people who had risen up in revolt and for him to maintain direct and frequent contact with the Shah in this regard... At twelve noon on that same day, Oveissi telephoned me and said: 'I have been put in a helpless situation! I don't even have one military company fully under my command; and should a group of demonstrators attack me or my company, then they will all be destroyed outright!...' I must add that up until midday of Khordad 15, both Muhammad Rida, the Americans and the British, had perceived the demonstrations as a grandiose, well-thought-out plan to topple the Shah and thus they were extremely nervous about the whole affair. It is also interesting to note that at that time there was an American adviser who worked in Headquarters No. 3, as a member of SAVAK, and who was the most intelligent and pre-eminent person within America's advisory body there."

³ James Earl ("Jimmy") Carter was the thirty-ninth President of the United States. He won his way into the White House (1977) by advocating "the defense of human rights"! His diplomatic record tells of many ventures undertaken by him including his role in the establishment of political relations with China; his efforts towards the drawing up of the scandalous Camp David Accord between Egypt and Israel; his role in concluding the Nuclear Arms Reduction Pact with the Soviet Union; his hard-line stance in opposition to the Islamic Revolution; and his involvement in the failed military attack on Tabas.

He created a pretext for attacking the people in Qum. Pay no attention to what is written in the regime's press, those who were there say that the people were marching peacefully to give their requests to the *ulama* when one of the regime's own men threw a stone smashing something, the regime's agents then attacked and began shooting at the people. This is what happened on Khordad 15 too. Of course the people had themselves risen up to call for the injustices to be redressed, but the demonstrations were peaceful¹ until a group of the regime's own agents in Tehran set a library on fire and looted a shop. This created the pretext for the regime to open fire on the people with machine-guns.

They created the pretext then just as they did for this most recent outrage,² otherwise the people did not want to do battle with the regime. Someone who is unarmed cannot fight an armed bull. The people had no intention of doing battle with the regime. But he had to make us see that he is no longer the man he was before he met Carter, that now that he has met with Carter and smoothed out any differences, now that he has consolidated his servile position,³ the people should no longer suppose that he has lost his

¹ In order to check the escalation of the Iranian nation's struggle, an escalation which in fact began in 1962 [1341 AHS], the Shah's regime intended to create an atmosphere of terror and to kill the people en masse; and hence, it was in accordance with this plan that the dreadful crime which took place on Khordad 15 (June 5) was actually perpetrated by the regime. In a speech delivered on June 8, 1963 [Khordad 18, 1342 AHS] in Hamedan, the Shah invents lies and makes false accusations in a bid to gain the people's support, whereby he explains: "When I spelt out the six tenets of our very own national revolution to the peasants and the people of Iran, I pointed out that there were two forces which would not remain silent: the Black Reaction and the Red Reaction. That which we witnessed in Tehran on Wednesday, Khordad 15, was a manifestation of one of these two forces—the Black Reaction. On that day, the Black Reaction...set fire to the library in city Park as well as a sports arena, various vehicles of transport and bus-ticket kiosks. Members of this Black Reaction attacked buses carrying school girls and it assaulted defenseless women in the streets of Tehran... It argues that you peasants who have been given freedom must once more become bondsmen. The reason why the Black Reaction attacked the power station was to halt production in Iran!"

² It refers to the tragedy which occurred on Dey 19 [January 9] which has been mentioned earlier.

³ In 1976 [1355 AHS] the Shah spent enormous sums of money to support the Republican Party candidate in the run-up to the American elections. However, the Democratic Party actually won the election and the newly-elected President, Jimmy Carter, entered the White House from where he announced: "We do not supply arms to just anybody irrespective of who they may be, nor do we offer our support to just anybody". The Shah, who could not maintain his rule even for one day without American support, repeatedly sent congratulatory messages to Carter and voiced his support for Carter's ideas and policies for fear of what might happen otherwise. But in spite of this, Carter paid no attention to the Shah until the time when, on the advice of Kissinger, America's Foreign Minister at that time, Farah (the Shah's wife) made a trip to America. Following a sixteen-day stay in Washington, during which Farah held talks with Carter, differences were settled, and the latter even extended an invitation to the Shah to visit the US. Subsequently, in the hope of gaining Carter's support, the Shah signed various agreements worth billions of dollars with America; and with the same end in mind, he also guaranteed a price freeze on oil in OPEC and granted large concessions to American companies. Eventually these "gestures" made by the Shah paid off whereby Carter consented to visit Iran and to declare his support for the Iranian monarch!

support, no, he still has it, and thus he will carry on killing! These vociferations and these threats are made in order to show the people that he has not lost his might. But he has made a mistake; he doesn't realize what ignominy he has brought upon himself with these killings. The people have now risen up against him, against the man who once said that the whole nation was in agreement with him,¹ that everyone voted in support of his bloody White Revolution. The uprising began in Qum then spread to Tehran, to Khorasan, Azerbaijan, Kerman, Ahwaz, Abadan until now the whole of Iran is in revolt. The whole of the nation has risen up against this man who claims that everyone is in agreement with him, that the nation wants him, that the people support him. But if one day the bayonets of America were to be removed, then the courtiers themselves would skin this man alive. Carter should put this to test one day, were he to leave this weak nation alone, leave

¹ With regard to the "patriotism" shown by the Iranian people during the events of September, 1941, the Shah had said: "The Iranian people's patriotism was plain to see when I attended the Majlis to take the oath of sovereignty. On that day, the people carried their young sovereign on their shoulders both to and from the Majlis. This was the greatest reassurance that I have ever been given". Furthermore, with relation to events which occurred in 1953 [1332 AHS] concerning his return to Iran, the Shah said: "The people once again asked for their Shah, the affection and support they showed to me being so great that I again felt that I shouldered an added responsibility—a responsibility other than that stipulated in the Constitution and other than that of a constitutional monarch. I was made to feel that I am a monarch which the people had again asked for to determine the country's fate and to safeguard its interests". Concerning the 'White Revolution' he said: "In order to unfold the secret which lies behind the revolution and the harmonic relationship which exists between the Shah and the people, one needs to examine the ancient history of Iran, its royal history, and the sense of attachment felt by the Iranian people towards the monarchy in this country"; and in another speech he claimed: "No matter which part of this country I visit, I receive a warm welcome from the people and I encounter the enthusiastic support of the nation. The people feel attached to me and this gives me a sense of pride". This was said however, at a time when the Shah was afraid to go among the people without protection from the most highly-trained security guards! During the last days of his reign, when the country of Iran resounded with the slogan "Death to the Shah", a correspondent for *Der Spiegel* asks Farah (the Shah's wife): "Did you expect to see such hatred from the people?", to which she replies: "Not at all; I am absolutely astonished". And when the Shah is asked by a correspondent what he felt about the situation, he says: "I feel a great sense of sorrow". See *Bistopanj Sal Hakimiyyat-e Amrika dar Iran*, pp. 103-106; and *Nutqha va Payamha-ye Shah*, p. 3233.

these people alone, then he would soon see what would happen. These organizations that we hear about are nothing more than a ploy to deceive the people. They are not bothered about security, so why do they send a representative of the Security Council here? It is just a show to beguile the people.¹

Communism is an opiate

They want to deceive the people, just as the Communists do...communism is the opiate of the people, it cannot solve their problems. Is it possible that someone who himself is not a human being would want to serve mankind? Would an unjust armed person ever work for the sake of the oppressed? I know that this is not possible. During World War Two, when the heads of the Allied governments were to meet in Tehran,² the American and British leaders arrived in a conventional manner and went to their embassies, but it was said, and God knows that this is true, that Stalin,³ who at the time was the Russian leader—the same Stalin whose pictures we still see here and there although in recent years his reputation has been sullied somewhat—who was supposed to be equal with everyone else and whom everyone called brother, brought his own milch cow along on the plane so he would not have to drink the milk from Iranian cows! They were both injudicious, armed creatures, but God knows he was worse than his cow! I myself witnessed the state of his troops in Iran. While he entered Iran with his cow, his troops, who controlled the Khorasan region—for at that time Iran was divided into a few regions of control and that particular region was in the hands of the Russians—were begging along the roadside. I myself saw

¹ On January 9, 1978 [Dey 19, 1356 AHS], the day of the tragedy in Qum, Kurt Waldheim, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, visited Iran, supposedly to examine the situation there with regard to human rights. After attending several receptions and holding talks with the Shah, Farah and Ashraf (the Shah's wife and sister, respectively) however, Waldheim concluded his 'investigation' and left Iran! See the press from January 9-20, 1978 [Dey 19-30, 1356 AHS].

² While World War Two was still being fought, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, the leaders of America, Britain and the Soviet Union, gathered in Tehran to hold a conference. This conference lasted from September 2 until September 7, 1943, and once it had ended two declarations were issued. The first declaration announced the unanimous agreement reached by the three governments concerning the future strategy to be adopted in the war; and the other declaration announced the promise of economic aid to Iran both during and after the war. At the time, northern Iran was under Soviet occupation, southern Iran was under British control, and Iran's communication routes were controlled by American forces.

³ Joseph Vissarionovich (1879-1953), known as Stalin (the Iron Man), became the leader of the Soviet Union following Lenin.

this, we were traveling by bus to Mashhad to make a pilgrimage and on the road to Mashhad just outside Shahrud, Russian soldiers were begging in front of cars; it made them so happy if someone gave them just one cigarette that they went away whistling! Communism is a means of beguiling the people, nothing else. Is it possible for someone who does not believe in the unseen to think about the people and about remedying their affairs? No, it is a deceit. On certain occasions, these armed people deliver blows, and on others, they deliver both the blows and the propaganda. The propaganda machinery is in their hands. Now you see that in addition to beating up the people and killing them, in addition to all these crimes, they propagate that all the blame for these acts lies on the shoulders of the people, that only six people died in this incident and a few of them, including a thirteen-year-old child, were trampled to death by the people, and that the regime itself had committed no crime! On the one hand they create such propaganda and on the other they commit mass murder. All these heinous acts stem from the unjust being armed; it is the just who should be armed.

Justice, the primary qualification of Islamic rulers

The God of Islam is just, the Prophet of Islam was just and free from sin, the Imams of Islam were just and free from sin. The judges of Islam should be just, its *fuqaha* should be just, the person who witnesses a divorce should be just, Islam's prayer leaders should be just, its Friday prayer leaders should be just, its leaders should be just, its provincial governors, those who were sent to this place and that in the early days of Islam and who also acted as the prayer leaders, had to be just. They are only valid when they are just. If there is no justice and if those who exercise authority are not righteous, then such malicious acts as those we are now witnessing are perpetrated. The arms are in the hands of the unworthy, the unjust.

Claim of land reforms and women's freedom

On the one hand they massacre the people, and on the other they shout about 'social justice'.¹ On the one hand they force the women to remove their

¹ The Shah constantly played with the words 'justice' and 'social justice' as can be seen in the following example: "Despite the urgency of military matters and the pressing nature of issues relating to the war, I began to discuss the need to establish social justice in my country... How can one accept a situation where some become ill from overeating while others fall into such a sorry state due to a lack of food... I have not relaxed my efforts for even one moment in achieving my aim, that being, the establishment of social justice in my country. Each and every one of the proposals that I have made concerning the establishment of social justice, has, thanks be to God, been put into operation!" The kind of justice which had been put into operation however, was one whereby desperate poverty had forced a certain section of the population to send their children to work in carpet-weaving factories where they earned less than 15 rials per day for their efforts; or again one where an entire family had to survive from one year to the next on the produce obtained from a single walnut tree or from a goat. Indeed, justice had been put into operation to such an extent that those in both the north and the south and in the east and west of Iran were suffering from poverty and destitution, from pain and sickness. There was neither water nor any signs of development; neither electricity nor health care. Meanwhile however, the Shah and his loyal followers owned 50% of the shares in private banks! On one occasion alone (according to a petition made by the government of the Islamic Republic), Muhammad Rida and his wife stole 35 billion dollars of the people's money! Iran's foreign trade (according to statements made by the provisional government's Trade Minister) more or less lay in the hands of only 60 people; major company shares were held by a mere 50 families; and tens or perhaps hundreds of checks, each worth so many millions of dollars, were cashed daily for members of the royal family and for the Shah's courtiers and attendants, from a joint account numbered: 214895-20 (the account number of the Pahlavi Foundation) in a Swiss bank in Geneva! Refer to *Nutqha va Payamha-ye Shah*, pp. 2793-2966; *Raz-e Biliyun Dular*, p. 7; *Dawlat va Hukumat dar Iran*, pp. 251, 266 and 281.

veils and on the other they shout about the 'freedom of women'! It's ridiculous. This kind of freedom is ludicrous, it can't be called freedom. On the one hand they carry out 'land reforms', and on the other they create a market for America! This has been the result of the land reforms. At one time just one of our country's provinces met the needs of the whole of the country, and what remained was exported. But now whatever you want has to come from abroad! And the regime is proud of this and boasts: "We import our wheat from abroad; we import our barley, our oranges, and our eggs from abroad"! This should be lamented. The regime has no shame. This is what its land reforms entailed—all this destruction.

Yet the Shah and his regime claim that all the *ulama* agree with the reforms and the White Revolution. If you can find just one *Alim* anywhere in Iran who is in agreement with your bloody revolution, then you have the right to say all the *ulama* are in agreement with you. Try to find one congregational prayer leader from among the prayer leaders of Tehran who is in agreement with you and will say that he concurs with you, aside from those whose turbans you yourselves have placed on their heads, whom you yourselves have created, and who dance to whatever tune you play, for they are not true religious scholars, but of course one or two of them can be found everywhere in the country. Try to find one from among the provincial prayer leaders who will say he is in agreement with you. Try to find a mulla in Qum who will say he is in agreement with you. The Shah and his regime have no shame. They carry out all kinds of heinous acts, all kinds of wrongdoings and

then in order to deceive the people they say: “All the *ulama* are in agreement with us; only one who is not from this country disagrees with us”.¹

The arms are in the hands of the unjust and the ignoble. Consider all weapons, the pen itself is a kind of weapon, which must be in the hands of the just and worthy people, for when it is in the hands of the depraved, corruption and scandalous deeds will increase. At the present time, and in some societies and certain aspects, the pen is in the hands of the depraved who gloss over whatever the head of these profligates does and who palliate his crimes by means of their literary eloquence. This is a crime which is perpetrated against this nation by dint of the pen. These unworthy writers sit at home with this weapon in hand and with their eloquent style they whitewash the corruption, the crimes and the massacres and present everything to the contrary, they turn everything round. So the pen too should be in the hands of the just people.

Culture, the source of both happiness and misfortune

Culture is the source of a nation's happiness or misfortune. If the culture is not sound then the youth who are trained in this unsound culture will, in the future, create corruption. The imperialist culture produces imperialist youth for the country. A culture which is created by the designs of others—and it is the foreigners who lay their plans for us then hand them over to our society in the form of culture—is an imperialist and parasitic culture. Such a culture is a weapon more lethal than anything else; it is even worse than the arms of these ruffians, for their weapons eventually fall to pieces, as they have done now. But when the culture is corrupt, our youth, who form the foundations of our society, are lost to us; they are trained to become parasites, to become infatuated with the West.

They are trained in this way from the very first day that they enter school and this continues into higher education. If the culture is a correct culture, then our youths will be trained correctly. If the culture is a culture of truth, a divine culture, a culture which is of use to the nation, which is advantageous for the Muslims, then it does not produce such people as those who now exercise authority over us. But our culture is an imperialist culture, our culture does not lie in the hands of suitable people, the just do not administer it.

¹ The *Kayhan* newspaper of June 5, 1963 [Khordad 15, 1342 AHS] read: “Only two members of the *ulama* of Qum and Mashhad have voiced opposition, the rest of the *ulama* are in complete agreement with the government”—the two members in fact having been Imam Khomeini and Ayatullah Hasan Qummi.

Imperialistic universities

If our universities were correct, independent universities and those who taught there were just and were free to do as they saw fit and what was right to do, then our country would not have got into the state it is in today nor would it reach a potentially worse stage tomorrow, God forbid. Some people have seized control of our universities who are themselves parasites, who are themselves supporters of the imperialists and possess a servile attitude. All this is because of one person, for if a lecturer or a professor at the university wishes to speak out, he is not able to, because the security organization, acting on the orders of 'His Imperial Majesty' does not allow him to do so. If our universities were proper universities then when the students there try to speak a word of truth, the police would not suppress them so. The things they do to them! They beat the girls, they beat the boys, and they beat our youth and imprison them. This is because our universities are not independent. We don't have universities. Universities which are controlled by one person cannot be called universities. The learning environment should be a free environment.

Following an improper and not nationally-based Parliament

If this Parliament were a proper, just Parliament, and were a tool in the hands of the just, would the members have allowed such laws as have passed already through Parliament to have been ratified? Would they have allowed the Capitulation Bill granting immunity to the American military advisers, a bill which caused great humiliation for Iran, to have been ratified¹? We don't have a Parliament. The members of Parliament are appointed; they are just a group of agents, functionaries of the security organization who call themselves a 'Parliament'. All of them are agents. If they were independent and if they had been selected by the people, if the Parliament were a national Parliament, then they would never let the regime buy all these arms as it does², they would never give away our oil and buy weaponry in return—

¹ The Capitulation Bill.

² The bilateral agreement signed in 1959 [1338 AHS] between Iran and the US left Iran lying firmly in America's clutches. Following this agreement, America gained a free hand to interfere in all of Iran's affairs and an influx of foreign specialists flooded into the country. Moreover, the country's system of defense, the organization of its armed forces, and in short, all of the army's administrative and executive affairs were supervised by American military advisers. In addition, the army's supreme commanders were in a subordinate position to that of the American advisers; and the opportunity for America to make inroads into the country became so great that in 1976 and '77 [1355 and 1356 AHS] weapons purchased by Iran from America amounted to 12 billion dollars compared to a former figure of 4 billion dollars! Refer to *Bistopanj Sal Hakimiyyat-e Amrika dar Iran*, p. 63.

weaponry which we ourselves don't know how to operate. This weaponry baffles us so they have to bring in American advisers and experts to show us what to do with it. But these experts won't show us how to operate it. They are such animals; they will not be satisfied with this. They come here and are paid such exorbitant wages. We do not know how much they are paid every month, and cannot even begin to imagine, we only know that there are very many of them in the country. Their number, including their relatives, probably runs into the hundreds or thousands. It used to be said that there were sixty thousand of them in Iran getting huge salaries from this nation. The regime takes the money from the pockets of this poor, wretched nation and pours it into the pockets of these wealthy people. And even then they don't train our military properly! They want our armed forces to remain in their present state, so that they can do whatever they want with them.¹

The Shah is the source of all corruptions

If we had an independent army instead of a parasitic one, it would not allow these advisers to come into the country and give the orders; the army officers would not simply be puppets in their hands. But our army is not a true army. All the armed forces are controlled by one man, one corrupt man who has corrupted everything. As it is said, one bad apple can spoil the whole barrel. The corruption in Iran stems from him, but no one can say this because of the suppression which exists. Instead they keep saying the agents,

¹ Prior to the Islamic Revolution approximately 30,000 American military advisers were working in Iran and the US Senate had announced in a report that by the year 1980, there would be 50-60,000 American residents there. Those foreign residents who already resided in Iran lived in modern apartments and grand, luxurious villas in the north of Tehran, and the salaries and fringe benefits they received were many times greater than those received by their Iranian counterparts, amounting to more than 1,000,000 rials per month. The consumer items they required were supplied to them via stores which were exclusively for their use. In Tehran there was a large American school, a hospital, a psychiatric clinic and a general support center in addition to special clubs for American citizens only. One of Iran's radio stations and at certain times one of its television channels were given over to the broadcasting of certain programs in English for foreigners and especially for Americans. America's overwhelming presence in Iran can be explained not only by military issues and Iran's employment of American arms and equipment in her army, but also by the development of mutual ties between the CIA and SAVAK; the installation of surveillance equipment to procure Russian intelligence in various places throughout Iran; and the industrial and commercial activities undertaken by American companies and individuals there. See *Dawlat va Hukumat dar Iran*, p.231; *Mission to Iran*, pp.15-42; *Itirafat-e Shah*, p.78; *Siyohaft Ruz Pas Az Siyohaft Sal*, p.110.

the agents! Who gives these agents the order to kill the people? Who gives them the order to attack the Hujjatiyyah Madrasah and kill the religious sciences students there? Who gives them the orders to position their machine-guns at the crossroads and open fire on the people?¹ Can anybody, other than this vile man, order such things? All the corruption stems from him. Does the Parliament have the right to say a word without the permission of this vile man? Does the army have the right to say anything without his permission? Do our judges have freedom? Do we have an independent judicial system? Our judges have the weapon of judgment in their hands, but they do not have the justice. They say they cannot dispense justice, so we have to ask them then why did you become a judge? You made a mistake in becoming a judge so leave this profession. Now everywhere in our country the weapons are in the hands of the unjust and all this corruption goes back to the court and to that man. He should be removed.

I don't know why this army is asleep. Why do they allow themselves to be humiliated so? Only a few days after that abominable Carter left, the regime carried out such actions. And this is only the beginning, if the people let him, the Shah will carry on, unless he is made aware of the consequences of his actions. The people are creating a clamor which is being heard across the world, the radios everywhere are speaking about it. The regime's own radio can say whatever it likes; the people will no longer be deceived by their words. The nation has awakened. Sir, the people have awakened, if they had not then the bazaars would not have closed down as they have done. It has been said and officially confirmed by the regime, that Tehran bazaar closed down on Thursday in a show of protest. The closure of Tehran's bazaar is not a common practice, it is a very uncommon event, no one can just close down the bazaar.² It has been achieved because of the feelings and vigilance of the people. This gentleman who used to say "all concur with me" should look

¹ It refers to the event which occurred in Qum on Dey 19, 1357 [January 9, 1978], when agents of the regime attacked the religious students and the people killing and wounding many of them.

² On January 17, 1978 [Dey 27, 1356 AHS], merchants and tradesmen of the bazaar in Tehran issued a statement in which they declared Thursday, January 19, 1978 to be a day of a general shutdown and called on all of those in the bazaar to refrain from opening up their shops and stalls for business on this day. This statement was made in protest to and condemnation of the regime's killing of defenseless people, and in support of the popular and clerical uprising in Qum; and the proposed day for a general shutdown coincided both with the final day of a week-long period of mourning and protest by the clergy and with the day when memorial ceremonies were to be held for the martyrs of Qum. Refer to *Nihdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 7, p. 38.

around him, the bazaars in Tehran, Ahwaz, Isfahan and Shiraz are actively protesting against him, and this has become our way of life now.

The need for unity among all classes

I hope that all classes, whether the *ulama* and *mujtahids*, the religious students or the merchants of the bazaar, the traders, army personnel or civil servants, who are sorely grieved by this wicked man will unite together and that our political groups will not work alone but they will cooperate with others just as in this most recent incident when this expression of antipathy was supported not only by some political groups,¹ but the *ulama*, the merchants of the bazaar, students...all classes came together. Telegrams were even sent by foreigners, from America and Europe, expressing their antipathy towards the regime and telling us that three hundred people were killed in this recent event.

Glad tidings of the eradication of the root of corruption

I hope that all the fronts will join hands together. If the nation unites in all aspects then these unjust people will be disarmed and the horns of this bull will be broken. They should not disagree with one another or purposely seek reasons for dissent. They should not start fighting one another over insignificant and childish matters. Differences are created by those who want to keep the people busy, and it is they who benefit from disunion among the

¹ The statement made by the Iranian Laborers' Party on January 18, 1978 [Dey 28, 1356 AHS], serves as an example of the revulsion which was expressed by certain political parties against the regime's activities. This statement, which was addressed to the country's Attorney-General, accused the government's executive body of felony and stressed the party's support for the people of Iran and the faith it had both in the ShiAh *maraji* and the religious and clerical orders in Iran. Another such example was the statement issued on January 30, 1978 [Bahman 10, 1356 AHS] by *Ittihad-e Niruha-ye Jebhe-ye Melli-ye Iran*, which again underlined this party's support for the various popular fronts and endorsed the action taken by those in the bazaar. This statement also spoke of the shutdown proposed for Thursday, January 19, 1978 [Dey 29, 1356 AHS] which was to be observed by the merchants and tradesmen in the bazaar of Tehran—a shutdown which, it stated, was to be a demonstration of the disgust felt towards the killing of a defenseless group of people in Qum, and was to be a show of support for the country's progressive clergy. In addition to the aforementioned parties, other groups also issued statements which expressed support for the proposed shutdown—groups such as the *ulama* and preachers of Tehran and its suburbs; the natives of Shiraz in the bazaar of Tehran; the merchants and tradesmen who were natives of Isfahan but who resided in the country's capital; the natives of Azerbaijan in the bazaar of Tehran; the lecturers and scholars from the theological centre of Qum; and the Muslim Movement both at home and abroad. Refer to *Nihdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 7, p. 55 onwards; and *Do Sal-e Akhar*, the section concerning Dey and Bahman 1356 AHS.

people. The people should wake up to these things and, God willing, they have already done so. They should unite together, all of them. They should join hands together and, God willing, by the power and strength of God and through your unity, the root of all this corruption will soon be eradicated.

I ask for everyone's well-being from God the Most High. I express my thanks to all classes of people for standing by the *ulama* of Islam. I thank all fronts, especially the great *ulama* and the noble merchants of the bazaar. I thank them all and call upon them to pray for Islam, to strengthen and unify their fronts, and to come together for one aim which should be the severance of the hands of the oppressors and foreigners so that this country may prosper. The hands of the foreigners should be foreshortened, the resources which exist in our country should be used for the weak and for the good of the country, and all the country's affairs should be rectified and put in order. This will not happen unless this regime is disarmed, and I hope, God willing, that it will be.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Reply to Query

Date: Circa January-March 1978 [End of 1356 AHS / Beginning of 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Bank share interests

Query: [There are definite indications that show Hozhabr Yazdani¹ to be a Bahai. Perhaps less than half of the Bank Saderat shares and, as stated above, some of the other banks are his. Perhaps it is not definite whether or not he assists the circles. Some have taken interest from the above bank or are creditors in the books. In such circumstances, should they take all of their interest from the bank and give it to the poor or not considering that less than half belongs to Hozhabr Yazdani's?]

Reply: In His Most Exalted Name. It is all right for them to take and give it to the poor.

¹ Hozhabr Yazdani: One of the biggest capitalists of the country who enjoyed the support of the Imperial Court and that of the head of SAVAK.

Letter

Date: January 17, 1978 [Dey 27, 1356 AHS / Safar 7, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude and expressing hope; establishing a complex on the plots of land (Saduq Foundation)

Addressee: Muhammad Saduqi

In His Most Exalted Name

Safar 7, 1398 AH

I wish to thank your honor for your esteemed letter indicating your well-being and expressing your sympathy for me. May God keep you healthy and happy. I am anxious about the prevailing conditions, and do not know where the state of affairs of the meek in the clutches of this bunch will lead to! May God, the Exalted, set the affairs of the Muslims on an even keel. It is hoped that the opportunity will be found for the complex of your honor's liking to be established on the plots of land.¹ Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ It refers to the land in the west of Qum on which a cultural-religious complex, Saduq Foundation, was built on the orders of Imam Khomeini and with the efforts of Mr. Muhammad Saduq.

Letter

Date: January 21-February 19, 1978 [Bahman 1356 AHS / Safar 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Occasion: Martyrdom of Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Addressee: Haydar Ali Jalali Khomeini, Tehran

In His Most Exalted Name

His Venerable Eminence, Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Jalali, may his bounties last long:

I have received with thanks your esteemed letter indicating your well-being and expressing your sympathy for me on this tragedy. The immense calamities that assail Islam and the Muslims are of such magnitude that they do allow any time to reflect on personal tragedies. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. It is hoped that you will always be successful in promoting the sanctities of the faith and in charitable affairs for the public's benefit. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: January 22, 1978 [Bahman 2, 1356 AHS / Safar 12, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The glad tidings of victory

Occasion: The Qum uprising of Dey 19

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Salutations to the progressive ShiAh clergy who, in utmost harmony, are confronting the bayonets of the disreputable hirelings of the aliens, unshaken by all their futile clamor and hubbub. Salutations to the clergy and the distinguished religious leaders of Najaf al-Ashraf and the whole of Iran who have unanimously given a fitting reply to the oppressors and plunderers. Salutations to the zealous youth of the vigilant Qum Seminary and all the other seminaries, who so honorably have given continuity and vigor to the movement of the clergy. Salutations to the ardent and well-informed youth of the universities of Iran who, by means of their watchful and successive uprisings, have proved their faithfulness to the grand religion of Islam and to their beloved country.

Greetings and salutations to the great, vigilant nation of Iran that, in spite of all the repression and suppression, has defended the justice-nurturing religion of Islam, the meek and those killed in the cause of the faith. May God's mercy be upon those killed on Khordad 15 [Muharram 12], and Dey 19 [Muharram 29] of this year. What a grief-arousing, constructive and oppression-crushing month Muharram is. It is the month of the great movement of the Doyen of the Martyrs and the leader of God's saints who, by his uprising against *taghut*,¹ taught mankind how to be productive and positive, and who considered the offering of sacrifices and getting sacrificed as the way of destroying the tyrant and overcoming the oppressor. This, in itself, is the watchword of Islamic teachings for nations until the end of time.

By following the holy Husayni movement, the movement of Muharram 12 [Khordad 15] in confrontation with the Shah's throne of oppression, and foreign allies, was so productive and powerful that it was able to give vigilant and devoted crusaders to society who, by their campaign and devotion, brought ruination upon the oppressors and the traitors; who so

¹ The Devil.

alerted, activated, and united the great nation as to deprive the aliens and alien-worshippers of their sleep, and also turned the seminaries, the universities and the bazaars into fortresses for defending justice and the holy creed of Islam. The recent movement radiating from that of Khordad 15, the rays of which have cast their light over the entire country, has a special impact of its own that has left the Shah senseless, compelling him and his hoodlums to struggle desperately. The atrocities of Muharram 29 of this year revert to those of Muharram 12 of that year. The Shah wanted to deal a masterstroke to the Muslim nation. After working out the matter with the American president, and using the flimsy excuse that his forces had made up, he had the center of Shiism and the seminary of Islamic jurisprudence in the vicinity of the immaculate shrine of Fatimah Masumah (A) attacked with machine-guns, massacring many innocent people, the youths of the seminary and the zealous, religious people of the holy city of Qum. The number of casualties has yet to be determined; the number of those killed so far is said to be between seventy and three-hundred, and God knows how many are wounded. More regrettable (the shame of which will remain on their progeny) is that they arrested those who went to the hospitals to donate blood to the injured, thus preventing them from doing so. It is said that some have been killed for this reason.

The Shah wants to prove that his rule has been strengthened, and that the nation should not think that he does not enjoy foreign support. The nation, however, by holding public demonstrations, nationwide strikes and expressing abhorrence has once again proved that it does not want him and is disgusted with him and his family. This spontaneous nationwide referendum is, in reality, to depose him from his oppressive, imposed kingship. Carter and the other plunderers of the oppressed nation's resources should realize that Muhammad Rida Khan is a recalcitrant traitor and perforce stands deposed from the monarchy; even assuming its legitimacy, let alone having been installed by the aliens to which he has himself admitted. I am giving the noble nation of Iran the glad tidings of the Shah's unjust regime taking its last gasps of breath. These merciless massacres indicate that he is terrified and is making futile efforts. These shameless tactics they have started employing, after having been stigmatized by the nation, are ridiculous and puerile. They have also gathered by force of arms the people from some organizations and the riff-raff from among themselves, as well as some helpless, unfortunate people from here and there to make a din and noise in the cities, shouting *Javid Shah* [Long Live the King]. They think that all this would serve to compensate for the general closure of the bazaars, and that

they can keep up appearances by means of such tactics. I am giving the good news of victory to the Iranian nation that is so alert, vigilant, incomparably courageous and high in morale. Victory together with honor and dignity; victory accompanied by freedom and independence; victory together with the severance of the links to foreigners and plunderers; victory with the removal of the facilities at the disposal of the oppressors and the downfall of the disgraced Pahlavi dynasty. A nation that has understanding and unity between the various ranks of the people—the clergy, university fraternity, preachers, merchants, students in Iran and abroad, workers and farmers—and has staged an uprising with such ardent enthusiasm for the justice—fostering religion of Islam, will be triumphant. A nation that has sacrificed the flower of its youth and is continuing its dignified stand against the oppressive establishment which it abhors is triumphant. A nation even whose respected womenfolk announce their disgust of the Shah's regime by means of their demure demonstrations is triumphant. A nation whose stout-hearted mothers and sisters take pride in the death of their worthy youths, who are among the ranks of the martyrs, is triumphant. A nation whose youth and students in Iran and abroad have deprived the Shah and his masters of the opportunity to think is triumphant. A nation whose brave youth—what with all the misrepresentation of the facts on the part of the Shah and his retinue in America—made the White House tremble with their spirited and thundering demonstrations in front of Carter and the Shah, pouring scorn upon them, is triumphant. A nation whose support derives from Islam and the Quran and which campaigns for the sake of God, the dissemination of justice and the extirpation of oppression is triumphant. You the great and noble nation will be triumphant while sustaining much loss and offering many martyrs.

May the regime stand disgraced that presents the dignified *ulama* of Islam as being in favor of its debased rule and its bloody, ignominious revolution. May the regime be dishonored that, terror-stricken, attempts to deceive the nation by slandering the jurisprudents of the religion. The Iranian people, led by the jurists, are strongly opposed to the bogus revolution staged on the orders of the opportunist aliens. The Iranians consider the professed reforms that led to disaster for the nation, the creation of a market for the aliens and the bankruptcy of the agricultural system, to be sabotage and corruption. In a country where the people have not experienced any freedom in these fifty years under the cruel Pahlavi regime, harping on the emancipation of women is ridiculous and misleading. In its mission for the country on behalf of the foreign powers, the regime that has the obliteration of Islam and its precepts as the watchword of its servility; that wants to

efface Islam by replacing its glorious calendar with that of the oppressors and the infamous, talking frequently about Islam and the Holy Quran can only be called misleading and absurd.

This corrupt slave-serving-master regime should realize that the time has passed and that the flimsy propaganda cannot deceive the nation that has risen with all watchfulness and understanding. God the Almighty and the esteemed religion of Islam are the supporters of the people.

In all humility, I extend my hand to the noble people of Iran, including the dignified clergy, esteemed orators, respectable youths of the seminaries and university students, respected traders, workers and farmers, as well as all the esteemed groups and factions in the country and abroad, may God always assist them, and, sincerely thanking one and all, request them to maintain their unity and unanimity by abstaining from divisive disputations. They should also strive with one voice and unity of purpose to liberate the country and to sever the links to foreigners and their agents. By relying on God the Almighty and on the justice-fostering precepts of Islam, they should cooperate with one another. They should most emphatically remind those who harp on the framework of the constitution not to endorse the present, corrupt monarchy with such talk as, as long as this corrupt dynasty controls the destiny of this country, the Iranian nation will neither benefit from Islam, nor will there be any sign of freedom, independence and prosperity.

I pray to God the Almighty for the glory of Islam, the sole champion of justice and independence, and the true defender of the meek, and entrust the Iranian nation, especially its worthy, religious youth, to His care. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar 12, 1398 AH

Message

Date: February 4, 1978 [Bahman 15, 1356 AHS / Safar 25, 1398 AH]¹

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The need to desist from discord; the glad tidings of victory

Occasion: Student demonstrations in India

Addressees: The Iranian students residing in India

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safar al-Muzaffar 25, 1398 AH

The Islamic Association of Iranian Students in India, may God always assist them:

Your esteemed letter was received at the time when the atrocities of the debased Pahlavi regime had left neither tranquility, nor the time to attend to one's affairs, thereby causing the delay in replying. Our zealous Islamic youths should know that they cannot aspire to victory until and unless they unite and set Islam – the sole religion for mankind's salvation and the one and only guardian of the liberty and independence of meek nations – as their goal. Now that by the will of the All-Powerful God, our nation comprising all the various classes and categories, has risen bravely with full awareness, making circumstances so difficult for the Shah and his family of scoundrels that they have come to fear their own shadows – this is the fright that has been the cause of all their savage and deranged deeds, and made them resort to the massacre of Dey 19 [Muharram 24, 1398 AH] to enable them to lessen the mounting troubles and repeated anxieties, and obtain temporary relief by means of their Dahhak²-like bloodthirstiness—it is necessary for you, the young students of the old and new universities to unite and forge the bonds of Islamic brotherhood with the rest of the nation. *“And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.”*³ This is the firm, soul-saving commandment of the Holy Quran that we must use as our motto. Avoiding disputes and discord that bring nothing but defeat at the hands of the Devil, we must request God the Almighty to save the nation. I am

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22 volume edition), vol. 2, p. 15, the message is dated 11/10/1356 AHS which is incorrect.

² Dahhak: a legendary king of Iran notorious for his tyranny.

³ *Surah Ali Imran* 3:103.

hopeful that by the Grace of the Almighty God, the hands of those criminals will be cut off and that the country's independence and freedom will be secured.

The news was received of the brave demonstrations held by the dear Iranian students in India against the Shah, this criminal element who, boastfully and exaggeratingly, has announced that the whole nation is supporting him. Although there is a wave of widespread hatred and aversion towards him in Iran and abroad, he, maddened by the recent countrywide demonstrations, and has started killing the learned dignitaries of the seminary and the zealous people of Qum in order to compensate for his mental discomfort. However, the brave resistance put up by the great nation has left him more disgraced than ever. He now wants to cover up this ignominious defeat with the ballyhoo that the people of some organizations⁴ have started in the provinces, yelling *Javid Shah* [Long Live the King], by which he will gain nothing but infamy.

I am hopeful of victory and promise you so. By relying on the Exalted Lord, your joining up with the Students Union of Europe was the right thing to do. All the people should knit together tightly and, with one voice, attain their freedom and independence. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

⁴ SAVAK agents.

Letter

Date: Circa January-February 1978 [Bahman 1356 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 1398 AH

His Venerable Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Pasandideh, may his blessings last long:

I respectfully wish to inform you that I have sent you the reply to your esteemed letters. I hereby wish to bother you with the request of paying His Eminence, Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Banai, may his bounties last long, the sum of five thousand tumans (5,000) for the venerable Imad al-Alam Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Ali Musawi; it is acceptable. May God the Almighty keep you healthy and prosperous. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 13, 1978 [Bahman 24, 1356 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 5, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The duties of Muslim intellectuals

Addressee: The Union of Islamic Students Association in Europe

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Union of Islamic Students Associations in Europe, may God always assist them:

I wish to express my thanks and appreciation for your esteemed letter together with the reports of last year's meeting and the resolutions made for the next year. This year, in the midst of the bloody events and the confrontation of the Iranian nation with the utmost savagery akin to that of the medieval ages on the part of the debased Pahlavi regime, there are obvious signs of the feeble and powerless devilish government being on its last wobbly legs. The unity of the various strata and groups of the alert nation, including the clergy, the university students, orators, writers, merchants, workers and farmers have so caused the regime to tremble, have so jangled that treacherous Shah's nerves and dealt him a blow that he has resorted to savagely attacking the nation whose good lies in Islam, whose refuge is the Glorious Quran and whose watchword is monotheism. He has also attacked the Qum Seminary—that solid stronghold of the revolution, of justice and the refuge of the justice-seeking Muslims—and also the honorable Muslim people of Qum who are ever the devoted soldiers of Islam and supporters of the Quran. Finally, by attacking the soul-saving ShiAh teachings, he has sought to mitigate the pressure on himself, and the nervous attacks he has been experiencing.

His most scandalous exercises in futility have been the propaganda and the bogus demonstrations carried out by some agents of the security apparatus and the opportunists as well as those who have been compelled to participate therein. According to the radio broadcasts, they explicitly admitted that, in the sixth of Bahman demonstrations, more than one-sixth of those invited did not participate, whereas all are aware that this claim is nothing but talk and exaggeration, and that this Muslim nation does not and cannot have any anybody who approves of him.

The criminal who challenges all the religious and Islamic principles and is against all the manifestations of Islam cannot have anyone amongst the Muslims who are in his favor. How can anyone agree with a criminal who says that religion has no place in his government? How can this deviant and anachronistic who, on his recent visit to India, showed the Zoroastrians and the Ghebers such fawning admiration while approving of them and their fire-worshipping practices and, for the sake of their reactionary dogma, changed the precious, progressive Islamic calendar, possibly have anyone to agree with him apart from that anachronistic sect? Now it is incumbent on you the youthful intellectuals and all the various categories to:

1. Ensure that the watchword of your goal be Islam and its justice-fostering tenets. Without a justice-seeking Islamic government it is perforce impossible to attain this goal. Avoidance and making friendship are two basic Islamic principles. You must consent to a just government and be attached to a just ruler. You must distance yourself from non-Islamic regimes and those that do not follow Islam, at the top of which is the debased Pahlavi regime. You must very clearly show your opposition to it and strive for its downfall; if not, you will never have liberty and independence.

2. You must invite to the progressive, justice-fostering religion of Islam those non-Islamic groups whose beliefs and practices are contrary to Islam and who are inclined to other religions, whatever these may be. In case they do not accept, you must distance yourselves from, or at least avoid, such people whoever and whatever they may be. Our youth should realize that unless they possess spirituality and belief in monotheism and the hereafter, it will be impossible for them to be devoted to and concerned about the *ummah*. They should know that the widespread communist propaganda, just like the tumultuous propaganda of global imperialism, is only to deceive and exploit the downtrodden. Such propaganda must be nullified.

3. The young theology and university students should spend some of their time in comprehending the basic principles of Islam, at the top of which is monotheism and justice, and the great prophets—from Abraham Khalil¹ to the Seal of the Prophets² (s) who instituted justice and freedom. They must also understand their thoughts from the furthest point of spirituality and monotheism to the organization of society, the type of government, the qualifications of the Imam and the authorities and other ranks including the commanders, provincial governors, judges, teachers (who are the *ulama*),

¹ The title of Prophet, Abraham, meaning Friend (of God).

² It refers to Prophet Muhammad (s).

Islamic taxation officials and their qualifications, the police and the employees of the police force. They should see for themselves what kind of people Islam recognizes as being qualified to be government employees and the kinds that are refused positions in the government and its branches.

4. You the university students and all the categories of the clergy and others should desist from imposing personal predilections and views in interpreting the holy verses of the Quran and in commenting on Islamic writings and their authenticity. You must also be bound to all the aspects of Islamic precepts. Rest assured that Islam fully provides for whatever is good for society in fostering justice, eliminating the instruments of oppression, safeguarding independence, freedom and economic interests, and the judicious, practicable and equitable distribution of wealth, for which illogical explanations are not needed. It is also necessary for you to be wary of those who do not adhere to Islam and to all its aspects—even if they do not agree with you on just one of the principles—and to invite them with the utmost care and tact to the obligations thereof. In case this yields no result, you must not let them participate in Islamic gatherings and associations. Do not imagine that numbers will enable you to approach your goal, and that after having attained your objective, they could be purged. You should know and you do know that non-Muslims and those not committed to Islam will stab you in the back, incapacitating or destroying you before you have reached your goal. You must learn from past experiences.

5. The programs and publications of all the factions should be based, without any ambiguity, on Islam and the Islamic system of government, and at the outset, on overthrowing the devil, in all its forms, which in our country is the puppet Pahlavi regime. You should refrain from demands that necessitate the confirmation of the satanic Pahlavi regime, as is seen in the writings and sayings of certain parties to the effect that the aim is the constitutional framework. Wherever possible, in publications and speeches, you must make it known very clearly, or otherwise insinuatingly, that the core of oppression, atrocities and treacheries is the Shah himself. Attempts at directing attention to the government officials and agents, the need of which is to divert attention from the real culprit, should be strictly avoided. Writers and orators should be accordingly informed.

6. The Shah's anti-Islamic inhuman acts should be emphasized at every opportunity in party and other publications, and in speeches and demonstrations; especially, the changing of the Islamic calendar which constitutes an irreparable act of disrespect to the great personality of the venerable Prophet (s) and to Islam and the Muslims. Mention should also be

made of his inclination to Zoroastrianism, and his turning away from Islam and the worship of God. This traitorous element must be disgraced; at no time should there be any neglect in recounting his misdeeds. Khordad 15 and Dey 19 should be kept alive so that the cruelty of the Shah is never forgotten and that future generations may know of the crimes committed by the bloodthirsty kings.

7. I am appreciative of the unity of all Muslim students being an article of the association, as well as their desire to continue with the Islamic and humanitarian activities in coordination and unison, wherever they may be; America, Canada, India, the Philippines and other places. May the Exalted Lord give them success. It is also essential that Islamic centers be set up, wherever possible, in every part of the world for introducing Islam and disseminating its soul-saving truths. These should function under a well-coordinated organization in order to propagate justice and to weed out the hirelings of tyrants and plunderers. It is necessary for you to save our inexperienced, deceived youths by exposing the deviation of the other religions, and to acquaint them with the Islamic system. *“And whose saveth the life of one, it shall be as if he had saved all mankind.”*³

8. It is necessary that your Islamic activities and publications in Iran, especially in the bustling Qum Seminary and the vigilant universities, be published and circulated so that people in Iran and abroad rise to support and cooperate with one another wholeheartedly and with one voice. It is also necessary for centers to be established in the country, in whatever way possible and feasible, to carry out activities for a common goal. Surely, this would raise the morale of all while making the enemy weak and dispirited.

9. You must, with the utmost wariness and vigilance, persuade all the other unions to be careful about the ways of the union and group members so that suspicious and deviant people, or those liable to deviate, have not infiltrated the groups and unions. In the event of their having done so, they should be ostracized. You must take it for granted that the enemy is very watchful and aware. Do not think that he is negligent and careless enough to become lax in his vigilance.

10. You must positively avoid discord as this, like a spreading, fatal cancer, will engulf the people and bring all activity to a standstill while making people lose sight of their aims. It is also likely that it will change the path to be followed, causing matters to run counter to the aims. Drive away those people from you who sow or exacerbate discord; they are either agents

³ Surah al-Ma'idah 5:32.

or have evil intentions. Do not oppose groups that supposedly have excuses not to join the unions but are engaged in Islamic and humanitarian activities as this would give rise to differences to the detriment of all. Try to bring about unity, if lacking, by means of friendly advice. As the goal is the same you must behave like brothers and support one another. Islam is the objective; carnal desires and seeking precedence should be forgotten.

11. It is essential that the venerable clergy and the university students show mutual respect. The enlightened university students should respect the clergy and the clergymen. God, the Exalted, holds them in esteem and the God-inspired Household of the Prophet (A) has recommended them to the people. The clergy is a great source of strength. Losing it would cause the pillars of Islam to collapse, God forbid, thus enabling the cruel might of the enemy to go unchallenged.

Meticulous studies conducted by the alien exploiters in the course of history have led them to the conclusion that this bastion must be demolished. The widespread propaganda that they and their hirelings have been doing over several hundred years have caused some intellectuals to part with the clergy and become pessimistic about them so that the enemy remains unchallenged. In case some unqualified persons pass themselves off as being part of them, but serve and, according to the differences in their rank and service, make the people abide by the main and subsidiary principles of the faith in spite of the foreigners and their agents, this force should be assisted, protected and shown respect. The respected clergy must also respect the young intellectuals, who are serving Islam and the Islamic country and for this reason are the target of the attacks of the foreign agents. They should consider them as their dear children and their esteemed brothers. They should not give up this immense power in whose hand the destiny of the country willy-nilly will fall. They should guard against the malicious propaganda that has been going on against them for hundreds of years, showing them up in a different light to some people in order to benefit further from the disputes. They should ostracize those who either through ignorance or malicious intent have distanced this powerful group from the clergy, and not allow them to sow discord. They should rest assured that with these two great powers joining forces, victory will be attained; divided, they will never gain it.

12. The young clergymen and university students must continue with the acquisition of knowledge each in their own sphere. The recent very vexing rumors among some of the youth that there is no use in studying is a deviant matter that surely is either because of ignorance and lack of information, or evil-intentioned arising from devilish suggestions in order to deter the

theology students from studying Islamic sciences so that Islamic precepts are consigned to oblivion and the obliteration of religion becomes a reality by our own actions. It is also meant to bring up our university youths as parasites dependent on the expansionists so that everyone be “imported”, so to speak, like everything else, and the need for foreigners, in all the spheres and subjects of learning, to keep on increasing. This poses a great danger that will push the country backward to the greatest extent. If Islamic science did not have professionals, the vestiges of religion would have been effaced by now. If it does not have them subsequently, this immense bulwark against the aliens will be destroyed, fully opening the way for the expansionists. If the universities become devoid of the scientists and professionals, foreigners seeking gain will spread like a cancer throughout the country, taking control of our economic and technological affairs, and bringing everything under their supervision. Our youth should fight this erroneous thought on the part of the expansionists, and the best and most effective way of fighting them is to get equipped with the weapons of knowledge of religion and of the world. Vacating this stronghold and asking people to lay down those weapons is treachery to Islam and the Islamic country.

I extend my hand in all humbleness to all the factions who are in the service of Islam, and implore them to strive in unison for the cause of fostering Islamic justice which is the sole path to the nation’s prosperity. I also request the groups that are under the influence of the malicious propaganda of foreigners and do not have the correct information regarding all aspects of Islamic laws to reconsider these matters and to appraise and study thoroughly the great, all-embracing religion of Islam. After coming to believe in it, they should give up the other religions and, joining the Muslims, jointly prevent the foreigners and their traitorous, unworthy agents from meddling in the country’s affairs, and should drive them out of the country. I beseech the Omnipotent God to grant success to all in serving Islam and the Muslims. May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: Circa January-March 1978 [The end of 1356 AHS / The beginning of 1398 AH]¹

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The state of the seminaries

Addressee: Murtada Mutahhari, Tehran

In His Most Exalted Name

After extending my greetings and best wishes to you, I would like to say that I have received your esteemed letter and that I pray for your honor's health and prosperity. Most of the topics that have been mentioned were and are under consideration. It is hoped that the efforts to prevent mischief will meet with success. As you are far away from the Qum Seminary and so are some of the other gentlemen—it being better if their services are availed of in these chaotic conditions and turmoil—these expected evils are the cause of my anxiety. The people you have mentioned cannot solve this problem if not adding to it because of the intervention of some, the likes of which have upset the youth. The case of the council and a meeting of arbiters for solving and settling the problem will also not solve any difficulty. In fact, such a meeting will not materialize. I have experience; as a matter of fact, much experience. That which tops the mischief list is the very same third case to which you have referred as threatening the seminary from within. It should be reminded, and there is no remedy except that the gentlemen who are acceptable and who, with respect to knowledge, can be provided, stay in the seminaries and take hold of the initiative. You are in a better position to select these people, and you can find people who can stay in the seminaries on all days—even if it be in turns—and gradually exert an influence on the morale of the youths.

In my recent, detailed letter, written in answer to that of the Union of Islamic Associations in Europe², I have explained the main problems and shown the way, pointing out the evil of this perverted conviction that the religious sciences, as also modern education, are worthless. Perhaps,

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22-volume edition and the new edition) the letter has been printed without a date.

² It refers to Imam's message of Rabi al-Awwal 5, 1398 AH [11/24/1356 AHS] to the Union of Islamic Associations of Students in Europe.

opportunity arising, I will comment on this matter in a message to the Qum Seminary. But just pointing it out is not enough; these digressions must be prevented in practice. This should be accomplished by the efforts of the concerned notables including yourself.

It is hoped that the honorable gentlemen who have taken notice of the matter by the grace of God, and have changed their attitude somewhat, will be favored by the support of all the various groups, and that the disputes and differences will be eliminated or, at least, narrowed.

Speech

Date: February 18, 1978 [Bahman 29, 1356 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 10, 1398 AH]

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The crimes of the Shah and of those who claim to support human rights

Occasion: The fortieth day following the martyrdom of those killed in Qum in the tragedy of Dey 19 [January 9]

Addressees: Religious students, clergymen and members of the public

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*“And there is no power and no strength save in God,
the Most High, the Great*

And surely we are God’s and to Him we shall surely return.”

As we are gathered here, according to the information reaching us, all the major cities of Iran such as Tehran, Tabriz, Mashhad and Qum are closed down. Some cities, such as Qum, are completely closed down while in others, the bazaar and other centers of activity are closed. We hear that the bazaar in Tehran is completely closed except for a few merchants who may have some connection with the regime. From what we are told, these closings represent a form of active protest against the Shah himself. The people have identified the true criminal. Of course his identity was obvious before but no one dared to speak out. Now however, by God's grace, this barrier of fear has collapsed and people have succeeded in the main task of identifying the true criminal and realizing who is responsible for the misery of our nation.

Forty days have now passed since the death of our young ones, our students of the religious sciences, our clergy and our devout youngsters of Qum. How people have wept and mourned during these forty days; and what courage—the like of which has rarely been equaled in history—was displayed by the people of Qum and the students of the religious sciences who fought bare-handed against the government and the Shah’s agents and yielded their martyrs. According to reports, the agents of the regime spilled into the streets and alleyways of Qum and attacked the people; but the latter resisted to the best of their ability, both before and after the massacre, thus proving they are alive and not dead!¹ Likewise, the great *maraji* of Islam in

¹ It refers to the tragedy of January 9, 1978 [Dey 19, 1356 AHS].

Qum, have expressed themselves courageously¹ both in their speeches and in their declarations, including the one issued two or three days ago on the occasion of the fortieth day following the massacre and the general strike ordained for that day. In this declaration they addressed the main issue and stated who is responsible for the crime, albeit not explicitly but rather by implication which is in fact more effective. May God keep them steadfast.

Qum, the center of both knowledge and action

The students of the religious sciences, despite living in a place which is subject to attack by those bandits, yesterday organized an impressive mourning ceremony which was attended by a large number of people, and at which several vigilant and active youngsters fearlessly gave a truthful account of the state of affairs. According to reliable information, as we sit here in Qum, a great meeting is taking place at Azam Mosque in this city. I don't know what the government intends to do about this meeting. I wonder whether the regime's agents have once more gone on the rampage, killing and plundering? This is now a matter of grave concern to us. We are anxious and concerned for the people of all the major cities in Iran; cities like Mashhad, towards which the government shows a particular sensitivity; or Azerbaijan and Tabriz, which are under government observation. And I wonder what lies in store for Qum, which is the center of all our struggles and the center of learning from whence knowledge is disseminated to all lands, (just as was predicted by the Prophet's family (A)), what danger awaits her? In fact, we now see that not only is knowledge disseminated from Qum, but action too, whereby it is now the center of Islamic activity—the

¹ The Clergy Society of Iran, in a declaration beginning with the holy verse: *And reckon not those who are killed in Allah's way as dead.* . . . (Surah Ali Imran 3:169), asked the entire nation to rise up once more against the illegal, anti-Islamic programs of the Iranian government, and to answer the ruling system in Iran with a punch in the mouth by closing down the theological centers, universities and shops on Saturday, February 18, 1978 [Bahman 29, 1356 AHS] in observance of a national day of mourning. Ayatullah al-Uzma Golpaygani also issued a declaration concerning this day and called to mind that: "Commissioned officers, instead of making amends for what they had done and attending to the damages inflicted, banished a group of believers and learned men without reason". In yet another declaration, Ayatullah al-Uzma Najafi MarAshi also requested that the authorities desist from their tyranny and from their encroachment upon people's rights. In the declaration issued by the *maraji*, February 18 [Bahman 29] had been declared a day of public mourning. Furthermore, in a public statement Mr. ShariAtmadari announced: "We declare Saturday, February 18, 1978—the fortieth day following this grave tragedy—a day of public mourning. We expect the Muslim community to remain absolutely calm and composed while conducting the aforesaid ceremonies".

center of the Islamic movement.¹ The movement emanates from Qum, from the city itself, from the religious students, from the *ulama*, from the teachers (may God support all of them), from the masses of its people who are the faithful soldiers of Islam, and it spreads throughout the country. It remains to be seen whether it will spread to us here in Najaf or not; God only knows what will happen.

Those who trample on human rights

All the miseries that we have suffered, still suffer and are about to suffer in the immediate future, are caused by the heads of those countries that have signed the Declaration of Human Rights, but that at all times have denied man his freedom. The declaration's maxim is "freedom of the individual". Each individual human being is born free and must remain free. Everyone must be equal before the law; they must be free in their choice of residence and occupation, and they must enjoy freedom in their everyday lives. This is what the Declaration of Human Rights advocates. From the time that this declaration came into being not only Muslims but mankind as a whole have suffered at the hands of those states that signed and ratified it. The US is one of the signatories of this document. It has agreed that the rights of man must be protected and that freedom is one such right. But just look at what crimes the US, this so-called signatory of the Declaration of Human Rights, has committed against mankind. For as long as I can remember—and I can remember back further than many of you, for you are younger than I—America, one of the countries which gave its signature to the issue concerning human rights, has been the cause of disasters for mankind. It has appointed its agents in both Muslim and non-Muslim countries to deprive everyone living under its domination of his freedom. The imperialists advocate man's freedom in order to deceive the masses; but people can no longer be deceived. All of these issues to which they give official sanction, of which the Declaration of Human Rights is but an example, are mere acts of deception and hold no authenticity. They draw up some pleasant-looking, high-sounding declaration with thirty articles relating to human rights, but in

¹ Allamah Majlisi writes: "Imam as-Sadiq (A) said: 'Very soon Kufah will become devoid of believers and it will lose its position as the seat of learning. This will occur in such a manner that the snake will hide in its own pit. Subsequently, a region by the name of Qum will arise as the new seat of learning. Qum will become the center of knowledge and learning until a time when religious learning will be available to all without exception. This event will take place at a time when the twelfth Imam's manifestation draws near'. *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 57, p. 213.

practice they neglect to enact a single one of them! This Declaration of Human Rights is but a fallacy; it is the opium of the masses.

The crimes of Britain and America

What we have said is true not only of America but also of Britain, another country that signed and ratified the Declaration of Human Rights; a country whose civilization and democracy are so highly praised by those who Britain itself has convinced of its praise worthiness via effective propaganda and cunning. Indeed, it has succeeded in convincing people that it is the leader of democracy and the home of true constitutionalism. But we have all seen what crimes and atrocities Britain has committed in India, Pakistan and its other colonies.¹ The imperialist states like America and Britain brought Israel into existence,² and we have seen what misery they have inflicted and

¹ In 1615, the British ambassador to India registered the right for his own government to trade and he gained concessions for the establishment of the commercial company of British East India. This is how British penetration got underway in the Indian subcontinent. This colonial company fortified British rule in India by intensifying the activities in which it engaged. Meanwhile, because of racial, religious and linguistic diversity and in particular the intense discord which prevailed between the Hindus and Muslims in India, this newborn British colonization was strengthened by force of circumstances. This occurred in such a manner that eventually in 1839 India became a British protectorate. It was after this that the British government began to take harsh measures and thus came to dominate India's affairs; and from 1857 India officially became an addition to the British dominion. During the First World War, one million Indian soldiers were sent to the front line to fight for Britain, tens of thousands of whom were killed as a result. The compulsory provision of food by India for the British army led to a severe famine there. Eventually the Law of Independence for the Indian subcontinent was passed in the British House of Commons on July 4, 1947, by virtue of which in August of that same year, the two countries of Pakistan and India emerged from the British dominion in the subcontinent.

² In 1907, at a conference held in Britain, the most powerful colonialist government of the day (Britain) declared to the government heads of Holland, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Italy that if the surrounding coasts of the Mediterranean Sea—situated between the East and the West and lying in Muslim hands—were to be taken from their grasp, then this would present a serious danger for the aforementioned countries. It was this concern that caused the colonialist governments of the day to consider setting up a government in a strategically important part of the Mediterranean Sea—a government which would be at variance with and opposed to the Islamic countries, so as to create a rift in the unity of the Muslims. Earlier in 1897, Herr Tazl, journalist and publisher of *Die Welt* newspaper—the official Zionist mouthpiece—had organized a conference in the Swiss city of Biel in order to discuss the issue of an Israeli government. He was also the author of a book entitled *Jewish Government*, in which he appealed to his own nation to help in the establishment of such a government in Palestine or Argentina. With the outbreak of World War One, American leaders, under the tutelage of the Jews, agreed to American participation in the war on the side of Britain on condition that Britain took steps to settle the Jews in Palestine and to set up an independent government for them. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War also gave Britain the opportunity to settle a large number of Jews in Palestinian land. In 1948, America gave its open support to a state in Palestine by the name of Israel, following which the bloody war between the Arabs and the Jewish settlers in Palestine broke out. During a Security Council meeting, the United Nations Organization, under the pretext of preventing further killing and bringing an end to the Arab-Israeli war, gave its approval in a written declaration to the partition of Palestine into two areas: one for Muslim residents and the other for Jewish residents. Thus, the State of Israel was officially established with the backing of the imperialist powers. The usurper Israeli government occupied a large part of Muslim land, driving 1,200,000 Muslims from their homes.

continue to inflict on the Muslims there, and in particular on the ShiAh Muslims. Meanwhile, they have installed an agent in Egypt named Sadat,¹ whose every act is devoted to serving imperialism and who, only a short time ago, visited Israel where he gave it official recognition and approved of every word the Israelis had to say.

Britain, Rida Khan's master

For as long as I can remember during the past fifty years—fifty years of national mourning and tragedy inflicted on our nation by this disgraceful family—it was Britain, this democratic lover of mankind and signatory to the Declaration of Human Rights, that kept the Iranian people suppressed and afflicted. In fact it was Britain, according to its own admission, that brought Rida Shah to power. For almost twenty years, we, the religious scholars, and the Muslim nation as a whole were subject to intense pressure. Rida Shah wished to expunge every trace of the *shariAh*. Of course, he did not succeed but this was his intention. Hence, anything which bore the remotest resemblance to Islamic propagation was prohibited.

¹ Anwar as-Sadat was born in 1918 in Egypt and having completed his basic education, entered the Officers' College where he joined the officers' corps of Jamal Abdun-Nasir's group. These officers took part in covert operations and Anwar as-Sadat was later arrested, expelled from the army and imprisoned. Some time later he was released from prison and became a member of the Iron Guard, whose duty it was to safeguard the Egyptian king's life and crush opposition forces. Later, on the insistence of Nasir, he again joined the Free Officers' Movement which was conducting a covert operation against the ruling system of the day. In 1952, with the victory of the Egyptian revolution, Nasir became the President and Anwar as-Sadat initially became Parliamentary Speaker and then, following Nasser's illness, he became the country's vice-president. After Nasir's death in 1970, Anwar as-Sadat, in accordance with the Constitution, became responsible for the country's affairs for a sixty-day period, after which he was elected as the official President of Egypt. He annulled the treaty between Egypt and the Soviet Union and despite the fact that Egypt had assumed the responsibility of Arab leadership during the Arab-Israeli war, he nevertheless signed a bilateral treaty with America. When he then made a unilateral peace agreement with Israel, he in fact dashed all of Egypt's hopes. Sadat was eventually assassinated by a young Muslim officer named Khalid Islambuli.

As for America, that other signatory to the Declaration of Human Rights, it imposed this Shah upon us; a worthy successor to his father. During his period of rule he has turned Iran into an official colony of the US. What terrible crimes he has committed in the service of his masters! Indeed, what terrible crimes both he and his father have committed against us all since their appointment by these signatories to the Declaration of Human Rights—these very signatories who have brought such misery and suppression to mankind, of which we have heard and witnessed but a fraction. However, one cannot truly understand a situation by hearing about it alone. You may hear of what this nation experienced at the time of Rida Shah, but you cannot actually conceive what the people themselves in fact felt and experienced, or what they suffered at the hands of these people. You are only able to appreciate and sense what this man is doing now, at the present time, and then only insofar as you are now physically present.

The nation's awareness

You are thus aware of the present situation in Iran. You can appreciate what this man (the Shah) has done to this nation during the past few days. Even now it would not surprise me if at this very moment some confrontation or conflict is taking place between the people and the Shah's agents, although we have not yet in fact received any reports to this effect. What we do know however, is that agents of the regime have attacked the forecourt of the Shah Mosque¹ in Tehran and have forced a few shops there to open up for business, but the Tehran bazaar as a whole has not surrendered. Even though the government has sent a circular to all the bazaars in Iran forbidding anyone to close his shop and threatening severe punishment for disobedience, nevertheless, not a single bazaar in the country has paid any attention to this threat, not even the bazaar in Tehran which lies within close range of the regime. People no longer pay any attention to these empty noises. Gone are the days when they could intimidate people and frighten them into heeding their warnings. . . today people are being killed, yet they refuse to heed any threats.

The alive and aware nation

It is now forty days since the massacre in which many of the *ulama* and the young and devout people of Qum were killed. May God preserve the Iranian people and the theological center of Qum, both of which in proving

¹ Shah Mosque in Tehran (the present-day Imam Khomeini Mosque) is situated south of the main bazaar of Tehran.

how fully alive they are have ensured the recording of their names in the annals of history. Even now as we calmly sit here, these people are in a state of intense activity. You can't imagine the condition Mashhad is now in. I have no detailed information of its present state but I do know that until recently everything was closed down there. The same is true for Azerbaijan; there too everything was closed, but more than this I cannot say. According to the reports we have received, a general shutdown prevails in Qum whereby not even a single grocer's shop is open. Even Tehran is ninety percent closed and to achieve this is not as easy as one may imagine. In fact the closure of Tehran is a smack in the mouth for those babblers.

The 'White Revolution' referendum

They are those who once said that they had the backing of six million people who had voted in favor of their White Revolution! That was a foolish claim to make. I was in Iran at the time, and sent some people to Tehran to find out what this 'referendum' of theirs was that they wanted to stage. When they returned they told me that no more than 2,000 people had gone to cast their votes, and that even these were in fact their own agents. Yes, they once said: "Six million of the Iranian people have given us their vote, and since the rest of the people are either elderly, women or infants and hence unable to vote, the six-point program has been given unanimous approval." The Shah too would repeatedly claim in his speeches that: "The people are with me. Only a handful of people voice objection every now and then and they are the Islamic Marxists,¹ otherwise the nation is behind me!" Now you will

¹ "Islamic Marxist", an expression coined by the Shah, has been thus defined in a book he is believed to have authored: "There is a number of people who, to the detriment of their own country engage in violence and murder. Modern democracy in Iran however, neither allows acts of violence or treachery against people nor does it permit reactionary or retrogressive campaigns. A sinister and profane alliance almost always emerges between these two extremes, producing an incredible and incompatible combination of Islamic Marxism between the atheists and those who claim to be the defenders of religious principles. This is in spite of the fact that the revolutionary freedom seeking of the former group is as far away from real freedom and true revolution as is the Muslim adherent of the latter group from the essence and spirit of Islam." From thenceforth the Shah used this expression many times. During a later speech, having forgotten that this 'ideology' was in fact his very own brainchild, he explicitly called it an Absurd ideology¹: "Those misled, insane or self-seeking men who are to be found in many of the developed countries and who, unfortunately, engage in a kind of international terrorism have no place in this country. These people...under the pretext of absurd ideologies such as "Islamic Marxism", turn to violence and sometimes murder to the detriment of their own homeland"! This ludicrous expression became a weapon in the hands of the Shah's agents whereby they were able to arrest any dissident against whom they held no evidence and send him to the torture chamber for the crime of having an involvement in the campaign and the Absurd ideology' of Islamic Marxism.

see the uproar that the regime will cause following this national shutdown. They will object and behave as they did previously after the week-long closing in Qum, the eight-day closing in Isfahan, and the two or three days of partial closing and the one day of complete closing in Tehran. On the latter occasion some unsuspecting wretches were seized by the Shah's agents and loaded onto buses; whilst another group of the regime's officials sent circulars to government offices and schools demanding that they close down and participate in a government-staged demonstration.

This is what you call freedom, demanding that people 'freely' participate! Notwithstanding, most government offices ignored the circulars they had received. As for those poor wretches who had been loaded onto the buses, they were falsely told that they were being taken on a pilgrimage to Qum, and on realizing the truth of the matter during the journey, those who were able to, fled. From what I was told, those who remained behind and who were compelled to take part in the demonstration behaved as though they were participating in a funeral ceremony. However much they were told to shout "Long live the Shah", they remained silent. The whole crowd was as silent as if it was attending a funeral! Indeed this was in fact the case, for they were attending the Shah's funeral.¹

¹ A few days after the tragedy of January 9, 1978 [Dey 19, 1356 AHS], SAVAK, without prior notice, boarded employees of the Ministry of Education, members of the Rastakhiz Party, and other office employees onto several buses and told them that they were going on a pilgrimage to the holy shrine of Hadrat Masumah in Qum! However, having almost arrived in Qum, the people were forced to alight from the buses and were told to march towards the holy shrine while shouting "Long live the Shah" and exhibiting impassioned affection for His Imperial-Majesty! This demonstration, despite the agents' threats, took place with such dispassion and indifference that, to quote Imam: "It was as if they had participated in a funeral procession". At the end of this 'demonstration', governmental agents issue a statement in which, while condemning foreign incitement, it is declared: "We, members of the Iranian people's Rastakhiz Party in the holy city of Qum, vow never to permit the enemies of the nation and of the Shah's revolution to violate the law" (*Khorasan* newspaper, January 13, 1978 [Dey 22, 1356 AHS], p. 12). Likewise, a similar engineered demonstration was arranged by the Women's Organization of Khorasan in Mashhad to counteract a magnificent demonstration held by the Muslim women of Mashhad on January 7 (*Khorasan* newspaper, January 12, 1978, p. 1). During another such demonstration held in Tabriz, a clergyman who was known to be a fifth-columnist says: "Imperialism in the guise of religion and faith wants to threaten the unity and unanimity of the Iranian nation"; while a women's representative also says: "The women of Iran will stifle the sound of reaction before it is voiced". Accounts of other similar comments and incidents are to be found in the newspapers of the day.

The Shah, anti-Islam and anti-clergy

Those who rule us do not appreciate the situation and once again we have failed in our attempts to reform them. If only they had compromised somewhat with the people; if only they had heeded the people's demands; if only they had performed their duties; if only they had shown sympathy towards Islam and the laws of Islam then the people would not have opposed them so. But the people see that 'His Imperial Majesty' is against whatever they attach value to. He is against the Islamic calendar which means he is against Islam itself. In fact the worst thing that this man has done during his reign is to change the calendar.¹ Changing the calendar is even worse than these massacres; it is an affront to the Most Noble Messenger himself (s). In spite of such plans however, they will never achieve ultimate success. Just as they tampered with the Islamic calendar which meant so much to the people, so too they attacked the centers of learning. They have raided and plundered our *madrasahs* several times now. Before, it was the Faydiyyah Madrasah that they stormed and made the scene of their crimes, but now it is the Hujjatiyyah Madrasah, the Khan Madrasah and the Haqqani Madrasah which are the targets of their attacks—or in fact any *madrasah* whose gates are open and where gatherings take place, however small. We are told that the entire doors and windows of the Khan Madrasah have been knocked in and smashed by rifle butts, and that a student of the religious sciences was shot and killed at the gate of the Hujjatiyyah Madrasah. One of the *ulama* who went to visit the scene told me on his return that a stream of blood ran from the place where the student had been shot to the edge of the pool in the *madrasah* courtyard.²

¹ Toward the end of 1975, on the anniversary of Rida Khan's birthday, both the Consultative Assembly and the Senate agreed in a joint meeting that the official calendar of Iran was to be changed. Until then, time had been reckoned from the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina (in 622 CE). The new calendar however (known as the Imperial calendar), took as its point of departure the founding of the Iranian monarchy by the Achaemenid emperor Cyrus, fixed somewhat arbitrarily at 529 BCE. Following this change, it wasn't long before the self-absorbed monarchial regime in Iran was uprooted.

² On January 9, 1978 [Dey 18, 1356 AHS], the Shah's agents opened fire at Hospital Crossroads on rows of religious students and people of Qum who were conducting a peaceful demonstration in protest against the defamatory article (concerning Imam Khomeini) carried by the *Ittila'at* newspaper. During this incident a young religious student who was shouting slogans from the second floor of Hujjatiyyah Madrasah was wounded by the agents' gun-fire and was carried by other religious students to the pool of the *madrasah* where he finally attained martyrdom.

The Shah, the prime culprit and instrument of the allies

Do you suppose the chief of police in Qum is responsible for such actions? No, he is not capable of doing such things. Don't repeatedly put the blame on the officials of the regime. The Shah himself is the culprit. He is the one who gives the orders and tells them to kill. If he didn't give the command to kill, there would be no killings. Do you imagine it is a trivial affair to open fire on a whole nation with rifles and machine guns, or to make an armed attack on the theological center in Qum which is so loved and highly respected by the people? Do you imagine that the command for such action could be given by the head of SAVAK in Tehran, the head of SAVAK in Qum or even the Prime Minister? No, it is the Shah himself; he is the prime culprit! And who is responsible for imposing him on us? The Shah himself stated in his book:¹ "The Allies, after occupying Iran, thought it fitting that I should be in control of affairs, and they agreed to my accession to the throne." May God curse them for thinking it fitting. Later, on realizing the mistake in having mentioned this matter, it was erased from the text. Those Allies, those who signed the Declaration of Human Rights, it is they who appointed such a person to reign over us, and it is they who brought about such repression. You say mankind is free! But what about the Iranian people? Yes, the imperialists appointed a man to rule in Iran, as they had his father before him;² the latter also having denied the people all kinds of freedom. But the situation was different then, either people were unable to confront the regime then as they can now or their consciousness was not yet truly awakened.

Qum theological center, the reviver of Islam and Iran

The theological center in Qum has brought Iran back to life; it has performed a service to Islam that will endure for centuries. This service must not be underestimated; we must pray for the theological center in Qum and pray that we will come to emulate it. This center's name will remain inscribed in history for all time. In comparison to Qum, we here in Najaf are dead and buried;³ it is Qum that has brought Islam back to life. It is the center in Qum and the preaching of its *maraji* and *ulama* that have awakened the universities, those same places where we religious scholars used to be

¹ The Shah, in his book: *Mission for my Country*.

² Rida Khan.

³ It refers to the quiescent climate of the Najaf theological center. Imam's remarks are indicative of the unfavorable circumstances prevalent in the Najaf theological center and of the indifference demonstrated by the latter.

accused of being the opium of the people and the agents of the British and other imperialists. No, all that was the propaganda of Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union and others, designed to misrepresent us and make the *ulama* and their institutions appear to be the opium of the people. They spread such propaganda because they know full well how active the religious scholars are and what a dynamic and militant religion Islam is. They drew up a plan to bring the religious scholars into disrepute, and propagated the notion that religion must be separated from politics.

Religion and politics

This campaign has been in operation for many years now, whereby even the *akhunds* themselves have now become convinced by it and ask the question: "What business do we have with politics?" But to pose such a question is in fact to abandon Islam, to bury it in our chambers in the *madrasah* and in our books of religious learning. The imperial powers dearly wish that religion could be separated from politics and politics from religion. From the very beginning this is the idea that our politicians have promoted, until it has reached the stage where even we, the clergy, have come to believe that politics is none of our concern, and must be left to the politicians; and that we must concern ourselves with matters of religion only and turn the other cheek if they slap us in the face.¹ This idea of turning the other cheek has been wrongly attributed to Jesus (A); and yet again this too has been the doing of these imperial beasts. Jesus (A) was a prophet, and no prophet can be so illogical. Look at the history of the prophets. We see how Jesus did not remain among his people very long before his ascension to heaven.² You are all aware of the history of the prophets. It is well known that the exalted prophet Abraham (A), one of the earliest true prophets of God, took up his axe and shattered all the idols. He was not afraid of being cast into the fire and burned. If he had been afraid of such things then he would not have been a prophet. This man who stood alone before such great forces and who was then cast into the fire, he could not follow a logic that required him, if slapped on one cheek, to turn the other cheek for it also to be slapped. That is

¹ In the Gospel of Saint Matthew 5:38-40 it reads: *You have heard it said an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also, and him that taketh away thy cloak forbid not to take thy coat also.*

² Imam here is referring to Surah Ali Imran 3:55: "And when God said: O Jesus, I am going to terminate the period of your stay (on earth) and cause you to ascend unto Me"; Surah an-Nisa 4:158: "God took him up to Himself".

the logic of the indolent, the logic of those who do not know God and who have not studied the Quran. Then look at Moses (A), a simple shepherd with nothing but his staff in hand. He too fought single-handed and he did so against Pharaoh who made claim to divinity. Here too, the Shah would like to make such a claim but he realizes that now is not the right time, for people would not believe him. Nevertheless, should he detect the least relaxation in our vigilance then he too would cry: "*I am your Lord, the Most High*".¹ There have always been those who have made such absurd claims in the past, and there always will be. And then there is the Most Noble Messenger (s). As you well know, he began his mission alone, prepared himself for the struggle to come for thirteen years and then fought for a decade. He did not ask: "What business do I have with politics?" But rather he administered the entire Islamic realm. The same was true of the Commander of the Faithful (A). He ruled, engaged in politics and fought wars. He never said: "Let me sit at home and devote myself to prayer and worship and not concern myself with political issues."

Compromising with the oppressive kings, contrary to the Quran

But now we find one of the *ulama* (may God grant him mercy) saying: "If the Imam of the Age (A) considers it to be the appropriate time then he will come. I cannot claim to be more concerned for Islam than he is and he is well aware of the present situation. Thus, he is the one who must make the first move to remedy our affairs and not I!" This, however, is the logic of those who want to shirk responsibility,² it is not a logic of which Islam approves. Islam does not acknowledge such reasoning. Those who reason in this way conduct diligent searches in order to come up with a couple of religious traditions which tell us, for example, to make our peace with kings or to pray for them. But this is contrary to the teachings of the Quran. They have obviously not read this holy book. Even if they could find a hundred

¹ *Surah an-NaziAt* 79:24: "Then he (Pharaoh) said: *I am your Lord, the Most High*".

² A group consisting of both *ulama* and clergymen as well as others, because of an erroneous interpretation of the principle of 'expectation' [*intizar*], have adopted the belief that no one has a duty to do anything about oppression, corruption and the non-performance of Islamic duties. These people hold that one must wait (in expectation) until oppression, injustice and corruption reach a climax, when the Imam of the Age, may God hasten his manifestation, will appear and fill the world with justice and redress. Not long ago the holders of this view became involved in an extensive operation to form an organization and a collective body; but due to basic organizational disorder and an inability to defend the organization's unsound principles, this group inevitably gave up its overt activities.

such traditions, it would not further their argument¹ for such traditions are in discord with the Quran and the custom of the prophets. There is a tradition that says: "Whoever wishes long life for a king will be resurrected along with him."² Could a Muslim possibly wish long life for a king, whereby that king might commit more injustice? Could anyone wish to maintain relations with someone who slaughters people; who slaughters the *ulama*? Are you aware of how many of our great *ulama*, our valued teachers, are now living in prison or in exile? These are the very same *ulama* and religious scholars who, until recently, were living in exile and who, on being released, returned to their home towns, clenched their fists and began to speak out against the government and the Shah. Once again they were arrested. The honorable young gentleman who delivered a speech at the commemorative gathering yesterday afternoon had previously endured imprisonment and banishment; and it is quite likely that he has been arrested again now, or that he will be tomorrow. This is what true Muslims are made of. He is the true Muslim, who, when he comes out of prison, clenches his fist and resumes his struggle. The Prophet (s) stated in a tradition that even if a Muslim constantly says: "*La ilaha illallah*" [there is no God but Allah], but he shows no concern for the affairs of his fellow Muslims, he is not a Muslim.³ A Muslim is the person who works to benefit Islam and his fellow Muslims; fellow Muslims such as those killed by the Shah. They kill our young men and yet we shouldn't care? They kill our *ulama* and yet we shouldn't care?

Are we supposed to agree to all this, or to behave as if we are in agreement? If this is so then we must become different human beings! In Iran our young men were imprisoned and banished and now they are subject to the same measures again. But when these courageous youths return from prison or exile they recommence their struggle, returning to the themes of their earlier preaching. Again they are sent into exile. But even if they were

¹ Here, the Iranian text reads: "It will be struck against the wall", meaning it will be of no worth. In an Islamic tradition the Prophet (s) said: "When you hear a tradition which is said to be from me, assess it according to the Book of God (Quran). That which agrees with the Book of God you are to accept and that which disagrees with the Book of God, you are to strike against the wall". *Tafsir-e Saffi*, vol. 1, p. 21.

² In quoting verse 113 of *Surah Hud* 11:113, Imam as-Sadiq (A) states: "*And do not incline to those who are unjust, lest the fire touch you*". Here, reference is made to one who inclines towards his sovereign and prays for his longevity so that the sovereign may grant him a gift. Refer to *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 369.

³ "Whosoever rises in the morning and does not strive to help in the affairs of the Muslims is not a Muslim": a tradition from the Prophet (s). A similar tradition has been quoted by Imam as-Sadiq (A). Refer to *Usul al-Kafi*, *Kitab al-Iman wal-Kufr*, the chapter entitled "*Ihtimam bi Umur al-Muslimin*".

to be banished or imprisoned and then released ten times over they would still be the same people that they were in the beginning. This is because they have received true Islamic training. Similarly, if the Commander of the Faithful (A) were to be killed and then brought back to life a hundred times over, he would still be the same Commander of the Faithful. But take some apathetic person and kill him, if you were to bring him back to life, he would still be as apathetic as before.

America and Russia in competition in plundering Iran

We have suffered and continue to suffer all these misfortunes at the hands of those government heads who have signed the Declaration of Human Rights and who loudly proclaim man's right to freedom. Before, it was the British that brought us misfortune (until the time when they no longer held such influence in our country), and now it is the Russians on the one hand and the Americans on the other. These are the ones who are responsible for all our miseries. If only they were to withdraw their protection and backing of those in the Iranian government, the people would skin them alive. It is the government of Iran which granted absolute immunity to the American advisers, for which it got a few dollars in exchange; and one can see how many American officials there are in Iran now and what huge salaries they receive! That is our problem—everything in our treasury has to be emptied into the pockets of America, and if there is any meager amount to spare, it has to go into the pockets of the Shah and his gang. They buy themselves villas and goodness knows what else abroad and stuff their bank accounts with the people's money while the nation lives in poverty.

At the same time, they constantly proclaim: "Iran is one of the most advanced countries in the world. It is now on a par with America, or at least Japan" (and maybe even a little more advanced than Japan). But the absurdity of these words and the warped thinking that underlies them has become apparent to everyone. Even the corner grocer will tell you that the Shah is talking nonsense but that "he is quite unashamed and goes right on talking, so what can be done about it?" After these events, the general strike and shutdown, you will see in tomorrow's newspapers that they're back to their old bombastic claims: "We hold the support of all the nation; all the people are with us except for a few misguided individuals; those clergymen who are truly enlightened support us, as for the rest they are all reactionaries including the *ulama* and the great *maraji* of Qum who announced a general shutdown, the 'true' religious scholars—that's what they call them—are all in agreement with us." The only problem is that these 'true' religious scholars are only to be found in the newspapers. To which 'true' religious

scholars do they refer? How can any Muslim ever agree with you or consent to the killing of these people?¹ Yes, the case may be that sometimes a Muslim or a scholar is afraid and says nothing, whereas at other times he is not afraid and speaks out; at times a student of the religious sciences is afraid and does not leave his home, whereas at other times he is not afraid and cries out in protest! But Agreement', that is the wrong word.

Misbegotten monster of the Iranian regime!

What scholar could possibly agree with you? Could someone be a religious scholar and agree with a massacre? Is it at all possible? Can someone believe in Islam and yet agree with abolishing the Islamic calendar in favor of the calendar of the unbelievers? Could any Muslim agree with this scandalous uncovering of women? The women of Iran have themselves risen up against the Shah and landed him a blow by crying: "We don't want to live this way! We want to be free!" To which this good-for-nothing replies: "But you are free! The only thing is that you cannot go to school wearing a *chador* or head-covering!" You call this freedom? I can't make this state of affairs out in Iran. This Shah and his government are some kind of misbegotten monsters² that are difficult to identify. Our country is in such a terrible state and we are faced with so many difficulties.

Examples of poverty in Iran

God only knows the kinds of problems the people are experiencing and only a fraction are referred to me. For example, they tell me: "We want to build a water-storage tank at such-and-such a place, because the people have no water there and women have to travel about six kilometers to fetch water." Now if people don't even have water, how about electricity or decent roads, do they have these? No, in fact they have nothing! Don't look at the part of Tehran where, on the face of it at least, things have been put in order, take a look at the other part of the city. Go look at those pits, those holes in the ground in which people live, dwellings you reach by descending about a hundred steps into the ground. What a terrible place to live! Homes that people have made from rush matting or clay so their poor children can have

¹ It refers to the religious students and those people who attained martyrdom during the event of January 9.

² This is an expression for anything disturbed and distressed whose internal disturbance has brought about an abnormal state. "*Shutur, gav, palang*" is an expression used in the Persian language to refer to a combination of heterogeneous things or something of incongruous composition. *Amthal va Hikam-e Dehkhoda*, see under the word "*shutur*" [camel].

somewhere to live. Yes, I am talking about Tehran and not some remote village or town; this is how things are in Tehran. When you enter the city you see all the cars and that deceptive exterior, but you haven't seen the state the other side of town is in. The people who live there have no current drinking water in their homes. They have to take their pitchers and climb up those hundred steps until they come to a water tap, then fill their pitchers and climb down again. Picture some poor woman in the middle of the biting winter climbing up and down those steps to fetch water for her children. A reliable informant, the congregational prayer leader of Pamnar, told me of how one of the families that was driven out from one such hole went and sat down in the middle of Pamnar Avenue.¹ This poor man with his wife and children sat there until finally people gathered around and helped to find them a place to live. They weren't even allowed to live in that hole in the ground. Even that was taken from them! That is our 'progressive' country for you, and its capital city of Tehran. In one of their very own newspapers they wrote that in some parts of the country—I can't remember exactly where, I think maybe it was in the region of Shushtar²—when the people wake up in the morning they wash the trachoma-infected eyes of their children with urine so they can open their eyes. This is the state of our advanced and progressive country! Urine is used to wash their infected eyes because there is a lack of water!

Ignominy of America's proclamation of human rights

Is our country really so poor? What happens to all of its money? Our country possesses an ocean of oil. It has iron, precious metals, and much more. Indeed, Iran is a rich country. But those so-called 'friends of mankind' have appointed their agent to rule this country in order to prevent the poor from benefiting from its riches. Everything must go into his masters' pockets and be spent on their enjoyment. Should a small portion of this wealth be left over, then even that goes to the Shah and his gang. Although a trifling amount by comparison, still there is enough for them to have a villa, a palace and an estate³ awaiting them wherever they travel, in addition to enjoying

¹ Pamnar is one of the oldest streets of Tehran which is situated in the city center near to the main bazaar.

² Shushtar is one of the cities of the province of Khuzestan which at one time was one of the most inhabited cities of this province. This city covers an area of 3,528 square kilometers and lies 128 kilometers from Ahwaz (the provincial capital).

³ Authors have said that to determine precise statistics with regard to the land and property owned abroad by the Shah and his close relatives is by no means an easy task; and that moreover, a complete list of such possessions is not in fact available. A few examples of such possessions which were owned by the Shah are as follows: several hectares of land in Australia; several large islands in Italy owned by Farah (the Shah's wife); vast areas of the banks of Geneva Lake; four glorious places in the highly sought-after areas of Paris and Switzerland; the village of Saint Moritz; an entire ski slope and a winter palace in Switzerland; several large palaces in California, Texas and Florida. Refer to Mas'ud Ansari, *Man va Khandan-e Pahlavi*; Pas az Suqut; Husayn Fardust, *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*; Kayhan newspaper, February 25, 1979; and William Shawcross, *The Shah's Last Ride, the Fate of an Ally*, to name but a few.

healthy bank accounts—yes they are truly well-off.¹ They fooled people for a time with this Carter by saying that he would do such-and-such and would take all kinds of positive measures if he came to power.² Once in power however, he said clearly—liars have short memories after all—“There can be no question of human rights in countries where we have military bases; human rights must not even be mentioned”. For after all freedom is part of human rights. First he says human rights are inalienable and then he says: “I don’t want to hear about human rights”. Of course he’s right from his own point of view; he uses the logic of bandits. The head of a government that has signed the Declaration of Human Rights says: “We have military bases in Iran; we can’t talk about human rights there. Respect for human rights is feasible only in countries where we have no military bases”. But for all its

¹ In footnotes yet to come, indication will be made to the amount of foreign currency held by the Shah as is recorded in the official report made by the Central Bank. During the months of Shahrivar and Mehr 1978 alone [circa August-October], a substantial amount of money was sent out of the country, seventeen entries having been politically-coded credit transfers which were deposited into the Shah’s private accounts in Swiss, French and American banks and which amounted to 30,750,000,000 rials (over 2,000,000,000 dollars). *Gam beh Gam ba Inqilab*, pp. 95-102.

² After ten years of military intervention in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, during which hundreds of thousands of trained military forces were dispatched, and the most sophisticated of arms employed, America was finally defeated, tens of thousands of its men having been killed, wounded or captured and tens of billions of dollars have been spent. As a consequence, in 1975 America was forced to leave this territory. The defeat of this military operation and the innumerable crimes and inhuman acts perpetrated by the American troops as well as the psychological and sociological damages incurred, had made the American people strongly in favor of a peace-loving government which would defend human rights. Furthermore, the American government, having witnessed the overthrow of its agents following the discontinuation of the war in South-East Asian countries such as Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, believed the solution to lie in the creation of a politically-open climate and in allowing conservative and liberal fronts to play a role in Third World countries. In the meantime, the Watergate Scandal of 1974 had truly brought the Republican Party into disrepute both in America and across the world, thus leaving the US government no alternative but to allow a representative of the Democratic Party to win the vote in the presidential elections, by which means it kept alive the possibility of reaching its goals. It was because of this policy that the Zionist front and the global capitalism espoused by Carter were ushered into the political arena along with the argument for ‘human rights’.

boasting about human rights, what miseries America has inflicted on the peoples of Latin America, in its own hemisphere!¹ Again we see what it has done to Lebanon. There too it installs an agent and reduces the country to its present miserable state; and in Egypt it installs another, by the name of Sadat, whose every act is devoted to serving imperialism. A short time ago the latter went to Israel and gave it official recognition whilst approving of whatever the Israelis had to say. The Shah of Iran also says that it is necessary to make peace with Israel. In fact this wretch² gave Israel recognition twenty years ago. I was in Qum at the time when he gave recognition to this government of infidels—and Jewish infidels at that—thereby affronting Islam, the Quran, the Muslim governments and the entire Muslim people. The name of Israel was not openly mentioned at first, but later it was.

Shah's 'human rights'

Indeed, this person was a slave from the very beginning as he himself later made clear. This man (the Shah) who openly raises the question of human rights is in fact quite right to ask what it is all about.³ What do human rights mean? It means the logic of bandits! It is nothing to do with human rights. The logic of bandits cannot be other than banditry, expressed with machine guns and rifles, by gunning down the religious scholars, by the destruction of the Faydiyyah Madrasah, and the subsequent closing and

¹ As soon as a freedom-fighting movement appeared in Chile, America—the defender of human rights—staged a coup, killed Salvador Allende, and resumed its domination of that country. US espionage agencies and terrorist organizations are currently conducting intense operations against the freedom-seeking people of Nicaragua and El Salvador. Again it was American military intervention which brought about the defeat of the revolutionary regime in Granada. Yet, despite all of this, this country claims to respect human rights and freedom!

² The Shah.

³ On October 25, 1976 [Aban 3, 1355 AHS], the Shah quite clearly expressed his views on 'human rights' and 'democracy' in response to the attacks made by Carter during his presidential campaign on the dictatorial and savage actions of the former. In an interview with *Kayhan* newspaper, the Shah said: "They want to question us on democracy and human rights. This is truly ridiculous. Why, does democracy simply mean to shout abuses? Does democracy amount to creating a hullabaloo? Is democracy only killing? What other meaning can democracy possibly have—if indeed it still exists—other than the policy pursued by us?" Once Carter had taken office and had forced the Shah to see things his way and to agree to the announcement of a politically-free climate in the country, and following an intensification of popular demonstrations and the failure of both the Shah and Carter to keep things under control, the Shah in an interview with Radio France on June 19, 1977 [Khordad 29, 1356 AHS], confesses that: "If our defense of human rights leads to our fall and our subjection, then that can no longer be said to be human rights!" He then warns America saying: "We can purchase goods from wherever we please, but who can replace a friendly Iran for America?"!

sequestration of this center of Jafari Shiism. Faydiyyah Madrasah has been closed for several years now. They plundered the *madrasah* and robbed its students; they burned the turbans of the religious students and even burned their books! They insulted the Quran itself! That is the logic of bandits. As you know, the students in Qum then made their headquarters in the Hujjatiyyah and Khan Madrasahs, and there too they have been attacked and beaten. But if they are beaten and expelled from their *madrasah* a hundred times over, they will establish their base in yet another *madrasah*, for they have come to life, they have awakened! At any rate, these are the difficulties we face. As we sit here, we don't know what is happening to our Muslim brothers in Iran. It is a cause for anxiety; but we shall have to wait until tomorrow to see what happens and how events evolve. One thing that is for certain is that an impressive ceremony was organized yesterday afternoon in memory of those who were killed in Qum. And today too, Azam Mosque¹ in Qum is full of people and the bazaars and shops of Qum are all closed down. The bazaars in other towns too have also been closed, according to what I have been told. There is no news yet from Shiraz and Isfahan but I have no doubt that there too the bazaars are closed. This is a bewildering situation.

Their logic is the logic of the machine-gun, and the logic of all too many of us is silence. Some say there is no alternative but to remain silent. Their logic is to slap us, and our logic is to be slapped! They claim Jesus (A) recommended turning the other cheek. But he would never do such a thing for that is the logic of the apathetic! Jesus was a great prophet. He began his struggle in the cradle when he said: *I shall rise up to establish prayer and worship*. According to the Quran² he was a prophet while still in the cradle. Is it possible that such a person could utter such apathetic, cowardly words? This recommendation to turn the other cheek was invented by those who claimed some affiliation to Jesus (we cannot call them Christians). They deceived the Christians and made them completely passive towards their governments.

The Imams struggled against oppression throughout their lives

There are people among us who tell us we must swallow whatever poison the 'holders of authority' wish to force down our throats, simply

¹ The Azam Mosque, situated beside the holy courtyard of Hadrat Masumah, was established in 1954, due to the efforts of the late Ayatullah Burujerdi. The architect of this mosque was Husayn Lurzadeh and the glazed tiles were laid by Husayn Burhani Isfahani. The mosque is about 11,000 square meters in area, of which 4,000 square meters is actually built upon. Imam's speeches from 1962 until 1964 [1341-1343 AHS] were delivered in this mosque.

² *Surah Maryam* 19:29-33.

because they are the Authorities'. We mustn't say a word against these tyrannical Authorities'. But if what they say is true, then why did Imam Husayn (A) oppose the authorities? Why did he confront Yazid¹ and his government "*tutil-mulk man tasha*"!?² A certain *akhund* wrote to me a few years ago to ask me: "Why do you oppose the government? Do you not know that *God gives authority to whomever He wishes*?" I didn't even answer him. He wasn't worth answering. But his question involved a clear denial of the Quran. In a way, it can be argued that God gave kingship to the Pharaoh, but didn't Moses (A) oppose him? Nimrod's³ kingship was also a divine gift in the sense that everything is from God, but didn't Abraham (A) oppose him? Why is the Prophet in opposition? Why was Hadrat Amir against MuAwiya? MuAwiya also represented the 'holders of authority', so why did first the Commander of the Faithful and later Imam Husayn (A) oppose him? And then Imam Husayn (A) rounded up his family and fifty or sixty followers and rose up in revolt against another 'holder of authority', Yazid. Why did he do that? Clearly those who disagree with revolt against the authorities talk sheer nonsense!

Those 'holders of authority' who are mentioned immediately after God and His Messenger in the Quran⁴ must also be close to God and His Messenger in their practice. They must be the shadow of God and his Messenger. Yes, the Islamic ruler is the shadow of God,⁵ but that which is meant by shadow is something which of itself has no motion. Your shadow does not move by itself, it moves only when you move. Islam recognizes that person as the 'shadow of God' who abandons all individual volition in the

¹ Yazid ibn MuAwiya ibn Abi Sufyan succeeded MuAwiya as the caliph. During his initial year of rule he brought about the event which occurred at Karbala. During his second year as caliph, he raided Medina (the incident of Hurra). His third year as caliph saw him attacking Mecca when the Kabah actually caught fire; and it was in this same year that he was overtaken by death.

² It refers to *Surah Ali Imran* 3:26: "Say: O God, Master of the kingdom! Thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever Thou pleases". A group of people, by reason of this verse, consider it incumbent to obey the command of anyone in authority—even someone like Yazid.

³ Nimrod reigned in Chaldea under the name of Keykaws. He was an idolater and a relentless tyrant and despot who possessed idol temples of gold, enjoyed a great amount of wealth and had a very large army. *Tarikh-e Anbiya az Adam ta Khatam* [History of the Prophets from Adam to the Seal of the Prophets], p. 289.

⁴ In *Surah an-Nisa* 4:59, obedience towards those in authority is shown to be in conjunction with obedience towards God and the Prophet (s).

⁵ When the ruler of Islam is a person such as the Prophet (s), his government is referred to as the shadow of God. Hence, in certain traditions the sultan and ruler of Islam has been referred to as the same. Imam Khomeini, by virtue of the rare and gnostic insight with which he was blessed, has explained the meaning of this concept in his speeches.

sense that he acts only in accordance with the ordinances of Islam, his motion therefore being dependent and not independent. The Messenger of God (s) was indeed a true shadow of God. But can the same be said for this vile man, the Shah? Yes, a few thoughtless people among us say so; but that would mean that anyone who rebelled against Yazid who was also a 'holder of authority' deserved to be killed! In fact, at the time of Yazid, the Umayyad judges delivered a verdict that Imam Husayn, the Doyen of the Martyrs, deserved death! We have not read the Quran properly, and have not understood its logic. Above all else, we must study the Quran. The Quran has given instructions for everything and has made clear what our duties are. It has told us how we are to treat kings.

Opposition in the logic of the Quran and the Prophet's Sunnah

Why does the Quran repeat the story of Moses (A) so frequently? Is it just meant to be an entertaining story? If the Quran wanted to tell us a story, one recitation would be enough. So what is the purpose behind the Quran's insistence on repeating the story of Moses and his opposition to the Pharaoh? It is to make us understand! The Quran constantly discusses warfare against the unbelievers and mentions the affair concerning the hypocrites [*munafiqin*]. Is this purely for the purpose of telling us a story? Is the Quran a story-book? The Quran is a book designed to produce true human beings; it is a book intended to create active human beings. It is a book that deals with everything in this world, from beginning to end, and covers all the stages in man's development. It is a book that regulates man's spiritual life and orders its government. Everything is there in the Quran, in the traditions of the Most Noble Messenger (s) and in the traditions of the Immaculate Imams (A). But careful study of all these sources is needed for us to understand what our duty is. We repeatedly read in the Quran that the Pharaoh behaved in one way and that Moses behaved in another, but we do not consider why the Quran tells us all this. It tells us this so that we too may act like Moses towards the Pharaoh of our age. Let us take up our staffs and oppose this vile man.¹ At the very least, let no one support this regime.

May Almighty God grant you all success. May Almighty God remove this evil rule from the Muslims (the audience cries Amen). May God, Exalted and Almighty, preserve our people in the midst of their tribulation (Amen). May God, Exalted and Almighty, grant a favorable end to this struggle both to the Muslims and to Islam.

¹ The Shah.

Letter

Date: February 19, 1978 [Bahman 30, 1356 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to five questions on the increase in stipends and using money for public purposes

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 1398 AH

I wish to inform your honor that your two esteemed letters were received, one a couple of days ago and the other sent through Mr. Shayasi, just now. I am pleased to know about your well-being. I am not uninformed about the situation. *Arbain*¹ was not observed as a holiday here; I have spoken about it.

1. As regards money and inflation, you must economize in whatever way there may be. I do not know why you have not increased the stipends. If there is fear of prevention, it is all right; but please act in any manner that is advisable. I am apprehensive of the work and its being excessive. You must choose trustworthy people for this purpose.

2. At the moment I cannot appoint anybody for keeping all the money; you are in a better position to do so. You know all the trustworthy cases better. I accept whomsoever you choose. However, it is more important that the stipends be used and not remain unused for long....²

3. As for the money they use or want permission, you may give permission for whatever sum is possible; it does not matter. What is definite is that it is all right for you to reject whatever is not in conformity. You may give permission if they so require for the school building, mosque, Husayniyyah³ and such things; there is no alternative.

¹ *Arbain*: The 40th day following the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (A) when commemorative services—to mourn the occasion—are held.

² Not legible.

³ *Husayniyyah*: the place where services are held to mourn the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (A).

4. The receipts as written are not appropriate. Please send the list so that I may send the reply. I have not received any receipts or inquiry from Mr. Tehrani.

5. Please be overgenerous to the travelers, and if possible convey my regards to them. I have received Mr. Gerami's letter; please give him my regards if possible. I have no more time as the traveler is about to leave.

Letter

Date: February 20-March 10, 1978 [Esfand 1356 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledging the receipt of a letter

Addressee: ?

Rabi al-Awwal 1398 AH

The honorable Mr....:¹

I have received your letter of 26th Safar. May God assist you and give you success. The receipts have been sent and will be done so again. There is no objection to *Umrah*,² *hajj* and *ziyarat*.³ The other matter is detrimental and I cannot permit it.

The honorable Aqa⁴ complains about his senility and the lack of an agreeable associate. He must be definitely helped and the burden of his work lessened. Please think about this and either you yourself assist him at all costs or find someone else suitable enough. I am worried. May peace be upon you.

There is no news of the money you gave to the poor; it will come.

¹ Not legible.

² *Umrah*: the lesser pilgrimage to Mecca.

³ *Ziyarat*: visiting the holy shrines of the Prophet's progeny.

⁴ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

Letter

Date: February 24, 1978 [Esfand 5, 1356 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 16, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Recommendation to attend to one of the gentlemen

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 16, 1398 AH

His Venerable Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Pasandideh, may his blessings last long:

I wish to inform Your Eminence that I pray for your health and prosperity. Meanwhile, I would like to give you the trouble of paying two thousand tumans (2,000) monthly to His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Aqa Mustafa Tabatabai, may his bounties last long, who, I hear, is living there and is not being attended to adequately. May God the Almighty set matters right. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 27, 1978 [Esfand 8, 1356 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Occasion: The bloody incidents in Tabriz on the 40th day of the Dey 19 martyrs

Addressees: The people of Azerbaijan (Province)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1398 AH

Greetings to the courageous and religious people of dear Azerbaijan! Salutations to the worthy people and the zealous youths of Tabriz! Salutations to the people who rose against the very nasty Pahlavi dynasty, and with their roars of "Death to the Shah", brought them disgrace for all their absurdities! Long live the dear mosque-going people of Tabriz that have struck a hard blow on the mouths of the prattlers who, with their tools of propaganda, have named the bloody revolution of the imperialists, to which the noble people of Iran are a hundred per cent opposed, the "Shah and People's White Revolution", and who reckon this demoralized slave of the foreigners and imperialists to be the savior of the nation.

A person who is the savior of the country is the one that presents with both hands the resources of this meek nation to the foreign powers, and gives the paltry sum of money he thereby obtains for scraps of iron that are of no use at all for the country! That person is the savior who, by giving immunity to foreigners, has degraded the country and turned it into the form of a backward colony! The person who upholds the nation's freedom is one who does not allow a single person in the country to utter a single word of the truth and to criticize, while his ignoble police have cast their shadow over the entire nation! A Shah who administers justice is the one that plunges the nation in mourning every now and then by slaughtering the people!!

I cannot find the words to express my condolences to the respectable people of Tabriz, the bereaved mothers and the grief-stricken fathers, nor in what manner can I condemn these successive massacres. I do not know exactly how many atrocities were committed, nor the numbers of those killed and wounded. However, it is known that the crimes are more than what we think. Notwithstanding all that has happened, the Shah wants to put those police personnel on trial who have not acted according to his wish in killing

the people. The very grievous memory of Qum had us still plunged in grief when the most unsavory tragedy occurred in Tabriz that has brought sadness to every Muslim and has left us steeped in sorrow.

I wish to give good news to you and the great people of Azerbaijan; the good news of ultimate victory. You, the zealous Azerbaijanis, were the ones that spearheaded the Constitutional Movement and made sacrifices for crushing despotism and putting an end to the self-centeredness and obstinacy of the kings of cruelty. The tyranny of Muhammad Rida Khan Pahlavi and his ignoble father has made the despotic kings appear honorable. The history of Iran does not recall such bloodletting and massacre after massacre being perpetrated by this cruel traitor. The history of the constitution does not recall such a Senate and Consultative Majlis that show the venerable and pious people of Azerbaijan to be a bunch of irreligious hooligans. Nothing more can be expected from the Shah's puppet Majlis. Now, after all the slaughter and atrocities in Tabriz, they have gathered together a handful of the security organization employees and some workers, compelling them at bayonet point to clamor in every corner of the country. They have also orchestrated demonstrations in favor of the criminal, treacherous establishment. By such means they want to wash away the stain of ignominy from the face of this bloodthirsty despot, oblivious of the fact that this cannot be done even with the waters of Kawthar and Zamzam.¹ The suffering of the nation and the oppression and atrocities of this father and son have been recorded in history and will be published in due time.

Now that I am busy writing this letter of woe, I do not know what the dear Tabrizi, brothers are undergoing. Has the Shah stopped his atrocities, even if temporarily, or not? After all that slaughter, does he want to so crush the survivors that they are not able to breathe? But he should know that it is too late. The Iranian people have found their bearings and will not rest until the criminals are put where they belong; until they have taken the revenge of themselves and their fathers from this cruel dynasty. By the will of the Omnipotent God, there is uproar against the Shah and the regime being heard all over the country which will become yet louder. The banner of Islam, borne by the venerable clergy, will be unfurled for wreaking vengeance on this tyrant of the time. The Islamic nation, univocal and unidirectional in safeguarding the soul-nourishing precepts of the Quran, will wipe out the vestiges of this anti-Islamic, Zoroastrian-promoting regime. *"Is not the dawn (of freedom) at hand?!"*²

¹ The names of two streams in heaven.

² *Surah Hud* 11:81.

The dear and dignified people of Tabriz, may God the Almighty always assist them, should know that they are not alone in this cause of truth, and the struggle for liberty and independence, as also the defense of the Holy Quran. The large cities such as Shiraz, Isfahan, Ahwaz and others, the foremost being Qum, the seat of the clergy and the base of Hadrat as-Sadiq, may God's peace be upon him, and also the great city of Tehran, are in unanimity with them for a common cause, all of them being disgusted with the vile Pahlavi dynasty. Nowadays, the slogan of "Death to the Shah" is being heard in the streets and quarters of every town and village. No matter how much the despicable agents attempt to deflect the atrocities from the actual focus, which is the Shah himself, to the government and the officials, there is nobody who believes them.

Strange that, as we hear, delegations sent by the regime have arrived in Azerbaijan to announce the Shah's ignorance of the atrocities committed. And who are the likely ones to have done this except the security organization's agents and members of the Majlis and Senate! They, on their part, pretend that they are also ignorant about the matter.

I pray to the Exalted Lord to improve the lot of the Muslims, to uproot the mischief of the wrongdoers and wipe out the vestiges of this family. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Letter

Date: March 1, 1978 [Esfand 10, 1356 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 21, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The need to consider interests

Addressee: Sadiq Khalkhali, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 21, 1398 AH

His Venerable Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Sadiq Khalkhali, may his bounties last long:

After extending my greetings and best wishes, I would like to say that I have perused your letter that contained intelligent and fearless exhortations. Do not think that I am indifferent and that whatever I approve of is because of the toleration shown in the past. You are not aware of the inside information that I have and which I have not divulged. However, the interests should be kept in mind to the extent that they are not against the public good. What the various groups have in view in most of their writings and sayings is to divert public opinion from the actual culprit. Wretched are those that are compelled to act and are accused of being headstrong. Wretched are those that have not massacred people to an adequate extent and must be tried and stripped of their rank and position. Such is the reasoning of the establishment, and these matters confirming it; one hand ruling over all.

I am not in proper condition to bother you more than this. I have fever and a cold at present, but it is not important. I will not and cannot forget you and the others. I beseech God the Almighty to rectify matters. May peace be upon you.

Letter

Date: March 14, 1978 [Esfand 23, 1356 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 4, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledging the receipt of a letter and apologizing for its getting lost

Addressee: Sayyid Mahdi Tabatabai

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 4, 1398 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Tabatabai, may his bounties last long:

After extending my best wishes and greetings to you, I wish to say that I received your letter some time ago. However, it has taken me a length of time in answering it as no reply was asked for. Now that a reply is required, I have not been able to find it no matter how much I have searched. I do not know what it is about to enable me to answer it. Therefore, I am just acknowledging it with apologies for its loss owing to some reasons. If there is anything about which I must reply, please write and let me know again.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 22, 1978 [Farvardin 2, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Occasion: The Zionist regime's attack on South Lebanon

Addressees: The Muslims of Iran and the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Lebanon's regrettable situation and the suffering imposed on our oppressed brothers-in-faith in south of the country has caused much anguish and sorrow. At present the large and well-equipped army of tens of thousands of the professional criminals of Israel—that nucleus of mischief—with the help of their weapons, cannons, tanks and warplanes, have taken control of the southern areas of the country, the heartland of our brothers-in-faith, driving the oppressed inhabitants away, destroying their homes and setting fire to their farms. The Islamic governments are often indifferent, and perhaps accomplices, to the atrocities taking place, or are occupied with meetings and inconclusive negotiations, leaving the brave Palestinian crusaders alone in their valiant confrontation with Israel. Perhaps this shows a conspiracy between the super powers. At present, our brothers and their homeless children are in great torment and face many dangers. It is essential that the benevolent Muslims, especially the noble people of Iran who lead in charitable deeds, bestir themselves and rush to the succor of the homeless refugees, assisting them with whatever means possible. With a sense of duty before the Exalted Lord, they should not stint any kind of respectable help. In case they wish to make use of the blessed Share of the Imam (A) for the refugees and the war-stricken people, they are permitted to do so up to one-third. It is hoped that the heads of the Islamic governments, especially the Arab ones, strive jointly to repulse Israel, this mass of mischief. If they fail to do so, there is the possibility, God forbid, of such an eventuality arising in countries of similar type. I pray to the Exalted Lord to sever the hands of the foreigners and their supporters. I also pray for the independence of Islamic countries. May peace be upon those who follow the guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1398 AH

Message

Date: March 24, 1978 [Farvardin 4, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 14, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Occasion: *Arbain* of the Tabriz martyrs

Addressees: The people of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“There is no might, no power greater than God’s.”

Rabi ath-Thani 14, 1398 AH

With the arrival of the *Arbain* of the oppressed victims of Tabriz, the grief of the zealous people has been renewed. The meek nation of Iran should hoist black flags every now and then and mourn for the dear youths and the dear ones of Islam who were slaughtered by American agents on the orders of the Shah. The eyes are still tearful and hearts laden with grief over a mass killing that took place by America and other foreign powers by means of the Shah that has plunged the nation into another bout of mourning. I do not know if other massacres and atrocities are to follow this *Arbain* and the tyrant of the age will repeat his cruelty from the beginning or will be the agent to commit atrocities in another form.

We are very upset over these spate of crimes and brutal killings, but are, at the same time, hopeful; upset because we have lost, and are losing, the strapping youths of the clergy, and the universities, the merchants and the rest of the categories who are the future hope of the country, and yet full of hope for we see that these royal atrocities and the savage slaughter could not and cannot slacken the movement of this vigilant nation that has arisen. As the crimes and killings increase, the iron will of the nation becomes firmer and stronger.

The ruthless killings in Qum stirred Iran and brought the dear Tabrizis to rise bravely together against oppression and injustice. The all-out massacre in Tabriz has so shocked the zealous people of Iran that it is now on the verge of a cataclysm; one that will sever for always the hands of the foreigners by the grace of God the Almighty; one that will take revenge of the oppressed from the Shah, erasing for ever the infamous Pahlavi dynasty, this disgrace, from the pages of Iran’s history. We gave sacrifices and underwent suffering,

but every drop of the victims' blood has caused the blood in the veins of our zealous youths to boil and has so inflamed them that, by the grace of the Almighty, this fire will never die out until it has burnt the hellish tree of hegemony and its ignoble agents.

You the great nation of Iran should not and do not fear these vain attempts of the tyrannical establishment, nor the killings and injuries inflicted in Qum and Tabriz, for these atrocities in themselves signify the Shah's state of alarm and loss of self-control. It is now essential that you maintain your unity with utmost sincerity, which is there, thank God, and close your ranks under the justice-fostering banner of Islam. It is also necessary that all the factions that seek to advance the cause of the liberating religion of Islam come together, and with the rallying cry of monotheism, which is that of Islam and the Quran, attain unity. All of you, from the seminaries and universities, the depths of the bazaars and workshops, from the vast fields of the toiling farmers who tread the deserts, and from the strongholds of the altars of mosques, the scene of the parties' activities, from the circles of the scientists, doctors, engineers, the military and civil authorities should strive manfully in unison to save this ship that, in the clutches of Ahriman², external and internal, is in danger of sinking.

Islam, the honored religion, requests you O Muslims, in whatever garb or occupation you may be, to strive for saving it as a matter of duty. You must make amends for the buffeting it has been and is being subjected to by the kings of tyranny, especially during these fifty years of the anti-Islamic and anti-national Pahlavi dynasty. *"All of you are charged with supervising, and all are responsible."*³

It is also necessary that you, with utmost force and vigilance, ostracize those people or groups who are inclined to other religions and who, being opportunists by habit, wish to avail of the opportunity at this juncture and infiltrate your ranks only to stab you in the back at the right time. Do not give them the chance to act. The country cannot be saved except by Islam and its rallying cry.

It is also essential for you to put to shame and expose to the utmost extent the organs of propaganda of the Shah and his dishonorable puppets, whether they trumpet the criminal Pahlavi dynasty's pretended service to the nation that they have been doing for fifty years, taking it to a climax these past few days, and which some ungodly people have started eulogizing – which is known to them and to the people as being false – or whether they

² Satan.

³ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

show the Shah, whom we all know for what he is, as being enthusiastic about Islam and about fostering justice. Recently, some very dangerous whispers have again started in the Islamic University of the holy city of Mashhad, heedless of the fact that they are not up to the task of crushing Islam in the name of Islam. Just as we had stated before, we will let the public know of anyone who enters this bogus university and will consider them to be worse and more harmful to Islam and the Islamic nation than the officials of the bogus security organization. The Islamic nation will deal with them appropriately for being hostile to Islam, bringing such disgrace upon them in society that they will not be able to speak about the Shah's Islam.

Our woes are not just because of the succession of brutal killings ordered by the Shah; he has recently been planning to purchase once again a massive quantity of weapons and a number of ships. The purchase of these scraps of iron, that are of no use to the nation, will continue until the last drop of our oil or the resources that the foreigners need. Misfortune after misfortune is the order of the day for this oppressed nation as long as the shadow of this menacing nightmare remains over the country. One of the big misfortunes of the Muslims is the matter of the aggressive state of Israel which is now at war with them and is advancing in Lebanon. It is being assisted by the Shah; the Islamic countries often being indifferent in this vital matter, heedless of the fact that if it succeeded in its aggression, it would act in the same manner with the rest of the countries. These misfortunes that are afflicting us are because of America and its camp-followers. The American presidents' support for the Shah has occasioned these merciless killings, plunging the Muslim nation into mourning; American support caused the bloodletting in Tabriz.

The Tabriz uprising is an Islamic one like those all over Iran. It is in defense of Truth and Islamic tenets; ascribing it to the Marxists or the Marxist-Islamists—according to the “regal” propaganda—is nothing but a ruse. The reason for this is that these deviant doctrines have no place in Iran, if not the Shah would not have spoken about them. Now all the various strata of the people should realize that without their being under the protection of Islam and the banner of monotheism and the Quran, the path to victory is blocked. As the Shah wants to derail the genuine Islamic movements, and attribute them to the groups that are themselves deviant and have no place among the people, all the political factions and the intelligentsia should, explicitly and unambiguously, make it known that their movement and resurgence is Islamic for implementing the justice-fostering Quranic precepts. They should join the ranks of the clergy, the workers and the

masses so that by this stand they can neutralize the calculated stratagems of the foreigners that are being carried out on the Shah's orders. If not, by labeling the active, enlightened people as Marxists and, perhaps, Marxist-Islamists, they will separate them from the large Muslim body politic and deprive them of their beneficial qualities as well as weakening the nation, thus forestalling victory or delaying it for a long time.

Though our woes are not just one or two, in this country with its free men and women! – according to the Shah's logic – its social justice and the move toward the “great civilization”, in the words of Carter and the Shah, the nation must always be in mourning. We are mourning on the occasion of the fortieth day of the great tragedy that befell our Tabrizi brothers. The Iranian people should also, by their own public mourning, make it clear to the free nations of the world the conditions in which they live. I pray to the Almighty God for the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims, and hope that the hands of the foreigners be severed.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 30, 1978 [Farvardin 10, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledgment of the receipt of letter

Addressee: Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi, Kashan

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1398 AH

His Venerable Eminence Sayyid al-ulama al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Yathribi, may his bounties last long:

After extending my greetings and best wishes to you, I would like to say that I have received your esteemed letter and pray for your success. It is hoped that all of us succeed in serving Islam and the Muslims. Please do not neglect me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Telegram

Date: Circa April 21-May 8, 1978 [Ordibehesht 1357 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The guard attack on Aqa ShariAtmadari's house

Addressee: Sayyid Kazim ShariAtmadari, Qum

His Eminence Ayatullah Aqa ShariAtmadari:

The assault of the miscreants and the foreigners' hirelings on your honor's house and the murder of the respectable people in your presence is most regrettable.

I pray for the uprooting of the miscreants and the foreigners. Please let me know of your well-being. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: April 22, 1978 [Ordibehesht 2, 1357 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Abbas-Ali Amid Zanjani, Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; praise and peace be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny and may God's damnation be upon their enemies all.

It is hereby confirmed that His Venerable Eminence Imad al-Ulama wal-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Abbas-Ali Amid Zanjani, may his bounties last long, 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 Living Imam (may God, the Exalted, hasten his glorious advent), "so, he will be in charge of the mentioned affairs while exercising caution." He is also permitted to collect the religious law funds and even the blessed Share of the Imam, peace and salutations be upon him, spending half of it on the prescribed religious law cases, and remitting the balance to me or to my known legal representative in Qum for the maintenance of the 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 meticulous in the worldly and afterworld 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 upon our faithful brethen.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1398 AH

Interview

Date: April 24, 1978 [Ordibehesht 4, 1357 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The socio-political affairs of Iran

Interviewer: Lucien George (reporter the French daily, *Le Monde*)

[At the outset of the report of his interview with Imam Khomeini, that was published in May 6, 1978 [16 / 2 / 57 AHS] issue of *Le Monde*, Mr. Lucien George has written thus:

From the beginning of the current year of the Christian calendar, uprisings on a large scale have been taking place regularly in Iran enveloping many cities, including Qum and Tabriz, with their fire and fury. This week too, many classes and debates were suspended in some universities situated in Tehran. Although some of the opponents, both leftists and ultra-leftists are taking part in these anti-Shah rallies, it so seems that the real and main inspirers of these rallies are the religious leaders.... In any case, the demonstrators regularly and systematically repeat the name of the leader of the world's ShiAh, Ayatullah Khomeini.

Ayatullah Khomeini has been living in exile in Iraq since 1963. On October 29, 1977, his son's death in suspicious circumstances in Iraq, and the publication of an offensive article against the Ayatullah in the government-controlled newspapers, constituted the source of the uprising and the revolt. After that date, these set in motion the religious forces against the Shah in a more determined manner. Despite the fact that Ayatullah Khomeini is among the Shah's staunch opponents, and regularly sends announcements and messages to the people summoning them to stage an uprising and rebellion, he has never given an interview to the foreign press as yet. He gave an audience to *Le Monde's* special correspondent, in his place of exile in Najaf (Iraq).

Ayatullah Khomeini, with his lean face rendered more drawn out by the white beard, spoke to us for two hours in a measured tone, making daring statements. Even when he would say and repeat that Iran should rid itself of the Shah, and also when referring to his son's death, neither were signs of emotion detectable in his voice, nor any movement noticeable in the creases of his face. His conduct, control and self-restraint were most sagacious. The Ayatullah, instead of announcing his beliefs to the listener by stressing on the words, would do it by his look; the look which was always penetrating. But

whenever the topic would reach a crucial and important point, he would turn sharp and impatient. The Ayatullah has full and firm determination, and does not intend to accept any compromise. He is determined to continue his campaign against the Shah to the very end.

At present in Iran, many uprisings are taking place in the name of this seventy-six year old austere, devout person. These uprisings, religious in substance and nature, have seriously endangered the Shah's regime to a much greater extent than those of the leftists against the above mentioned regime.

We are now in the presence of the Ayatullah in a room measuring 3x4 meters, and are in a house situated in the remotest part of Najaf, a town that, from the geographical aspect, is in one of the worst desert regions of Iraq. A strong wind arose on the Najaf-Baghdad road, setting the sands swirling. The wind was so intense that it buffeted our car as if it were straw, ultimately bringing it to a standstill in a mound of sand. The driver took this to be the wrath of God and started reciting verses from the Quran. In this the holy land of the ShiAh Muslims, their just God, the Omnipotent, the Dispenser and Nourisher of justice is forever watching. The tomb of Ali, the first Imam of the ShiAh and the Prophet's son-in-law, is situated in Najaf, and that of Imam Husayn, the third Imam and the Prophet's grandson, in Karbala. The graves of these Imams are located under domes whose exteriors are plated with gold of utmost luster and brilliance. The interior is also ornamented with thousands of sparkling mirrors. These two Imams and Imam Husayn's progeny up to the eleventh Imam were slain by the Umayyads and the Abbasid tyrants. Hence, this ostentation in the context of the extreme poverty of the place is not surprising. Actually, it is a statement of vengeance of the people following the ShiAh school of thought in respect to the usurpers of their Imam's rights. The worldwide followers of the ShiAh branch of Islam, that constitute one-sixth of the Muslims, have been awaiting the advent of the twelfth Imam for the past ten centuries; the Imam who will install the government of righteousness and establish justice on earth. Despite the holy places of the ShiAh being situated in Iraq – half the population of which consists of them – they however, reside principally in Iran. Actually, out of the 33 million Iranians 93 per cent are ShiAh. Is the one who dominates and controls this body of ShiAh—who are still swayed by their burning faith—and exercises authority over Iran this same old pious person, namely Ayatullah Khomeini, who has such power? The Shah banished him from Iran in 1963. From 1965, after a period of exile in Turkey, he has been living in

Najaf. His son's death has been the cause of the successive uprisings that shake Iran from time to time.

Ayatullah Khomeini's humble residence is situated in the bend of one of the narrow streets of Najaf where the houses are intricately mazelike in order to protect them from the scorching rays of the sun. This residence is like the dwellings of the poorest people of Najaf. As many as twelve of those closest to him were present in the three rooms of the house. In this humble dwelling, there is no visible sign of the authority of the leaders of rebellions or those of the opposition groups living in exile. If Ayatullah Khomeini has the power to mobilize Iranians and stage an uprising, it undoubtedly stems from his power to influence and dominate their thinking. This power, instead of decreasing subsequent to his banishment from Iran, has increased tenfold.

The Ayatullah who is a dignified, reticent person has, hitherto, never addressed the international media on any topic. Therefore, the present interview with *Le Monde* is his first.]

Question: [The Shah accuses you of being against civilization and of living in the past. What is your answer to this?]

Answer: It is the Shah himself who is opposed to civilization, and who is living in the past. For fifteen years I have been persistently advocating, through my proclamations and statements addressed to the Iranian people, the socio-economic growth and development of my country. But the Shah implements the policies of the imperialists and attempts to keep Iran in a backward and retrogressive state. The Shah's regime is autocratic. Individual freedoms have been trampled on by this regime while authentic elections, the press and parties have been done away with. The Shah imposes the representatives on the Majlis thereby violating the constitution. The holding of politico-religious meetings is banned. The independence of the judiciary and cultural freedom is altogether non-existent. The Shah has usurped the three branches of the government, and has created a single party.¹ Worse, he had made it compulsory to join this party; and takes his revenge against those who disobey.

Our agricultural output that was, just 23 years ago, more than our internal requirements, with the surplus being exported, has now been destroyed. According to the statistics handed over by the Shah's Prime Minister in the past two years, Iran imports 93 per cent of its requirements of foodstuffs. This has been the result of the Shah's so-called land reforms!

¹ The Rastakhiz [Resurgence] Party of Iran whose formation on Esfand 11, 1354 AHS [1976] was announced by the Shah.

Our universities are shut for half the year and our seminaries and students are beaten up and injured several times a year, and then thrown into prisons. The Shah has ruined our economy. He squanders the income from oil, the future wealth of the country, on the purchase of arms. This being a luxury and exorbitantly expensive can only compromise Iran's independence. I am against the Shah because his policies that are tied to the foreign powers imperil the advancement of the people. When the Shah claims that he will take Iran to the frontiers of the "great civilization", he is only lying. He has made this an excuse to undo the country's independence and shed the people's blood. Workers, cultivators, students, traders, men and women struggle against his reactionary power and his living in the past. It is because of these undeniable facts that the Shah is attempting to invert the matter of our opposition to his regime, and show us as living in the past and being against civilization. If we succeed in overthrowing him, he will be put on trial for his actions against the economic and cultural progress of the people. The whole world will become aware of his crimes when that day arrives.

Q: [The Shah states that you are against civilization. You, in turn, accuse the Shah of the same thing. This matter is not necessarily convincing. If possible, please state your position and views on three basic issues concerning Iran: land reform, industrialization of the country and women.]

A: The aim of the Shah's land reforms was specifically to create a market for foreign countries, particularly America. But the land reforms that we want will enable the farmer to enjoy the fruit of his labor and penalize the landlords who have acted against Islamic laws.

Q: [Will the appropriated lands be returned to their previous owners?]

A: Certainly not; these very landlords had, over the years, accumulated the incomes there from without observing Islamic rules, especially with respect to the distribution of money. By this, the wealth that was the right of the society and should have gone to the people was retained by them in contravention of Islamic laws, whereby they have become rich. Therefore, if we take power and set up our government, the wealth that these landlords have unlawfully taken will be confiscated and distributed among the needy on the basis of rights and justice.

As for the industrialization of the country, we fully agree to this. However, we choose to have a national and independent industry that will be integrated with the country's economy and, together with agriculture, be at

service of the people; not a foreign-dependent industry based on assembly such as they have currently installed in Iran. The Shah's industrial and agricultural policy has turned the country into a consumer society to the benefit of the expansionist powers.

With regard to the question of women, Islam has never been against their emancipation; on the contrary Islam has opposed the concept of a woman as a "thing", and has given them back their dignity and honor. Women and men are equal. Women are as free as men in determining their destinies and spheres of activity. However, by having them steeped in immorality, the Shah' regime attempts to keep them from being free. Islam is very much against such a state of affairs. The regime has of course trampled upon and deprived the women of their freedom as it has done in the case of the men. The women, just as the men, have filled the prisons of Iran. It is here that their freedom is threatened and imperiled. We wish to liberate them from the corruption that menaces them.

Q: [What do you think about the term "Islamic Marxism" that the regime regularly uses? Do you have any organizational link with the radical leftist groups?]

A: It is the Shah who has used this term, and whom the hangers-on have copied. This is an erroneous concept full of inconsistencies, its purpose being to discredit and extinguish the movement of our Muslim people against the Shah's regime. Islamic ideology which is based on monotheism and the Oneness of God is at cross-purposes with materialism. The term "Islamic Marxism" is contrary to reality. In other words, the Shah and his propaganda organs, trumpeting the purported alliance between "black reaction" and "red sabotage", are pursuing the aim that we had mentioned in the sense that he wants to terrorize the Muslims and sow the seeds of doubt in them in order to eliminate their opposition—that is comprehensive, indubitable and undeniable—to the regime. There has never been an alliance between the Muslims, who are campaigning against the Shah, and Marxist elements whether these be radical or not. In my proclamations, I have always been pointing out that the Muslims in their campaign should remain compatible and harmonious, and should be wary of any kind of organizational cooperation with the Marxist elements. It is in this manner that, with the unity of all the Muslims, we are campaigning against the Shah and will continue doing so. And it is for this reason that the Shah is trying to show the essentials of our campaign in an inverted way.

Q: [Considering the lack of organizational cooperation, do you have in mind a tactical alliance with the Marxists for overthrowing the Shah? What will be your approach and policy concerning them after the success of your mass movement?]

A: No, we will not have any cooperation with the Marxists even for overthrowing the Shah. I am constantly telling my supporters not to do such a thing. We are opposed to their manner of interpretation. We know that they have stabbed us in the back and that they will install a dictatorial regime once they come to power. This is contrary to the essence of Islam. The Marxists will have freedom of expression in the social order that we intend to establish, as we are sure that Islam has the answers to the needs of the people. Our faith and beliefs are capable of coping with their ideology. The question of those who have been denying the existence of God has been raised in Islamic philosophy since the earliest times. We have never deprived them of their freedom nor harmed them. Everybody is free to express his opinion but not to hatch conspiracies.

Q: [In your opinion, what is the reason for the flaring up of the uprisings in Iran? Why have these insurrections broken out at the present time?]

A: The pressure and force exerted on the people by the Shah and his father. The misfortunes assailing our people; depriving them of their freedom and independence, their advancement and livelihood; the falsehoods that have been instilled into their minds these last fifteen years constitute on the whole the root cause of the above mentioned demonstrations. The bad economic, social and cultural situation as well as the extent of the force and pressure, have all reached an intolerable level. The latest uprisings are the prelude to a great upheaval the consequences of which cannot be anticipated. The aim of the counter-demonstrations, which the police with the help of mercenaries have arranged to confront the people, and the aim of the killings taking place in every town and village are all for preventing the Shah's overthrow.

Q: [Do you think that your son was slain? If not, why has his death led to the demonstrations erupting?]

A: I cannot say with all certainty as to what took place, but I know that the night prior to his death, he was hale and hearty. According to the reports I have received, some suspicious-looking people had gone to his house that night and the next day he was dead. How? I cannot express an opinion. The

people showed their displeasure over this matter. The people undoubtedly like those who serve them; they look upon me and my son as serving them. Following this occurrence, every massacre that the regime ordered caused fresh demonstrations in observance of the fortieth day anniversary of those killed. However, the basic and real issue is not my son; the essential issue is the revolt and uprising of all the people against the tyrants who oppress them.

Q: [What is your political agenda? Do you intend to overthrow the regime? What sort of regime will you install in the place of this one?]

A: Our ideal goal is the establishment of an Islamic system of government. Nevertheless, our first concern at present is to topple this obdurate, self-centered regime. We should, at first, set up an authority that would cater to the basic needs of the people.

Q: [What do you mean by Islamic government? What is automatically construed by this is the Ottoman Empire or Saudi Arabia.]

A: The only authoritative basis for us is that of the period of the Prophet and of Imam Ali (A).

Q: [Will reverting to the Constitution of 1906² be a viable solution in your opinion?]

A: The constitutional laws and their supplementary ones, on condition that they be amended, can constitute the basis of the government and administration that we recommend. This administration would be in the service of the people for the realization of Islamic aspirations.

Q: [Would this constitution preserve the monarchy or do you have a republic in mind?]

A: The regime that we will set up will on no account be a monarchy. This topic is outside the scope of the interview and not to be raised.

Q: [Will the present Shah's son ascending the throne be acceptable to you?]

A: We were opposed to the Shah's father; we are opposed to the present Shah and to his entire dynasty because the people of Iran do not want them.

² The Constitution of 1285 AHS [1324 AH].

Q: [Do you intend to head the government?]

A: Personally, no. My age, my condition, position and disposition are not conducive to this. If the opportunity arises, we will choose a person or some people who have the aptitude for such an undertaking.

Q: [You have always been silent regarding the requests of the international press; why?]

A: The international press is more concerned with pomp, bombast and official ceremonial matters: Persepolis [*Takht-e-Jamshid*], the Shah's coronation... or, it gives its utmost attention to oil prices; not to the misery of the people of Iran and the pressure they are under. Apparently, the Shah spends a hundred million dollars a year on his propaganda abroad. It is for this reason that for the last fifteen years—they have particularly pointed out to me that my newspaper is independent and covers the real issues of Iran; the tortures, killings and injustices; I hope that this interview would serve to make the aspirations of my people known—I have been addressing the people of Iran and will continue to do so.

Q: [Is the Shah's favorable policy toward Israel one of the reasons for your opposition to him?]

A: Yes, because Israel has occupied the land of a Muslim nation and has committed innumerable atrocities. The Shah's action in maintaining political relations with Israel and extending it economic assistance is against the interests and the good of Islam and the Muslims.

Q: [Do you wish to see Iran joining the Arab countries against Israel?]

I have always been urging the Muslims the world over to unite and to struggle against their enemies including Israel. Unfortunately, the various regimes that have come into power in the Muslim countries did not heed my call. I hope that ultimately my voice would be heard; I will remain steadfast in this path.

Q: [Israel's latest military operations have resulted in the occupation of further Arab territory, that is South Lebanon, where the people are ShiAh. What is your view about this?]

A: The people of South Lebanon should return to their homes by every possible means. It is their duty to struggle to retake their territory before the Israelis settle their own people there. I have personally requested the people of Iran and the ShiAh of the world to hasten to the aid of their brethren in

South Lebanon. This call has yielded results, but it is only the governments that, considering the requirements of these people, have the necessary means at their disposal; it is possible only for the governments to bring pressure to bear on Israel to pull out from this territory.

Q: [A contingent of Iranian troops is part of the United Nations forces in South Lebanon. Do you take this assistance to be a positive step?]

A: We have had experience about the Iranian regime. There is no reason to believe that this regime that has always acted against Arab interests and has assisted Israel would act to serve a sacred cause. In my opinion, Iran's policy is more in line with keeping Israel's enemies from expressing their views.

Q: [What is your stand and position on America?]

A: In my statements and announcements during the last fifteen years, I have several times stated my stand and position vis-à-vis America and the other superpowers who exploit the resources of the poor countries. America foists its stooges on these countries, and then supports the subsequent harsh measures imposed on the people. America, which carried out the coup d'état of 1332 (1953) that resorted the Shah to power and is supporting him, has not changed its policy. My stand and position with respect to America will remain unchanged as long as this situation lasts.

Q: [Do you think, as some others do, that America wants to install a regime in Iran that is freedom-minded and liberal?]

A: That is the announcement concerning respecting and observing human rights? This issue is nothing but talk! Talk! And I do not believe it. It is enough for you to bear in mind that Carter, the American president, in the course of his visit to Tehran, renewed his support for the Shah. Apart from that, this matter was not, to all intents and purposes, refuted. In any case, we will not accept a regime that is outwardly liberal and freedom-minded, and is dictatorial and autocratic in sum and content.

Q: [What is your stand and position with regard to the Soviet Union, Iran's big neighbor?]

A: The same as it is with regard to America. The super powers have exploited our people. I do not see any difference between them; even between them and England. Iran can establish sound relations with all the countries of the world when it becomes really independent.

Q: [Do you think that the Shah's regime is able to become liberal-minded?]

A: Never! Even the principles of democracy and freedom are essentially in conflict with this regime and with the presence of the Shah himself. Therefore, there is no possibility of a compromise with him. His crimes are innumerable. The first act of an independent regime would be to put the Shah on trial on the grounds of his amassing a fortune at the expense of the country, and transferring it to banks abroad. He must answer for all his crimes. The real liberation of the country will not be possible as long as the Shah is in the seat of power.

Letter

Date: April 27, 1978 [Ordibehesht 7, 1357 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 19, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Reply to questions

Addressee: ?¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 19, 1398 AH

The Honorable Aqa:

I have received your esteemed letter and pray for your health and prosperity. You are permitted with regard to all the things about which you have written. Concerning the mosques, you are also permitted exactly in accordance with what you have written. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

¹ Imam Khomeini himself had scratched out the addressee's name for security reasons. The addressee is probably Mr. Abdullah Islami.

Message

Date: April 29, 1978 [Ordibehesht 9, 1357 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 21, 1398]¹

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Continuation of the struggle until the establishment of an Islamic government

Occasion: The massacres carried out by the regime in the various cities of Iran on the occasion of the *Arbain*² of the Tabriz martyrs

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Jamadi al-Awwal 21, 1398 AH

Salutations and greetings to the esteemed believers of Yazd and the other cities who observed the *Arbain* of the bloody events of Tabriz by giving their own blood! Regret to say that we have to mourn *Arbain* after *Arbain*; in fact, the *Arbains* of this dark fifty-year period and the grief of this great nation. We have to mourn the events of these fifty years of repression, killings, incarceration, banishment, and, more importantly, the moral and cultural bankruptcy caused by this stigmatized dynasty which had a major role in keeping our young generation in a state of backwardness, and in leading them into corruption and prostitution, thus accomplishing its mission well. We also have to grieve over the wasting of our underground resources and, more important than that, the other “resources” which are our youths. We have to mourn over the British-coup d’état staged by Rida Khan, and that of America by Muhammad Rida Khan.

According to the logic of the Shah and his hirelings, the noble people of Tabriz who rose in unison in that city with their earth-shaking cries of “death to the Shah”, were a number of the foreigners who had been smuggled into the country. You the noble people of Yazd who valiantly staged an uprising, and by the general strike and the usual slogan of “death to the Shah”, further maddened this American agent, are some of those who arrived illegally in Yazd from across the border. The people of Iran, from east to west and north to south, who are solidly against the Shah, are not Iranians! All these people

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22-volume edition), vol. 2, p. 62, 2/29/1357 AHS is mentioned, but the date given on the handwritten manuscript is Jamadi al-Awwal 21, 1398 AH [2/9/57 AHS].

² *Arbain*: the fortieth day (following one’s death) on which a commemorative service is held.

have smuggled themselves into Iran!! According to this logic, the Iranians are only the Shah and his gang, the American and British advisors and employers as well as the Russians and Zionists; the international plunderers who have taken over Iran's economy!

We who are confronting such "logic" will not give up our campaign God willing until the removal of the reactionary monarchy and the establishment of the justice-dispensing Islamic government; until a government, democratic in the real sense, replaces dictatorships and bloodshed. Now, in order to achieve this sublime human and Islamic goal, it is up to all the various categories of people to rise in unity for the common cause. By perceiving the circumstances of time and place, they should shout slogans. They should abstain from demands that ultimately constitute a confirmation of the monarchy and ignore the unjustifiable bloodshed of the people of this land. They should point out the real source of all these atrocities, which is the Shah himself, and remind the world of the misfortunes of those living under this reactionary government. Community leaders should guide and support the nation in the path that it has pioneered and, identifying the enemy, has risen in revolt. They should not divert the nation from its chosen path at this extremely crucial juncture because of their aberrations.

Today, the brave nation, by finding its own path, has risen and has put an end to the excuses and those who make them. The avenue of excuses has been cut off; they are not admissible in the eyes of the nation and have never been so in the sacred presence of the Exalted Lord. Do those who are apologists and do not break their silence; even sometimes recommending silence, know what radical changes are taking shape? They have seen *Ittilaat* newspaper number 15,575 which, concerning the letter of thanks of Zoroastrians, says that it is stated in the Shah's reply: "The worldwide Zoroastrian community is thankful and deeply grateful to Shahanshah Aryamehr, because from the time that the Parsees emigrated from Iran, nobody else has, to such an extent, supported them in the revival and preservation of the history, religion and culture of the Zoroastrians." Have they realized that changing the calendar of Islam to that of the Ghebers for reviving Zoroastrianism, its faith and fire temples, Islam notwithstanding, is to suppress it? Do they know that in an interview abroad he has stated: "Religion has no role in my regime." Now, with the all-out repression and the deprivation of freedom in all its aspects, and the intolerable pressure being exerted, Iran is on the verge of an immense upheaval toward which it is proceeding apace.

The despotic establishment, its nerves shattered, has deprived the Iranians of the right to breathe by its continuing the killing and looting in various places such as Jahrom and Ahwaz; by causing sabotage and explosions in the houses of the freedom-fighters, as well as openly robbing, beating up and injuring the struggling people; by its savage attacks on the Muslim youths in the mountains by the “Vengeance Group”³ created by the Shah, and by imposing back-breaking taxes on the committed traders as revenge for participating in massive strikes.

Whoever of the various strata of society—the workers, farmers, the old students and university staff, the military and civil atrocities—have, these fifty years, suffered because of the condition of this nation are aware and take attainment of freedom lies in overthrowing the Shah and his dynasty, the bitter enemy of the nation and the real source of its misfortunes. It is futile to think that clam will return to the country, that has lost everything because of him, without deposing him and exacting revenge.

I pray to the Exalted Lord for the unity of expression among Muslims, especially the dignified nation of Iran, and hope that the hands of the foreigners and their hirelings will be severed. May peace be upon those who follow the guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

³ Vengeance Group: a group created by SAVAK (the security and intelligence organization) who aimed to abort the Islamic movement by planting bombs in the houses of the combatant people, and sometimes, by beating and abusing them.

Letter

Date: May 10, 1978 [Ordibehesht 20, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledgment of a letter received

Addressee: Haydar Ali Jalali Khomeini, Tehran

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1398 AH

After extending my salutations and greetings to you, I wish to state that I have received your esteemed letter and that I pray for your honor's health and prosperity. With regard to the matter mentioned, the time has now passed. Concerning the two people mentioned, your introduction is sufficient; may they succeed by the grace of God. Please do not neglect me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be on you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: Circa 1978-79 [1357 AHS / 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Zahra (Fahimah) Mustafawi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

My dearest daughter,

I expect you to come sooner. I hope that you will come here in good health and happiness, God willing, and become accustomed to us. We are all fine, thanks to God. There is hope, God willing, that difficulties shall be removed and peace of mind shall be attained. I send my best regards to Mr. Burujerdi, and pray for my dear ones. Peace be with you.

Your father

¹ Imam Khomeini's daughter and Mr. Mahmud Burujerdi's wife.

Speech

Date: May 13, 1978 [Ordibehesht 23, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 5, 1398 AH]

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Situation in Iran; general and people's uprising; guidance to the revolutionaries

Addressees: Religious students, clergymen and a number of Iranians residing in Iraq

I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I do not know where to begin. Should I talk about the people's misery, or about glad tidings? At present misery prevails throughout Iran, and yet it is a misery which constitutes glad tidings. As I had formerly predicted, when these dictators, these despots and ruffians, anticipate and actually see their own fall and their own death toward the end of their lives, and when the end of their political power is in sight, they become mad. They completely lose all self-control and act in a state of madness and insanity when dealing with people. The Iranian people are currently eye-witnesses to this; and even you too gentlemen, witness it to a lesser degree.

Qum occupied by the Shah's army

At present, Qum, the center of the religious institution, the center of Islamic jurisprudence, lies in the clutches of the well-furnished Mongolian army. The well-furnished army of Muhammad Rida Shah is worse than that of Genghis (Khan). People's homes, according to what we have been told, are being searched one by one, and no one knows what they are looking for. Army troops are now stationed in Qum with guns, tanks and machine guns, and all of the theological centers and the homes of the *ulama* are, as is often the case, under police and army observation. They have invaded the homes of the *maraji*, committing murder and perpetrating crimes there.¹ Going by information received today, certain *ulama* are in hospital right now.²

The Pahlavi dynasty and 50-year defeat

This is the insanity which has befallen this person (the Shah), and I don't know where it will end. It is a nervous condition which has come about because he sees himself as fallen, although as far as the nation is concerned, indeed he was fallen from the very beginning. From the very beginning, on the day when Rida Shah, under Britain's orders, attacked Iran and carried out a coup d'état, those who were aware of what was going on realized that he was fallen. It was later on, when he (Rida Shah) began to throw his weight around, and his police behaved the way they did with the people, with the *ulama* and with women, with the religious teaching centers and with religious propagation, that people then recognized the monstrosity and the beast with which they were to contend. So we see that this dynasty was fallen in the nation's eyes from the start. Its fall is not a thing of the present, for it was fallen fifty years ago as far as the people are concerned. However, the

¹ Imam Khomeini and other *maraji* declare May 9, 1978 [Ordibehesht 19, 1357 AHS], a day of a general strike to commemorate the holding of mourning ceremonies forty days after the martyrdom of those killed in Yazd, Jahrom, Qazvin, Ahwaz, Isfahan and other provinces; and they also call for the nation to conduct further mourning ceremonies on this very day. The people of Qum also participate in the numerous gatherings which are held in the homes of the *maraji*. This is when the regime's agents attack the defenseless people. A number of people flee to the home of Ayatullah Golpaygani for refuge, and the regime's agents have the audacity to invade the privacy of the Ayatullah's home, beating and injuring the people right there and then. As a result of this incident, the Ayatullah suffers a heart-attack and is taken to hospital. The following day, armed agents savagely attack the people again at Eram Square, striking and cursing them. A group of people found shelter in Mr. ShariAtmadari's home which agents then storm. The latter begin to fire at the people killing a young religious student as a result.

² It refers to Ayatullah Golpaygani.

nation has now become aroused and word has it that more than thirty cities in Iran have demonstrated against this man, shouting “Death to the Shah”.

Betrayal to the nation

According to the Shah’s reasoning, the people of these thirty cities and of the country as a whole have all come from abroad and have entered Iran with forged passports! Furthermore, they are a ‘handful’ of rioters!¹ The entire *maraji* of Islam and the *ulama* from all regions of the country have risen

¹ During a telephone conversation held in Shahrivar [August/September] between the Shah and Carter (the US President), the former refers to the popular revolution as a riot which has been arranged in accordance with devilish plans. During parliamentary proceedings, the Minister of State says: “It is not clear when and over which border those who caused the riot in Tabriz crossed into Iran”! A political forecaster for the Rastakhiz Party (Jafarian), maintains that the ‘riot’ in Tabriz was the work of people who bore no relation to the nation of Iran. A pseudo-clerical representative of Parliament for Tabriz says: “Islam categorically forbids rioting”! In the Majlis, Senator Ali Ridai states: “The rioters were a gang of inexperienced youngsters and it is not clear which border they crossed or what means of identity they used when entering Iran”! Cited from page 13 of the book, *Khatirat-e Brzezinski* [Brzezinski’s Memoirs].

up against this person; and from what we were told today, fifty-six of the *ulama* in Tehran have refrained from attending the mosques, declaring that they have done so in protest to the regime's behavior. Yet it is claimed that they have all come from outside Iran via forged passports!—that they are a handful of rioters!—that they are troublemakers! The *ulama* of Tehran, the *ulama* of Qum, the *ulama* of Khorasan, the *ulama* of Azerbaijan, the *ulama* of Yazd, the *ulama* of Kerman, the *ulama* of wherever, these are all a bunch of rioters!! The one who is not a rioter is Muhammad Rida esquire! This person is not a rioter! He is a peace-lover! He is taking us through the gateway of a 'great civilization'!

The book attributed to the Shah and the Pahlavi dynasty's 50-year defeat

As for this book that they have written for him on his behalf¹—he hasn't got the intelligence to write it himself, it is they who write it for him²—I don't know whether he has taken the trouble to read it to see what nonsense it contains, or whether he hasn't even read it let alone write it. If anyone were to take a look at this book he would truly be ashamed at how a pen could write with such abandon in referring to so much suppression, so much hardship suffered by the people, so much killing, so many conspiracies, so many deals to sell the nation to foreigners, and so many acts of betrayal toward the Muslim nation of Iran—in referring to all of these as the “rendering of a service”! There is freedom in Iran! A freedom of which no one is aware! Were someone from the planet Jupiter to read this book, he

¹ The book *Toward the Great Civilization* was published under the name of Muhammad Rida Shah in 1977 (or, as some contend, in 1976), by “The Center for Research into and Publication of Political Culture Prevalent during the Reign of the Pahlavis”. The false, mendacious and fanciful issues raised in this book even came under criticism from the Shah's own partisans and supporters abroad. Fereydon Hoveyda, who translated the book into French writes: “In my opinion, the book *Toward the Great Civilization* is no more than a world of fantasy...and it is a far cry from reality”. Similarly, the Iranian ambassador to England said that “in a way the book amounted to the depiction of an hallucination which was the outcome of the mental discharge of a demented, infirm individual.”

² The Shah made claim to being the author of three ‘great and important’ books, and he was convinced that the leaders of underdeveloped countries ought to read these works and achieve development and prosperity for their own countries by adopting the principles and socio-political theories found therein! These books, which were all the product of a specific period of the Shah's reign, are entitled: *Mission for my Country*, *White Revolution*, and *Toward the Great Civilization*. It seems likely that the author of the latter book was ShujaUddin Shafa, who had been in charge of cultural affairs during Rida Shah's reign, and was Muhammad Rida Shah's ambassador to London.

would think that its contents resemble Plato's thinking!¹ He would be convinced that Iran is another world! A world in the beyond! If he were to actually enter Iran however, and see what kind of government it has, if he were to see what the Shah's government is like, then he would realize that everything contained in the book is an exaggeration; it is empty talk. You ought to read this book. Of course the one who wrote it must have been a well-informed person—whether he (the Shah) has actually read it or not I don't know, but in any case the writer himself has been someone possessed of some knowledge. Nevertheless, he has sat and written about the beyond; about somewhere beyond this world.

As for him (the Shah), he wants to take us to the gateway of a 'great civilization'; or rather, this is what he has already achieved! We are now at the gateway of a 'great civilization'! We are presently within a city which is situated in the beyond! We have now entered a 'great civilization'! But what do we have to show for it? Name one thing that is ours other than the lying and exaggerated talk in which we indulge; other than this what do we have? What do we have other than these crimes, these killings, this suppression, and this lying? Even the press reporters who have behaved the way they have for some forty to fifty years, even they have now objected to their having to tell so many lies. Yes, press reporters have argued "Don't force us to tell so many lies". Going by what some have said, university professors have voiced objection saying that they will not attend classes and lectures while the universities are in their present state—a state brought about by the regime.² But then again, these professors are also probably a gang of rioters!

Those who oppose dictatorship from the dictators' viewpoint

These *ulama* in Tehran who, according to reports received today, intend to refrain from attending congregational prayers as a form of protest, and also those at the theological center of Qum, which is presently closed down and has been brought to a standstill, these are all a bunch of rioters

¹ That is, whoever read this book would think that in Iran the Shah had managed to bring about that very utopia which Plato had strived to accomplish!

² In April/May of 1978 [Ordibehesht, 1357 AHS], the majority of the country's universities closed down and university professors stopped attending their lectures. On May 13, 1978 (Ordibehesht 23, 1357 AHS), the *Kayhan* newspaper wrote: "In a letter addressed to...the head of the university, one hundred and seventy professors from various faculties of Azerbaijan University have expressed their regret with regard to the recent predicament (the regime's attacks on student demonstrations and its turning a deaf ear to the students' requests) and have warned that should this state of affairs continue, then they, the lecturers, will refuse to attend lectures".

who have crossed over the border into Iran by using forged passports! And all of the people of Azerbaijan—those who have conducted such an uprising, the likes of which has rarely been witnessed before, and who have engaged in such an unprecedented shutdown¹—these too were a bunch of hooligans! The same goes for the people of Yazd,² and for Iran as a whole. All the people of Iran are a ‘bunch of hooligans’, to quote them, “who don’t understand what they are saying”! According to the regime, those who oppose dictatorship, those who oppose the traitors to Islam and those who have betrayed this nation, those who oppose such things are but a bunch of hooligans who have come from abroad!

Even now, in spite of the set-up that has come about in Iran, and in spite of all this opposition to the regime from thirty-odd cities as well as villages—yes, in spite of all these issues with which the regime is confronted, whenever he (the Shah) speaks, he in no way stands down from his initial claim that: “The entire nation of Iran is with us! All of the various guilds are with us”! Only last night we were all told of how the heads of a hundred and twenty-odd various guilds had said that they remain loyal to the regime, that they are behind the Shah-People Revolution, and that they object to these rioters and have asked the government to punish them!³ Are these a hundred

¹ On February 18, 1978 [Bahman 29, 1356 AHS], which corresponded to the fortieth day following the martyrdom of those killed in Qum, the clergy of Tabriz declared a general strike. People intended to gather at Haj Mirza Yusuf Aqa Mosque on that day, but the regime’s agents closed the mosque doors on them. When confronted by the people’s severe reaction, police troops opened fire, and in response people then charged toward the officers causing them to flee. Then, a crowd of people who were carrying the corpses of martyrs and shouting “Death to the Shah”, took to holding a demonstration in the high streets. As they walked, they demolished a range of buildings: those Saderat banks which belonged to Bahai capitalists; the Rastakhiz Party’s central headquarters; a statue of the Shah which stood in Khaqani Square; the Bahai-owned Pepsi Cola factory; and many cinemas and liquor stores. They also set several of the officers’ vehicles on fire. For a few hours the city lay in the hands of the people, but fresh governmental troops as well as military forces resumed their attack and reclaimed the city having killed and wounded hundreds of people. By the end of the day, Tabriz had taken on the appearance of a war-stricken city.

² Following the Tabriz uprising, the *ulama* and clergymen of Iran declared the fortieth day after the martyrdom of those killed during that event, a day of public mourning. In the majority of Iranian cities, people assembled and engaged in anti-Shah demonstrations. On March 30, 1978 [Farvardin 10, 1357 AHS], once the splendid mourning ceremonies held by the people of Yazd in RawDah-ye Muhammadiyyah Mosque had drawn to an end, military troops surrounded those who had poured into the streets, killing and wounding a number of them. By way of retaliation, the enraged people then broke the windows of governmental offices and the headquarters of the Rastakhiz Party, and overturned a statue of the Shah.

³ On May 13, 1978 [Ordibehesht 23, 1357 AHS], the *IttilaAt* wrote: “Following the statement issued by the government concerning punitive measures to be taken against the rioters and saboteurs, the leaders and representatives of one hundred and forty-five trade unions in Tehran have today issued a statement in which they express their disgust with regard to the recent incident involving riots and disturbances in Tehran and other cities; and they have requested that the government immediately silence and punish the rioters.” In acknowledgement, a written statement released by the government read: “The guilds of Tehran are unanimously and firmly prepared to make any kind of offering or self-sacrifice in order to silence the saboteurs and to crush the enemies of this land and frontier. Each of these guilds constitutes a stronghold for the protection and safeguard of the monarchy, the Constitution, and the Shah-People Revolution.

and twenty-odd guilds outside Iran? No, they must be in Tehran and probably in the bazaar of Tehran. But if they are indeed in Tehran and in its bazaar, then how come they say that this bazaar has now been closed for four days? I don't know about now, today, but for the past four days they say it has been closed. These people in the bazaar were in protest. Indeed, it is usually the case that social uproars initially emerge from the bazaar. The source of the outcry is the university and the bazaar. Have those in the universities come from abroad?! And those in the bazaar of Tehran, have they come from abroad too?! These a hundred and twenty-odd guilds that have all allegedly expressed their loyalty to the regime are, it seems, located beneath the ground! We who are abroad cannot see them! Anyone who is right-minded and upright cannot see them! These guilds all support you!! The entire thirty-odd million population of Iran is behind you!! Only a few thousand, only a few in numbers oppose you! Initially it was said that the number of the opposition could be counted on one hand. Gradually they increased this figure somewhat; and now it has reached the thousands—those who oppose the regime now number two or three thousand! Millions of the remaining population are all in favor, and support the regime! But where exactly these people are, we don't know! Are they in Yazd? Are they in Qum? Are they in Tehran? Are they in Mashhad? Are they in Azerbaijan? Are they in Kurdistan? Are they in Ahwaz? Where are they? Where is this place that is beyond the reach of this present-day population of Iran?

Countryside eruption, consequence of half a century's stubbornness

However, the people that now live in Iran are well aware of what is going on. Those reports which ought to have been made by news agencies concerning the present situation in Iran have indeed been made. These reports have cited some twenty-odd Iranian cities—some have said twenty-five, others thirty-three—as being on strike. People in these cities have all demonstrated against the Shah. Even radio reports attest to this. It is said that these, the Shah and his government, hold a certain theology student

[*talaba*]¹—meaning myself—responsible for all this; but I say it is all his own doing. All of these thirty-odd cities which have risen up have done so as a result of his own provocative behavior. Were a thief to say that a judge has severed his hand, he is to be told: “No, you yourself have severed your own hand. You are the one who thieved; and whoever thieves loses his hand.”

Just give it some thought; that is, if you still have the ability to think. You are actually witnessing your fall with your own eyes and so you have lost the ability to think straight. Just think of what you and your father brought upon this nation over the last fifty years; of what this nation went through, firstly because of your father and afterwards because of you. Think of what you did to this nation; of all the pain which sits in the hearts of the parents of those killed by you throughout this period; from the time when that villain, may Allah’s curse befall him, perpetrated that crime in Gauhar Shad Mosque, until today, when we see the same crime being committed by you yourself. Do you expect the nation not to erupt? Does it take someone to act as the detonator before the eruption can take place? This country is presently a tinderbox on the verge of erupting anyway. Do you think that this eruption can be prevented by these profligate acts whereby one day a ‘Revenge Group’ is formed and another a ‘Paykar Committee’ is formed and other such absurdities?¹

Flatterers take the seat of Mudarris the champion

When you attend their parliamentary sessions, just listen to how these four wretches talk in order to ensure their re-election to the Majlis next year—a matter concerning which even they themselves have spoken of. Even the Member of Parliament for Azerbaijan itself says: “These people are not from Azerbaijan. That anyone from Azerbaijan would oppose the Shah is impossible.” So where are these people from then? Where are the people of

¹ Having sensed its impotence vis-à-vis the people’s strength, the regime sought to terrorize people and to oust them from the field of combat by planting bombs in various parts of the city and conducting secret attacks. To this end, agents of the regime and SAVAK members coalesced to accomplish these operations by forming clandestine groups called “The Underground Organization of Revenge” and “The Paykar Committee”. Included in their operations were the planting of a bomb in the homes of Dr. Matin Daftari and Daryush Furuhar, and the attack made on a high school in Najafabad in Isfahan. This underground organization asserted that its prime objective was to protect the country’s open political climate! See the *Ittila’at* newspapers of May 1-2, 1978 [Ordibehesht 11-12, 1357 AHS]. By terrorizing well-known figures, this organization aimed on the one hand to intimidate the combatants and to oust them from the field of combat, and on the other hand it aimed to draw public attention toward those who had been the victims of the regime’s aggression and hence to divert public attention from the true leaders of the movement.

Tabriz from Mr. Member of Parliament?! That is the state of our Parliament and the deterioration that has come about therein. One day it is Mudarris who is in the Majlis, and another day it is these that you see for yourselves. One day it is Mudarris who stands before all those present and speaks in opposition to Rida Shah—of course they eventually killed him but he stood in opposition until his last breath—and another day it is these, who, for the sake of being re-elected to Parliament, say the sort of things that they all know themselves to be lies, that others know to be lies, and that they themselves know that everyone knows to be lies. They say them nevertheless. In order to further their own interests and to secure the approbation of Rida Shah and Muhammad Rida Shah, they incur the wrath of Almighty God. This is the state of our Majlis; that is the state of our religious laws; that is the state of our bazaar; that is the state of our oil; and that is the state of our independence.

Order to oust the Shah and America

God is my witness to how deeply grieved some of these high-ranking officers are who sometimes come to see me *incognito*. They are grieved by these American advisers who, every so often, come here to Iran in fresh troops to play such havoc with us; and they are grieved by the deals these good-for-nothings strike with them. And I don't know, it is truly beyond me why these high-ranking officers of ours are so incompetent. Why are they so incapable? Why have they remained seated at home and taken no action thus allowing others to impose upon them so? Why do they allow these American advisers to treat them as they do? Why don't they kick this reprobate out?¹ They said to us: "Well, if he (the Shah) were to go, who would replace him?" I told them that if he were to go and even Ubaydullah² were to take his place, then that would be better than him staying, because whoever were to replace him would at least pay this country some attention. He has now become worn out. He is reaching the end of his life and has become neurotic and mad. He has lost all self-control, and continues killing people; and God only knows where it will all end. If he goes however, people will be granted a respite, no matter who his replacement may be. But not even one hour of relief can be had while he remains. If he goes and someone else takes his place, at least the people will be at ease for a while. Don't imagine that if he

¹ The Shah.

² It refers to Ubaydullah ibn Ziyad, the governor of Kufah during Yazid's caliphate. It was because of the former's acts of conspiracy and his direct involvement in affairs that the tragedy of Karbala came about.

goes then the world will come to an end, for his going will upset nothing. Where are these high-ranking officials—General so-and-so, Lieutenant General so-and-so, Major General so-and-so? These titles are mere words. These people are just like Members of Parliament who keep bragging that they are the representatives of such-and-such a place, and that they each speak “on the nation’s behalf”. This good-for-nothing stands alone, and then he talks about “myself and the entire nation” as if the two were united!

American revolution or “the Shah-People Revolution”

How can it be said that this nation, a nation which has now risen up against this reprobate, a nation which can see how this person has given away and destroyed whatever it had, a nation which sees how he has corrupted its youngsters and how he wants to corrupt its girls, how can this nation be said to fully support the idea of the revolution—the “Shah-People Revolution”?! Yes, despite everything they still have the audacity to talk of the Shah-People revolution!! Why not call it the American revolution and come right out with it? Why not speak of American commands, of the American revolution? What a state to be in! As he (the Shah) himself stated in something he wrote: “They (the foreigners) thought it fitting that I should be in control of affairs”. May God curse those who took it upon themselves to consider such a thing fitting for us.

Last days of the dynasty

Qum is now under martial law, and from what we hear so too is Tabriz and Mashhad, or rather they are under something even worse for this surely does not constitute martial law! Martial law is a kind of social order whereby certain social intercourse and social gatherings are contained. But is bursting into people’s homes martial law?! Bursting into people’s homes to conduct searches, is that martial law? They say that government agents have surrounded the entire city of Qum and are busy conducting searches there. They are looking for arms. They are afraid of their own shadows, the poor wretches! Don’t be fooled by such acts of violence. Don’t let it intimidate you in any way. These agents right now are frightened of their own shadows. They are so beset by fear that just like a cat which, when all else is lost, attacks everything in a fit of panic using its paws, claws and anything else it can use, so they too, having reached that stage, now attack the people using hands, arms, legs and all kinds of things such as machine guns, tanks, artillery and the like. They attack the defenseless people. In Qum, they are

searching homes, and they have said that they intend to do the same in Azerbaijan; indeed, the whole of Iran is to be searched by them.

The roots of eruption and revolution

He (the Shah) himself is the one who has provoked all this; not I. I am a mere theology student [*talaba*], who, like other honorable religious students, likes others in other cities, voices grievances about the regime. The one who lies at the heart of the matter, at the core of this revolution and these outbursts is he, the Shah himself. He is the very person who plays a central role in all this. It is a mistake for the one who is committing treason to believe that when the people shout out against this treason then a third party must have provoked them to do so. You yourself are the instigator. You provoked the people with your acts of treachery. You are the one who betrayed this nation, and in return, people have risen up and raised objection. There is plenty about which to object. What do you expect these poor people to do? You have marred and destroyed whatever reputation this Islamic nation had, and now you are busily engaged in bringing further loss and ruin.

People have now been driven to extremities; they have been driven to lay their lives on the line. Youngsters are killed and their parents then step forward to take their place in the struggle. The regime's agents kill people in Qum, and these people are then replaced by others, both young and old, from other parts of the city. People are tired of living. They are now tired of this situation, of this state of affairs that you have brought into being here. For whom is there any comfort? Who can be at ease for a day or even an hour, let alone have some kind of a life? People prefer not to have an existence in this world rather than to live this kind of life. So the blame lies at your own door and there is no longer anything that you can do to put things right.

The nation rejects reconciliation

Your repentance means nothing to the nation. You may well truly repent and give people that which is rightfully theirs and attempt to make up for all the crimes you have committed. It is possible that God may accept your repentance, for He is Magnanimous, but the nation will not. We cannot accept your repentance. Your repentance spells death. The repentance of a wolf spells death. Now, at this late hour, he has resorted to claiming that he has issued orders for the people not to be treated so badly. Only last night he said that he had instructed so-and-so to no longer maltreat the people and so on. And so there you have the wolf's repentance of which I just spoke.

Doubtless, you (the Shah) are now employing other means to try to pave the way for further crimes to be perpetrated; for there is no way that you would ever give up committing crimes. You are someone whose nerves have been truly shattered and destroyed, and who can see that the entire nation is against him. Moreover, you fear that a prolonging of the nation's opposition may mean a withdrawal of your masters' support of you, and God only knows that this iniquitous America would leave nothing behind for you should it one day withdraw its backing. Under such circumstances your associates would devour you.

The weapon of faith, the most powerful weapon

But what is the nation to do now? Foreign advisers have poured into the country and everything is in their hands. They are the ones who hold the power; the nation is powerless. These people who rant about human rights are the same people who have dragged our nation into such a mess. What is a powerless nation which possesses neither arms nor anything else to do? However, no weapon can compare to faith. No weapon can present a challenge to the nation's uprising. Today, no matter how many people they may kill, no amount of weapons can present a challenge to this popular uprising. As you now see, every city is beset by misery. Every day the people of these cities are harassed by the police, or harassed by soldiers and the military with tanks, artillery and guns; or they have to put up with a certain group of people who come and stage demonstrations shouting "long live this" and "up with whatever". A certain reprobate actually entered the homes of some of the *maraji*, drew his gun and threatened to kill everyone present unless they cried "long live such-and-such". And from what I hear, those present did not comply but instead put him in his place good and proper. This is what they have to endure—having to shout "long live whatever". But does shouting "long live" something actually afford that something a long or eternal life? Things have gone too far now; he ought to leave well alone and look out for himself. If he can save himself from being killed by this nation, then he ought to run away secretly. He unduly cancelled his trip abroad thinking that he could control affairs himself¹—supervise the killings

¹ The Shah had intended to make an official visit to Bulgaria in May of 1978, but the expansion and intensification of the revolution led him to dispense with this plan. Thus, on May 11, 1978, it was announced that the Shah had postponed his official visit to Bulgaria due to his having caught a cold. With tongue-in-cheek, Parviz Raji, the Shah's last ambassador in London, writes in his book: "Everyone suspected that the germs which had caused this cold had probably come from Qum!"

personally—only too aware that were he to go away, someone else might replace him. But whether you go or not, you are all washed-up, you poor wretch. And this is of your own doing. We didn't do it. The nation didn't do it. You did it yourself; you sowed the seeds. Would this situation ever have arisen if the government was a legitimate government, a legitimate power and a legitimate administration—if it showed sympathy and concern toward the nation and toward Islam? Would such a situation ever have arisen? Would the people have demonstrated against you? No; in no way would this have happened. So you should realize that these affairs and this unanimous and unidirectional demonstrating that you witness against you are of your own making; you yourself have brought all this about.

These are disasters and yet glad tidings for us. Glad tidings can be found in all of these affairs: the glad tidings of the nation's ultimate victory; the glad tidings of the severance of foreign influence, God willing; the glad tidings of the overthrow of this (Pahlavi) dynasty and of their departure from this country or from this world. This is all good news, and people must be strong, optimistic and fearless.

Islam the religion of opposition and resistance

Certain factors are intrinsic to any Islamic revolution. Killing and suffering are integral parts of an Islamic revolution. We are to discover how Islam in fact came about. This religion of Islam, and this Holy Prophet, may peace and blessings be upon him and his family, suffered all kinds of calamities while reforming the community. When it became possible to rise up against polytheism, atheism and injustice, what great battles were engaged in by the Holy Prophet, what numerous lives were lost, to what great lengths the Prophet himself went and what wounds he bore. From the advent of Islam, from that day when it was declared that henceforth one must rise up against tyrants, such as these we now face, the Holy Prophet followed a policy of fighting, killing and being killed. He did so for the sake of social reform and in order to sever the hands of these thieves and traitors and to put an end to their lives, for such people are harmful to society. Those members of the tribe of Quraysh, who owned gardens and caravans, were harmful to society; they had to be annihilated. So in fact, in the beginning this was the approach adopted by Islam. By the time it reached you and me however, Islam had become transformed whereby we now do nothing other than study literary works and desist from advising the people to do anything about their situation.

God knows how much I lament the state of the theological centers. I feel grief for the theological center of Najaf which is now losing its good name; it is losing its reputation before the Muslims. I truly regret this. A theological center which is one-thousand-or-more years of age is losing its good name. Just take note of how, throughout this whole affair, in all of the statements made, be they from religious, intellectual or academic fronts, no mention is any longer made of Najaf. Najaf is falling into oblivion. O you honorable members of the clergy, come to the rescue of this theological center at Najaf!

Qum theological center is alive

The theological center of Qum however, is a center which is alive. It gives lives, kills and gives more lives. Presently it is under pressure but nevertheless it is alive; it has risen up in spite of everything. The religious students from Qum have arisen, natives of Qum have arisen, the community of Qum as a whole has arisen. Qum takes the blows but it continues to stand up in confrontation. The religious student of Qum loses members of his family, but he continues to stand up in confrontation. Thus he is alive. In fact, people believe that Qum is all that they have. Yes, I feel regret for Najaf. I myself belong to the city of Qum but I feel regret for Najaf. I and others like me feel attached to all such centers. We feel attached to a theological center such as this which is over a thousand years of age. Don't allow this center to be destroyed. Don't allow this theological center to fall into oblivion.

Insistence on organizing the movement

Now that the people of Iran have risen up, may God grant them divine guidance, this uprising must be organized; it must not lack organization. There must be links between the theological centers of Qum, Tehran and all other cities. Links are needed; you must give this movement some organization. This movement must not be something dispersed. It must be well organized so that if the people of Qum rise up one day, then the entire nation will rise up with them. Don't be dispersed. Different fronts must all unite together.¹ Some fronts are mistaken in no longer making mention of the clergy, which is in fact the case according to reports which have reached me today from certain clerical figures. These fronts don't realize. They don't know that without the clergy they are of no worth. If it is not the case that a dirty hand is involved which has forced these fronts to dissociate themselves

¹ Both nationalist and religious groups and parties.

from the clergy in whatever they write, and if it is not the intention of these fronts to create differences or divergences between themselves, but rather their actions are due to ignorance, misconception, or selfish motives, then they are to reform themselves and to put themselves right. All of the various fronts must unite. The organization must form an alliance; it must be a religious party which stands in opposition to the Rastakhiz Party.¹ Everyone must unite in the Party of God, 'Hizbullah'.² Everyone must speak out together. Everyone must rise up together. Everyone must follow a policy of passive resistance together. It is wrong under the present circumstances for each group to act independently and to make separate demands for itself. The clergy must be united with these groups, and they with the clergy; those in the universities must be united with you, the clergy, and you must be united with them; those in the bazaar must be united with everyone else; the workers must be united with everyone else.

All of you are experiencing the same hardship. All of you are troubled by the same suffering. The suffering among you is a common suffering. We have all been overtaken by a great misfortune. It is not something which pertains exclusively to the clergy, or to the various parties, or to those in the universities. This is not an exclusive matter which involves any one particular group. If they take the country's oil, it is everyone's oil that they

¹ The Shah had ordered for various parties to be formed such as the Mardom Party, the Milliyyun Party and the Iran Novin Party. In 1974 (1353 AHS) however, he announced that the Rastakhiz Party was to be regarded as the country's only legitimate party and he made membership of it obligatory. He demanded that anyone who was opposed to this party should leave Iran! The Rastakhiz Party was established on the basis of three principles: allegiance to the constitutional law; allegiance to the monarchical regime; and allegiance to the Shah-People Revolution. Hoveyda, the Prime Minister of the day, was elected as Secretary General of the Rastakhiz Party and 'Rastakhiz' became the focal attraction for those who sought power or influence. No sooner had this party been established than Imam declared its illegality according to religious law. He thus issued a religious decree forbidding anyone to become a member of this party and he argued that to demand compulsory membership was a violation of the Constitution. On the party's first birthday following its establishment, the regime announced that this party enjoyed a membership of twenty-three million people; the total population of Iran at that time was thirty-three million people! The Shah forbade the party's members to discuss or hold meetings about oil, the White Revolution, the procurement of arms and equipment, and the country's foreign policy. Six months after its establishment, high-officials of the American embassy in Iran reported to Washington that this party played no practical role in the politics of Iran. Refer to *Tarikh-e Novin-e Iran*, p. 257.

² It refers to *Surah al-Ma'idah* 5:56: "Then surely the party of God are they that shall be triumphant"; *Surah Mujadilah* (The Pleading One), verse 22: Now surely the party of God are the successful ones. Imam Sadiq (pbuh) said: "We and our followers are the party of God and the party of God is victorious."

are taking. If they foolishly bring a load of scrap iron¹ into the country, this is something which affects us all; it is a disaster for everybody. Bringing American advisers here is a disaster for us all, and not just for a few of us. If they establish a military base here for America, this is something which affects us all. If they (the regime) betray us, or betray the nation, it is everyone's concern.

Everyone join hands together. It is wrong for everybody to set up his own outfit. Looking out for oneself is wrong; it means defeat. Organization must be given to this uprising, to this movement which is already under way. Those who lead the people, those who are judicious among the people, they must give this movement organization. That is to say links must be established between all of the various fronts. There must be links between all of the small provinces. Meetings held in these different provinces must be held on the same day. Links must be established like those that I previously sought to establish in Qum but which they prevented from materializing, may God guide them on the straight path. My intention had been for meetings to be held throughout Iran on a specific day, so that, for example, on a Friday or Saturday evening a meeting of learned people would be held in Tehran, and the same in Khorasan, and in such-and-such a village and such-and-such a place. This is what I mean when I talk of organizing the movement. But they prevented it. They didn't understand.²

Now it is time to wake up gentlemen; it is time to be vigilant. Your adversary remains formidable. He has now brought knives to the fight; he has now introduced tanks and guns into the contest. But you are not to be afraid of these guns; guns are nothing. You are on the side of Truth. You are in the right and Almighty God is with you. Organize this movement which has now emerged in Iran. You must liaise with each other. The honorable clergy must liaise with all other fronts and all other fronts with the honorable clergy. The entire nation must cohere together. Leaders of the people must hold meetings together at a given time, so that if one day an announcement is

¹ Guns and military equipment.

² In 1964 [1343 AHS], just after his release from prison and subsequent to the events which took place in 1962, Imam Khomeini proposed that weekly meetings should be held by the clergy nationwide on a specific day in order to analyze political issues and review interrelations between the theological centers. However, because of a lack of foresight on the part of the *maraji* and the *ulama* toward the positive outcome which could have been achieved from acting upon this proposal, and due to a lack of support, and even in certain cases, a show of opposition by these members of the clergy, by and large this constructive proposal was not heeded; and when Imam went into exile it was totally forgotten.

made from a certain quarter, then all leaders would speak out in unison; all Iranian citizens would act in unison.

Glad tidings of victory

I give all of those fronts which have risen up for the sake of Islam and for the sake of establishing the truth, the glad tidings that, God willing, *Inna's-subha laqarib* is near.¹ God willing, you will triumph, but only on condition that heterogeneous elements are not involved, and that selfish desires—snatching this for oneself and snatching that for oneself—do not intrude. We are all each other's brothers. I am a mere religious student [*talaba*], you are an honorable clergyman, he is a merchant, he is from the university, he is a doctor, he is an engineer, he is an intellectual—we are all suffering from one and the same misfortune; we all have to sit down and grieve together.

May God grant success to all of the opposition fronts. May He bestow good health on us all (Amen). I pray to God that He foreshorten the arms of foreigners from this Islamic country (Amen). May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

¹ This refers to *Surah Hud* 11:81: "Is not the morning nigh?"

Letter

Date: May 21, 1978 [Ordibehesht 31, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The necessity of publishing pamphlets and books against deviant doctrines

Addressee: Jalaluddin Farsi, Lebanon

In His Most Exalted Name

After extending my salutations and greetings to you, I wish to state that I have received your esteemed letter and that I pray for your honor's health and prosperity. If it is possible with your efforts and supervision or under your direction, I would like short pamphlets concerning the deviant, harmful doctrines to be written and published, and then distributed among young Iranians and foreigners, Arabs and non-Arabs; it would be most opportune. In case this is done, I will help in meeting the costs, God willing. In connection with the books written, I have sent a little money relying on the correctness of your opinion. This should be used for serving the religion of Islam as it is from the religious law money. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: Circa May 22-June 7, 1978 [Khordad 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 1398 AH]¹

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Fulfilling obligations

Addressee: Muhammad Yazdi, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

After extending my salutations and greetings to you, I wish to state that I have received your esteemed letter and that I pray to God the Almighty for your honor's health and happiness. Thanks be to the Exalted Lord that you, in the vanguard of the Islamic movement, have been fulfilling your profound obligations and are a source of pride to the seminaries. Moreover, you have rejected the excuses of those who at this grave hour have either shirked their responsibilities by their silence or order the others to be silent as well. May this be pleasing for you.

While writing this letter, I feel apprehensive about Qum and the other places. I do not know what to do about a regime that is neurotic.² The latest news of Qum is causing anxiety; I cannot correctly guess the outcome. Nevertheless, it seems precarious from certain aspects and hopeful from others. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The letter was received on Rajab 2, 1398 AH according to the addressee (Muhammad Yazdi).

² It refers to the atrocities perpetrated by the Shah's regime in suppressing the people's uprising.

Letter

Date: May 23, 1978 [Khordad 2, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 15, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: *Unknown*

Jamadi ath-Thani 15, 1398 AH

His Eminence...,¹ may God assist him:

Your esteemed letter was received. The receipt you had asked for has been sent; write to me in case it has not arrived and a duplicate copy will be given. Perhaps your honor is cooperating with Mr. Tehrani.² I have written and sent a detailed letter. It will, perhaps, reach you within the next two or three days.

I insist that you inform me of Aqa's health,³ and provide him with all the means for his comfort. He needs a servant; please send somebody from Qum or tell Mr. Saduqi⁴ to provide one. The stipends and what Aqa used to give should be given. Convey my regards to Mr. Tehrani. May peace be upon you.

What was said about the above mentioned bank was not correct. However, if they take interest from any bank and cannot return it to its owner, they must give alms.

¹ Illegible.

² Mr. Muhammad Sadiq Tehrani, Imam's representative.

³ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

⁴ Mr. Muhammad Saduqi Yazdi.

Letter

Date: May 25, 1978 [Khordad 4, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 17, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Praising the resistance vis-à-vis the oppressors

Addressee: Abul-Qasim KhazAli

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 17, 1398 AH

After extending salutations and greetings to you, the friends faithful to Islam and its divine tenets are constantly in my thoughts. The zealous youths who sacrificed themselves for the sake of Islam and its goals, and your dear one who left for his eternal home and who, in closeness to the grace of God, the Exalted, joined the ranks of those sacrificed for the sake of God, are constantly in my thoughts. Those like you who are bravely standing up to the tyrants and think nothing of their suffering in relation to their goals, are constantly in my thoughts. I am not neglectful of praying for those who are oppressed and for you, the crusaders [*mujahidin*]. You became bereaved for the cause of righteousness, and, facing difficulties with lofty spirits shattered the nerves of the oppressors.

The morale of our friends should not be undermined by the recent murmuring, whether mere accusations or true. These types of clashes are always there in such matters. God is always on the side of the pious. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Permission

Date: May 27, 1978 [Khordad 6, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad Husayn Ayati – Herat, Afghanistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

After praising (God) and extending salutations (to the Prophet (s)), let it be known to all the believers of Herat and its districts that His Venerable Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Haj Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Ayati together with His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Haj Shaykh Ahmad Ali Saidi under the supervision of His Venerable Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Haj Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Ghaznavi, may God assist him, are my representatives in financial and religious law affairs which depends on the permission of a fully-qualified jurist while exercising caution, and in collecting the blessed Share of the Imam (A), half of which they should spend on the prescribed religious law cases, remitting the other half to me. They should also collect the receipts and deliver them to the owners of the money.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1398 AH

Permission

Date: May 27, 1978 [Khordad 6, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad Husayn Ghaznavi, Afghanistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

After thanking and praising God, let it be known to all the believers of Ghazni, Muhammad Khojeh, Chahar Dasreh-ye Qareh Bagh, Nahur, Jento, Sarab Eli Qareh Baghi, Mongur, Noi, and districts that his Venerable Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam Aqa Haj Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Ghaznavi, may God assist him, is my representative in financial and religious law affairs which depends on the permission of a fully-qualified jurist using the necessary caution, and in collecting the blessed Share of the Imam (A), half of which he should spend on the prescribed religious law cases, remitting the other half to me. He should also collect the receipts and deliver them to the owners of the money.

“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 meticulous in the 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 upon God’s pious servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1398 AH

Letter

Date: May 28, 1978 [Khordad 7, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 20, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: *Unknown*

Jamadi ath-Thani 20, 1398 AH

May you be successful and healthy, God willing. Today I received a phone call to say that Aqa¹ is indisposed and all alone without a servant, and that the state of his food and catering are in a mess. I am very anxious about this. It is necessary for a servant to be at his disposal, or Mashhadi-Rida and Mashhadi Nadi-Ali² go there in turns, or somebody else who knows how to cook for whatever wages he wants. I am waiting for you to let me know about his health and welfare. Do not assign the matter to others; you yourself should act directly and relieve me of this stress and anxiety. In case he is unwell, take a doctor from anywhere possible to see him and let me know. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

² Two of the attendants in Imam Khomeini's house in Qum.

Speech

Date: May 31, 1978 [Khordad 10, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 23, 1397 AH]

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious duty; to rise up against the Shah

Occasion: The arrival of the anniversary of the bloody uprising of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS

Addressees: Religious students, clergy and a group of Iranian residents in Iraq

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Iran is an exemplary country; and I think it unlikely that another country like Iran or another nation like the oppressed nation of Iran can be found to exist among all countries of the world, or that there are many examples of such a country even ever having existed at all. It is recorded in history how Genghis (Khan), despite his savage and barbaric temperament and all the bloodshed that he caused, governed according to a system of law which was known by others as ‘the great code of laws’¹—a code which neither Genghis nor any other Mongol ever violated. Some have even suggested that the respect held by the Mongols for their law was like that held by the Muslims for the Quran at the advent of Islam; for the Mongols to violate their law meant death. So we see that even a people like the Mongols and a man such as Genghis abided by some kind of law. But let us now see, in this present day and age in which we live, which law can this regime of Iran, this Shah of Iran be said to abide by? Is there any law at all governing Iran? Does any law actually command respect? Does this regime and those who run it hold respect for the various social sectors in the country? Let’s consider these questions one by one. Let’s see whether Iran and this regime of hers abides by the law of Islam. They say that throughout the city of Tehran liquor stores

¹ “The code of laws” was a set of laws devised by Genghis Khan which were implemented in his name by Mongolian kings. According to this set of laws, offences such as adultery, theft, pederasty, bearing false witness, and witchcraft, called for the death penalty. Those offences which were severely punishable were the showing of disrespect towards parents; exhibiting ascendancy over or disobedience and distrust towards a spouse; and refusing to help the needy. Furthermore, war regulations demanded that the various Mongolian tribes come to each other’s assistance during battle; and each individual soldier was allowed to take those spoils he had obtained from war for himself.

outnumber book stores, and that these stores carry on their business in safety and freedom, doing as they please. If one voices objection to this situation then he is denigrated and penalized.

The regime's disrespect to Islam and the clergy

Which of the laws of Islam is presently enforced in Iran and within its system of government? Much mention is made of oppression in the verses of the Quran and in the ordinances of Islam, and the same goes for those who oppress, but all the same can Iran and the Iranian regime be said to be guardians of justice?—of social justice?—of Islamic justice? Are they fooling themselves or are they trying to fool the nation? To what extent do the Shah and his gang value the Quran? Does holding respect for the Quran mean having it printed and then distributing it to the people in order to fool them¹—like the kind of respect shown by MuAwiyah when he fixed the Qur'an to the end of a lance pleading that everyone should act according to its teachings? Can such people be said to hold respect for the Quran? Do they hold respect for the clergy? Just consider the extent to which Islam has praised and singled out the clergy as people worthy of respect; yet are they actually respected and held in high regard by these people? Do they respect the *maraji* of Islam? Indeed, it was only a few days ago that they stormed the homes of the honorable *maraji*, breaking the doors and windows, killing people and brawling. Even now commandos are in the homes of some of these honorable gentlemen. They tell us that commandos are present in these homes in order to monitor the activities of the *maraji*. What have the honorable gentlemen done to deserve to be treated with such disrespect?

Do they (the Shah and his regime) act in accordance with the constitutional law? Even Genghis acted according to the 'code of laws', and so did others like him and the Mongol people themselves. Does this present-day Genghis,² do these Mongols respect the constitutional law? Do their elections comply with legal standards? Do their parliamentary candidates

¹ In order to promote his popularity, the Shah would sometimes put on a false show. Thus for example, he would make pilgrimages to the Holy House of God (Kabah) and to the shrines of the Immaculate Imams; he held discussions with certain religious figures; he organized mourning ceremonies sponsored by the Imperial Court; he formed the Religious Corps and promoted religious programs on both the television and the radio; and he renovated places of pilgrimage. The printing of the Aryamehr Quran was another such act of deception to which he resorted.

² The Shah.

meet stipulated criteria?¹ Is their Majlis one which obeys the law?² Which of their affairs can be said to be remotely in accordance with any law, be they religious laws or secular and constitutional laws?

¹ The majority of Majlis representatives were not elected in accordance with legal criteria or via the electoral system, but rather most of them were imposed upon the people. These very representatives were the ones who carried out the Shah's orders. Members of Parliament would go to Muhammad Rida Pahlavi on specific days to ascertain where the Shah stood on certain issues in order to be sure of which way to vote in the Majlis. Many bills which contravened the constitutional law were in fact passed in Parliament due to the fact that these representatives used to allow the executive council to have a say in those affairs which concerned the legislative council. Refer to *Tarikh-e Siyasi-ye MuAssir-e Iran*, vol. 1, p. 121; the article entitled: "Qanun-e Asasi-ye Iran bad az Tawallud Teror Shud," in *Kayhan*, October 10, 1978 [Mehr 18, 1357 AHS]; and to the interview held with Mazhari, a Majlis representative, in *Kayhan*, October 9, 1978 [Mehr 17, 1357 AHS].

² In a confession printed in the *Ittila'at* newspaper of October 23, 1978 [Aban 1, 1357 AHS], Mazhari, a Majlis representative, stated: "The Parliamentary Speaker conducted the entire Majlis proceedings in such a way as to leave no time for questions to be raised and discussed. That is to say that the government, in accordance with the Majlis's internal regulations, would announce its readiness to answer questions, but the agenda prepared by the Speaker of the Majlis would be so heavy that there would not be enough time to actually raise any questions. It even reached the stage where the most well-known Member of Parliament warned that whoever should raise a question in Parliament would not find himself as a parliamentary representative in the future, since it was the regime which made decisions about the government and the political parties." Abbas Akhbari, another Member of Parliament, said: "On one occasion when a car tax bill was under discussion, RiyaDi declared that the bill pertaining to this tax had been ratified, in spite of the fact that only a few representatives had actually cast their votes! When Rastam Rafati voiced objection asking how the bill could have been ratified when an insufficient number had voted, he was told: "Don't come out with wisecracks during an open parliamentary session"!"

Do they have any regard for our education system?¹ If they do, then why are the schools in Iran either totally or partially closed? And why do the university lecturers suspend their lectures? It is because the government won't leave the university alone. What have these students done to deserve being deprived of education?² What kind of respect does this regime show for education? What kind of respect do they afford the army? Those who

¹ With regard to the damage caused to national and religious education in Iran by the Pahlavi regime, Imam Khomeini, in his religio-political last will and testament writes:

"One of the imperialists' major intrigues concerns taking control of the educational institutions and especially the universities, for a country's destiny lies in the hands of those who graduate from the universities...the plan is to turn the youngsters in universities away from their own culture, customs and values, and to draw them towards the culture, customs and values found in the East and the West. The imperialists plan to select those who are to run the country from among these youngsters, placing the latter in strategic governmental positions. In this way, the imperialists will be at liberty to do whatever they like by means of these hand-picked stooges... An example of this are those plans which have regretfully had a great impact on our own dear country as well as on other countries...plans which entail the self-alienation of those countries which have been smitten by imperialism, and the resultant infatuation of these countries with both the East and the West. These plans have succeeded to the extent where those smitten countries now see themselves, their culture, and their own capabilities as worthless, whilst regarding the East and the West—the two 'superpowers'—as a superior race with a superior culture... Those nations which have suffered oppression under foreign rule have been held back by the imperialists in all things, whereby they have been turned into consumer societies. And they have made us so afraid of their achievements and their demonic power that we daren't attempt to our own initiative in anything. We submissively obey their every command, having surrendered whatever we have to them, and having entrusted in their hands both our own and our country's destinies. This forged intellectual void has led us not to rely on our own ideas and capabilities in any of our affairs; and it has meant that we blindly follow the East and the West. Whatever culture, customs, technology and initiative we may have possessed, have been mockingly referred to as worthless by those writers and broadcasters who themselves lack knowledge and understanding, and who are infatuated with the East and the West; and they have presented and continue to present our way of thought and our national strength as all washed up. Furthermore, they have promoted foreign customs, however trite and disgraceful, by the things they do, say and write and have passed these customs on, and continue to pass them on, to each and every country, making them out to be truly praiseworthy."

² As a consequence of the disturbances which occurred in 1977 [1356 AHS], the universities were closed as if on strike. During the 1977-78 academic year, lectures were boycotted by the students. Many universities, such as Tabriz University, Tehran University and Sharif University of Technology (formerly Aryamehr University) announced that they had prematurely ended their academic term. Towards the end of the year, the crisis in the universities became so intense that on May 8, 1978 [Ordibehesht 18, 1357 AHS], severe clashes broke out between the security guards and students of Tabriz University. At Sharif University of Technology, members of the academic staff came out on strike and likewise, students boycotted lectures in support of their professors. See the article in *Kayhan*, October 5, 1978 [Mehr 13, 1357 AHS], entitled: "How calm is maintained in the universities".

mistakenly regard the army as a part of their own outfit, just what kind of respect do they afford it? We have an army which serves under American advisers—the latter being granted immunity whilst the former is placed under their command! Why humiliate the army in this way? Do you realize what an affront this is to the Iranian army—how humiliating this is for the army of Iran—for its commanders? Why do these commanders allow themselves to be humiliated so? How come they don't wake up and see to this man¹ sending him to where he belongs? Just what do they hold in respect? What law do they abide by? At least let them abide by a law like that of Genghis when dealing with us; at least let them act according to some kind of principles; let some law come into play somewhere. Anarchy! Iran is currently in a state of anarchy.

Arresting people for fear of Khordad anniversary!

Khordad 15 has not yet arrived, but even so, well in advance, well before this day approaches, they are busy making arrests for fear that on Khordad 15 a few people might speak up and voice some kind of objection with regard to the killings which occurred on this day (in 1963)—that they might speak of the crimes that were perpetrated and murders committed on the orders of the Shah himself, the very one who commanded the troops during these killings. They have already arrested a number of people in Tehran. In Qum a large number of religious students have been arrested as well as ordinary people and even youngsters, children. They arrest anyone they come across—or so it is said—and the governor-general's prisons in Qum are so full of people that there is no room for any more; they've become absolutely chock-a-block.

Baseless claims

What state of affairs is this that we now see in Iran? What kind of freedom is this that His Imperial Majesty has granted us?!² Indeed, is freedom something to be granted?! To say that it is, is in itself a crime. To say "we granted freedom" itself constitutes a crime. Freedom belongs to the people. The law has given freedom to people. God has given freedom to people. Islam has given freedom. The constitutional law has given freedom

¹ The Shah.

² Following the uprising in Tabriz, the Shah, finding himself under tremendous pressure, made the decision to "grant political freedom"; and in an address made in Esfand 1356 AHS [February/March 1978], he said: "We have decided to give people as much individual freedom as possible. It is likely that some may wish to take advantage of this freedom and pull out all the stops, but no matter what they might say, it won't have the slightest effect on the resolute nation of Iran."

to people. What on earth is meant by “we granted” (freedom)? Who the deuce are you to do the “granting”? What the dickens had it got to do with you anyway? “We granted freedom to the people”!! The granting of freedom means this that we now see; it does not in truth concern freedom at all but instead concerns what we are now witnessing—it is something to fool the people.

America the prime criminal, the Shah the secondary one

The regime, after deliberation, has formed a group from within its own gang which is to write something every now and then to give the impression that there is in fact freedom of the pen; that people are free to write what they wish. Of course there are some honorable people amongst those who write, who come from all different walks of life and who continue to write despite the dangers facing them. A great number of scholars and academics in Qum write about the tragic events which occur here, may God always assist them, and more or less all of the religious students also write reports of these events, which they then sign and publish. Again such writers can also be found within political groups and associations who bravely document what is going on and publish their work, although in so doing, they subject themselves to danger and harassment. Of course amongst these, within these so-called political fronts, there are also those who wish to draw a red herring by diverting attention from the main culprit to these lesser mortals; to those in the government for example. The regime would like nothing more than for the blame to be placed on the government, for anyone to say whatever they like about the government, and for His Imperial Majesty to go unnoticed; for the real culprit to be overlooked. On one occasion when I had intended to speak out, they sent someone to tell me that I was not to speak of the Americans, but that apart from this there would be no objection to my speaking of anyone else, even the Shah. I told them that all of our problems are due to Americans; all of the misery we suffer is America’s doing. Are we to leave the main culprit alone and to turn our attention to the henchmen and stooges instead? Right now in Iran, it is America that is the prime culprit while this Shah of ours plays a secondary role. We are now suffering at the hands of this lesser culprit and the rest of those who are involved are not worth considering! Neither does his Prime Minister deserve mention, nor do his ministers and Members of Parliament; none of these are in any way worthy of mention. He himself is not worth talking about either, but we have no choice but to speak of him. The *ulama* of Iran are now suffering. Indeed, the Iranian people as a whole are presently suffering. They are not allowed to breathe. At present the streets of Iran are swarming with commandos. Two or three days ago, some people told us that commandos are within the homes of the high-ranking clergy, and that they are amongst the people too; and they say that the streets are full of guns and tanks and the like. What has happened? What has this nation done? Has it done anything other than to say let us breathe?

Slum-dwellers in the capital of ‘Great Civilization’

This Mr. Gateway to a Great Civilization!¹ He has not taken a proper look at Tehran and its various districts. Written reports made by certain gentlemen tell of forty-odd districts (in Tehran) in which one finds these slum-dwellers, these tent-dwellers, who either have no home at all, or have made some kind of tent for themselves, or again who have found a hole in the ground and thus live like animals, the poor souls. A great number of districts, forty-odd in all, have been named in the reports. I have the list in front of me right now. This Mr. Great Civilization has not taken a look at this city of Tehran with its forty-odd wretched districts, where they are deprived of whatever civilization has to offer. They have no water or electricity, and

¹ The Shah.

there is no trace of such things as tarmacked surfaces; they have absolutely nothing, the poor wretches. They drove these poor souls out of the villages appropriating the land there for themselves; and as a result the villagers came to Tehran. And this is now the state of Tehran, with its forty-odd districts and its slum- and tent-dwellers who are living in pain and misery, who are living in a desperate state. The reports state that in order to obtain water, these poor women have to climb a hundred steps or more to where a water tap is situated. Just imagine having to carry a water jug all this distance, and having to descend all these steps, especially during the winter. Imagine how often they must fall down and what pains they must take for the sake of obtaining a drop of water for their children. Can this Mr. Great Civilization see all this from where he is sitting? Is he really unaware of these things or does he turn a blind eye to them? Only three or four days ago, he visited the holy shrine in Mashhad where, as usual, he went through the motions of devout worship. Afterwards he came and spoke of a great civilization before a group of poor people who had been assembled there by the regime's agents. He spoke of what we will have achieved in a few years' time, and amongst other remarks made he stated that in the near future Iran's population will have reached

sixty-five million and its oil will have run out.¹ Who on earth is exhausting our oil supply? He repeatedly says that there is no oil. But there is oil and it is you who is sucking our oil supply dry. You are pumping oil down the throats of America and other countries. It is not that there is no oil. We have many oil reserves, but you are using them up such that in a few years' time they will run dry and people will be left in despair. After this he intends to use solar energy! Why, for goodness sake...what on earth are you talking about? Be ashamed of yourself! You want to use solar energy?! Will we have no need for oil later?! Are we to use other sources of energy?! For whom are you saying these things? At least tell them not to say these things over the radio. Let them say these things to the peasants but not over the radio where people and even those in Najaf can hear them, and where those in Europe can hear them and laugh at them. I now have in my possession the names and particulars of the forty-odd districts of Tehran which they listed and brought to me—Tehran, a city which stretches all the way from Hadrat Abdul-Azim (in the south) to Shemiran (in the north). Such far-off districts as these are all a part of Tehran. And there are places which are even worse than Tehran. Certain gentlemen, certain honorable merchants who came to see me, spoke of a place other than Tehran saying: "Permit us to add something to the charitable tax which is demanded of us by Islam, and to use this money to make a water tank for these poor souls whose wives have to travel a distance of six kilometers—I believe that was the distance quoted if my memory serves me right—to find water to bring back for their children and families to drink"; and I accordingly gave them permission. Whether they have now made the water tank or not, I don't know. It is the same in every district. Don't imagine that group of people who are loyal to the regime and who lead a prosperous life are typical. When certain people who know no better see the kind of lives these people have, they think that Iran is a prosperous

¹ A report which appears in the *Ittila'at* on May 29, 1978 [Khordad 8, 1357 AHS] concerning the previous day's visit by the Shah and Farah, reads: "... Beneath the blessed propylaeum of the holy shrine's oratory, where the Shah was welcomed by a group of clergymen and *ulama*, Mr. Nawqani, having given a welcoming address, stated with the utmost deference: "...Moreover, the spiritual effects which emanate from Your Royal Highness are also in evidence in other Islamic countries of the world; and everywhere shines alluringly with the august name of Shahanshah! Your Highness...King of kings...whatever we behold compels us to say: may you continue to reign ever glorious, for now is but the dawn." In response to Mr. Nawqani, Aryamehr, the Shahanshah, made the following comments: "You are all aware of my own personal faith in the true religion of Islam and of the way in which I run a country. Twenty years from now, the time will have come when this nation's population will have more or less reached its peak—that is to say, it will have reached sixty-five million people—and that is also the time when our oil will have run dry."

country, and that everyone is fortunate enough to own a car, a garden and so on. The people who own these kinds of things are in fact the very members of his (the Shah's) own gang; they are the very plunderers who are fleecing the people. Can the ordinary people ever hope to enjoy a life like theirs? Go and take a look at the slum-dwellers. Go and look at the tent-dwellers. Go and look at the south of the city. Such deprivation can even be found in the north of the city too. Eisenhower Street is another of the places where slum- and tent-dwellers can be found.¹ Go and take a look at these people and then talk of progress made and of how we are about to reach the gateway to a great civilization—for which occasion we are in fact about to hold a commemorative celebration!

Nationalization as cover up in stealing the country's resources

That is how things stand on one front, with regard to the slum-dwellers and the down-and-outs in Iran. On the other front however, the regime has handed wherever and whatever is of value over to large American, Zionist or British companies; and they have done so in the name of nationalization. They have handed over our forests, pastures, water sources, rivers, subterranean waters and so on. I have a copy of a report which explains how these grazing pastures had been such that during a visit to Iran by the Queen of England's husband, the latter, after merely seeing the Arjan Plain,² had remarked that this was the finest place in the world, the best pasturage for the farming of any kind of livestock. Yet they nationalized this land and afterwards gave it to the British. And now, according to the written report given to me, the Queen of England along with some of the British plutocracy and British companies, are doing something or other with the animal husbandry carried out on these pastures in order to produce meat. Now whether they are producing meat for export abroad, or whether they also intend to give a little of it to us, only God knows. They say that the Umran Plain³, situated on the outskirts of Qazvin, is the best place for cultivation.

¹ Today's Azadi Street.

² The Arjan Plain is a vast plain situated in the rural outskirts of the small province of Kazerun. Embraced by a mountainous range, it is the repository of the water of numerous streams which runs into it from all sides via waterfalls, forming a lake of clear water in its centre. The lush, verdant land of Iran, like that in Kazerun, was given over to the British to do with as they pleased.

³ Situated in the north of the Bu'in Zahra region, the Umran Plain (Qazvin Plain) is one of the extremely fertile plains of the Zanjan province. The Shah agreed to give this plain over to Israel where it could establish modern agricultural organizations. See *Az Sayyid Dia ta Bakhtiyar*, p. 495.

They have forced the people there to migrate elsewhere and have handed this land over to the Jews, the Zionists. Yes, they have given it to the Jews who are now using it to their own ends, American and Zionist companies reaping the benefits. These pieces of land which are second to none are now theirs to farm and cultivate whilst this poor, downtrodden nation still goes hungry. This nation remains in a wretched state and is at a loss as to what it should do about it. This is our 'great civilization' for you!! People haven't got bread to eat but the gentleman (the Shah) speaks of civilization! He speaks of our enjoying a great civilization; of wanting to take us to a great civilization! The Mughan Plain¹ is yet another of the plains which they have nationalized. Its people have been driven away and its farmers ruined. And again they have handed this over to yet another group of foreigners. Similarly, the Dez Dam,² which cost seven hundred million to build and on which they spent one billion two hundred million dollars—or perhaps tumans, I can't remember—in order to build a canal system which would feed water into the dam: this too is another gift which has been graciously presented to His Imperial Majesty and his gang. One hundred and fifty villages have been brought to ruin. They have destroyed these villages and have nationalized the land there, which ought in fact to mean that this land is for the whole nation, but instead it is owned by His Imperial Majesty and his gang only. These are the things which have been documented and spoken of and which can be verified by witnesses.

Khordad 15 must be kept alive

This is the kind of life we have and this is the kind of great civilization we enjoy where our youngsters are arrested and detained before the arrival of Khordad 15. I doubt whether even the law of the jungle is like this. Indeed, the Mongols were not, for they at least had their 'code of laws'; they at least had a law by which to abide. But in Iran, according to which law is so-and-so to be arrested? According to which law must so-and-so be killed? Which procedure must be followed and according to which law? As for you (the Shah), you kill people and illegally enter the homes of the *ulama* of Islam. Should someone speak up proclaiming the people's innocence, he is beaten

¹ The Mughan Plain, one hundred thousand hectares in area, is situated alongside the Aras River in the province of Azerbaijan. This vast, flat plain is one of the most favorable grazing pastures on which to raise cattle. Mughani sheep, one of the best and purest breeds of sheep, are bred by the Shahsavan tribe who take their flock to the Mughan plain to graze during the winter season. See *Jugrafiya-ye Mufasssal-e Iran*, vol. 3.

² The Dez Dam was constructed on the River Dez, fifteen kilometers north of Dezful, and was put into operation from the year 1962 [1341 AHS]. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 218.

and killed by some reprobate or other; and there is no one to speak out and ask why!

It is unlikely that history has ever before witnessed such events as the crimes committed by that man (the Shah) on Khordad 15; and if it has then they have been very rare cases. They just mowed down innocent people at random. Those who were witnesses to this said that these military trucks just kept coming; these armored vehicles just kept mowing the people down, leaving them lying in the streets. The regime won't allow anyone to make the slightest murmur with regard to Khordad 15; but the nation of Iran must not allow Khordad 15 to fade from their memory. Khordad 15 must be kept alive.¹ This event constitutes a crime whose imprint must not be allowed to fade away. Now, thanks be to God, they themselves are causing this day to become revitalized to a certain extent because these preventative measures and these arrests and other such steps taken by them, infuse Khordad 15 with a new life and vitality. The nation of Iran must not allow Khordad 15 to fade from their memory, nor must they allow any of the crimes which have been committed subsequent to Khordad 15, or those committed prior to it by the Shah's father, to be forgotten. These crimes must serve as a portrait of what went on during the Pahlavi reign so that there is no chance of any misconceptions occurring, and so that it is well understood that these affairs were the doing of the heads of the Pahlavi family. People must preserve the memory of Khordad 15. If possible they are to do so by raising a hue and cry, creating uproar and holding demonstrations; if not, then they are to do so by passive resistance and by staging sit-ins in their homes. If the regime's forces are seen to make a savage wolf-like attack against the people during demonstrations with the intention of arresting the youngsters, then the people are to remain in their homes. Let them show the abhorrence they feel towards this regime and this person (the Shah) by remaining in their homes by way of protest. If possible then, they are to hold demonstrations; but whatever happens this day must not be forgotten; it must stay alive and, God willing, so it shall. At the same time, it is important for all of the various groups, whichever groups are in the country, to consult each other, be it the scholastic and clerical front or the military and merchant fronts; the academic and university fronts, or the nomads and those who live in shacks—all of these fronts must consult each other and take each other into account.

¹ Imam Khomeini, in an address delivered in 1979 [1358 AHS] in commemoration of Khordad 15, said that he regarded Khordad 15 of 1963 as the day when the Islamic Revolution got underway; and he declared each subsequent anniversary of Khordad 15 to be a day of public mourning.

Unity a religious duty

Furthermore, the leaders of the various groups must liaise with each other; they are not to go their own way. Now is not the time for you to act in isolation. If you lack solidarity then not only will your lot remain as it is now, but it will become even worse. It is a bounden duty, a sacred duty, for you to be united. The senior members of these fronts must establish secret links with each other. These links must not be open but rather must remain underground. But in any case, these members must liaise with each other so that should they decide to make some kind of statement, then they all do so together; should they decide to stage an attack, then they all do so together; should they decide to remain silent, then they all do so together. They must act in unison and not in isolation. It is wrong for one person to want to form a party, whilst another wants to form whatever else. We must all unite as one. Muslims must all form a corporate body. If the Muslims were as one then no one could stand up to such a multitude of people; there isn't a damned thing they could do about it. Not only these here, but large powerful countries wouldn't be able to do a damned thing either if the Muslims were to unite. However, the regime sows discord between the various fronts and we mistakenly believe this discord to be genuine. But we must stop being taken in so easily.

We must stop believing in their ostensible propriety. We must consider what Hadrat Rida (A) would say to this person, who, in a sham of piety visits Mashhad once or twice a year and stands before the tomb of the Hadrat. God knows that if the Hadrat were alive he would not allow him to enter his shrine. How could Hadrat Rida possibly permit a libertine debauchee to enter his shrine? However, the Hadrat is not here with us now. They bring some *akhund* or other to eulogize, depicting him (the Shah) in glowing terms and declaring the sincere love and devotion felt towards him by the people. Yet just look what he has been up to elsewhere! Just look at the things he has said!

There must be a liaison between you, your activities being undertaken in an organized way via an inter-related network and based upon certain criteria. Muslims must act according to a program. The various parties must join together. It must not be a case of every party for itself. They must point out who the murderer is, if possible directly, if not then indirectly, and if this too is not possible then at least they are not to pin the crime on someone else. To relate these crimes to anyone but the Shah is in itself a crime. Supposing you were to say: "The government has done such-and-such a thing", what is

the government anyway other than the Shah's mouthpiece? Or again supposing you were to say: "The police have done such-and-such a thing", what is the police force anyway other than a tool at the Shah's disposal? It was only yesterday that certain clergymen told me of how seventeen of these officers—or maybe they were both officers and some other kind of functionaries—had been brought to Qum to commit some kind of felony. All seventeen of them have gone into hiding taking their weapons with them; and according to the aforementioned clergymen, this search which is being conducted in Qum and this comprehensive inspection which has been carried out, have in fact been in order to trace these arms which the officers have taken along with them.

This is the present state in which our army finds itself. Do you think that the army is fond of these people—people who have handed over control of the entire army to a few Americans, a few American advisers in whose hands the whole world lies and as a result of which those in the army receive harsh and unfair treatment? Are those in the army fond of these people? This could only be the case if these servicemen had no sense of honor; for there is no way that anyone with a sense of honor could feel kindly towards them. As with the other fronts, those in the army must not remain silent either. They too must liaise with others.

Closed is the path of reconciliation between the Shah and the nation

There must be links between the various parties and those in the army, and between the latter and the clergy. Everyone must liaise together and mark out a course to bring about this person's downfall.

The Muslim people and the nation of Iran will not become reconciled with this person. If someone should speak of reconciliation, know that he is a traitor. There can be no reconciliation with him. The door to reconciliation is now closed. How could there possibly be reconciliation? Which doors have they left open for him that would make reconciliation possible? Can one still talk of reconciliation after all those youngsters of ours have been killed? Can one still talk of reconciliation in spite of all that profanity towards that which we hold sacred? Forget it! There is no way that we could consider reconciliation. The claim that the clergy spoke of reconciliation is but a lie. No one is prepared to consider reconciliation with this regime. It is preposterous to imagine such a thing. How could this nation possibly become reconciled with a person who has thrown away everything it ever had, including its honor and whatever it had of spiritual or material worth? A prominent diplomat was right when he said that Muslims, Iranians, can

choose one of two options: either freedom, or permitting him to remain.¹ They must either choose to allow him to stay, and therefore remain in a state of suppression for ever more, or they must opt for freedom and therefore get rid of him. And since they are sure to opt for freedom, then they are sure to get rid of him, God willing. Indeed, it is a solemn duty for us all: a solemn duty, a sacred duty. A nation has been and is still being divested of all it possesses, yet striving to ameliorate the affairs of the Muslims is amongst the most pressing of religious obligations. You must pay due attention to this ordinance, otherwise *wa illah fa laysa bi Muslim*.² This is one of the commands which applies to us all. We are all obliged to ensure the continued existence of Islam in Iran. This person neither favors Islam, nor the Quran, nor Hadrat Rida (A). Someone who inclines towards Islam does not act with such impertinence towards it. It is the duty of us all to rise up against this person, be it by the written word, by word of mouth, or, whenever the situation demands, by armed revolt. When that time comes, I will be the first to shoulder arms. But whilst armed revolt is not possible we shall revolt by speaking out.

Plot to destroy agriculture

After causing us to lose all our prestige and after bringing about the destruction of our pastures, reports state that almost forty thousand aqueducts have dried up in Iran due to their having closed the dams or whatever it is they have done. Naturally, when the aqueducts dry up, the land cannot be cultivated; and when the people there cannot cultivate the land they migrate to Tehran or some other city, where they fall into a state of poverty and misery. This constitutes a deliberate measure to move people to the cities in order to ensure that no insurgence breaks out in the villages where it is

¹ It refers to Mahdi Bazargan. In reply to a question posed during an interview with a reporter for Belgian television asking whether the current practices of the regime could coexist with freedom, Mr. Bazargan replied: "No! One of these two must be sacrificed for the sake of the other. Iran will not taste freedom while His Imperial Majesty remains in this country." Refer to *Tarikh-e Siyasi-ye MuAssir-e Iran*, vol. 9, p. 229. It must be pointed out that Mr. Bazargan's demand for the Shah's dethronement and the toppling of the monarchy, did not carry the same resolve and immediacy as that made by Imam. In an interview with Hamid Algar, Mr. Bazargan confessed that he and his sympathizers (both among the clergy and elsewhere) felt it unwise for the Shah to be dethroned straight away. Refer to *Khat-e Sazesh*, p. 102, and read the introductions to those speeches delivered by Imam in Paris.

² In relating a tradition of the Holy Prophet (s), Imam as-Sadiq (A) said: "He who arises in the morning and gives no thought to the affairs of the Muslims is not a Muslim. And he who does not respond when he hears the cries of a man pleading for assistance from the Muslims, is not a Muslim." *Usul al-Kafi*, Chapter "Al-Ihtimam bi Umur al-Muslimin."

difficult to keep the people in check. Anyone with the slightest political awareness can tell that the idea is to force the villagers to migrate—those who live in mountainous regions, such as the Bakhtiari, or the Baluchi, who are to be found in both mountainous and desert regions—they want such people to migrate to the cities where they can be controlled and monitored more easily. That is to say that should these people ever be about to voice opposition to the regime then they could be brought under control by deploying guns and tanks against them. If these people were in the highlands however, it would be impossible to bridle them there. But the time will come when people from all sectors of society will rise up in opposition to the regime, and this uprising will then spread throughout the country. So far we have dealt with one aspect, but there is another aspect which concerns profit-seeking: their handing everything over to the plunderers in both the East and the West—everything, whatever there is to give.

Exceptional examples of crimes and looting of the country

Iran has never before experienced the situation in which it finds itself today. That is, there may have been crimes, murders and the like in the past, but you cannot find another time when Iran's resources have been given away to such an extent. You can go back to foregone eras and work your way as far back in history as you like, but you will not find a time when all of the good pastures in Iran had been given over to outsiders and foreign companies as they now have. All of our fisheries, all of Iran's fisheries in both the north and the south, have been taken from the people and are being run by foreign companies. The report states that seven thousand people were killed in the north of Iran before the government was able to 'nationalize'—to use its own words—the fisheries, which it then appropriated and handed over to giant companies.¹ Just consider our oil, our fishing industry and fisheries, our pastures, our bountiful forests. People were under the impression that the forests had been nationalized, that is, that the forests were now for the benefit of the nation! But this is mere rhetoric. "Nationalization" is like that gateway

¹ In order to secure exclusive fishing rights and to be able to assure the safety of profits made by foreign caviar-producing companies, the regime had set up a security guard called The Fisheries' Coastguard. This guard had its own information network and was given a free hand to kill poachers. As a result trouble would sometimes arise between the coastguards and those local fishermen who had no choice but to turn to poaching to earn a living. On one particular night, coastguards fired at a number of fishermen, who, along with their wives and children, were sailing out to sea in the north of Iran to cast their fishing nets. A large number of these people were killed as a result. SAVAK even prohibited the survivors of this incident from holding a mourning ceremony for those killed. See *Az Sayyid Dia ta Bakhtiari*, p. 561.

to civilization that he (the Shah) talks about; these also being mere words which the regime comes out with, but which bear no truth. They have given some of those splendid forests, with their fine-quality wood, to a Romanian company; and the latter is now enjoying the returns on them.

Shah's claim of "saving Iran"

He had said in a speech that at one time, some years ago, Iran had been divided into two regions: one belonging to Russia and the other belonging to Britain, and that he had done this and that to free the country. Well, it's really beyond me how he hasn't got more sense than to say such things! Or maybe he does know better but he is trying to fool a certain few. If this is the case however, why does he say these things over the radio? "We rescued Iran from its divided state"! Very well, so how exactly did you rescue Iran—you, whose pastures are in part serving to feed the English lady¹ and her gang, in part the Americans and Zionists, and in part yourself and your offspring? What kind of "nationalization" do you call this?! What kind of rescue is this which entails us handing over all our national resources to them and being their servants again? Is our nation to serve others and to surrender whatever resources it may have to them, be they physical or intellectual? "We rescued Iran"! In what way did you rescue Iran? You have given Iran and all it has away to others; you have completely ruined the education in Iran. Nowadays, if we need the services of a physician, we have to go to England. Every few days someone heads for England for medical treatment. But if we had doctors of our own then why would we need to go to England? The universities—these too have been destroyed by you. We no longer have universities. On the face of it there are universities, but you won't even allow this semblance of a university system to go unthreatened. What are the poor university students and professors to do about these monstrosities (the Shah and his regime)? Whatever Iran stands for has now become a mockery. This person has destroyed whatever dignity Iran had, and has made a mockery of it. He has given whatever is of any use to giant companies, he and his select circle of followers having permission to feed from the small shares apportioned to them. As for those poor souls who once lived in the villages, and whom they claim to have transformed into farmers, they have been forced to migrate to the cities. The tent- and slum-dwellers now living on the outskirts of Tehran were those very same farmers, poor souls, who used to raise cattle and supply the country of Iran with wool, oil, meat etc. Now, all

¹ The Queen of England.

of them have been lost. Whatever we need has to come from abroad. Meat has to come from abroad. Wheat has to come from abroad. He has completely destroyed our agriculture. He has destroyed our education system. He has destroyed our army; our army's honor. And he means to destroy our religious establishment, but, God willing, he will not succeed in this.

Unity of expression in ousting the Shah

The immediate duty of all Muslims now must be to speak with one voice, and that which must be pronounced by them before all other unanimous statements made is: "Let us get rid of him first, then we can sort ourselves out afterwards". And should anyone fail in this duty, then he has betrayed Islam. If you should read anything written by some party that suggests we are demanding nothing more than the implementation of the constitutional law, then this is as good as saying that he (the Shah) must remain, and this therefore constitutes perfidy. As for those who call for an observance of the constitutional law and human rights,¹ they must press for a constitutional law from which those articles included therein by force have been expunged. I myself witnessed how these articles which sanction the present evil monarchy were introduced at bayonet-point—that is, at the point of Rida Khan's bayonet. It is not the case that people had a say in this or were involved in any way... the people had no say in the matter. These undertakings were accomplished at bayonet-point. These are articles which are unacceptable to the people of this country. Hence, these articles which have given legal sanction to this regime must be done away with. We too have no qualms with a constitutional law which has been amended via supplementary constitutional laws, but it must be an amended Constitution. You must be aware that he who advocates constitutional law without stipulating that it is to be an amended Constitution—or even if he does make such a stipulation but he does so in ambiguous terms—is either following a misguided path or does not appreciate the situation. Now that I have clarified the situation however, there is no longer any excuse for him not to understand the situation.²

The need for links between the *ulama* and the parties in order to establish an Islamic government

We all have a duty to liaise with each other. There must be links between ourselves and those abroad; between active groups at home and active groups abroad; between the *ulama* of Islam and other *ulama*; between eminent religious figures in major Islamic centers and the *ulama* in the provinces; and between the *ulama* of Islam and the various parties. Now is not the time for parties to act in isolation, nor for the *ulama* to act in isolation. A party cannot achieve anything in isolation; and as for the *ulama*, they too need the various parties to be involved in affairs. It is up to these two communities to bring Muslims together. They are to ensure that Muslims in Iran enjoy solidarity, and that all groups liaise with each other whilst also having links with high-ranking governmental officials. Relations must be established with those officials in top governmental positions who have not

¹ Those in favor of the constitutional law included the majority of hard-line politicians in the National Front; the senior members of the Freedom Movement; all of the groups, parties and societies which eventually broke their long-held silence during the last year of the Shah's regime; the moderate clergy front; and others such as Mr. ShariAtmadari.

² Mr. Sayyid Kazim ShariAtmadari was among those who adhered to an erroneous policy. He, who at that time enjoyed power and influence as a *marja at-taqlid*, would have been content with the implementation of the statutes contained in the constitutional law of 1906: statutes which gave the clergy a say in those laws ratified in the Majlis. He asked for nothing more than this. For details of this person's underhand dealings with the Shah's agents, SAVAK, and foreign elements, and of the acts of sabotage in which he engaged during the most critical stage of the Muslims' struggle in Iran, refer to "ShariAtmadari dar Dadgah-ye Tarikh," in *Daftar-e Asnad-e Inqilab-e Islami* ["The Documentary Registrar of the Islamic Revolution"], 1982 [1361 AHS].

lost their sense of honor and who remain men of integrity. Many such men are still to be found in the governmental sector. There are many such men who are pained by this wretched state of affairs. Relations must be established with these men so that the day will arrive when we are able to rise up, and by so doing get rid of this person, set up an Islamic government, and, God willing, start putting the laws of Islam into practice, for at the moment there is no trace of such laws in Iran. Do divorce proceedings under the present system conform to the laws of Islam? Do the present marriage proceedings conform to the laws of Islam? Do business transactions conform to the laws of Islam? Just what is in accordance with Islam? Does going on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Hadrat Rida (A) make everything alright?! Can an act of hypocrisy put everything right?! Do you think that you can continue to fool the people?! I pray that God may awaken the Iranian people (Amen), and that He may increase their present awareness (Amen). May He preserve the theological centers (Amen). May He foreshorten the arms of the foreigners and their agents from this country (Amen), and grant unity to all the Islamic countries (Amen).

May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Letter

Date: June 1, 1978 [Khordad 11, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Greetings and health inquiry

Addressee: Sayyid Mahdi Tabatabai

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1398 AH

His Venerable Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Mahdi Tabatabai, may his bounties always last:

After extending my greetings and salutations, I ask God, the Exalted, for Your Eminence's success and health. Please convey my warmest regards to your respected sisters. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: June 2, 1978 [Khordad 12, 1357 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledging the receipt of letter and inquiring about health

Addressee: Hasan Thaqafi, Tehran¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1398 AH

After extending my greetings and salutations, let me state that I have received your letter and pray to God the Almighty for your health and prosperity. I am in relatively good health, thank God, but the difficulties are many. It is hoped that these be eliminated by your honor's sincere prayers and those of all the other gentlemen. Please convey my greatest regards to His Eminence Ayatullah, your father,² may his blessings last long. I beseech God the Almighty to keep him healthy and happy. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers for my salvation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The following is written on the envelope of the letter: "To His Venerable Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Haj Mirza Hasan Thaqafi, may his bounties last long."

² Aqa Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi, Imam Khomeini's father-in-law.

Message

Date: June 10, 1978 [Khordad 20, 1357 AHS / Rajab 4, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Aim: overthrow of the *taghuti* regime and implementation of Islam

Occasion: The fortieth day of the bloody tragedy of Qum

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Once again, for the umpteenth time we have to mourn on the occasion of the fortieth day anniversary of those slain in Qum and other cities. Once again we have to mourn for the mothers and the women who have lost their dear ones, and who have condemned the Shah by their courageous demonstrations. Once again we have to be witness to the killing, beating, and wounding of the dear students and seminarians, the destruction of the seminaries and universities, and the expulsion of the students from their learning and living complexes. By means of a bunch of his undiscerning agents, the criminal Shah has once again plunged into mourning the Muslim nation of Iran, particularly the brave devotees of Islam in Qum who rose gallantly for the sake of Islam, and for overthrowing the despotic Pahlavi regime.

We have sorrowfully and honorably sacrificed our dear ones for the sake of our objective which is to overthrow the Devil's regime and raise the glorious banner of Islam. This is precisely the way of Islam; the agenda of the true and topmost Muslims, and will be so in the future course of history. "*Verily in the Messenger of Allah ye have a good example.*"¹ The great Prophet of Islam sacrificed all he had for the sake of Islam so that he could hoist the banner of monotheism. We, in following that great person, should sacrifice all we have so that the banner of monotheism remains aloft.

Now the Shah is at the edge of the precipice. On the one hand he is confronted by the immense power of the brave nation of Iran that has wholeheartedly risen for its liberation and will not rest until his oppressive establishment is uprooted, and on the other, by the reflection of his atrocities and crimes in the world's organs of propaganda owing to which he fears his masters will forsake him. On the one hand he is facing the decay and collapse within the regime itself and the ignominy of his American-inspired

¹ *Surah al-Ahzab* 33:21.

revolution as also the scandal of the party-by-decree, while on the other the displeasure of the noble civil and military authorities who are at their wits end over the killings and the alignments.

In these turbulent conditions, he has amazingly started making fresh attempts and adopting new ploys. At times, he wants to show himself as being unaware of the atrocities that he has perpetrated during his illegitimate monarchy, throwing the blame on others for all that the nation and country have suffered. For this purpose, his lackeys are engaged in hectic activity, using the press and the organs of propaganda. The recent changing of his pawns is part of this scheme, heedless of the fact that, by changing the tools of crime, who are nothing but puppets in the hands of the real criminal, the watchful nation of Iran will not be deceived and will not forget the real culprit, nor accept the farcical changes.

By means of the archaic weapons of falsehoods and deceit, he, at other times, presents certain people as planning to partition Iran or bring it under the influence of foreign powers. Everybody is aware that his opponents constitute all the patriotic people, including the respected Religious Reference Authorities [*maraji*] the distinguished *ulama*, the respectable, informed orators, the upright political dignitaries, the self-sacrificing seminarians and university students throughout Iran, the deceived farmers, the workers who have been told lies and the committed conscientious traders all over the country. Which one of these is a separatist or approves of foreign influence? It is the Shah himself who has allowed the foreigners, especially America, to dominate all the affairs of the country, unsparingly offering them its resources and giving them immunity and even giving them command over the army while turning Iran into a submissive consumer of American goods.

At times, he frightens the nation of the communist menace saying that the country will fall into communist hands should he go. Perhaps those who are not aware of the realities might be deceived. America brought communism into being in Iran, as in the case of England and the Tudeh Party. According to well-informed sources, the most radical communists in the region are American agents meant to neutralize the liberating national and religious uprisings of nations enslaved by capitalism and communism, a manifest example of which we have been witnessing in recent years.

The savior of every nation from the clutches of Imperialism is religion which is deeply rooted in the soul of that nation. Sometimes, by spreading rumors that he has come to terms with some factions of the clergy, the Shah intends to sow dissension among this massive group itself and between it and the rest of the patriotic Muslims. The outcome of this would be nothing but

the welfare of the real criminal, the enervating efforts of the nation coming to naught and the blood of those killed, from the time of the Gauhar Shad Mosque incident, and Khordad 15 up to now, having been shed in vain. He is heedless of the fact that no clergyman nor any religious person will ever be, and cannot be, reconciled with an anti-Islamic system as it is tantamount to rejecting the Holy Quran and the honorable religion of Islam. It is up to the zealous and informed nation to ensure that such rejection results in the mortal fall of the compromiser. Having all its things ruined by this regime, the nation is now watchful. It wants to see who or what group will be deceived by the Shah's farcical deployment of pawns or, by attending the peace talks, and gaining some imagined advantages, will attach himself to the seat of power, whereas this system is heeding towards antiquation and ruination, and its structure, infested with internal termites, is sure to collapse.

From the ruses and tricks stemming from the foreign and worse still, the local experts, the tune of granting freedom is being heard in all its dimensions except in treachery to the country. The killings of the recent months, incarceration and torture, exile and suffocation are among the freedoms and the royal gifts. Now that the great nation of Iran has arisen with awareness, and every now and then the seminaries, universities, schools, societies, bazaars and the cities come to a standstill in protests against the Shah, and the honorable nation, announcing its support of Islam and the Holy Quran, is getting killed for the sake of liberty and independence, it is essential for the community leaders to neutralize the Shah's deceitful plans that are solely geared to the obliteration of Islamic commandments and the country. They should continue the struggle with vigilance and awareness until this regime is overthrown. In maintaining their unity of expression and direction, they should not allow the campaign for their rights to slacken.

I pray to God, the Exalted, for the country's independence and the people's freedom, and hope that the foreigners and oppressors will be deprived of their power.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab 4, 1398 AH

Letter

Date: June 24, 1978 [Tir 3, 1357 AHS / Rajab 18, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Recommending morality and stressing the importance of young age

Addressee: ?

In His Most Exalted Name

Rajab 18, 1398 AH

After extending my best wishes and greetings to you, I wish to state that I have received your esteemed letter indicating your well-being and offering sympathy to me. It is hoped that God the Almighty will help us traverse this perilous path with high morale and self-confidence. Now towards the end of my life, with my meager means and paltry provisions, my mind is riveted on the Lord and hope that He will give us insignificant people something from His universal bounty. Thank God that you are blessed with youth and are able to traverse this path straightforwardly. Do not wait for old age as in this last period of life; there is nothing that one can do. May God place you among His beloved ones and those who struggle on the way of truth. May He also make up for the lack of means through His universal bounty. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: July 2, 1978 [Tir 11, 1357 AHS / Rajab 26, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Message of gratitude

Addressee: Karimi

In His Most Exalted Name

Rajab 26, 1398 AH

Thank you for your esteemed letter indicating your well-being and expressing your sympathy for me. May the Almighty God keep you healthy and prosperous. Please do not forget to pray for the rectification of affairs and for my salvation in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: July 4, 1978 [Tir 13, 1357 AHS / Rajab 28, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Illuminations of the third and fifteenth of Shaban

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rajab 28, 1398 AH

My views have been repeatedly sought for by people in Iran regarding the ceremonies known as “3rd and 15th Shaban celebrations”¹ that used to be held. Regretfully, the vile family has not left any *Id* for the Muslims of Iran. The Shah’s hands are stained with the blood of the nation, up to the elbow, and at present the dear people are mourning for their loved ones. How is it possible for one to express the opinion that the people celebrate and rejoice? Celebrations over the blood-soaked corpses of the sons of Islam?! Celebrations with regard to the noble people who are imprisoned in the dungeons undergoing the severest of hellish tortures inflicted by the executioners? Celebrations over their banishment by which they have been driven out of the country, contrary to all the human and legal norms?!

We can have no celebrations when the bereaved mothers are still wearing black for our youth; when we are still witnessing the soul-shattering harm inflicted by the Shah on the great religion of Islam and the Islamic country. How can we have illuminations when our schools, mosques and universities are being attacked by the Shah’s agents at every opportunity?

The people of Iran should know that the vile hand of the government is actively trying to divert the course of the genuine, matured and universal movement of Iran. One of their cleverest moves is this widespread agitation over the need for holding the celebrations so that in the glare of lights, the innocent blood of the Iranian nation is obscured and the great Islamic movement slackened or, God forbid, extinguished. The Iranian nation is awake and has found its bearings. It is well aware that every tune, under whatever name, that diverts it from its course, which is the uprising against the Shah, is a satanic one, even if it be in the name of the Holy Quran or the

¹ Shaban 3 and 15 are the birthdays of the third and twelfth Imams Husayn and Mahdi (A), respectively.

Master of the Age; may God expedite his advent. We will celebrate *Id* when we demolish the structure of oppression and oppressor, and sever the hands of the tyrannical Pahlavi family from the country. That day is near, God willing, the day of the *Id* of Islam and that of the Master of the Age, may God expedite his advent.

It is now necessary that in these *Ids* turned into mourning occasions under the rule of this despotic dynasty, large number of people, all over Iran gather in public places such as big mosques without the least ceremony to show that it is *Id* and an occasion for rejoicing. The brave and respectable orators should notify the listeners of the miseries inflicted upon the nation, and also expose to the fullest extent the anti-Islamic and illegitimate acts of the regime. They must also remove the fear of the army of Satan from their hearts and strive to continue the movement that is agreeable to God the Almighty and the Master of the Age. They should keep this brilliant light of guidance burning; and even burning more brightly and, by trusting in the Almighty, be assured that the nation will triumph.

I pray to God the Almighty for the glory of Islam and the Muslims and for the severance of the hands of the foreigners and those connected to them.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: July 7, 1978 [Tir 16, 1357 AHS / Shaban 1, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The seminary students' stipends

Addressee: *Unknown*

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 1, 1398 AH

I extend my greetings to you, and pray for God to give you success and assistance. I have received your letters. It seems that you are fastidious; your letters are suggestive of this! The question of need and necessity is something clear. You have doubts; you are permitted to act in cases of doubt.

It was arranged that in the absence of Aqa,¹ Aqa Ishraqi,² should take his place. You and the other gentlemen who were outside should assist him and not leave him alone. Always maintain your contact with Aqa, and keep yourself informed about his condition.

Concerning the Mashhad stipends, give those who are in debt. After this also, give the deficit involving the stipends that they wish to increase. Please forward the enclosed to Mr. Mahami. Perhaps the money will be centered in one place, and the need will be obviated. You had written to say that an official document is necessary for Mr. Ishraqi's incumbency; this letter itself is the document. He has been my representative previously as well. Now also, in the absence of Aqa, it is still advisable that he be so. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Kindly deliver Aqa's letter.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

² Shahabuddin Ishraqi.

Letter

Date: July 15, 1978 [Tir 24, 1357 AHS / Shaban 9, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Acknowledging the receipt of a letter and sending regards

Addressee: Sayyid Mahdi Tabatabai

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 9, 1398 AH

His Venerable Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Mahdi Tabatabai, may his bounties last long:

After extending my salutations and greetings to you, I wish to state that I have received your esteemed letter and that I pray for your health and prosperity. I am in relatively good health, thank God, but the worries and difficulties are many. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Give my regards to the respected sisters. May they prosper, God willing.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: July 19, 1978 [Tir 28, 1357 AHS / Shaban 13, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Looking into the condition of those exiled and recommending Mr. KhazAli

Addressee: Shahabuddin Ishraqi

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 13, 1398 AH

His Venerable Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Ishraqi, may his bounties last long:

I wish to inform your honor that I always pray to the Almighty for your health and prosperity. Regarding the gentlemen who have been exiled, I must remind you to ask my honorable brother¹ about the decision taken; please act accordingly.

As I have heard, Mr. KhazAli's not taking the pulpit² and his being restricted has caused him financial difficulties. Please inquire about him through Mr. Ghaffarian and rid him of whatever difficulties he has. In the future too, until the circumstances are such, his difficulties should be resolved. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

² In those days, the Shah's regime had forbidden Mr. Abul-Qasim KhazAli to preach.

Message

Date: July 27, 1978 [Mordad 5, 1357 AHS / Shaban 21 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Describing the atrocities of the regime; the need to continue the struggle

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shaban al-MuAzzam 21, 1398 AH

I wish to thank all the esteemed people of Iran who, on the third and fifteenth of the month of Shaban, jointly and unanimously showed the vile regime once again that it cannot oppose the will of the nation. This was a unique referendum showing the countrywide opposition to the Shah even though the establishment, by preventing some of the big gatherings, deprived them of their freedom and did not allow all the legitimate problems and issues of this great nation to be aired. According to the information received, following the peaceful demonstrations, he perpetrated atrocities that reveal the weakness of the government. In some of the cities such as Mashhad, Rafsanjaan and Jahrom he had the defenseless people savagely assaulted, killing and wounding many of them. According to the reports of some of the press agencies, the number of people slain in Mashhad has reached forty, while some others mention higher figures. According to the reports, the Shah's agents savagely attacked the Navvab Seminary in Mashhad and beat up the defenseless seminary students to the point of death, breaking their heads and hands, and so causing the people to understand the meaning of granting freedom!

The religious and brave people of the cities, such as heroic Qum, zealous Tabriz and Mashhad having arisen have caused a general shut-down to express their abhorrence of the government and the Shah's regime. They have given a tight slap in the mouth to the braggarts who said that these demonstrations will not be repeated and that the country has returned to its normal state. The dear nation will not rest and will not return to its normal state until the vestiges of oppression have been wiped out and the vile Pahlavi regime overthrown. We thank and congratulate those zealots who are making sacrifices for the realization of Islam's sacred goals, without sparing their lives and possessions. Not countenancing oppression, they have broken

the deathly silence by valiantly offering their blood. Becoming conscious of the ways and customs of the Prophet of Islam (s) and the ShiAh Imams, they are following their example.

Today that the nation has risen and has well and truly found its bearings, silence and bidding silence are against the sublime interests of Islam and contrary to the direction of the Jafari ShiAh. Enjoining movement, condemnation and revelation of the ruinous and Islam-detesting atrocities on the part of the Shah's government are in conformity with the blessed conduct of the prophets, in particular the illustrious Messenger (s), the Seal of the Prophets. Now that the blessed month of Ramadan is near—the blessed month this year will be remarkable, on the one hand, for the great Iranian nation's vivid memories of the savage mass killings, the repression, incarceration and exile of the past many months, and on the other, for the people, seeking vengeance over the inequities of the vile Pahlavi regime, its offshoots and the functionaries of the expansionist foreigners, having risen in unprecedented unison—I would like to notify you of the following issues:

1. The holy movement in Iran that began blossoming from the fifteenth of Khordad 1342 AHS, is a hundred per cent Islamic. It was founded solely by the efforts of the capable clergy supported by the great Muslim nation of Iran. It was and is being led by the clergy without depending on any faction, person or group. As this campaign of fifteen years is Islamic in nature, it is continuing and will continue, without the interference of others, in matters of leadership that is in the hands of the clergy. Those who have recently been agitating for the sake of their own selfish interests and want to defile the Islamic movement by showing it to be dependent on or following certain groups, certainly possess ulterior motives. Perhaps, by the collusion of some of them with the despotic establishment, they intend to bring the movement to a halt and to keep the Shah immune. The people of Iran should look upon them with circumspection and skepticism. In case any deviation on their part is noticed, the people should avoid them at all costs. I categorically state that in the event of this small clique repeating these topics, the essential point of which is to protect the real culprit, the clergy will make its stand clear with respect to them.

2. Recently, the government has started its non-rhythmic tunes on free elections, whereas the time for them to be held is next year. Such tunes before the blessed month of Ramadan is to divert the people's minds from their real course, as there is the fear of further exposing the crimes of the regime in the mosques and Islamic gatherings in this month. The people should realize that these ploys are only to keep the Shah sheltered from the

attacks of the orators and the protests of the zealous youth. It is essential that the respectable orators and the honorable clergy of Iran shun them. They should also know that the thought of having free elections with the continuation of the Shah's diabolic power is something fanciful and merely a devilish event to show the world the legitimacy of the elections. Until the demonic power of the Shah and his clique lasts, the others will not be able to elect a single representative. I will speak my mind at the time of the elections.

3. Now that the Shah finds himself weak and vanquished before the people, he has resorted to artifices and wishes to portray as nationalists those people who for many years have been assisting the Shah in his diabolical motives and who have consented to change the Islamic precepts and the glorious calendar of Islam to that of the Ghebers and fire-worshippers so that, by infiltrating the ranks of the combative clergy at the opportune times, they would be able to carry out their sinister mission in the guise of nationalists. The clergy should make them known to the public. One has to see what changes have taken places in the Shah's system in that, until yesterday, they used to kiss his hands and were his servants, but are now against him! The noble people of Iran should be watchful that these dangerous pawns do not infiltrate their ranks.

4. My request to the esteemed and committed people is that they look into matters dealing with those slain and their families with the greatest attention and compassion. They must do a headcount of the dead, together with their names and addresses, in any way they can and inform us. They should pay brotherly visits to the bereaved and console them, and, while giving all of them the regards of "Khomeini" who shares their grief, convey his sorrow to them on the death of their dear ones. If anybody, owing to injury or bereavement, needs material help, it is essential that this be provided in the best manner, or I should be approached as soon as possible so that I may attend to the matter to the best of my ability.

5. In order to make the future generations aware of the facts and to prevent the prejudiced people from writing falsely, it is necessary for the dedicated writers to review the history of this Islamic movement thoroughly, and to record the uprisings and demonstrations—and the history of their motivation—held in the various provinces by the Muslims of Iran. This will enable the Islamic issues and the movement of the clergy to serve as a model for the societies and generations of the future. We who are still living and are following the current developments in Iran taking place so clearly before our eyes, see the opportunists and profiteers, with their pens and statements,

depict religious issues and the Islamic movement in a way that is contrary to the facts. Inasmuch as they are opposed to the principles, they do not wish to acknowledge the realities and cannot countenance the power of Islam. There is no doubt that these writings in the name of history will have a most undesirable effect on future generations. For this reason, throwing light on this genuine Islamic campaign in Iran right from its conception till the present day, as well as on the future events, is among the important issues with which thoughtful, dedicated writers and *ulama* should be occupied. What is clearly obvious to us now will be vague to future generations. History is the illuminant for future generations. Today, the poisonous pens are planning to distort the truth; the honest writers should break these pens.

6. The honorable prayer leaders, may their blessings last long, should invite speakers that are dedicated and interested in the Islamic movement to undertake as a genuine aim the task of enlightening the people. They should definitely refrain from inviting the “court preachers” and those who, knowingly or unknowingly, choose topics to the benefit of the despotic system in order to make the people overlook the actual problems of the day. They should also keep away from those who are appointed by the government, and should place devotion to the cause of Islam and the good of the Muslims at the top of their agenda.

7. It is the duty of the esteemed orators to inform the people, in mosques and gatherings, of the miseries inflicted on the nation during these fifty years of the disgraceful Pahlavi rule—especially in these last few months—as well as the recent killings in the holy city of Mashhad in the vicinity of Hadrat Thamin al-Aimmah² (A), and in Rafsanjan. They should make the people aware of the matters that are of benefit to Islam and in the interests of the Muslims. They should abstain from topics that cause discouragement and apathy, and should keep in mind that no excuse will be accepted by God the Almighty and the Muslim nation.

8. The audience should encourage the speakers in their discourses on issues concerning Islam and humanity. They should ask the speakers to talk about and comment on the atrocities and oppression, while desisting from topics that are of no benefit and, at times, contrary to the direction of the nation’s movement. They should also give the respected speakers assurance by supporting them.

In conclusion, I do not know in what words I should express my sorrow and regrets on the merciless killings in the provinces, especially in the holy

² Imam Rida (A), the eighth Imam from the Prophet’s progeny.

city of Mashhad. I do not know till when this despotic family will control the destinies of the Muslims and thirst for the blood of our youth. I offer my condolences to Hadrat Thamin al-Aimmah (A) and grieve over the insults to that great personage during the era of this treacherous father and son. I offer my condolences and congratulations to you the esteemed and pious people of Mashhad, Rafsanjan and Jahrom. Condolences on the loss of the youth of Islam, and congratulations for having such worthy youth, and for their strong Islamic spirit by which, for the sake of God, they did not fear the futile attempts of the cruel regime and, by their courageous strikes and demonstrations, brought honor upon themselves in the holy presence of Islam. May God grant victory to you the vanguards of the Holy Quran and to all the noble people of Iran who, by their brave efforts and unity of expression, rose against the tyrant of the time and so paid, and are paying their debt to Islam. May He place you among those who crusade for the sake of Truth and unite you with the Saints that are dear to God, and who gave their lives for His sake. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: August 6, 1978 [Mordad 15, 1357 AHS / Ramadan 1, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The duties of the preachers and *ulama* in mobilizing the people

Occasion: The killing, beating and wounding of the Muslim people of Isfahan by the regime's agents

Addressee: The people of Isfahan and Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan al-Mubarak 1, 1398 AH

I wish to offer my condolences to all the people of Isfahan on the recent tragedy. This tragedy, following many others, is an example of the Shah's cruel government that has savagely attacked the Muslim nation of Iran, killing people in the process; and it is not the last. As long as the government of this despotic dynasty remains, great tragedies, misfortunes and disasters will continue one after another. It is not only the large city of Isfahan that is witness to the deadly crimes of the Shah and his servile criminals; the whole of Iran is being racked with these atrocities, killings and destruction. Look at Qum, the sanctuary of the *Ahl al-Bayt*¹—look at Tabriz, Yazd, Hamedan, Ahwaz, Shiraz, the holy city of Mashhad, Rafsanjan, Jahrom, Kazerun, and all the other cities and districts; all of them have experienced the killing and wounding of the people, and also the savage attacks.

Today, the brave and watchful nation of Iran is witnessing a big surge in anti-Shah sentiments as a result of another one of the massive strikes in Isfahan that took place in support of the vigilant and conscientious clergy as a protest against the illegitimate and inhuman acts. Today, the slogan of "death to the Shah" has become popular throughout the country and will continue until the overthrow of this cruel and decadent establishment of the criminal Pahlavi dynasty. Every opportunity must be availed of; the gatherings convened must be as massive and solid as possible and the crimes and treacheries be revealed to the fullest extent.

The esteemed and committed speakers by their illuminating the facts of the insurrection, the distinguished spiritual leaders by making their own

¹ It refers to the shrine of Hadrat Masumah, one of the Prophet's progeny. *Ahl al-Bayt* itself alludes to the Holy Household (of the Prophet).

announcements and statements, should organize a general mobilization of the geared-up people who have found their bearings well. United in purpose for dismantling the apparatus of crime and plunder, they should together pull out this wilted root of corruption by relying on the Eternal Power, thereby delivering the downtrodden nation from the clutches of the internal and external exploiters. *“And We desired to show favor unto those who were oppressed in the earth, and to make them examples and to make them the inheritors.”*¹

Saving the oppressed people from the clutches of the satanic government and entrusting their affairs to themselves, under the wise leadership and guidance of the great Prophets, is the will of God the Almighty. In keeping with this Divine command, the dear people should follow the conscientious clergy in traversing this vital path.

With the greatest of attachment to the nation of Iran, I once again warn them that, following the government, the Shah has been talking about the elections. Whoever has heard his speeches well understands that, by bringing up the question of the elections, the Shah wants to alter the true course of the Islamic movement—whose objective is to topple this dynasty—and so deceive the nation. However, it is too late; the formation of an Islamic government has taken root in the people’s minds and, by relying on God, victory will be ours.

The noble people should, with due respect, ask the orators to refrain absolutely from talking about any topic—such as the elections—that stops the people from following their path. They should recount the crimes and atrocities of the Shah’s government.

I thank the esteemed people of Isfahan for their solidarity with the respectable clergy, and who, by extending their all-out support, did not leave the clergy alone in the recent events, thereby fulfilling their obligations to Islam and the Muslims. I beseech the Exalted Lord to assist the Muslims and grant them success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Surah al-Qasas* 28:5.

Letter

Date: August 11, 1978 [Mordad 20, 1357 AHS / Ramadan 6, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Religious law funds

Addressee: Islami Turbati, Qum

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting 6, 1398 AH

His Eminence Mr. Islami:

I have received your esteemed letter and pray for your health and prosperity. With regard to giving money to the *Sadat* that I had previously forbidden, he has recently sent fifty dinars from Iran. He is due to send the statement of account, and money once again. If there is any difficulty concerning Kuwait, send it and give it to the same person. Tell the other gentlemen also that it is all right to give to that person. Your receipts have already been sent. For the time being, I do not have any more receipts apart from those sent. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May peace be upon you.

Letter

Date: August 11, 1978 [Mordad 20, 1357 AHS / Ramadan 6, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Answer to six different questions including Mr. Pasandideh's banishment, the National Front and abstaining from approaching the departments of the Shah's government

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting 6, 1398 AH

I wish to inform your honor that your esteemed letters are, at times, few and far between, and that I pray for your health and happiness.

1. Regarding the water endowed, it has been repeatedly mentioned to which I have replied. You may rent it in any appropriate manner and give it to the people.

2. Concerning the things that must be bought, or the repairs that have not been mentioned, you are fully permitted to act as you deem fit.

3. *Khums* does not apply to that which has been removed from the daily expenses so that it is apportioned into five, and that which they could not or did not want to utilize on certain grounds.

4. Give the *khums* with caution on the available money of the plot of land. You may spend the balance in any way you like or send it.

5. Action cannot be taken on the matter concerning Mr. Anwari; let it be kept in abeyance.

6. I cannot mention the National Front people or their elders by name, as I cannot give them publicity; our paths are divergent.

7. I cannot settle the matter of the house at present whatever the difficulty be. But I have made inquiries about some of the matters that I have mentioned; it was not true. Some others have been denied by those who were servants there and I do not know of it. Mr. Abtahi has been asked about the coming of certain elements. He has absolutely denied it. In any case, nothing can be done for the present; we have to see what happens.

8. Concerning approaching the government for anybody or anything, you must on no account do this; such a thing will be very humiliating for you and me. I had pointed this out to you previously as well; perhaps it did not strike you.

9. With regard to your proceeding to Qum after this month, apparently it is all right to do so provided that nothing new turns up. As the order has been

cancelled and your staying in Khomein is not official, I think that there will be no reaction.⁴ In any case, it is up to you.

10. Your sadness saddens me. I think that most of the things people tell you about when they complain to you—thus upsetting you—are not true. Nobody from Iran has approached me over these matters as yet. I have, sometimes, questioned the people from Qum. They have told me that they have not seen anything. What I wish to say is that your honor should not allow yourself to become upset.

11. You have written about the system of those around you. It is not appealing. It was so from the very outset, but nothing can be done; perhaps it would have an undesirable reaction. They should be advised; apparently, that too would have no effects. May God reform them. Please let me know of your welfare and your opinion regarding Qum; it will be obeyed. I have declared your decision to be final and am doing so. May peace be upon you.

⁴ It refers to the banishment of Mr. Pasandideh to Khomein as ordered by the Shah's regime in which connection Imam Khomeini has suggested that this order be ignored and that he return to Qum.

Message

Date: August 13, 1978 [Mordad 22, 1357 AHS / Ramadan 8, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Occasion: The savage massacres carried out by the regime in Isfahan and Shiraz

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Reports coming from Iran about the repeated massacres in the holy cities of Isfahan, Shiraz and...are further examples of the endless crimes of the Shah. It is said that the Shah in one of his interviews—the publication of which has been prevented—has stated: “If I am to go, I will raze Iran to the ground before going.” The recent atrocities show that he is busy implementing his plan. The Muslim people of Iran attribute all their misfortunes and those of the country to the Shah. They will not stop their opposition to the Shah until they have gained victory; until they have achieved their goal of independence and freedom. The people should realize that the freedom-seekers of the world did not gain their freedom easily. The Great Prophet of Islam (s) with all the intolerable hardships and sufferings he underwent for the sake of his aims, did not abandon his mission against the oppressors till the end of his life. The Commander of the Faithful spent all his life fighting the oppressors who used to depict themselves as Muslims. Defending Islam and Truth is one of the greatest forms of worship. Even if they shed blood in our places of worship and shut the doors to us in this blessed month, the Muslims will spend the holy month in a greater form of worship.

Following the reports received, the announcement of the distinguished *ulama* of Shiraz, may their blessings last long, mentions tens of people killed and hundreds injured. The Shah’s agents poured into the mosque and started killing and wounding the people as well as setting the mosque on fire. Likewise, the merciless massacre in Isfahan, following the falsehoods, lies and ruses, is a matter of great sorrow and regret. In the name of martial law that is devoid of legitimacy, the people of Isfahan, under the boots of the Shah’s bloodthirsty agents, are forbidden to have religious gatherings and do not have the right to express their opinions; but they have “granted” freedom!

The Iranian army and the respectable officers should realize that the atrocities and massacres that the Shah is compelling them to carry out will

gain nothing for them except infamy and shame. Till when will the officers of the army, the police and the gendarmerie of Iran, under compulsion and without any free will, continue to have their brethren killed by a bunch of uninformed agents? In the end, to protect whom? The person who has dealt Islam, your womenfolk and your freedom repeated blows? The person who has made you known to the world as the most disreputable officers who, for the sake of their exorbitant salaries, perpetrate every kind of ugly act? Are the daily massacres, beatings and the infliction of injuries – and that too by your own hands, or by some with regard to whom you do not have the right to object – compatible with humanity?

Using your mission as an excuse, you open fire on your brothers-in-faith for which you, besides the Shah, are accountable. Acting on God's command, you must disobey the tyrants' orders that compel you to kill and oppress people. Do not invest in the hell of this world or that of the hereafter by killing your brothers. Listen with your heart to the wailing of the bereaved mothers and fathers for their lost sons. These are your own mothers. Have you ever thought of what endless grief and misery you cause to at least one large family with your bullets? Even if you have, so far, committed such an act, you must repent as soon as possible and join the ranks of the army fighting for Truth. Rest assured that victory in this world and the hereafter will be yours. Oh you free Muslim officers of the Iranian army! Fulfill your obligations to Islam and the Muslims, and do not allow yourselves to be further humiliated.

All the Islamic groups including the distinguished *ulama*, the esteemed preachers, seminarians, students, the youth, our dear children, the respectable merchants, workers, the dignified and vigilant farmers, and all the factions and political parties must strive in unison to awaken the non-commissioned officers of the army, gendarmerie and police to the facts. They should also invite them to cooperate in overthrowing this instinctive criminal, thus delivering the nation from the villainy of this tyrant. They should not give him the opportunity to kill more of our men and women: big and small, old and young, the babies, too; neither to sacrifice Islam for the sake of his passions. Now in the evening of my life, I humbly extend my hand towards you and solicit the assistance of all the groups who are endeavoring and making sacrifices to establish Islam and its precepts which constitute the sole way to bliss and are the guarantors of the independence and freedom of Iran from colonialism and neo-colonialism. This man has braced himself in all seriousness to wipe out the vestiges of Islam. By means of lies and tricks, he wants to show himself as being a supporter of Islam and the nation. Now that

the brave people of Iran, may God always assist them, have become acquainted with his ruses and have risen in full awareness, the learned strata of society, the writers and orators, whatever their garb or occupation, should join hands, and with pen and speech further enlighten the vigilant nation of Iran of the innumerable crimes of the regime. The brave and dear seminarians and students throughout Iran should avail of every opportunity to keep the anti-Shah slogan—which is the slogan of Islam—alive.

The committed and conscientious scholars and students abroad should write and publish to the fullest extent, in Iran and abroad, the crimes of this dangerous element. They should also make the universally-famous, free-minded personalities all over the world aware of the cruelty and oppression to which the Iranians are being subjected, and mobilize them to help save the brave nation of Iran from clutches of world expansionism and exploitation.

All the strata of people should put an end to their petty differences and rise to save themselves, while taking action with whatever means possible to get rid of this corrupt entity on earth. Keeping silent these days vis-à-vis this tyrant, and indifference over his atrocities are against the sublime interests of Islam and contrary to the conduct of the great Prophets and the pure Imams, (A). Any topic these days that causes the noble nation to deviate from its true path is satanic and is raised by the plots the satans hatch.

I wish to offer my condolences to Islam and the saints of Islam, may peace be upon them, to the Muslims in general, especially the faithful of Shiraz and Isfahan, may God always assist them, and to the bereaved kith and kin of the dear ones of Islam, as well as the worthy, religious Muslim youth, while sharing their grief with them. It is hoped that the other provinces of Iran commiserate with the inhabitants of these two big provinces and share their immense sorrow with them. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 8, 1398 AH

Letter

Date: August 14, 1978 [Mordad 23, 1357 AHS / Ramadan 9, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The book, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]¹

Addressee: Ali-Akbar Mahdipur, Istanbul Islamic Center

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting 9, 1398 AH

I would like to greet you and inform you that I received your esteemed letter. I pray for your health and prosperity. This book is not with me; neither are my eyes, my time and my condition conducive to reading. I have given the public whatever advice there is to give. On no account do I want anybody to be insulted. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In a relatively detailed letter to Imam Khomeini, Mr. Mahdipur had criticized the contents of the book, particularly the part in which certain people had been subjected to accusations on various grounds.

Message

Date: August 22, 1978 [Mordad 31, 1357 AHS / Ramadan 17, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The tragic fire in Rex Cinema, Abadan

Addressee: The people of Abadan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The respected people of Abadan, may God, the Exalted, always assist them:

The terrible news that was received of several hundreds of our fellow countrymen being burnt to death in that calculated manner is a matter of sorrow and regret. I do not think that any Muslim, in fact any human being, is capable of such a savage thing except those who have made a habit of such acts. Their disposition to such savagery and brutality has taken them outside the pale of humanity. I do not have enough information as yet; however, what is certain is that this inhuman act, contrary to Islamic principles, could not have been perpetrated by the Shah's opponents—whatever be their principles—who, in order to protect the interests of Islam, Iran and the lives and possessions of the people, have endangered their own lives and devoted themselves to defending their fellow countrymen. There are also indications of the despotic regime's criminal hand in this for the purpose of presenting a bad image of the humane Islamic movement to the world. Starting the fire in the cinema, and then having the doors locked by the police could not have been done by people who do not control affairs.

The Shah's statement that the demonstrators opposed to him have promised "the big terror", and his repeating it that this (fire) is that very promise is another proof of a conspiracy; not to say that the Shah is a great clairvoyant! The Shah's previous interview, in which he had stated that he would destroy Iran together with its people, is also indicative of this assertion. The organs of propaganda trumpeting the expressions of sorrow and regret of people whose hands are, day after day, soaked in the blood of our Muslim countrymen is a significant witness to the satanic conspiracy of the Shah and his henchmen. These are the same people who have resorted to ruthless massacres in the cities of Iran.

Are not these meek people, being killed daily in the most deplorable manner by these criminals, our fellow countrymen? There are indications that the heart-rending event in Abadan has originated from the same very source

as the massacres in the other cities of Iran. Do any others hope to benefit from crimes apart from the Shah and his relations? Apart from the Shah who every once in a while resorts to the savage massacre of people, has there been anybody until now who has created or will, in future, create such scenes? This heart-rending tragedy is a master-stroke on the part of the Shah in order to resort to widespread propaganda in Iran and abroad and to instruct the propaganda machinery and the press in his service in Iran, and the profit-seeking ones abroad, to give extensive coverage to this atrocity. His purpose is to mislead people, and to attribute it to the deprived, oppressed nation of Iran so that this nation that is seeking its rights is made known abroad as one which lays no store by human and Islamic values.

I warn the people of Iran of danger; the danger of the establishment perpetrating such savage and anti-Islamic acts in all the cities of Iran in order to sully the flawless demonstrations of the courageous people who are watering the sapling of Islam with their blood. It is essential that the orators enlighten the people on the issue that could lead to the liberating revolution of Islam being stamped out. I offer my condolences to the Muslim nation of Iran, especially the persecuted people of Abadan and the bereaved families, and share their great, unendurable grief with them. I pray to God the Almighty to make Islam and Muslims triumphant and sever the hands of the foreigners and those in league with them.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Month of Fasting 17, 1398 AH

Message

Date: August 23, 1978 [Shahrivar 1, 1357 AHS / Ramadan 18, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Stating that the movement is Islamic; eschewing petty disputes

Addressee: The Freedom Movement of Iran abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Freedom Movement of Iran abroad, Europe-America:

I wish to express my profuse thanks for the message that I received from you, the children of Islam, may God always assist you, mentioning your loyalty to Islam, and pointing out your exhausting exertions of several years for the cause of its sublime goals that guarantee the independence and liberty of nations. I beseech God the Almighty to assist and give success to the people or groups that make sacrifices for dear Islam and the oppressed Muslims, and devote their lives to the cause of Truth and the attainment of the goals of Islam and humanity. I also wish to declare my affection for all their groups.

Now that the oppressed people throughout Iran have woken up and, by their magnificent movement, are giving the Shah and his lackeys a difficult time, it is not opportune for us now to spend our lives in petty disputes and to listen to the pernicious propaganda of some of the deviationists.

Nowadays the Shah, by burning and destroying, is trying to depict unfavorably our nation's campaign for its rights. It is up to you and us to expose his satanic plot to the world without wasting time, and thus prevent him from sullyng the campaign for Islam and humanity by means of his propaganda machinery.

These days that we are nearing our goal by following the path of God, we must invite everybody to unity, equality and brotherhood, and point out the crucial issues to them for the sake of which the people are facing the Shah's bullets. The respected members of the Freedom Movement of Iran, in Iran and abroad, and all the Islamic groups, may God always assist them, should not lose this opportunity. They should now offer their hands to one another in struggling jointly for this vital matter: the uprooting of the Pahlavi regime. Without wrangling, they should lead the nation to the final goal: the installation of an Islamic government. Today, slackness, apathy and preoccupation with trivial matters is suicidal; shameful suicide. The danger

of the Shah coming to power because of the differences and apathy of the groups is not something whose dimensions can be anticipated; the danger is of the collapse of a big nation and the dear religion of Islam.

I have tried, and am still trying, with all my might to unify all the strata of the Muslim nation, and pray to God the Almighty for this very important end with which the existence of the nation is tied. Studying the independence of the enslaved nations, and the killings and tortures, as well as the exhausting exertions on their part serves as a warning to the esteemed nation of Iran that the result of their religious and national campaign is not immediately, nor quickly, obtained. Iran's campaign will continue until victory that certainly belongs to the valiant nation. It is your duty to inform the public of this as soon as possible.

It had been mentioned that there is an ambiguity in paragraph I of the proclamation of Shaban 21, 1398 AH,¹ which has become a tool in the hands of malicious people. You must consider that the section followed a topic which showed Iran's campaign to be non-Islamic, and, wittingly or unwittingly, would have distanced the nation from it, thereby nullifying, to the benefit of the Shah, all the painstaking efforts made. It was my duty in this crucial matter to remind them of their mistake, and point out to them the basic principles of Iran's campaign. Therefore, I categorically state that this section concerns those who depict the genuine movement of Iran as being political and non-Islamic, their aim being to safeguard the Shah. It does not concern those who condemn the Shah in their writings and interviews and place Iran at the crossroads of "freedom" or "Shah". And neither those who in the course of their struggles, writings and speeches have declared their adherence to and consonance with Islam, and also their repugnance and disgust for the vile Pahlavi regime as so explicitly expressed in their writings.

I pray to the Exalted Lord for the victory of Islam and the Muslims, and for the success of all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Imam is referring to paragraph 1 of his historic message of 5/5/57 AH [1978]: "The recent holy movement in Iran that began to blossom from Khordad 15 is a hundred per cent Islamic. It was founded solely by the efforts of the capable clergy supported by the great Muslim nation of Iran."

Message

Date: August 28, 1978 [Shahrivar 6, 1357 AHS / Ramadan 23, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Installing the government of Sharif Imami and the Shah's new ruses

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

At this very sensitive time in Iran's history, the Shah has resorted to dangerous conspiracies hatched by his experts. With the slightest apathy and indifference on the part of the people of Iran, they must give up hope of gaining independence, freedom and their human rights, and brace themselves for all kinds of suffocation, torture, killing and destruction. In such an event, Islam should consider its enlightening tenets as lost. Changing the linchpin to another one who, from the outset, has entered the arena on the Shah's order with the weapons of trickery and hypocrisy is a plot to deceive the people and break the back of the Islamic movement. It is to cause the blood of the dear youth of Islam to have been spilt in vain these last fifteen years, particularly in the recent months, when the killers in the Shah's service, by carrying out the massacres in the provinces and by wounding, imprisoning and exiling people, have blackened the pages of history. Now that it has been proved that cannons, tanks, intimidation and threats have lost their effect on the awakened nation, he has taken to satanic ruses, and by raising extremely misleading topics intends to continue his atrocities and treacheries.

They have changed the honorable calendar¹ of Islam in the two houses of representatives, while the orders of the Shah, and the minister vis-à-vis the two houses have no legal standing. This vain order is a glaring indication of the Shah's satanic ruse. His worthless order to close down the gambling saloons is another ruse to mislead the clergy. They are closing down the gambling saloons out of respect for Islam, in an environment in which all the centers of prostitution still exist, and contrary to Islamic and the Quranic verses, oppression, killing and plunder have become an ordinary matter for the Shah's army of killers.

¹ It refers to the changing of the lunar and solar-based Muslim calendar reckoned from the *Hijrah*, or anno- *Hijrah* (AH) (the date of the Prophet Muhammad's *hijrah* [migration] from Mecca to Medina in 622 CE) to that of the monarchy.

In an environment which is said to be full of freedom, the best of the children of Islam and Iran are passing their lives in prisons subjected to royal tortures, and also in exile. In a setting in which they constantly mention the Islamic *ulama*, these *ulama* have been illegally imprisoned, or sent into exile without any authorization. Some people talk about showing reverence to religious slogans and respect to the clergy and Islamic tenets whereas for fifty years they have been accomplices to the crimes of the state apparatus, and have approved laws that are contrary to the commandments of Islam. The people of Iran loathe this regime and all the pawns who have devotedly served the real criminal and take pride in it. They do not consider them to be competent for any position. In an environment in which such people announce their respect for the clergy of Islam, they have closed many of the mosques throughout Iran, and have forbidden the preachers from speaking.

They have announced the formation of a “government of national reconciliation”² in an environment in which the army and the other agents in the provinces are engaged in crushing, by means of tanks and machine guns, a nation which is asking for its basic human rights and the enforcement of Islamic commandments. Reconcile and spill the blood of the dear ones of Islam! Reconcile and bow our heads to the despotic and traitorous Pahlavi regime! With the eclipse of the incontestable tenets of Islam; with the plunder of the country’s resources and the merciless massacres carried out by the regime, how can the clergy, for the sake of the regime having said, “We respect the clergy”, be reconciled with them and so have this great shame recorded for themselves in history?!

We must understand the demand of the nation from the demonstrations of these past few months. In its demonstrations, the general public clamors: “We do not want the Shah nor the Pahlavi dynasty.” This is the demand of the nation; not the hollow promise of respecting the clergy, nor the temporary closure of the gambling parlors, nor the worthless order – from the legal viewpoint – to put the Islamic calendar temporarily into effect in a deceitful manner.

It is a matter of regret and sorrow to me that the nation, the clergy and the statesmen are regarded by the cruel establishment as children who can be satisfied by giving them a ball. The people of Iran should understand that the clergy cannot and will not be reconciled with a despotic government or tyrants who are making a mockery of the Quran and Islamic precepts. Reconciliation means giving the Shah’s gang of murderers control over the

² The cabinet of Jafar Sharif Imami who became the prime minister after Jamshid Amuzegar and named it the ‘Government of National Reconciliation’.

lives and families of the people. It is the worst type of misfortune that no clergyman, whoever he may be, can or will have a hand in. Political factions, the fronts and movements will not reconcile with the regime and neither can they do so, as reconciliation means dragging the nation into captivity and ignoring its interests. The statesmen will not countenance such ignorance.

The Iranian nation should realize that it is on the edge of the precipice; the slightest neglect will cause its fall, undoing all the efforts and suffering of many years. Moreover, it will not see a happy day for ever, and will have to answer to God the Almighty. It is essential that you continue your honorable campaign until the cruel and bullying regime is uprooted, and not pay any heed to the empty promises of the illegitimate government. At this crucial point in time, you must eschew differences arising and thus demonstrate the solidarity among yourselves to the regime. You must also exercise utmost vigilance in neutralizing its satanic plots. Rest assured that triumph and honor is at hand.

“God! I have conveyed the message. Praise be to the devotees and those who strive in the way of God.”

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Month of Ramadan 23, 1398 AH

Letter

Date: August 29, 1978 [Shahrivar 7, 1357 AHS / Ramadan 24, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Authorization to spend religious law funds

Addressee: Sayyid Mahdi Tabatabai

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting 24, 1398 AH

After extending my greetings and best wishes, I do acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed letter and pray for your honor's health and prosperity. Regarding the permission for the shares mentioned, I cannot give my permission; however, I have permitted the amount that this person has spent. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: September 2, 1978 [Shahrivar 11, 1357 AHS / Ramadan 28, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The need to pay more attention to Mr. Pasandideh

Addressee: ?

In His Most Exalted Name

Month of Fasting 28, 1398 AH

Greetings to you. May God assist you and give you success. I have just heard that Aqa² has come. You are aware of my fondness for him, and of his condition and advanced age. There should be servants to do the work which is perhaps more than before. You have to supervise affairs so that, firstly, the work does not remain unfinished and, secondly, he is not burdened with it.

Your receipt has been sent. There are some receipts for Mr. Madani. Send these to him as these have arrived after the trouble Mr. Haj Ali had; he should enter these in the accounts. You speak to him. In case they want to calculate at the price they have charged this time, I will not be able to accept. It is preferable from Kuwait. Inform me of the situation, especially that of the family.

Do not write Mr. Khui's name on the back of the envelopes; it is not right. Write Ridwani's name or that of anybody else.³

² Mr. Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh.

³ Mr. Ali Khalkhali, Mr. Nasrullah Khalkhali's son.

Message

Date: September 6, 1978 [Shahrivar 15, 1357 AHS / Shawwal 3, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The need for the continuation of the struggle

Occasion: The blessed *Id al-Fitr*

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I wish to congratulate the brave Muslim nation of Iran on the occasion of the great and blessed Islamic *Id*. Congratulations, in spite of all the tyranny and bloodshed endured in order to find the path to deliverance, and the brave attempts made for the cause of Islam. The past month was a month of sacrifice for the sake of Truth. It was the month of the obvious conflict between good and evil. *"Falsehood is ever bound to vanish."*¹ This year's *Fitr* was an epic of the all-out campaign of all the segments of the Iranian nation. The day which proved to the world the nation's intellectual and experiential growth. It also proved the hollowness of the widespread propaganda of the opponents of the movement. While showing the solidarity of all segments of society, it very explicitly announced the nation's demand for the Shah to go and the apparatus of oppression and plunder of the Muslims to be dismantled.

Following the *Id* prayers, the Muslims of Iran performed another type of valuable worship; their vociferous cries against the apparatus of oppression and plunder, and in support of the installation of a government of Islamic equity. The struggle for this cause is a greater form of worship, as also making sacrifices in adhering to the path of the great prophets, especially the venerable Messenger and his great successor, the Commander of the Faithful. I hereby thank the Iranian nation for its devotion and pray to God the Almighty to make it great and strong under the protection of the Quran and the precepts of Islam.

The duty now of all the Muslims, particularly the clergy, the political factions and community elders is very important. Our nation is at the crossroads: achieving victory and success by driving out the Shah, or being crushed for ever under the boots of the tyrants. Honor and respect before the Creator and His creatures or, God forbid, everlasting humiliation and

¹ *Surah al-Isra* 17:81.

wretchedness. The Muslim nation of Iran will never allow itself to be humiliated.

The distinguished nation of Iran! Continue your campaign and do not ever allow apathy to overtake you, which I am sure you will not. Rest assured that with the grace of God, victory and honor are at hand. Do not think that the conclusion of the month of Ramadan has made any difference in the duty towards God. Forceful demonstrations to attain Islamic objectives is worship that does not depend on the days or months as the goal is the deliverance of the nation, the enforcement of Islamic justice and establishment of divine rule on the solid basis of justice. At every opportunity and on every tragic occasion, you must hold as many gatherings as you can in mosques, meeting places and public outdoor places. You must defend the Quran and Islamic justice in these, gatherings. Whatever is said and by whoever it is said that is contrary to these is satanic and to the benefit of the ruling oppressors, and to the detriment of Islam and the nation. Do not pay heed to the misleading words of the Shah, the government and their few friends, as they are only for the purpose of getting hold of some devilish opportunities.

The prisons of these people, who talk of freedom to deceive the nation, are brimming with clergymen, the university fraternity, traders, politicians, workers and farmers. The senior clergymen and politicians are in exile because of the crime of uttering the truth and desiring freedom. What kind of freedom is this that press censorship is still in place with the printing of political and vital issues strictly prevented, and quasi-military rule in face throughout Iran?! The people of Iran will on no account accept the orders of the Shah's police; they will continue with their protests. The Iranian nation will not be deceived by this juggling again.

According to the indications and the verification by the bereaved people of Abadan, the cinema in Abadan was set on fire by the criminal Shah and his government. Nearly four hundred people were burnt to death so that the promised "big terror" would serve as propaganda against our holy movement, which, as you saw, was not so. In the near or distant future, someone or some people will be presented to confess that they have had a hand in this! Those people are either agents or are some of the best and the most pious of people for the killing of whom, they know of no better way.

The Shah and his government who have staged an armed uprising against the nation seeking its rights, against the constitution and, more than anything else, against the freedom-fostering tenets of Islam, are, as a matter of course, traitors: Obeying them is tantamount to obeying the Devil. Do not give them

any opportunity, and, with protests and demonstrations, make the world aware of their savage deeds.

It is essential that the combatant Muslims give as many interviews as they can to news reporters, clearly pointing out to them the conspiracy of the Shah and his government in continuing the repression and the violation of the constitution. They must make the world understand that the former Shah had, by force, incorporated his kingship in the provisions of the constitution, and that this article is not acceptable to any Iranian. They must disclose the false propaganda that they are making abroad against the benevolent movement of the Muslim nation, and not allow them to portray the movement in a contrary way, the people who are ignorant of the facts. The campaigners abroad should undertake widespread publicity, and expand their activities as much as they can in connection with the situation in Iran.

I am thankful to the esteemed Iranian army for not having opened fire—in the massive demonstrations held in Tehran and the other provinces—on their patriotic countrymen, who are at the end of their tether because of the fifty-year tyranny of the Pahlavi dynasty, and for not having tainted their hands with the greater crimes that are usual with rulers. In these critical times when our country and homeland is on the edge of the precipice and is faced with the dilemma of subjugation or independence, I extend my hand to the Army, Air Force and Navy that are faithful to Islam and the country, and seek their hope in securing independence and in throwing off the yoke of bondage and humiliation.

O you zealous soldiers who are making sacrifices for your homeland! Rise! Enough of this abjectness and bondage! Strengthen your bonds with your dear nation and do not slay your worthy children and brothers for the sake of the lewd desires of a plundering family.

It is the duty of the speakers and writers to try harder in enlightening the opinion of their brothers in the army. The nation should respect them; they are our brothers.

Is it not advisable for the government to step aside and not let itself be further disgraced in the eyes of the public? Has not the time come for the Shah to relinquish affairs and leave the nation to itself so that it may take its destiny in its own hands; so that it may distinguish the traitor from the patriot and punish him for his misdeeds? Is it proper that hundreds of thousands of the sons of this meek nation roll in their blood so that the Shah may continue his oppression for a few days more? Can any steps be taken to save Iran when the traitors to Islam and the nation, at the head of whom is the Shah, are around? It is hoped that the power of the traitors to Islam be curtailed in

the near future so that the wise people determine the final outcome at that time.

The matter to which the utmost attention must be paid is that subsequent to the extirpation of the base of oppression by the blessing of the progressive tenets of Islam, we will announce our basic program. At that time they will see that the things the traitors have attributed to Islam—whether on the issue of the social rights of women, the rights of the religious minorities, or other issues—have been nothing other than cowardly accusations. The Shah's propaganda machinery in Iran and abroad has started this venomous propaganda in order to sway public opinion and put a stop to or stamp out the movement. It is hoped that in the near future, after the set-up of oppression and oppressor has been dismantled, our agenda will become clear in all its dimensions.

I pray to God the Almighty for the full blossoming of the movement and for the intensification of the liberating demonstrations of the nation until the downfall of the base of oppression and tyranny. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Telegram

Date: Circa September 1978 [Shahrivar 1357 AHS / Shawwal 1398]¹

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The disappearance of Imam Musa Sadr

Addressee: Yasir Arafat, Beirut, Lebanon

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The honorable Yasir Arafat, the Head of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization:

I have no news about the welfare of the honorable Imam Musa Sadr, the head of the ShiAh in Lebanon. This is causing me anxiety. I request you to kindly obtain information of his whereabouts and let me know of his welfare. I pray for your success in achieving Islamic goals.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The telegram has been dated 7/2/1356 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*; however, this is obviously an error as Imam Musa Sadr disappeared on August 31, 1978, corresponding to Shahrivar 9, 1357 AHS.

Message

Date: September 9, 1978 [Shahrivar 18, 1357 AHS / Shawwal 6, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The brutal massacre of Shahrivar 17 (Bloody Friday)

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The brave and noble nation of Iran:

By ordering the imposition of martial law in Tehran and the large cities of Iran, the Shah has once again proved that he has no standing with the public. The announcement of martial law in an atmosphere of peace—according to the admission of the press and radio of Iran that the demonstrations were taking place peacefully—not only lacks legitimacy, but constitutes a crime. And the person who has passed the order is a criminal. The Shah had no better excuse than martial law to fire on the defenseless, oppressed people. In recent days, Tehran and all the other important cities have been witness to the peaceful demonstrations held by the people to show their state of being oppressed and their opposition to a criminal who for 35 years has held sway over their destinies, and whose crimes and treacheries in the country, and opposition to the constitution are obvious. The expression of opposition to the criminal who has ruined the whole existence of the nation came from those who had political acumen and piety to the utmost, so much so that they were prepared to shower the soldiers with flowers, but the “government of national reconciliation” condemned them for sloganeering against the constitution, whereas their slogans were against the violator of the constitution; that is, the Shah. The slogans were against the illegitimate, imposed regime; it was to show their being subjected to oppression. However, the truth is this that the Shah wants to take his revenge on the defenseless people. He wants to fire on the people by adopting the usual contrivances, and, in his own evil fancies, stifle them. However, it is too late; the downtrodden but alert nation of Iran has become aware. I do not as yet have accurate information about those killed and wounded. The news agencies report hundreds killed whereas reports from Iran mention the number as more than one thousand people. It is now the duty of the courageous people of Iran to send, in any manner possible, blood, medicine

and food to their wounded countrymen who are numerous and not to stint them any sort of financial assistance.

Iran today, is rose-colored; bravery and exhilaration is observable everywhere. Yes, this is the way of Ali (A), the Commander of the Faithful, and Imam Husayn, the Doyen of the Martyrs. How I wish that Khomeini were amongst you and, by your side in the frontline of defense, would be killed for the sake of God the Almighty.

Nation of Iran! Rest assured that sooner or later victory will be yours. With his "government of national reconciliation", the Shah wants to make the dignified clergy and the respected politicians have a part in the massacres he has perpetrated; however, his ruse was exposed very early. "*Lo! The devil's strategy is ever weak.*"¹

The world should know that this is the free political atmosphere of Iran! And it is the Shah's democracy! This is adhering to the true religion of Islam according to the logic of the Shah and his government. They have now begun imprisoning and exiling people anew and will do so. The clergy and the intellectuals of the nation should be crushed under the boots of the tyrants so that nobody entertains the thought of freedom! O, you honorable people of Iran who have decided to rid yourselves of the Shah's regime, and by the referendum you held, and observed by people throughout the world, on the third and fourth of Shawwal,² showed them that the Shah's regime has no standing in Iran, a fact that was also been reflected in the newspapers abroad. Rest assured that no power can confront you who are awake and have arisen.

The patriotic army of Iran! You have seen that the people are your friends and are showering you with flowers. You know that these plunderers have made you their tools for slaying your brothers in order to continue the oppression. Join your other brothers-in-arms who have forsaken the Shah and who, in support of the people, have attacked the enemy. Rise! Do not allow your nation to be destroyed; nor your brothers and sisters to be slain. Record your name as early as you can in history that is on the march to the benefit of the nation, and pull out treachery and oppression from the roots.

O you distinguished *ulama* of Islam and the distinguished statesmen, do not allow yourselves to be intimidated by the Shah's repressive measures! You are the symbol of the nation's trust and morale. You must not only stand firm at this crucial juncture, but also strengthen the people's high spirit of resistance. You must also organize yourselves to the utmost for confronting the enemy of the Iranians.

¹ *Surah an-Nisa* 4:76.

² Wednesday and Thursday, Shahrivar 15-16, 1357 AHS [September 6-7, 1978].

I pray to God the Almighty for the triumph of Islam and the Muslims.
May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: September 12, 1978 [Shahrivar 21, 1357 AHS / Shawwal 9, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Condolences on the tragedy of Shahrivar 17; the necessity of continuing the campaign

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“The steadfast, who say, when a misfortune striketh them: Lo! we are Allah’s and lo! unto Him we are returning. Such are they on whom are blessings from their Lord, and mercy. Such are the rightly guided.”¹

O dear children of Islam, do you still need to be consoled when the Exalted Lord has given you His condolences? The honored and glorified Lord states: “Give the glad tidings to the steadfast, those who undergo every kind of misfortune and endure it for the sake of God and say that they have been created for God, and live for God. When they die they are not destroyed but return to the Munificent Lord. May the Blessings and Mercy of God be upon them. These are the ones who have realized their human aspirations.”

Nevertheless, I, on behalf of the venerable Master of the Age and Imam of the Time,² express my condolences to all the Muslims of the world, especially the bereaved families, on the tragedy of the fourth of Shawwal, of the year 1398 AH [Shahrivar 17], and, at the same time, offer my congratulations. God is witness that my Mustafa is not the only one whose death anniversary is approaching, but all those slain in the Shawwal tragedy were my Mustafa’s. I congratulate all the fathers, mothers and relations for this steadfastness and for this blessed martyrdom that the Exalted Lord has granted to my children. Being so killed, which is a mark of honor, is my greatest wish; perhaps it is near.

But deliverance and the victory of righteousness over iniquity is nearer than that. Henceforth, we are in a position to interrupt our activities—not for always—as the cruel tyrant will be overthrown very soon. Do not be in a hurry to reopen your shops and factories. Try to boost the morale and faith of the faint-hearted as God is the Provider of our daily bread. Nobody will die of hunger by ceasing business activities for a few days for the sake of God.

¹ Surah al-Baqarah 2:154-156.

² It refers to the twelfth Imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi (A).

Honor and wealth are in God's hands. Do not fear death as life and death are in God's hands. Continue with the strike as deliverance is at hand.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: September 14, 1978 [Shahrivar 23, 1357 AHS / Shawwal 11, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Proclaiming public mourning and emphasizing on the continuation of strikes

Occasion: The seventh day of the brutal massacre of Shahrivar 17

Addressee: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Respected and oppressed compatriots:

Now that a week has elapsed since the atrocious massacre of the first group of our oppressed people; now that it is a whole week that the great nation of Iran is writhing under the boots of the tyrants and the burst of fire from tanks and machine-guns; now that the Shah is talking of an “open political climate” and is mowing down the saplings that are our brave and stately youths; now that the fascist government, at its last gasps, has stifled the breath of the people in their chests; now that the cemeteries are filled with the graves of the noble children of Islam and the Quran; now that the Shah’s executioners are stomping their feet and rejoicing boisterously over the death of our dear ones; now that the Shah wants to make a cemetery out of Iran and turn it into ruins; now that his godless lackeys have collected in the Majlis, and by means of some commonplace and deceitful contrivances intend to exonerate the actual criminal and attribute his great crimes and betrayal to others who are nothing but stooges, and so draw themselves close to the Shah; now that all the traitors, internal and external, are supporting the Shah’s criminal actions; now that the veil has been lifted from the loathsome faces of those aspiring to freedom and the support of human rights, the great oppressed nation of Iran must go on strike and sit in lamentation. They must officially declare Thursday, Shawwal 11, as a day of mourning. Following the sacrifices and the countrywide mourning, we should await happy times. By the will of God, you will be witness to independence and freedom. You, on your own, so drove the enemy away from the fray that he was forced to proclaim martial law in most of the provinces and in Tehran – the center and base of the heroic men and women – thereby disgracing himself in human society and undoing his deceitful scheme with his own hands. Rest assured my dear ones that you stand triumphant and honorable before God the Almighty.

Your insurrection against the real dictator, who has trampled on all the national and religious mottos, is like that of the Commander of the Faithful against MuAwiyah whose misdeeds were not greater than those of the dictator. Ali (A) confronted a despot who, by his being a Friday congregational prayer leader and by making use of Islam, used to drain the people of their blood. Ali's uprising was against oppressor and oppression in the course of which thousands were sacrificed, one of whom was Ammar ibn Yasir. You, too, should not allow despondency to overtake you, nor listen to those who do not know anything about Islam, in confronting the present-day dictator who, in the name of Islam and by making use of the Quran, is sucking the blood of the nation, though the number of those slain on our side is still less than that of Siffin.¹ You should continue on your path which is that of God and the Saints of God. Do not be deceived by the puppetry of the government and the Shah's deputies who, by their inveigling words, want to save the dying Shah. The world has condemned him, and has risen to support you, although a few criminals, who want to grab the nation's resources and trample on the people's rights, have pinned their hopes on him. No power on earth can stand up against the everlasting might of the nation. The Exalted Lord has promised you victory and is with you. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Historians have put the number of those martyred in the battle of Siffin at seventy thousand to a hundred thousand.

Interview

Date: September 14, 1978 [Shahrivar 23, 1357 AHS / Shawwal 11, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The various problems of the world and of Iran

Interviewers: The radio and TV reporters of France (printed in *Figaro*)

[Introduction: In the beginning of the great historical movements, some insignificant events and actions sometimes leave a big impact and assume significance, becoming the cause of speed and urgency. The circumstances in which the interviews of Imam began and the elimination of impediments in publishing them are of that sort. Among them, Imam's second interview in Najaf and its publication in Paris has a tale to it, a summary of which, in the words of Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, is as follows:

“After Imam's interview with *Le Monde*, other interviews were requested in the course of the repeated calls from newspapers, magazines, and radio-television of various countries. It is said that the great number of requests for interviews were because of the thirst on the part of those in the world of politics for information on the situation in Iran and, likewise, on the dimensions of Imam's thoughts. That interview was so explicit and illuminating that, in the conditions that Iran was considered to be an island of tranquility, it gave rise to many doubts. Everybody wanted to know how the Imam, sitting in the corner of a room measuring 2x3, was able to talk about a great upheaval and to give the tidings of the great Islamic revolution. On the other hand, the two governments of Iran and Iraq, more than the other regional governments, were overcome by fear as Imam was in Iraq from where he was leading the Iranians. The Iraqi authorities announced officially that Imam did not have the right to grant interviews. If anybody wanted to interview him, he would have to notify the authorities. Simultaneous with these imposed restrictions, we acceded to the request for an interview from France's radio-television. After the arrival of the French reporters in Iraq, the Iraqi security organs got wind of the matter, mobilizing themselves to the fullest extent to prevent the interview from being held. I told my very good friends about this; and we agreed to so handle the matter that the authorities would not come to know about the interview that was to take place.

The Iraqi security agents kept tight surveillance over the avenue leading to Imam's house and, likewise, the street in which the house was situated. We informed the reporters through one of the Europeans to take a route that

was not being controlled at the time of their coming. It was also arranged to meet the reporters in one of the remotest streets of Najaf and ask them to enter Imam's house through another door which was almost unguarded. They had placed their filming equipment in the avenue which, because of its heaviness, had to be brought perforce via the main avenue. After transferring the equipment to the house and the agents' coming to know of it, it did not take much time before the doorbell rang and some of the security personnel entered the house. They wanted to stop the interview from being held, but I had locked them in after their entry. It was some time before they realized that they were imprisoned in our house, and that there was nothing they could do about it. In spite of their efforts to go, I did not allow them to do so. The reporters left as soon as the interview was over. I opened the door after a while whereupon they hurriedly left the house – or their prison. We received news that the reporters had been arrested in Baghdad; however, they had dispatched the tapes in a certain manner.

Following this interview, the attitude of the Iraqis towards the Imam, and those concerned with such matters, became very rough and rude. It was not long before Imam was on his way to Kuwait, subsequently proceeding to France. The French government banned the publication of Imam's interview, and did not allow anybody to interview him. The interview that Imam had given the radio-television had not been published as yet when, one day, I saw it published in *Figaro* newspaper. We later heard that *Figaro* had bought the interview from the radio-television for a sum equivalent to five hundred thousand tumans.

The commencement of Imam's interviews has an interesting story as well that I am relating once more. The beginning of the interview took place in the form of negotiations, in that they were not questions and answers. The editors of *Le Monde*, *Figaro* or others would come to Imam and then publish the conversations that they had with him, saying that this was not what their government had forbidden. The public opinion in France finally became so formed that the French government was obliged to allow the interviews to be held.]

Question: [How do you conceive of the "Islamic government"? Does this mean that the religious leaders will govern? What are the stages of this government?]

Answer: No; it does not mean that the religious leaders themselves are to run the government. They will lead the people in providing for the needs of Islam, and as the vast majority of the people are Muslims, the Islamic

government will enjoy their support and will have them to rely on. In the first phase, the aim is to make the country independent, sever foreign links, and end external domination as well as the internal foreign-dependent domination. Likewise, any kind of domination, be it political, military, cultural or economic, not to mention getting rid of expansionism and expansionists—whoever they may be. We also have to give the resources of the country to the suffering people steeped in poverty and diseases who for centuries, particularly the present century, have been afflicted by all sorts of misfortunes because of the misdeeds of the corrupt regimes that have plundered all the resources and the wealth of the country, handing them over to the foreigners or to their local lackeys. The second phase: the complete purging of the ministries, governmental departments, and governmental and national organizations of traitors, opportunists and parasites, and entrusting the affairs to people who are qualified, patriotic and honest. In addition, eliminating the redundant departments and posts that serve no useful purpose for the country and have only been created for the benefit of unqualified people; and also the elimination of unnecessary allowances and liberal payments that have eaten into the government budget. Subsequent to this, there are other phases that will be implemented gradually. In order to begin with these phases and form an Islamic government, before everything else we have to remove this big barrier, the Pahlavi dynasty, from the people's path; otherwise, we will not be able to implement any reforms with the Shah and his relations being around.

Q: [Have you decided for how long you will continue the campaign?]

A: As long as it takes in attaining Islamic and human goals. The nation feels that it is being ruined and sees Islam and the Islamic country on the edge of the precipice of total destruction. It is fed up with the underlings of the Shah's regime who are taking Islam and the country hurtling towards annihilation. The clergy, the politicians and the intellectuals are constantly calling the people to fight corruption. In support of them, the nation will not abandon its Islamic campaign until it has put an end to foreign hegemony and choked the greed of the parasites.

Q: [How is it that such multitudes of people pour into the streets on being summoned by you?]

A: Because the people know us to be in the service of Islam and the country. Because we raise issues that for years have been on the people's minds. It is for this reason that we are the ones who voice the people's

demands. On the other hand, whatever they have seen of the Shah and the government has been against the interests of Islam and the nation. The unprecedented demonstrations of the past few months following our calls are national and Islamic in which all the strata of society inevitably participate; it is actually a referendum against the regime which wrathfully declares the demonstrations to be illegal.

Q: [What is your opinion on the rumor of the Shah's abdication and the succession of his son?]

A: As the abdication of the Shah and the ousting of the Pahlavi dynasty are the demands of all the ranks of the people, the rumor of the Shah abdicating is at its height. If it were not for the oppressive hands of the foreign powers supporting him, this rumor would soon turn into reality. Our views are identical to those of the nation, and every Muslim must have this very same opinion, that is the ousting of the Pahlavi dynasty and the removal of the Shah and his descendents. Anyone saying anything contrary to this is a traitor to Islam, the Muslims and the country.

Q: [What is your opinion on Mr. Amini's¹ promise inasmuch as he has told the reporter of *Le Monde* that if he becomes the prime minister he will ask for time to lead the country out of this impasse?]

A: Only somebody who has standing by the public is qualified to lead the country out of the impasse; those who are not so cannot be successful.

Q: [What are your conditions for complying with this request?]

A: On no condition whatsoever with the government and the Pahlavi regime continuing in power. With the Shah in place and the plunderers of the regime at liberty to do as they wish, the request for time is only for deceiving the people. No proposal is acceptable to us and the nation with the Shah and his regime in power. We will not gain freedom and independence by giving time or not as long as this dynasty continues to rule. Victory will only be possible when the hands of the foreigners and their helpers—at the top of whom is the Shah—are cut off.

Q: [Following the Tehran massacre, why did Carter, who shows himself to the world as being a champion of human rights, support the Shah, and how do you appraise America's role in Iran?]

¹ Ali Amini, the veteran pro-American politician and former prime minister.

A: Claims of being philanthropic and of championing human rights are put forth by those who violate human rights. The champion in this field is the one who violates most, and in this day and age it is Carter himself. Everyone has been a witness to the repeated mass massacres perpetrated by the Shah in many of the provinces of Iran. Recently, Tehran was the scene of widespread massacres on the part of the Shah¹ in which, according to what is said, more than four thousand people were killed. Mr. Carter who made such a fuss over a prisoner in the Soviet Union, did not stint his support for the Shah following the repeated massacres. The head of the Chinese government after his visit to Iran²—in the course of which the Shah could not let him pass through the avenues because of fear of the people's insurrection—declared his support for the Shah who is the perpetrator of all the massacres in Iran. And the leaders in the Kremlin are also like them. The aim of America and all the hegemonic powers is nothing other than keeping all the weak countries in a state of backwardness in all aspects: cultural, economic, political and military. They cannot have any plan other than to benefit from our resources and those of the other backward countries; and this is the cause of all the pressures in all respects being brought to bear on us.

Q: [Considering the present economic and social conditions in Iran, and bearing in mind the exhaustion of the oil resources in the future and the country's dependency insofar as foodstuffs are concerned, what, in your opinion, is the solution for ending the crisis in Iran?]

A: If the devourers of our oil and the external and internal parasites are denied access to our oil reserves, and it is sold in reasonable quantities, we will not be deprived of our oil resources so soon. This untold profligacy on the Shah's part in exporting oil and, in return, purchasing scraps of iron are the reasons that have put our oil resources in danger of depletion. By setting up a national-cum-Islamic government, and replacing the profligate traitors with patriotic, God-fearing nationalist figures, we will have rational ways to end the crisis: Firstly, frustrating the plunderers of the Treasury at the head of whom is the Shah who, in order to keep himself in power by drawing checks of a million dollars and more from the Treasury for envoys and the important American fugues, is inflicting blows on the paralyzed economy of the country. Secondly, stopping the leading figures—the ministers, the deputies, the important department heads—from oppression and treachery. Thirdly, the

¹ It refers to the massacre of the defenseless people of Iran on Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS.

² Hua Kuo-feng, leader of the Peoples' Republic of China, arrived in Tehran to meet the Shah a few days after the Black Friday.

elimination of many of the departmental sections that only create difficulties for the people and are a burden on the Treasury. Fourthly, by making the optimum use of the agricultural workforce in order to develop a sound agricultural sector that had been ruined by the “Shah-America”(!) revolution of several years, and had undermined Iran’s agriculture while turning the country into a market to the benefit of foreigners. Apart from these, there are the plans and the other matters suggested by the trustworthy specialists. In this way, the crisis will undoubtedly be ended. I have already alluded to the information of the Islamic government at the very outset.

Q: [The Western press often refers to the ShiAh as being retrogressive and against progress; for example, the status of women with the covering chador, attacks on cinemas and banks. What are your views on all these issues?]

A: By spending exorbitantly, the Shah’s regime has brought some of the newspapers of the West into its service. In order to mislead public opinion in the West regarding the real problems—one of the most important being the departure of the Shah and his oppressive relations, and removing the foreigners’ hold on the country—it has resorted to baseless propaganda. It is the Shah who has deprived the people, whether man or woman, of their freedom, and does not allow anybody to breathe. It is the Shah who has made the screening of imperialist films in the cinemas customary so as to divert the youthful segment of society towards corruption. He wants to have our sons and daughters grow up unchaste and ignorant of the piteous state of the country. The Shah’s cinema is the center of prostitution and the trainer of mannequins unaware of themselves and even more so of the disorganized state of the country. The Muslim people consider such centers to be against the interests of the country, and think that they ought to be destroyed without the clergy having given any instructions to this effect. Of course, the tragedy of the Abadan cinema¹ was perpetrated by the Shah’s agents in order to “substantiate” the Shah’s claim of the occurrence of the “great terror” as promised by his opponents, and in which nearly four hundred people were burnt to cinders in the most brutal manner. Worse than the condition of the cinemas is that of the banks which have a more effective role in the bankruptcy and backwardness of the country. The people consider these to be destructive and the cause of the degradation of the country’s economy, thus thinking that they ought to be burnt down. It is the Shah that is said to have

¹ The blaze in Rex Cinema, Abadan.

told the Islamic correspondent in an interview: "My understanding of a woman is that she should be beautiful and bewitching."¹ It is the Shah who has dragged the women into corruption, and wants them to be brought up as if they were dolls. Religion is opposed to such evils and agonies; not with the emancipation of women. The participation of women in the recent referendum² proved to all the people the absurdity of the Shah's baseless assertion. The women rose alongside the men and demanded their freedom and independence, condemning the Shah in the process. As is well known, six hundred of our women were killed by the Shah's agents on Black Friday. This is the Shah's perception of the emancipation of women and the "great civilization"!

Q: [What kind of relations do you want to be established between Iran and the Western countries, especially France, bearing in mind the role that these countries have played in relation to the Shah's regime?]

A: I want these governments to officially recognize our government as a really progressive one. They should realize that using force in preventing the progress of the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America will, sooner or later, have its repercussions resulting in the deterioration of their own situation. In my opinion, the West cannot be prosperous at the expense of the rest of humanity. We want all the free and important nations to help us so that we free ourselves from the hold of East and West and that of the parasites who wish to exploit our resources by force.

Q: [What is your view about the term "Islamic Marxists" that the Shah has brought into vogue?]

A: The purpose of this term outside Iran is to give legitimacy to the Shah's despotic control in American eyes. In Iran it is to portray the realities to the people in a contrary manner and to justify the massacres carried out by the simple and believing soldiers so that they fire at the people with ease of conscience. Otherwise, Islam is complete and does not need to borrow the elements of any "ism". Moreover, the struggle of the people of our country is hundred per cent Islamic.

¹ It refers to Muhammad Rida Pahlavi's interview with Ms. Oriana Fallaci, the famous Italian journalist. After being published in the famous Italian newspaper "Courier Della Sara", the text of the interview was printed in a series titled: "Interview with History". The Shah's regime prevented the publication and distribution of the full text of this book in Iran with the result that the book was published incompletely.

² It refers to the demonstrations and rally of 1357 AH *Id al-Fitr*.

Q: [In connection with what the Shah had stated before the recent events about free elections being implemented, what stand will you take and which candidates will enjoy your support?]

A: If the Shah had consented to free elections, he would have accepted the joint demands of the people of Tehran, and of the large gatherings of people in all the cities of Iran, calling for his deposition, the establishment of Islamic rule as well as independence and freedom. He would have divested himself of the monarchy; that is, he would have declared his monarchy and that of his dynasty to be illegal. But he held his free elections on “Black Friday”! Really, can such a government hold free elections? If what the West is saying of really being on the side of progress is true, it should know that the most sublime sign of the development of human beings is the free expression of their opinion. The Muslims of the country gave the Shah a vote of no confidence in before the eyes of the news reporters from all over the world. Hence, if the West claims to support human rights, it should support the people of Iran which means they should withdraw their official recognition of the Shah’s government. They should not accept the government of one who every now and then resorts to slaughtering people for the sake of his own survival.

Q: [The public has been invited to support the campaign of the Iranians. What expectations do you have from the people of the Western countries? Apart from the governments, there are people as well.]

A: My expectation from the public in the West is that they should support the rightful campaign of the Iranian nation. They should request their propaganda organs and press to give the regime’s opponents the right to explanation. They should ask their governments: “You are the ones who follow a policy of advancement. Why do you report the topics concerning the opponents of the Iranian regime very briefly and vaguely, whereas you report the topics concerning Iran’s regime so grandiloquently? Are not such things inconsistent with freedom?”

Message

Date: September 18, 1978 [Shahrivar 27, 1357 AHS / Shawwal 15, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The government deceiving the people and the propaganda machinery of the Shah

Occasion: The earthquake in Tabas

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I am in mourning for the great tragedy that caused the death of a large number of our brothers and sisters. The Tabas earthquake pains and saddens every human being. It is essential that the zealous Muslims directly assist their brothers. They should not let the government functionaries handle anything and should exclude the plunderers from the scene. However, I find it necessary to point out at this critical juncture to the esteemed people of Iran that the government and the Shah's organs of propaganda are using the opportunity to deceive the people. Those who mercilessly massacred thousands of our fine children yesterday and plunged the nation into grief have now started their passion play in order to mislead the public. They are shedding crocodile tears for the victims of the quake and have proclaimed countrywide mourning. Those who machine-gunned the dear Muslims, the followers of the Holy Quran, and according to what is well-known, were assisted by Israeli troops in massacring the brave, defenseless people of Tehran—more than four thousand of whom are said to have been killed—and, after the massacre, called the victims communists and Marxists, have now become sympathetic towards the nation.

Yesterday they said that a bunch of saboteurs with forged passports had come from abroad and carried out acts of sabotage and, thereby, portrayed the people as being foreigners. Today they are calling the demonstrators, who shouted slogans all over the country against dictatorship and who showed their resentment of the Shah, a bunch of Marxists and communists. The people of Iran—the clergy, the politicians, businessmen and traders, workers and farmers—whose slogan is “Death to the Shah”, are communists! Only the Shah and his parasitical hangers-on—who dealt and are dealing in such a way with the Muslim nation that not even Genghis did—are Muslims and Iranians!

Muslims of Iran! Be vigilant; do not allow earthquakes, floods, and other factors to divert you from your path. Do not listen to the regime's misleading propaganda. Continue with the Islamic movement and do not rest until the apparatus of despotism and dictatorship has been dismantled. The dignified clergy should discharge their heavy, divine duty and warn the people at this critical time that the Shah, using the earthquake as an excuse, has started exploiting the situation. The statesmen, the intellectuals and the university authorities should fulfill their Islamic and national obligations, and not allow the movement to be diverted by the clamorous propaganda. In its support of the Shah, the government, in spite of explicitly declaring its responsibility for the merciless massacres all over Iran, has now resorted to pernicious propaganda. The people however will not be deceived by this propaganda and will take their revenge against him. With the declaration of support (for the Shah) by those who have a history of plunder, the great Muslim nation of Iran should not give way to fear and apathy, which, of course, they will not. By relying on the Omnipotent God and on their own rightfulness, they will assuredly be victorious.

Now that our brothers have lost their homes and protectors in the countrywide massacres and in the earthquake-affected regions; now that the mud-built town of Tabas has collapsed on the heads of our brothers; now that those who were injured in the countrywide demonstrations are suffering from want of food and medicine, it is incumbent on our brothers-in-faith to assume their guardianship and to provide them with the means of comfort as fast as possible. They should not be content with the loud proclamations of the government; they should not contribute to their relief fund which will achieve nothing save the acquisition of riches on the part of the concerned officials. They are asked to convey my mournful message of condolence on this great misfortune to the bereaved. I pray to God the Almighty for the freedom and independence of the country, and the amelioration of the condition of the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: September 19, 1978 [Shahrivar 28, 1357 AHS / Shawwal 16, 1398 AH]¹

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Expressing gratitude over the declaration of support; support for Palestine

Addressee: Yasir Arafat

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The honorable Yasir Arafat, the Head of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization:

I received your letter dated Ramadan al-Mubarak 18, 1398 AH, sent through your special representative. I wish to thank the Palestine Revolution and your honor for the kindness and support shown to the Iranian nation at a time when Iran is plunged in blood and fire. Following the peaceful and logical demonstrations held by people for gaining their basic rights, the Shah who had been harassed by the rightful uprisings of the people that took place throughout Iran; the Shah who had been defeated in his acts of imprisonment, exile, torture, suppression,, murder and plunder, has declared martial law without any legal authorization in twelve large cities. Moreover, he has opened fire, as done in the past, on the vigilant, freeborn, defenseless people of Iran of which more than four thousand have been reportedly killed up to now.

The Iranians who have been driven to extremities because of the crimes of the Shah in the course of his illegitimate rule, and that have risen to regain their lost freedom and independence, do not want the Shah who is rapidly leading the country towards spiritual and material ruination. The Shah is giving the oil of the Islamic country of Iran to Israel in order to crush the Muslims. Whoever, in Iran, protests this inhuman act is answered by bayonets. The usurpers of Muslim rights have now imposed the Shah on the nation.

The honorable Abu Ammar!

Regarding the Palestine question, we have always opposed the Shah, Israel and their supporters. We have been the supporters of the Palestinians, and have been in consonance with you. We have informed the nations of Israel's cruelties. Now that the people of Iran are under the boots of the

¹ In the book, *Haft Hizar Sal* [Seven Thousand Days], the date of the letter has been printed as 6/22/57 AHS.

Shah's tyrants, and are surrounded by tanks, cannons, and machine-guns; now that Israeli soldiers are assisting in killing the defenseless Iranians in the streets of Tehran, you must join us and, with your means of propaganda, make our voice heard the world over.

Now, the supposedly revolutionary Red China, America, the personification of exploitation, the Soviet Union, the source of hypocrisy and lies, and England, the veteran colonizer, are all supporting the Shah and have risen to crush the nation that wants to stand on its own feet, being inclined to neither East nor West. In such circumstances, the Shah with utter shamelessness is saying that the defenseless nation is a mixture of red communists and black reactionaries. Nevertheless, I am sure that the victory of our alert nation is certain.

I pray to God the Almighty for your success in crushing the usurper Israel and for the independence of Islamic countries. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: September 21, 1978 [Shahrivar 30, 1357 AHS / Shawwal 18, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The release of Mr. Qummi from jail; martial law and the bayonet

Addressee: Qummi, Mashhad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hadrat Ayatullah Aqa Qummi, may his blessings last long:

I was pleased to hear about your freedom after twelve years of illegal and inhumane imprisonment for the “crime” of speaking the truth and demanding your rights. The merciless massacres of recent months, particularly the massacre of innumerable children of Islam—the number of victims being reported as exceeding four thousand—is yet another example of liberty and the great civilization, as well as that of the Shah’s government of reconciliation. As long as this vile regime lasts, all hopes of freedom can only be hollow and the oppression and tyranny will continue. The slogan of the Muslims of Iran should call for the severance of the hands of the foreign powers and their treacherous agents at the head of whom is the Shah. Now that the Shah is confronted with the crushing might of the nation, and has no alternative but to continue his illegitimate existence at bayonet-point with the imposition of martial law, he is feigning sympathy for the victims of the earthquake¹ in order to deceive the people. However, no action has been taken by him to protect the lives of the deprived people in the earthquake-prone region. Now that the Shah has paralyzed the existence of the people and, every now and then, starts slaughtering the people anew, he evinces sympathy for the earthquake-stricken people whereas, he, himself, has caused the houses to collapse on their heads by his inattention to issues concerning the construction of houses. You, yourself, know and are convinced, and all should know that the people of Iran do not want the Shah; whoever wants him and his monarchy is a traitor.

I pray to God for your well-being and the glory of Islam and the Muslims, as also for the severance of foreign hands. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The Tabas earthquake in which thousands of people were killed and rendered homeless.

Letter

Date: September 23, 1978 [Mehr 1, 1357 AHS / Shawwal 20, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The disappearance of Imam Musa Sadr

Addressee: Hafiz Asad (President of the Republic of Syria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Hafiz Asad, President of the Republic of Syria and Head of the Rejection and Resistance Front Congress:¹

After extending my best wishes to you, I would like to say that I am anxious and sorry about the disappearance of the honorable Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Musa Sadr. I request Your Excellency to discuss this matter with the heads of the countries, who are meeting over the issue of Palestine, and get them interested in it.

In these times, the Iranian nation and we are plagued by a regime which, relying on American support, is tormenting the people by its dictatorship, mass massacres and the deprivation of all kinds of freedom. We ask you the heads of Islamic governments to assist us in liberating the defenseless Iranians. Your Muslim brothers have been crushed under the boots of the Shah's tyrants. The martial law that is in force in most of the important Iranian cities has greatly distressed the people.

The Prophet of Islam (s) is quoted as having said: "*All of you are like the shepherd who is responsible for his flock.*"² All the people, including you, the heads of the Islamic governments, who have the power to defend our oppressed nation, are accountable. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In opposition to the compromise between Egypt and Israel, an organization was set up in 1977 by Syria, named the Rejection and Resistance Front, which led to the rupture of relations between Syria and Egypt.

² *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

Letter

Date: September 27, 1978 [Mehr 5, 1357 AHS / Shawwal 24, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Health inquiry

Addressee: Abbas-Ali Amid Zanjani

In His Most Exalted Name

Shawwal 24, 1398 AH

I wish to let you know that I have received your esteemed letter indicating your honor's state of health. May God give you health and success. I had no information about your difficulty¹ and the reason for it. Thanks be to the Almighty God that all is well. I, too, in this condition, am not my usual self. Please do not forget me in your benevolent prayers. Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ It refers to the imprisonment of Amid Zanjani.

Message

Date: October 6, 1978 [Mehr 14, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 3, 1398 AH]

Place: Najaf, Iraq

Subject: Announcement on emigrating from Iraq

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Qadah al-Haram 3, 1398 AH

Salutations and greetings to my zealous Iranian brothers who have risen to liberate yourselves from the government of the Devil and to put an end to the pillaging by the international plunderers and the devourers of our oil! Praise be to the vigilant Muslims who have not allowed fear to get hold of them from the repeated attacks of the Shah's tyrants; who are following the path of Islam and those martyred, while crusading for the sake of Truth; who have shaken the foundation of the oppressors and, by their brave demonstrations, have caused the supports of the parasitical expansionists to tremble.

Now that I have to, perforce, leave my place of proximity to *Mawla*,¹ the Commander of the Faithful (Imam Ali) (A), I do not see myself in a position in the Islamic countries to serve you the deprived people that are subjected to the all-out onslaught of the foreigners and those dependent on them. As they have forbidden me from entering Kuwait, though I have permission to do so, I am flying to France. A fixed place is not important to me. Carrying out divinely-ordained duties is important; the sublime interests of Islam and the Muslims are important. Now that the Islamic movement has reached a very critical stage, we bear responsibility; Islam has expectations of us. The people the world over have riveted their eyes on you, the zealous people. The opportunist governments are engaged in studying the morale and the degree of perseverance of our nation. You, the men and women who have made history should prove to the people of the world and to future generations the firmness of your stand in crushing the oppressors and in defending Truth.

Notwithstanding all the recent troubles and preoccupations, I had been listening to the news about Iran and the repeated uprisings in various parts such as Kermanshah and some of the regions of Kurdistan, and also about the

¹ *Mawla*: literally, master.

massacres perpetuated by the Shah's tyrants. I was and am sad and distressed, and, at the same time, hopeful and proud: hopeful about the courage of the nation, and proud of its sacrifices for the cause of Islam and the downtrodden. Honored is the nation that by its devotion has taken great strides in the path leading to the achieving of victory for Truth, demolishing, one after the other, the obstacles therein. Victorious are the upright people who regained their lost honor with their blood, and recovered their nobility trampled underfoot by the despotic kings! I experience a sense of shame, when I study the morale of the young men and women who valiantly stood and are standing up to all the misfortunes. I should have been with you at every step in your misfortunes, and faced what you have been facing. Regretfully, I could not be in your midst and could not experience what you have experienced. But from so far away my eyes look to you with hope, and my heart throbs for the followers of Islam. I pray to God the Almighty for the glory of Islam and the Muslims and the deprivation of the power of the foreigners and those dependent on them.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: October 8, 1978 [Mehr 16, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris

Subject: Commencement of the academic year

Addressees: The public

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Qadah al-Haram 5, 1398 AH

I am hereby sending my greetings on the commencement of the academic year to the students of the religious sciences and those of schools and universities who have risen for the cause of Islam and the establishment of the government of Islamic justice.

The year that passed was one of sacrifice and suffering for all strata of the dear nation and for you the children of Islam. It was the year of the approach of the bridge of triumph and the appearance of its signs. It was the year of merciless massacres and mourning, and, at the same time, of the perceptible retreat of the Shah, his masters and lackeys. It was the year of the inclination of all groups of people towards Islam – the guarantor of freedom, independence, happiness and intellectual and experiential growth, and the year of the repulsion of the satanic army and criminals.

With the assistance of God the Almighty and adherence to the sublime precepts of the Quran, I am giving you, the dear children of Islam, the good news of final victory, provided that the magnificent Islamic-cum-national movement continues and the bonds between you, the worthy youths of Islam, remain unbreakable. And, also, on condition that you be aware of the ploys of the expansionists, both rightists and leftists, and their demonical army, and of the pawns in the form of the Shah, the government, the parliamentarians and ministers who are harassing the downtrodden masses and are drinking their lifeblood.

Yes, my dear ones! Rise together in full awareness in the schools, universities and teachers' colleges, and strive jointly for the salvation of Islam and the country. Before everything else, you must adhere in practice to the invaluable precepts of Islam that have insured the welfare of nations. Alert the groups that—having been duped by foreign propaganda—have accepted or are inclined to certain ideologies, to the ploys of the enemy while

exposing the crimes of the deceitful heads of the deviationist doctrines. You must also positively eschew disunity and discord and remind them clearly of our demands that are the demands of the oppressed. Recommend our motto to them which is also that of the oppressed, deprived people. Perhaps they will join you by a proper understanding of the matter. Tell them on my behalf that the Islam that you have heard about from others and those unacquainted with the teachings of the Quran, or what the discord—sowing deviationists and the puppets of expansionists have introduced to you, is not Islam. Come, hear about dear Islam from the savants who are well versed in the logic of the Quran, and learn the things that are beyond your ken and perception. Do not be deceived by the propagandists of the expansionist powers. A cursory glance at the condition of the heads of such countries is enough to awaken you.

Very recently you saw the Chinese leader¹ without any regard for our dear departed—slain by the Shah's henchmen for the "crime" of demanding freedom—officially backing the Shah with the utmost impudence. The same is the case of the Soviet Union and the leaders in the Kremlin who supported and are supporting the Shah over the massacres of Khordad 15 and those of recent days. All the communist powers are making deadly weapons out of the lifeblood of the meek nations to destroy mankind. Then there is America — the great world-devourer—whose real self is clear for all to see.

O children of Iran! Strengthen your bonds with our great nation that only wants to stand on its own feet and not lean towards East or West for which reason it is being assailed by the leftists and rightists. We are witnessing the daily massacres of our people by the Eastern and Western powers. With the slogan of monotheism, prevent the access of the despots and international plunderers to our rich resources. By securing our huge resources, and by depriving the treacherous ruling circles and officials of their power, you must undertake the task of administering the country's affairs with the support of the great nation. For the interests and the good of the nation and the country, you must utilize the huge assets that are now being destroyed by the plundering, international thieves, the Pahlavis, their relations, the government and others. With the God-given blessing of the Islamic government, you must put an end to the chaos, the profligacy and the lewdness and thus rescue your nation. Rely on the Omnipotent God for He is your protector and supporter.

¹ It refers to Hua Kuo-feng who came to Tehran shortly after the tragedy of Shahrivar 17 [September 8, 1978].

Now please give your attention to our initial and primary demands, without which it is not possible to attain prosperity, freedom, independence and the Islamic government of justice. And also pay attention to the obstacles that have to be removed from your path:

1. The overthrow of the monarchy as all the miseries of the meek nation in the course of history have been caused by the kings and monarchial rule. Their oppression has darkened the pages of history, a present-day example being the Shah who is fast dragging the country to a state of collapse. Consenting to the monarchy whether explicitly or by means of a scheme the inevitable result of which is his survival, is treachery to Islam, the Holy Quran, the Muslims and Iran. Whoever by whatever name acquiesces in it stands ostracized; avoiding him is essential.

2. Driving out all the elements that, under Pahlavi rule, were in charge of important affairs of the country, such as ministers, and Majlis deputies who, without exception, have been party to the crimes and the means to fulfill the purposes of the foreign powers along with the Shah. They must be relieved of their responsibilities for the affairs of the nation, then tried and punished. There is no difference between those who are in favor of the government and those who, through opportunism and deception, have shown themselves as being opponents and have started asserting themselves. Then there are those who speak of free elections and of acting in accordance with the Constitution. All these people are trying to keep the Shah in power by means of these diabolical deeds, and so continue and intensify their own abuse of authority and help the international plunderers in robbing us of our resources.

3. In all events, our slogan is the severance of our links with the foreign powers, leftist or rightist. With foreigners of every type, ideology, and creed meddling in every sphere of the country's affairs—political, educational, economic and military—development, independence and freedom are nothing but mere fancies. Whoever, in whatever position and form, allows the foreign powers to meddle in the affairs of our dear homeland, whether openly or by means of schemes that result in foreign domination of our country to continue or fresh domination to be occasioned, is a traitor to Islam and the country. Such a person must necessarily be shunned. If the meddling on the part of the foreign powers—particularly America, the Soviet Union and Britain—continues, every regime that comes to power will only be a tool for keeping the nation in a state of backwardness and for perpetuating the misfortunes and deprivation on the one hand and the plunder and tyranny on the other. Though changing the pawns might lead to a temporary improvement in the conditions, it would have no effect on our destiny, as all

the misfortunes and miseries of the Muslims are a consequence of foreign interference in their affairs.

These, in brief, are our initial demands. The other demands will be made after this stage is passed, and will be implemented with all our might with the continuation of the national-Islamic movement, God willing.

My dear friends, do not allow fear to grip you over the impending difficulties as, these will be solved and eliminated sooner or later, God willing, as He is the companion of those who strive for their rights.

Our duties and yours; the university, secondary school and theology students, are these:

1. If you notice any deviation on the part of the professors, teachers and community leaders from the national-religious path, the most important of which is the overthrow of the rotten regime, you must protest vehemently, and invite them to follow the path of the nation which is the path of God. In case they pay no heed, you must ostracize them and report their deviationist aims very clearly to the oppressed nation. Such people are traitors to the religion, nation and country. They want the Shah, his masters and the international plunderers to carry on with their plunder and keep the nation impoverished and backward.

2. The theology and secular students should have a friendly and working relationship among themselves. They should join all the various categories of the people for the purpose of attaining independence and freedom and for dispossessing the usurpers of everything belonging to the nation by right.

3. You and we and all the others are duty-bound to make the army understand that, with its armed might, it should break the foreigners' chains of domination over us. By joining the nation, they should free the country of the shame of being under the control of the foreign advisers as it is to the spiritual and material benefit of all. Deliverance is not possible without the overthrow of the Shah's regime. The army must be made aware that the Shah, with those who follow him blindly, is using them for his own sinister purposes and those of the super powers (the plunderers of the poor), examples of which are the safeguarding of foreign interests and collaboration with Israel. In all this, the massacres and the ignominy are your lot, whereas the perpetuation of position and the continuation of oppression and plunder are his. The fate of the non-commissioned officers and the soldiers is death and genocide, whereas that of the others is benefits and a life of pleasure. They should save themselves from the Shah's mischief and thereby see victory fall in their lap.

O you young men of the army, rise and save your country from wretchedness and abjectness. Deprive the plunderers of the country's resources; leave your dignity and glory to serve as a memorial of yourselves, and ensure your blessedness in both the worlds. Within the universities, it is the duty of the students to encourage and exhort the army to stage a general uprising. They must call the army their brothers and loudly ask them: "Are bullets the answer to flowers?"

4. Ponder the current issues with great alertness and do not be deceived by the ruses of the Shah who wants to sow discord through various ploys. According to what is being heard, they want to have the Shah's lackeys and agents to raise communist slogans in the universities in order to alarm the people over its dangers. The Tudeh Party is a despicable party connected to the Shah's apparatus. All its slogans and pretences are only to weaken the Islamic campaign and to save the Shah from being toppled; to keep the plundering set-up in place and perpetuate exploitation of the oppressed nation's resources. Dear students, it is your duty to neutralize these diabolical plots.

5. You, dear students, are duty-bound to support the rightful and valiant insurrection of the deprived Muslim workers and employees among whom the strikes are spreading. These are the deprived Muslims who are weary of the Shah's trampling on their rights, and who have risen to uphold these in unison and sympathy with their brothers. Everybody knows that as long as the regime lasts, social justice and redress of the plight of the deprived, hard-working people will never materialize. Tell them on my behalf not to be led astray by the deceitful establishment; tell them not to stop their strikes. Tell them to continue the Islamic movement until the hands of the plunderers are severed from what is yours and the nation's by right. With the help of the Islamic government, we will attain genuine justice and be blessed with God's bounties. Remind them to persevere with their strikes and make the Islamic slogans more widespread. Relying on God the Almighty they can be sure of gaining their rights.

My dear friends! The pressures put on me by the Shah have been the cause of my inability to continue with my Islamic activity which is a divinely-ordained duty. I had decided to migrate to one of the Islamic countries. Having a passport and a Kuwait visa, Kuwait thought it a danger to themselves to even allow me to pass through the city to the airport. I have now come to Paris so that, notwithstanding all the difficulties, I may be able to discharge my religious duty which is to serve the Islamic country and the deprived people of my land. It is hoped that I will, to the best of my ability,

serve the people who have risen to make sacrifices in defending Islam, although no kind of service will compensate for the continuous sacrifices of the dear nation. I ask God to forgive me for my shortcomings, and request Him to give victory to the Islamic nation, and honor, independence and freedom to all. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: October 9, 1978 [Mehr 17, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 6, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Monarchial regime the source of all corruptions; glad tidings of victory

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents in France and other countries

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

From what some have said, it seems that a number of gentlemen had come to see me when I was not here, and that they kicked up a fuss somewhat, believing that this must be someone's doing.¹ However, this had not been the case. My present state of health does not permit me to remain here for any length of time, and because of this, a place on the city's outskirts has been found for me where I will be able to rest. I came today because I heard that some gentlemen were going to come here to visit me and I wanted to be here to receive them.² I am not used to formalities such as having

¹ In this regard Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini writes: "Once Imam had gone to Mr. Ghadanfarpur's house in Paris, it was decided that a home should be found for him. Mr. Bani Sadr said: A friend by the name of Mr. Asgari has a house on the outskirts of Paris which I suggest we should look at.' I went with Mr. Asgari and Mr. Bani Sadr to see the house in question which stood forty-two kilometers outside Paris in Neauphle-le-Château. The following day we again went there to survey the area with Imam, who subsequently gave his approval, firstly, because the house lay outside Paris; secondly, because his staying there would not inconvenience the owner, and thirdly because it was sufficiently large in size. Thus, having approved of the house Imam then remained there. The following day news that Imam was staying in Paris spread amongst the students who then made for Mr. Ghadanfarpur's house; but when they saw that Imam was not there, they thought that Dr. Yazdi, Messrs Bani Sadr, Ghadanfarpur and Qutbzadeh must have purposely taken Imam somewhere out of their reach. Word spread among the Iranian people who reacted badly to the news. The next day Imam returned to the home of Mr. Ghazanfarpur in Paris, where he announced that he had moved to Neauphle-le-Château. He stated that there was no danger of him being influenced by others and that all were welcome to visit him at his home, but that his age did not permit him to constantly be among his visitors."

² Three small houses in Neauphle-le-Château were provided for Imam Khomeini and his companions. Imam and his family-members resided in house number one which was an extremely small building. House number two, situated opposite house number one, was used for gatherings, for meetings with Iranian students, and for members of Imam's staff—congregational and midnight prayers were also performed here by Imam. House number three served as a place in which those students and followers of Imam who had traveled from Paris could rest or sleep. Whoever traveled to Paris to visit Imam was allowed to remain in this latter house for a forty-eight-hour period.

someone act as mediator, a curtain, between myself and another person for example. This is contrary to the civility taught in Islam. Health permitting, I am at the service of all the honorable gentlemen; but there comes a time when one's strength is taken from one. Fortunately you are all young but (God willing) should you reach old age then you will realize that an old person does not enjoy the same state of health as do young people. I have now reached the final stages of my life but I pray that I, along with you all, will be able to serve Islam; that we can serve the Muslims and our homeland.

“Iranian Revolution” as God’s plan

Iran is now in a distressed state. It suffers a kind of distress which it has probably never experienced before throughout its entire history. If you take a look at history, you will see that there have been revolutions and other such things in the past, but they were not such that malevolent troops savagely attacked the people on one front, whilst on the other, the people gave their lives and the lives of their children and stood up in resistance. Iran's present state is such that wherever one looks one sees signs of a revolution taking place—an Iranian revolution; that is. According to what they tell me, it is as if everyone, everywhere in Iran, is now a party to some kind of divine plan: everyone, from infants who have just learned how to talk, to adults, both young and old; from boys and girls to women and elderly ladies and gentlemen. Mankind does not have the power needed to awaken people in this way, whereby members of all social classes and age groups have such unity of purpose. This is something extraordinary, as if it were divinely inspired. It is the will of God, the Blessed and Exalted, that the Iranian nation should stand up in resistance (which, God willing, is indeed what they will do) by means of this movement that they have embarked upon and this unity of expression that they hold.

Monarchial regime, the source of all corruptions

As for this degeneration that has come about in Iran, this is something for which the imperialist regime holds full responsibility. Throughout history, from the birth of the Iranian monarchy to the present day, whatever depravity prevailed was brought about by the imperialist regime. This has always been the case, but it has taken different forms depending on the exigency of the time. Each period has demanded a certain approach. The period through which I have lived, but through which I believe none of you honorable

gentlemen have, is a period which has been haunted by Rida Khan. During this period the British stage-managed a coup d'état and brought Rida Khan forward imposing him upon the Iranian people as their ruler.¹ He was the one appointed to accomplish the aims of his masters, but in order to succeed in this, he realized that it meant having to silence and crush those sectors of society comprising the intellectuals, the *ulama* and the religiously devout.² At the same time, his ability to net any profits also depended upon him taking this course of action, so he set to it, pouring any profits netted into his masters' pockets. God only knows what miseries we suffered during the time of that father of his (the Shah), and the miseries we are all suffering now during the reign of this son: a son befitting of such a father. There can be no doubt that he is Rida Khan's son; that is to say, whatever undesirable qualities were to be found in the father, are also to be found in him, with the added quality of him being a hypocrite. Rida Khan was a tyrant, who constantly bullied the people, and the nation at that time did nothing to resist him—or rather they did very little. Of course there was some resistance at that time, but it was minimal and unlike that which we are now witnessing today. But at least Rida Khan did not falsely adhere to Islam and the Quran and the true ordinances of Islam; at least he did not play the hypocrite.³ He was a spearhead who attacked and retreated. At least this much can be said for him, that although he battered the people with the bayonet, he did not kill on the same scale as this one (the Shah) does. Rida Shah was responsible for a massacre in Gauhar Shad Mosque, a massacre which was carried out by a group of wicked people; but this gentleman⁴ has been responsible for several massacres in the past, and God forbid, should he be granted a respite by God, the Blessed, the Exalted, then he will be responsible for more massacres in the future.

The Shah's pro-Islam's claim

While he has ruined our youth, leading them into corruption, at the same time whenever he gets the chance to speak, like two or three days ago when he spoke in the Majlis, he rants on about how the ordinances of Islam must be protected and so forth.⁵ But don't you see you foolish man, it was you

¹ During the reign of Ahmad Shah Qajar, a contract known as "The Contract of Wuthuq ad-Dawlah" (the Prime Minister of the day) was concluded between Iran and Britain (1919), according to which Britain was obliged to pay a loan of two million pounds sterling to Iran and was to be responsible for organizing and administering the Iranian army. In effect, this contract rendered Iran a subject of British sovereignty whilst also serving to protect the country from Russia. Ahmad Shah Qajar, for reasons too lengthy to mention here, opposed this contract and thus the British government decided to remove him from their path—a task not too difficult for he was not very popular with the people anyway. Therefore, in 1920 [1299 AHS], a coup d'état was staged by Rida Khan Mirpanj which not only resulted in Ahmad Shah's dethronement, but also paved the way for the overthrow of the Qajar dynasty and the establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty; and indeed, shortly afterwards, it led to Rida Khan being placed on the imperial throne.

² The reign of Rida Khan was ushered in by repeated acts of intimidation and terrorism. If one of those who sought freedom opposed Rida Khan, he found himself confronted by the bayonet of Rida Khan's officers. If a newspaper proprietor were to voice objection towards the oppression which prevailed and the illegal offences which were committed, he became the object of Rida Khan's terror tactics. On numerous occasions Rida Khan was heard to have said: "I shall break the pen of those who oppose me!"; "I shall cut out the tongue of he who voices criticism!"; "I shall smash the teeth of those who oppose me!" During the very first week following the coup, a large number of political activists, intellectuals, clergymen and other people were arrested and sent to prison, such as Sayyid Hasan Mudarris, Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Yazdi and Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Estarabadi.

³ It refers to the periods both at the height and towards the end of Rida Khan's reign. During the time when he was commander-in-chief of the nation's armed forces, he would make a public show of his religious faith and would sometimes take part in *rawdakhwanis* (i.e. meetings held to commemorate the martyrdom of the Immaculate Imams, during which narrations are recited, often in verse).

⁴ The Shah.

⁵ In Mehr 1357 AHS [September/October, 1978], during the opening ceremony of the National Consultative Assembly, the Shah said: "It goes without saying that in our endeavors

who only recently changed the official calendar of Iran, discarding the calendar which was based upon the history of Islam—a history which testifies to a nation's glorious past—and replacing it with a calendar based upon another form of history; until you were delivered a blow in the mouth that is, after which you dispensed with the newly-decreed calendar.¹

to fortify the foundations of religious faith, the sublime mores and principles of Islam will always be our greatest source of guidance and inspiration. An outline of the resolutions which are to be passed during the coming year can be clearly defined from our overall objectives and proposed policy... Obviously as a Muslim country, one of our prime objectives and aims is to strive for the advancement of the Islamic world and for its ever-increasing development and greatness"! Again, on the occasion of the seventy-third anniversary of constitutional government, he had said: "From the beginning of my childhood, religion and Islam were an integral part of my life. That is to say that I am a devout Muslim. And as the nation's leader I state with conviction that a society needs to have a spiritual faith, and most essentially it needs to have a religious faith, for it is this which affords order and stability. So I, who have sworn to preserve the Constitution, to defend the country's frontiers and boundaries, and to safeguard the twelve-Imami religion of Shiism, have certain obligations to fulfill—obligations which the people must also fulfill in another way"!

¹ In August of 1978, following the tragedy at the Rex Cinema in Abadan (August 19, 1978 [Mordad 28, 1357 AHS]), Jamshid Amuzegar's government was dissolved, and on August 27, 1978, Sharif Imami formed a new Cabinet. On his first day in office, Sharif Imami issued a statement in which he announced a change in the calendar whereby the officially-recognized basis of time calculation in Iran was once more to be in accordance with the solar calendar of *Hijrah* (calculated from the date of the migration of the Prophet Muhammad (s) from Mecca to Medina) rather than the imperial calendar (calculated from the coronation of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Iranian monarchy).

Freedom! The man continuously talks of freedom!¹ With regard to the Rastakhiz Party, you have repeatedly stated in speeches that everyone is to join it, and that if anyone, through malicious intent, does not join it then you will come down hard on him, beat him and so on; or if not this, then you will provide him with a passport with which to leave the country, for you will have him kicked out.² Freedom! Where in this country can freedom be said to exist? Do people enjoy freedom of the pen? Do people enjoy freedom of speech? What kind of freedom do they enjoy that he keeps on ranting about people's freedom? Do they have freedom to observe the ordinances of Islam—the true religion of Islam and its ordinances? What on earth gives you the right to talk of Islam? What qualifies you to continuously rant on about the true religion of Islam. Indeed, you are the one who is causing its destruction.

Perpetuation of the Shah's atrocities, product of America's support

This is the situation with which we are all now faced. Our youth in Iran are suffering at the hands of this corrupt regime; they are shedding their blood and losing their lives. Only a few days ago, a large number of our youth were killed in Kermanshah,³ and so too in Kurdistan; and they say the same has also been the case in other parts of the Kurdistan province. And you saw for yourselves what they did a few days ago in Tehran; what they did in Tabriz; what they did in Mashhad. The towns, in which they have conducted wholesale massacres and have gone on the rampage, are too many to

¹ Refer to the Tehran evening newspapers of August 6, 1978 (Mordad 15, 1357 AHS—the Shah's speech to commemorate the seventy-third anniversary of constitutional government), and August 19, 1978 (the press conference held by the Shah to mark the anniversary of the coup of Mordad 28).

² The Shah had said that whoever does not join the Rastakhiz Party clearly feels indifferent towards Iran!

³ A report carried in the *Ittila'at* newspaper of October 2, 1978 [Mehr 10, 1357 AHS], read: "On Sunday, October 1, 1978, over eight thousand people in Bakhtaran took part in demonstrations and rallies. At 4 pm of that day, the demonstrators assembled in Burujerdi Mosque and in the surrounding streets to protest against the house arrest of Imam Khomeini in the holy city of Najaf. At 6 pm this group then set off on a demonstration march while shouting slogans, their intention being to go to Jami Mosque. On the way however, they were confronted by government troops who opened fire on the innocent people bringing about a bloody tragedy which left thirty-four people dead or injured. Again, ceremonies held to commemorate the third night following the martyrdom of the aforesaid victims also resulted in fresh clashes breaking out between the people and government troops, in which yet further numbers were killed and wounded".

enumerate.¹ And now he is clinging on to power via military rule.² If the military, if this God-forsaken America, were to withdraw their protection of him for ten days, these royal guards of his would devour him. There would be no need for you, the people to do it. If America were to withdraw its

¹ Newspapers of the day reported the holding of massive demonstrations in the major cities of Iran on August 31, and September 1, 1978 [Shahrivar 9-10, 1357 AHS], in which large numbers of people were killed and wounded, and some arrested. Although demonstrations in a few cities were held without incident, according to reports, the majority of demonstrations held throughout the country resulted in scuffles and clashes between troops and demonstrators. The exact number of those killed was never ascertained, but newspapers of the time claimed that the death toll was in the tens. Cities which were affected included Tehran, Miyana, Shahriyar, Kermanshah, Ardebil, Tabriz, Babulsar, Mashhad, Amul, Abadan, Zanjan, Qazvin, Kashan, Shiraz, Hamedan, Kerman, Jahrom, Arak, Ilam, Rafsanjan, and Zahedan...and in Tehran, Kerman, Mashhad, Shiraz and Tabriz many were killed, wounded or arrested during demonstrations which took place on Monday, September 4, 1978 [Shahrivar 13, 1357 AHS]. These events led to the bloody event of September 8, 1978 [Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS] when thousands were left lying in a blood bath at Zhaleh Square. In the wake of this incident, on Wednesday, September 16, 1978, a number of people were killed and injured in Tabriz. On October 1 and 2, large demonstrations were held in a number of major Iranian cities during which violent clashes broke out leaving many killed, wounded or arrested. During these two days, in addition to the aforementioned cities, demonstrations were also to be seen in Zanjan, Urumiyyah, Bana, Durud, Kashan, Semnan, Kermanshah, Aqlid and Arsanjan in the province of Fars, Dezful, Amul and . . . in which a number of people were killed and wounded.

² Isfahan was the first city in which martial law was declared. On Thursday and Friday, August 10 and 11, 1978 [Mordad 19-20, 1357 AHS], huge demonstrations and marches were staged in this city, which, due to the intervention of government troops, resulted in a vast number of demonstrators being killed and wounded and a number being held in custody. It was following this that on August 11, 1978, martial law was declared in Isfahan. The first statement to be made by the military governor of Isfahan (Major General Rida Naji), announced the imposition of a curfew which prohibited the circulation of people between 8 pm and 6 am, and declared the formation of any kind of social grouping in excess of three people categorically forbidden. The following day, Saturday, August 12, 1978, martial law was also declared in Najafabad. Due to the movement's expansion and the continued demonstrations, on September 8, 1978 [Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS], an official statement was issued which announced that in addition to Isfahan, martial law was also to be declared in Tehran, Qum, Tabriz, Mashhad, Shiraz, Kazerun, Abadan, Ahwaz, Karaj, Qazvin and Jahram. Between 2 pm on Saturday, February 9, 1978, and the morning of Sunday, February 10, the military governor of Tehran issued four different statements numbered 40, 41, 42, and 43. Statement number 40 specified that the hours of curfew were to be from 4.30 pm until 5 am. However, word immediately spread throughout the city that Imam Khomeini had proclaimed the military governor to be without legitimate authority, and thus people were not to obey these regulations. On hearing this, people began to collect sand and sacks and by building barricades across the streets they in effect broke the imposed curfew. Some of these people carried side arms and were covered by a group of youngsters who were equipped with firearms, and who turned the streets into fields of combat during the hours of the curfew.

support of him, those Royal Court attendants, the very ones who now guard him in the court, would put an end to him. His life is in no way secure.¹

The Shah's troublesome condition

Believe me, you and I are more at ease than he. He is now knee deep in trouble. He has caused misery for the people, but now he is the one who is in such a sorry state that he cannot distinguish between day and night. He probably cannot sleep. Now whenever he speaks he trembles. He can't put four words together coherently.² This is the state in which he now finds himself, but at the end of the day, God willing, he will be in a worse state; and as for the Hereafter, things will be even worse still for him.

Our duty outside Iran, assisting the movement

So much for the present situation in Iran. However, both we here and others who are presently abroad, we are all duty-bound. It is not a question of us having left Iran and therefore having no obligation towards it. We all have an obligation to fulfill—that is to say that reason, the conscience and religious law all tell us that we have a responsibility to meet. Wherever we may be, it is our duty to help this sacred movement of Iran both collectively and individually; both alone and as a member of a group. It is not good

¹ Such as on April 10, 1965 [Farvardin 21, 1344 AHS], when one of the guards at Marble Palace fired at the Shah.

² In his book *Mission to Iran*, William Sullivan, the last American ambassador to Iran writes: "On the day that I went to see the Shah he seemed to be extremely depressed . . . throughout the duration of our talks, the Shah was listless, dejected and disturbed, and unlike previous meetings when he had always tried to monopolize the talks, discussing the subjects of interest to him, his only verbal contribution on that day was to give short, confused and overlapping responses which were sometimes incoherent". A reporter for the journal *Der Spiegel*, who was on intimate terms with the Shah, held an interview with the latter during the Shah's final days in Iran. He writes: "The Shah, looking old and worn, with white hair, a haggard face and heavy eyes, managed with difficulty to bring a grim smile to his lips when he said that he was keeping himself going by taking drugs. The Shah said: 'People are truly ungrateful and unappreciative; they neither have patience nor the ability to reason'." When the reporter of the journal asks him about his friends, he replies: "Friend? Which friend? My friends left me months ago and went to America and Europe with stolen money. They are now enjoying themselves in the Champs Elysees and in California. My foreign friends have also deserted me. It is as if they have never seen or heard of me before. Whenever they see me they look the other way. I am alone, and have nobody other than a few distant acquaintances who have remained and who themselves have been left alone, without anyone. All those around me did all they could to take care of themselves. Even certain members of my family didn't have pity on me either—stealing and plundering as much as they could and defaming myself and my poor wife. They ought to be hunted down and given what for!"

enough to say that although they are shedding blood on the battlefield, we are abroad and cannot therefore be with them. No—we too must engage in combat abroad. We too must all fulfill this obligation to the best of our ability—each person, however much or to whatever extent he is able—by speaking out, by writing, by demonstrating.

We now have a religious duty to perform for the nation of Iran. We are now under a religious obligation to help its people. We are indebted to them, for they are making sacrifices for the sake of Islam and the nation. We too are a part of the nation; we too belong to the nation of Iran. So they have in fact made sacrifices for our sakes, shedding their blood and suffering imprisonment. Just consider how many of our *ulama* are now in prison; how many of our *ulama*, our intellectuals, our doctors, our engineers, our students, our merchants, people from all sectors of society, are currently in prison. A number have been killed and a number are prisoners. These self-sacrifices have all been made for the sake of the nation, for the sake of Islam; and we who are Muslims and who are the fellow countrymen of those who have made sacrifices, we who belong to this nation, have a religious duty towards these people. We must do what our religion demands of us. I as a theology student [*talaba*], fulfill my religious duty by writing, holding discourses like the one I am now holding with you, and by making statements and speeches. You, as students, regardless of your subject of study, must also fulfill the religious obligation you have towards these people of Iran—people who have been crushed under the boots of this regime. I pray that the Lord may crush them, and so He shall, God willing. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us all to show our concern for this nation and to do whatever we can for them. Obviously, there is a limit to what we can do, but we are to carry out our religious duty and to serve this nation and its people to the best of our ability.

The Shah's sale of the country's resources

Indeed, besides this religious obligation, we too belong to this nation and we can see how all of our national resources are being given over to America and its comrades. If Muhammad Rida (Shah) were not to give our oil away so generously, then it would not dry up so soon; our reserves would not be exhausted within such a short space of time. But they have put our oil up for sale and are letting it go for a song. They are taking the lot, pocketing whatever there is—the British on the one hand¹ and other parties on the

¹ Iranian oil reserves were first discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century by the British who were the first to exploit these excessively abundant reserves. During the First World War the fuel used by British warships was changed from coal to oil, and Iranian oil became the most important source of fuel for these ships and constituted one of the reasons which drove the British to occupy Iran at the beginning of the Second World War. 1909 saw the establishment of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and oil extraction in Iran rose rapidly. Not only did the capital investment programs and the operations carried out by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company not result in the development of the Iranian economy and industry, but rather these programs and operations themselves were in part the cause of an economic decline and economic bondage which came about in Iran. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company sold oil to Iran at a higher price than that it sold to Britain, making a five-hundred percent net profit on the oil and oil products it supplied to the consumer. The plunder of Iranian oil during the reign of Rida Khan continued in such a way that within a thirty-nine-year period the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company exported 338 million tons of oil from Iran, paying the Iranian government a total of 118 million pounds, which on average worked out at 7 shillings per ton or 19 cents per barrel. The total amount of capital invested by the British Oil Company in Iran amounted to 21.6 million pounds, in lieu of which company shareholders received 115 million pounds—a further 175 million pounds going to the British government by way of taxes. A further 400-500 million pounds of the company's profits went towards expanding the company's installations and assets across the globe. Thus, Britain held a massive share of Iran's oil reserves following the drawing up of a contract by the oil consortium: a consortium which took as much as 13.3 billion barrels of oil from Iran throughout an eighteen-year period!

other. As for the Americans, they are worse than any of them.¹ The Russians too are involved.² They have all borne down on this nation and have joined

¹ Following the coup d'état of Mordad 28 [August 19], Iran's oil was left in the hands of the consortium. The main shareholders of the consortium were American and British oil companies which, with each other's help, took part in the extraction, processing and sale of Iran's oil. In 1954 (1333 AHS), the National Iranian Oil Company was established under the auspices of the consortium. In principle this company was responsible for running the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's administrative affairs and had absolutely nothing to do with the extraction and refinement of oil. The NIOC's share in oil exports from 1969 until 1973 was 0.3%, whereas that of the consortium during the same period was as high as 92% (!) (the remainder belonging to other foreign companies outside the consortium). Iran's oil revenue in 1975/76 reached 17,441 million dollars, 15,867 million dollars of which came from oil exported via the consortium. The NIOC received 874 million dollars, 700 million dollars going to other oil company shareholders! A comparison of these figures reveals how the consortium, after nationalization of the oil industry in 1973, had more or less retained its powerful position, while also showing the extent to which America and Britain were busy plundering the oil reserves of Iran.

² In accordance with the fifteen-year contract which was concluded between Iran and the Soviet Union in 1967, Iran was to export gas to the Soviet Union via a gas pipeline which was to be constructed. The amount of gas piped was to have reached 10 billion cubic meters by 1975 meaning that the amount stipulated in the original contract would have to be doubled annually. The Soviet Union had undertaken to pay Iran a sum of 6 dollars and 6 cents in exchange for every 1,000 cubic meters of gas.

hands in order to keep this good-for-nothing in power so that they can carry on with their plunder.¹

Chinese leader's support for the Shah's atrocities

You all saw how the Chinese Premier, the leader of one billion people, came to Iran to discuss the Chinese people, Communism and the nation of Iran! This villain came to Iran and met with someone who is responsible for several wholesale massacres. He flew over our dead by helicopter. They couldn't drive him through the streets because people would have raised an uproar; all hell would have been let loose. The villain was aware of all this, it is not as if he was oblivious to it; and what a large body of escorts accompanied him. They flew him over our dead and took him there (to the palace) where he and the Shah shook hands and continued with their program of talks together in the most cheerful of spirits. He, this person, and others like him are deluding the people.² At the same time, we saw how such a vast number of the Iranian people were killed on Khordad 15, and how afterwards in the Russian press, the Soviet Union expressed its support for the Iranian regime saying that those killed had been a bunch of reactionists or what have you, who had intended to do this and that. And now the Russians express

¹ Carter agreed to an audience with the Crown Prince of Iran, Rida Pahlavi, in the White House, addressing whom he said: "Our friendship and alliance with Iran is one of the important bases on which our entire foreign policy depends." As Carter congratulated the Shah for October 26 (Aban 4-the Shah's birthday) he again pledged his support for the latter. During the critical days of Aban 1357 [October/November 1978], the National Security Council of America held a meeting after which William Sullivan was instructed to inform the Shah that the USA would give him their unlimited and unconditional support throughout the current crisis. Concerning the need to support the Shah, David Owen, the British Foreign Minister said: "True friends are those who think of each other in times of need. I believe we must make a choice, and my view is that we should back the Shahanshah of Iran. The toppling of the regime in Iran means a defeat for the ideals of human rights"! Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Premier, demonstrated his support for the Shah by visiting Iran during the final days of the regime, when he officially announced that he supported the Shah. Brezhnev, the Soviet Premier, also declared his country's support for the Shah and offered his congratulations to the latter for his birthday.

² On August 29, 1978 [Shahrivar 7, 1357 AHS], just when the movement was escalating, Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Premier, came to Iran by invitation of the Shah on a four-day visit. His stay coincided both with the dissolution of Jamshid Amuzegar's government and the appointment of Sharif Imami's government, and with the burning of the Rex Cinema in Abadan. The Shah boastfully sensationalized the fact that great nation states such as China still regarded him as a powerful sovereign and that they had pledged their support for him. Hua Kuo-feng, however, was hopeful that by accepting the Shah's invitation to come to Iran, he would be able to gain further important concessions from her.

their support for him (the Shah) again as they did then. As for America, well, its position goes without saying.

The Shah's claims on solar energy!

They (the imperialists) want to take all of our national resources for themselves. And just what is this sorry nation to do once its oil has gone and its assets have been destroyed? God only knows what it is to do. This gentleman (the Shah) says that we must derive energy from the sun! You want to derive energy from the sun when you can't even light a kerosene lamp? What on earth are you talking about? You only say these things to fool the people. This whole scenario is being set up by them to enable the imperialists to keep this reprobate in power.

"The Shah's should stay" means betrayal

Within the country too, whoever says that he (the Shah) must remain or that it is better that he remains, does so because he is a traitor, for everyone within the country has seen what this person is doing, what he has done to the people, what he has done with our resources, what he has done with our wealth. God knows what vast amounts of the nation's wealth have been appropriated by members of this family, whereby abroad they now own villas and real estate and so on and so forth. These have all been paid for by the nation's wealth.

Rumor of communist penetration

Indeed, I was around when Rida Khan came to power: a mere soldier suddenly appeared on the scene and things led to the stage where now each of his descendants has become billionaires.¹ This money belongs to the nation. These family members have shares in every company; they own a

¹ Rida Khan, who before the coup d'état had been a simple Cossack, became the owner of a vast fortune after having seized power. He founded a commission called "The Royal Estates Bureau", and instructed it to buy the most coveted regions in the north of the country for him at a low price. He was prepared to commit any crime in order to take possession of the people's property. At the time of his banishment from Iran his possessions comprised: 44,000 plots of inhabited land; 360 million dollars cash in foreign banks; 68 million tumans in deposit accounts at home; centers such as the silk-weaving factory at Chalus, several rice refineries, cotton-mills, stonemasonries, the textile factory at Ali Abad, the hotels of AbAli, Gachsar, Ramsar, Darband in Shemiran, and Ferdowsi; as well as owning the villa complex at Mabarakabad, etc. A British Member of Parliament, who had been a close acquaintance of Rida Khan, wrote: "Rida Khan cleared the Iranian highways of thieves and bandits, and he let the Iranian people know that henceforth only one bandit exists in Iran!" See *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini*, p. 88, and *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, p. 111.

part of every established company in Iran.¹ And as for oil, the Shah is just giving it to the imperialists *ad libitum*, retaining a small share which he then gives to them in exchange for ironware²—something which is of no use to us at all. Yes, these guns are of no use to us but they are to him, for he can use them to beat and kill the people. Our nation can do without such things. A certain amount of the nation's wealth also goes into the pockets of both the Shah himself and the members of his family, who then spend it on propaganda abroad—heaven knows how much they actually spend in this way. It is said that a budget of one hundred million dollars is spent abroad on propaganda for the regime—and what is propagated?—that it is vital to Iran that this man stays; that if he were to go then Iran would become a communist state.³ But why on earth should Iran become communist? The nation of Iran is a Muslim nation. The rallying cry of the Iranian people is Islam; the people call for religion. Why should they become communist if the Shah were to go? This continued propaganda campaign of theirs however, is to no avail. It is now said that the regime has recently arranged for a group of people to shout out communist slogans in the university when it reopens, in order for the people to believe that it is now the communists who pose a threat to the regime! But this is not the case at all. These people are members of SAVAK and not communists. The imperialists' aim to keep him in power even if it means having to resort to every trick in the book; and this is because he serves them better than anyone else could.

Iran in the hands of Iranians

From the very beginning our argument has been and still is that we have a country of our own which we want to keep for ourselves. We don't want America to be our guardian. We don't want all of the nation's assets to be

¹ There was not one major economic organization in Iran—whether in the department of trade or in the areas of agriculture and industry—in which the Shah and his family were not shareholders. Through “The Pahlavi Foundation”, “The Imperial Organization”, and “The Social Services”, the Shah was one of the major shareholders of Umran Bank, Iranshahr Bank, Dariush Bank, The Development and Investment Bank of Iran, and Shahryar Bank, while he also held major shares in the Kurush Savings and Mortgage Bank and the Ekbatan Savings and Mortgage Bank. The Shah had substantial investments in companies and organizations such as General Motors of Iran, Iran Metal Industries Co., and Iran Aluminum Co. In addition, he was a major shareholder in companies which were involved in trade, production, industry, and distribution, such as: the Ahwaz Pipe Construction Company; the Bridgestone Company of Iran; Kiyari Tyre Manufacturers; Pars Paper Mills; the Darupakhsh Company; the Fars and Khuzestan Cement Plant; Abyek Cement Plant in Qazvin; Tehran Cement; Western Cement Industries; Tehran Plaster; Iranite; West Tehran Land Construction and Development Organization; Kish Development Organization; Atisaz Company; Eskin Housing Development Company; Karaj Cane Sugar Mill; Pars Sugar Mill; Marvdasht Company; Ahwaz Cane Sugar Mill and Refinery; Dezfoul Cane Sugar Mill; Shahabad Sugar Mill; Fasa Cane Sugar Mill; Kermanshah Cane Sugar; Luristan Cane Sugar; Jiruft Agriculture and Industry; Iran-America Agriculture and Industry; Ziyaran Meat Production and Packing; Karun Agriculture and Industry; Iran Dam Construction; Iran Sea Water Services; Afset Company and the list goes on. The Shah did not even overlook investments in hotels and restaurants! This unchallenged sovereign pocketed a huge share of the returns made from dozens of restaurants, casinos and night-clubs and from the following hotels: Babulsar; Vanak; Ramsar; Arya Sheraton; Chalus; Gamrun; Bandar Abbas; Nowshahr; The Hayt in Khazar; The Hayt in Mashhad; and The Tehran Hilton! Furthermore, each member of the Pahlavi family was also involved more or less to the same extent as the Shah in commercial-business enterprises. For further information refer to *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, Vol. 1, p. 216.

² Guns and military equipment.

³ The Shah and his agents called the revolutionary people of Iran communists! During an interview to mark Mordad 28 [August 19], in reply to a question as to whether a bunch of hooligans and the Islamic Marxists group had been responsible for recent events, the Shah said: “Without question! Islamic Marxists are undoubtedly to blame”! Eight days after the bloody event of September 8, Sharif Imami announced that “Undeniable facts and incontestable circumstantial evidence testify to the fact that the Marxists were the central cause of the violence”. Moreover, Dr. Amili, the regime's Minister for Information and Tourism said: “We are in no doubt that a communist campaign is directing this movement, since the slogans used and procedure followed by those concerned are communist.”

taken by America, or for the Soviet Union to take them away. We don't want our gas to be taken by the Soviet Union and our oil to be taken by America. Tell me, is it an open house here where anyone can take whatever he wants!? We don't want it to be like this. We are a nation in our own right, and whether you like it or not, we want to be the ones who benefit from our own land, from our own water, from our own oil and from our own resources, each of which are in bounteous abundance. Yes, we want to benefit from all of these resources and to drive away those thieves who continually eat them up and take them away. We want to drive this regime out too, and to administer our own country ourselves. We are not in need of a guardian. Whether we run the country badly or we run it well, at least we will have done it ourselves. This is the case we argue. Who has the right to say "No, someone else has to come and control your affairs"? What business is it of theirs? Whether we want to administer the country or are in fact able to do so is beside the point; our demand is that you all get out. As for what would happen once these have gone, once we have driven out these parasites and these gluttons for oil—the 'superpowers' being both parasites and gluttons for oil, and this Pahlavi family along with all those who have had dealings with this family over the past fifty years, being the parasites who are

benefiting from the wealth of our very own country whilst our youngsters are paying the price with their lives—we argue that were we to drive these out, we would then be able to fully administer this rich nation of ours unaided. It is not that our national budget is inadequate; it is that those who partake of it are many! Paying for those public relations officers both at home and abroad to uphold the Shah's regime and for others such as these advisers they bring in from abroad, takes a tremendous amount out of the budget. All of these people have poured into this country for our resources which they are now busy plundering and taking away.

If we foreshorten the arms of these people, which indeed we shall, God willing, and if the nation which has risen up in revolt foreshortens their arms and drives out the main culprits—if we succeed in this, then we will have enough oil and will achieve autonomy. Who asked you or your agents to come and run our country anyway?

Continuation of the movement till the severance of the hands of superpowers from Iran

What do we want with all of these foreign advisers?!¹ They are all here to keep him and his regime in power and to plunder us. They prop him up so that they can plunder. The regime must also be in favor of them plundering the nation otherwise the imperialists would get rid of him (the Shah) and replace him with someone better. It's not that they are really keen on him, but it is a question of not being able to get rid of him. In any case, they would still have us to contend with no matter who they put in his place. Should they decide to stage a coup and install a military government, then he will have no choice but to kill or to leave.² And in fact that is just how the

¹ An American researcher writes: "24,000 Americans were reported to have been working in Iran in July 1976, and even then this figure was rising. Some of these, such as the 1,700 American workforces at the Bell helicopter manufacturing company, worked directly under the supervision of their own American bosses, and had little contact with Iranians. The majority of Americans however, worked with Iranian officers and workers, whether they were employed in military organizations or in technical and administrative sectors; and here the difference in the salaries, fringe benefits, and material comforts enjoyed by the Americans was a cause of Iranian discontent". A report made by the Foreign Affairs Committee in the American Senate, stated that the number of American residents in Iran was expected to rise from 24,000 in the year of the report (1976), to 50-60,000 in the year 1980".

² The staging of a military coup and the enforcement of a military government was among the solutions discussed in political circles—a solution which was reached by the Shah's supporters during the final months of his reign to combat the popular demonstrations and the Islamic Revolution. However, both the Shah's mistake in imposing a military government under General Azhari, and Imam's timely warning that "A military government amounts to nothing less than a military coup", denied this policy a chance of working.

situation now stands. He either has to pull the trigger and kill the whole nation, or he has to abdicate. Until the time when America leaves us alone, and these 'superpowers' take their hands off our country, our movement shall continue and so shall our slogans and activities; and God willing, we shall eventually triumph.

World's public opinion focused on Iran

Do not be afraid of these 'superpowers', gentlemen. If ever we were to go to war with foreign countries we would lose because they would be in a better position than we; we are nothing, whilst they have everything. But there are times when a nation must speak out; when it has something to say—something which makes sense to the entire world. And now what we have to say is that we are a nation in our own right and we do not want foreigners to be in our country, to be in our home: so they must get out. No one can dispute this argument, and if anyone were to dispute it their challenge would inevitably be short-lived anyway for they would have to take on world opinion, which is something no power can challenge. We have now managed to draw the world's attention towards Iran. Iran is now the centre of everyone's attention. That is to say everyone is busy researching about Iran; they are probing into it. They do so however, for the purpose of making inroads into the country, although it is true some intentions may in fact be honorable whereby research is conducted which asks questions about the nation's make-up, and about what has happened there and why. In time, once everyone has become aware that the people of a nation have risen up to demand what is rightly theirs, and not to demand that which belongs to others, then inevitably they will lend their support to this cause. If you join hands together as you have done so far, pushing differences aside and getting on well with each other, if you remain united, then I give you the glad tidings that, God willing, you will pull it off: you will get rid of this regime and the foreigners and the country will become yours.

The need to resolve petty differences

There is just one more thing that I would like to say to you Iranian gentlemen who are not in Iran, and that is I sometimes hear of there being some trivial differences, some petty grievances between you—I sometimes heard of such things whilst I was in Iran, and I may well have heard of them

here too. If this is the case then I believe something is amiss.¹ You are all each other's brothers. Why, and over what do we differ? We must all join hands together to destroy he who is the common enemy. If we are going to be at variance among ourselves he will remain comfortably seated on the throne and our energy and efforts will be wasted. This is yet another of the tricks that they (the imperialists) have always had up their sleeves and that is to create divisions between the different segments of society. They create two parties with two different names, sow discord between the two and thus render the people inert; or, for example, they may build someone up to be the centre of attraction and place him in the spotlight, thus causing the people to become preoccupied as they enter into debates with regard to this person. As a result their energies become dissipated whilst the imperialists sit back and take advantage of the situation. You gentlemen who are currently outside the country must be each other's brothers. Resolve your differences. If you have seen a brother doing something which troubles you, then you are to approach him in a brotherly manner and tell him that he has done something to upset you. Let the matter be settled. I pray that God, the Blessed and Exalted, grant you all success. May you complete your studies here having attained honorable results and then return to your homeland. And may the time come when our country's affairs are handled by accomplished, righteous people. And I pray that all of you, all of us, may serve our people, our homeland and Islam. I must also add that my health as it is at present doesn't permit me to come here every day. Even before speaking to you here today I felt a little tired, but having come here I saw there was no alternative but to speak with the gentlemen present. I must apologize for not having been able to come here sooner. However, let me first of all say that from the time that I first became involved in this struggle I never allowed anyone to interfere in my affairs, including those closest to me. I was independent in whatever I did. I did or didn't do things as I saw fit and I acted according to my own reason and discretion. Don't be mistaken in thinking that my coming here must be due to some sort of special relationship between myself and someone else for example, or that there is someone who influences what I do and whose judgment I accept unquestioningly. This is not the case. Don't take offence

¹ Due to an absence of governmental pressure, political differences outside the country were far greater than those within it. Disagreements existed between the various groups such as the National Front—to which Bani Sadr paid allegiance—the European branch of the Freedom Movement Abroad, the American branch of the Freedom Movement Abroad, and other religious and non-religious groups. The most serious disagreements however, existed in Europe between Messrs Qutbzadeh, Bani Sadr and Dr. Yazdi. It is to these disagreements that Imam refers here.

for example because I may have gone out somewhere for a welcome rest, believing that this must have been something planned in order for me not to welcome and speak to the gentlemen visitors; for me not to be available for them. I am always available for the gentlemen and the door to my home is open to them all. Whichever of them would like to come to my home is welcome to do so. However, as far as my coming here to stay or my traveling here every day is concerned, I am sorry to say that the state of my health just doesn't permit me to do these things. I have to return to where I am staying in order to rest and, God willing, to make myself fit enough to be at the service of all of the gentlemen who wish to see me.

Extent of *hijab*

One of the ladies present at the gathering: [With regard to the issue of women's Islamic covering [*hijab*], this matter has been bothering those sisters who are living over here. That is to say they would truly like to know whether this form of covering is acceptable or not?]

Imam: You mean in the manner that you are now dressed?

The lady: [Yes.]

Imam: There is no objection to this. If it has no ill effect then there is no objection to this form of covering. You must decide for yourselves whether dressing in this manner has any ill effects or not, or whether it causes an affront to your dignity say, or other such concerns. If your form of covering causes an affront to your dignity then you don't need anyone else to tell you whether it is correct or not, for you yourselves should know. But if it does not cause an affront then it fulfils the condition required for a woman's dress to be Islamic: that is all a woman's Islamic covering amounts to and nothing more.

The lady: [Also, in Iran . . .?]

Imam: The situation in Iran today differs from the situation here (in France). There, in Iran, more ill effects may possibly result, so it is not a case of the Islamic covering worn by women in Iran having to be worn here too. The Islamic covering required for women in Iran and that which conforms to Islamic requirements is to the extent that you are now wearing. Islam does not change according to where it is practiced. However, sometimes external factors are involved which have to be taken into consideration—factors which cause ill effects, moral discrepancies and other such things to arise from the use of a certain kind of covering, and when this is the case, women's Islamic covering must take a different form. However, under

different circumstances, this covering can be as simple as it is elsewhere—no, there is no objection to a woman not wearing a *chador*.¹

¹ The *chador* is a traditional form of covering for women constituting a long veil worn over the head which stretches to the ground.

Letter

Date: October 10, 1978 [Mehr 18, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 7, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris

Subject: Family-related

Addressee: Fatimah Tabatabai

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Qadah 7, 1398 AH

Fati Khanum,¹

May you be in good health, God willing. We miss you very much here. The countryside is nice but we do not know for how long we will be here. I pray for dear Hasan.² Please convey my regards to the honorable Hujjat al-Islam, your father.³ Let me know of your welfare; especially after delivery,⁴ God willing. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's spouse.

² Mr. Sayyid Hasan Khomeini.

³ Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Sultani Tabatabai.

⁴ The birth of Sayyid Rida (Yasir) Mustafawi, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini's second son.

Letter

Date: October 11, 1978 [Mehr 19, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 8, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris

Subject: Resistance until the collapse of the Pahlavi dynasty

Addressee: Sayyid Shahabuddin MarAshi Najafi

In His Most Exalted Name

Hadrat Ayatullah Najafi, may his blessings last long:

I wish to inform your honor that I have received your esteemed letter indicating the state of your health, as also your inquiry about me. May you be healthy and prosperous.

Because of the pressure put on me by Iraq and approved by this Shah who has taken the country to the brink of disaster, I have come here from Najaf in order to be of some service to the deprived nation. It is the duty of all of us not to rest until the overthrow of the undignified Pahlavi dynasty. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: October 11, 1978 [Mehr 19, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 8, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Migration to Paris; the Shah's crimes; objectives of the Revolution

Addressees: A group of Iranians residing in Paris

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

Explanation of migration from Iraq and arrival in France

...Then the head of Iraqi intelligence came to me saying that it was best for me not to incite the people of Iran and not to continue with my activities. He said that Iraq had a certain commitment toward the Iranian government to which I said that they may well have a certain obligation toward the Iranian government, but that I am under no obligation toward it. I said that we too have certain obligations to fulfill but these are toward Islam and toward our nation, so we shall carry on with what we are doing, and they too are to do whatever they will. Then he said: "But every day you issue statements and send recorded messages and so on. At least scale this down." I said: "No! I shall continue to issue statements and also to record messages and send them abroad; and should I ascend the pulpit, then I shall speak out. When it comes to these things, I cannot do otherwise." He then left and things worsened whereby I could tell they were at the end of their tether. Since the head of Intelligence had previously said that for the time being they would leave so-and-so alone but that they intended to do some-thing about our friends, I thought that our friends may possibly be harmed by them. Hence, because it makes no difference to me where I actually reside as long as I can continue with my mission, I decided to go to Kuwait from where I could later travel to one of the Islamic countries. Even though we had visas, the Kuwaiti government prevented us from crossing its national frontier and entering the country. They did not even allow us to use their airport from where we could fly elsewhere. We returned to Iraq again. It became clear that those in Iraq also knew what was going on for they were expecting us on our return. The same group of people who had escorted us from Iraq were again standing there waiting for us! Thus, having returned to Iraq they at first took us to Basrah and then, several hours later, to Baghdad. While in Baghdad we made the decision to come here where we could choose some place or other from

where to continue our activities. Hence, for the time being we have come to France.¹

Religious and moral duty

I consider myself duty-bound. That is, I believe I have a religious and moral duty toward the nation of Iran at a time when the Iranian people have risen up and are sacrificing lives; when their youngsters have been arrested—some having been killed by the regime and others having been incarcerated; when some of our *ulama* are in prison and a large number of them are in

¹ On September 18, 1978 [Shahrivar 27, 1357 AHS], the Iranian ambassador to Iraq met with Saddam Husayn, the then Iraqi vice-president, and requested the Iraqi government to arrange for stringent restrictions to be placed upon Imam Khomeini's activities in Najaf. Toward the end of Shahrivar [September] 1978, the Iranian Foreign Minister went to America to attend the general joint assemblies held by the United Nations Organization. Throughout the course of these meetings, he held talks with the Iraqi Foreign Minister on three different occasions, during which he petitioned Iraq to expel Imam. He succeeded in gaining the approval of the American and Israeli Foreign Ministers with regard to the outcome of the discussions he had held, and at the end of the talks stated that steps to expel Imam were already being taken. Once this agreement had been reached, on September 23, 1978 [Mehr 1, 1357 AHS], Imam's home in Najaf was surrounded and placed under the surveillance of Iraqi troops, and Imam was asked to desist from giving interviews to news reporters and from delivering speeches and writing statements. However, he paid no attention to the warning given by Iraq. News of Imam's house arrest in Najaf prompted a wave of protest among the revolutionary Muslims worldwide, and in particular among the Muslim people of Iran who were in the midst of an Islamic movement. *Maraji*, *ulama*, clergymen and political figures both from inside Iran and from abroad objected to the measures which had been taken in Najaf by publishing announcements and sending telegrams to various societies; while bazaar merchants, workers, members of the university and those from other sectors of society went on strike and took to holding protest marches, blaming the Iranian regime for the measures taken by Iraq. As the situation deteriorated, bloody clashes broke out on several occasions between demonstrators and government troops. In the meantime, SAVAK, in an effort to deceive the people, announced that there was no truth in the claim that Imam's movements had been restricted or that he was under house arrest. The people however, who closely followed any news and events with regard to Najaf, would not be brought to rest, and thus the Iranian regime was forced to turn to the Iraqi authorities for help. On October 2, 1978 [Mehr 10, 1357 AHS], an Iranian delegation of top security officials arrived in Baghdad and met with Sadun Shakir. After talks, it was decided that to continue taking restrictive measures was to no avail, but that at the same time neither would it be in the interests of Iran or Iraq to allow Imam complete freedom. Hence, they planned to indirectly force Imam to leave Iraq by bringing pressure to bear on his close relatives and friends. Eventually Imam left Iraq with the intention of heading for Syria via Kuwait. The Kuwaiti authorities did not permit Imam to enter their country however, leaving Imam no choice but to return to Iraq. Since Imam knew that none of the Islamic countries would permit him to engage in political activities, both because of the influence wielded by America within the Islamic states, and the latter's friendly relations with the Shah, he eventually went to Paris.

exile; and when all of the people, small children and old men alike, are standing up to the Shah's regime crying out in unison: "We don't want the Shah." At such a time we all become answerable to this nation. And this nation, or indeed any other nation, has the right to determine its own destiny. This is a human right; a right which is stipulated in the Declaration of Human Rights. Any person, any nation, must determine his or its own destiny; it must not be determined by others. And so too our nation has now risen up to demand that it determine its own destiny.

This is why we who are abroad have a duty to cry out in unison with these people—people who are sacrificing lives to this end and who have risen up against this man¹ who has betrayed us and our religion of Islam; this man who is giving our national resources away to foreigners and who, in return, procures arms with which to kill the people, or who receives a sum of money which in part he spends on the procurement of arms and the suchlike while the remainder is used up by himself and his friends. Have no doubt that right now, even as we sit here, Iran is in an explosive state. Right now people are being killed, as they were a few days ago in many different Iranian cities when the resultant death toll was extremely high! Even as we sit here I wonder whether such outbursts are occurring in Iran, and I feel sure that they are. But as to whether people are now being killed or not we don't yet know. And why don't we know? Because we are too far away. Such incidents occur on a daily basis. But while they, the people of Iran, are at the battlefield engaged in battle, are we here to remain unconcerned and to carry on living our normal everyday lives?! To do this would be totally unfair and inhuman, and it would be against the canons of Islam.

Our duty is to assist the movement

Everyone is obliged to do their utmost to help these people in whatever way they can. Right now, I am able to speak to you and to urge you to offer your support irrespective of which front you may belong to abroad. I can appeal to you to join hands with your own people who have risen up in the interests of us all, including yourselves. I shall speak as much as I can regardless of the size of the audience present; and I shall write material and have it circulated, again, as much as I am able. You too must play your part and do whatever is within your power—demonstrating whenever it is called for and opportune; writing; speaking; talking to press reporters; doing anything that is within your power. Everyone must contribute as much as he

¹ The Shah.

can and help this oppressed nation which is now being trodden underfoot by these merciless beings.

I believe history has never before witnessed an uprising like the one currently in Iran where there is such unity of purpose. Now everyone, including those children who are not yet themselves aware of what they are saying, cries out: "We don't want the Shah!" Or maybe these children do so in imitation of what everyone else is saying; a five- or six-year-old child—just imagine! Even those who have just learned how to speak now cry: "Death to the Shah" in imitating what everyone else is crying. Everybody is saying the same thing. Everybody is making the same argument. There has probably never been another time in history when everybody has united to make the same cry—when the claims raised in the farthest reaches of Iran, in the most distant Iranian cities, have been the same as those raised in the country's capital. But this is exactly the case now; and it is when a nation reaches this stage that it is sure to succeed. There is no way that this nation can now be defeated when it is standing up to oppression, confronting the tyrants and those with tanks and cannons with its bare hands and refusing to give in.

The enemy's propaganda aimed at creating divisions

Various propaganda campaigns have now got under way. In fact these campaigns were already under way before but they have now been stepped up in an effort to break this unity between the people, to disband the various fronts, and to make certain people knuckle under. It has even been said that they intend to arrange for a group of SAVAK agents disguised as students to shout communist slogans in the university, when the university opens; that is in order to give the impression that if the Shah were to go then communist rule would take his place! But this Shah is even worse than the communists. Anybody would be better than this person, this Shah! What has this man ever done for our country? Has he done anything other than churn out false propaganda? What vast sums of money go toward propaganda, both at home and abroad, so that the foreign and national press will write lies for him. These are the kinds of things he gets up to, as well as being engaged in the accumulation of wealth and the acquisition of land and luxury for himself throughout the world. This is all he does! Other than this, what else does he do? . . . He is either busy killing and beating the people or busy using them for his own gain! He is taking advantage and is squandering this nation's wealth.

We have one thing to say and that is that those who are seated at the head of this table of spoils called Iran, along with the people and countries who have come from all over to join them, are feeding from this table of spoils while this nation of ours goes hungry. We argue that this must not be so. We say that this country of ours which is rich in oil and other resources must be left to us. We will run it ourselves. And should we want to enlist the help of experts, we will do the enlisting. Why should you do the enlisting, paying God knows how many hundreds of thousands of tumans per month to those enlisted?! We shall recruit experts without the need to resort to such measures. We shall recruit a different kind of expert, ones that we have trained ourselves.

The imperialistic culture, obstacle to the development of talent

From the time when Amir Kabir founded Iran's first university some seventy years ago¹ right up to the present, they prevented our youth from receiving adequate education and training, and from being able to perform a job of work competently. They impeded the progress of our youth. They ensured that no one could receive adequate education in our universities. They prevented those in the armed forces from receiving proper military training. American supervisors mislead these servicemen, that is, they instruct them in a way beneficial to themselves! Our culture has become that of the imperialists. We must have our own indigenous culture. These foreign cultures are ones which prevent our children from being properly educated. Now, even when he (the Shah) needs a tonsillectomy, he has someone brought in from Europe to perform the operation!² You are the one who talks of how you took the country to a great civilization and yet even your tonsillectomy is performed by someone from abroad. So evidently you can't do anything for yourselves! They want to lay a railway track from A' to 'b', so they bring someone from abroad to do it! Then they sign a contract with a company like the one which laid so many meters of track and then made off with the money leaving the job uncompleted! This is the kind of havoc they

¹ Founded in 1848 by Amir Kabir, *Dar al-Funun* in Tehran was the first modern *madrasah* to be established in Iran. The two other *madrasahs*, which had been founded prior to this in Iran, were that in Urumiyyah, founded in 1835 by an American named Parkins, and the *madrasah* in Tabriz, set up in 1836 by a French man named Eugene Buret. These two so-called 'religious' *madrasahs* had been established by foreigners to serve the particular interests of their own sovereign states.

² This is probably a reference to Dr. Fulandir, the famous French hematologist who came to Iran to treat the Shah.

play with this country. The Soviet Union takes its gas¹ and America takes its oil!² When we say we want an Islamic government, we want a stop to be put to these libertines. It is not that we want to return to the kind of life lived 1,400 years ago, as the Shah alleges. It is the judicial laws of 1,400 years ago to which we want to return and not the lives of those who lived then. No indeed, we gladly welcome and accept any signs of civilization; but what they have to offer are not such signs. Are all of these murders a sign of civilization?! Enforcing martial law and attacking the people tooth and nail, are these signs of civilization?! Is giving away our oil to others in return for arms which we are incapable of using a sign of civilization? We don't have the trained personnel who know how to use these arms they bring to Iran! Foreign consultants have to supervise the use of these weapons themselves!³ They have formed a military base here—an American military base under the pretext of wanting to do this and that for our country! An American military

¹ In accordance with the fifteen-year contract which was concluded between Iran and the Soviet Union in 1967, Iran was to export gas to the Soviet Union via a gas pipeline which was to be constructed. The amount of gas piped was to have reached 10 billion cubic meters by 1975 meaning that the amount stipulated in the original contract would have to be doubled annually. The Soviet Union had undertaken to pay Iran a sum of 6 dollars and 6 cents in exchange for every 1,000 cubic meters of gas.

² Following the coup d'état of Mordad 28 [August 19], Iran's oil was left in the hands of the consortium. The main shareholders of the consortium were American and British oil companies which, with each other's help, took part in the extraction, processing and sale of Iran's oil. In 1954 (1333 AHS), the National Iranian Oil Company was established under the auspices of the consortium. In principle this company was responsible for running the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's administrative affairs and had absolutely nothing to do with the extraction and refinement of oil. The NIOC's share in oil exports from 1969 until 1973 was 0.3%, whereas that of the consortium during the same period was as high as 92% (!) (the remainder belonging to other foreign companies outside the consortium). Iran's oil revenue in 1975/76 reached 17,441 million dollars, 15,867 million dollars of which came from oil exported via the consortium. The NIOC received 874 million dollars, 700 million dollars going to other oil company shareholders! A comparison of these figures reveals how the consortium, after nationalization of the oil industry in 1973, had more or less retained its powerful position, while also showing the extent to which America and Britain were busy plundering the oil reserves of Iran.

³ Before the revolution, the Iranian army was unable to use any weapons bought from America without the help of American specialists and advisers. This was due to inadequate training both with regard to the quality and the amount of training given; a deficiency in introductory and foundation course training; and other issues of political concern. The extent of Iran's military dependency on America was so great that the Iranian army was incapable of managing its own affairs without the daily assistance of America, any kind of aviation or aircraft maintenance only being possible under American supervision and with the help of their technical expertise. Today, the Iranian army employs military equipment without foreign assistance, and indeed its experts train others in the use of advanced equipment and arms.

base, here, in Iran! We argue that we don't want our country to be in the shambles that this man, this servant, has created for the sake of his masters.

The Pahlavi's regime is the foreigners' puppet

You who are young cannot remember, but I (who am older) can recall that from the very beginning, from the very first day of Rida Khan's coup d'état, it was the British who actually conducted the coup! And once Rida Shah had gone, having been taken to some island or other,¹ I myself heard the British state over Delhi Radio that they had placed Rida Shah on the throne, but that they had later got rid of him because he had betrayed them!² Mr. Muhammad Rida Khan himself also attested to this in something he wrote—it may have been in that book "Serving My Country"³—but realizing that this was an improper thing to say, they later had it erased from the text! He had written that: "The Allies, after occupying Iran, thought it fitting that I should remain, and they agreed to my accession to the throne." But be that as it may, it is you, your eminence, who is the puppet! To say that: "They saw it

¹ The island of Mauritius.

² On November 5, 1941 [Aban 14, 1320 AHS], two months after Rida Khan had fled Iran, British Radio, in one of its political commentaries, openly spoke of Britain's tendentious friendship with Iran and of having brought Rida Khan to power. In this regard it stated: "British political policy in Iran is one based upon friendship: both a friendship with an underlying purpose and a friendship without an underlying purpose. As for the friendship which has no underlying purpose, this is enjoyed by the learned men only, for other than this the friendship held between the British government and Iran or any other country for that matter is not and cannot be void of personal motives... Once we saw how suspicious the Iranian nation was toward the treaty concluded in 1919, believing it to be based upon ulterior motives, we annulled the treaty and instead gave the Iranian government help and encouragement to establish order in its own country. The underlying reason why we gave help and encouragement to Rida Khan was that...our opponents used to accuse us of controlling Rida Shah's actions and claim that whatever he did was in compliance with our instructions. But this was not in fact the case! When we realized however that Germany's evil designs and the Shah's negligence were endangering our interests, then we were forced to reluctantly take this course of action (i.e. the sending of Rida Khan into exile)". Refer also to *Tarikh-e Siyasi-ye MuAssir-e Iran*, vol. 1, pp. 127-128.

³ Referring to the first book attributed to the Shah: *Mission for My Country*. The Shah made claim to being the author of three 'great and important' books, and he was convinced that the leaders of underdeveloped countries ought to read these works and achieve development and prosperity for their own countries by adopting the principles and socio-political theories found therein! These books, which were all the product of a specific period of the Shah's reign, are entitled: *Mission for my Country*, *White Revolution*, and *Toward the Great Civilization*. It seems likely that the author of the latter book was ShujaUddin Shafa, who had been in charge of cultural affairs during Rida Shah's reign, and was Muhammad Rida Shah's ambassador to London.

fitting that I should remain,” is to say: “They placed me on the throne,”¹ We argue that we don’t want that person who the Allies have seen fit to bring here, and who is now working for them and doing all he can for them, pouring whatever we have down the drain. We have no independence; we have no freedom of speech; we have no freedom of the pen. We have nothing.

Destruction of agriculture and increase in poverty

In an agricultural country such as this, which should be exporting its agricultural produce on a grand scale, an official report stated that there were only enough crops in Iran to suffice for something like thirty-three or thirty-four days’ consumption, the remaining food requirements of the country having to be imported from abroad. Everyone can see how heaps of wheat, barley, eggs and so on are now continually brought in from abroad as well as all other kinds of things. They ruined Iran’s agriculture in the name of ‘land reforms’; that is to say they rendered the poor farmers and peasants helpless whereby they were no longer able to continue working their own fields. These poor farmers thus migrated and came to the outskirts of Tehran where they now live under miserable conditions; in a truly deplorable state. According to an account given to me in Najaf listing the number of people who live under such conditions and their whereabouts, a large number of people are scattered throughout Tehran in something like forty different areas where they live in small hovels and tents. In Tehran, the country’s capital city, things are such that these people are living in hovels and tents! The report stated that in order to obtain a pitcher of water for their children, these people have to ascend a hundred steps or more from the deep hole in the ground in which they live, to reach this water tap which has been put there. In the bitter cold of winter, a woman has to carry her water pitcher all the way up those steps and then carry it back down again so as to take a jug of water to her children!

¹ On January 26, 1965 [Bahman 6, 1343 AHS], the Shah, in a message delivered to the people of Iran on the occasion of the anniversary of the announcement of the White Revolution (January 26, 1963), said: “He (Rida Khan) had to go. They felt that his son and successor was of the same sentiment as he, and of course this was so. So what was to be done? For two or three days the Allies of that time and the occupiers of Iran were hesitant about recognizing the new Iranian regime, that is my rule....but then they said well, the king must remain but the role of the king must be that of a powerless overseer.” This confession was later concealed from the public and all copies of it were collected. Refer to *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty, Memoirs of General Fardust*, vol. 1, p. 100.

Existence of the Pahlavi regime, contradictory to freedom and independence

We say that this distressing situation must be rectified. Meanwhile however, the amount of money that they spend on themselves reaches exorbitant levels. The latest example of such expenditure about which I read concerned a certain villa which was bought for one of the Shah's sisters at heaven knows what price. I can't now recall exactly how much it cost but I know that it was a great amount of money. Five million dollars! Five million dollars on flower beds and floral displays!¹ And so we see the kind of lives they live. They are in fact much better off than this, so much so that it surpasses the imagination. Yet we also see how, even in the city of Tehran, a great number of people are living in a tent or a hovel, without any facilities. They have neither electricity for lighting nor water. As for tarmacked surfaces and the like, these poor people don't know the meaning of such things! When we say we want an Islamic government, we are saying that this situation must be done away with. The Shah says: "They say we must return to the time when donkeys were the means of transport!"² But when we talk of an Islamic government this is not what we mean at all. Who has ever said that you must travel by donkey?! What we do say is that this situation must come to an end; and while Muhammad Rida and the Pahlavi dynasty remain in power we don't see how our country can enjoy any kind of freedom or independence. This man is a puppet who has been put here by the imperialists. He is a man with a 'mission' for his country! He himself talks of having a "Mission for My Country"! And he is right in this; but it is a mission which has been assigned to him by America! He is commissioned by America to accomplish a mission for his country—a mission which requires that he prevent this poor country both from growing spiritually and from benefiting from its own wealth and resources. The wealth of this country is to go to America.

¹ The Shah's elder sister Shams had a fabulous palace named "Pearl" constructed on the moorland of south Karaj. This palace was built with the help of the most esteemed of British architects and the land on which it stood was bedecked with a multitude of beautiful plants and trees. To the west of this palace SAVAK built "Qezel Hisar," one of the most modern prisons in the country.

² On June 8, 1963 [Khordad 18, 1342 AHS], while presenting title deeds to farmers, the Shah made an address in which he said: "Just what did the Black Reaction do on Wednesday, Khordad 15, 1963? It set fire to the library in Shahr Park because it has no use for anything based on knowledge and learning which answers today's needs. It set fire to the sports arena, to vehicles, and to bus ticket booths; and it did this in all likelihood because it believes that in this century, when the world is conquering space, we ought to be riding on donkeys or mules!"

Islamic government means government of justice

When we speak of an Islamic government, we are speaking of a government based on social justice. We maintain that we must have a ruler who will not fraudulently take from the treasury of the Muslims; who will not transgress by dipping into the treasury of the Muslims. This is the one argument by which we firmly stand. It is a reasonable argument which is acceptable to anyone no matter in which part of the world it may be raised. Today, the people of our country have risen up in revolt due to this person's betrayal of us. This person has misappropriated our wealth; he has taken our wealth from this country and bought villas¹ for himself elsewhere, his family and devoted followers thereby living in grand style while we here remain hungry. But now those who are hungry have united to say that they don't want this person to remain; so now what do you (the Shah) have to say for yourself? This is all we are arguing; this is all we have to say and nothing more.

Black propaganda

Let me also now add that the press here can write whatever they like. Let them write that Islam is reactionary if they so wish, but let both them and yourself (the Shah) answer me this—let the entire newspapers of the world join together to explain why, when we have oil reserves, copper reserves, and other kinds of reserves, when we have everything we could need, why are they taking it all from us? Why are they plundering our wealth? We, a weak, backward nation don't wish to be plundered! You yourself say we are a backward nation, that may be the case, but we don't want to be backward for God's sake! You, the one who commits plunder are ahead of the times while we, the ones who are being plundered are behind the times! You are plundering the people because you have reached the gateway to civilization! Perhaps others have not yet reached that stage whereby you can grant them

¹ Authors have said that to determine precise statistics with regard to the land and property owned abroad by the Shah and his close relatives is by no means an easy task; and that moreover, a complete list of such possessions is not in fact available. A few examples of such possessions which were owned by the Shah are as follows: several hectares of land in Australia; several large islands in Italy owned by Farah (the Shah's wife); vast areas of the banks of Geneva Lake; four glorious places in the highly sought-after areas of Paris and Switzerland; the village of Saint Moritz; an entire ski slope and a winter palace in Switzerland; several large palaces in California, Texas and Florida. Refer to MasUd Ansari, *Man va Khandan-e Pahlavi*; Pas az Suqut; Husayn Fardust, *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*; Kayhan newspaper, February 25, 1979; and William Shawcross, *The Shah's Last Ride, the Fate of an Ally*, to name but a few.

freedom! This good-for-nothing says that these people are not yet ready for freedom! They have not yet reached that stage! Just what is this supposed to mean?! How come they have not reached the stage whereby they can be granted freedom?!¹ Is it because they cry out and question your wrongdoings? Does this mean they have not yet reached the required stage? Must they indeed remain silent in order to reach that stage?! Are they to say nothing from now on no matter how much they are beaten and ill-treated, until they have reached that stage which permits them to be granted freedom?!

General support for the nation's uprising

Today, our country is up in arms; and this uprising is one in which we all have a duty to play a part. That is to say, anyone who belongs to this country (of Iran)—from myself, a mere *talabah* (student of religious sciences), to you who are students, or to he who is a merchant or a businessman—each one of us must support his fellow countrymen in order to bring about a success, since reason dictates that one should involve oneself in such an affair. The Iranian people are laying claim to the most basic of human rights. To say: 'I want to be free, I want freedom of speech, I want to be independent, I want to stand on my own two feet' is to ask for the most basic of human rights; and this is what we argue. It is an argument which would be accepted by anyone no matter where it were to be voiced. We all have a duty to fight for this cause. We are to give help in whatever way possible to those of our brothers who are making sacrifices. We are to send whatever we can to help those who are now at the battlefield so to speak. We are to do whatever we can: by way of writing, speaking, making statements, demonstrating, or by any other means. This is our stand.

May God, Exalted and Mighty, grant all of you success. I pray that you may be among the rightly guided in this struggle; that you may be among those who fight against corruption. I pray for you to be granted a favorable result in this struggle, while also attaining the favor of Almighty God. The objective is for the Muslim nations to be strong, to be powerful and to be prosperous. May God help you to successfully attain this objective.

¹ In several of his speeches the Shah had implied that there would be a price to pay for granting freedom to the people! Both during a speech given to commemorate the opening of the upper and lower Houses of Parliament, and again in an interview given to mark the occasion of Mordad 28 (i.e. the 1953 coup), the Shah said: "I had said before in response to a question, that this is the price we have to pay in order to achieve freedom. But at that time I didn't think that the price would be so high!" The complete version of this interview was printed in the *Ittila'at* newspaper of August 19, 1978 [Mordad 28, 1357 AHS].

Message

Date: October 12, 1978 [Mehr 20, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 9, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The fortieth day commemoration of the martyrs of 17th Shahrivar (Bloody Friday)

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Qadah 9, 1398 AH

The informed, combatant and valiant nation of Iran, may God make your word be heard further:

Following all the “fortieth days”, now that the fortieth day of the dear ones of Tehran has arrived we must expect other “fortieth days” because of the establishment of the government of repression. Now that the sinister shadow of martial law and the dishonorable monarchy have dragged the deprived people to ruination; now that the oppressing super powers, aiming to plunder our rich resources against the firm will of the nation, have become active in getting the dear ones of Islam killed by the Shah’s tyrants; now that the vistas of the “gateway to the great civilization” are, one after another, being shown on the corpses of our worthy youths by means of the founders of human rights; now that the nation, according to Carter’s claim, has attained majestic freedom and independence, our defenseless country and the oppressed nation is steeped in mourning. We in the west and you in the east are taking part in public mourning services. As long as the criminal, oil-devouring super powers have a free hand in our oil-rich country, the doors of happiness, freedom and independence will remain closed.

My dear countrymen! Endeavor to break the chains of captivity. Eliminate the treacherous pawns, one after another, from the scene and cut off the hands of the pawn-using opportunists from the Islamic countries. Bliss, freedom and independence are to be found behind the barriers of the internal pawns and their masters. Destroy the barriers, break up their ranks and rescue the country. According to Carter’s reasoning, these atrocities, repression and brutality on the Shah’s part are attempts to establish the principles of democracy and adopt progressive stands concerning social issues. He accuses the Iranians of being opposed to the freedom that the Shah wants to give them, and that all the demonstrations and strikes being held

throughout Iran are just to evade freedom! But he should know that these ruses have lost their effect, and that all the people have come to know this Shah for what he is.

O, great nation of Iran! The history of Iran, rather than that of the world does not remember a movement such as yours; neither has a general uprising surpassed the one staged by you free-minded people. At present, children aged seven and eight of our primary schools are making sacrifices and offering their blood for the sake of the honored religion of Islam and the country. In what period of history have you come across such a thing? At present, our lion-hearted women, clasping their babies, are entering the fray to face the tanks and machine-guns of the regime's tyrants. What period of history has recorded such valor and devotion on the part of women? At present, the roar of "Death to the Shah", rising from the throats of the schoolchildren and the old and infirm, has made things so difficult for the Shah and so shattered his nerves that he has lost his mind and is trying to regain his composure by spilling the blood of our children and youths.

Dear sisters and brothers! Be patient; do not show any apathy and weakness. Your path is that of God and the saints of God. Your blood is being shed for a cause in which the blood of the Prophets, the Imams and their worthy companions was shed. You will join them. Rather than grieve over it, one can only rejoice.

Consolidate your ranks, strengthen your resolve, preserve your unity of expression, and join up with all the Muslim groups, particularly the army. Convey my regards to them and tell them that the people who are getting killed by your machineguns or those of the foreigners are your brothers and sisters. Do not stand dishonored before the Creator and His creatures by pandering to his passions. Return to the nation; you will be received with open arms.

My dear ones! Avoid discord as this is the work of Satan. Unite and continue the sacred movement with the aim of toppling the corrupt Pahlavi regime and severing the hands of the foreigners from the destiny and resources of the country. Do not fear anything in advancing the cause of Islam as nobody can stop this grand movement. Right is on your side and the Hand of God, the Exalted, is protecting you. God has so willed that the meek, under their leader's guidance, be the masters of their own destinies and resources.

I will proceed at the earliest opportunity to one of the Islamic countries where I can continue with my Islamic activities. I will spend the rest of my life, God willing, for His cause which is to serve you. Hitherto, none of the

Islamic countries have invited me. As soon as I obtain freedom of speech and pen in any one of the Islamic countries, I will, God willing, go there to serve. At present, I am continuing to serve here. The place and the hardship associated with it are not the point in the Islamic movement and in serving the people. What is important is the nation; the voice of conscience. No matter what I do and whatever is appropriate for me to do at my age, I still stand ashamed before you who have given your blood for the sake of freedom and Islam. My satisfaction here in this miserable, distressing place lies in serving you. I share in the grief of the honorable families all over Iran. The memory of the school children who were killed recently by the cruel Shah makes my heart ache. Having proclaimed the fortieth day of the martyred Tehranis as a day of national mourning, I will also be mourning with you.

I pray to God the Almighty for the movement to continue until the attainment of Islamic goals. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: October 12, 1978 [Mehr 20, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 9, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The future of the Islamic government of Iran

Interviewers: BBC correspondents and those of the British commercial television in Paris

We are hopeful that the campaign of the Iranians for their rights, and the way it has burgeoned, will not require an armed uprising. However, if it becomes prolonged—what with all the opposition and disputes—and if the Shah is obstinate enough to remain in Iran, it is possible that we will reconsider the matter of an armed insurrection.

Question: [When David Pearman and I went to Paris last week Ayatullah Khomeini explained the matter further in an interview with the BBC Persian Service.]

Answer: This regime must be dismantled, and, after that, somebody chosen by a referendum must take over to run the country temporarily. A Majlis must be formed by means of general elections, and all the laws enacted by it and the issues thrashed out in it must be in accordance with the people's wishes. And the transition; it is but natural for there to be a change from an illegitimate government and monarchy to a legitimate government.

Q: [Sir, will you kindly explain what is meant by Islamic government of the Islamic Republic? Many people in Iran have stated that they wish to revert to the Constitution of Iran. Will you be kind enough to shed light on this matter?]

A: Reverting to the Constitution means reverting to the vile monarchy which is an archaic and reactionary system; so this is not possible. Those who want to do so are in a minority, whereas the whole nation is clamoring for an Islamic government. An Islamic regime and an Islamic republic are dependent on the popular vote of the people and a general referendum. Its constitution is Islamic and must conform to the laws of Islam which are the most progressive of laws. Those parts of the Constitution that conform to these progressive precepts will be retained, and those that are contrary to these lack legitimacy according to the dictates of the Constitution itself. And as most of the acts had been imposed by force, they must be annulled.

Q: [What kind of ties will you have with the West and the communist countries?]

A: Our relations with the West will be equitable; neither will we allow any oppression on their part and nor will we oppress them. Our relations will be based on mutual respect. If they act likewise and do not impose on us; if they revise their policies toward us—in fact, the East—we will have excellent relations with them as also commercial dealings. This would be according to our interests, not something that is imposed on us or is only to their own interests. With regard to the communists, as they have had malicious intent toward our country, we cannot have relations with them unless they desist from what they have been doing. The communists in Iran must return to the fold of the nation and Islam so that we behave with them equitably as well. However, if they persist in their old ways or the days of the Tudeh and commit treason against the country¹ we will adopt a different policy toward them.

¹ Tudeh Party is regarded as being one of the main factors in the overthrow of Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq's government in the coup d'état of Mordad 28, 1332 AHS [August 19, 1953].

Speech

Date: October 13, 1978 [Mehr 21, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 10, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The situation in Iran; the Shah's American reforms

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents in Paris

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Iraqi government and prevention of the Imam's political activities

As a result of pressure from the Iranian government, Iraq asked us to back down somewhat and to put an end to our activities against Iran. I refused this request. Then they sent an official notice to me via the Security Organization of Najaf which I took from them and put to one side I did not reply to the notice but instead continued with my activities. It was about a year later that their relentless pursuit intensified, that being the time when we had become increasingly active and when, in addition to making statements and engaging in other activities, I had also begun to give interviews to *Le Monde* and other foreign newspapers.¹ This time the head of Public Security² came to see me in person. He reiterated former requests, saying something to the effect that I could engage in whatever activities I chose but that I was not to give interviews. This was of no concern to me for I was not used to giving interviews anyway. I therefore gave him no reply. Later however, I gave yet another interview with some people who had come from France, following

¹ Imam was not fond of giving press interviews. He himself explained the reason for this when he said: "The international press are more concerned with sensationalism and tittle-tattle than with the misfortunes of the Iranian people or the repression they have to suffer". On April 24, 1978 (Ordibehesht 4, 1357 AHS), Lucien George, a correspondent for the illustrious and widely-read French newspaper *Le Monde*, made a request to interview Imam Khomeini. For a long time, those in the West had been waiting for Imam to agree to speak to them to find out the reason for his opposition to the Shah's regime and to discover what his future plans were with regard to the revolution—that is, they wanted to hear Imam himself, this great ShiAh marja, explain the reasons behind the national and religious struggle. Initially Imam did not want to consent to an interview with *Le Monde*, but once he became aware of the paper's past record and of how it had published certain truths in the past about the state of Iran thus disclosing some of the crimes committed by the Shah, he eventually granted their request to interview him. The interview which was subsequently held was totally frank and explicit and turned out to be extremely important, for it had a truly positive impact and stirred much interest in the West, not least because of the paper's high reputation and its wide readership.

² The Security Organization.

which the latter were detained by the Iraqis as they were leaving my house.¹ After this it was stressed that I was to treat Iraq as my own home—to use their own words—and that I was to live as I pleased, but I was not to engage in political activities. The gist of their argument was that a clergyman should confine himself to preaching and to discussing religious questions, to which I replied: “Islam is not separate from politics. Islam is not like religions found elsewhere, it is not like other religions which confine themselves to prayer and worship. In Islam, politics is seen in the same light as other religious precepts. Hence, I shall continue to interfere in political affairs; I shall both issue statements and record my messages on cassette tapes; and should I deem it necessary, I shall say what I have to say from the pulpit for this is a religious duty of mine.” They then said: “But we have certain commitments toward the Iranian government in the light of which we cannot allow this kind of thing to take place.” I responded by saying something like: “That may well be so, but I too have certain commitments toward Islam and toward the Iranian nation; and I too am unable to ignore these commitments.” Our discussion ended with them again saying that I was not to engage in political activities, and with me saying that I had every intention of continuing to be engaged in such activities. They then placed me under house arrest. It wasn’t that they told me not to leave my home of course, but it was a case of them preventing anyone from entering it. Those Iranians who used to visit me in my home were now prevented from doing so, and on one day in particular all but two or three people from a group of religious students were refused permission to see me. Thus throughout this period I did not leave my home,²

¹ On September 14, 1978 [Shahrivar 23, 1357 AHS], a group of news reporters from French radio and television came to Baghdad, supposedly in response to an invitation by the Iraqi Radio and Television Broadcasting Company. During the night, this group secretly made for Najaf where they visited Imam and conducted an interview with him. Once the interview and filming had finished, the Iraqis, who had somehow found out about the whole affair, detained the French reporters. Friends of Imam managed to hide the sound tapes on which the interview had been recorded, but any film and photographs taken during the interview were destroyed by the Iraqis.

² Because of Imam’s house arrest, none of his messages were transmitted for a two-week period. Meanwhile, a flood of letters protesting about the situation in Najaf began to arrive. *Maraji*, *ulama*, clergymen and various Iranian political groups and figures from both within Iran and from abroad objected to the Iraqi government’s actions. In addition, workers, civil servants and members of the bazaar inside Iran expressed their disgust at the behavior of both Iran and Iraq by engaging in a general shutdown and strike. Strike action was taken on September 24 [Mehr 2] by workers at the Abadan oil refinery; on September 25 by employees of the Tehran Telecommunications Company; on September 27 by workers at the Khark oil refinery; and on September 29 by employees of the Water Board and the State Railways.

and this gave rise to certain incidents in Iran of which you are all aware. Then I realized that were I to remain at home and do nothing, and were I to confine my activities to studying and...then this would be against my principles.

Silence, contrary to conscience and faith

Many lives have now been lost in Iran. They have killed both children and adults, and they continue to do so, on a daily basis. This kind of thing is also going on now in the universities. The newspapers in Iran tell of how, either yesterday or the day before, eighty-odd, eighty-five people were wounded in the university. It is plain to see what went on—the Iranian government has given the go-ahead and so many have been killed as a result.¹ They are attacking this nation tooth and nail. Not only do they take whatever the people of this nation possess away from them, they are now taking away their lives too. How can we sit by and watch while things like this are taking place? How can our consciences permit us, how can our faith permit us to sit by and watch while they gun down and kill the children of Islam? We shall make our voices heard as much as we possibly can, as much as the various governments allow us to, in order to tell the world of the kind of situation that prevails in Iran.

Fruitlessness of a military government

I doubt whether any other nation is like that of Iran at the present time, for right now Iran is being governed throughout by martial law. Martial law has been enforced in all the major Iranian cities—that is in about twelve cities which constitute the principal cities of the country—and it is also in force elsewhere in Iran, meaning that the Iranian military is now running the country.² And now, according to the regime, a member of the military is to

¹ See the *Ittila'at* newspaper of October 15, 1978 [Mehr 23, 1357 AHS].

² Isfahan was the first city in which martial law was declared. On Thursday and Friday, August 10 and 11, 1978 [Mordad 19-20, 1357 AHS], huge demonstrations and marches were staged in this city, which, due to the intervention of government troops, resulted in a vast number of demonstrators being killed and wounded and a number being held in custody. It was following this that on August 11, 1978, martial law was declared in Isfahan. The first statement to be made by the military governor of Isfahan (Major General Rida Naji), announced the imposition of a curfew which prohibited the circulation of people between 8 pm and 6 am, and declared the formation of any kind of social grouping in excess of three people categorically forbidden. The following day, Saturday, August 12, 1978, martial law was also declared in Najafabad. Due to the movement's expansion and the continued demonstrations, on September 8, 1978 [Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS], an official statement was issued which announced that in addition to Isfahan, martial law was also to be declared in Tehran, Qum, Tabriz, Mashhad, Shiraz, Kazerun, Abadan, Ahwaz, Karaj, Qazvin and Jahram. Between 2 pm on Saturday, February 9, 1978, and the morning of Sunday, February 10, the military governor of Tehran issued four different statements numbered 40, 41, 42, and 43. Statement number 40 specified that the hours of curfew were to be from 4.30 pm until 5 am. However, word immediately spread throughout the city that Imam Khomeini had proclaimed the military governor to be without legitimate authority, and thus people were not to obey these regulations. On hearing this, people began to collect sand and sacks and by building barricades across the streets they in effect broke the imposed curfew. Some of these people carried side arms and were covered by a group of youngsters who were equipped with firearms, and who turned the streets into fields of combat during the hours of the curfew.

become the Prime Minister. They say that Fereidun Jam¹ is to become Prime Minister. He too is a member of the armed forces. But no matter what they do, these people (the regime) can no longer survive. The Shah can no longer survive, other than under the military flag or behind the bayonets of the military—a military which itself is being held at the point of the bayonets of America. Who knows whether the Iranian army would in fact continue to obey the regime as it now does if it weren't for the American bayonet. The army has also now awakened; it too is comprised of human beings; it too is Iranian; it too can see what is going on in Iran. Not a day goes by without the people showing their discontent in some city or other, upon which they are immediately beaten and killed or whatever.

Human rights claims, tool with which a weak nation is plundered

But in spite of the present state of Iran, despite the turbulent situation which now prevails in this country, these great nation states make claim to being philanthropists! They claim to support human rights! This is sheer nonsense. These things which they have set up for the sake of human rights, security and so on, neither provide security for mankind nor do they protect their rights. The whole set-up is to enable them to devour these weaker nations. All of the efforts which are seen to be made by these 'superpowers' toward the protection of human rights etc., are but a cover-up; they form part of an organized plan—the plan being for these 'superpowers' to devour the Eastern countries, the weaker countries.

¹ Fereidun Jam, the first husband of Shams Pahlavi and a general and commanding officer of the armed forces, later became appointed as the Iranian ambassador to France. He came to Iran during Bakhtiyar's premiership, and it was rumored that he had refused an offer of a position in the Ministry of Defense, after which he went to England. Mr. Jam, who was sixty-four years old at the time, said in an interview with *The Sunday Telegraph*: "Iran has a bleak future; a future stained with blood." For further information on this loyal monarchist refer to the memoirs of the former General Husayn Fardust in *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, pp. 63, 244.

There are many reserves in the East.¹ There are many oil reserves in the East; in Kuwait for example,² or the Hijaz,³ or in Iran.⁴ Yes, here the reserves are so great that all of these foreigners have their eyes fixed on them, and they are just being allowed to take them away free of charge. Do you imagine that America gives Iran money for these reserves? Indeed not; instead it establishes a military base for itself there and these weapons which they claim to have sold to Iran have in fact been given in exchange for oil. They are the weapons which America itself wants to have in Iran along with its military bases, so that it can ensure that the Soviet Union never launches an attack. It is not a case of them having given us something. This is all part of a game they are playing with us.

¹ Apart from the oil of Iran, Arabia and Kuwait, the amount of oil produced by other Eastern countries was as follows:

Iraq - 31 billion barrels in 1980

Oman - 2.4 billion barrels in 1980

Qatar - 5.6 billion barrels in 1978

United Arab Emirates - 31.3 billion barrels in 1978

Syria - 2 billion barrels in 1980

Bahrain - 270 million barrels in 1978

² Kuwait possesses almost 20% of the world's oil deposits. This oil is extracted by the National Oil Company of Kuwait in which the Kuwaiti government has a 60% shareholding, the remaining shares belonging to American, British and Japanese companies. Kuwait's oil reserves amounted to over 65.4 billion barrels in 1980 and its enormous fields of gas reserves are seen as one of the country's great national assets. Seventy-five percent of Kuwait's national revenue comes from oil, 15% from foreign investment and trade and the remainder from non-oil industries.

³ Oil was firstly discovered in the Hijaz in the year 1933 and began to be exported from this country from the year 1938. The Hijaz has the capability of extracting 12 million barrels of oil per day, an amount which it can potentially increase to 16 million barrels. In 1984 its daily oil production amounted to between 7 and 8 million barrels and its total oil reserves have been estimated at approximately 160 billion barrels which constitutes 25% of the globe's proven reserves! Other estimates of the oil reserves in the Hijaz however, have quoted an even greater figure of 250 billion barrels. For a more extensive report refer to *OPEC va Atharat-e Takhribi-ye Qaymat-e Naft* [OPEC and the Destructive Effects of the Oil Price], p. 73.

⁴ Massive oil reserves are to be found in many parts of Iran such as Khuzestan, Bakhtaran, Lorestan, Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, Gorgan, Mazandaran, Semnan, Qum and Baluchistan. The major oilfields in which oil extraction currently takes place comprise: the oil wells of Masjid-e Sulayman, Haftgol, Aqajari, Paznan, Gachsaran, Ahwaz in addition to other wells situated in both on-land and off-shore regions. In 1971, Iran's oil reserves were estimated at 80 billion barrels (although the book *OPEC va Atharat-e Takhribi-ye Qaymat-e Naft* quotes a figure of 58 billion barrels). Yet forecasts made by experts suggest that Iran's actual oil reserves in fact greatly exceed its proven reserves. For further information refer to *Naft, Siyasat va Kudeta* [Oil, Politics and Coup], vol. 3, from p. 146 onwards.

The true colors of socialists and communists

These ‘superpowers’ which go by different names—one being called ‘communist’, another ‘communist China’, yet another being called ‘socialist’ whatever, and again others being known as some ‘-ist’ or other—these are all out to devour us irrespective of their names. At least four thousand were killed during the wholesale massacre which took place in Tehran¹—one report put this figure at twenty thousand but this is an exaggeration, the actual figure being four thousand; four thousand is the figure which is repeatedly quoted and which has been said to agree with the number of burials performed at that time at Tehran’s cemetery.² Yet you all saw how, on that very same day, as these very murders were being committed, the leader of ‘communist’ China—a China which is said to be ‘communist’, which supposedly advocates fairness with the people and so on, and which some of our youngsters mistakenly regard as worthy of emulation—came to Iran and shook hands with this tyrant, the Shah. He never uttered a word about what was going on, but instead offered the Shah his support.³ He didn’t even bother to ask why on earth the Shah was killing these people or what they had done to deserve this. What they had in fact done was to say that they want freedom and to demand other human rights. They had said that they want to be free; their cry was for freedom and independence. But nevertheless, this Chinese Premier didn’t even bother to point out that these

¹ Once the demonstration and marches staged on Thursday, September 7, 1978 (Shahrivar 16, 1357 AHS) had come to an end, it was announced that the following day’s demonstration was to take place at Shuhada Square (Zhaleh Square). On Friday morning people set off to reach the Square and by about 6 am those who had gathered numbered 100,000 people. However, armed forces had cordoned off the Square on all four sides and their rifles were aimed toward the people from all directions. At this point the unexpected announcement declaring that martial law was in force both in Tehran and ten other cities was made over the radio and the regime’s forces immediately began to fire at the people. On this day, which later became known as “Black Friday”, over 4,000 were actually martyred and hundreds wounded. The Shah’s regime, however, announced that only 58 people had been killed and 25 wounded!

² The bodies of a number of those martyred on Black Friday [Shahrivar 17] were laid to rest in a section of Behesht-e Zahra cemetery which has since been named “The Martyrs of Shahrivar 17”.

³ On August 29, 1978 [Shahrivar 7, 1357 AHS], just when the movement was escalating, Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Premier, came to Iran by invitation of the Shah on a four-day visit. His stay coincided both with the dissolution of Jamshid Amuzegar’s government and the appointment of Sharif Imami’s government, and with the burning of the Rex Cinema in Abadan. The Shah boastfully sensationalized the fact that great nation states such as China still regarded him as a powerful sovereign and that they had pledged their support for him. Hua Kuo-feng, however, was hopeful that by accepting the Shah’s invitation to come to Iran, he would be able to gain further important concessions from her.

were human beings that were being killed; nor did he take the trouble to ask why they were being treated so. They are now killing small children, primary school children; it is as if adults were no longer within their reach. The news of such occurrences reaches us here on a daily basis. Even within the last two or three days they killed a number of small primary school children somewhere—twelve small boys and girls were killed by them on this occasion.¹ Yet this person never said a thing to that vicious individual (the Shah) to ask what on earth he was doing. Instead he came and shook hands with him. The two greeted each other with open arms, and later the Chinese leader departed, laughing as he did so at the poor masses of people he was leaving behind him in the troubled country of Iran. Our youngsters are mistaken; they are making a grave mistake in believing that these communist people can serve them in any way.² As for those who sit in the Kremlin, their country actually expressed its support for the Shah in the Russian press³ with regard to Khordad 15—the day that 15,000 Iranian people were killed. And it has now expressed support for the Shah again, despite all the killings which take place in some Iranian city or other each day. These (imperialist powers) only do these things because one of them wants Iran's gas, and another wants its oil: one is taking the country's gas, and the other its oil. They are all trying to keep this weak nation in a state of backwardness; they are trying to ensure that it does not wake up. Their propagandists and the propaganda disseminated by them always carry a message which is anti-religion and anti-clergy in an attempt to alienate the people from these two forces. They want to drive a wedge both between the people and religious faith, and between the people and the clergy, leaving the people to quarrel among themselves

¹ For further information concerning the participation of school-children in demonstrations and their embroilment with martial law officers, refer to the newspapers published at that time.

² It refers to those misled and uninformed youngsters who, as a result of political propaganda, espouse Communism.

³ Later the followers of Socialism went even further, whereby on June 8, 1963 [Khordad 18, 1342 AHS], only three days after the bloody event of Khordad 15 when many were martyred, the newspaper *Ezvestia* of the official Communist Party in Russia, wrote: "Yesterday in the capital of Iran (Tehran), as well as in Mashhad, Qum and other major religious centers of that country, groups of revolutionaries were encouraged to create riots by the religious leaders. They were opposing the governments land reforms and took advantage of the fact that this coincided with the religious ceremonies performed annually to commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Husayn. Shooting proved to be an unsuccessful plea to stop. A few young fanatics looted shops and several cars were overturned. The implementation of anti-feudalist land reforms and the decision to give women the right to vote was opposed by land owners and religious leaders from the very start; and now these reactionaries are trying to move from verbal to active opposition" (published in *Ittila'at* and *Kayhan*, June 10, 1963).

while they sit back and make the most of the situation. We are to lose lives while Muhammad Rida Khan is to capitalize from the situation: his superiors having even more to gain than himself from this state of affairs.

The meaning of 'freedom' and 'progressive society' from Carter's view

What is this nation left with? What remains for the people other than suppression and military rule; other than martial law; other than the beating and killing of whoever ventures out of his home? The situation in which Iran now finds itself is an exceptional situation. Just consider whether a similar situation exists at all anywhere else in the world. Is there anywhere else in the world where martial law is in force throughout the entire country; a martial law which cannot be lifted? Indeed, they can't lift martial law in Iran even if they want to, because the people are in a defiant state; they are standing up and challenging the regime. Even now, while martial law is in force they are standing their ground. But just what is it they are shouting as they stand in confrontation? Are they saying that which Mr. Carter said yesterday? Mr. Carter had said that the Shah is only too willing to grant freedom to the people; that he wants to grant absolute freedom and create a progressive country, a progressive society, but that the people of Iran oppose this!¹ So it is a case of the people having risen up in opposition because they don't want freedom and the Shah wanting to force it upon them at bayonet-point! (Laughter from the audience). Bayonets are being used to bludgeon people into accepting freedom! People don't want a 'progressive' society, so the bayonet has come and said: "You have to want it!" One is made to wonder about this Mr. Carter. Does he know no better than this? Or is this the best trick he can pull? Is he trying to fool someone? Who on earth is he

¹ On October 15, the *Ittila'at* newspaper quotes Carter as saying: "Strategically-speaking, enjoying good relations with a strong and independent Iran is a matter of vital importance." Carter then pays tribute to the Shah for having established 'democratic principles' in Iran saying: "We are aware of the fact that certain people...oppose the establishment of democracy. This current opposition to the Shah has arisen due to the establishment of democratic principles in Iran, a country where anti-government demonstrations have recently been incited by Leftists and Conservatives"! Carter thus held that the reason for the people's opposition to the Shah was that they had been 'granted freedom'! Furthermore, in a meeting held on June 7, 1978 [Khordad 17, 1357 AHS] with the Iranian Affairs Investigative Committee for the Shah-People Revolution, the Shah said: "True patriots must tolerate the turmoil which has arisen for the present and they are only to make a move when the time is ripe... There are those who claim that the granting of freedom has given rise to this uproar and has been the cause of attacks on banks and of window-smashing. Nevertheless, I say to you that this is the price we have to pay in order to achieve our goal—that being to grant as much freedom as possible within the constraints of the law." Refer to *Rastakhiz*, June 7, 1978.

trying to fool? Perhaps he wants to fool those who are oblivious of the situation in Iran, those who are unaware of what is going on there, because both you and I are fully aware of what is presently going on in the country, and we know only too well what the people want and what they are shouting out.

Land reforms, the foundation of poverty and homelessness

The people are shouting: "We want our oil to be ours for goodness sake; we want our country's agriculture to return to what it once was." They have truly made a mess of our agriculture. These 'land reforms' which were proposed by the gentleman himself (the Shah) and about which he spoke so grandiloquently, were 'land reforms' which were to be implemented in accordance with the orders of the American government. These reforms were to take place in order to create a market in which the Americans could sell their goods: that is to say our agriculture was to fall into ruin, rendering us dependent upon others for our agricultural needs.¹ And sure enough, today we can see how whatever we want has to come from abroad. This is the state to which our agriculture has been reduced; and that is what they did to it for it to end up this way i.e. they introduced 'land reforms.' Naturally, people poured into the cities; those poor farmers who could no longer live there on the land poured into the cities and into Tehran.² Many shanty towns can now

¹ Land Reform was one of the main principles of neo-colonialism, which was urged on all the countries under the dominance of colonialism, from Latin America to Asia and Africa, and was implemented by the governments of these countries in a very similar manner. In 1962 [1342 AHS], the Shah launched the land reform program as the first tenet of his six-point 'White Revolution,' later renamed the 'Shah-People Revolution.' This 'Revolution' was not a revolution at all, rather it was put into effect on the one hand to win the confidence of American capitalism; to show his approval of and 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.

² Before the so-called 'White Revolution', 25% of Iran's entire population resided in cities, while the remainder worked as cattle or crop farmers in villages and small towns. Implementation of the tenets of the 'White Revolution' caused the population of Tehran to rise from 1,300,000 in 1961, to 3,000,000 in 1971, 4,500,000 in 1975 and 5,500,000 in 1978! Rural migration came about because the government appropriated the farmers' land which it then used to set up agricultural shareholding companies. These companies however, did not have the expertise of specialists and experts to draw on; and following the development of various companies in both agriculture and industry, the remaining land which had been shared among the farmers was also snatched from the latter by giant investment companies both in Iran and abroad. As a consequence, the farmers' situation seriously deteriorated. Hence, in a state of poverty and misery they automatically became drawn to the big cities where the lure of city life, the privilege of working for the foreign-affiliated industrial factories and the prospect of easily-obtained employment offered new hope. However, their migration not only upset the urban way of life but also critically impaired the agriculture in Iran, whereby Iran very soon became transformed into a consumer market for foreign goods. Refer to the memoirs of the former General Husayn Fardust in *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, p. 273.

be seen in Tehran—between 30 and 40, according to the report sent to me—which consist of homes made from mud, homes which have nothing; or of small tents in each of which ten family members have to live throughout the bitter cold winter. These homes have no water. They are situated in a deep pit from where some fifty to sixty steps have to be climbed in order to reach the street's surface. Once the surface has been reached and water has been collected, it then has to be taken all the way back down these steps again to be given to the children. But why have things turned out this way? It is because he (the Shah) ordered for 'land reforms' to be carried out! It was these land reforms which caused the peasants' undoing and which consequently forced them to make for the towns. Thus they indeed came to the towns and this is the result. Those poor souls ended up living like this and our agriculture ended up in ruins. According to experts and those who have made the necessary calculations, Iran, which was once an important agricultural centre whose province of Azerbaijan alone probably produced enough agricultural produce to meet the needs of the entire nation, the country's remaining produce having to be exported, now has only enough agricultural produce to meet domestic demand for a thirty-three-day period, its remaining needs having to be brought in from abroad!

The nation's protest against the Shah and America

Not surprisingly, the Iranian people united in protest. All Iranians are now expressing discontent and strike action is being taken nationwide. If the military and this military law were removed, the people would dispose of this regime in no time, because they have seen its evilness. Can the case really be that they want to give these people freedom, but it is the people who do not like to live in comfort?! Don't these people like to have a good life?! Do they insist on having to sleep in holes beneath the ground?! Or is it in fact that these poor people can see how their wealth is being taken away while they

are having to live beneath the ground, and it is to this situation that they object? Yes, this is what they are in fact shouting. So look at what Mr. Carter has said and look at what the people are saying. The people are asking why their oil is being taken away, and free of charge at that. They (the imperialists) take away our oil and the gentlemen here say that they have bought weapons in its stead. But what do you want with weapons? The weapons they have bought are weapons with which Iran is unfamiliar. Iran cannot put these weapons into use. These things which the imperialists have manufactured can only be operated by the fiends themselves; those in Iran don't know how to operate them. Foreign advisers came to Iran to establish a presence there. They have gone to turn our regime into a parasitic regime, which indeed it now is, and to study better ways to partake of this prize catch and to keep things the way they are. They want to maintain the status quo and for the Iranian nation to say nothing. A nation that speaks up is an uncivilized nation! The nation that cries out: "For heavens sake, allow us to be free" is an uncivilized nation! A nation that cries out: "Don't devour our wealth" is an uncivilized nation! But they, the imperialists and their puppets, are not uncivilized. They are progressive. They have to devour the people's wealth. They have to pillage and plunder! Our nation, from its small children to its elderly, is now making its discontent heard because the people can see their country collapsing before their very eyes; they can see it disintegrating. Instead of the regime heeding the nation's cries, as indeed it ought, we see how people are losing their lives and how their children are being killed, and the regime insists that this is something which it has to do. Therefore it continues to kill. Hence, there you have the current state of affairs in Iran and the way things stand between these powerful governments and ourselves.

We are duty-bound. You and I who are now seated here, have a duty to join the Iranian people in their cries of protest; that is we must do what we can to help them. And in doing so we will actually be helping ourselves and not some outsiders, for the people in Iran have risen up in revolt for your sakes. Their blood is now being spilled for your sakes. It is for you that their children are being killed—their youngsters, their sons and their daughters. We must help these people. We mustn't think that because we are here, abroad, then we are not obliged to help them. Our consciences, our religion, and reason, all oblige us to join the people in their struggle, to offer these oppressed people our support—these people who have risen up in revolt with the intention of claiming what is rightly theirs and what is rightly ours also. We can write an article or have something printed in the press. We can tell the people here, abroad, including those in the universities which we attend,

as much as possible about what is happening there in Iran. You are to publicize these issues. My good men, no matter where you may be, each and every one of you must make the situation in Iran known to the public. Speak out and do so from the bottom of your hearts. Even though the newspapers here sometimes write about these issues, this is not good enough; it must come from you—you are the ones who must do the talking or the writing. The whole world must be made aware of this agitated state in which Iran now finds itself.

Iranians will never surrender

If a whole nation stands up and demands its rights, then there is nothing the bayonet can do to stop it. The bayonet is by no means capable of taking on the human flesh in combat. It is a mistake to believe that human flesh alone cannot fight against the bayonet. Once a nation unanimously refuses to do something, even if all the great powers in the world join forces, they cannot force that nation to comply. They cannot now force Iran to accept the Shah; they are simply not able to do this. The Shah has been placed upon the Iranian throne; but the people do not accept him as their ruler. They cry out that they don't want the Shah. None of the people have ever been prepared to consent to this matter. The Iranian people have never, and will never resign themselves to this disgrace, for they have seen how this person has let go of whatever was best for Islam and for the country, while at the same time he has claimed to have granted freedom to the people and to have made the country progress! We can all see for ourselves what is happening in our country; and this is the progress of which he speaks. As for freedom, this he has granted us at the point of a bayonet!

To assist the movement, everyone's duty

We have a duty to do all we can to serve the people in Iran; to help those helpless souls, to help those who have lost their young. We are human beings and must therefore do all we can to serve them. Yet helping them also means helping ourselves, meaning that we along with other Iranians are all partners and all stand to share whatever assets the country may have. Were our country autonomous, were it independent and in a state of calm, then we too would be able to live in calm and comfort for we too are a part of that country. Those in Iran have risen in revolt and we too must follow suit. It is no use making apologies with the excuse of being in Europe or America or wherever, while they who have risen are in Iran. This is no excuse. Although you are abroad those of you who are in America are to assist in this struggle

as much as you can; those of you who are in Paris are to assist in this struggle as much as you can; I too, who am here in Paris, am to assist as much as I can. Now, as I am holding an audience with you, I can fulfill my duty by speaking to you and by advising you; and this is something which I shall continue to do. You in turn must speak to your friends, with those who are resident here in Paris, with those who live abroad or wherever; and together you must decide how to help this movement which is under way. Never before has history witnessed a movement like that which is now taking place in Iran. Never before in Iranian history has there been such a movement whereby the whole of Iran has risen up together; where small children have shouted: "Death to the Shah"; where old men have also cried out: "Death to the Shah". No—such a movement has never been witnessed before in Iran. Do not allow this movement to fade away, keep it alive so that we can get rid of those who now rule us, so we can get rid of this governing body and replace it with an honorable, uncorrupt government.

May God Almighty preserve you all; may you be successful. May God Almighty remove this evil from rule over the Muslims; may He remove the evil of these 'superpowers' so they will never again appoint their puppets to rule over the Muslim lands (the audience cries "Amen").

Someone in the audience: ["May God preserve you."]

Imam: "May you be successful."