



*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**

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Transliteration Symbols

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا, آ, ع	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
غ	
ق	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
هـ	ah

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

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

Persian Letters

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

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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Interview

Date: October 14, 1978 [Mehr 22, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 11, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Describing Iran's future

Interviewer: A reporter of the French newspaper, *Le Figaro*

[Reporter's Introduction:

Ayatullah Khomeini: "Bare chests cannot be held before gun barrels forever."

There is a different world half an hour away from the city of Paris. Ayatullah Khomeini, whose name is a symbol of opposition against the Shah, resides in a small district of a Parisian suburb. Gendarmerie patrols, radar equipped vehicles and secret police are all the signs of proximity to his residence. As we turn in to the corner of the house, a crowd appears, a crowd of people showing respect, made up of some religious and hard-working people and Iranian students who have come from Germany, Tunisia and Britain. We take our shoes off before entering, as if we were entering a mosque. In a small room, Ayatullah Khomeini is sitting on a mattress. There are some pieces of paper and books scattered around him. Ayatullah Khomeini, dressed in gray and wearing a black turban, speaks to us in a low tone, with dignity.]

Question: [Regarding the resistance among the challengers of this regime, people have this question in mind, "Is this a religious movement that intends to return to the Islamic traditions?"]

Answer: Those who oppose Iran's regime and this movement are being victimized by the propaganda that alienates them from their own nature. When we speak of Islam, it does not mean turning our backs to growth and progress; it is just the opposite. We believe that Islam is essentially a progressive religion, and as a matter of fact, we are inimical to the regimes that exercise dictatorship and injustice under the guise of modernity. These regimes, like the Shah's, deviate the progress already made from their main course and make them unattractive to those men and women who must benefit from them, and make them appear meaningless, but before anything, we think that pressure and strangulation are not the means of progression.

Q: [Is this movement connected to the movements of the leftists and the left extremists?]

A: We have always avoided unanimity with these parties; however, today, all Iranian oppositions have become one and demonstrated together under the banner of religion, and in the name of Islam's true meaning. There is a good reason for that. The leftist or communist groups have almost disintegrated. They cannot have a share of this ongoing popular movement; so, naturally, the regime is trying to attribute Marxist remarks to those fighting against the Shah's dictatorship, in order to mislead the public opinion, particularly across the border.

Q: [But regardless of their intentions, the Marxists have been using religion in their struggle against the Shah. Will the religionists gradually be pushed aside by the left extremist parties, and will these parties soon start organizing the strikes and protests and directing them whichever way they want?]

A: Take a look at the recent major protests. The religionists mobilized one million people, and always, and in every case, used religious slogans. That very same religion has always put them together and organized them; not even once has a leftist or extremist slogan been heard or seen.

Q: [The resistance against the Shah started with relatively peaceful strikes and demonstrations in its early stages...and there were no entrenchments built or arms held against the army or the police. Do you think that this is the only option for the time being, or could there be other ways such as turning to armed struggle?]

A: Even after Friday¹ that left so many people murdered in Tehran, we still kept the same trend of struggle. As the whole world knows, our message did not change by that clash, and this movement is going to keep its usual course. Nevertheless, I have been asked whether it is yet the time to change course and start an armed confrontation, in response to the dictatorship's employment of the army. I have said no. However, today I am asking myself this question—could the bare chest be held before gun barrels forever? So far, in compliance with my guidelines regarding maintaining our peaceful struggle, we have not changed our routines, but I may be forced to do so.

Q: [In fact, which is the direction of your actions, and what kind of regime do you have in mind to replace the Shah's?]

¹ It refers to the Shahrivar 17 massacre of 57 people in Zhaleh (now Martyrs) Square in Tehran.

A: Keeping the Shah's regime is indisputably unacceptable. We have always been against it. "Overthrow" is the unchangeable target of our resistance. Besides, it is not the legal form of the regime that counts, but rather its content. An Islamic republic can naturally come into consideration, because we believe that noble understanding of Islam will lead us toward advancement of a society which is very talented, has a lot of manpower and social justice. Before anything, we have set our hopes on the social contents of the future political regime.

Q: [But is the regime (government) you wanted a democratic one? For example, are you in favor of freedom of the press, multi-party system and freedom of parties and syndicates?]

A: We want a regime that observes all freedoms. As in every people-based government, Iran's future regime's bounds should embrace the interests of the whole community, and be particular about the dignity of the Iranian society, because offering an unrestricted society would rob men and women of their dignity.

Q: [Is there a place for the religious minorities, which are of a great number, in the Islamic Republic of Iran?]

A: The Shah's regime did not treat the religious minorities any better than the Muslims. After eliminating the dictatorship, and establishing an independent regime, we will naturally pay the highest respect to different religious beliefs. The standards of living for the Muslim majority and religious minorities will become very good.

Q: [Obviously, the present regime will keep defending itself. What is this regime going to rely on? Who will support it and how will it get the power to hammer down the opponents?]

A: There is no force inside the country supporting the Shah's dictatorship. All we have to do is to take a look at what is going on inside the country. This is a simple matter. As regards other countries, the United States in particular, they support the Shah's regime. If they stop their support, the Shah's regime will immediately collapse.

Q: [Despite all these, the Shah can count on the army and a violent regime, and that is quite a possibility.]

A: The vital issue about the army is its structure, which is identified by its leader and the chain of command, and up until now, the army has been under

the care of a leader who is practically American. This army has been directed and trained, even at higher levels, by American advisors and technicians; however, some clear signs of awakening can be seen among the officers and soldiers in their confrontation with the people. Keep in mind that after all, they are Iranians, and in clashes, there are other Iranians standing against them. In some cases, it has been shown that, rather than throwing stones at the soldiers, the demonstrators have offered them flowers, and many soldiers have been seen crying after receiving the flowers, and in some instances the soldiers committed suicide after shooting at the demonstrators. This tragic situation will continue as long as the Iranian army is under America's supervision.

Speech

Date: October 14, 1978 [Mehr 22, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 11, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The comprehensive and edifying dimensions of the Islamic school of thought

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents in Paris

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

Shah is thinking of revenge

They have just informed me that the Shah has decided to carry out a wholesale massacre during the strike action to be taken tomorrow—action which the Muslim people propose to take because of the lives that they have already lost. I have said time and again that this person has become mentally unstable. He is now living in a state of insanity; and having reached the last days of his life he wants to take revenge on the people of Iran. He has already committed whatever crimes he possibly could, but now that the people have risen up to demand that he go and he has sensed that indeed he does actually have to go, like a madman he wants to first massacre the people and then go. He had once said: “If I am to go, I shall firstly turn Iran back into a heap of soil and then go; yes, I shall make Iran into a heap of soil and go;” and now he evidently means to abide by these words.¹ I found out about it today; that is, they said someone had phoned from Iran to say that he (the Shah) is getting ready to slay the people en masse.

Shah will eventually leave

We are at a loss as to what we should do with this regime. The oppressed nation of Iran does not know what it should do with this person who has now become insane and is suffering from a mental disorder. What course of action

¹ Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini writes in his memoirs:

“After Imam’s release from prison in 1964 (1343 AHS), he was taken to live in a house situated in Dawudiyah in Tehran. When the regime continued with its threats however, Imam warned that on the following day he would attend the mosque, would perform a congregational prayer there (when he would naturally inform the people of what was going on in the country), and would then travel to Qum to continue his activities there. By contrast, when the Shah felt under threat, he issued a warning to the effect that should he, the Shah, be forced to leave Iran, then he would have no reservations about killing twenty million people if necessary in his defense of the royal crown and throne!”

are we to take? I am concerned about tomorrow; I am worried that what we have been told may be true and that these people may be gunned down and come under the attack of tanks and cannon-fire; I am worried that lives may be lost and that having reached the final stage before his (the Shah's) departure, he firstly plans to do something to ensure that no one will be left behind and only then does he intend to go. This is the kind of creature with which we now have to deal and so we must truly pray for God's assistance. We must ask the Lord to grant a favorable end to this affair (i.e. the proposed protest demonstrations), for should such a massacre actually take place it would have truly disastrous results for Iran. Although it is true that his leaving would compensate for any kind of disaster, nevertheless, why should we have given him the opportunity to enact these deeds before he leaves? Needless to say, it is the machine guns and weapons of America that are behind him in all this, otherwise the people of Iran would never allow him to go ahead with such a deed. The fact is that these American guns and weapons are indeed here. However, he (the Shah) has reached the end of his life and there remains no doubt about his imminent departure.

There is something that I wish now to say to you gentlemen, and which I shall again make mention of, if and when we hold another gathering tomorrow; but before this let me say that tomorrow's gathering is for all the students and for all those Iranians who are living outside Iran. It is for everyone and you must regard it as you would your own home, as somewhere that belongs to you all. The doors of this gathering are open to whoever may wish to come. Therefore, if no hitches occur and tomorrow's gathering does actually go ahead as planned, then all of the gentlemen are welcome to attend. No one is interfering. Some have mistakenly suspected that someone, somewhere, is influencing affairs and that they hold sway over who attends our gatherings. This is not the case however. We are all united; we are all brothers together; and no one is to interfere in our affairs at all. These gatherings are for all of the gentlemen and everyone is equally welcome to attend. All participants at our gatherings should be regarded in the same light, everybody. We are all each other's equals. I am fond of you all. I pray for you all. No particular group can meddle with our affairs. It is not to be imagined that a certain group has a say in these affairs or that I am aligned with any particular group. No, I am with you all, and I pray for you all.

The disaster of not understanding Islam in light of all of its dimensions

As for the matter about which I wanted to talk to you however, and on which I shall elaborate further at tomorrow's gathering should I have the time and the opportunity, it concerns a disaster, which has plagued Islam from the very beginning. That is, the disaster of Islam having been misunderstood. Those who have discussed Islam, be it in the past or the present, have not fully understood or grasped this religion in all of its different dimensions. Each of them has only ever looked at one of its many dimensions and has interpreted all of the issues found within Islam and within the Holy Quran according to his own limited perception. In the past, in centuries gone by, there used to be a group of Muslim theologians who expounded Islam according to their own understanding of it; each according to his own level of understanding and ability to reason. This group either consisted of philosophers who, because of their knowledge of this subject, understood Islam to be a philosophy, thus mistakenly believing it to be a philosophical school of thought, or it consisted of mystics and the like who, until only recently, interpreted Islam according to the understanding of a mystic, thus believing Islam to be a mystical school of thought. Therefore, from the time of these theologians down to the recent past, many of Islam's different dimensions have remained undiscovered. Theologians were familiar with some of the various dimensions of Islam, although of course not completely so, but each religious sect would study Islam according to its own understanding, its own learning. They would interpret all the verses of the Quran and all of the teachings of the Prophet and the Immaculate Imams (*a*)¹ according to their own perception; according to what they had been able to grasp from Islam. They would relate every page of learning to that page which they had themselves grasped and understood. Therefore, these expositions of Islam make no mention of what Islam has to say about this world and about how it is to be governed; issues which relate to another of Islam's many dimensions. All of those issues which relate to philosophy and mysticism are to be found in these expositions, but nothing is said about the duty of those people who are living now, about the form an Islamic government should take, or about how people should relate to the physical world. They have nothing to say in this regard. These theologians have confined their discussions to issues concerning the metaphysical and to matters relating to mysticism and philosophy and so on. And so this situation

¹ 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*).

has remained until the present, when it has now become the turn of this latest group of theologians, a group which has taken an opposite approach to that taken by its predecessors. That is to say this latest group has totally set aside those dimensions of Islam which concern its spiritual aspects, its philosophical aspects, its mystical aspects and has confined itself to objective and external aspects only. Hence, those in this group have perceived Islam as a materialist school of thought. Indeed, whereas the former group had perceived Islam as a spiritual school of thought as if it were totally unconcerned with temporal issues—even having expounded the Quranic verses concerning actual battles with the polytheists as concerning battles with the self and so on. This latter group of theologians, by contrast, although Muslim, although composed of good people, although just as religiously devout as the former group, has nevertheless understood Islam according to its material dimension. This is a situation which has come about over recent years, during a period when Western learning and knowledge has been promoted and reached us here in the East. Hence, whereas the former group propounded the subjective and the spiritual and ignored the objective and the temporal, the latter group propounds temporal concerns and disregards the spiritual. However, both of these groups are in error. Islam is neither confined to the spiritualism of which the former group speaks—yes, it has a spiritual dimension but it is not confined to this—nor is it confined to these temporal concerns of which the latter group speaks. That is to say, it covers temporal concerns in its teachings but does not exclusively confine itself to these issues.

Islam the edifying school of thought

Islam is a school of thought which has come for the edification of mankind; and we are to examine the different dimensions of this mankind, whose true nature, some argue, remains unknown, and are also to examine his needs. We must ask whether Islam, which has come for man's edification, only means to develop the animal nature in him, or whether it means to develop his spiritual nature; or yet again, whether its intention is to develop human beings as a whole. Human beings are unlike other creatures. Other creatures, such as animals for example, which are considered to exist on a superior plane to that of plants and minerals, merely exist on a physical plane, while also possessing a minute sense, a little but perverse understanding of the metaphysical, other than this they do not have a metaphysical state of being. Mankind, however, can pass through several phases of being; he can advance from his initial physical state of being until

he finally reaches a spiritual state of being. Thus, man can transcend the physical to the metaphysical, and can then transcend the metaphysical to the divine until he then reaches the stage where he is actually able to comprehend this superior state of being.

Man the multifaceted being

Man is a multifaceted being; he is not a creature of but one or two dimensions. Some other creatures are often one-dimensional, some bi-dimensional, and yet others possess several dimensions; but none of these other creatures possesses all of the different dimensions collectively. It is only man who, among all other creatures, is a multi-dimensional being; a being who has needs for each of the dimensions he possesses. In order for him to develop in every dimension he has certain needs which have to be satisfied. With the exception of Islam, all of the other schools of thought are materialist schools—schools which have perceived man as an animal, as a creature which simply eats and sleeps, but which does so in a more desirable manner. This is true for all schools. Although it is true that animals share the same need as we humans to eat and sleep, these schools of thought have perceived man to be an animal like all other animals whose needs and development revolve around those corporeal criteria, those corporeal matters, which they have called “matters of reality.” They mistakenly consider reality to be composed of this physical world only; whereas there are in fact other worlds that they have not perceived, worlds which are indeed more tangible—that is, worlds that are endowed with a more tangible reality than the physical world. The physical world has been placed last in the scheme of creation; it has been given the least recognition. Therefore, this world in which we now exist, this physical world, is the lowermost world. The lowest of all the worlds in the universe is the physical world. It is not a case of there just being man and this physical world, and of there being no other stages of existence to which man can ascend. There are several stages to mankind’s existence. He who has simply concerned himself with the metaphysical aspect of mankind’s existence and who has neglected to consider these other lower stages of his being has erred; and so too, he who has concentrated solely on this physical world, recognizing only the physical stage and ignoring the metaphysical.

Islam’s attention to all of man’s dimensions

Islam has a set of scheme; it has a program which can be followed by this comprehensive, multifaceted human being—this being who is capable of

going beyond the physical stage of existence to reach the metaphysical, and then of transcending the metaphysical to reach the divine. Islam wants man to develop into a complete being, meaning it wants to allow him to grow in accordance with his true nature. If man wants to make the most of this physical world, then Islam teaches him how to do so; if he wants to make the most of his stay in purgatory,¹ then Islam teaches him how to do so; if he wants to make the most of a spiritual existence, then Islam teaches him how to do so; if he wants to make the most of the powers of reason, then Islam teaches him how to do so; if he wants to make the most of religious learning, then Islam teaches him how to do so. All religions have come to develop those properties with which man is endowed; properties which are imperfect and which are presently immature. All religions have come to enable this unripe fruit to ripen; to allow this undeveloped fruit to fully develop. Those of you who have now come to reside in the West—the West which is obsessed with the material aspects of the world, and where no attention is paid to the metaphysical—must not be deluded by these Western schools of thought and thus mistakenly believe that man is nothing more than a creature who eats, sleeps and so on, and that no other considerations are involved. This is a mistaken belief which has developed because of those who have misunderstood Islam by concentrating wholly on these material issues and by retracing all of the verses and teachings in Islam to these same issues—verses and teachings which have come to allow man to grow. Yes, these people are in error; and so too were those before them who retraced every Islamic verse and teaching to metaphysical issues. Each of man's dimensions must be developed in turn. Man must develop on a physical level as much as he possibly can. He must make the most of this physical world, but within reasonable limits, limits which must obviously be determined by taking factors of temperance and virtue into consideration. Then once he has developed in this physical stage of his existence, he must go on to develop in the next, higher stage, and then again in the next. All of man's different dimensions must develop without exception in order for him to become a true human being.

To become a true human being is a difficult task, but nevertheless it is a task which man needs to undertake. The point I wish to make in saying these things is that you are not to mistakenly believe that Islam has come to train

¹ Purgatory (*barzakh* in Arabic), meaning barrier, is believed to be an intermediate realm, a period between death and the Day of Judgment where a complete life is lived. See Sayyid Mujtaba Musawi Lari, *Resurrection, Judgment and the Hereafter*, <http://www.al-islam.org/Resurrect/index.htm>.

an animal; that it has come to prescribe the sleeping and eating habits of an animal. This is but one of its intentions. Yes, it gives such prescriptions, but this is merely one of its dimensions and the least important one at that. Islam also has other dimensions which relate to the training of mankind. It wants to train man to become a complete, mature being; a being which encompasses all of the different human dimensions in their entirety. And it has instructions which relate to these dimensions. Islam contains instructions concerning Islamic government; it contains instructions on its organization; it contains instructions on how to kill its enemies during battle; it contains instructions on how to motivate a society; it contains instructions on how to reach the metaphysical stage of existence; it contains all of these different kinds of instructions. Islam is not merely one-dimensional whereby one could claim to have understood it in its entirety were one to have a knowledge of its history for example, of its social history, or of its rules concerning the material aspects of life and so on. No, this is not the case. The issues with which Islam deals are loftier than those which are ascribed to it; and Islam's dimensions are manifold. Whoever wishes to become acquainted with Islam must make an accurate study of the Quran, for this is the key source of reference. He must take note of all the dimensions found therein. He must not make the mistake of accepting only those verses which relate to the physical world, and with issues concerning government, rejecting the verses which relate to resurrection. He who makes this mistake is unaware of the meaning of resurrection, or of what will happen when the Day of Resurrection arrives. He thinks that there is no truth in it; that it is but a fantasy. But he is gravely mistaken. It is indeed true, and its truth is more real than the reality of this physical world; but we have not yet reached the level of understanding required for us to grasp this fact.

Not limiting Islam

Be that as it may, I wanted to advise those studying in Europe, may God grant them all success, against categorizing Islam and thereby believing it to be a school of thought like that of communism; believing the issues it covers to resemble those found in the Marxist doctrine; believing it to be a school of thought like other schools of thought; for this is not the case at all. Those who are unacquainted with Islam however, mistakenly believe it to be some such school.

Our responsibility in the face of turbulent Iran

The other thing I must mention concerns our being obliged to fulfill certain duties. Even as we are now peacefully seated here, Iran is in turmoil. I do not know what will actually happen in Iran tomorrow. We must decide what to do about this situation and I am presently giving it much thought. As you yourselves are well aware, it has now been almost one year since turmoil began in Iran. No matter which part of the country one looks at one sees that the people there are up in arms. No matter which part of the country's many cities one looks at, one can see strike action being taken there. For several days or so now strikes have engulfed the country. Almost all of the factories, newspapers and both governmental and non-governmental offices are now on strike. The general public is all involved in this unfortunate situation and are taking part in strikes. We who are here and are not caught up in all this turbulence must not forget those who are there. We are to help them as much as we can. We can help by the use of our pen; if we are able to disseminate information via the press here with regard to the position of the Iranian people, the oppression to which they are being subjected, and the crimes which this regime has committed against them, then we are to do so. You are to do whatever is in your power; and anyone who is unable to do anything to help can at least pray for those who tomorrow are about to suffer the torments of this dying regime.

I pray that God grant you all success. Tomorrow, if I am able and the opportunity presents itself, I shall again speak with you, God willing (the audience recites a *salawat* [salutation to Prophet Muḥammad and his pure progeny (*a*)]). I must apologize to you, both for my late arrival and for my inability to sit here with you for a longer period—an inability which stems from the fact that I am about eighty years of age, and thus, unlike you, who fortunately are young and have the strength and stamina to remain seated for a long period of time, I do not possess such strength. I therefore ask you to forgive me for not being able to sit here in your company for any length of time (the audience cries, *Allahu akbar* ["God is the Great"]).

Speech

Date: October 15, 1978 [Mehr 23, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 12, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The imperialists' study into the customs, mentality and resources of the East; treason against Islam and the clergy; the Americans in Iran

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents in Paris

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

The oppressive situation

It is unfortunate that I meet you gentlemen now when my power of speech is greatly impaired due partly to my age, which does not allow my voice to carry more than a few feet away from me, and partly to the situation of the Islamic countries in general and Iran in particular which is now enough to distress anyone and sap their strength. I had wanted today to come to the place where you gentlemen had gathered to speak to you about some of the problems we face, but circumstances were such that the French authorities did not deem it wise for me to do so.¹

Spies masked as travelers

That aside, the situation of the Islamic countries, especially those which have resources like Iran—which leads the others in this regard—has been studied by the experts of foreign powers and superpowers. From perhaps three hundred years ago, those travelers who came to the East, allegedly to tour the countries were all political agents sent to gather information on the situation there. They came to Iran and traveled to all her cities and villages in pursuit of their investigations. Their studies into the geographical situation of the East, and in particular Iran—about which we are informed—took them all over these countries, even through the desert regions where no grass or water existed and which they crossed with caravans, riding on camels and suffering many hardships in doing so. Their main aim was to discover where our mineral reserves lay—our gold, copper, petroleum, gas, etc. They made a careful study and drew maps. Whatever they found which was of use to

¹ The *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 15, 1978 [Mehr 23, 1357 AHS] (on the day that this speech was delivered) wrote in an article: “One Sunday, Hadrat Imam refrained from attending a pre-arranged meeting with his followers because of steps taken by the French government to prevent the meeting from taking place.”

them, they marked the spot on the map and noted the area, and these records are still in their possession.

Before America set foot into the region, it was Britain which exerted the most influence over these countries, then Russia, then some other countries. For more than three hundred years, they subjected these Eastern countries to their studies and their avarice. As time went on, their specialists developed more expertise, their travels became more widespread and more regular; indeed they found out more about these countries than the indigenous peoples themselves knew. For example, in Iran they studied the mental and spiritual make-up of such tribes as the Bakhtiari, the Qashqai Shamsian in order to find out how these people think and how they could use them to their advantage. They sent their experts to study and gather information on all the provincial cities and villages in Iran; all the villages that exist in Iran came under their scrutiny, even the most remote, mountain village. They drew maps of them all and marked those places where they found something of use to them. They recorded everything and then made themselves ready for plundering our resources. The rulers of the Eastern countries however, whether kings or others, acted differently in complying with the wishes of the imperialists; some allowed their countries to be pillaged in all aspects whereas others were not as traitorous as they were.

Memories from Hamedan

Once when I was in Hamedan,¹ one of my friends brought a map to me, a large map which perhaps measured one square meter. It was a map of Hamedan province which, he said, showed all the villages of that province, and which was covered with many colored dots. He told me that these dots indicated where minerals, such as copper or petroleum, lay beneath the ground. These minerals had not yet been mined, but the foreign experts knew their location. They made their designs and then entered the countries of the East and studied their situation, and in Iran, which directly concerns us, they drew up plans and marked where all its natural resources lay.

Islam and the clergy, obstacles in the way of imperialism

They then undertook some psychological studies to determine how they could easily lay their hands on these countries' abundant resources without inciting opposition and confrontation from the people. The imperialists carried out extensive studies in this regard, and they came to the conclusion

¹ Hamedan: a province in the north-western part of Iran.

that in the Islamic countries there were two possible barriers which could block their way; one was Islam itself. They realized that were true Islam implemented, that is the Islam that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has established, then it would sound the death knell for all their hopes. And the other obstacle to their designs they perceived as being Islam's religious scholars. The imperialists realized that if the religious men became powerful, as they should be in these lands, then they would not be able to profit from these countries the way they wanted to. So they decided to smash these two barriers, which they deemed more dangerous than anything else to their designs, in whatever way necessary. They started devising schemes by means of which they hoped to make the people themselves whichever group and whenever they maybe crush these two barriers for them, and so from that time on, the propaganda against Islam and the clergy began. With such propaganda, they would manage to remove the threat of these two obstacles, which if empowered would be the greatest threat to the imperialists and their interests.

Facing cultural independence

Of course there was something else which also constituted an obstacle to their contrivances, and that was the culture of these communities. The imperialists have studied the latter and have discovered that if their culture were an independent, correct culture then it would produce loyal and independent political groups which would prove to be counterproductive for them. Thus, on one side they saw the two barriers of Islam and the clergy, and on the other they saw the prospect of an independent culture, which would train the youth and nurture leading personalities who, even if the imperialists were to hold sway over the country, would still prevent them from attaining that which they desired, and that which they desired lay beneath the ground. They directed their efforts to acquiring the resources which lay above the ground as well, but the most important for them were those which were to be found underground. Hence... they set about destroying these three barriers.

Propagation of a distorted Islam

With regard to Islam, they began to propagate the idea—gradually as is their wont—that Islam is an acquiescent religion! That it is an ideology concerned only with supplicatory prayer and invocation of God [*dhikr*], that it constitutes solely a relationship between man and the Creator and has nothing to do with politics or government. They have propagated this idea so

well that even members of the clerical establishment have been influenced by it and many of them now believe that they have no role to play in politics or government, maintaining instead that their duties lie only in going to the mosque, engaging in canonical prayer, instructing the people, debating certain matters and presenting the people with legitimate rules of conduct.

The imperialists saw that the prayers of the clergy posed no threat to them. Prayers in Islam are not harmful to their policies, so they deemed that the clergy could pray as much as they like; they could pray until they were tired of praying, as long as they had nothing to do with the oil. They could teach as much as they liked, debate matters to their heart's content, as long as they did not start to question the policies of the imperialists in their countries and begin to speak out against them. This idea that Islam has nothing to do with politics or government was reiterated so much and propagated so well among the people that it became commonly accepted that interference in the affairs of state was incompatible with the status of a clergyman; that it was unbecoming the position of a clergyman to take an interest in the form the government takes or in what these oppressors were doing to the people; that it was only befitting the position of a clergyman to remain in the schools and lead the noon and afternoon congregational prayers; and that the people should expect nothing more than this of the clergy! They said that essentially Islam had nothing to do with politics... that politics and religion were separate from one another. Politics is for them and religion is for us! The centers of power are in their hands to do with as they please, and the mosques and the old men who attend them are in ours! This is a division that they created from the beginning.

Religion, opiate of the masses?

Those who were a bit more daring went so far as to describe Islam as "reactionary." They said that basically religion was the opium of the people, that from the very beginning it was used by the capitalists and those with power to stupefy the people so they could take their wealth. Gradually, this notion came to be believed even by the Muslims themselves. Some of the clergy even came to believe that Islam was something which belonged to one thousand and so many hundreds of years ago and could not be put into practice now! This is how the imperialists presented Islam to the Muslim

societies; and as for the *akhunds*,¹ they portrayed them as men who just sit in a corner and survive on the money they take from the people...

Deluding the unaware intellectuals

Thus, they presented Islam as an ideology which was concerned with nothing more than prayer and fasting and which was not involved with the people's lives and their affairs. And on the other hand, they presented the clergymen as people installed by the rulers and the powerful elite to opiate society, to put the people to sleep, stupefy them so that these rulers could plunder them and the people would not utter a word. They propagated this notion so well that even some of our own intellectuals, who were not well versed in the Quran and the Prophetic tradition [*sunnah*], came to believe it and they in turn also began to advance the same idea. We should not just accept whatever we hear or whatever is propagated by some groups as being true without proof of its verity. If someone accepts an unsubstantiated claim then that person suffers from a weak constitution, he is ill! A healthy human being does not accept something he is told without it first being substantiated.

Quran the book of clamor, uprising and movement

We need only take a cursory glance at the lives of the prophets and of others who called the people to God to see what their intention was: Were they agents of the powerful elite? Were their aims to enfeeble the people, make them powerless, and lull them to sleep? And we need only carry out a partial study of the Quran—it doesn't need to be a detailed study—to see if its purpose is simply to teach us invocatory prayer, supplicatory prayers, deprecations² and the like, or whether it has not been properly understood. If you study the Quran you will see that there are so many verses encouraging the people to do battle with those holding power. The verses pertaining to battle and the way it must be fought are not only one or two; there are many in this regard. The battles which took place in the early years of Islam's history were between the powerful elite and the Prophet of Islam. The Qur'an

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

² Deprecations: praying that an evil may be removed or prevented.

is a book which favors “movement”; it awakens the people and stirs them from their stupor to confront the *taghuts*.¹

The Prophet’s war with the holders of power and wealth

When the Noble Prophet was in Hijaz, he had to confront the plutocracy there. One group was found in Mecca and comprised the town’s reputable, powerful merchants, while another was made up of the wealthy, affluent people of Taif.² People such as Abu Sufyan³ were like rulers or kings and had everything, yet the Prophet opposed them. When he went to Medina, he associated with the poor people; he did not align himself with the rich to stupefy the community. He was on the side of the poor, he encouraged them to rise up against the rich who plundered the people and oppressed them. The Prophet fought many battles, and in all of them he fought against the rich and powerful oppressors.

The divine prophets (a) in confrontation with the aristocrats and oppressors

If we go further back [in history], we see that Hadrat⁴ Musa (Moses), may God’s peace be upon him, also confronted those holding power. With his staff in hand he confronted Pharaoh; he didn’t opiate the people for the Egyptian king! With his staff and his words he encouraged them to rise against the king. And you all know how Abraham (a) took up his axe and shattered all the idols belonging to the aristocrats (of his time). He confronted the aristocrats in the interests of the masses, to stop them from oppressing the masses. Of course the mission of these prophets was primarily a spiritual one, but when they came across tyranny in the society they deemed it their duty to confront the oppressive leaders and do battle with them in whatever way they could.

Unwary Muslims vis-à-vis Islam

So this notion that the men of religion are used by the powerful elite to opiate the people is one which the imperialists themselves created and advanced to turn you away from the Quran, the Book of God, and Islam so

¹ *Taghut*: one who surpasses all bounds in his despotism and tyranny and claims the prerogatives of divinity for himself, whether explicitly or implicitly.

² Taif: a city in the southern part of Hijaz (modern Saudi Arabia), 40 miles east of Mecca.

³ Abu Sufyan: father of Muawiyah, head of the Quraysh tribe of Mecca and the staunchest enemy of the Holy Prophet of Islam. He was at the head of the non-believers and idol worshipping groups who opposed Islam and persecuted Muslims.

⁴ Hadrat: The word *Hadrat* is used as a respectful form of address.

that they could smash this barrier to their designs. Indeed, they have been successful in this, for the Muslims have now been lulled to sleep by their propaganda. The Muslims have now risen to do battle with Islam without themselves knowing it. For when a Muslim asks what Islam has to do with temporal issues, this constitutes war against Islam; this is not knowing Islam. When he asks what Islam has to do with politics, again this is like waging war against Islam. These ideas are spread among Muslims by Muslims and the posing of such questions means they have taken up arms against Islam.

Revolt of the masses against the capitalist

We should look at the example set by those who propagated Islam. The Prophet himself battled with the powerful elite of Mecca and the Hijaz, and his immediate successors—whether those we accept or those we do not—formed armies and fought against the kings of the Persian and Byzantine Empires. They fought against these kings; they did not act as their agents creating apathy among the people. They had a mission to arouse the people, to stir the Muslim people and the oppressed to rise up against those who plundered the wealth of the people. At that time it was the Persian and the Byzantine Empires against which they fought and which they subsequently conquered for Islam; never was it suggested that a compromise be made with the ruling classes or the kings. The time of the Prophet and his immediate successors was marked by struggle.

Hadrat Ali (a) confronting the oppressors

Hadrat Amir [Imam Ali (a)],¹ became embroiled in an internal war with Muawiyah because he saw that if he didn't do battle with him, Muawiyah would destroy Islam.² Muawiyah was the governor of Sham who had his

¹ Hadrat Amir: Imam Ali (a), the leader of the Muslim world was born in 600 CE to his mother by the name of Fatimah and a father by the name of Abu Talib (Prophet's uncle), and from the age of 6 he grew up in the Prophet's house. He was the first man to accept Islam and promised to aid the Prophet (s). In the early days of his mission when, at God's command, the Prophet was inviting his kith and kin to Islam, at a gathering, he announced to them: "He among you, who accepts my Faith will succeed me." He repeated this declaration three times and each time, only Ali (a) declared his faithfulness. On the eve of the *hijrah* or migration, notwithstanding the plot of the Quraysh against the Prophet's life, Ali (a) slept in the Prophet's bed and thus proved his fidelity to him. The Prophet selected him as his brother and when returning from the last *hajj* pilgrimage, at a place called Ghadir, introduced Ali (a) as the master and guardian [*wali*] of the Muslims, after himself. Ali was the companion of the Prophet during his loneliness and his aid in his struggles and in time of dangers. After the Prophet's spiritual ascension, for about 25 years, Ali (a) kept aloof from government administration and leadership. During this period he was the observer and overseer who prevented deviations and defections. After the murder of the 3rd Caliph, the Muslims swore allegiance to Ali (a) and elected him as the caliph. The Imam's period of administration lasted for 4 years and 9 months. Ali obliterated the changes that had been made after the Prophet (s) and restored things to their earlier conditions. Opposition elements, whose personal interests were threatened, rose pretending to take revenge for the 3rd Caliph's death. Bloody civil wars followed that lasted throughout the reign of Ali (a). Finally the unique man of history was martyred in the altar at Kufah, Iraq.

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

² Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan (607-680 CE), the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, accepted Islam on the day Mecca was conquered (630 CE). He was the commander of the army during the caliphate of Abu Bakr and at the time of Umar he was first the governor of Jordan and then governor of Damascus, and at the time of Uthman he was responsible for the entire principality of Syria. After the death of Uthman, Hadrat Ali (a) was proclaimed caliph and issued orders for Muawiyah's dismissal. However, Muawiyah did not comply with Imam Ali's orders and accused him of involvement in the murder of Uthman and demanded vengeance for his death. During the battle of Siffin, which was fought between Muawiyah's troops and those of Hadrat Ali, Amr ibn al-As, Muawiyah's army commander, on seeing the battle going in Ali's favor, resorted to a ruse and ordered his soldiers to fasten copies of the Quran to their lances and hold them up in the air. This move brought about a dispute among Ali's followers, the battle was ended and Muawiyah remained in his principality.

After Imam Ali's martyrdom, his son Imam Hasan (a) was forced into a conditional peace with Muawiyah because of the actions of his traitorous troops and commanders and eventually relinquished the caliphate to him in 661 CE. From this date on, Muawiyah called himself the official Muslim caliph. See Philip K. Hitti's *History of the Arabs* and S.H.M. Jafri's *The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam*.

seat in Damascus and he lived like a king with an army and all the appendages of a ruler. Hadrat Amir was the head of the religious scholars, when we look at his life, his battles and his leadership we see that his aim was not to put the people to sleep so that the powerful ones could come and plunder their wealth. He too went to battle. With whom? With Muawiyah who sat in Damascus, who enslaved and oppressed the people and whose very existence endangered Islam.

Underground resistance of the Imams (a)

... All our Imams (a) were killed because they opposed the tyrannical regimes. Had they sat at home and invited the people to rally round the Bani Umayyah and the Bani Abbas, as the imperialists like to say they did, then they would have been shown the utmost respect. But each of our Imams (a) strove against the oppressors, and although their circumstances did not permit them the military might with which to fight, still they engaged in underground struggle against them. This is the reason why they were arrested and thrown into prison for several years. Was Hadrat Musa ibn Jafar (a) imprisoned for praying, fasting or calling the people to support Harun ar-Rashid? Was he incarcerated for years because he told the people to compromise with Harun ar-Rashid and to ignore his oppression? No, the despots saw that our Imams (a) posed a threat to their rule that is why they incarcerated them, banished and killed them.

The Shiah Imams (a) and Shiah movements

Did that wretch¹ transport Imam ar-Rida (a) to Khorasan² simply because he prayed? Was Hadrat [Imam Hasan] al-Askari (a) held in Samarra for all those years suffering much persecution and imprisonment because he prayed?³ The caliphs too prayed; so it was not prayer that upset

¹ This relates to Mamun, the son of Harun ar-Rashid and Abbasid caliph from 813-833 CE who brought Imam Rida (a), the eighth of the twelve Imams from the Prophet's Progeny, from Medina to Khorasan.

² Khorasan: a province in the north-eastern part of Iran.

³ Imam Hasan al-Askari (845-872 CE): the eleventh Imam from the Prophet's Progeny, spent most of his life in the prisons of the Abbasid caliphs, al-Muhtadi, al-Mutaz and al-Mutamid. Imam al-Askari was at times incarcerated and at others kept in close confinement in his home in Samarra under the watchful eye of the caliph. It is for this reason that he and his father are known as the *askarin* because their house was constantly surrounded by the soldiers (Arabic = *askarun*) of the Abbasid government.

them. Was it because the Imams were the descendants of the Prophet? No, for if the descendants of the Prophet had sat at home and had had nothing to do with the affairs of the people, then the rulers would not have bothered them so. It was the Imams who encouraged the people to rise up against the illegitimate regimes, and if they seemingly disapproved when one of the Bani Hashim rose up against the ruling powers, they did so out of fear for their religion (for they knew that were their role in the affair discovered they would be destroyed;) otherwise it was they who instigated the revolts. The Imams prayed for Zayd and others like him who rose up against the caliphs and the powerful elite.¹ The clergy have always opposed the ruling powerful elite, and if you find examples of instances when this was not the case and they joined the service of the government or were corrupt, then this has nothing to do with Islam; they did not belong to this school. Sometimes, however, circumstances were such that even the true clergymen of Islam did not deem it wise to act.

Smashing the barriers and plundering

So, by dint of their propaganda, the imperialists have succeeded in smashing these two barriers which the Muslims possessed. They distanced the people from the realities of Islam and made them dissociate themselves from the progressive clerics, so that they could achieve their aims. They created the propaganda and when these barriers were smashed, they came freely and took the oil; nobody could say a word, and nobody did! They reshaped our culture making it into an imperialist one, not one that was independent. Even now our educational system is not the independent one for which the minds of the nation had planned.

¹ Zayd ibn Ali (d. 740 CE) was the son of Imam as-Sajjad the fourth Imam and a contemporary of Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik, the Umayyad caliph from 724-743 CE. He was a great man, erudite and pious. He rose up to rectify the affairs of the Muslims and to remove heresy. However, at the very inception of his revolt, he was killed by the Umayyad forces. In his uprising, he never claimed to be an Imam and he openly acknowledged the imamate of his brother Imam Muhammad al-Baqir and the latter's son Imam as-Sadiq. Zayd was held in such high esteem that in some of the traditions he is given the title of martyr'. Because of his familiarity with and constant recitation of the Quran, he became known as the ally of the Quran'. Imam as-Sadiq said about this martyr: "May God have mercy upon my uncle's soul. His revolt constituted nothing other than following the path laid down by his forefathers, and I would have liked to have done what he did. His companions who were martyred with him have now joined the martyrs of Karbala." Khwarazmi, *Maqatal al-Husayn*, vol. 2, p. 120. The other Imams also prayed for Zayd and supported his uprising, however, Zayd and his followers were condemned by the reactionaries because according to them they had started a conflict with the heads of the Umayyads without permission.

They [imperialists] are still interfering; they do not allow our educational system to produce good doctors or good politicians. The politicians that their imperialist culture spawns are those who are of benefit to them. This is what has happened to our education! Unfortunately, I do not have the time now to go into further detail. So they broke these barriers and came freely and began plundering the wealth of the Muslims. You all know the extent to which they are plundering the oil of Iran. They are taking so much of our oil that reserves will soon run dry. They extract our oil from the ground and take it back to their own countries where they store it for themselves because they fear that one day someone may stop them from exploiting our reserves in this way. From the time of Rida Shah, may God punish him severely, until the present day, Iran has suffered under a government which has handed over the whole of the country's dignity and respect to the oil-devourers on a silver platter.

The process of land reforms

Look at the state of our economy; you will see that in the name of land reforms¹—an idea of the Americans—our agrarian economy has been totally disrupted. These land reforms brought such disaster upon us. Our agriculture was completely destroyed. Our country once had a thriving agrarian economy, the produce of its Azerbaijan province or its Khorasan province alone could meet the needs of the whole nation, but now agricultural production is only sufficient to meet domestic demand for the most thirty-three days of the year! So what does the regime do to satisfy demand for the rest of the year? It imports from abroad. The Shah and his regime have turned Iran into a consumer market for American goods! The Americans

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

produce a surplus of goods, which they either burn or throw into the sea. Now, however, they give it to us and in return take money or oil for it! The destruction of our agriculture was one aspect of their reforms that resulted in our country being turned into a consumer market for American surplus goods.

Another damaging effect of the land reforms was that it led to mass migration of the villagers into the towns. When these villagers—whom initially he had said had been taken from their peasant status and were now on a par with the landowners—lost their land, they swarmed into the towns and cities, into Tehran in particular. They settled in areas around Tehran where they now live with their families in hovels, in tents or mud houses. They live at subsistence level and suffer many hardships. They have neither electricity nor water, and there is no asphalt on the roads. They live in pits, in large holes in the ground, and in order to obtain a jugful of water for their children, the poor women, even in the middle of a biting winter, have to take their jugs and climb up scores of steps, perhaps a hundred, out of this pit until they reach a water tap, and then climb back down again. This is how these big farmers that they claim to have created now live and this is the state of their great civilization!¹ Our agriculture is now totally paralyzed; we no longer have any agriculture. Where will it all end?

Oil and a base for America

They give our oil to America and what do they get in return? I have spoken about this before, but I feel I must repeat myself every day so that someone who is not aware of the situation may hear my words. They give our oil to America and they get weapons in return. What kind of weapons? Weapons that Iran is unable to use, our army doesn't know how to use them, so why does the government get these weapons for us? It does this in order to build bases for the Americans in the country. Do not suppose that the Americans pay for the oil they take from us with money. They devour our oil and in return they give us arms, arms which have no equal, not even in France. But do they give them to us for Iran to use? No, they create bases for themselves with them. They not only take the oil, they take that which they give in exchange for it as well!

¹ Great Civilization: "Toward the Great Civilization" is the title of a book compiled by Muḥammad Rida Shah. In the said book, the deposed Iranian monarch had made unrealistic claims regarding Iran's having obtained new technology and the country's stepping into the new industrial age.

The plundering of oil and destruction of Iran

God only knows what treason this unworthy man, this Muḥammad Rida, has committed against Islam and Muslims. You and I cannot yet find out about everything he has done, when he dies or falls from power and leaves our country, then we will discover just what he has done, most certainly some people have recorded what took place during his rule and when these historical accounts are made available, then we will come to understand just what he did to this country. He tells us that our oil reserves will be exhausted in thirty years' time and then we will have to think of ways to use solar energy! Someone who does not even know what to do with an oil lamp now wants to use solar energy! And why is this oil of ours going to finish? Because it is being carried off through huge pipes which, according to those who saw them twenty years ago, are large enough for a man to walk into; perhaps by now they are even bigger. In return, arms come into the country for the (American) bases! If an end could be brought to the thievery of the Shah and his relatives, and the oil were exported and sold in a correct manner, that is, only as much as was needed to satisfy the needs of Iran and administer the country being sold, then we may have oil for maybe the next two hundred years. The Shah says our oil will finish, but who is finishing it? He is! Then what will we do? The nation's oil is finishing, as he says, its agriculture has been destroyed, so what are we to do? What does the future hold for this weak nation? He answers by saying: "We will become industrialized!" But do not be deceived by this. What is happening to our country is not industrialization. The creation of a steel mill does not constitute industrialization; it is not being established for the good of the nation; it is being built to allow the Russians to make a base here, so that they can facilitate the entry of their agents into the country and their activities here! They take our gas and the others take our oil. Soon there will be no gas, no oil, no agriculture, nothing. Then what will this nation do? The Shah once said that if he had to leave Iran he would turn it into a heap of rubble first. He has already done this, and if he stays he'll make things even worse. If he leaves then it's still possible for some true-hearted, upright people to take over and save our oil reserves, to preserve them so they remain for us and to correct the state of our agriculture. If he finishes his ruining of the country and then gets out, even this is to our advantage and is better than if he remains.

Our opinion on the manifestations of civilization

This is why we are shouting so, not because we do not want the manifestations of civilization. He accuses the *akhunds* of being opposed to civilization, of wanting to ride around on donkeys. What can one say to such a person? We are shouting out that we accept all the manifestations of civilization, but do these include the present actions of the martial-law government? Over the past few days, our young children, eight- and nine-year old girls have been killed. The government agents have shed the blood of the youth in the senior high-schools and the universities, they have committed so many crimes that the students are constantly on strike. Now the regime has turned its attention to the primary school children! Now it is these young children who are being killed. This is how the Shah hopes to destroy us, he hopes to slay the nation and then leave.

American agents for slaughtering the masses

We are crying out that this nation should be in control of its own wealth; it should administer its own affairs. We do not want “advisers” from America! The budget that is allocated to these sixty thousand advisers is so great that you and I cannot imagine it. Do not use the country’s budget to finance military advisers. It is truly amazing; they create bases for them here; they bring in the military advisers and then the nation has to pay the cost! The nation gives its oil in exchange for military bases! Just think about it for a moment, the Americans send us weapons that are of no use at all to Iran and never will be, they are only good for use in a war between two superpowers. These weapons are not sent for our use, Iran doesn’t need such weapons; machine-guns and the like are all that this regime needs to see to its domestic affairs! Our country does not want to embark on a war. Can we fight Russia or America? No, we can only fight with the bazaar merchants in Tehran; so machine-guns are all we need! We can only fight with the university students! And we have now reached the stage where we are fighting with the primary school children as well, with eight- and nine-year olds! Just yesterday or the day before I was informed that the regime had once again sent its agents to a primary school where they beat up the small children, crippling some of them. Machine-guns are sufficient for slaying our own countrymen; we do not need these other weapons! These weapons that are brought into the country are not for us; they are for someone else, someone who knows how to use them and has use for them; they’re here for the Americans! We give them our oil and in return build bases for them! We use the money they pay for our oil to build these bases and buy weaponry to

equip them, and then we bring in their military advisers to operate these weapons and pay them for doing this! This is what this regime is doing; it has reduced the country to a state of ruin. Your country is being destroyed!

Assisting the revolutionaries and exposition against the *taghuts*

Gentlemen, our fellow-countrymen have now risen up. We are duty-bound to help them as much as we can. Your number runs into the thousands; if each of you informs only ten of your European friends and acquaintances of the situation in Iran, then you will have made thousands of people aware of the truth, for the Western newspapers have not painted a true picture of events in Iran. They receive hundreds of millions of dollars from this man for propaganda purposes, so they portray the situation in Iran in a bad light. You are Iranians; you should explain to these European people just what exactly is happening in Iran, what problems the people there face. If you are able, write about it in newspapers or magazines. We should not be indifferent toward a nation which is giving its youth, which is sacrificing lives for a cause which is yours too. Tomorrow is the fortieth day after the massacre on Black Friday.¹ I do not know what disasters lie in store for the nation. The people have arisen, they are sacrificing lives, seven- and eight-year old children have arisen with them and are shouting "Death to this Pahlavi monarchy" are slain. Demonstrations are held and people are slain. Tomorrow the children will be in the streets again voicing their opposition. Iran has risen up and we have a duty to help our fellow-countrymen. We should not be apathetic; we should speak to people and write about what is happening in Iran and publish what we write. We should inform the world of this disaster which has befallen our nation. It is now time for prayer. May God protect you all and may you all be successful.

¹ The Iranian nation named as "Black Friday" Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS [September 8, 1978] when large numbers of innocent demonstrators were massacred at the Zhaleh Square (now Martyrs' Square).

Message

Date: October 16, 1978 [Mehr 24, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 13, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Possible migration to Syria

Addressee: Jalal ad-Din Farsi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Monday, Dhul-Qadah 13, 1398 AH

After extending my greetings, [let me acknowledge that] your kind letter has been received, and I hope for your good health and success. Regarding the issue of your concern, I have decided to reside in Syria if possible; and one of these days a friend is supposed to come to discuss the matter and to negotiate the case; he may meet and consult with you, also. About Lebanon, there are some preventive measures to be taken, and I will not go there unless I have to. Thank you for your kindness and may God take things in His hands. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Jalal ad-Din Farsi was born in 1933 in the city of Mashhad. He started his collaborations with Dr. Bahonar, Rajai and Dr. Beheshti from 1965 to 1968 so as to bring organization and political maturity to Imam Khomeini's movement. In line with these objectives, he contributed to the growth of the movement by publishing many valuable revolutionary pieces from 1961 to 1970. Imam Khomeini appointed him as his own representative to cooperate with the Palestinian Al-Fatah Organization. After the Revolution, Jalal ad-Din Farsi actively occupied different political positions.

Speech

Date: October 16, 1978 [Mehr 24, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 13, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The comprehensiveness of Islam

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

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

Correlation between knowledge and action; incarnation of actions

The action we are now taking is for the benefit of society, it is to enable our young and our society in general to develop. This deed is a spiritual deed; it is a sacred deed which will become manifest in the next world; there you will actually see the true manifestations of all your deeds, manifestations which are presently beyond our vision... The next world will reflect whatever is here in this world. Just as a sound echoes and reverberates when made here in this life, so too whatever deeds we perform here will be reflected there in the next world. We will realize the truth of our deeds once we have departed from this world; only then shall we truly see them for what they are. The Holy Quran states: *“So, he who has done an atom’s weight of good shall see it.”*¹ That is, whosoever performs a good deed here (in this life) will be confronted by that same good deed there (in the Hereafter). There, in the next world, this good deed will appear in pleasant forms; it will appear in forms which befit the deed itself. And after man’s death, it will accompany him right until the very end. *“And he who has done an atom’s weight of evil shall see it.”*² Whoever does evil, no matter how great, no matter how small, he too will see this deed in the next world. He will see its true manifestation there. Indeed, Heaven and Hell will be created from my deeds and yours. Our deeds are the essential ingredients of Heaven and Hell.

Therefore, do not waste this life. God, the Blessed and Exalted, has given this precious life to you so that you may make the most of it and do good while you are here in this world. God has provided you with guidance so that you may perform good deeds—deeds which benefit the society and which benefit you yourselves. And this He has done because He knows and is aware of the actual truth, that being that one will be confronted by whatever deeds one has performed here, in the next world. Just as the effect

¹ Surah az-Zilzalah 99:7.

² Surah az-Zilzalah 99:8.

of medicines or poisonous substances consumed by man can be seen here in this world, so too the effect of a deed performed here will be tangible and visible there in the next world where it will assume the form of the deed itself. Indeed, there man will see his true self. Thus, reason dictates that during his brief stay in this world man ought not to waste his life, he ought not to allow it to be used in the path of evil whereby it becomes a weight around his neck. Instead he should put it to good use. Any good deed which you may perform here, God willing, is for your own benefit and for the benefit of the society in which you live. It will reappear to you there in the next world, God willing.

The necessity of not putting off worship and embracing the opportunity of youth

However, do not defer the performance of good deeds until the time when your life is drawing to an end. This intention is an illusion which man may well entertain but which is in fact one of those evil fallacies which merely prevent one from doing good, whereby one tells oneself that one is still young, that one is in the prime of one's life and so must make the most of one's youth; that one is to let his passions run wild and is to commit wrongdoings—that one is to go ahead and commit those ugly deeds one would like to commit, for God willing, one will be able to make amends at a later stage of one's life. But if man does not begin to fight against his illicit passions and desires while still in his youth—against those passions, both healthy and unhealthy, which have never before been restrained in any way—then there is no way that he can make amends for his evil deeds at a later stage. God forbid that you should at all give way to unhealthy desires; that you should allow yourselves to violate people's rights or to encroach upon that which belongs to others. And God forbid that during your brief stay here (in this world)—a stay which is indeed short for us all—you should spend these precious few days in the performance of evil deeds whose effect will never be lost but rather will prevail forever, to the end of time. While it is true that the doors to God-given bounties and blessings are open to you all and you are to freely make use of them, nevertheless, there must be a limit to how much you avail yourselves of them. That is to say, the extent to which we make use of these blessings must be within the limits set by divine law. Whatever we do must conform to divine law if we are to attain true development.

The multidimensional laws of Islam

Divine law is unlike these worldly laws. The latter have taken but one or two aspects of life into account and relate only to the life of this world. This is all these worldly laws constitute and are restricted to and even then there is no certainty that man has been able to determine all the various aspects involved enabling him to design laws for them all. However, the laws of God contain provisions for everything. Injunctions have even been laid down which pertain to the time prior to man's conception—the time when two people come together to conceive a child. Consider a human being before being conceived by his parents—in God's laws there are instructions regarding measures which are to be taken to ensure that the child to be born is healthy and morally upright. There are religious instructions which relate to the choosing of a partner: instructions concerning the kind of husband to be chosen for a woman and the kind of wife to be chosen for a man. And once married, God's laws stipulate certain duties that are incumbent upon both spouses during their marital state—duties which have been stipulated so that the awaited offspring may develop into a morally upright and virtuous human being. There are injunctions which pertain to that very moment when a clot of blood is about to turn into an embryo; there are certain rules which are to be observed here. And this is all to enable the correct development of the fetus. Again, there are also rules with regard to a mother's pregnancy. Divine laws contain provisions which relate to the moment a child is born into the world and which concern how a newborn baby is to be reared; how the mother should relate to her child; and the responsibilities she has toward it. As the child grows the mother and father's responsibilities toward it increase, and the parents have a duty to bring this child up to the best of their ability. Then the stage is reached where the type of training given to a child is no longer to be solely parental in nature but must become essentially instructive; and again there are religious rules which apply to each of these stages and yet further laws which apply to the time when a child reaches an independent age. Indeed, Islam has provided laws for each stage of man's development. It has laws which apply to the time of man's death and laws which pertain even to the stage after death. Yes, while still here in this life, Islam has even provided us with laws which pertain to the next life. The laws of God, unlike these mundane, man-made laws which can see no further than this material realm, have also taken the spiritual realm into account, and hence contain provisions which relate to that realm. All of God's prophets (a) have come to teach man how to develop in every way. No one other than the prophets is capable of teaching man how to develop in every

dimension. Even if one succeeded in rearing a virtuous human being, a person who was morally upright, this training would only be designed for the life of this world. It would only teach one how to live in this world, how to lead a virtuous life here and so on. It could do no more than this since the second state of being which follows the life in this world is beyond man's reach and therefore he is unable to provide his child with the training needed for that later state. This responsibility lies solely with the prophets; and no one other than the prophets is capable of performing this function. The prophets have left teachings which refer to the temporal aspects of man's existence; they have provided instructions and laid down laws in this respect. And again, they have instructed man in the spiritual aspects of his being and in those aspects which concern the next life, thus laying down numerous injunctions and guidelines to this end.

Life, a divine trust in the way of Allah

You who are still young, who are still blessed with the gift of youth, should try to be of some significance here in this life. You who are yet students should endeavor to be persons who have a positive effect on this life. You should try to be beneficial; you should try to benefit your brothers (in Islam); and to be of benefit to yourselves, your society, your nation and your country. Try not to waste your lives whereby you lose this chance, for when you have reached my age you will then realize that you can no longer make up for the past. Make the decision now to do something worthwhile with your lives, for things such as infirmity and illness which come to you later in life, prevent you from being able to do anything anymore. Use this God-given strength that you now possess in the way of God. This strength has been entrusted to you by God, so use it in His path. To use this strength in God's path means using it for the benefit of society, for the benefit of an Islamic country. It means using it to strengthen Islam, to drive out the enemies of Islam, and to force the retreat of these people who have come to our country and are infringing upon the rights of the Muslims and depleting the state treasuries of the Muslims.

Reform for the two worlds

In addition, pay due attention to all of those religious rules, practices and so on which have been laid down with a view to your life in the next world. Work toward (reforming the self) both for this life and for the Hereafter. God forbid that you should expend all of your energy on satisfying illicit desires. Do not let your energy go to waste. Do not expend your time and

energy on this world alone; but instead, benefit both from this world and from the next. Islam, unlike Christianity, does not tell one to sit on the sidelines and to remain inactive; and even then I wonder whether this is actually something which has been said by Jesus (*a*) himself, or whether it has in fact been said by some *akhunds* who have then attributed such a statement to him. Again, I cannot see how the teachings of Jesus would be such that they would, for example, teach this mankind whom God has put on this earth and on whom He has bestowed many blessings, to deprive himself of these blessings. Surely this cannot be the case. Jesus (*a*), this great prophet of God, would never teach someone to turn the other cheek were he to be struck by an oppressor! Indeed, these are the words of Satan and not Jesus.¹ Jesus, the great prophet, is a true human being in every sense of the word. It is their *akhunds* who claim to follow in his path, their priests who have invented such words. And even then do not be mistaken in thinking that they actually practice what they preach, for indeed they do not. Instead they tell their fellow-believers to practice it! This is surely not what Jesus taught.

The blending of moral and social laws in Islam

However, regardless of what Christianity supposedly espouses, that which Islam advocates is unambiguously clear. Its injunctions are plain for all to see. Islam contains certain injunctions with regard to war. The Quran repeatedly discusses engaging in battle with the infidels and the corrupt. So draw your swords and cut down these harmful weeds—these people who want to lead mankind into corruption and these who have pounced on the people. Yes, you are either to draw your swords and rid the earth of those who behave in this way, or you are to pull them back into line. If possible, do the latter; but if not, then get rid of them for otherwise you may one day find that one such corrupt being has caused a whole society to become corrupt. Islam and the Quran contain many verses in regard to war and peace. They speak both of training the mind and the body. Everything can be found in the Quran. The Quran abounds with all of those issues needed to meet man's requirements. That is to say, man is a creature with many needs; needs which possess different dimensions. It is not a case of him having one type of need only. In the animal kingdom needs are purely physical; animals have no needs other than those on a physical plane. Hence, those who call on us to

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.*

believe that this worldly existence is the be all and end all, are therefore in fact calling on us to be like animals! They tell a nation¹ of one billion people that they are simply to eat and sleep as do animals; that you are to do no more than this. But this is a mistake. Man is not like an animal. Man possesses intellect; he possesses other capabilities and powers—powers which must be put to some use. Yes, Islam concerns itself with spirituality, but it also concerns itself with this temporal world, just like those who concentrate on the affairs of this world. Islam concentrates on a healthy world; however, it is not a world in which people's possessions are appropriated and their lives and property usurped. No, Islam forbids such things. As for healthy desires and pastimes however, Islam and the Quran have in no way prevented these. That which Islam does forbid and which it opposes is that which leads people toward illicit desires.

Opposition to corruption

If those in the clergy sometimes voice discontent and opposition toward the cinema, it is because these cinemas which are now widespread throughout Iran are there to corrupt the younger generation. After having frequented this kind of cinema over a period of time, these youngsters become corrupted. This is the sort of thing that we are against. Were the cinema to be morally and intellectually instructive then who would oppose it? But the fact is that we can see that our entire country, from its cinemas to its schools, is serving imperialism. That is, these institutions have been brought into our country from abroad; they have been brought to us as “gifts”—gifts which will corrupt our youth in every way. Indeed, should the mosque one day turn into one such institution, an institution which enjoins evil, then we would even close the doors to the mosque. In fact the Holy Prophet (s)² once destroyed a mosque—the “Mosque of Destruction” [*Masjid ad-Darar*] Mosque, which had been built as a place from where to oppose the Prophet and from where immoral teachings and the like were propagated. The Prophet (s) ordered for this mosque to be destroyed.³ Similarly, if there

¹ It refers to China whose population was estimated to be one billion people at the time of this speech.

² 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).

³ This occurred when the Prophet (s) had returned from battle against the infidels of Tabuk. The *munafiqin* (hypocrites) approached the Prophet and told him that they had built a mosque to where people could go on cold and rainy nights and where the sick could find shelter. They then requested that the Prophet take part in a congregational prayer which was to be held in their mosque. The Prophet said that he would reply to this request on his return from Tabuk; and having returned, he ordered for the mosque in question to be demolished. Subsequently the following holy verse was revealed: *And those who built a masjid (mosque) to cause harm and for unbelief and to cause disunion among the believers . . .* (Surah at-Tawbah 9:107). For further information, see commentary of the verse at <http://www.al-islam.org/quran>.

were a mosque which was injurious to society, and which was beyond reform, then we too would order for its destruction. It is not that we would only consider destroying the cinemas. Our opposition to the cinema is an opposition to that particular type of cinema which is in Iran today. It is not that we oppose the cinema in itself for we have nothing against the cinema as such. Indeed, if the cinema is an uncorrupted institution, if it is not used as a means of indoctrination, if it serves to educate the young and if there is freedom, then it is but another means of providing instruction and guidance; it is just like a school. The present situation in Iran, however, is an exceptional one. From the time these usurpers of oil entered Iran and conducted investigations about it and about other Eastern countries, thereby realizing the benefits to be gained there—for the East is rich in resources which are needed by the West—they launched their propaganda campaign and began to take other such measures to further their interests. Their aim was to lead us astray, to brainwash us with imperialist notions, to ensure that our minds did not develop correctly. They wanted to prevent us from developing, to prevent our schools from producing true human beings, from producing a single morally-upright human being. Whatever has been passed on to us by the West is harmful for our youth. And it is because these things are harmful that we oppose them and that any reasonable person should also oppose them. No one opposes something which is of benefit, something which helps to develop the mind and to improve the powers of reason. The fact is that these Western powers have sold their ideas to the East to enable them to take away our national assets. And they continue to do so even now. Even now they are taking away Iran's assets; they are devouring them and almost . . .

Necessity of cooperating with the Iranian movement

As well as attending to self-edification, you, my good men, are to make the decision to join and co-operate with the nation of Iran—with these people who have now risen up and who have embarked upon this great movement for the sake of Islam and mankind. You are to help as much as you can. Each of you, wherever you may be, should help as much as possible. As fellow human beings we must do what we can to assist this weak nation

which has risen up for your sakes and for the sake of us all, so that, God willing, this element of corruption may be removed, the hands of those who are destroying our every possession and are plundering our every reserve may be severed, and instead these things may remain for you to do with as you see fit. This is all that we argue. Let the papers go ahead and write whatever they like. When they write of the *akhunds* wanting to take the people back to the age of barbarism, this is nothing but propaganda which is put across to make the usurpation of oil possible. So beware, for all of these measures have been taken with a view to usurping our oil and devouring the resources in the East. To the Americans and to the Russians—to these two countries, one of which is taking away our oil and the other our gas—we say: “We want you to desist from taking these resources away. We want these resources to belong to us. We want this Pahlavi dynasty, which is serving you and betraying us, to be no more. We want someone; we ourselves have chosen to rule us;” although our present rulers in fact tell their newspapers to write the contrary. I pray that you may all be successful; that you may all receive God’s assistance; and that God willing, you may serve Islam.

Speech

Date: October 16, 1978 [Mehr 24, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 13, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Monarchy is synonymous with dictatorship

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

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

Failure and inability of the Shah and Iran to calm the situation

. . . However, I am living somewhere that my visitors have to remain standing; they are standing. . . and there is not sufficient space for them to be received hospitably.¹ I apologize for this. Please feel at home here. May you all prove to be assets to your community wherever you may be. Indeed, our society will need certain people to help run the country; it will need them to fill positions in government and administration and in areas of even more importance. Iran is still in a state of turmoil. America does not have what it takes to keep the country under control; and as for the Shah, he also is unable to bring calm to the country. None of these powers or forces can calm the people down. Even if they decided to allow a military figure to rule the country or agreed to a coup d'état whereby some ruthless military officer came to power, they still would not be able to calm the situation in Iran. A nation cannot be silenced at bayonet-point and told that it must remain repressed forever. Such a situation can only last for so long; it cannot continue indefinitely.

The country is opposed to the principle of monarchy

And now it looks as though this state of repression which has reigned in Iran for the past fifty years has now reached the end of its term, because the Iranian nation of today is no longer the nation it was twenty years ago. Now, the nation of Iran is one which is awake and one in which all social classes have risen up in opposition both to this dynasty's sovereign rule and to the idea of monarchism. The basic principles of monarchy are something which made no sense from the very start. They have never made sense, since monarchy is synonymous with oppression, brutality and dictatorship; and

¹ Imam spoke to his audience beneath a fifty-square-meter awning which had been erected in the yard of his residence at Neauphle-le-Château, but due to a lack of space many people actually remained standing out in the cold, open air.

that goes for all countries both large and small. No matter which past monarchy one may consider . . . one sees that it has mainly entailed these elements of tyranny and dictatorship. This is not something, which is exclusive to Iran and to Iranian kings, for others, such as the emperors and tsars of Russia have in fact been worse than the kings of Iran.

Claimants of justice and democracy

Even though many foreign countries have now become republican states, these factors still prevail but they appear in another guise.

Do not be mistaken in thinking that some country or other is now governed on the basis of justice, for this is not the case. Take America for example; this is one of those large countries, which is now governed as a republic. It is a country which has signed the Declaration of Human Rights and which loudly advocates these rights, speaking up for people's freedom and so on; and yet it is a country where true freedom and justice do not prevail. The situation is one whereby the President there does not in fact exert a great deal of force within his own country, but instead he governs as a dictator in other countries such as ours. America and the like have installed their agents in countries like our own—countries, which are under their domination—and they continue to offer these agents their support, endorsing their acts of murder and condoning those criminal and treacherous acts, which these agents have committed for the sake of their masters. Not one of these existing forms of government, be it republican, monarchical, constitutional or dictatorial, can be said to be a form of government which is just, a government which really improves people's lives, which truly governs for the sake of the people and not for the superpowers or for themselves. No indeed, no such government presently exists. But the government sought by us has these characteristic features—that is, the government sought by us is an Islamic government. If one day, God willing, we are able to administer an Islamic government in these countries or in our own country of Iran, then everyone would see just what form a government should in fact take. They would see what the essential qualifications are for someone to become a ruler—qualifications which have carefully been specified in Islam. Should a ruler not fulfill these requirements then he will inevitably fall from power. There is no need for him to relinquish power or for him to be ousted from his position, for he will automatically fall from power eventually anyway. Nevertheless, the nation still has a duty to try its best to get rid of him. So much for the prerequisite qualities of a ruler; but when one considers a

nation, there are other issues involved . . . issues which concern human rights for example.

Violation of human rights by the claimants of (preservation of) these rights

These countries which boast about things such as human rights are in fact guilty of violating the rights of mankind more than anything else. All of these deadly weapons which have been the cause of warfare world-wide have in fact been made by these very countries—countries which have signed the Declaration of Human Rights—countries such as France, for example. Yes, the latter indeed signed this Declaration, but just look at what it did in Algeria;¹ and even now, given the chance, it will continue to engage in such acts. The same goes for America and the Soviet Union too. They are all busy plundering the people; devouring that which belongs to the people. They do so under different guises, however—guises which serve to deceive the people. Hence, people are convinced, for example, that the government of the Soviet Union is now one, which truly serves the people; that it is “communist” in the true sense of the word; and that it serves the popular masses. On closer inspection however, one sees that this is not in fact the case, and that this “communist” state is even more brutal and oppressive than other countries; that people are treated with more contempt there than they are elsewhere.² One of its leaders³ once said that the amount of work done by

¹ In 1830, France dispatched troops to Algeria with a view to conquering this country, but in so doing it met with resistance from the Algerian people. The leader of this resistance, Amir Abd al-Qadir al-Jazayiri, engaged in a prolonged battle against the French, and following seventeen years of fighting and conflict was eventually defeated and captured by his French opponents. In 1847, having occupied a large area of Algeria, the French actually colonized the country; and by the beginning of the twentieth century the whole of Algeria lay under French control. Following a prolonged period of resistance by the Algerian people, in 1959 De Gaulle eventually gave them political autonomy. Since the Algerian combatants sought complete independence however, they continued in their struggle against the French until 1962 when De Gaulle was forced to sign a peace pact which granted full independence to Algeria. Nevertheless, the French military command was deeply disappointed by the signed agreement and thus took measures to stir up internal strife in Algeria. At the end of the day, the Algerian revolution left one million Algerians dead—Algerians who had been killed by the French.

² Stalin believed in the motto: “The dead are still.” Anyone was likely to have heard Stalin say the words, “We shall shoot you down,” for he believed this to be the solution to all problems. Lenin was no different. During the Red Terrorism’ campaign which was a campaign carried out on Lenin’s orders to counteract White Terrorism,’ a series of mass executions were held, those executed having no recourse to any kind of trial. It is said that within a few minutes Lenin once recalled and prepared a long list of the names of suspected opponents of the revolution who were to be sentenced to death, to which list he then gave his signature! Refer to the book, *Kajraheh* by Ihsan Tabari, the former theorist of the Tudeh Party in Iran.

³ Lenin.

the people in his country ought to be measured against the amount of food they consumed, and that should someone's output be found to be less than their consumption, then that person ought to be thrown into the sea! Yes, this is the kind of conviction held by these so-called "lovers of mankind."

They are deceiving us

All this talk of human rights, etc. is nothing other than their use of different guises to deceive us. It is nothing but a game. They want to fool the people in the East with these different ideologies of theirs. And indeed, we in turn have been taken in by this trick. Similarly, we have become so infatuated with the West, so "xenomaniac"¹ as someone once put it, that we do not even bother to ask ourselves exactly what is so special about this "West" that everyone raves about; they have even robbed us of the ability to give this matter thought. They do not even allow us to consider what those in the West are actually doing to mankind, or what they have already done to it. Yes, they have achieved progress, but this has been a deadly progress, a progress that is leading to man's annihilation.

What we want is a just government and one that will serve (us)

Therefore, that which we seek is a just system of rule, a just regime and a just ruling body; one which can be trusted by the people and which will serve the society; one which will not embezzle public funds and which will not swindle the State treasury. And indeed, should such a government be established in Iran for example—a country possessing massive reserves, only one of which is oil—and should the present thieving be stopped, and an end be put to the present squandering and treachery, then it may be possible for our country to be run on its oil alone. Furthermore, there would be no need to extract oil on the same present-day scale; a reasonable amount could be extracted, a reasonable amount could be sold, and a reasonable amount could be consumed. Yes, Iran possesses various reserves, but they are devouring

¹ Xenomaniacs: those infatuated with foreign and especially Western models of culture. This is a translation of a Persian term, *gharbzadeh-ha*, popularized by Jalal Al-i Aḥmad (d. 1969) in his book *Gharbzadegi* ("Xenomania"). See its English translation, R. Campbell (trans.) and Hamid Algar (ed. and anno.), *Occidentosis: A Plague from the West* (Berkeley: Al-Mizan Press, 1984). He was a writer of great influence and Imam Khomeini was acquainted with his work. See the commemorative supplement on Jalal Al-i Aḥmad in the Tehran daily newspaper *Jumhuri-ye Islami*, Shahrivar 20, 1359 AHS [September 11, 1980], p. 10.

them, they are plundering them. And eventually revenues will dwindle away for they are using whatever there is now for themselves.

Iran a country up in arms

However, be that as it may, the fact remains that Iran is now a country that is up in arms. I am concerned about what might happen, and I only hope that today, which is the fortieth day following the events of Black Friday, we do not witness further killings thereby necessitating the holding of another fortieth-day memorial ceremony. God willing this will not be the case. Now in Iran they are . . . ruling by the bayonet. The country is being governed at the point of a bayonet, but the people are not yielding to this iron-fisted rule. That is, they have risen up in revolt out of utter despair at these injustices that have been committed against them. They have now decided to risk their lives and have entered the battlefield, small children and old men alike. Now they are all crying out: "Death to this Shah," and "Death to this monarchy!" This uprising, which is a popular, mass uprising, and which constitutes a referendum on the illegitimacy of monarchical rule, is something which cannot be silenced by use of the bayonet. It is a matter which requires a remedy. These different regimes, these various Prime Ministers who come and go one after another, cannot provide this remedy; and nor can any military figure. It is the Shah alone who can provide the remedy - that being for him to get up and leave. If he leaves Iran the country will rest content; it will be governed in a better way. However, the Americans believe their interests to lie in his hands, and since he is the best servant they have, they give him their backing. The fact that America has so far not been able to . . . if it were not to support him (the Shah) the nation would get rid of him much sooner.

Necessity of revealing Shah's crimes and clarification of the revolution abroad

In any event, those of us who are here have a duty to fulfill and that includes all of you gentlemen, regardless of where you reside. Our consciences, our religious law and reason all dictate that we help those Iranians whose blood is being spilled; those who are sacrificing the lives of their children. We are to help by disseminating information. Wherever you may be, each one of you can communicate with a certain number of people there and can explain to them about what has happened in Iran. Make it clear just what the people of Iran actually want. The Iranian people do not want their country to be in a state of unrest and turmoil; they want peace and

tranquility. But there is no chance of this while this dynasty remains. Therefore, the people want this dynasty which has betrayed them to exist no more. This is what you must explain in order to enlighten the people. If possible, you can then get what you have to say printed in these magazines and newspapers that are published here (abroad). This is the sort of assistance you can give over here. As for the helpless people in Iran, they are under extreme pressure. Every day conflict arises somewhere or other; killings take place; an explosive situation breaks out; and it is they who are on the receiving end. You are not on the receiving end in that sense, but nevertheless you are still to bear their suffering firmly in mind so that you may do your utmost for the people of your nation. The latter have risen up for your sakes and you in return must do your part by propagating the Iranian nation's cause for their sakes. Do whatever is in your power to help. May God preserve you and may you be successful.

Message

Date: October 17, 1978 [Mehr 25, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 14, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Demanding the youth to pay respect to the religious reference authorities [*maraji at-taqlid*]¹ and the clergy

Addressees: The religious reference authorities and clergy of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To the esteemed religious authorities and leaders of Islam, may their blessings last long:

After offering you salutations, [please be apprised that] some telegrams were received from Iran; however, we were informed that there have been more, but as usual, they have not been delivered. Hence, I thank you respectable gentlemen for your kindness, and hope that you will deliver my appreciations to my brothers in any class and rank.

It is necessary to take this opportunity to ask the younger generation to pay the honorable religious authorities and the clergies the respect they deserve. The dear youth are aware that, in this crucial time, the Islamic movement is drawing closer to victory; there is nothing more dangerous than discord, and nothing more effective than unanimity among the people in the flourishing of the movement.

May God, the Exalted, bestow victory on Islam and the Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Qadah 14, 1398 AH

¹ *Maraji at-Taqlid*: literally means "Sources of Imitation". *Maraji* are the *ulama* who have reached the position of *Marjaiyyah* [Religious Reference Authoritativeness] because they have possessed such characteristics as justice, piety, superior knowledge, awareness and being oblivious to worldly possessions. The average people refer to them to find the answer to their religious problems, and to follow their religious decrees.

Message

Date: October 18, 1978 [Mehr 26, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 15, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The calamities and difficulties befalling the Iranian Muslim nation

Occasion: Approaching of the pilgrimage [*Hajj*] season

Addressees: The pilgrims to the House of God and the world Muslims

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Qadah 15, 1398 AH

Now that is the time of pilgrimage and Muslims from all over the world are about to visit the sacred House of God, it is necessary to observe one of the greatest philosophies of this mammoth gathering during your religious rituals, and to look after the social and political affairs of Islamic countries, become acquainted with the concerns of your brothers in faith, and to try to eliminate them due to your Islamic and divine obligation. Looking after the affairs of the Muslims is one of the important obligations in Islam. I am now going to give you, pilgrims, a report on the problems that the Muslim nation of Iran is confronting with, and seek the help of Muslims all over the world.

Iran, with a population of approximately thirty million Muslims, for the past fifty years, has been strangled in the grasp of the Pahlavi dynasty, which has officially been and still is serving foreigners. During these gloomy fifty years, this great nation has been suffering under the pressure exerted by the police, and from the strangulations and mental tortures. The Shah has been giving away the country's every underground resource and its vital interests to the foreigners—oil to America, gas to the Soviet Union, and pastures and forests along with a share of the oil to Britain and some other countries. They have deprived people of even their primary living necessities and held them in an underdeveloped situation. Our army's system, our culture and the country's economy are under colonial rule, and he has deprived the nation of its progress in every aspect, and now that people have become enlightened in recent years, and stood up for their rights, and expressed their oppressed voice, they are being answered by machine guns, tanks and cannons. The massacres in the cities of Iran, during the past few months, have added a dark chapter to history. The Shah has come down on people with all his infernal forces and America's support. Iran now looks like a graveyard and general strikes are now widespread throughout the country. The Shah is trying to take

revenge from this oppressed nation in his last breaths. The ominous shadow of the military government has been cast over the nation and the mercenary commandos are left free to murder the young and the old, men and women.

I do not have permission in any Muslim country, to continue my activity, which includes delivering the nation's oppressed voice to the world, and since I must perform my religious and divine obligation, I was compelled to leave the Muslim countries, so perhaps I could inform the societies of what the oppressed nation of Iran is going through. I will reside in one of the non-Islamic countries until such time that I can find an opportunity to continue my activities in an Islamic country.

Now, you Muslims of the world, do everything you can for Iran, and deliver the moaning of a nation of thirty million oppressed people to the world. It is narrated from the Holy Prophet (s): "Anyone going through a day without having regard for the affairs of the Muslims is not considered a Muslim,"¹ and also, "O God, I have done what I have been asked to."

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The same *hadith* has also been narrated from Imam as-Sadiq (a). *Usul al-Kafi, kitab al-iman wal-kufr, bab al-ihitam bil-umur al-muslimin*, vol. 2, p. 163.

Letter

Date: October 18, 1978 [Mehr 26, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 15, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Disappearance of Imam Musa Sadr¹

Addressee: Muammar Qadhafi (the Leader of Libya)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency, the Leader of Libya:

After greeting and salutation, [let me state that] the case of the honorable Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Sadr has become a mysterious puzzle. His relatives, after investigating, claim that he is in Libya. Since Your Excellency is given much respect and affections by the clergy and other fronts, and since this issue has caused them much worry, it may be necessary for you to look into the matter and ask your government to inform us of his health and his whereabouts in order to end our worries. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Qadah 15, 1398 AH

¹ Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Musa Sadr, better known as Imam Musa Sadr, was born in 1923 in the city of Mashhad. He passed the higher courses of the religious seminary by learning from such great masters as Ayatullah Muhaqqiq Damad, Imam Khomeini and Grand Ayatullah Burujerdi to attain the level of *ijtihad*. He was noted for organizing the Lebanese Shiah and led them in their political assertiveness of the 1970s. Imam Musa Sadr mysteriously disappeared in Libya in 1978 after he had traveled to that country on the official invitation of the Libyan government. He is chairman in absentia of the Supreme Assembly of Lebanese Shiah Muslims. Since his disappearance, Shaykh Shams ad-Din had been acting chairman.

Speech

Date: October 20, 1978 [Mehr 28, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 17, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Islam and the clergy: two great obstacles in the way of imperialist penetration

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

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

The efforts of the imperialists to remove the two obstacles: Islam and the clergy

...Because of the natural resources and minerals that they possess and the interests of certain groups, the countries of the East have become an important concern for the world. Consequently, the Western newspapers have examined their situation thoroughly and the information can be found therein. The discussion revolves around ways to lull these Eastern societies and keep them from progressing in certain important areas. The imperialists have studied this issue very carefully and have come to the conclusion that there is one great force which stands in the path of their ambitions—whether materialistic or spiritual. They have concluded that in these Islamic countries, Islam is this great force and is a barrier which could block imperialism and endanger their interests, and that those who impart the message of Islam, and they consist of the clergy, form a further obstacle to their designs. They have identified these two forces and have concluded that were true Islam and the true clerics of Islam to gain dominance; they would not give the imperialists and the foreigners the opportunity to exploit the country. Their plan is to keep these countries in a state of backwardness so that they can realize their own ambitions there and install their own agents in power. They view these two forces as two motivating forces which have to be destroyed. These two forces must be taken away from the East so that they can implement their plans easily.

Rida Shah, agent for the implementation of imperialism

You may be too young, but during my own lifetime I have witnessed this plan in action. When Rida Shah came to power his mission was twofold: to destroy Islam, even in the eyes of the Muslims themselves, and to belittle the clergy and then destroy them, thus removing what the foreigners saw as the barriers to their designs. He began his task by banning all religious

assemblies throughout Iran. For a time, if one wanted to preach to one's congregation or deliver a sermon, it was not possible, not openly anyway. Sometimes such gatherings took place surreptitiously, at midnight or before dawn, but even then the agents were on the look-out and at times they would burst in on gatherings and arrest people and take them away. In this way, this person wanted to obliterate all Islamic manifestations.

Suppression of the clergy by Rida Khan¹

As for the clergy, I cannot describe for you what he did to the *ulama*, and especially to those who were influential in any way, such as the late Mudarris.² The latter stood up to Rida Shah, and he had to endure much

¹ Rida Khan, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty in Iran, likewise known as Rida Shah and the father of Muhammad Rida, staged a coup in Iran in 1299 AHS [1920] based on a plan devised by the British. In the year 1925, he was crowned. Before staging a coup, he was the commander of a unit of "Cossacks" in the city of Qazvin. In 1941, when Iran was occupied by the Allied Forces, Rida Shah abdicated, as was ordered by the Allied leaders, in favor of his son, Muhammad Rida Pahlavi whom the Allied leaders deemed an appropriate person to rule over Iran. The political atmosphere, resulting from these changes, paved the way for a five-year-long liberalization. These charades were being organized based on the plans by the British government and executed by their agents. The British also ordered Rida Shah into exile on Mauritius Island south of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean. Rida Shah finally died in 1944 in Johannesburg, South Africa.

² Sayyid Hasan Mudarris [1859-1938] was one of the greatest religious and political figures in the recent history of Iran. He received his elementary education in Isfahan and then traveled to the cities of the holy shrines (the cities of Iraq where certain of the imams are buried: Najaf, Karbala and Kazimayn, and to a certain extent some others) where he received further education from such scholars as Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khusrawi and, after graduation to the level of *ijtihad*, he returned to Isfahan and began teaching Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and principles [*usul*]. In 1909, at the time of the Second National Assembly, he entered Parliament having been chosen by the *maraji at-taqlid* and the *ulama* of Najaf as one of the five *mujtahids* who were to oversee the law-making procedures. At the time of the Third National Assembly, he was chosen as a Member of Parliament. When Rida Khan carried out his coup d'état, Mudarris was arrested and sent into exile, but after being freed he was again chosen by the people and again entered Parliament. In the Fourth National Assembly, he headed the opposition majority against Rida Khan. At the time of the Fifth and Sixth National Assemblies, he opposed the proposal for the establishment of a republic, which Rida Khan was in favor of, to replace the constitutional government, and he dissuaded the Parliament from approving it. He was resolute in his stand against the stubborn Rida Khan, such that the Shah hired an assassin to kill Mudarris and when he escaped the attempt, he sent him first into exile in the remote town of Khaf near the Afghan border, and later in Kashmar, where eleven years later in Ramadan 1938, the agents of the Shah poisoned him. In this way, one of the greatest political and religious personalities of Iran was martyred in the way of Allah. Mudarris possessed outstanding qualities, and even though he was a man of great political and religious influence, he lived very simply. Imam Khomeini always spoke of him with a great deal of respect. The Leader of the Revolution, on the occasion of the renovation of Mudarris' grave, wrote: "At a time when pens were broken, voices silenced and throats gripped, he never ceased from revealing the truth and abolishing falsehood...this feeble scholar, weak in body but strong in a spirit joyful from belief, sincerity and truth, and possessing a tongue like the sword of Haydar Karar (Imam Ali), stood in front of them and shouted out the truth and disclosed the crimes, making life difficult for Rida Khan and blackening his days. Finally, he sacrificed his own pure life in the way of dear Islam and the noble nation, and was martyred in exile at the hands of the oppressive Shah's executioner and joined his virtuous forefathers."

suffering for doing so before Rida Shah eventually killed him. This monarch brought groups of *ulama*¹ to Tehran from the provinces. For example, the late Aqazadeh, who was a very influential person in Khorasan—so much so that he was called the “King of Khorasan”—was arrested and brought to Tehran.² I myself saw him in a house that was guarded; a chair had been placed outside because he was apparently tired and was sitting there. I was told how Rida Shah’s agents had taken him, without his turban accompanied by a few soldiers, to the court of justice to stand trial. They had taken him on foot through the streets in this condition so that the prosecutor could question him. They arrested all the *ulama* of Azerbaijan,³ including two of the great personalities there: the late Haj Sadiq Aqa and the late Angaji,⁴ and took them to a village in Kurdistan where they kept them stay for a while. They tormented the *ulama* of Isfahan in much the same way. Rida Shah put so much pressure on the theological schools that one day only one person turned up for my class which was usually attended by a number of students! I was told that between dawn and sunrise they had all run away from their rooms and had gone to the orchards, returning later dressed in different clothes so that they wouldn’t be recognized. His agents would enter the schools and arrest the religious students and the learned ones and take them away on the pretext that they should not be wearing turbans or that they should go to perform their national service and thousands of other excuses.

The accusation against Islamic teachings of worshipping the old

This was how this man carried out his mission to destroy these two forces which blocked the imperialists’ plans. Both Islam and the Islamic scholars and propagators must be defeated. Gradually, however, the imperialists came to realize that this method of elimination was not very effective. So they chose another way: to introduce Islam to the people within the country and those outside in such a way that made it appear a very insignificant, petty and out-dated affair filled with superstitions. Thus they embarked on their propaganda campaign both at home and abroad to advance the idea that yes, Islam exists, but if it is anything important its importance belongs to 1,400 years ago, when the Arabs were uncivilized and these teachings were for them, that now with the advent of civilization, Islam is

¹ *Ulama*: Islamic scholars; plural from of *alim* [Islamic scholar, learned man].

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, Iraq for Khorasan in Iran and took up residence in Mashhad where he taught *usul* [principles of jurisprudence] and *fiqh* [jurisprudence] 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 al-Hasani in Shahri Rey in the south of Tehran. Some of his most notable works are *Kitab al-Qada*, *Ash-Shahadah* and *Mabthath al-Fazz*. See *Tarikh-e Bist Saleh-ye Iran*, vol. 6, p. 252.

³ 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.

⁴ 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 Shiah during the first half of the twentieth century. Haj Mirza Abul-Hasan Angaji (1862-1937) the son of Sayyid Muhammad Shaykh Shariat 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 Mamaqani. 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 Riyaz*.

out-dated and useless. Its teachings oppose progress and freedom; it does not allow the people to be free; women have no freedom at all in Islam and education is prohibited. They would have the people believe that were Islam to gain predominance, all traces of modernity would be effaced; travel by airplane would be forbidden; schooling would be prohibited; and women would not be allowed to leave their homes. They have succeeded in spreading such ideas on a vast scale throughout the world.

Accusation of the clergy of supporting the present regime

As for the *ulama* of Islam who pursued the task of diffusing the word of Islam, they vilified them, called them “worshippers of the old,” said they had been installed by courtiers and capitalists to opiate the people so that the capitalists could achieve their aims. They accused them of always appealing to the people to keep silent in the face of oppression and of allowing themselves to be robbed. They said they put the people to sleep; they lull them so that when these foreigners come to plunder their wealth they can do so easily and no one will utter a word. Those who wanted to plunder your wealth began such propaganda, and they spread these ideas in such a way that at one time even the people of Iran believed that this was true.

The deluding of some people at the time of Rida Khan against the clergy

At the time of Rida Khan, one class of people treated the *ulama* the way that the regime desired; they did exactly what the regime dictated. Then later, when the propaganda against Islam began, it took on a different form. Perhaps the beliefs of these people, this one class of people, helped the idea that the *ulama* were harmful for the society gain precedence. They then went one step further and said that from the very beginning religion has been the opium of the people, that religion has stupefied the people, dulled their senses while the imperialists pursued their interests.

This has been the propaganda which they began several centuries ago because they thought that these two forces may present a danger to them, and it has continued to the present day when it has reached its zenith. The newspapers, magazines and foreign press, all propagate these ideas and are paid a lot of money for doing so.

Corrupt ideas of the imperialist propagators

This was merely a brief account of what Islam and the clergy have had to contend with so far. Nevertheless, those who are conversant with Islam and have studied the Quran, which is the source of Islam, and have given even a cursory glance at the lives of the prophets of old and the Most Noble Prophet (s), that is the Prophet of Islam, and at how they conducted themselves, realize the devilry of the imperialists and see that all these ideas they advance are corrupt.

Wars of the Prophet of Islam (s) and other divine prophets (a) with the holders of power

When you look at the life of the Prophet of Islam, and indeed any of the other prophets, you see that it is not the case that they established a monarchy or capitalism as a governing force, that they were against the people or that they stupefied the people so that the capitalists could do whatever they wanted. From the very beginning, the uprisings of the prophets were against kings. We have stories about Prophet Abraham (a), who lived all those years ago, and the Holy Quran tells us a little about how he rose up against the kings and the elders who worshipped idols and oppressed the people. Moses was a simple shepherd, a shepherd who grazed his sheep, but he rose up with his staff in hand against the Pharaoh, that great king of Egypt. There were no kings in Mecca, where the Most Noble Messenger was born and raised, but there were rich capitalists. The people of Taif and the Hijaz¹ earned immense wealth from their trade and owned large orchards, and never did any of these capitalists support the Messenger. They were all against him. In his struggle against these capitalists, the Most Noble Messenger was helped by the weak and oppressed class. In that short time that he clandestinely spread his message in Mecca, it was this group of people, this group of lowly, oppressed people from the class of the poor and needy, that gathered around him, and when he left Mecca for Medina, there too it was the people from the poor and oppressed class who gathered around him and little by little a group of tribal leaders also joined him.

Opposition of the divine schools to dictatorship and aristocracy

At the time of the Prophet of Islam, the uprising was against the great capitalists of the Quraysh tribe such as Abu Sufyan and his kind, and the people of Taif who had wealth and property. He did not rise up against them merely because they were wealthy, but because the rich always persecute the poor, they rob them of their property and possessions and oppress them. From the time that we have information about kings to the present day, we see that they were people who, wherever they were in the world, used dictatorship and force to plunder the wealth of the people and rob them of their honor and that which they held dear. From the very beginning the prophets confronted such kings. The story of the prophets is not that which the capitalists like to promote. The prophets confronted the capitalists; they were opposed to capitalism; they were not used by the capitalists to keep the

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

poor and the weak quiet. No, the capitalists formed one group and the prophets along with the people who assisted in propagation formed another opposing group who attacked them and, as far as they were able, crushed them. So these utterances that religion is the opium of the people and the prophets were the servants of the capitalists are very clearly absurd and anyone who gives the conduct of the prophets even a cursory examination will realize the falsity of such claims. But what can we do? Their propaganda is presented on such a large scale and is so widespread that we cannot compete with it. We do not have the means; all the means lie in their hands. The radio, television and press are in their hands; they control everything. The domestic and foreign magazines are in their hands; the capitalists and large sums of money are in their hands, so they are able to pay the media to disseminate the ideas that they want propagated and in the manner they choose. We, however, have only the faculty of speech and expression; we have a pen and some paper, nothing else. We want to awaken the nation; we want to make this nation understand what has been done to them so far; we want the people to see how they are presenting their beliefs and their religion to the world.

Negative propaganda in the foreign press

Even at this time, when the country of Iran, the clergy of Iran and the different classes of Iranian society have stood up to the big capitalists and the superpowers and are shouting for their freedom and independence, these things are still being said, even though they shouldn't be. Even now we see in one of the foreign newspapers that untruths continue to be propagated.

As for the clergy, whose foundations lie with the prophets and with those who came after the prophets, their uprisings against the monarchs in Iran alone are so numerous—and I myself can remember some of them—that I do not have the time to go into them now.

The prophets' (a) declaration of war against the oppressors

And as for Islam itself, one only needs to make a cursory study of the Quran, which is the source of Islam, to see that it does not oblige the people to remain silent before capitalists and kings. It is the Quran which tells Moses to arise and invite Pharaoh (to the right path), to speak to him mildly so that he may accept (his call).¹ And it is God who gives the mission to Moses to struggle with Pharaoh; it is God who through the Holy Quran

¹ It refers to a subject mentioned in several places of the Holy Quran; for example, *Surah Taha* 20:44: "But speak to him mildly; perhaps he may take warning or fear (Allah)."

commands his Messenger to do battle with the polytheists, with the capitalists and with those who have deviated from the right path.

Verses in the Quran pertaining to fighting

The verses in the Quran pertaining to fighting, battle and war are not just one or two. There are many verses in the Quran which are concerned with war, which give orders to go to war, to do battle with all those who are corrupt, to rise up and put them in their place. These are commands which apply to us today. However, we do not have the means to go to battle, but we do have the wherewithal to awaken the people, to let the people know Islam's situation, to let them know the situation of the Muslims and the clergy. We can do this and little by little it is being done.

Negative presentation of Islam

So they wanted to present Islam and the clergy in a bad light in order to weaken the Islam of the people and to distance them from the clergy.

The Quran and the clergy—the people support

If the people were to set aside the clergy who guide them and the Quran which is their religious book, then they would not be able to achieve anything; only when they band together, when they have something on which they can depend, can they act against these tyrants. No one can stand up to them alone; there has to be a pivotal point and this for the Muslims is the Quran. They must turn toward it and unite under the banner of the Quran. The clergy too are a unifying force which the people can rely on. Now that Iran has risen, praise be to God, it is the clergy and Islam to which the people turn; it is Islam that they call for; all the people are shouting for an Islamic government.

We do not oppose modernity; we oppose corruption

It is not the case that were an Islamic government to be formed, it would ruin the people's lives, that tanks and weapons would no longer be required, that we would ride around on donkeys! These are their foolish ramblings. Where in the Quran does it oppose modernity? Which one of the Quranic laws opposes modernity? Which clergyman has ever said that the clergy opposes modernity? We are opposed to corruption. When the manifestations of civilization fall into the hands of those who seek to corrupt and those who seek to derive profit or advantage, they distort them. They change a cinema, which can be a teacher for the people and the nation, into a place which

makes our youth dissolute, which corrupts them. We opposed to this. We are not opposed to cinema itself; if the cinema is used for the good of the people, if it is used to educate and guide our children then we are not against it. We are opposed to these centers of corruption which are taking our youth away from us.

We oppose corruption and the imperialist universities

You can see in Iran, in Tehran alone, how many of these centers exist and how many of our youth have become addicted to opium and other drugs, and on a greater scale still to alcohol, because of them. There are so many distilleries in Iran now. We are opposed to these things which corrupt our nation. Are we opposed to books? Are we opposed to universities? Our claim is that our universities have been created in such a way that they cannot produce human beings, they cannot produce human beings who will stand up to the foreigners. They produce only parasites! Our universities are imperialist universities; that is they are run as the imperialists want them to be run, they are not allowed to progress. This is what we oppose. How can we be against universities? Are we against having doctors, engineers and scientists in Iran? When have we opposed such things? Our grievances lie in the fact that the universities which should be centers of learning and education, which should be centers for training our youth to be independent, to be freedom-seekers and to be useful for their country, are not.

We are opposed to manifestations of backwardness

If the present regime claims that its methods of education and training are correct, then let it give us some evidence of this; but it is not able to do this. We oppose the radio in Iran now which as soon as it is switched on imparts nothing only praise for Aryamehr¹ and dance music and songs which sully our youth. We oppose a radio which corrupts our children; we do not oppose radio in itself. If the regime would let us take control of it then we would most certainly approve. We can run the radio much better than the regime can. The television in Iran, as I understand, shows scenes which are

¹ The title Aryamehr, which means the sun and light of the Aryan race', was created by Rida Zadeh Shafaq, a senator from the province of Azerbaijan. Asadullah Alam, who had asked the writers and other literary personalities of the time to think of an honorific title for the Shah, chose Aryamehr. In 1346 AHS [circa 1967], the National Consultative Assembly bestowed this title upon the Shah. It reflected the nationalist ideology of the regime and demonstrated its rejection of Islamic ideology. R.K. Karanjia, in the book *The Mind of a Monarch*, p. 236, reports the Shah as one who hoped for a revival of the great Aryan civilization as seen in the days of the Emperor Cyrus.

ruining our youth, depraving a generation. This is what we are opposed to, not the features of civilization.

The clergy is opposed to the Shah and the plunderers

We are opposed to those who want to keep us in a state of backwardness; this is what they want and this is what we are against. These are the things that the clergy opposes. Which clergyman has ever said that we oppose the radio when it is used to broadcast decent programs and give sound teachings? Which clergyman has ever said that we are against the television when it is used to disseminate sound teachings and when it helps the nation to progress? We are against these things when they are in their hands! We oppose these leaders who are ruining our country. We oppose this Shah and his father before him who have destroyed this nation. They have exhausted our wealth and continue to do so.

Iran's uncertain future without oil

Our oil is being sold in such a way that reserves won't last for long.¹ Our agriculture has been destroyed such that the country is now a market for America. How will the next generation live in this country in thirty years' time? We must take everyone into consideration. Is it enough to see only to our own needs? I am nearly eighty-years-old; I may only be alive for another six months or a year, but Islam has made us responsible; we have a responsibility to the people; we have to tell them what disasters they are bringing about for this nation.

Creating inconveniences and strain

But when we start speaking out and telling them what should be done, they increase their activities against us to stop us from getting our message across, to block us. I am forced to leave Iraq, and neither Kuwait nor Syria will allow me in; even though I haven't asked permission from the Syrian authorities to enter their country yet, I know they won't allow me in. I cannot live in an Islamic country, because I am not allowed to continue my activities in an Islamic country, so I came here, but even here I see that there are also restrictions imposed on me.

¹ According to official statistics, in 1978 oil production before the start of strikes in the oil industry was 5.3 million barrels a day.

They do not allow the truth to reach the people

The Shah's regime is actively pursuing its aims: to stop the truth from reaching the people, from reaching the world; to prevent the world from hearing the cries of this nation; to stop news of these killings, that are being carried out every day, from reaching the world. The situation is such in the country, every day killings are taking place. Wherever you look, whichever newspaper you look in or foreign radio station you tune in to, even though they only impart the bare minimum of facts about what is happening in Iran, you learn that a few people have been killed. They only report that a few people have been killed, but my own sources inform me that we should multiply their figures by ten. There are not only tens or hundreds of people being killed; the killings take place every day.

The people want freedom and independence

So what is it that this nation wants that it is ready to sacrifice so many lives for? You should listen to what the people are saying. The world has said many things about this nation, but it hasn't listened to the people. Come and listen to the people themselves, ask them what they want, ask them why they are raising such a hue and cry. This nation has been given freedom so why are the people shouting? This nation has been taken to the threshold of a great civilization yet still they shout. They are crying out because of this great civilization. Are they shouting that the Shah is creating a great civilization and they do not want it? Are they shouting that he is giving them freedom and creating "free men and free women" and they do not want this? Or are they calling out for freedom, independence, an Islamic government, a just government, for a leader who is at least not a thief, for a government which is not predacious, whose members do not take the wealth of the Muslims abroad to buy things for themselves and their families. They are asking them (the Shah and his regime) not to buy so many things from abroad; they are telling them not to deposit the wealth of the people in foreign banks in their own names. This nation is proclaiming that it wants freedom, and this gentleman turns around and says: "We have given you freedom!" If he has given the people freedom, then what do they want? What else do they want? Do all these killings constitute freedom? Is this a government of reconciliation which imbrues Iran's soil with blood? If this is what he means by reconciliation, then what will his war be?

Necessity for Iranians living abroad to join the Islamic movement

You gentlemen who are living abroad at this time, you are duty bound to unite with your Iranian brothers. Their uprising is not for themselves alone, they have arisen for you too. You are their partners. Their success means your success. Many of our young people cannot return home now because of a word, just one word that they have spoken over here; perhaps during a visit by the Shah they expressed their concerns or demonstrated against him and their names have now been added to the list so they cannot return.

The people want a government based on Islamic justice

These people, who have risen up, from school-children to high-school and university students, are giving their lives. The people of the bazaar are sacrificing their lives. The clergy are sacrificing their lives. They are all being persecuted and they are all crying out. Every day there is a demonstration and every day the cries of death to this man, death to the Pahlavi monarchy ring out. The people want the country to be in their own hands, they want to administer it themselves. They have the youth, they have the scientists, they have everything, but they are not allowed to do this. The people want to remove this class who will not let their country progress, who will not let their youth be educated properly. They want a government of Islamic justice which will help the people, a government whose leaders will put the needs of the people first. They want a ruler who will eat made of barley bread because he is afraid that somewhere in his realm there is someone who has to eat bread like this or worse. Of course we can't find such a person, but we can find someone who will not steal from us at least.

Assisting the people of Iran

We are all duty bound to help our Iranian brothers as much as we can. Explain your problems to as many of these Europeans that you meet as you can; tell them what these Iranians who have risen are saying; tell them what their demands are. Whenever you come across an article in a newspaper or magazine which runs contrary to the facts, voice your objections, tell the person who wrote the article that he has not understood the matter correctly. This will be effective. Try to inform at least ten Europeans or Americans of the facts; try to make them understand just what our problems are; try to make them see that because the Iranian people have risen in opposition it does not mean that they are uncivilized, it does not mean that they can no longer be given freedom, that if they were given freedom they would set everywhere aflame. No, you must make them understand that it is the Shah

and his regime that have inflamed the people; they have caused them to shout so. The people are shouting because of the fire they have had to endure. Your numbers are many in Europe, if each one of you could acquaint even ten people with the facts, then a wave of public opinion would be created.

Necessity of propagating the multidimensional uprising of the Iranian people

Spread the word. Now that the Iranians are giving their lives, you ought to give your voice at least; you ought to at least make people aware of the truth. Do not simply sit at home under the delusion that because you are here you can be comfortable. Do not simply listen to accounts of the killings in Iran, expressing sorrow at news of the murders of eight- and ten-year-old schoolgirls attacked in their schools. Go and tell your friends and colleagues about these events. If you are able, write about them in the press over here. Wherever you are speak out. If someone has written a report, which contradicts the facts, confront him, tell him that he has not presented the true facts, ask him why he is not doing so, complain to him, and God willing an even greater wave of public support will come about. I can assure you that, God willing, our nation will win, because this is a national uprising, it involves all sections of society. When this roaring flood of people begins to move in one direction, no matter how weak they are, neither tanks nor America can stop them. Thirty million people have begun to move. Only a few hundred people have not joined the movement and they are the hirelings of the regime. This roaring flood of people is on the move now and neither Russia nor America can stop it. This is a just act. This is the hand of God and no one can stop it. This is an obvious call for justice. A nation is calling out for its freedom and no one can say they do not have that right. They are human beings too. The situation is very difficult for the Shah and his regime now, but they cannot continue to confront such a just call with bayonets. Martial law cannot be imposed forever. This regime may not be able to survive a day without martial law, but it cannot be in effect forever.

Create a wave of support

In any case you must explain the situation to these foreigners. Give your friends the facts. If you attend schools over here, speak to the people who attend with you and tell them what is really happening. Form groups, gradually they will increase and you will become preachers and speakers, telling the people about the problems of Iran. If you do this, a wave (of public opinion) will come about which the reporters will not be able to

counteract; then it will be the people here who stand up to the false propaganda.

This is a service that we who are abroad can perform for the nation of Islam. I beseech God the Blessed and Exalted to assist you and to grant you success. May He keep you safe from harm and protect you. May you be successful.

Speech

Date: October 20, 1978 [Mehr 28, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 17, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The divine uprising; multidimensional interdependence; the novel dwelling villagers

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

An all-encompassing uprising in the way of Islam involving all (the masses)

Whenever I meet those people who have relinquished all their desires, who have sacrificed their children and have suffered great hardships in the way of God, whenever I look upon those human faces, words fail me and a great sense of humility overwhelms me. I feel that I have not performed any service for the Iranian nation, which is now sacrificing everything it has in the way of Islam, or for those fathers who have lost their children... I have not been able to pay my debt to those people who have risen for God and I can only ask forgiveness for my shortcomings from God, the Exalted... We are all His servants, we all submit to His will and we are all ready to sacrifice our lives for His holy laws.

The Iranian people have risen today to revive Islam and Islamic laws. Their uprising is unique in the history of Islam and Iran, for it is so deep-rooted and fundamental. The dimensions of this uprising embrace all classes of society; it is not an uprising, which belongs exclusively to one particular class. Previously, whenever there was an uprising or a movement, if it was led by the clergy, the political groups were not involved, or if it was led by political groups, other groups were not involved. If the merchants of the bazaar made demands, other groups were indifferent. Today however, by the will of God, the Blessed and Exalted, all groups in Iran have come together: political groups, the clergy, the merchants of the bazaar, school-children and students of the high-schools and universities, all have risen and have set off in one direction. They have one aim.

Independence, freedom, and the overthrowing of the Pahlavi (dynasty) are among the desires of the people

This is an unprecedented event in history. They all ask for one thing, they all raise their voices for freedom and independence. The first steps

toward this freedom and independence is the abolition of this wicked dynasty, which from its inception has done nothing but harm to Islam and Iran. Now, when the small children leave their schools and young people leave their universities, their chant as they walk through the streets on their way home is "Death to the Shah." This unity of purpose which has come about in Iran now and which has permeated every section of society is not something that the hand of man can create; this has been brought about by the hidden hand of God and for this reason we should be optimistic. I myself am optimistic that this society, which is surging forward like a flood, will extirpate anything that stands in its way. Whatever power [cannot stand against] the power of the nation; when a nation has risen and its demands are just and are recognized as being just by all human societies then no power can withstand the power of the people. Others will ask you why you have gone on strike, why you are sacrificing your youth, why your clergy are being imprisoned and sent into exile, why your politicians are being arrested and imprisoned and the merchants of your bazaars persecuted and tortured. They will ask you what it is that you seek that makes you shout so. The people will reply: "We do not want to be the prisoners of the superpowers; we want our own country to be in our own hands, we want to administer it ourselves; we want freedom." But they do not want the kind of freedom that the Shah gives, for that is only good for himself and his family. His kind of freedom is like the "reconciliation" of his government, which comprises of nothing but bloodshed, imprisonment and persecution! The people have all joined hands and are shouting with a single voice: "We want freedom and independence."

A parasitic army

"We do not want the Americans to administer our military, we do not want our army to be under the supervision of American advisers, we do not want them to create a parasitic army, an army which is fed from the wealth of Iran but which, under the supervision and training of American advisers, works for America." However, this is in fact the way things are, and we see that the Shah's army is such an army. Look at the Shah himself, he was installed by the Allies; he himself said, "The Allies felt it was fitting that I should ascend the throne!" His father too was brought to power by the British, as they admitted in a broadcast over *Radio Delhi* at the time of the Second World War,¹ "We brought Rida Shah into power; he has proven

¹ The World War II of Shahrivar 1320 AHS [September 1941].

himself to be treacherous and we removed him.” They carried him off to the island of Mauritius and then sent him to Hell.¹

Imperialist culture

When one looks at the culture of Iran, one sees that it is an imperialist culture; that is, a culture imposed on us by the imperialists. The Shah chose an apt title for his book *Mission for My Country*,² for he indeed had a “mission,” a mission that the Americans had given him! He has a mission to destroy the country and ruin the Iranian youth, to keep the country in a state of backwardness so it does not progress, so that the youth does not develop into people who would stand up to America and ask them: “What do you want from us?” How many years have we had schools? It is more than seventy years since the founding of the Dar al-Funun school.³ How many years have we had universities? Yet when the Shah or his child needs a tonsillectomy, doctors have to be brought from America or somewhere else to perform the operation. Other people too, if they fall ill and have the means to go abroad for treatment, they do so. This shows that we do not have [universities]; if we did, then our own doctors would be able to treat the people. When they want to erect a building, build a dam, make a road or even asphalt a road, experts have to be brought in from abroad. If we have our own experts, then why does the Shah bring them in from abroad? If we have our own experts and he does not employ them, then he is betraying the people by not giving them jobs. If we ourselves do not have the expertise, then he is still being treacherous, he is still betraying our people because after all these years whenever we want to construct a building or a dam, or something else, still we have to bring in experts from abroad, from Europe or America.

Strong economic ties

Wherever you look, you see that there is something wrong. The economy is in ruins. According to experts, agricultural production in Iran now is only

¹ The British transported Rida Khan first to Mauritius, an island in the Indian Ocean situated about 850 kilometers east of Madagascar to the south-east of Africa, and then to Johannesburg, South Africa where he died on July 26, 1944.

² *Mission for My Country*: the ghost-written autobiography of the Shah that appeared in a number of languages in 1961.

³ In 1848, the country’s first secular high school was established, the *Dar al-Funun* [Abode of Learning]. The *Dar al-Funun*, whose students were mostly sons of the aristocracy, offered classes in foreign languages, political science, engineering, agriculture, mineralogy, medicine, veterinary medicine, military sciences, and band music.

sufficient to meet the needs of the nation for thirty-three days of the year; foodstuffs have to be imported from abroad to satisfy demand for the remaining eleven months, as is being done now. The result of the gentleman's "Land Reform Program" was to turn Iran into a consumer market for America, so that the Americans could sell us all the things that they usually throw away! They are taking our oil now in such a way that in thirty years' time, according to the Shah, reserves will have run dry. However, this is not the case; the reserves will not have run dry, and they will have exhausted them. They are extracting our oil now and sending it to America through huge pipes the size of a room, some of them are even the size of a human being or greater... In return, the Americans sell us the arms that they want for their military bases which they have set up in Iran to confront the Soviet Union. They should give (money) to Iran in return for being allowed to set up bases in the country. Of course, the Americans should not have been allowed to do this in the first place, but now that this act of treachery has been committed and they have been given the permission, then we should receive something in return; instead they take our oil and then build bases for themselves. The Shah gives them our oil and then uses the oil revenues to establish military bases for the Americans or to buy expensive weaponry—which is of no use to us—from them and other countries such as France. They take our oil and in return, they sell us airplanes worth three hundred and fifty million or five hundred and fifty million dollars!

Irreparable damages to Iran

This person, who is worse than his father—and his father was worse than Shimr¹—has damaged everything in the country from religion to the economy, to social, cultural and military matters. He is a traitor. Our nation is now saying "death to this monarchy, to this treacherous monarchy." The people are saying that they do not want this perfidious monarchy. Since its very inception, this monarchy has been a treacherous monarchy; its monarchs were all traitors. Even those who, because of the propaganda made about them, were reputed to be good and for whose souls prayers are said were actually vile and wicked. However, these Pahlavi monarchs have been the worst of them all.

Our call is that we want a government, which is sympathetic toward the nation. We want a regime, which is just. If we examine the nature of all

¹ Shimr: the Umayyad general who martyred Imam Husayn (a) during the battle at Karbala.

regimes, we see that, apart from an Islamic regime, an Islamic government, none of them has been just; they have all served their own interests. However, there is one group, which consists of those governments, which act with moderation and temperance, and another which are extremist and excessive. Our country is among those which are ruled by extremists who want to destroy their homelands very fast and aggressively! If this man remains in power, God forbid; if this sinister and decadent regime remains in place; if this ruling body which has governed us for all these years stays with us, then there will be nothing left for our future generations apart from poverty. This is because they are giving the country's oil away and are exhausting its reserves; they are giving the country's gas to the Soviet Union and exhausting supplies. Our pasturelands and forests have been given away to this country and that and are now ruined. Our agrarian economy is now in such a state that it cannot meet the needs of this nation. In thirty years' time this country will have no sources of wealth. If this regime remains in power, all your sources of wealth will be annihilated. We are shouting, the clergy are shouting, the politicians and those who care about the country, are shouting for them to leave the country so that it will remain for the next generation, so that future generations will be able to live there. Within a century or even thirty years' time, if this regime remains, no one will be able to live in this country because everything will have been destroyed.

The best servant of the East and West

In one of his interviews, the Shah said, "If I am to go, I will turn the country into a heap of dust and go." Nevertheless, even now that he still rules he has destroyed everything, he has not left us anything. Of course, the Americans have to help him, they have to support him because they won't find a servant better than him, one who offers them all the wealth of the country and builds bases for them with the money he receives in return.¹ What better servant than this could they want? Of course, he (Carter) must say that the Shah has given his people freedom and has created a progressive country. According to Mr. Carter's logic, freedom comprises all these killings which are occurring every day now in Iran and all the crimes, savagery and repression the Shah practices represent efforts to find progressive solutions for social problems. Yes, what he does is very good for Mr. Carter. It works to his benefit. The oil of the East, especially that of Iran and Hijaz, is very profitable for the foreigners; of course, Carter must

¹ The oil goes into their pockets and in return for the oil, bases are built for them here.

announce his support for him. The Soviet Union too must announce its support, because they are taking the country's gas. They too have interests to protect.

Now the voice of the people has been raised, they are saying that they want their resources to be recovered sensibly and correctly and to be sold in a proper way. They do not want to put this oil into their pockets or to eat it; they want it to be sold, but they do not want it to be plundered. They want to sell their oil to whichever country will give them the better price for it, and they want money in exchange; they want currency for it not scrap metal, not airplanes which are of no use to them. They are saying that they want money so they can spend it on this nation—this nation that does not even have running water.

Hovel-dwelling villagers

Ignore the northern section of Tehran where they have put things in order; go take a look at other areas; go look at the tents and the hovels that some people live in. Go and see what kind of lives they have in this city which is the centre of this great civilization.' Go one day and take a look around and spend sometime... In so many areas of Tehran now, shantytowns have been created the best houses of which are those which people have built for themselves and their families out of mud. Why have the people come and settled here? They have come here because of the "land reforms." When they implemented the land reform program, the people could not remain in their own villages. Everything there was turned upside down and they had to leave. They swarmed into the cities; most of them went to Tehran and now these poor people have to endure a very unpleasant and difficult life there. Those who have migrated to the cities are not all young people, they are not able to earn money by carrying things around for people, and they cannot simply get hold of a cart and work as street vendors. Most of them are old men and women, and most of them are frail and poor and they are now living in these hovels. People have written telling me about these problems, (I had noted down all that they said, but I do not have the notes with me now and I cannot remember all the particulars). They told me that there are thirty areas or more in Tehran where these shanty-towns have been set up, some of them are situated near the shrine of Hadrat Abd al-Azim¹ and some are even to be found in the northern sections of the city. These places are full of these poor migrants, people who, because of the land reforms, had to move there

¹ Abd al-Azim Hasani: a learned and pious descendant of Imam Hasan (a) whose shrine is located in Shahri Rey, in the south of Tehran.

and now have to suffer a poverty-stricken life. They have no water, no electricity, and no lives. They have nothing! Not only do they not have electricity, other districts of Tehran do not either, every day a few areas of Tehran are plunged into darkness because of the shortage of electricity. Some of these poor migrants live in pits, in very deep holes, in dwellings you reach by going down scores of steps into the ground. In order to obtain water they have to take their jugs and climb up those steps until they reach a water tap. This is the life that they have made for them.

Poverty and destruction in the midst of an ocean of oil wealth

The people from a village not too far away from Tehran, who are in touch with me, have written asking for permission to use some of the money from the charitable funds to help them build a water storage tank so that they can collect the rainwater because the nearest water storage tank is about five kilometers from their village. Do not be deceived by these cars that you see in Tehran which are owned by only a small portion of the population, those who own them are either working for the regime or are doing well for themselves, they do not give a true picture of the state of the country. Go look at the other cities of Iran; go to the areas of Tehran where people live in hovels, go and see the true situation of this nation, a nation that has so much natural wealth. The money from the oil should be used for the people. If we had an honest government which sold the oil in a proper way and spent the revenues from it on the people, then this nation would not be in the state it is today. This is why we are shouting. We ask why one group of people has to live in such poverty while another group has to spend five million dollars just for decorating their villas. I have received correspondence telling me that five million dollars has been spent on plants and flowers for the garden of the villa of the Shah's sister. Where did she get this money from? Rida Shah had nothing when he enacted his coup d'état, but he confiscated the property of the people by means of force and later just a small portion of it was given back. Their wealth comes from the people. How is this Pahlavi Foundation administered? It is run with the nation's money. They take this nation's oil and its other sources of wealth; they plunder this nation so that they can live like this while others live in poverty. We are shouting that we should not be plundered in this way that this regime must be replaced. We shall continue shouting until our last breath, and when we have no breath left, well then we have an excuse before God, the Blessed and Exalted.

The mission of exposition and enlightenment

Gentlemen, you too have a responsibility which you must shoulder. You must speak out, for the interests of a nation and Islam are involved here. You have a responsibility to propagate as much as you can against the ruling regime in Iran, and this means exposing the truth and realities of Iran. Let those around you know what is happening to your people. Tell them what is taking place in the universities, in the colleges, in the schools even. They have killed little girls, this year it's the turn of little seven- and eight-year-old girls. Tell them what goes on in the prisons of Iran, in Iran itself, which is a prison. Tell these facts to those you are acquainted with over here, those you attend school with and to those you meet at the gatherings which you attend. If each one of you tells twenty people or even ten people about the realities in Iran, then a wave of public opinion will be formed and your actions will have been a service to the people who are giving their lives and doing you a service. You must propagate the facts, you must speak out. If you are able, get your views published in the press here, give interviews, and let the people know what you have to say. You are not in the same situation as I am, I cannot give interviews, but you can, so speak out.

I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant all of you peace and good health. I hope and pray that God, the Blessed and Exalted, gives you all good health and I hope that if He wills, this roaring flood of people in Iran which is moving in one direction and which in my opinion has been brought about by the hand of God—for such a phenomenon cannot be created by man—will sweep away this profligate regime and your country will become your own for you to administer yourselves. (The audience says: “God willing”). May God grant you success and assist you. I apologize that my state of health does not permit me to sit here longer and speak to you further. May God preserve you.

Speech

Date: October 21, 1978 [Mehr 29, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 18, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The multifarious interference of America in the internal affairs of Iran

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Carter and the Shah

In Carter's opinion this aggressive democracy in Iran is such that opposition has arisen left and right; and he still maintains that he has no intention of interfering in Iran's internal affairs. He has also mentioned before that he (Shah) has established a progressive society in Iran. Carter has made three statements: one is that the Shah has moved quickly and decisively to establish democratic principles in Iran and this, he says, has been the cause of opposition from the leftists and the conservatives; another is that the Shah has formed a progressive society in Iran; and in the third statement he once again repeats that he has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Iran. Now the Iranians themselves must study these remarks and decide whether they have been made for them, for a Western audience, for the American people or for people on another planet!

Well, let us look at his first statement that the Shah has moved aggressively to establish democratic principles in Iran. Has the situation in the country changed from the time that he opened his eyes in his cradle to an Iran ruled by his father to the time that he himself, upon the orders of the foreigners and Allies, assumed power and began his rule? Does this democracy which he has moved aggressively to implement, or this freedom that he has granted the people "quickly and decisively," include all these deeds that he has perpetrated throughout his reign?

Which of the many Parliaments, the National Consultative Assembly, as they call it, and the Senate, that have come into existence throughout the whole Pahlavi era—and I have witnessed events from the inception of the Pahlavi rule—have been selected by the people, as is their right, to determine their destiny? When have the people ever voted in a free and fair referendum? During which of these two Pahlavi periods, and especially this most recent period when this man has moved quickly to establish democracy, have the members of Parliament truly represented the people? Isn't it the

case that they are ordered into Parliament? The people believe that it is the Shah who gives the orders as to who should enter Parliament, but the reality is that the foreigners give the orders. They give a list of the names of those they want to enter Parliament! The Shah has said himself on several occasions that although this practice is not observed now; it was at one time that the embassies provided a list of the names of their chosen delegates, that is those who served them not the people, and he had to oblige them! But now of course the Shah claims that we are no longer subservient to any power. It is the indisputable right of the people to be able to vote freely and to send the delegate of their choice to Parliament, a right which all the world recognizes and which forms the basis of democracy. The destiny of a nation lies in the hands of the representatives in Parliament, and the people themselves should be able to determine their own destiny, indeed the constitutional law has given this right to the people. From the time that the present Shah assumed power, or rather was brought to power, to the present day, has this democracy of his, which according to Carter he implemented aggressively, ever granted the people this indisputable, manifest right of theirs? Have we ever had a representative in the Parliament who truly represented the people? You can go to any city in Iran and ask the person there who the person is who represents them in Parliament, what kind of a person he is. It is a well-known fact that most of the people in Iran do not even know who represents them in Parliament! This nation should determine its own fate, should appoint its own representatives, but most of the people do not know who is representing them... When you tell them their names, they mean nothing to them! This aggressive democracy' has robbed the nation of their indisputable, manifest right!

Deprivation of freedom

Try to find even one city where the people voted freely for their representatives! Take Tehran for example, this is the capital, the political hub of the country, if there is freedom then surely it is to be found there. But none of these Tehran delegates has reached Parliament through the free voting of the people. This is no secret, it is a well-known fact. So who is Mr. Carter making these remarks for? The people on the planet Jupiter who know nothing about this world, or for the people on this planet? If he is speaking for the latter, then where in the world isn't it known (that there is no freedom and democracy in Iran)? Which one of the world's newspapers is not informed of this? Yes, perhaps many of them write in support of Mr. Carter and say that democracy and freedom do exist in the country, that the people

have selected their delegates through their votes, but they are aware that this is not true, just as Mr. Carter is. Mr. Carter knows what kind of a person this Shah is. He knows only too well what kind of person has been given the mission; he knows the problems the people have to face.

Press censorship

This covered one aspect of freedom and democracy: the indisputable right of the people to vote. Now let's take a look at another: freedom of the press. Whatever the newspapers of Iran wrote, they did so on the orders of "His Imperial Majesty Aryamehr;" they never voiced the opinions of the people; they simply sang the praises of the Shah. The press now says that they were never free! Even the regime's own newspapers now say that they have never been free to write what they wanted. They are not allowed to be free even now. Throughout the years of his reign—we are not concerned with that of his father here, which was either worse than this or just the same—when has he ever allowed freedom of the press? Which one of the newspapers that Iran has had from the very beginning of his reign, when the Allies bestowed the monarchy upon him and imposed him on the Iranian nation, has been free and it was His Imperial Majesty who made it free? He says that now he has granted freedom of the press, but what about a year ago? If now he says he has made it free, then obviously we did not have freedom of the press a year ago.

Confession of lack of freedom

So he is a criminal; he's a traitor. Even according to the logic of Carter, this man who wants to make him appear innocent and exempt from blame; he is a traitor! Carter says that the Shah has now moved aggressively to implement democracy and this is the source of opposition to him. But he has only recently decided to grant the nation this quick, decisive democracy, as the Shah himself said: "We want to grant freedom to the nation." Will no one stand up and ask him: "Who are you to grant freedom to the people? Now you want to grant it—their freedom that is guaranteed by the Constitution—to them?! Who are you to grant freedom?" Your rule is illegal; you should never have ruled. Even if we suppose that your rule is legal, all the time that you have sat on your usurped throne, you have governed, never was any government in the country empowered to do anything. You did it all. Thus the responsibility for all the crimes lies on your shoulders. Carter says that he has now granted freedom to the people and implemented an aggressive democracy; this means that freedom and democracy did not exist previously,

and the country was administered through force. This is in itself a crime and according to the law the person who bears all the responsibility, the Shah, should be tried before the people. He should not be allowed to escape; he should be grabbed and put on trial for all the bloodshed he has caused and for depriving the people of their freedom. He should be made to answer for his crimes.

The stifled mass media

The newspapers in the country then were never free and neither were the radio and television, the two other mediums used for propaganda purposes. These two organs were never allowed to speak the truth either. When the Shah violates the law, when he murders the people, can they say that the Shah has done this? When have the media dared to say that the Shah gives the commands. Even now they say that it is the government which is responsible, or it is the fault of the police or due to martial law. This is all nonsense. It is this man's fault. Even in defeat, he continues with his deeds. The police are not concerned about the people's demonstrations; they are ordered to stop them. They all say they are just carrying out orders. Those we spoke to after the attack on the Faydiyyah Madrasah¹ in Qum, when the students were beaten and some even killed, told us that the attack was carried out on the orders of His Imperial Majesty'; even the police in Qum said this. And this was the truth; he ordered the attack and up until the present day all the atrocities that have been perpetrated in this country have been done so on the orders of His Imperial Majesty'. No one else is responsible other than him. This relates to his radio and television; these are instances of his propaganda.

Carter's logic

Carter says that the Shah has given the people a "quick freedom" and a "quick democracy!" He has given the people so much freedom now that they have had enough and are shouting out against it because his democracy has been so quick! Everyone is complaining to the Shah, their argument being that he wants to grant freedom and they are opposed to this, they do not want it! What these people really mean when they take to the streets and call for "freedom and independence" is that they do not want freedom and

¹ Faydiyyah Madrasah, founded in Safavid times, has acquired particular fame among the teaching institutions in Qum because of the role it has played in the Islamic movement. Closed down in 1975 by the Shah's regime, it was ceremonially reopened after the triumph of the Revolution.

independence! The Shah wants to give them freedom and independence but they are shouting that it is not what they want! They are showing their opposition in this way! This interpretation issues from what we read in the newspapers. Carter has said that because the Shah has moved aggressively to establish democratic principles this has been the source of much opposition to him from all the people. Because he has granted freedom now the different political groups and the various factions are opposed to it and are asking: "Why have you granted us freedom?!" The people too oppose him for giving them freedom! This is Carter's logic concerning the freedom, which the Shah has given the nation.

Land reforms and the destruction of agriculture

Now, what about this progressive country he has created, this progressive attitude he has toward social problems?! Mr. Carter claims that the Shah has set his country on the road to progress and that this has been another source of opposition to him; that this has always been a source of opposition to him! Mr. Carter's understanding of the meaning of progress seems to be totally different from ours. Otherwise, how can a country in which everything has been destroyed be described as progressive? Wherever you look in the country you can see what the Shah has brought about by the tenets of this 'White Revolution'¹ of his, as he calls it. According to him, his White Revolution has destroyed the feudal relationship, which existed between the landlord and the peasant, indeed he says landlords and peasants no longer exist! There are, as he has repeated on numerous occasions, only villagers and free men and free women! But in fact these villagers, these poor people are those who have lost all their means of livelihood (because of this White Revolution). These "land reforms" have completely destroyed the country's agriculture. You no longer have agriculture in your country. Agricultural production in the country is now only sufficient to meet the needs of the nation for thirty-three days of the year; food has to be imported from abroad to satisfy the demand for the rest of the year.

¹ White Revolution: a pilot plan forwarded by John. F. Kennedy, which was given the deceptive publicity for implementation of social reforms in underdeveloped countries. Muḥammad Rida Shah put the plan into effect and it was named as the White Revolution'. The most serious damage that resulted from the implementation of the plan was that the agricultural sector of the country became absolutely incapable of meeting the domestic demand for foodstuff. Naturally, the country was made fully dependent on imports from the West, especially from the US.

The White Revolution Corps, agents of perversion

As for these other institutions that he has set up, the Literacy Corps,¹ the I-do not-know-what corps, the Religious Corps, the people know why they have been created, they know why this Literacy Corps has been sent into the rural areas: to sing the praises of the Shah, to spread falsehoods, to keep the people backward, to make the people believe that they should all obey the Shah and that “the command of God and the command of the Shah” are one and the same. Everything that this man has done in the country has driven it further and further into a state of backwardness. He does not allow a virtuous person to exist in our country, he is afraid of true human beings, he is afraid that if a virtuous person is found he will stand up to him and his regime and ask them why they are doing these things. This is why they do not let the people select their own representatives because they know that the elected representatives would stand up to them and question what they do in the country. They know that elected representatives would not let the government do just whatever it wanted, they would interpolate. They would not let the Shah do whatever he wanted, they would stop him, they would object, they would ask him to explain. So obviously he won't allow the people to send their own representatives to the Parliament.

America's influence in all affairs of the country

Where is this progressive country, this progressive society that we do not know about, that we have not been told about? Where has he caused this country to prosper? He has turned this country into nothing other than a base for others; he has allowed others to dominate us. America is now involved in all aspects of our lives. Is this what you call a “progressive country?” The first sign of progress in a country lies in its independence, in it being able to stand on its own feet. Is our country independent? [America] dictates to us from one direction and [the Soviet Union] from the other. America digs its claws deep into the depths of our oil wells while the Soviet Union does the same to our gas supplies. In what way is this country progressive? Which one of our universities is progressive? Where is our culture progressive? Do we

¹ The Literacy Corps (the heading of the sixth tenet of the Shah's White Revolution) was set up ostensibly to combat illiteracy in the countryside. However, the books and teaching methods used by the high-school graduates in the corps accomplished little more than spreading pro-regime propaganda and introducing ideas aimed at destroying whatever remained of the villagers' religious beliefs. After fifteen years of activities by the Corps, more than seventy percent of the rural population remained illiterate.

have a progressive army? Can an army which is under the command of American advisers be called our army?

According to the way Carter thinks, surrendering everything the country has to him represents progress! Of course, Carter, who is an oil-devourer, must say that the country has progressed. He wants the oil; he is devouring our oil; of course, he must say such things.

Carter's influence in Iran

Now let's move on to Carter's third remark. Of course all three of his remarks demand more explanation than this, but you yourselves know enough about these matters and so it is not called for here. His third remark was that America has no intention of interfering in the affairs of Iran. So, Mr. Carter, you claim you have no intention of interfering? In what have you not interfered? What are your military advisers doing in our army? Why have they come here? To do what? Who has set up these bases in the mountains of Iran? For whom have they been set up? Does this not constitute interference in the affairs of our country? Are not these remarks of yours in themselves a form of interference? Is it not you who oblige the Shah to destroy the country in this manner? Do you not interfere in the affairs of the country at all? The Shah himself has said that lists of names were given to the regime. Of course, now he claims that this practice does not occur any more, but he's lying, even now these lists are sent to the regime. Even now the parliamentary delegates are [selected] from their lists. "I will not interfere!" You are talking about a country in which the people are aware of their situation; they know what is being done to their country and what has befallen them. "I will not interfere!" Why is he saying that he won't interfere? The Iranians know that he interferes, the world's media know that Mr. Carter, and whoever becomes president in America, will interfere in the affairs of our country and prevent us from standing on our own two feet.

Unfounded freedom, alleged progress

We have no independence; we are not free; the people are in no way free and the press is still not free. Martial law does not allow the press to speak out. Why do not these newspapers, that now claim to enjoy freedom, write about what the Shah is doing? If you look at all the newspapers, there is not one word written therein which says that the person perpetrating all these crimes is the Shah himself. [He is] the one who has committed these crimes from the beginning of his rule until the present time. The day that the pillars of this regime crumble, the press will speak out, but for now they are not

brave enough because now the country is under the control of martial-law, which will either close down the newspaper that speaks out or execute its employees.

How can you claim that there is freedom and progress? It's ridiculous to say that this opposition has come about because the Shah wishes to give the people freedom and set the country on the road to progress. Is Carter really saying that all this uproar the people are creating in the streets, all their cries of protest, are because the Shah wants to give them freedom and they do not want it! What a ridiculous statement to be made by anyone, let alone the President of a country! They have written about this in the newspapers and no one remarks on its absurdity. It appears that these are simply idle remarks, because everyone knows about the situation in Iran.

The country's problems stem from the superpowers

All our problems are caused by the heads of these nations, the heads of these governments. All these disasters, which occur in Iran and in Eastern countries, are brought about by the heads of these so-called superpowers. These powerful countries seek to dominate the weaker nations and rob them of their natural wealth, meaning that the weak should work and surrender to the powerful. They devour their oil while the weak nation goes hungry; they exhaust their mines while the people go hungry; the people live on these large oil deposits yet they go hungry. This is the logic of these great "superpowers" such as the Soviet Union and America and the like. This is how they want it to be, but we do not want it to be like this.

Illegal agreements

Our first step must be to change the present situation in Iran. The Shah, the government, the ministers and the representatives have all been imposed on this nation, the people did not select their representatives; the members of the Senate have not been appointed by the people to the extent that they should have been. When the Parliament has been appointed without the vote and consent of the people, then it is not legal because according to the constitutional law, the Parliament should be voted for by the people. If the Parliament is illegal then the ministers that are appointed, the Prime Minister who is appointed, are also illegal, and all the agreements that they sign with other countries, no matter what kind of agreements they are, be they oil or arms agreements, are null and void. All of this is against the constitution because it is against the law...

Speech

Date: October 21, 1978 [Mehr 29, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 18, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: America's mission for the Shah

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The enemy of Islam and humanity

The Shah is the bloodthirsty enemy of us all; he is not only my enemy.¹ May God preserve the nation. May God repel this bloodthirsty enemy—this enemy who is the enemy of the existence of this country; the enemy of the existence of Islam and the Muslims. Only a few days ago some of the Shah's agents murdered seven- or eight-year-old children, schoolboys and schoolgirls. He is not only my enemy; he is the enemy of us all; he is the enemy of humanity; he is the enemy of honor. You should all join hands together. Those of us who are outside the country have a duty to raise our voices in support of the people in Iran who stand united against him, and will continue to do so until, God willing, this enemy is destroyed. The regime's destruction is imminent, the bluster and self-glorification of the past is over now, but we should not be neglectful, those of us who are abroad should not be heedless of the situation of our brothers in the country. We have a duty, a moral and a religious duty to help them to the best of our ability. We must propagate their cause in whatever way we can; if we are able to get statements published in the newspapers then we must do so. We must do whatever we can.

Shah, the American agent

The people of Iran today are suffering at the hands of this man.² He has a mission to crush (them) and to prevent the interests of the foreigners from being destroyed. He is an agent. He has a mission to exhaust the country's oil supplies so that nothing is left for the people. This is the main reason why he

¹ The beginning of the Imam's speech in response to the feelings and slogans of the University students and those present who shouted "Khomeini, Khomeini may Allah preserve you. Death, death to your blood thirsty enemy."

² Shah.

was brought to power. He says that he has a mission for his country,¹ and this is indeed the truth! He has a “mission for my country,” the mission America gave to him: to take the country to the brink of non-existence! He has the mission to give all our oil to the Americans and in return buy scrap metal from them, a deal which benefits only them. These arms which are now being bought are of no use to Iran, they are arms that the Americans want to have here so that if a war breaks out between America and Russia, for example, they have all the weapons they need in one place. Iran is one of their bases, which they want armed. They take our oil and in return they bring arms here for themselves. They set up military installations for themselves in Iran to be used should war break out. Do not suppose that they give us arms in return for oil. What good are weapons that we cannot use? These are weapons which no one in Iran can use. These are weapons that they themselves want to bring here, even if they hadn't taken our oil, they would still have brought these weapons here and would still have strengthened their bases because they fear that one day Russia may attack them. So what better than to take our oil and in exchange, under the pretext of doing us a favor, build their bases! They build bases for themselves in Iran that is what we get in return for our oil.

And such great amounts of oil they take! Some people who went to the oil fields said that the pipes through which they are taking the oil are so large that a man can easily walk into them! This was the case a while ago, perhaps by now they are even bigger! In only a few minutes the oil tankers are filled with oil and leave. This is the oil that was supposed to be used for running this country till the end of its days. But now the Shah says that it will finish in thirty years' time. He now says that this large reserve, which should nourish this generation, sustain and make this country prosperous, will finish in thirty years' time. Who is finishing it? One should ask him who is finishing this oil. He is finishing it. The Shah is depleting these abundant, God-given reserves and what does this nation get in return for their oil? Arms! Why does he buy so many arms? Can he fight Russia? Can he fight America? The guns that he has now are sufficient for crushing the people of his country; he does not need to bring in more from America. The guns he has are enough to crush our merchants, our young people, our university students, our girls, our boys, our women and our men. What are those huge pieces of equipment that are coming into the country in return for the large amounts of oil, which go out..., is our country anything other than a base for

¹ It refers to the Shah's reported book, *Mission for My Country*.

them? So they take our oil and they take the profit from it also. They take our oil and then they take back the money they pay for it and use it to build bases for themselves.

National or Royal?!

We are not fully aware of what this regime is doing to this country; we do not have all the information. If, God willing, this man goes, then those people, who do know what is truly happening, who know the realities of Iran and are aware of the acts of treachery this man has perpetrated, will be able to speak out. But for the moment we do not have all the information. However, even the slight amount we do have shows us that he has destroyed the agriculture of Iran through his "land reforms." Do you suppose that Iran has any agriculture left for itself? He has destroyed it. And then the regime boasts about how much it has imported from abroad! This is laughable really. These boasts in a country, which used to export such commodities as wheat, barley and other items, are truly ridiculous. The situation should be lamented not lauded. Who has destroyed this great agrarian economy of Iran? At one time the needs of the whole country were met by the produce of just one of its provinces. Now we are reduced to depending on the outside world for all our essential needs. They have completely destroyed animal husbandry in the country. They have "nationalized," as they put it, our pastures on which the animals graze. But what they mean by "nationalized" is that everything goes to the Shah; he sees only himself and his family as comprising the nation! So when they say something has been nationalized, they mean it now belongs to them! The nation comprises of no one else. No one else matters. What is the nation? Just a group of ordinary people, merchants and people from the university. What use are they? The nation is the Shah and his gang! They have nationalized the pasturelands and the forests, but their nationalization serves only their own interests. They have prevented the farmers from grazing their animals on the pastures, so these farmers in turn have lost everything. They didn't allow the people to make use of the forests; instead they sold the forests to this place and that and took the profit for themselves. However, we still do not know about everything that they do.

Land reforms program and its consequences

We know about the agriculture of Iran because we can see what has happened to it since he implemented his land reform program. Our agrarian economy has been completely ruined. One way in which these land reforms have proved detrimental to our country is that we have now become a market

for America. We are now forced to import wheat from America; the Iranian people now have to give their money to import a commodity that they once produced themselves, a commodity from which they should be deriving profit. And the same goes for everything else, they even say that eggs are brought in from Israel.

Another way in which the land reform program has proved detrimental is that it has displaced the villagers. As a result of the reforms, the villagers could no longer remain in their villages and so they migrated to Tehran and other cities. People have written to me telling me that there are twenty or thirty areas around Tehran. I cannot remember the exact number but these poor migrants have set up tents or some other forms of shelter for themselves in pits, in large holes in the ground. Just imagine two hundred, three hundred, five hundred tents where they live with their children and elderly relatives. And this is happening in Tehran, the capital of a country on the threshold of a great civilization.¹ Not only do they not have electricity, they have no water, there is no asphalt on the roads, and they have to take their jugs and climb up scores of steps out of this pit until they reach a water tap where they fill their jugs and climb down again. Picture some poor woman in the middle of the biting winter of Tehran climbing up and down those steps to fetch a jugful of water for her children. God only knows how many times she stumbles, how much trouble she has to go through, and this is not only in one area, there are forty or fifty more like this around Tehran. I have received reports of the areas where people have left their villages because of “land reforms” and the fall of agriculture. They have left their villages and flooded into Tehran and maybe other cities as well. They have taken refuge in Tehran so that can make a living. This is the situation of these people in a capital where the places are so grand!

Five million dollars are spent on floral decoration while villagers are living in hovels

This is the kind of life that they have while the relatives of this man live as they do. Only a few days ago I read somewhere that one of the Shah's sisters had spent a few million dollars on a villa some place, I can't remember exactly where, but what I do recall is that she spent five million dollars just on flowers and plants for decorating the garden of her¹ villa. Five million dollars! It's beyond imagination. The nation has one lifestyle and they have another. How did this come about? On the one hand, it came about

¹ Ashraf Pahlavi.

because the Americans ordered him to: "Carry out land reforms"; create a market for our goods, for we over-produce and we throw the surplus into the sea, but instead we'll sell it to you and get money for it!" And on the other hand because if some small amount of the oil money is left after the Americans have taken all that they want, the Shah and his gang grab it and spend it on their enjoyment.

America, the main criminal

We say that this situation should be changed. This is what anyone would say. Any human being would say this. Our country is in such a troubled situation because of this man and the people have suffered so under his rule as they did under that of his father before him. Now we say this state of affairs has to change. Nothing else. We say that this regime has betrayed this country. Even now treason is being committed. We must sever the hands of the traitors from this land. We say that it is America who has perpetrated the greatest act of treachery against our country. It is America that we now confront; the others are merely the leaves and branches. The Shah is one of the branches of America; he is only a servant; he has to do whatever they tell him. We say that America too must go, for it is the trunk. These branches take the wealth of the people; they are useless. They are traitors; they have to go too. The country belongs to us and we want to administer it ourselves. What has it got to do with America if we do not progress? It is ridiculous.

Carter, the Shah's esteemed teacher

Only today I was shown a newspaper which reported that Mr. Carter had said in an interview that the Iranian people are opposing the Shah because he wants to create a progressive society in Iran and wants to give the people freedom! It was in yesterday's newspaper also. So all these people are opposing him, this nation is opposing him because he wants to give them freedom! They are shouting that they do not want freedom! According to the logic of Mr. Carter, who thinks he knows everything, the Shah is asking the people to let him give them a prosperous life and they are saying no, we do not want it, we want to continue living in these pits! What can we do with such people? What should we say about this Carter? Should we say that he does not know what is really happening in the country, that he is not informed? Is it possible that Carter is not informed while you and I are? He has his experts everywhere; they are deeply involved in everything, so he knows what is going on. Who is he trying to fool? If he were to make such remarks at some other gathering where the people were not aware of the

realities in Iran, they would think that all the people in Iran were mad, because this kind man wants to give them freedom, he wants to give them a good life and they do not want it. They would ask, "Do not you want to have a car? Do not you want to have a prosperous life? He wants to give it to you, he is offering it to you with both hands and telling you to come and take it. So why are you pushing his hands away and saying you do not want it?" This is the logic of Mr. Carter, the President of America! Yet he knows fully well what he is saying; he is well aware of the situation. By making these remarks he hopes to deceive some people, well supposing that he can; this is devilry.

Torture and imprisonment is considered as freedom in the Shah's logic

We are troubled by such a being in the world. The logic of we, backward people, is that we want to have control of our own wealth. We are people whom they describe as backward. Sometimes they say we are not worthy of freedom. The Shah himself has said that the people of our country do not deserve freedom and because they are not worthy they must be imprisoned. They deserve nothing other than imprisonment. They are not deserving of freedom. Why? Is it because they are shouting, "Give us freedom?" Is this why they are not worthy of it? Now everyone from the four- or five-year-old children, who of course learn from their elders, to the elderly are calling for freedom and independence. Well, if they already have freedom, then what more do they want? If he wants to grant them freedom, then why are all these people calling for "freedom and independence?" Obviously our logic differs. According to the Shah's way of thinking, his country is free, but that means everyone is being persecuted. This is his logic. What one man calls freedom is what we call tortured. According to his logic, he has granted freedom to those who were imprisoned, those who were suppressed, those who were persecuted! Independence too in the Shah's logic means something else: a country which is dependent on others in all aspects, which he has made dependent, is according to him independent.

America's anointed representatives

Do you think that the members of the Iranian Parliament, whose selection has nothing to do with the people, are nominated by the Shah? No, the embassies prepare a list of the names of those to be selected beforehand and give it to him. This is not something peculiar only to this period; it occurred at the time of Rida Khan also, only then it was the British Embassy, which prepared the list, and probably before them the Russian Embassy, and

now it is the American Embassy that does this. Perhaps they, meaning America, Britain and Russia, all confer together and come to an understanding on this matter. They also come to an understanding on devouring the wealth of the people. One takes the gas while the other takes the oil. These representatives of ours are ordered into the Parliament by America. If it was the Shah himself who did this, then at least we could say he is from this country, even though we do not want a compatriot like this. But even he doesn't order them into Parliament. They say who should be the delegates, they give him the list and he passes it on to those who deal with the referendum, without modification. What say do the people have in the matter? How are the people involved in this? Who are the people? The people should be suppressed. They should work and eat nothing... They should work and whatever they earn should go into the pockets of others; and whatever is... left over from Carter and America goes into the pockets of the Shah and his Pahlavi relatives. What of the people? Suppression is their lot in life. They have to have something to put into their mouths, well let it be a punch!

The Shah's regime from an Islamic viewpoint

We say that this situation must be changed; it cannot carry on like this. A nation of thirty million¹ or more cannot be constantly suppressed;² the people cannot always work while others take the fruits of their labor. This does not conform to any logic. This situation has to be rectified. This is the logic of Islam. Can they in any way question this logic? They say that Islam is reactionary³; well, what business is it of theirs if it is or not? They call it reactionary because Islam says they must leave the country and let the people live independently. When they say "Islam is reactionary" they do so because Islam tells you that foreigners should not rule over you, it has forbidden you to be ruled by foreigners, it says you should be independent. Naturally then, in their logic, because Islam says you should be independent, it is reactionary. As long as you are independent of America and it is not involved in all of your country's affairs, then you are not progressive. This is their logic, and with this logic they want to make us progressive and take us to the

¹ The thirty-million figure pertains to the population of Iran before the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

² The population of Iran before the victory of the Islamic Revolution was estimated to be thirty million. According to a census carried out in 1986, the figure was 49,445,010.

³ Reactionary [*irtija*]: The deposed monarch used to refer to combatant clerics and those who opposed his White Revolution as the black reactionary forces.

“threshold of civilization.” Our logic is different from theirs. Our terminology is different. According to their logic, what is happening in the country now—these actions of the Shah—are all part of taking us to the threshold of civilization.

America, the source of (our) backwardness

At this very moment, as we sit here, fighting is taking place in many places in Iran and shots are being fired. Our people are saying: “We do not want you to take us to the threshold of civilization’. You leave the country; we know what to do.” Let America leave our country; let the American advisers leave; when they go we shall administer our lives ourselves; our lives are none of their business. The Shah wishes to make us a progressive’ country, but we do not want the kind of progress that he has in mind. If we are able we will make our nation progressive ourselves, but if we do not succeed then so be it. We are a group of peasants who want to cultivate wheat or barley on our own land and then eat it ourselves. We are telling you Americans who have come here from the other side of the world and have grasped all the resources of Iran, its oil, copper, steel, everything, and are plundering the wealth of this country, to take your hands off! We will do what we want with our own resources. Carter tells us that we can’t, but what has it got to do with him? If I cannot put my *aba* on, does that mean he has to come and take it off me? His talk of progress is all lies; he won’t allow us to progress.

America, an obstacle to Iran’s progress

We have had universities in Iran for some seventy years now. We have had schools from the time of Amir Kabir.¹ We have universities,² but they have not been allowed to teach properly. Our educational system is an

¹ Amir Kabir: Mirza Taqi Khan Farahani, better known as Amir Kabir (1803-1848), was the strong and popular prime minister of Nasir ad-Din Shah of the Qajar dynasty, who, by relying on his shrewdness, sagacity and perseverance managed to do away with many aspects of foreign colonialism and domestic autocracy to promote the welfare of the country in the face many challenging difficulties.

² A center of higher education called Dar al-Muallimin was established in 1918 and the University of Tehran was founded in 1935. The system of education at the University of Tehran was mostly adopted from the French system and many of the older lecturers had been educated in France. However, after the coup of August 19, 1953 [Mordad 28, 1332 AHS] and the rise in American influence in the country, the educational system of the universities in Iran gradually moved toward the American model and many of the sensitive posts were given to Freemasons.

imperialist system. It is a system which they created for us, which they dictated to us. The imperialists do not let our youth become properly educated. They do not let us progress. If they release their hold on us, then the Iranians will make progress like the rest, they are no less capable than anyone else. But they do not let us progress, because if they were to do this then their interests would be jeopardized. They want to devour the East and keep it in a state of backwardness. They need it to be in this state so they can consume its wealth. They have installed their agents everywhere; in our country it's this Mr. Shah with his "mission for my country" and we can all see what that mission has entailed.

Our goal, termination of foreign rule

Ours is the logic of Islam, a logic which says that Muslims should not be ruled by foreigners,¹ they should not be dominated by others. We do not want to be subservient to others. This is what we are really saying, that America must go, not only America, Russia too, all foreign powers must leave our country. This is our logic and this is what we are shouting for. Now if, according to this logic, anyone has anything to say, then let us hear it. According to the propaganda in these newspapers—and it is said that the Shah spends a hundred million dollars every year on propaganda for his regime, to preserve his regime,² of course one expects such statements to be

¹ *Surah an-Nisa* 4:141: "And never will Allah grant to the unbelievers a way (to triumph) over the Believers."

² The Shah used to spend part of the country's revenue on heavily financing propaganda campaigns. Both ambassadors and the Royal Public Relations Bureau gave millions of dollars to writers and publicity agencies and to the press, radio and television, to ensure that the Shah's crimes and treacherous activities remained concealed and that instead he was introduced as one of the world's great politicians and outstanding thinkers. *Le Point*, printed in France, voted the Shah as "the Man of the Year"! Barry Rubin, the American researcher, in his book *The Power Struggle in Iran* writes: "The extensive nature of the propaganda which was spread by the regime was one of the main reasons why the latter's shortcomings remained hidden." The sums of money given by the Shah for propaganda purposes were so vast that rivalry broke out between Iranologists from America, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Holland over the translation of material such as the Shah's own book or the *Muarrifi-ye Tamaddun va Shahhan-e Gozashteh*. Such payments were made in absolute secrecy and hence the exact amounts involved for these or other payments offered as bribes for propaganda are not yet known. Documents uncovered since the victory of the Revolution however, both in Iran and in Iranian embassies abroad, indicate that these amounts had been quite substantial. In America alone, millions of dollars were spent each year on popularizing the Shah's regime. Among the contracts made to this end, was the five hundred and seven thousand dollar contract made with the New York public relations counseling agency "Ruder and Finn, Inc."; the agreement to pay Marion Javits, the wife of Senator Javits, an annual sum of sixty-seven thousand five hundred dollars; and the regular payment of exorbitant sums to William Rogers, the former Foreign Minister of the United States. Following his departure from Iran in November 1978 [Aban 1357 AHS], Siamak Zand, the head of the press section of the Royal Public Relations Bureau, stated in an interview that he used to bribe most of the foreign journalists. In the same interview he clearly named four of the journalists in question to be the editor-in-chief of the American magazine *Newsweek*; two journalists from *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*; and the French reporter Gerard de Villiers. Refer to *The Power Struggle in Iran*, p. 117; *In the Service of the Peacock Throne*, p. 310; and the *Herald Tribune* newspaper of November 17, 1978 [Aban 26, 1357 AHS].

found in these newspapers—the *akhunds* are reactionaries; the *akhunds* are worshippers of the old; the *akhunds* are such and such. Then they turn to Islam and they paint a bad picture of both Islam and the *akhunds*. Why? Because that which stands in the way of the imperialists is Islam and it is the *akhunds* who are implementing Islam. The imperialists try to get rid of these obstacles to their designs by disparaging Islam so the people will turn away from its teachings and spurn the *akhunds*, and then only their agents, and whoever else they want, will be left.

Assault on the (students of) theological schools, universities and (ordinary) schools

They have made our universities such that our students cannot study properly. There is so much pressure on them. Nowadays no one can study in our theological schools or universities. The universities are always on strike.¹ It has been over a year now that they have been on strike; they cannot function; the regime does not let them function. Its agents storm the universities, beating and injuring both men and women, or arresting them and taking them off to prison. The same happens in the schools. Every so often they attack the schools and assault the pupils and teachers there. The religious students and university students cannot study in such a tense atmosphere, and now it is the same for the school-children. Nowadays they are beating the school-children, even killing them. Only today I was

¹ On October 7, 1978 [Mehr 15, 1357 AHS], a number of universities across the country did begin lectures after a slight delay, but most of them went on strike on the same day and closed down again. The Teacher Training University closed after only being open for a day and the students of the Azad University of Tabriz announced in a declaration on the afternoon of October 7 that they would not attend classes until martial law was lifted. Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Kerman University, Isfahan University, Shiraz University, Amir Kabir University and Ridai University did not reopen at all. The students of the Teacher Training University and the College of Higher Education in Arak also announced that they would not attend classes. Refer to the newspapers of October 1978.

informed of the killing of many young schoolboys and schoolgirls by the regime.¹

Retreat in face of the nation

The situation in Iran at present is unprecedented, and even more unexampled is the spirit of the Iranian people at this time. Their spirit now is so strong that even though tanks close in on them from one side and soldiers with bayonets from another, they raise their fists into the air and go forward; they confront them with sticks and stones. One is slain and another takes his place. They do not give up. It is this spirit which will make this regime retreat, as it has done already.

This Rastakhiz Party was so highly praised by the regime and the Shah insisted so strongly that all Iranians had to join it saying that whoever did not must leave the country because he was no longer an Iranian, he no longer had a nation.² But then he later changed his stance and said the Rastakhiz Party was not important, it was like other parties.³ Sometimes he says something

¹ On October 18, 1978 [Mehr 26, 1357 AHS], police attacked the Ibrat high school for girls injuring and arresting a number of pupils there. A protest demonstration by students of Nazi-Abad high school was disrupted when police and soldiers moved in and a number of pupils were injured. A fire began in the Ilahi high school during demonstrations by pupils there, as a result of which a number of them were trapped. Many pupils of both girls' and boys' high schools were killed on this day as a result of the actions of the police and army.

² The Shah had ordered for various parties to be formed such as the "Mardom [People's] Party," the "Milliyun [Nationals'] Party" and the "Iran-e Novin [Modern Iran] 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 only 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* [The Modern History of Iran], p. 257.

³ It refers to the mass media on Mordad 27-28, 1357 AHS. At the time of the establishment of the Rastakhiz or National Resurgence Party, the Shah declared: "We must straighten out Iranians' ranks. To do so, we divide them into two categories: those who believe in Monarchy, the Constitution and the Sixth Bahman Revolution (i.e. the date on which the White Revolution was announced in 1963); and those who don't. . . . A person who does not enter the new political party and does not believe in the three cardinal principles which I referred to, will have only two choices. He is either an individual who belongs to an illegal organization, or is related to the outlawed Tudeh Party, or in other words, is a traitor. Such an individual belongs in an Iranian prison, or if he desires he can leave the country tomorrow, without even paying exit fees; he can go any where he likes, because he is not an Iranian, he has no nation, and his activities are illegal and punishable according to the law. . . . Everyone must be man enough to clarify his position in this country. He either approves of the conditions or he does not. As I said before, if his disapproval has treacherous overtones, his fate is clear. If it has ideological roots, he is free in Iran, but he should not have any expectations. . . . We expect everyone, any individual who has come of age, to vote, either to enter this new political structure or to clarify his position as of tomorrow or as soon as possible." (The Shah, speech of March 2, 1975, Ministry of Information and Tourism pamphlet, pp. 11-13.) Fred Halliday in his book *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*, (p. 48) adds: "The pressure was therefore on, for everyone to be seen to join the new entity: the ominous phrase he should not have any expectations' takes on a special meaning in a country where the state is the dominant patron and source of advancement. It would be a mistake to see Rastakhiz as simply designed to further the pretence that there exists in Iran a form of democracy that is in reality absent. These organizations have an additional and important purpose, namely to generate support for the regime and to provide a means of forcing people to compromise themselves by declarations of loyalty. Promotion, security, contacts—much can depend on whether someone

and persists with it so much, but now this very nation... has forced him to shift his ground. The people have forced him to say that this Rastakhiz Party is nothing. I said from the very beginning that this was not a party, that this was just talk. His other plans are the same. Gradually, he will say the same about the land reforms, because these were not reforms, they amounted to nothing other than acts of corruption. What did the land reform program do with its Literacy Corps—this corps that does nothing other than send people into the towns and villages to sing the Shah's praises and promote his image?

A united voice in Iran

Now all the people, from the remotest villages to the provincial capitals, stand unified and shout: "We do not want this Shah." Is any referendum

is a party member or not." However, by 1978, the Shah had been forced to think again, and in an interview given on the anniversary of the August 19 coup d'état, he said: "At that time we said that the party is for everyone which meant anyone could join it. Now we see that with the so-called open door policy and absolute, one hundred percent freedom, we no longer expect one hundred percent of the people to join this party. No. A person may not wish to join it for some reason. He may have another way of thinking. He will have this choice and has it now. And later, according to the law of the civilized, progressive world he will be able to say and write whatever he wants." Refer to the newspapers of August 18 and 19, 1978 [Mordad 27 and 28, 1357 AHS].

better than this? A whole nation is saying we do not want this, so what is America saying? It is our country and we do not want this Shah ruling it. He must go, and it has nothing to do with America. We will determine our own destiny. The destiny of each country must lie in the hands of its people. We do not want him, he must go and we will appoint someone ourselves. Our destiny should be based on rules, on reasonable, rational rules, on laws, and it should be in the hands of those who have the right to determine it.

At any rate, the duty of those of us here today, and the others who are out of the country is to help the Iranians. They have arisen; they have stood up—actually their movement is fifteen years old now, but it is only over the past year that it has become so strong, that it is proving effective. We are at a very critical stage in our history, perhaps there has never been such a period in Iranian history when the people have demonstrated such emotions, when seven- and eight-year-old school-children have taken to the streets in demonstrations shouting: “We do not want the Shah. Death to the Shah!” And as one small child is killed another comes forward and shouts the same slogan. Men and women do the same and the slogan is repeated throughout the country, in the traditional and modern learning institutions, the theological schools and the universities, in the bazaars and mosques. Wherever you go the slogan is the same. This is an unprecedented event; Iran has never witnessed such unanimity. I cannot remember anything like this happening before, and I believe that neither Iranian nor world history can recall such a time when all the people spoke with one voice and shouted one slogan. If the bayonets of America were removed, the army wouldn't support the Shah either. But the bayonets of America are there, America is supporting him. All our troubles are caused by America. If these bayonets were removed, the army would not support him, no one would. This is the situation in Iran now. I am very optimistic that this unity of purpose which exists in Iran now will allow the people to achieve their aims and will lead them to success.

The first fall, Shah and the second fall, America

A nation cannot be kept under martial law for ever. Now that martial law has been implemented, the people continue to resist. A country cannot be kept under martial law and held at bayonet-point for ever. There is no other way but to change the system. Mr. Carter can say whatever he likes, he can say that all that the Shah is doing is for freedom and progress, but nothing can stop what is happening in Iran today. The movement will progress. Yet still we who are over here have a duty to help. If I can speak out, even though

restraints have been imposed on my activities, you can surely speak out. Speak to your brothers over here, publish articles, do whatever you can. Help your friends in Iran, help your brothers who have risen up and are shedding their blood, in whatever way you can. The blood of young children as well as adults is being shed; we should do as much as we can to help them. We must speak out for them, we must use our pens and take other steps to help them so that, God willing, we may all join hands together and smash this barrier—this barrier which consists of Muḥammad Rida at the front and Carter behind. When this is shattered then the way to happiness lies open. For the happiness of you all and your nation lies beyond this barrier. I beseech God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant you success. My prayers are with you. May God keep you safe and, God willing, may you all endeavor to be beneficial to your country. God willing, when you return home you will be useful for your country and you will not be like this present ruling body. May God preserve you all.

Speech

Date: October 22, 1978 [Mehr 30, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 17, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Islam, the school of thought of movement and uprising against kings and capitalists

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Some of the gentlemen say that if I have any commands, they are ready to carry them out. I have no commands; they are not mine to give. The commands that we are now all mindful of and we must obey are the commands of God, for we are His servants and are making use of His blessings.

The awareness of the Iranian nation

The Iranian nation is an oppressed nation; it is a Muslim nation; it is a nation, which is blessed by God, and we who are the servants of God. Wherever we are, we must help the Iranian people as much as we can. This is not the time for commands, prohibitions, leadership or non-leadership—the situation does not call for such things. There is no leader and follower. Now all classes of our society, from our youth—our school children and our university and theological students to the merchants of the bazaar and farmers—all of them know what to do. They do not need to be guided by anyone.

The Pahlavi family and foreigners, the basis for Iran's problems

Now everyone knows what afflicts the Muslims, the nation of Iran, the Muslim nation and the school of Islam. They know what our problems are and how they should be solved; this is clear for everyone to a certain degree, God willing. We all know that the Iranian nation has lived under the yoke of the Pahlavi dynasty for more than fifty years, and that throughout this period the Pahlavi monarchs did whatever they wanted to this country. They tyrannized the people and acted as servants to the foreigners. This dynasty was initiated with the rule of Rida Khan, the servant of the British who

brought him to power.¹ In our more recent history, it has been his vicious son, the servant of America, who has dominated us. He himself confessed in one of his speeches (which was later reproduced in one of his books) that the Allies thought it fitting that he should be in control of affairs, but then later, this sentence was expunged from the book because it was felt that it was a disgrace for him to admit such a thing. But he had indeed said such a thing.

The foreigners are the root cause of our problems, and these problems of ours have not appeared recently, they have a long history. They began when the foreigners penetrated Iran and other countries of the East. The foreign experts studied all aspects of these countries and realized that they could derive much profit from the natural resources and minerals that they found there. They knew that to do this, they had to take these resources in whatever way necessary and not let the indigenous people make use of them. Their experts know where all our mineral reserves are. Once when I was in Hamedan, a former student of the religious sciences came to see me and showed me a large map on which all the villages of the Hamedan province were delineated. Certain places had been marked, and when I asked him what the marks signified he told me they indicated where minerals, petroleum or metals that had been located by foreign experts lay beneath the ground. This did not only happen in Hamedan. Their experts traveled through the deserts of Iran, on camels when they were the only means of transport, searching for our minerals, and when they found what they felt they could use, they marked the spot.

Islam and the clergy: obstacles in the way of imperialism

Over the past two hundred or three hundred years, they have also been successful in removing the obstacles, which impede their plans. They recognized Islam as being one of these obstacles and over these many years they strived to remove this barrier, which they realized would not allow them to attain their goals in the country. Their propagandists and experts...

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 Aḥmad Shah to appoint Sayyid Ziyaud-Din Tabatabai as the Prime Minister. Rida Khan gradually consolidated his position and took steps to establish a unified national army. In 1923, Aḥmad Shah appointed Rida Khan to act as Prime Minister 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 Aḥmad Shah was ousted from the throne and Rida Khan was elected as monarch. This article was ratified by the Majlis in spite of opposition voiced by the clergy and certain crusaders such as Mudarris.

disseminated deceitful propaganda against Islam. They did not present Islam as it truly is. They said that Islam, like all other religions... was a drug. They see all religions as being the opium of the people, as something used to opiate the people so whatever is taken from them they will not make a sound, and this is how they presented Islam. Throughout this long period the propagandists of these exploitative oil-devourers have constantly spread this notion, such that many of our youth who do not have enough information about Islam, who lack a correct understanding of what the Quran really is, what it contains, what it demands, what solutions it offers for the problems of the day, have been deceived by them. They believe their propaganda without realizing what lies behind it and where it has its roots.

Quran, the Book that rouses (the people)

Today, there are those both abroad and sometimes within Iran itself who introduce our youth to certain ideologies which are neither scientifically nor politically founded, rather they are perversions that have been created and propagated in order to turn people away from Islam. For these exploiters and oil-devourers have realized that if the people recognize Islam for what it truly is, then the way would not be open for their penetration of Muslim lands and the devouring of their oil. Islam leaves no way open for them, and if the Quran is studied correctly, then it becomes clear that it is not a book which seeks to stupefy; it is a book that seeks to rouse (the people). It was this book, which stirred those Arabs, who at that time knew nothing to topple the mighty, oppressive empires. If the Quran and the teachings of Islam were opiates, then the Muslim armies would not have spread throughout the world and destroyed the empires of the time as they did. The battles fought by the founders of Islam or the founders of other divine, monotheistic ideologies, have always involved the prophets and the people on one side, against the monarchs on the other. Moses, may God's peace be upon him, took his shepherd's staff and set off toward Pharaoh's palace to destroy it. Pharaoh did not use Moses to stupefy the people so that he could continue with his oppression; rather Moses took his staff and stopped his tyranny. The Prophet of Islam (s), when appointed, did the same. One only needs to look at history to see whether the Prophet acted in the interests of those capitalists of Hijaz, Taif, Mecca and such places and encouraged apathy among the people so that these capitalists could do with them as they wished, or whether he stirred these weak, oppressed people, destitute people, to battle with these capitalists until they defeated them or made human beings out of some of them.

Islam's declaration of war on the kings and capitalists

...When our youth hear of these spurious ideologies they do not stop to consider, they do not pay enough attention to what those promoting them are saying and why they speak so highly of such an ideology as communism. They do not look to see what the aim behind this action is. The aim is to present the Muslims and Islam in such a way as to cause our youth to turn away from Islam. Islam is portrayed as being a means to allow the aristocrats and the noblemen to gain dominance over the people and to prevent them from objecting. Well, they obviously have not read the Quran to see what the message of Islam is. The Quran contains numerous verses concerned with battle. Islam has declared war on these capitalists, on these kings, these monarchs; it does not help them to plunder the people.

The resistance of the leaders of Islam to Kings

The *ulama* of Islam, the Prophet of Islam, the Imams of Islam, all of them opposed the kings of their day. [Harun] who reigned under the title of "caliph," imprisoned Hadrat Musa ibn Jafar (*a*) for ten or fifteen years. Why? Because he prayed? Both Harun and Mamun prayed. They were even the congregational prayer leaders and the leaders of the Friday prayers. So did Harun imprison Imam Musa because he prayed? Did he have him arrested because he was a *sayyid*, a descendant of the Prophet, or because he was an Imam? Was this the reason? No, he arrested and imprisoned him because Imam Musa opposed his rule; he opposed the rule of the *taghut*—the illegitimate regime. His opposition to Harun's regime caused all his problems. He was not arrested simply because he prayed or because he was a good man or because he was a descendant of the Prophet. No, for Harun himself invoked the Prophet's name when he called the *adhan*¹ and he praised him. Imam Musa was arrested and imprisoned because he opposed Harun's regime.

The ever-fortified scholars

From the outset and throughout each period of history, our *ulama* have staged uprisings. History relates their struggles and their defeats. At the time of the Imams, their sons rose up with the encouragement of the Imams themselves; it wasn't the case that the Imams were unaware of the actions of their sons. On occasion, the Imams (*a*) would speak out in defense of the caliphs or for some other reason, but in reality it was they who instigated the

¹ *Adhan*: the call to prayer.

uprisings against them. The Imams praised Zayd so highly for his uprising; would they have done so had they believed him to have done something wrong? Why did they speak so highly of him? Why did they mourn him so if he was in the wrong? How many uprisings of the *ulama* have we ourselves witnessed in our own lifetime—these *ulama* whom the leftists and others who have gone astray describe as being court-affiliated? Those who make such statements have not looked into the matter deeply enough, they are too young to remember the uprisings, and they turn a deaf ear to accounts of the many times during the rule of Rida Shah and Muhammad Rida Shah that the *ulama* of Islam rose up against these Pahlavis who suppressed the people so. One time it was the *ulama* of Isfahan, at another the *ulama* of Azerbaijan, at yet another, the *ulama* of Mashhad or Qum who came together and declared their opposition.

Creating an atmosphere against Islam and the clergy

When did these *ulama* work for the interests of the court? Of course, in all social groups the world, over, one finds a few people who are insincere and work for the rulers, and this rings true for our society too. But that does not mean to say that ours is an ideology that opiates the people or that those in whose hands this ideology lies have always been the allies of the oppressors and the friends of the monarchs. No, this is not so. This is all just propaganda. They have used this propaganda on you... The oil-devourers have promoted these ideas saying so-and-so is a British agent in order to destroy that gentleman's reputation. The British themselves allow such ideas to circulate, for they know that they are held in such low esteem by the people that if someone is seen to be associated with them, then he too will be regarded in the same light. That gentleman is a British agent, that one has relations with America, that one has relations with somewhere else! They attempt to destroy the reputation of the clergymen one after the other. Some of our more credulous youth have been deluded by these ideologies. You have been deceived gentlemen. Do not think that these are true ideologies; *tawhid* is the only true ideology.

A glance at the leaders of Islam and communism

Take a look at the life of the Messenger of God (s), who brought us the ideology of Islam, or the Commander of the Faithful (Imam Ali) (a) who was his rightful successor. What kind of life did Imam Ali lead? He was a ruler whose dominions were extensive, a few times larger than Iran, spreading over an area from Hijaz to Africa and further. Yet look at how he

lived, how he spent his days and nights, how he worshipped, how he acted toward the people, how he treated the poor and weak. He was constantly worried lest he had eaten bread to eat while someone in a remote corner of his realm went hungry. Yet these leaders who deceive you with their ideologies eat so much that they develop stomach problems!¹ When the Chinese leader, that lover of humankind, stayed in Iran for a few days, he saw what the situation was; he passed over the dead bodies of our people. The Shah could not take him through the streets because the people were demonstrating and shouting: “Death to the Shah,” so he took him to his residence by helicopter. He knew what was happening. This person who espouses the communist ideology, who claims to be with the people, with the masses, was aware that the Shah was killing all these people, yet still he went to Iran and shook hands with him and accepted the invitations offered him by the Shah’s sister...

They are deceiving you gentlemen! I can remember during the Second World War, when that head of the communists came to Iran along with the heads of the Allied Forces, Churchill² arrived in his own car; Roosevelt also came in a conventional manner. Stalin,³ however, arrived with his own milk cow, because he was afraid that the milk in Iran would cause him some kind of upset! I myself can vouch for this. At the time, everyone was talking about how Stalin had brought his own cow along with him. I saw for myself the state of his army in this country. Khorasan province was in the hands of the Russian army and I myself witnessed Russian soldiers begging for cigarettes along the Khorasan road. The people in Iran called them “brothers!” What kind of fraternal relationship did they have with this man who wanted to put these poor wretches to sleep with this ideology and then plunder them? It is the communist ideology, which is the opium of the people, not the Quran.

When the leading followers of the Quran went into battle, they did so against the oppressors. They lived a virtuous life, a life more modest than that of others. Islam is a true ideology, not one that produces a leader who takes a cow with him because he will only drink the milk, which it produces; a leader who plunders the people, who oppresses them more than anyone

¹ Stomach problems stemming from overeating.

² Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill (1874-1964): the celebrated British statesman. He became Prime Minister in May 1940 and served as war leader until 1945.

³ Joseph Vissarionovich (1879-1953), known as Stalin (the Iron Man), was a member of the central Bolshevik Party, who took over the leadership of the Soviet Union upon the death of Lenin. He was a great politician and a high profile personality of the Russian Revolution who stood by Lenin till the latter’s death.

else! It used to be said that Mr. Lenin¹ calculated everything... and that he had calculated that whoever could earn enough to meet his expenses had the right to live, but whoever could not had to be killed, had to be thrown into the sea! This is the doctrine of this “lover-of-mankind,” of he who claims to be the provider of the people! In what way does he practice the preaching of an ideology which claims to be more mindful of the poor and weak who cannot work than it is of the rich and the aristocratic; an ideology which claims to take care of the poor and help them financially?

Communist SAVAK

They² are playing you along, gentlemen. God knows they are deceiving you. They have deceived our youth abroad, and many of those in Iran who claim to be communists are in fact security agents who are out to deceive the people. They even went to Behesht-e Zahra³ and began shouting communist slogans, but the people grabbed them and threw them out for they knew that they were from SAVAK.⁴ The regime also sent some SAVAK agents to the university to shout communist slogans. They were not communists, they were security agents sent to frighten the people into thinking that were the

¹ Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov: founder of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), inspirer and leader of the Bolshevik Revolution (1917), and the first head of the Soviet state (1917-24). As a thinker, he was the formulator of Marxism-Leninism, which until the late 1980s and early 1990s was the official ideology of the Soviet Union and several other communist nations.

² It refers to the Marxist groups.

³ Behesht-e Zahra: the grand cemetery located in the southern part of Tehran.

⁴ SAVAK: The bill for the formation of SAVAK, The State Security and Intelligence Organization, was passed by Parliament in 1956 [1335 AHS] and the organization was subsequently officially established in 1957 [1336 AHS]. SAVAK's mission was to quash and confront any Islamic struggle or opposition to the regime. SAVAK was closely linked to the intelligence agencies of both America and Israel (CIA and MOSSAD) and gradually it turned into a terrorist organization. This institution, which in fact served as the CIA's headquarters, possessed several investigative and detective teams. In order to obtain information from those they had arrested, SAVAK would firstly send the latter to torture chambers, after which it would hand its captives over to rubber-stamp courts where, after the passing of a predetermined court verdict, the accused would be convicted and taken to horrendous prisons. The cruelty and callousness of SAVAK was so great that the Secretary General of Amnesty International, in a report made in 1975 stated: “No country in the world has a worse record in human rights than Iran. . . In order to obtain confessions, the torturers of SAVAK subject its captives to beatings and electric shocks. It employs all kinds of horrendous and inhumane methods to achieve its ends; the inflicting of agonizing pain on the sexual organs and the sexual assault of the wives and daughters of the captives before the latter's very eyes, are but two of such atrocities perpetrated.” The Shah was fully aware of SAVAK's practices. This organization was abolished by Iranian Muslims in 1978 [1357 AHS] and its torturers were prosecuted in revolutionary courts.

Aryamehr to go, everything would fall into complete disarray and the communists would take over. However, this would not be the case; if the Shah were to go, Iran would become a much better place for this hindrance would have gone and Iran could get on with putting its affairs in order.

Plundering of oil and setting up of a base

The Iranian people are not saying now that they have one leader and one guide. Everyone is a leader; everyone knows what the situation is. They are all saying that they do not want this regime, which has oppressed them from its inception, which has given away everything they had, which has given their oil away gratuitously. If only it had been given away for free! The Shah and his regime gave away our oil and in return the Americans sent arms and set up bases for themselves in Iran! They first took our oil and then set up bases for themselves! The people of Iran, from the children to the elderly, are all crying out: "Death to this regime, which causes us so much suffering." They are shouting out for freedom. Over the past fifty years (of Pahlavi rule), nothing has been free in this country. Our press was never free; our preachers never enjoyed freedom of speech; our *ulama* were never free; our universities never functioned as they should have done, nothing was right. Now the people are taking a stand and shouting that they want freedom; they want independence; they do not want to depend on others for everything like parasites. They want to be independent; they want to administer their country themselves. They are shouting for freedom.

Carter's wit

I read in the newspapers recently that Mr. Carter had said that the people in Iran are making such a hue and cry because the Shah has given them a "quick democracy" and a "quick freedom" which they cannot tolerate. It was written in the newspapers—the *Ittilaat* or *Kayhan*—that this is the reason for the people's opposition to him, that all of this opposition is because he has given them this "quick freedom!" Thus, what all these people who have taken to the streets shouting, "Give us freedom," really mean to say is "Do not give us freedom"! Of course, they do not want the freedom that the Shah has given them, for we all know what that has entailed: the imprisonment of our *ulama*, our politicians and our bazaar merchants; and now groups of young boys and girls, men and women languish in his goals too. What was their crime? They merely uttered a word against him! This is the freedom that we Iranians have! Yet supposedly, Mr. Carter believes that all our discontent arises from this fast democracy that the Shah has given us and this

progressive country and society, which he has tried to create. He makes out that we do not want to progress, that we want to ride around on donkeys!... These are not, however, Carter's true beliefs, they are but his tricks. He thinks that he can deceive the people in this way, but let me tell him that the people no longer accept these tricks that he plays; they are no longer deceived by these games. The people now know the truth of the matter.

Assisting and sympathizing with the Iranian resistance

Be that as it may, I have told everyone who has come to see me that they have a duty to perform. I, a student of religion, who sits here, you sitting there, all of you, wherever you live and under whatever circumstances, are duty bound to participate with the nation of Iran in their uprising. You who are in Europe, there are no battlefields as such here for you to go to, they lie in Iran, it is there that the battle takes place, that the people are beaten up, killed and shed their blood in combat. It is not like that here. But still you can contribute; you can help the Iranian people by propagating their cause. Each one of you must be acquainted with at least ten or twenty Europeans wherever you are in Europe, they may be your friends, so tell them what the situation is in Iran, tell them why the Iranians are making such an outcry. Adverse propaganda is being disseminated against the movement in Iran and against Islam. You must tell people here that we have not begun this struggle because of the reasons he (Carter) gives, that we are not opposing the Shah and his regime because they have given us freedom and we do not want it. The Iranian people have risen up because they do not have freedom and they want it. The Shah and his regime have betrayed us. They are giving the country's wealth to America. They are giving our oil to America and they are giving it in such a way that according to the Shah himself the country will have nothing left in thirty years' time. Who has brought about this situation for us? The Shah himself, he is at fault. Our oil reserves are being exhausted, and who is doing this? He is, because he is selling more than is necessary and the country is getting nothing for it. The people are now recognizing these acts of treachery; they are saying that they no longer want these traitors. This is why the people are shouting.

You who are here today, I, a theologian, who sits here, you sir sitting there, you university student, you high-school pupil, all you men and women, you can propagate the cause of the Iranian nation. Each one of you, wherever you live, explain the problems in Iran to those you are in contact with. If each member of this community of a few thousand Iranians residing abroad, tells ten or twenty people over here about what is happening in Iran, then a wave

of public opinion will be created and this in itself will have been a service. People are asking me all the time if they should return to Iran. No, it is not necessary. You can play a role in the movement by propagating its cause wherever you live over here, whether it is in France, Germany, America, or wherever. When you attend your schools or other institutions, tell the people you meet there about the situation of the Iranian people. You know the language; you can speak; so stop and speak to the people where you are. Tell them what is happening in Iran, what the problems of the people are. Tell them that their problems are caused by Mr. Carter and others like him, like Russia. Russia takes our gas and America takes our oil. They are plundering our resources. Tell these people this, and gradually, because of your efforts, these people who have been misled by the propaganda that they are exposed to over here may come to understand your problems. They are human beings too, when they learn of the suffering of the innocent Iranian nation and are told the truth about events in Iran, this large community over here will support your cause and maybe then their leaders will leave us alone.

The Shah has ruined our agriculture; he is exhausting our oil supplies. In a few years' time we will have neither agriculture nor oil, then how will this nation survive? Our nation is now crying out that this traitor must go, they are shouting "death to this monarchy" and, God willing, it will be swept away. When a nation wants something, God willing, it will achieve it. You who are resident over here can help your people, you can propagate their cause and this would prove to be most valuable. You are responsible before God. Do not suppose that because you are over here, you are, thank God, relieved of any responsibility. No, this is not the case. You are responsible before God; each one of you has a duty to speak out wherever you go and to whomever you meet. Do not worry about whether your words will be accepted or not, go ahead and propagate the cause and this will be effective. Gradually, through your efforts, a wave of support for the Iranian nation will be created in Europe and this may force the Western leaders to leave us alone.

Self-development and readiness for the future

May God grant you all success (the audience thanks him). May He assist you so that you will all become of benefit to Iran and Islam. Endeavor to be of service to these people in Iran who from all social classes are either languishing in prisons or shedding their blood for your sakes, for the improvement of your country. Help them and pray for them. Train yourselves so that if tomorrow this regime falls and you return to Iran and are given a

post, you will not act as those in the Shah's regime did. Usually when we have nothing we are good people, but as soon as something comes into our hands, that changes! You must strive to purify yourselves, adhere to the teachings of Islam and act accordingly. Make yourselves virtuous people, so that when, God willing, the destiny of the country comes into the hands of the people (which will hopefully be soon) you may return and administer your own country. I apologize that our house is small and that not many people can come inside, but we have to make do with it.

Speech

Date: October 22, 1978 [Mehr 30, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 19, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Allah's uprising and its role; the black record of the Pahlavi family

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Individual or societal mission

*"Say: I do admonish you to do one thing, to rise up for God; it may be in pairs or it may be singly..."*¹ God, the Exalted, has determined our duties. He tells the Prophet to inform the people that He admonishes them to do one thing; listen carefully, that one important thing which God wishes to exhort us all to do, which He commissioned His Most Noble Messenger to inform us what we must do, is to rise up for God, in pairs or alone. The admonisher is God, the Blessed and Exalted, the conveyer is the Prophet and the admonition is to do one thing, to rise up for God, either in pairs, which is the least number of people in a group, or alone.

Hadrat Moses (*a*) was given the mission to go to Pharaoh and invite him to God. He was sent to Pharaoh, a man with great power, he had more power than our Pharaoh has—as can be seen from the pyramids of Egypt—he even laid claim to divinity! Yet Moses was to be sent alone to confront him. Moses pleaded for his brother to accompany him... to support him. So the order came for both of them to go, to go and invite Pharaoh to God so that he may fear God and mend his ways, that he may become a (true) human being. Moses (*a*) was at first told to go alone, but after requesting God, the Blessed and Exalted, to allow his brother to accompany him, the order was given for them both to go and invite Pharaoh to the Truth.

Today, we do not need to wait for the means, for the money or the guns and tanks before we rise up for God, all that matters is that the uprising is for God.

Attaching importance to the affairs of the *ummah*

Your uprising, your movement, should be for the sake of God, the Exalted, and for the benefit of the Muslims. God, the Blessed and Exalted,

¹ Surah Saba 34:46.

wants us to pay attention to the affairs of Muslims: “He who arises in the morning and gives no thought to the affairs of the Muslims is not a Muslim.”¹ A Muslim is someone who attaches importance to remedying the affairs of the Muslims. This movement is for the good of a nation, it is not a movement which will benefit only one person. It is not a personal affair; it is not as if someone is doing something for himself so others have the excuse to say: “Leave him to it.” This movement is for the benefit of Islam, which is more precious than anything. It is for the benefit of a nation. A nation of thirty-odd million is being suppressed every day. People are being killed or thrown into prison daily. Now as we sit here, we do not know what is happening in Iran, but everyday we hear reports about such and such a city, such and such a school, such and such a university. What is certain is that the people have risen; they have awakened and have protested. Protecting is not like this (that there are no lives lost)... This is the result of the pressures, which, over these past fifty years, have created a complex in the hearts of the people. Now that they have found a way out through their newly-discovered unity, their ideological unity, they are ridding themselves of this complex. The uprising is an uprising for God, for Islam and to remedy the affairs of the Muslims.

Changing the Islamic calendar, Shah’s greatest treason

If you weigh everything that we have lost because of this man, all the crimes that this man has perpetrated and the treason that he has committed—from giving our oil away to foreigners, ruining our agriculture, destroying our culture, to throwing away the dignity of our army—against the changes he made to our calendar, against his changing the Islamic *hijrah* calendar to one of the fire-worshippers;² you will see that this act of his is more significant and weighs the heaviest. Do not suppose that had the nation given him more time, this would have been the only move he would have made against Islam. Changing the calendar was merely the first step. The Zoroastrians were so pleased about it that they wrote to him saying that no one had done their religion as much service as he had! No one has done the Zoroastrian religion, the religion of the fire-worshippers, as much service! Changing the Islamic calendar was his first step; he had other plans but, thank God, the nation gave him a punch in the mouth before he could carry them out and now he has even had to reinstate the Islamic calendar. The pillars that he has erected are being destroyed one by one because of the

¹ *Usul al-Kafi* vol. 2, p. 163.

² It refers to the pre-Islamic chain of Magian imperial dynasties.

blow that the people have delivered him. You must be patient; one by one these pillars will crumble. Just look at all the fuss that was made about the Rastakhiz Party over these last few years. The Shah sang his own praises loudly and even made non-membership of the party illegal—he who does not even know what law is—declaring that whoever did not join should get his passport and leave the country for he was no longer an Iranian. Such an important matter the Rastakhiz Party once was for him, but now it has come to naught and it is no longer recognized as a party! These pillars are crumbling. The Islamic calendar has had to be reintroduced and his party has been destroyed.

Transfer of national jewelries and other wealth to America

But now we are faced with another danger, and that is the transfer of the nation's wealth abroad. Today, two reports were given to me; one came from Iran and the other from one of the gentlemen here who had some information. The report from Iran indicated that yesterday, apparently, gold and the crown jewels were transferred to America. His father, Rida Khan, did the same thing when the Allies invaded Iran and expelled him. The Allied invasion of Iran is a story in itself... three big powers: Britain, the Soviet Union and America... poured into our country. It happened during the Civil War,¹ these three powers invaded our country from three points and the army about which Rida Khan used to rave so much—and now his son is doing the same only in much stronger terms—could not resist them even for one hour...

Public rejoicing at the fall of Rida Khan

The Allies invaded us, and, well, just the fact that foreigners had entered our country was itself a disaster for the nation. It was war time and they wanted to pass through Iran, but in reality they planned to remain there, and in their war with Germany they wanted Iran to be their “bridge of victory,” as they put it. When they sent Rida Shah into exile, God knows that instead of mourning, the people rejoiced. He was so beloved of his people, just as his son is now! The king-loving nation of Iran loved their king so much that when the armies of three countries entered their land and plundered it, seizing it bit by bit; when the country faced all kinds of dangers from all directions—for the people did not know that the Allied armies would not harm them; they didn't know that the Allies were only interested in achieving

¹ That is, World War II.

their own goals—still the people were happy because the Allies had come and sent this wretch away with all the troubles that went with him! Such was the situation at that time, and now today had the people not risen, had the Muslims and Iranians, may God assist them, not begun this movement, this man would not have stopped here. He would not have been satisfied with what he has already done, he had many more plans.

Rida Khan's story

At the time when the Allies came and sent Rida Shah away, an informed person told me how one of the high-ranking officials who had traveled with Rida Shah some of the way, perhaps even to the island of Mauritius, on the ship that was taking him into exile, had related to him that Rida Shah had taken numerous suitcases with him which were full of the Iranian crown jewels. These "crown" jewels did not belong to the king; they were the country's assets. This same person was told by the official that on the way, a ship used for transporting animals stopped the ship carrying this animal (Rida Shah) and that the (British) agents on board ordered Rida Shah to board their ship. When he asked them what he should do with all his suitcases, they told him to leave them where they were, that they would take care of them. And deal with them they did! They took him to the island and carried his suitcases off with themselves! Such a blow he inflicted on our country right at the time of leaving. He left, but he took the crown jewels with him. And now today we received a call from Iran to the effect that Muḥammad Rida Pahlavi has sent gold and the crown jewels...to America. Whether he has sent them there for his own use or whether the Americans will take them, we do not know, but they have been taken from the pocket of our nation. The people were not able to stop this thief from doing this, but they should try to prevent him from stealing anything else, God willing.

Buying and selling of the usurped

The second report that...I received came from one of the informed gentlemen here. He told me that the cost of constructing the magnificent casinos on that island,¹ as well as the other expenditures for facilitating the activities of the buffoons of the world who came to gamble there, was met by the Pahlavi Foundation. That is it came from the pious bequests of the people and from the wealth of the nation. This gentleman continued by saying that now that the Shah and his regime have realized that their days in power are

¹ It refers to the Kish island of Iran along the Persian Gulf.

numbered, they have sold these buildings to the oil company to get the money. They have stolen as much of the nation's wealth as they could up until now and transferred it abroad, and what is left they are now changing into money and sending it out of the country. This is the situation in our country at present. Some gentlemen have said: "Let him go, let him do whatever he wants as long as he leaves, it's worth him taking this money with him as long as he leaves." However, the people should try to prevent this.

A popular uprising with Allah's will

Our nation has now risen, and its uprising is unprecedented in the history of Iran. I do not say that it has little precedent; rather it has no precedent in Iran's history. Never before in Iran's history has the whole of the country risen for one cause. Whenever there was an uprising, it was a case of only one city rising; Tehran rose, or, as during the Constitutional Revolution,¹ Tabriz² and Rasht³ and gradually some other cities also joined in until the matter was settled. However, there has never been a popular movement in our country on the scale that we hear of today. There are demonstrations taking place now in cities which have never risen before; people are being killed during these demonstrations and all the people are shouting the same thing: "Death to this Pahlavi monarchy." This is unprecedented in our history. Yes, there have been uprisings before, there has even been a revolution, but not one that has engulfed the whole of the country in this way and during which the call of the people has been the same nationwide. This has been brought about by the will of God, the Exalted. Such a feat cannot be

¹ What has become known as the Constitutional Revolution took place due to the chaotic situation in Iran at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the popular protest over the tyranny of the governors and agents of the dictatorial regime and the unruly officials of the government, the weakness and ineptitude of the then king Muzaffar ad-Din Shah, and finally the rising awareness among the people and revolt of the clerics and *ulama*. Years of struggle by the people culminated in the victory of the Constitutional Revolution in 1906.

Although the Constitutional Movement was derailed from its proper path, it was able to transform the social organization in Iran, to destroy class privileges, to obliterate the power of the courtiers, and great landowners, and to establish justice and the rule of law. However, with the influence of the Westernized elements, and eliminating the clergies from the political scene and governance, the Constitutional Movement did not achieve its desired objectives and finally with the coup staged by Rida Khan, the father of Iran's ex-Shah, a monarchical rule once again emerged in Iran.

² Tabriz: the provincial capital of Eastern Azerbaijan in the north-western part of Iran.

³ Rasht: the provincial capital of Gilan in the northern part of Iran along the Caspian Sea.

achieved by man; one should not say that so-and-so has done this. This is the doing of God, the Blessed and Exalted, it has happened because He willed it.

Freedom, man's primary right

When all the people of a country are united in their aims, martial law or a military coup d'état cannot stop them. This nation is now moving forward like a roaring flood with the aim of uprooting this Pahlavi dynasty, and it will succeed. Do not think that the superpowers, America and the Soviet Union, will stop this from happening; have no fear for they cannot oppose the will of a nation, especially the legitimate and just will of a nation. If you ask these people why this man should go, they would tell you how they have suffered under his rule, how for fifty years under the rule of this dynasty they have been imprisoned and suppressed; and if you ask them what they want, they will say they now want to be free. Freedom is a basic human right. Man should be free, he should enjoy freedom of expression, freedom of action, and he should be free in his own country.

Fifty years of treason with the assistance of America and Israel

Yet this nation has not even had a whiff of freedom during the fifty years that this father and son have ruled over it. Do not think that it is only now that the press is not free; at the time of Rida Shah it was not free either. I can remember that neither the press was free nor were the people free to speak out during his reign. Throughout the Pahlavi rule, the clergy have not been free to disseminate religious teachings, the preachers have been unable to express themselves freely from the pulpit; our *ulama* have not been allowed to speak out freely on a matter, nor have the merchants of our bazaars, our academics or our political groups. If they opened their mouths they were thrown into prison where they had to endure all kinds of torture, they were burnt by being laid over something that was heated until it was red hot, or were subjected to other methods of torture about which you have all heard. It is said that experts from Israel were brought in to teach the best methods of torturing the people both physically and mentally.

Revolutionary nation and revolutionary Iran

This was the state of our troubled country. Now, however, the people have had enough, they have reached their limit, such that the father whose son is killed says: "I am proud that such a thing has happened in the way of God and for the freedom of our country." Some of the mothers who visit me have stated: "We are happy, we have given our sacrifices and, God willing,

He will grant them their reward.” This is the attitude of the people now. The country of Iran is now a revolutionary country and its people have become a revolutionary people. This revolutionary nation cannot be silenced by such things. That which they want and which constitutes the last phase of their movement is to sever the treacherous hands of the foreigners from their country and to take control of its destiny and administer it themselves. They want to have control over their culture and education; they want their army to be in their own hands, this is the common aim of our nation and they are pursuing it like a roaring flood, which no one can stop.

At present, both America and the Soviet Union are studying the situation. It will not be the case that guns and tanks will be brought into the country... or that two superpowers will confront one another here, one reacting when the other makes a move. They themselves will not be able to reach a compromise on Iran. These two powers are not going to pour into the country and divide it as the Shah is saying. This kind of talk is nonsense. He has taken everything so what is there left to divide? We want to be independent; we want to drive the foreigners out of our country. The country will be divided! What nonsense is this he is saying... He also says that if he goes the communists will take over! This is all the talk of the regime. The security organization (SAVAK) tried to create a scene...that is, it sent some of its agents to shout communist slogans in a demonstration at the university. It tried to do the same at Behesht-e Zahra but the people caught onto them and stopped them, saying, “You are not communists, you are SAVAK agents!” There are no communists in Iran. Do not be afraid of what this wretch says, he is saying it for his own benefit. There are no communists in Iran; the people are all Muslim. This man¹ says that this party is his. Where are the communists? If a few young people who are not from SAVAK sometimes say certain things, it is because they have been deceived, when they realize what is going on.

Communism, a lost cause

Who is a communist? Will thirty million Muslims allow Iran to become a communist state? Communism is a lost cause in the world today. Indeed, it has been defeated, for the people have realized that Marxism or communism is an opiate used to lull the people to sleep! The Soviet Union used it to put her people to sleep; China did the same. These larger countries want to devour the smaller ones and they use this ideology to deceive the people (and

¹ The Secretary General of the Tudeh Party.

facilitate their plans). A few of our own young people have been deceived and they think that communism is the answer to their problems. This is not the case. Communism is one of the world's defeated ideologies and is not worth paying attention to.

Standing behind the Iranian people

Be that as it may, as I have stressed many times before to those who have visited me here, I would like once again to say that I feel it is imperative for you gentlemen to propagate the Iranian cause. This is the duty of those of us who are residing abroad, it is a duty, which we can all act upon, and which I believe will prove to be very effective. Each of us, wherever we are, should make people aware of the situation in Iran. At school, at university, wherever, tell your friends how he is destroying everything. He has ruined our agriculture; he is keeping our education in a state of backwardness; he doesn't let our youth develop correctly and be guided to the right path. He has created so many centers of corruption with the aim of depraving our youth. These are all plots, which the regime has devised or which others have devised and it is implemented in order to make our people indifferent toward social affairs and keep them from having anything to do with religion. So there are cabarets where we can go to spend a few hours, there are centers of corruption where we can go to gratify our sensual appetites while we remain oblivious to what befalls Iran, what befalls its wealth and its culture. To the best of our capabilities, we should enlighten public opinion abroad as to the situation in Iran. The foreign newspapers are reporting on events there and the national press within Iran is also gradually commenting on the situation; now you too tell your foreign friends what you know. You Iranians who are abroad now form a large community, *masha Allah* [well done];¹ if each of you informs ten people then a large section of society here will be enlightened and gradually a wave of support for you and your nation will be created, which will prove effective and valuable. This is a duty, which we must undertake. When our friends, our brothers in Iran are sacrificing their children, when everywhere in the universities, bazaars and mosques blood is being shed and lives are being given, the least you can do is take the trouble to help them by speaking out on these matters and attracting the attention of the press. They are looking for fresh news. Find it and place it at their disposal, so that, God willing, a great wave of support for your cause will be

¹ *Masha Allah* is an Islamic expression which means 'well done', 'may God preserve you, him, etc. from evil eye', 'what wonders God has wrought!' or 'what God has willed!' depending on the context.

created which will make your task easier and remove this barrier blocking the way of the Muslims. Then, God willing, things will be different, and, God willing, our plan for a just and honorable government, which will answer the needs of the poor—not a government that is only for the rich and wealthy—will come to pass. We want a government, which will take care of the poor and wretched, those who have no water, or electricity.

A scenario of the people's poverty and adversity

Perhaps many of you gentlemen are unaware that some of the villages around Shiraz are without drinking water. Some of the people from this area are in contact with me and they tell me how they have to walk for miles in order to get drinking water for their children from a storage tank, in which water from the winter rain has been collected. They asked my permission to use some of the charitable donations and said they would put some of their own money toward the construction of a water-storage tank in their own village so that at least the women and children would not have to walk so far for water.

Yet we still hear talk of this progressive country'. You can see the progress' of which they speak, and the freedom. They say that at his (the Shah's) time, the country was free, with free men and free women! Yet you can see there are no free men, women or children. The regime kills both small children and old men.

Commanders called "kolis"!

They then describe their killers as *kolis*'.¹ This is a new name that the regime is using now, its agents pose as *kolis* and attack a place, a theological school or a university, beating and killing people and the police stand by and let them do whatever they want. At one time the regime created a "group of avengers" who were bent on blowing up people's homes, and now its agents pose as *kolis* and attack the people. When they attacked the Faydiyyah Madrasah, they did so pretending to be peasants.² Peasants! How was it that

¹ The *kolis* were a group of people who usually lived in tents or huts on the outskirts of towns and cities in the south of the country and struggled (sometimes turning to crime) to make ends meet. After the army's failure to stop the progress of the Revolution following the killings of September 8 [Shahrivar 17: Black Friday], the Shah's regime adopted a new approach. It employed criminals and rogues to attack the gatherings and demonstrations of the people around the country under the guidance and support of armed agents from the military and security forces. These people became known as the regime's thugs and their attack on the Friday mosque in Kerman serves as an example of the regime's new tactics.

² Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS [March 22, 1963].

they were all wearing eau de cologne if they were peasants!?! (The audience laughs). What kind of peasants were they? Posing as peasants it was SAVAK agents who assaulted the Faydiyyah Madrasah and did what they did there, and now they pose as “*kolis*” in their attacks. In any case, we are all duty bound to help our brothers who have risen for their nation. You gentlemen here can help by propagating their cause to the best of your ability. I cannot say to what extent you can do this, you yourselves know how well informed you are of the situation in Iran.

Shah’s black record

I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant you all success and health, and I pray for you all. God willing, Iran will become an independent, free Iran, an Iran which belongs to you; not like today’s Iran which does not belong to us and which is being plundered from all directions—one takes its gas, another its oil, another its copper, another its forests and another its pasturelands. We have proof for what I am saying. They have given the good pasturelands of Iran to the Queen of England and some of the plutocracy there. The best of our forestland has apparently been given to Austria, and yet the regime says that it has nationalized these lands. The Shah gives our resources away to foreigners and pockets the money himself. Can this be called nationalization gentlemen, when the country no longer has animal husbandry, when there is nowhere for the livestock to graze?

This is the animal husbandry situation in Iran, it has been destroyed and now frozen meat is imported from abroad. Iran had no need for these imports before, but these are the blessings given to us by this Shah! Our animal husbandry has been destroyed, as has our agriculture. Our oil is being taken now at such a rate that, as the government itself says, reserves will be exhausted in twenty or thirty years’ time. It is being taken through pipes so large that it is said a man can walk freely into them; and there are not only one or two such pipes, there are many! Every few minutes a large tanker is filled with oil! This is how they are taking the country’s oil, and in return they build bases for America and buy arms for these bases. Do you think they are buying these weapons for us? The Iranians do not know how to use these weapons. No, the Americans want to make bases in Iran, so they take our oil and build bases for themselves in return! This is the situation in our country. So much for our progress and our progressive society! Carter speaks of a progressive society and a free nation! He says the Shah has given us a quick freedom’ and a quick democracy’. This is the quick democracy and the

progressive society that you witness in Iran now. May God preserve you all and may you be successful.

Dialogue

Date: October 1978 [Aban 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Subject: Rejection of governments' mediation during the process of the Revolution

Addressee: Gen. Dīya (Zia) al-Haqq's (then President of Pakistan) cabinet minister¹

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

[Minister: We are very pleased to be here. Allamah Turabi, who has been one of Ayatullah's pupils, encouraged us to make this trip. We are all worried about Iran. In the present century, Pakistan, for the first time, propounded the issue of establishing an Islamic Republic. In Pakistan, the government is based on Islamic rules and the system is Islamic. We, especially the Shiah, are very concerned. Although the relation between the Shiah and the Sunnis is good, it is not good enough. We are waiting to see changes in Iran and the progress of the Revolution, and to see the effects it may have on the Shiah-Sunni relationship.]

Imam: I hope that we succeed in this Iranian Islamic movement, which is specifically Islamic and is carried out to achieve Islamic goals with absolutely humane intentions, and that our dream, which is Islam and its commands—in which the Muslims' independence and freedom has been guaranteed—come true. I hope we achieve this victory. These Muslims, as Islam has instructed, must unite and become one, so their wishes and dreams may be realized; and Islam's instructions may be enforced everywhere in the world. May God, the Exalted, bless all of the Muslims.

[Minister: I called General Zia al-Haqq before coming, and informed him of my visit with Ayatullah. He gave his warmest regards. He said that Pakistan and Iran have been friends for many years. This friendship has started since the establishment of Pakistan. In Pakistan, we consider Iran's problems as Iran's internal affairs; however, we are ready to do whatever is in our power to fulfill Ayatullah's wishes and expectations.]

¹ This text is the detailed discussion between one of Zia al-Haqq's cabinet ministers and the Imam in Paris. Unfortunately, the minister's name and the date of the discussions have not been recorded on the main minutes. As Imam has pointed out during the discussion, the issue of mediation between the Shah and Imam had previously been also proposed by King Hasan of Morocco and King Hussein of Jordan. See *Iran's Twenty Five Years History*, vol. 2, pp. 342-346.

Imam: This movement in Iran, that is the Islamic movement, is a humane one. It is an Islamic-humane movement. If any human, any Muslim becomes aware of Iran's situation, he will offer help to the Iranians who have been under pressure for many years, and have lost all their national prestige, underground resources and manpower by the foreign agents. However, we do thank the President of Pakistan who has been understanding, and expect propaganda support from him in this movement—just like the propaganda and other supports that the major countries are giving to the Shah. That is why he is still in power; otherwise, he has no popularity among the people and would not be able to live in Iran for an hour. We expect all the people, especially the Muslims, to help the movement and by their support rid this oppressed nation of oppression. All these governments and nations can provide propaganda support. Nevertheless, the governments have either not yet paid attention to our problems or they have been profit-seekers and regardless of the cruelty that is going on, have been backing up the Shah. None of them has taken sides with a weak nation, which is on the verge of being crushed.

You are among the first people who have offered support to us and we do expect you to announce your assistance on the radio, in the press and in your interviews.

[**Minister:** You know that Pakistan is a poor country going through a crucial phase in history. We have our own internal problems. We also rely on many major powers. Particularly, we depend on powers for economic assistance for our existence. We belong to a world in which certain diplomatic relations and circumstances are to be followed by independent countries. Although, we feel for Iran, we cannot interfere in Iran's internal affairs; however, if Ayatullah thinks we can somehow be of any help in any way to mediate between the two parties, we will do so.]

Imam: The Shah's case does not qualify for mediation. The Shah has plundered the nation and has committed awful crimes wholeheartedly during the past thirty years or so. Today, the people of Iran have stood up consciously and wakefully, and are demanding basic human rights, which are freedom and independence; the Shah has no foundation in Iran and he is not worth a compromise. We cannot describe the wrong doings and crimes that this man has committed in Iran in one or two sessions. You must inquire from your embassies about Iran's circumstances so that you could realize that Iran is demanding for a legitimate right and the Shah has lost legitimacy, and in my opinion, his and his father's rules were never legitimate to start with. I implore God, the Exalted, for the Muslim government and nation of Pakistan

to achieve their humane and Islamic wishes, find the way to their independence and liberty, and acquire whatever they desire, just as Iranians have done by uprising.

[Minister: Our information suggests that in Iran's present situation, thousands and hundreds of thousands of people are going through terrible hardships; they are all our Shiah brothers. According to statistics and news, people's normal lives in cities and villages have been disturbed. Lack of food and stoppage of transportation means have completely brought life to a standstill. It is the awareness and emotions that cause our Shiah brothers to try to present a solution. I am a cabinet member. We have some information that if you would allow me, I will deliver. America and Russia have come to an agreement. Russia will not interfere in Iran's affairs because a war with America will not be easy. It is possible to move step by step, and through a relative cooperation with the government at this stage, in order to familiarize people with the way to run the country and to deal with affairs; the regular life of people will not be disturbed and the people who are starving to death, will survive this catastrophe.]

Imam: But it is the Shah who has disturbed the lives of the people. We have some oil that has been extracted and reserved, that will last a while; but according to reliable sources, the Shah does not let our own oil get to us. They say, the income earned from the export of oil, which is to be spent on the country, goes to Israel. The government agents store the wheat after midnight to create problems for the people, and they are responsible for other aggravations too that make life harder. But our people suffer through all these hardships in order to achieve their goals. But such agreement between him and the [American and British] government for hindering in our internal affairs, has been made in the past, and if hindering means military interference, then such agreement is impossible to be made. If it means any other type of interference, America has done it all before. We want to rid ourselves of their control. This uprising is an Islamic one; if we face hardships and failures, it will be all for God's and Islam's sake and we have done our duty. We have the same logic of the Muslims of the early Islamic era that says, if we are killed in the war with unbelievers, we will go to heaven and if we kill, we will still go to heaven. The Shah is more unpleasant to us than the outside interferences. If others interfere by force and weapons, they cannot survive in Iran as experienced by the invaders throughout the history. People will not settle for any compromises. They have seen so many crimes that they will neither allow any foreign intervention, nor for the Shah to remain in power.

[**Minister:** I do not mean military intervention; let me make myself clear. Based on our information, the Shah is not willing to retreat under any circumstances. The army will continue supporting him. It is obvious and we know that the pressure on the people is high. According to our information, the Shah is ready to accept some terms at this stage. Therefore, if some sort of cooperation could be established, by having short-term goals in mind, you will perhaps achieve your goals in a longer process. However, we believe that the Shah is willing to make some agreement regarding less killings and less pressure on the people.]

Imam: You do not know the Shah as well as I do. I have raised him; I know him well. This is not his first time sending a mediator. He has even sent a mediator to say, "I will give you the army; I will give you the whole government and I, meaning the Shah, will be just the king and will not interfere with the affairs." But I know him well. You do not know him. He is playing a trick; He is planning to mislead you and us. By your mediation, he wants to continue with his criminal life and stop this uprising, which is Islamic and has occurred in Iran, and confront Islam and Muslims by resorting to all his forces. He got so used to brutality and crimes since his childhood that it has turned into an addiction he cannot get rid of. Keep in mind, not to mediate for someone whose promise cannot be trusted and only misleads. We are sorry that we will not accept your mediation on this issue. People of Iran cannot accept the Shah. The mediation of people like King Hussein [of Jordan], King Hasan [of Morocco] and now you is not but for strengthening his power and continuing his crimes and murders, and we will be responsible before God if we make peace and cooperate with him. If we are to be defeated, we will not purposely defeat ourselves. [Even] if confronted with the military and violence, we will not deliberately let this treachery go on.

[**Minister:** I have not been sent here by the Shah to mediate. When I told General Zia al-Haqq the intention of my trip and asked for his permission for this visit, he made a suggestion. Iran's situation will also influence the Shiah of Pakistan. We are a minority. Iran's situation will weaken the Shiah. It is these thoughts that have forced me to come forth and with all the respect, to give my views. I understand what Ayatullah says and feels. The only thing that I, the sinner, can do is to pray. I will go to Geneva tonight at one o'clock anyway, then two days in London with my family, and then back to Pakistan. If during this time, Ayatullah comes up with an idea or if there is something that we can do, let us know; I, personally, and our government will officially be at your service.]

Imam: Thank you for your good intention, but your claim about our uprising weakening the Shiah of Pakistan, contradicts our information received from Shiah dwelling regions. A movement has begun among all Shiah dominant regions that we hope will set free the nations of their hardships. The issue is not about Shiah, but it is about Muslims. We are informed of the situation of various Islamic countries. We have been informed that the Iranian uprising has made an awakening among Arab countries and other regions; and we hope that if it comes to a conclusion, nations will also achieve their humane goals.

And I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, for the opportunity to be a servant and also ask God the blessing for your service and that of others to Islam and the Islamic nation.

[**Minister:** I am grateful and honored to have been received by you. Shiah in Pakistan are not in a good condition, because of the money that Saudi is spending. My prayer is that Iran becomes stronger than ever; and that this strength may encourage and enhance the Shiah condition in Pakistan. I know that Iran's movement is Islamic; but we are a minority in Pakistan and Iran's revolution will have a major effect on us.]

Imam: We hope that Iran reaches a condition in which it can strengthen Shiah of other countries, and we hope that you would pray for us, too. Pray for us to succeed in this movement.

Speech

Date: October 24, 1978 [Aban 2, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 21, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty as a religious duty and the people's responsibility during this period

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My constitution tonight demands that I do not inconvenience you gentlemen for long. The situation in Iran has left me with no strength. Nearly every day there is another killing in Iran and once again, this vile, bloodthirsty regime has fallen upon the people and is massacring them.

The Shah's despair and the last plundering

Even so, the situation is satisfactory for it has filled him (the Shah) with despair, he has abandoned all hope for his position and he admits this. Therefore, he should despair. Now, because of his desperate situation, he is taking the wealth of the people out of the country. It is said that he has sent the crown jewels abroad by plane, and according to some of the gentlemen, he has sold a number of the buildings he put up on that island, which he created at great expense for obscene activities, to the oil company, and he has transferred the money received thereby abroad. So on the one hand his desperation has driven him to take the nation's wealth, and on the other to fall upon the people, massacring them without mercy.

Step by step' politics is a mistake in the resistance against the Shah

The Iranian nation should delay no longer; he should be removed from power immediately. If he is given a respite, it will prove to be disastrous for our nation. At times we hear suggestions from some people, some of the respected gentlemen, who do not pay enough attention to matters, to the effect that it is a good idea that this person (the Shah) goes, but the fundamentals of the regime be kept. Some even openly say that he should be retained as monarch and should reign but not govern, as specified in the constitutional law for the duties of a king. They say that we should abide by the Constitution and be satisfied with this for now, moving forward step by step. This is one of the mistakes that the gentlemen make; those whose intentions are bad, well, they harbor ill intent; that is, they want to preserve

this regime and then later do whatever they please. Those whose intentions are good, and who are not seeking a continuation of this oppression, are simply mistaken in believing that the Shah should remain.

Thirty years of continuous treason

This man has been the perpetrator of crimes now for over thirty years; over the past year alone, numerous people have been killed on his orders. After all this killing, after handing over all our resources, our oil, our land, our forests, to others, after exhausting our oil reserves and destroying our agriculture to the extent that in a few years time this nation will have no reserves, nothing, can the Iranian nation now be expected to turn round and tell him: "Well sir, you remain seated on your throne and continue with your corruption but have nothing to do with the government!?" Can this nation which has sacrificed so many lives now accept this man as their ruler, saying simply: "Sorry! You can reign over us, but there is no need for you to be the governing power also!?"

Permission for the Shah to reign is treason to the nation

Which Muslim could accept such a thing from us? Which just person would accept this bloodthirsty man as ruler after all the years of crimes he has committed against this nation, after the years of betrayal? He has killed the people's children, their young sons and daughters, their infants. He was the one giving the orders on Khordad 15 and it is said that fifteen thousand people were killed on that day upon his orders. No one dares kill the people on such a scale without first receiving the command from him, it is impossible. Not even once has he denied that he was responsible or said that it was his agents who carried out the killings. It is quiet obvious. For a lifetime this man has committed crimes against this nation and betrayed it, he has shed the blood of the country's children and yet now are we expected to say: "Well, in order to calm the situation let him reign, let him remain, the others will be the servants!?" Which nation could agree to such a thing? Which person who believes in God and Islam could agree to this and put such a plan into action? Only he who has mistaken ideas could do this, and to him we say correct your notions.

No respite should be given to the Shah

Furthermore, these gentlemen should realize that were this man given a respite today, were the nation to tell him to be the king, but not to govern, he would accept it "for now." He himself has said in the Parliament that he

accepts the restrictions placed upon him by the law. However, he just wants to deceive you with this; he wants to deceive the people so that they will keep quiet; he wants to stop this movement which has started now and silence the calls for his removal and the cries of "death to this monarchy." Once this movement has been stopped, there is no way that it can be started again to the same degree. If this uprising, this movement, which has been brought to this stage through numerous efforts, loses its momentum, if the people return to going about their daily affairs, then it will be impossible to start again; and this man will massacre the people and his opponents on a larger scale than he is doing now.

Plan for rule succession and Regency Council is deviation from the movement

Which person, which logic, would accept that now that we have forced an obstinate enemy of a nation to yield, now when he is getting ready to leave the country, we should give him a respite and take this matter step by step?! Now is the time to deal with this matter, we should extirpate the roots of this regime now. Moreover, this is something, which we all have to do together; all classes of the nation should take part in this. If someone does not agree with us in this matter, then he either has bad intentions, is ignorant of the facts, or has been ill advised. He who is ill-advised should be put right and he who harbors malicious intent should be castigated and told to stop. It is tantamount to treason against this nation which has sacrificed lives to say that for now we will take our first step, which is for him to reign or for him to go and his wife Farah to become the ruler of our country and a Regency Council to be formed, then later we will take our second step saying "No, he must now go too." Gentlemen, he must be removed from power now! To allow anything else would be a mistake. This nation, which has come so far, should make the move and just as now the people are moving forward like a flood and destroying the pillars of this regime one by one, so they should continue until all the pillars have been destroyed and this traitor leaves. This is what we are aiming for right now. We say that all those hands which hold sway over our country and which are taking our resources by force should be severed. These hands should be severed and removed from this country. The country belongs to us and we want to administer it ourselves. We do not want American advisers here; we do not want someone to take our gas and someone else our oil, our pasturelands and our forests. What has this person left for our country?

Eradication of the roots of oppression

This is what we are calling for, and gentlemen, this that we call for is not a right which is ours to forgo, this right is a divine right, this command is God's command, the matter is one of a divine religious duty which no one can or should oppose. Someone who is the epitome of oppression must be removed. The roots of his regime must be eradicated. He is annihilating the Muslims of Iran; he must be removed so that the people can breathe a little easier. For more than fifty years, the people have been repressed and deprived of all kinds of freedoms. For fifty years, whether at the time of that father or this son, the people have been suppressed; they have sacrificed their children; and now [is the time] when they have reached this stage and have risen up; now that the people of Iran have courageously risen up; now even as you and I sit here, Iran is in a state of turmoil. We have heard from Qum that gunfire can be heard and such and such has been done today, Hamedan is in a state of rebellion, there are uprisings around Kerman¹ and there is always something happening in Tehran. Now that the people are ready and have brought the uprising to this stage; now that they are ready to make all kinds of sacrifices for Islam and their nation, should we turn around and say: "This is enough for the time being, we'll do that later! We'll take the first step now which is to tell this man to reign but not rule!" What is this that you are telling us to say? Which nation could accept such a thing? No, he must go; this dynasty must be destroyed; Iran does not want this dynasty; neither the seven-year-old child nor the eighty-year-old man wants this dynasty.

Now is the time for action

Now is the time for us all to join hands together. You who are abroad should do everything within your power to help the country and the people of your country. They are giving their blood; you should give your pen. You should do whatever it is within your power to do, demonstrate, deliver speeches to the people of these countries and tell them what is happening in Iran, what calamities have befallen the Iranian people so that, God willing, other nations will awaken also. We have been informed that the French nation has now accepted that this man must go. They are right, but still we must continue to tell them the facts for maybe many people here do not know what the poor people of Iran are saying because of the propaganda that they have been exposed to for years. The idea is disseminated that the Iranian people have been given freedom, and Carter says that they are opposing the

¹ Kerman: a province in the south-central part of Iran. Its capital is also called Kerman.

Shah because they have been given a quick freedom! What kind of foolish talk is this? Are the people now shouting, "Give us freedom" because they have been given freedom? Are they shouting because he is taking the country toward progress and the people do not want their country to progress!?

If we give respite the nation will be destroyed

He has taken the country to the brink of destruction and if, God forbid, this man should remain, then in a few years' time you will have neither oil—because they have opened the pipes and it is gushing out—nor agriculture; and what is left when there is no oil or agriculture? What will we have left? Nothing! If this person remains in power for a few more years, he will destroy us, he will destroy the nation.

Unity for eradicating the root

Now is the time for us all to join hands together and sever this root, and after that sever all the other roots of this regime too. The country is ours and we have something to say which is right and just and that is that we ourselves want to administer our own country. We have people to administer it, we have suitable men, we have Muslim men, we have educated people: There are so many in Europe and America who cannot return to their country for fear of being harassed, imprisoned or executed, and those things are real but once he has gone they will return to their country there to live and administer it.

The rumor of Iran's becoming a communist (nation)

Some say if he goes, the communists will take over! This is a mistaken notion. The communists are not involved in this matter; there are no communists in Iran. There may be a few young people who have been misled and sometimes say something—that is if they are not from SAVAK or have been incited by SAVAK—but they are insignificant, they will disappear, they are not going to take over the country if he leaves... Will a country with a population of thirty million people who have risen the flag of Islam and are shouting "Islam, Islam," become communist? These people will shut the communists up! Is it possible for this country to become communist? This is just the Shah's propaganda. He wants to preserve his rule for a while longer so he says, "If I leave, Iran will become a communist country." He is worse than the communists are!

The responsibility is to assist the movement

You all, we all, are duty bound to help our friends in Iran. Those of us abroad now can help by propagating their cause; each of you should be a speaker for the people. When you go to your schools speak to some of those there with you, tell them the facts, tell them what is really happening in your country and what the people want, tell them what this man (the Shah) has done. You are all informed about the situation in our country now, so you know what to tell them. May God grant you success and protect you. God willing May He protect you. Make ready yourselves for your country. God willing, you will all return to it together and your country will be yours. (*Salawat* from the audience).

Speech

Date: October 24, 1978 [Aban 2, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 21, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The roots of the people's opposition to the Shah and the need for propagating Islam

Addressees: A group of students and other Iranians residing abroad

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

The Shah and his masters are the sources of destruction

Nowadays, we are faced with problems every day, which hitherto we only encountered once every month or every twenty days. Previously, the people were given a respite until the seventh or fortieth day after a killing before another was perpetrated. But today the situation in Iran is such that as I speak to you now, there are disturbances in Hamedan and confrontations between the people and the police which have been going on for three days. The people's opposition to the regime does not stem from one or two reasons. The people see that everything that a nation needs, each institution that the nation can benefit from, this oppressive regime, this Shah, these masters of the Shah of whom America, Britain and the Soviet Union are the most important, have endangered or destroyed.

The educational system and the army are related

A nation needs education; a nation can have a political existence through its culture and education. Our educational system is not an independent one, it is not one which relates to the people; rather it is planned and controlled by foreigners. Consequently, they do not give us a sound system; they do not give us sound teachers. The university lecturers cannot and have never been able to pursue their tasks as they should. The university students cannot pursue their tasks in a way that they want to. All the institutions must glorify Aryamehr; all must be organs, which support the apparatus of oppression. When the nation looks at its education, it sees a paralyzed system, one which can achieve nothing and which does not have a sound role to play in the society. When the nation looks at its army, it sees a parasitic army. Sixty thousand military advisers have come to this country and the majority of them are American advisers who have taken control of our army and now administer it. The army is not under our command, it is not under the command of the nation, and it is not beneficial to the nation. The armed

forces have now come together to crush this nation on the orders of the Shah and those above him. The Shah is using his subordinates to cause all these tragedies and many of them are not happy doing what they are doing, but there is another power over their heads and that is these American military advisers. They issue the orders and these subordinates carry them out. They (the Shah's masters) want the Shah with all his crimes to be retained.

The British Foreign Minister's emphasis on having interests in Iran

Only yesterday or the day before the British Foreign Minister said that they had interests in Iran and they could not withdraw their support from someone who was safeguarding their interests. This is what we are saying too, we maintain that the Shah is being retained now to safeguard British, American and Russian interests. The Allies put him in power to safeguard their interests. He himself admitted that the Allies wanted him to rule, that they wanted the Pahlavi dynasty to rule. May God curse those Allies for imposing such an animal on us. We are saying the same as the British Foreign Minister! All our problems now are caused by the fact that he is staying in the country to safeguard the interests of the foreigners. He wants to destroy everything we have to their avail. He gives our oil and our minerals to them; he sacrifices our culture and education for them; he does not allow a sound culture to exist, one that will prevent them from reaching their aims; he weakens Islam; he does not allow Islam to be presented as it truly is so as to prevent it from forming an obstacle to the foreigners' aims. He weakens the *ulama* of Islam, he does not allow them to speak out and tell the people what is being done to them. Political groups, all groups, the righteous and enlightened bazaar merchants, our university students and academics, he crushes them all. He does not allow them to speak out and if a voice is raised anywhere it is silenced by these commandos and hirelings. What did the people of Hamedan do to be treated so? They only said one word and subsequently were attacked; the girls were arrested and the tumult that we now witness ensued. One of the girls was raped and she committed suicide because of it. These disturbances in Hamedan, in which they say fifty people have been killed, stem from a voice being raised.

Dictators' madness in their last days

About two or three years ago, I anticipated that we should be wary of this dictator in his last days, and now we see that these actions also stem from the fact that he, like most of our other dictators, has gone insane in his final days. Aqa Muhammad Khan Qajar also went insane toward the end of his rule, as

did Nadir Shah. Some of them were mad from the beginning, like Rida Shah; he was mad from the start! Now this one (the Shah) has become high-strung and mentally disturbed. When he is interviewed nowadays he appears distracted. Apparently he was interviewed recently by a reporter from a French newspaper who said that throughout the interview, the Shah kept muttering to himself, complaining to himself and that he repeated about twenty times: "What's the solution now? Now what should we do? What should be done now? What shall we do?" Well it is obvious what you should do, get up and go. What else do you want from this nation? The solution lies with you, leave! Now he is taking gold out of the country, yesterday or the day before we were informed that the day before that an airplane left the country carrying the crown jewels. His father did the same thing. They have been the bane of the nation.

Our contention is for the nation and the national interests

I do not have a personal or family dispute with you as you claim. What personal dispute do I have with you? I am speaking for the nation; the pain of the nation concerns us, not personal pain. We are objecting to what you are doing to our nation and our *ulama*, and what you have done and are doing to our Islam. This is not a personal dispute; this is a struggle over the nation, over Islam, and because you are destroying all of Iran's resources, you are giving them away to others and we are telling you to stop it, these should be ours; our hungry people should be fed. We are concerned about these hungry, naked people who wander around the streets, who have nothing and are in dire straits, as we are about these farmers whom you say you wanted to do something for through your so-called land reforms, whereas in reality you implemented these reforms for America. This was the mission for your country, which America gave you and you carried it out, making the country dependent on America and foreigners in all respects.

Our cry: freedom, independence.

The people are shouting now for freedom, for independence; they are shouting that they do not want their resources to be destroyed this way. This is what ails the nation. In twenty years' time we will have no oil; our agriculture has already been destroyed; we have nothing. When the nation has nothing how is it expected to survive? How is the future generation expected to live? We have a responsibility toward the future generation. We should now do whatever is within our power to sever the hands that grip our resources, our nation's resources, so that they will last a little longer. We

have large reserves of oil, but such a great amount is being taken, and taken without payment at that, that they are being depleted. If only they (the Americans) were taking it free of charge, but in return, they build bases for themselves! They give us arms in return! Are these arms for us? No, they are for creating their own bases in Iran! Bases for America are being built all over the country, in the mountains of Kurdistan and this place and that. Arms! These arms are of no use to us. Arms that we do not know how to operate are of no use to us. On the one hand, they take our oil and on the other, they send weapons to Iran for their bases here, so that they can say that they have paid for the oil with these weapons and thus stem protests from the Soviet Union and other countries. This is being done in the name of meeting our needs and with the excuse that our power should be such and such.

The procurement of arms for protecting American interests

A few years ago, this person, the Shah himself, said that we didn't want arms, we didn't need arms, that what we already had were sufficient for administering the country. This is true, he does not need these things (that the Americans send) to kill the people! These machine-guns that he already has are enough, they are killing the people! He does not need them for anything else apart from killing his own nation! This same person, who once claimed that the country did not want weapons, soon changed his tune when he received the command from America that he had to take the weapons and build bases on the pretext of them being in return for the oil, to which he said: "No, we should have arms, other powers like us have many weapons," and other things to the effect that Iraq for instance had weapons in its arsenal that could do goodness knows what in a day. This is all a lie! The arms that we buy are not for us, they are for America. The Americans wanted to set up bases here, but they realized that if they openly stated that they intended to do this, Russia would oppose them and a dispute would ensue. Therefore, under the pretext of paying for the oil they get with goods, their goods comprising of these weapons, they build bases for themselves in Iran! Our nation's woes stem from the fact that he is a traitor; the father was a traitor and the son is a traitor, too!

All institutions in Iran are illegal

The nation has now had enough. The people do not want him. School-children and old men alike are saying that they do not want him. A whole nation says that it does not want him. Is there a better referendum than this? When the nation says that it does not want him, it means that this Shah is no

longer a Shah. A Shah is only a Shah when the nation wishes him to be so; when the people vote against him, he forfeits his position. Parliament likewise, when it does not enjoy the vote of the people, it is no longer a Parliament. Our Parliament was not a Parliament from the beginning! We just need to look at the history of our Parliament. I myself am like a history of our Parliament; I can remember what has happened from the time that Rida Khan carried out his coup d'état up to the present time. I can remember the Constituent Assembly, which was formed at bayonet point. This is the kind of Parliament that we have had! When did we ever have a true Parliament? Never, from the time of Rida Shah to the present, we have never had a Parliament that the people have voted for of their own volition; we have never had such a Parliament.

The present Members of Parliament are all traitors, because they know that they are there only on the orders of the Shah and the nation has no say in the matter! This is the first problem we have with all you Members of Parliament, for you are all aware of this, there is no denying it, you haven't come from outer space, you are more aware of this than the nation is itself. You know that your entry into Parliament was not brought about by the approval and votes of the people; rather it happened because the Shah installed you, because this was the Shah's mission'. The embassies handed over a list and you were appointed. Still you entered Parliament even though you knew this. So the first question we have to put to those of you who claim to be nationalists is: "Why then did you enter Parliament knowing what you did?" You may reply that you had no choice, but surely, nobody could force you in, no, you yourself wanted it. Therefore, you entered Parliament and approved of everything that was put in front of you. But now you see that things are changing, the opponent is coming to the fore and so you want to compromise and make a place for yourself. The question remains though as to why you are in a Parliament that has been appointed by the Shah and which contravenes the Constitution. The Constitution has given the people the right to choose their representatives and no one has the right to interfere with this...

According to the Constitution the Shah is a criminal

According to the Constitution, the Shah is a criminal and must be deposed. The Shah is a traitor and traitors, as stated in the Constitution, must be deposed. A Shah who acts against the interests of the nation or against that which the law has determined can no longer be a Shah, he automatically

forfeits his office. This Shah is not a Shah, he is a usurper, he is a bandit and as such, he is automatically deposed.

The reason for foreign support is for better plundering of our resources

This bandit was placed over us and Britain supports him from one side, America from another, China another and the Soviet Union from another. They are all seeking their own interests. There is no better, more foolish servant for them than he is. He has given all the wealth of this nation to them free of charge. The nation's gas is taken by Russia, its oil by America and Britain; everything this country has is being taken by somebody. The Queen of England has taken its pasturelands; our lush, green pasturelands were handed over to the Queen of England and some other people there, and I have received information to the effect that the nation's forests have been given to another company. Everything in this country has now fallen prey to these hyenas who tug at it from all directions. Iran is now food for these oil-devourers and these hyenas and they are tugging at her from all directions, and it is Muḥammad Rida Pahlavi who is letting this happen. He is her executive power! When we say that we do not want this man, this is why, it is not because the nation has been given freedom and it does not want it! According to Carter, this nation has been given a very quick freedom; the Shah has given his nation a quick freedom! This is the fast freedom that has been recently implemented in Hamedan, in Kerman a few days ago and in towns close to Kerman. Murder is now widespread in Iran and this man has gone insane, he has become mentally disturbed and very dangerous. The people should get rid of him as fast as they can to be free of him.

The army must arise

I am surprised at the army on the one hand, and on the other at those youth in Iran who sometimes allow themselves to be led into error. I am surprised at the army for allowing this Shah to sully its reputation for the sake of his own and his masters' goals. The military forces have a bad name now among the people because whatever he wants to do he does it through them. He uses the army if the action is a little widespread, as on Khordad 15 and other similar occasions, or if not he uses a smaller force such as commandos and such people like them. These forces are all giving themselves a bad name for the sake of the interest of this man and his masters! It surprises me that the army, which is made up of nationals of this country, would do such things to its own nation for the sake of a man who is a traitor and who it knows to be a traitor, that it would bring shame upon

itself and give itself a bad name for the sake of the goals of a traitor who wants to prolong his treacherous rule for a few days longer! This is surprising for me.

Warning to the deceived and ignorant youth

On the other hand, I am surprised at our youth, some of our youth of course, those who have allowed themselves to be led astray by this regime, which has deceived them through various means. Their elders have made them shout slogans at the university, slogans that are anti-Islamic and unpatriotic so that the people will be afraid that if His Imperial Majesty goes the communists will take over! A group of our young people has now become the instruments of some of their elders who make them do such things and who are working for SAVAK and for this regime. These people are not communists; they are communist-makers. They make our young people say and do things, which are for the benefit of the Shah and America and beguile these young people into thinking that what they are doing is for the sake of communism and the Tudeh Party and such things. I find it truly surprising that at a time when such matters are obvious even to the bazaar merchants, the farmers and the young children, some of these young people allow themselves to be deceived so. They are making a mistake and it works to the benefit of the regime, but the Muslims will not let the regime take full advantage of this and only humiliation will be left for these young people. It is indeed surprising for me.

The need to properly introduce Islam abroad

I ask you gentlemen who are studying abroad and who form part of the enlightened classes not to let our youth fall into the trap of these people. Some of our youth have been deceived; they have been deceived by some of their elders. They have made a mistake; they haven't read about Islam; they haven't seen true Islam (in practice); they haven't read about the laws of Islam nor seen them in practice; they are not familiar with the language of the Quran; they do not know that the Quran is a book designed to create human beings, to stimulate man toward progress and development, toward crushing the oppressors and the apparatus of oppression. They do not know these things. They know nothing about the economics of Islam either. So when they come here, they come almost totally ignorant about Islam, and some people, some groups who themselves have no belief in these matters, mislead these young people and force them to do such acts and our youth are deceived. You are intellectual people; you are Muslim and you preserve your

national sentiments; so, I ask you to take care of our children; do not let them fall into these traps. These are the traps of SAVAK, not those of the communists. The SAVAK agents have a mission to make these young people shout slogans which benefit the regime and in this way destroy these youth. If you meet some of these young people here, take them by the hand, do not let them work for the benefit of the Shah or the regime, for America, the Soviet Union and other powers, do not lose them in this way.

Propagate and enlighten all (the people)

Another duty, which we who are residing abroad now have, is to help the Iranian nation. It has a right over all of us who are abroad now for it is giving blood for us, it is sacrificing its youth. Wherever you go in Iran nowadays there are disturbances, a movement has begun, the people are speaking out and are shouting: "We want freedom; we do not want this dynasty because it has deprived us of our freedom and has plundered our resources for its own benefit and that of the foreigners." Those of us here are indebted to them; we are responsible before God, the Blessed and Exalted, and before the nation. We have to help these people and that which you and I can do for them is to propagate their cause. Those of you, who attend the universities and colleges over here, speak to your friends there, whenever and wherever possible sit down and speak about the situation in Iran.

The world's attention is on Iran

Everybody nowadays is watching events in Iran. Tell them what this man is doing to the people; tell them what ails the people and that the cure for their ailment is for him (the Shah) to leave. An even better cure is that Mr. Carter and the leaders of China, the Soviet Union and Britain leave this nation alone and let the people administer their own affairs. What business does that wretch have coming here from the other side of the world, robbing us of our oil, taking it for free or worse than if it were for free. Tell these people, these students that you meet, whether in America or in Europe, about these things. There are about five thousand of you over here, if each one of you tells only ten people, then that will mean that a great number of people have been informed and a wave of support will be created in Europe and America which will prove useful to the Iranian nation's cause. This is a service, which you can do for the Iranian nation, and in this way, you can repay your debt to them. I ask you all to invite the people to support the nation of Iran, ask the American nation to support the Iranian nation, to understand what the American government has done to Iran and why it has

the bad reputation that it does in Iran. Gradually, people may come to presume that the American nation supports the policies of their government in Iran, but this is not the case. In the same way, wherever you are living speak to the people about your problems, alert them to the fact that their governments' policies toward Iran are detrimental to your nation, to everything that your nation has, and (in this way) help the Iranians in this movement that they have started.

May God grant you health and success. May you all be ready to make sacrifices for Islam and your nation and may you strengthen yourselves. God willing, you will take control of your nation, your country, and others will leave and you will administer your own country yourselves. (The audience replies with "God willing").

Interview

Date: October 25, 1978 [Aban 3, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 22, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The future of Iran

Interviewer: *Agence France-Presse* reporter

Question: [What do you think of the changes in today's Iran? Do not you think it has reached a deadlock, and considering the Shah's apparent political flexibility, do not you believe a review on your strategies may be effective?]

Answer: It is the regime that has reached the deadlock. The regime wants to impose its own solution on the nation. The people are not at a deadlock; people do not want this regime. Any solution leading to the survival of this regime will face a deadlock because the people will not accept it.

Q: [You have said that you are not afraid of the communists and extreme leftists taking over the public uprising. Nevertheless, fifteen hundred students from Tehran University staged a demonstration using communist slogans on Sunday (October 22, 1978).¹ This brings about the assumption that communism is not a myth, but it exists and is getting organized.]

A: If we suppose that all these fifteen hundred people, and even several times more, are real Marxists, they will not be considered as a power in comparison to the thirty million people who have risen up in the name of Islam. However, the important point is that, compared to the past, the Marxists have decreased dramatically in number. That is because Islam provides people with their needs in political, economic, social and cultural aspects of life, for real progress. The fact that we have been able to handle this very important task through gratifying the youth, regardless of having a regime which is against Islam and does nothing but frustrate people, shows that, if an Islamic government gets established and freedoms become extended and the facilities for real progress of people increase, those seeking the truth and justice can be brought back into the arms of Islam.

¹ These words are narrated from Jafar Sharif Imami (the then Prime Minister of the Shah's regime) who believed that the students' demonstration was communistic, and claimed that they had erected a red flag on the campus!

Q: [You have received Mr. Bazargan,¹ and Dr. Karim Sanjabi² is coming to Paris, too. It has been said that Ayatullah Shirazi³ will also come. All these people are known to be pro peace-diplomacies. Will you join this diplomacy? Do you think that among the political oppositions, the National Front party and others, there will be some personalities reputable and credible enough to replace this current cabinet?]

A: I am and I have been against peace and intermediary diplomacies from the beginning because these diplomacies neither take the Shah out of the deadlock—because the reason for his getting into the deadlock was the plans that he himself was to carry out—nor does it lessen the pressure, strangulations and killings. If everybody takes up this strong and clear-cut position that the Shah has to go, then the regime will have to put aside its diplomacy of wearing people out by constant killings and by performing new methods of exerting pressure and strangulation, and so the victory of the people will become more imminent. Of course, those who can overthrow this regime will prove that, by doing so, they are also capable of running the country.

Q: [You stated that the Shiah clerical authorities do not intend to rule. Do you think that the political oppositions will be able to handle the job without the risk of having a more critical situation?]

A: With the help of people and the clergy, the oppositions mentioned in the previous question will qualify for the job, if they acquire the above terms.

Q: [In the West, they think that the removal of the Shah will create a dangerous vacuum. Could you consider temporary peace with this dynasty, the Shah or his son, provided that he really reigns rather than rule?]

¹ Engineer Mahdi Bazargan (1908-1994) held different public positions in the administration of Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq. He was among the main founders of the Iranian Freedom Movement. Upon the culmination of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, he was appointed as the head of the provisional government; however, he decided to step down one day after Iranian students stormed the US embassy (Den of Espionage) in Tehran.

² Dr. Karim Sanjabi was born in 1904 and went through his elementary and high school education in the cities of Kermanshah and Tehran. He completed his higher education in France. In 1951, he was appointed as the Education Minister in Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq administration. He was the founder of the National Front political party. Mr. Bazargan appointed him as the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran during his provisional government after the Islamic Revolution.

³ It refers to Sayyid Muhammad Shirazi.

A: The vacuum you are talking about already exists; and the characteristic of a regime like the Shah's is to keep the country between a deadlock and a vacuum, and to drag the country toward demolition and corruption. To be released from this vacuum, this regime must be replaced by a regime appointed by the Muslim nation.

Q: [It is obvious that the regime is looking for peace and is indeed awaiting your return to Iran.¹ Do you absolutely consider this matter suspended as long as the Shah is still in Iran?]

A: I will not return to Iran while the Shah is still there.

Q: [You condemn the big powers. This has made you look stubborn and irreconcilable. Can you not, just for the sake of the West's public opinion, which is sympathizing with the uprising of your people, consider being somewhat easier?]

A: I condemn the big governments for violating our people's rights, not their people. I already have and will now express my gratitude to the people of the West who support the uprising of the people of Iran.

Q: [Apparently, your preference is an Islamic republic. You are known to have said that monarchial regimes eventually turn into dictatorships, but there are Islamic republics that dictate more than monarchies. What is your opinion about that?]

A: These existing dictatorships could not be called Islamic governments; so you cannot make a comparison between a kingdom and an Islamic republic. An Islamic regime and a dictatorship will not go along together. Besides, those republics that dictate are only called republic, but in reality, they are kingdoms.

Q: [Do you always receive assistance from capable advisors when making a realistic policy in economic and political issues?]

A: There are many talented people in Iran. The present regime prevents these talents from building up the country. These talents provide me with their knowledge and viewpoints due to their Islamic obligation.

Q: [Would you agree to suggest some new and specific terms for formation of a temporary and transitional government?]

¹ Jafar Sharif Imami (the Shah's Prime Minister) had said in the parliament: "We welcome the Ayatullah's return to the country."

A: Such transitional government shall be formed upon the fall of the Shah, and its terms will of course be announced.

Speech

Date: October 25, 1978 [Aban 3, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 22, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Making sacrifices for the sake of God was the practice of the prophets (a)

Addressees: A group of Iranian citizens and students residing abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The freeing of political prisoners is not enough

Today they announced that they have released a number of political prisoners, and that a further number is to be released later. However, the question is, does this freeing of prisoners compensate for everything? They deprive a human being, in every way, for something like five or ten years, stripping him of any kind of freedom, and persecuting and torturing him in prison, then they tell him that he is free to go! But does it then mean that these five years of a Muslim's life which have been wasted, of a human being's life, these five, ten years of persecuting a human being, a Muslim, are to be disregarded?! Now that he is free to go, does that mean that the matter is closed?! Is the release of a number of *ulama* and other members of society supposed to make us content? Is the nation now supposed to calm down?! Have they (the regime) made it up to the nation? Or is it that the present situation is such that they are no longer able to continue to behave as they have in the past; is it that they are struggling to come through the present situation alive, a situation in which the entire population has turned against them? Are they truly now able to save themselves? Can they actually be saved? This Shah who has reigned over us for about thirty years, who has reigned over the Muslim people in the manner of Genghis Khan; this Shah who has killed so many of the Muslim people, who has caused so many Muslims to flee their homeland, who has deprived and stripped so many human beings of their civil rights, this Shah now says: We have released them (the political prisoners), so now what more can you possibly expect from us! But the people expect you to provide ten years of life! You wasted ten years of a human being's life in prison, in a room two meters square. You took away the life of a human being, of someone who could have served the people, who could have served the people by being active and writing in a free environment. You wasted ten years of a nation's life, and now, having allowed it to go free, you ask what more do we want? We want compensation

for these ten years. The people want these ten years in which you persecuted their children in prison to be compensated for. Yet there is no way that such compensation could be given in this world. One of the clear proofs for there having to be another place where God Almighty will punish these oppressors, is that supposing, you came together and tore Muhammad Rida Khan limb from limb, you then would only have killed one person. He is only one person; one vile person; and thus you would have taken a life for a life. Let us imagine that the person you are to kill is a good person, like the person for whose life you wish to obtain retribution, he is an honorable person; nevertheless, were you to kill him you would have only taken one honorable life in return for another honorable life! But what about all of those honorable people whom he has deprived of existence, all of those youngsters of ours that he has killed and whose lives he has curtailed? If someone were to have killed someone else, then his punishment would be for him also to be killed in return for the life he had taken. However, if that someone were to have brought about the death of, and to have killed, a multitude of people, then is there any way that retribution could be exacted for this here in this world? Of course, the person in question would have to be punished most severely here in this world, but even then would retribution have been fully exacted? Retribution would have been exacted for one family. If we were to cut someone's life short in return for his having cut short the life of a family, then this would be retribution for one family, but what about the other families? Are we now to content ourselves with the fact that this man has granted a pardon? We are talking about men for whom your pardon means nothing. Indeed, it is not a question of granting a pardon, it is in fact a question of doing that which is required of you, and right now you are obliged to release these people. Many of these prisoners were people whose unlawful sentences had already been served anyway. Yes, their sentences were unlawful from the start, but even having served the assigned term of imprisonment, they continued to be detained without reason. But now that these SAVAK agents, these perpetrators of so many crimes, have come and opened the prison gates, releasing certain prisoners, is that the end of the matter?! No indeed, now the matter is only just beginning! He (the Shah) and all of his agents are to stand trial. But even then, supposing they are all executed, retribution will still not have been exacted, for a hundred lives will have been taken in return for hundreds, for thousands of lives. In Tehran, during one bout of killings alone, four to five thousand people are said to have been killed. They say that these latest killings in Hamedan have left up to a hundred people dead. I am not sure whether it was yesterday or the day

before. Moreover, even now Hamedan is once again in a turbulent state. In Qum too, both yesterday and today, there have been disturbances and the sound of gunfire has rung out. As to how many people have been killed however, I just do not know. The same has also been happening in Zanjan;¹ and you have all heard about Kerman. The situation is the same everywhere. Crimes have been committed in every place you could possibly mention. Yet now he (the Shah) has granted a pardon! To hell with this pardon of his! If it were not for the pressure exerted by the people and this widespread public opinion, then he would not have granted a pardon at all. This is not a case of granting a pardon, it is a case of doing that which one is compelled to do. The crimes he has perpetrated cannot be recompensed by taking such measures. It is beyond us to exact retribution, for how can we compensate for the killing of four to five thousand people when there is only one person to be punished and no more, and even then, when he is the kind of person that he is. This is why there has to be a world in which constant torment prevails until retribution is exacted; a world in which unremitting anguish awaits these tyrants.

The movements' progress is encouraging

We are really at a loss as to what we should do about the current situation in Iran. Of course, that is not to say that the situation is not promising, for it is. It is not that we are now concerned as to why such a situation prevails; but nonetheless, you can see for yourselves just what they are doing, just what madness they have called into being. Having said that however, it is worth it in order to rescue a nation. We must not be concerned by the fact that we are making sacrifices; for this was the practice of the prophets; these were the things that the prophets themselves did. The prophets and the friends of God [*awliya*] rose up against those who were cruel, those who oppressed the people, and in so doing they killed and were killed, they sacrificed their young and they sacrificed their close friends and followers. So there is now no call for us to be concerned that blood might be spilled! Indeed, blood has to be spilled! A nation will not succeed in rescuing itself from the suffering, which stems from all these crimes and losses without having to pay a price. A certain mother has been seen to have stood up in Behesht-e Zahra cemetery and to have said that the tree of freedom needs to be watered and that her son's blood is something which serves this purpose. These are the kind of lion-hearted women we have among us.

¹ Zanjan: a province in the western part of Iran.

Manifestations of Ali's (a) battle with the taghuts

Islam needs us to make sacrifices for its sake. Just consider what pure and virtuous lives have been sacrificed from the advent of Islam down to the present time. A case in point is Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali) who fought against Muawiyah for eighteen months in the Battle of Siffin, and who killed so many adversaries and lost the lives of so many fellow combatants, over ten thousand people in all, well over this figure. Muawiyah was someone who made claim to being Muslim and to being the Prophet's rightful successor. He prayed at congregational prayer gatherings, was the Friday prayer leader, and so on. He practiced all of the outwardly visible religious practices. Unlike Yazid,¹ whose exterior was as aberrant as his interior, Muawiyah was good at keeping up appearances. He kept up appearances and also advocated Islam, so what actually happened to cause Hadrat Amir to engage in battle against him? The reason Imam Ali fought against Muawiyah was because he was a tyrant who had unfairly exploited the people. He had seized Sham from Islamic rule and was forcing the people to behave ruthlessly and to commit injustices. He plundered the people's wealth, the public treasury. Hadrat Amir was obliged by duty to fight against him irrespective of whether he was to be the vanquished or the vanquisher. The fact that he may be defeated if he were to engage in battle at this time, did not concern Hadrat Amir. Once he saw that he was able to confront Muawiyah in battle, he rounded up his troops and battle commenced, although it is true to say that on this particular occasion he was eventually defeated. When the Doyen of the Martyrs (Imam Husayn),² may God's peace be upon him, sees that an

¹ Yazid ibn Muawiyah: (26 AH-62 AH) succeeded his father to occupy the office of the Caliphate in the year 60 AH. He was a young man devoid of knowledge and virtues and was well known for his debauchery and other vices. Yazid ruled for three and a half years. During his first year he killed Imam Husayn (a) and his votaries at Karbala and made the latter's surviving kith and kin captives. In his second year as Caliph, he ransacked Medina, (the seat of the Prophet's rule and his burial site), and in his third year of rule he invaded Mecca.

² Imam Husayn: grandson of the Prophet, and also known as the Doyen of the Martyrs [*Sayyid ash-Shuhada*]. In 60 AH [680 CE], Imam Husayn refused to swear allegiance to Yazid, son of Muawiyah and second caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, since Yazid did not possess legitimate authority and had succeeded to the caliphate by hereditary succession. The ensuing death of the Imam in battle at Karbala has always been commemorated by Shiah Muslims as the supreme example of martyrdom in the face of tyranny. It served as an important point of both ideological and emotive reference throughout the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Ashura, the tenth day of Muharram, is the day on which he was martyred in Karbala. See Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams ad-Din, *The Revolution of Al-Husayn*, <http://www.al-islam.org/revolution>; Ibrahim Ayati, *A Probe into the History of Ashura* (Karachi: Islamic Seminary Publications, 1984); Zakir, *Tears and Tributes* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications); Yasin T. al-Jibouri, *Karbala and Beyond* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications); Sayyid Wahid Akhtar, "Karbala: An Enduring Paradigm of Islamic Revivalism," *Al-Tawhid Journal*, <http://www.al-islam.org/al-tawhid/paradigm-akhtar.htm>.

oppressive ruler, a tyrant, is governing over the people, he makes it clear that should one witness an oppressive ruler governing over the people and tyrannizing them, then he is to stand in confrontation against the tyrant and is to do all he can to put a stop to his tyranny. And this is exactly what Imam Husayn did with only several people supporting him, people who were so few in number that they were nothing compared to the soldiers and the outfit they were to confront. Nevertheless, the Imam considered it his duty to rise up and sacrifice his blood in order for him to reform the people and to haul down the banner of Yazid. And indeed this he did, and an end was put to the affair. He sacrificed his own blood and that of his sons, as well as his children and everything he possessed in God's path, for the sake of Islam. Now, is our blood more precious than the blood of the Lord of the Martyrs?

Why should we be afraid of sacrificing our blood or of sacrificing our lives? That tyrannical sultan (Yazid) said that he was Muslim, but Yazid was the kind of Muslim that the Shah is—he may in fact have been somewhat better than the Shah, but he was certainly no worse than he is. However, because he treated the people so badly, because he was a tyrannous, cruel man who wanted to mislead the people by forcing them to obey him, the Doyen of the Martyrs deemed it necessary to confront this cruel sultan even if it meant losing his life. This is the line of action that was taken by the prophets. If a cruel, unjust sultan wishes to rule over the people one must stand up against him and do whatever is necessary. Now, we too must confront him (the Shah) with whatever it takes. We must forbid him to do evil and enjoin him to do good, and we are to pull him down from this redundant throne. Hence, we are not concerned about sacrificing our lives; let us sacrifice them. This is clearly something which we must do.

Freedom and independence requires sacrifice

We want to free a people; we want to free a nation; we want to make a nation independent; we want to break loose from the fetters of America, Britain and the Soviet Union, and naturally this will mean that self-sacrifices have to be made. It will mean that our youth are to lose their lives, that we will be imprisoned for something like ten years. These things will have to happen. All kinds of sacrifices will have to be made. But we are in no way upset by the fact that we are to go to prison, or that our youngsters are to sacrifice their lives, since these things are to happen for the sake of truth, for the sake of God. When something is to be done for the sake of God and for

the sake of fighting oppression, then what is there for us to worry about? The fact that we are working for the sake of God and that our youngsters are making self-sacrifices for His sake is no cause at all for worry or grief. Be sure not to allow this fear to enter your hearts in any way. Be sure not to pay attention to those evil whisperings which ask: What on earth can we possibly do about the situation? What will the eventual outcome be? And so on. Or to those words uttered by certain of the devil's accomplices to us clergymen and to you the people. Be sure to stand firm and not to allow any kind of fear to enter your hearts for, God willing, you shall be the victors. Whether we are killed or whether we kill others, Truth is on our side. Even if we are killed, we will have been killed in the fight for Truth, and this constitutes victory. And again, if we kill others, this too will have been in the fight for Truth, and therefore also constitutes victory.

The people are heedless of the martial law

We in no way fear these things. They can attack to their hearts' content, but they will eventually bite the dust and be destroyed. And let these powerful nations declare their support for him (the Shah) as much as they like; let anyone who so desires go ahead and do this, for an entire nation is now standing up in confrontation, and is saying no'. No cannons or tanks can be effective before the no' of a nation; as we have seen since martial law has been implemented. Martial law is in force right now in Qum, but yesterday saw the holding of many demonstrations there yet again, and it is said that further demonstrations have been held there today also. People no longer pay any attention to this martial law of theirs. Truth can no longer be put to silence at bayonet point. This is just not possible any more.

God willing, He will protect you all and enable us all to serve this nation and to serve Islam. God willing, may He grant us success in carrying out our bounden duty (the audience recites a *salawah*).

Message

Date: October 26, 1978 [Aban 4, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 23, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Warning on the withdrawal of the royal jewels by Muḥammad Rida Pahlavi

Occasion: Aban 4, the Shah's birthday

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The current situation in Iran is the cause of great anxiety for me. I am concerned that the extreme pressure on the Shah and his relatives may intensify their insane attacks on people and further their bloodshed. The massacre in Kerman, the burning of mosques and the Holy shrines of the Muslims and assaulting the defenseless men and women inside, the merciless massacres in Hamedan and other cities on the east, west, north and south, of Iran, in so many places that naming all of them is impossible. They are samples of their insanity. These types of crimes are what I had expected from anyone who has lost hope of keeping his brutal regime and is taking in his last breaths.

The noble and oppressed people of Iran, and the wings interested in Islam and the country, must take away the enemy's mind power and put an end to their dictatorship as soon as possible; because this is a satanic plan prepared by foreign diplomacies, to wear out the zealous nation of Iran by continuous murdering and the burning down the shops of the combatant believers, in order to stop their Islamic movement and leave the battlefield wide open for their acts of plundering and treason. They are unaware of the fact that the brave, alert and aware nation will not stop until they overthrow this corrupt regime and cut the hands of the foreign looters from national resources.

As I have been informed, the Shah has committed another crime; and that is the withdrawal of the royal jewelries, which belong to this poor nation, from the country; and also, he and his relatives are selling the properties and assets that have been built with the people's money. We must continue our positive and negative struggles, and remove this bully from the country as quickly as possible. Suggesting the motto of abiding by the constitutional law, which has recently been brought up in the two houses of parliament by the Shah's authorities, is a betrayal to Islam and the country. The intention of

saving the regime and ousting the Shah is the same as killing a viper and raising its offspring.

Our dear people have registered their honorable name in history and in the first row of the Islamic crusaders, by their brave rising and giving their own and their dear children's blood. Today, retreating means shame, disgrace and suicide. The Shah's opponents, in any group or party, must remember that if they give a chance to this injured snake, they will be stricken back so hard that they will writhe under the domination of foreigners and their servants forever. We are responsible for the future generations before the Exalted and Supreme God.

My dears! Do not be afraid of sacrificing lives and wealth for the sake of God, Islam and the Muslim nation, for this was the way of the glorious Prophet (s) and the succeeding leaders and Imams (a), and we are no better than the martyrs of Karbala who were killed in opposition with the ruthless sultan who had resorted to Islam and introduced himself as the Caliph of Islam. You, who have stood up for Islam and are sacrificing lives and wealth, are of the rank of Karbala martyrs; because you are following their school. Now, I must remind you of a few points:

1. Our people, the clergy, universities, traders, farmers, laborers or workers must not take even one step back from their strong position they have thus far held, regarding the removal of the degraded Pahlavi regime, that will acquire them independence and freedom under the auspices of an Islamic just state, because regression will increase the Shah's cruel killings, and showing weakness on this matter will be ignoring the shed blood of our innocent youth, and the responsibility of this act will fall upon every one of us.

2. Do not be afraid of the nonsense jabberings of America, Britain and Russia regarding their supporting of the Shah for protecting their own interests. History testifies that no power can put out the fire set in the hearts of an oppressed nation who has stood up for its freedom and independence. Our people will not tolerate the Shah and his gang's crimes and the Shah's supporters will suffer great losses. We are demanding our rights and we do have the right to do so, and God, who is above the Eastern and Western superpowers, is with us. God's Hand [i.e. help] is above all hands.¹

¹ *Surah al-Fath* 48:10: "[O Prophet!] Those believers who took the oath of allegiance to you [in Hudaibiyah] did in fact take the oath with God. For your hand is God's Hand and above theirs; so whoever breaks the oath afterwards, has indeed proceeded towards his own loss and perdition, and those who remain loyal to their oath with God, will soon be rewarded by God with great rewards."

3. Give my regards to the esteemed chiefs of the armed forces, and tell the land, sea and air forces, that Iran is your country and the people of Iran are your people; join the people. I am sure that many of you are faithful to the people and country of Islam and are disgusted with these killings and lootings of the traitor Shah, his relatives and the international criminals. I occasionally receive your concerns. Your people are going through some crucial moments and you, more than anyone else, are responsible before the Almighty God, the brave people and the future generations; make a brave effort and break the chain of slavery. Do not give a chance to this traitor to Islam, and guarantee pride for yourselves and your nation. God, the Exalted, helps those who serve Islam and their country.

4. Now that our trustworthy writers, who have been living in isolation for many years, and the regime of strangulation and terror had taken away their chance to speak their minds, have earned their limited freedom at the price of Islam's brave children's holy blood, do not neglect the divine ideal, and begin the important and essential task of unveiling and showing the focal point of the recent crimes, which is the Shah, and sincerely uncover the unseen crimes that people are not aware of, and by doing this valuable service, pay your dues to Islam. Today, that all social orders have stood up for their independence and freedom, the responsibility of the respected and reliable writers has entered a very crucial stage. People are at the junction of life or death, permanent independence or eternal slavery; diverting from people, even for one step will result into destruction and extinction of the courageous nation, and that will be a treachery to Islam and the Muslims. Honorable writers should deservingly reflect people's wishes and help the great Islamic movement.

5. Occasionally, some slogans are used in the universities that are being taken advantage of by the regime. Our youth should know that China and Russia feed on our blood just as America and Britain do. My request from you is to avoid using the Shah's slogans, and to stand on your own feet without having any inclination toward the West or the East. Do not be deceived by international looters. Those pulling you into the direction of these types of slogans are of the regime affiliates; keep away from them and join your other friends, and by using the slogans of monotheism and Islam, cut the hands of Pahlavi dynasty and the gang of oil guzzlers from the country, and return to the arms of Islam. Contrary to other ideologies that have made false claims that their leaders have never acted upon, and have made us poor and dependent by taking away Iran's resources. Islam answers

the call of all deprived people. We welcome you with open arms and we are at your service. Islam has come for the salvation of the poor.

6. The release of some of the political prisoners after several years of torture, agony and deprivation of their primary rights, is just as being freed from one prison into a bigger one. Are the people of Iran ever going to forgive the Shah's medieval crimes and his torturing of their children in the dungeons of the prisons? Isn't this a prosecutable crime, to take, for years, every right from the people who are ready to make any sacrifices to save their country from the evil acts of the Shah and foreigners? Isn't the Shah himself the main criminal for all the crimes committed on people, especially on political prisoners? Should not this major criminal be tried and punished for chaining down a group of oppressed people? However, he cannot be truly punished for his crimes until the Day of Judgment. Our political prisoners are aware that they have earned their freedoms through heroic sacrifices of the Muslim nation of Iran, and the way to thank these sacrifices is to continue their endless fights till the fall of the regime and the freedom of their other brothers and sisters.

Now, as I am writing this letter, I am concerned about all sisters, brothers and mothers in Iran. Fourth of Aban is the national mourning day, and the origin of all the miseries of oppressed Iran.

My dears! Be patient for God is with the patient. Do not fall prey to demonic temptations, although your frequent uprisings have proven otherwise. Those who drive you to despair are the Shah's and foreigners' agents who are intending to protect the Shah's and the looters' interests by satanic temptations; usher those people toward the divine direct path, and if they do not surrender, abandon and disappoint them.

Your uprising is for God's sake, and for the salvation of the Islamic nation, and consenting to forbearance and suffering in that path is of the greatest worships, and by God's grace, you shall receive the same rewards as the fighters of the early Islamic era. May the longevity of the divine path toughen you, just as the twenty some years of sufferings made the honorable Prophet (s) tougher and tougher. May God, the Exalted, grant victory to Islam and free Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: October 26, 1978 [Aban 4, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 23, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The political and social gist of the Islamic regime (government)

Interviewer: (British) *Reuter* Press

Question: [What is the political and social nature of your regime? Some say Islam is conservative.]

Answer: Islam is the religion of progression. The Quran is the way to human progression and flourishing. Let us see what the disputes are over the Shah's regime. He has an affiliated regime dependent on America that promotes American plans in Iran, and these plans have dragged Iran toward desolation. He has furnished Russians with a part of the country's wealth resources, in order to keep things in balance. Islam wants Iran to be independent. Which of these two is considered conservative? The Shah's regime has demolished all freedoms in Iran. We should not have wanted freedom of votes and equality in economic and political opportunities, if we were conservatives. But, Islam is in such a high level of perfection that it has from the beginning based its progress on free discussions, and the fight against censorship. The Shah's regime, according to the confessions of its puppets in the parliament, media and government, has been drowned in corruption, and the engineers of this regime have stolen and squandered billions of this country's wealth; is it being conservative to oppose this corruption? The Shah's regime has completely shattered the national economy. Frequent warnings were given to this effect, years ago. But the Shah has been busy spending millions of dollars on advertising for the "economic miracle" and "the unique growth of Iran"; is opposing the devastation of the country's economy, being conservative? This regime has committed hundreds of treasons to the country that will make such a long list; is opposing these treacheries being conservative? In fact, it is not the confrontation between the conservatives and the progressives that Iran is dealing with, but it is rather the confrontation between the whole nation—who not only wants its legitimate right for real progress, but also demands its right to live—and a regime who is an unquestionable American element endangering Iran's entity. The world media should give this warning to the people around the globe. To handle their own crises, the giants of the world, roll the countries under their domination down the slope of destruction, and

in order to mislead the public opinion of their people, they hide the truth from their people, and exhibit the fight for rights and real progress as the fight between the conservatives and progressives of the most degraded regimes.

Q: [How are the relations of this movement with the opposition parties and groups?]

A: All groups are free in expressing their opinions; however, we will not allow treason.

Q: [If the Shah resigns, what would the new regime be like? Will the religious authorities rule themselves?]

A: The religious authority will not rule by themselves; they will rather supervise and direct those executive affairs. This government will rely on the people's votes and will be under public control, evaluation and criticism at all times.

Q: [What is your analysis of the Iranian army? What role will they play?]

A: The Iranian army is under American domination. We will banish them and will return them to their real duty and role which is defending the country.

Q: [How should the relations between Iran and the West be adjusted? Are you anti-West?]

A: No, We are not anti-West. We are seeking independence and we will lay the foundation of our relation with the West upon that. We want people of Iran not be westernized and proceed toward progression and civilization on national and religious bases.

Q: [What do you think of the Soviets?]

A: The Soviets support the Shah. Even their representatives at the United Nations supported the Shah. The Soviets too, just as the Americans and the British, have committed and will commit any crime to swallow Iran's wealth.

Q: [Shiism has a liberal and revolutionary tradition, talk about the tradition of objection in Shiism, if you may?]

A: Shiism has fought for a just government from the beginning.

Speech

Date: October 26, 1978 [Aban 4, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 23, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Subject: The Shah himself as the prime culprit behind all of the crimes in Iran

Occasion: Aban 4, the Shah's birthday

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

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

Black clothing on the Shah's birthday

Today, on October 26 [Aban 4], even Iran's own radio service has spoken of demonstrations and disturbances taking place in many of the cities in Iran; and according to reports, people in Qum, northern Tehran and certain other places have dressed in black clothing; black banners also being in evidence in some places.

The Prophet's (s) birth a source of blessings

There are different kinds of birthdays: one kind of birthday is something from which goodness springs; it is a source of blessings; it is something which leads to the oppressor being crushed and to the idol- and fire-temples being destroyed. This is the kind of birthday which pertains to the Holy Prophet (s). It has been said that the fire in the temple¹ at Pars was extinguished and that the columns of *Taq-e Kasra* (Khosroe's Palace)² tumbled to the ground. History has spoken of this demolition and extirpation, but the point to bear in mind is that at that time two powerful forces were in existence: one of them comprising the oppressive rulers of the day, and the other, the fire-worshipping clerical authorities, and with the birth of the Holy Prophet, because he had been brought into this world, these two forces were eventually destroyed. One of them being the awe-inspiring columns of *Taq-e*

¹ A fire temple is a special structure in whose center there is a container for fire. Zoroastrians used to consider fire as sacred since it is a cleansing agent. When the ever burning fire of Pars fire temple suddenly went out, it is thus regarded as the collapse of that official religion in those days which coincided with the birth of the Holy Prophet of Islam (s) and the beginning of the new faith of Islam.

² *Taq-e Kasra*: the most famous construction that the Sassanid kings built and it is rumored that this palace was built by Khosroe I and still others believe that it was one among other palaces built by Shahpur, the first Sassanid king.

Kasra which served as a visible sign of these powerful forces came tumbling down.

Anushirvan the Just¹ of whom some speak, is nothing but a myth! He was in fact a cruel tyrant of a man, but maybe he was called “just” in comparison to other kings, for otherwise how could he possibly be called “Anushirvan the Just”?! It was with the birth of the Holy Prophet into this world that these columns of oppression collapsed. That is, the roots of oppression were eradicated and the flames of dualism, polytheism and fire-worship were extinguished because the Prophet came into the world; the foundations of both of the powerful forces which prevailed at that time were destroyed because of him. The following two basic principles then became widespread via the Holy Prophet, monotheism grew world-wide, and, God willing, still continues to grow; and the essential purpose of prophethood was actually realized, for the real purpose of prophethood is a prophet’s mission to wipe out the roots of power held by those in authority who treat the people unfairly. Thus, the Prophet had come to wipe out these roots of oppression, to destroy these columns of oppression which were so impressive, these palace columns which were erected through the hard toil of these poor people, through the torment suffered by these poor people, through the exploitation of these poor powerless people. And at the same time, since that which really matters is the spread of monotheism, the Prophet destroyed those places from where fire and beings other than God were worshipped, and he extinguished the fires therein.

Birth of the Shah, the commencement of darkness and corruption

However, quite the opposite results from the births of certain other people, and October 26 is a case in point. Of course, I must beg the Holy Prophet’s forgiveness for mentioning his birthday in conjunction with that of this despicable wretch (the Shah), but it is a case of wanting to compare light to darkness, of comparing a true human being to one who is inhuman. And it is this inauspicious birthday [of the Shah] which has led to the present state of affairs of which you are all aware. These two affairs concerning the signs of polytheism and oppression constituted the reason for the Holy Prophet’s coming and indeed both of these signs were eventually wiped out by him, but

¹ Khosroe I, known as Anushirvan the Just’, a king of the Sassanid dynasty (acceded to the throne in 531 CE), had all of his brothers and their male offspring killed at the onset of his reign. Within one day this man massacred the Mazdakites who are said to have numbered 80,000, while other of his cruel deeds included the murder of Buzurgmehr, his learned minister, whose execution he ordered.

the situation with regard to them both was reversed with the birth of this person! That is to say, the birth of this person has led to a situation where both fire worshippers and the worship of fire have gained strength and have been promoted, and where the roots of oppression have become increasingly firm. And this is especially the case in our own country of Iran. One side of the story in Iran concerns the fire worshippers who live in and around Yazd,¹ and who have been given so much encouragement and support, that according to the newspapers, these American fire worshippers even wrote to the Shah thanking him and stating that no one else had hitherto supported and honored their faith to the extent that he had. It was God's will that our people soon awoke. Even though they awoke after the fact, they nevertheless awoke in time and were thus able to prevent this person from following his plans through. The American fire worshippers and the wealthy among them had intended to impose their will upon him (the Shah), or perhaps it was also a case of him being found willing, but whatever, there was more to this affair than that which I have mentioned. There was much more involved than the issues I have pointed to and indeed these issues were of a more delicate nature.

The Shah's treason of promoting Zoroastrianism and changing the *Hijri* calendar

It all began when he helped to promote some of the fire temples and changed the calendar whereby time was reckoned according to Zoroastrian history rather than that of Islam. God knows that this act of betrayal by him toward Islam and this affront to the Holy Prophet (s) constitute a crime of much more serious proportions than that of these killings which he has brought about. If we were to balance all these killings against this one deed which involved changing the official calendar of Islam, changing the symbol

¹ The province of Yazd, situated in the south of Iran, is the Zoroastrians' capital (Zoroastrianism having been the religion of Iranians in the ancient past) and its fire temple, having retained its fame, is still highly regarded by Iranian Zoroastrians. By holding the two-and-a-half millennia celebrations, building up Iran's past via publicity campaigns, and promoting ancient beliefs—in particular the Zoroastrian faith and invented religions such as Bahaiism—the Iranian regime intended to obliterate the religion of Islam, or at least to weaken it and place it on a par with other religious faiths. This policy was continuously promoted by broadcasting and publishing special programs and material, and to this end, several meetings and seminars were held each year. That which was in fact promoted by the Shah however, involved much more than the Zoroastrian faith alone. Today, the Zoroastrians in Iran are officially regarded as a religious minority in the Islamic Republic. They are free to conduct Zoroastrian religious ceremonies and have their own representative in the Parliament.

of monotheism, the symbol of humanity, into these things which relate to fire worshippers, into a fire worshippers' calendar, a calendar for the Zoroastrians, then we would see that this crime outweighs all of the other crimes that he has committed against us. This person wanted to ruin Islam's reputation and worth; he wanted to destroy the symbol of Islam. He has sent our oil to them, taking it and giving it away to them. These are things which matter in material terms only but which nevertheless clearly constitute a crime. Giving a country's reserves away to foreigners constitutes a crime against a nation, but changing the calendar constitutes an affront to the reputation of Islam. And this is exactly what this person has done. Indeed, if it were not for that punch which the nation gave him in the mouth, thus compelling him to bring back the Islamic calendar and dispose with the Zoroastrian calendar, then this affair would have developed even further. Basically, they had intended to return things to the way they were before the Holy Prophet of Islam, to the time of those tyrannical kings; those vicious murderers; and they had intentions of behaving as the latter had done and of bringing about the same state of affairs that had existed at the time of these kings.

"Pan-Iranianism"¹ is the belief that Iran must preserve its Iranian identity! But do the ancient kings mean everything to you? Are the ancient kings all that you can claim to have had in the past? Just look at what these kings did to the people. And the same goes for that group which comprised the Magi² and others like them, just look at how they treated the people of Iran.

The Prophet (s) and Imam Ali's (a) conduct in governance

As for the other side of the story, this concerns how the Holy Prophet behaved toward his own people when he came and called on them to believe in monotheism, and even how he behaved toward those infidels who paid tribute to the Islamic state, those people who were against religion. Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali), may God's peace be upon him, once said that he had heard of an army of soldiers—apparently they had been Muawiyah's soldiers—arriving at a certain place and of them stealing, among other things, an anklet from the foot of a non-Muslim [*dhimmi*],³ from the foot of a

¹ The idea of reviving the Great Iran.

² The Zoroastrian clergy, which constituted a powerful and influential class during the Sassanid Empire.

³ *Dhimmi*: non-Muslim citizen of the Muslim state, whose rights and obligations are contractually determined.

woman who was either Jewish or Christian. Accounts describe how Hadrat Amir then said: “Even if one died of grief because of this incident, this would not be an overreaction.” This is the kind of person he was. This is the kind of ruler we seek. We seek the kind of regime whose ruler, whose king—indeed, it is impertinent of me to call Hadrat Amir “king”—whose ruler, whose leader, is like he who governed over a range of countries including the Hijaz, Iran, Egypt and so on; like he who showed concern for all of his subjects, including the person who was not of his own faith. On the very day that they swore allegiance to Hadrat Amir, accepting him as their sultan as it were, as their Imam and Caliph, once homage had been paid to him, he took up his pick and went to work, for he was someone who used to get things done himself, through his own toil. But why should he have done this—why did he dig the soil? Once he had in fact dug a well; someone came to him to congratulate him after which he replied: “It is the succeeding generations that you should congratulate.” He then asked that a pen be brought to him and he endowed the place in question to the indigent.¹ Yes, we seek a ruler like Hadrat Amir, who would sit and reckon the accounts of the public treasury in the light emitted from one lamp, from one paraffin lamp or oil lamp or whatever kind of lamp they used at that time. In fact, on one occasion Hadrat Amir was busy making such calculations when somebody called on him to discuss something which bore no relation to the work in which the Hadrat was engaged at that moment. Imam Ali therefore turned out the light saying: “Until this moment I was reckoning the accounts of the public treasury. This light is public property and I was using it to enable me to do work which relates to the people’s property, but now that you wish to speak to me about something else, something which bears no relation to the public treasury, why should we continue to use the people’s lamp? Of course no one can behave as Hadrat Amir did, no one in the world is capable of this, but the least we ask is that our ruler be someone who is not a thief! Now we have reached the stage where we will be content to have a ruler who at least does not steal to such an extent, a ruler who will not plunder the wealth of these people so, or oppress them in this way.

Vain actions

As I previously explained, the birth of the Most Noble Messenger (s), led to the fires in the fire-temples being or rather it can be said that he extinguished the fire-temples of oppression, but on the contrary, his (the

¹ Refer to *Biḥār al-Anwar* vol. 41, p. 39.

Shah's) intention to relight the fires in such temples. According to what they say, he has actually given his approval and support to some of the fire temples which are located around Yazd. Furthermore, he changed the calendar and he had intended to continue with this line of action, putting such plans into effect one by one that is, of course, until the nation came to the rescue and caused the columns of Khosroe's Palace to tumble to the ground, meaning that oppression needs to be destroyed in the same way. Do you now see what he did to this nation? Do you see how he has oppressed and continues to oppress this nation? Yet even at this late hour, now that his number is up and his efforts are in vain, he has come up with certain ideas! From what they say, the regime has sent a certain group of people to Kerman, people who are supposedly *kolis*, people whom they call vagrants—now whether the regime paid these people to go there or not I do not know—but it is similar to what happened in the year when Faydiyyah Madrasah was stormed. On that occasion I was present; I was in Qum when those SAVAK agents and those commandos posing as “peasants” charged into Faydiyyah Madrasah, setting fire to the Quran, setting fire to turbans, flinging people to their deaths from the roof. And all this was supposedly done because the peasants no longer favored the *akhund*! It was claimed that these peasants no longer desired to follow the Quran, that they did not want the *akhund*! But is this really the case? Whenever the peasant is questioned as to what he desires, he replies that he desires both the Quran and Islam.

A memory of the thwarting of one of the plots in 1342 AHS [circa 1963]

Those commandos and the others who you (the Shah) trained in order to crush Islam, are they really our peasants? Yes indeed, I was present to witness events and to see what they (the regime) did on that occasion. They even came to my home at that time, but the harsh reaction I showed toward them prevented them from fulfilling their intentions. The whole incident at Faydiyyah began during a gathering there. Certain speakers wished to speak at this gathering, and I had either already spoken or was due to speak when someone told me, and indeed I myself witnessed, that an uncalled for *salawat* had been chanted. I then instructed a friend to announce that should anyone attempt to cause trouble at the gathering, then I would ascend the pulpit in the courtyard of the holy shrine of Hadrat Masumah (*r*) and would speak out to the people there. Those agents present were not the sort of people to persist with such behavior knowing that it would bring about such consequences; and since they were at a loss as to what they should do, they left the gathering. It was on that same day that they poured into Faydiyyah

Madrasah and went wild; it was on that very same afternoon that they committed those outrages in Faydiyyah Madrasah.

On that day under the guise of peasants' and today under the guise of kolis'

On that particular day it was in the guise of peasants that they ran riot and behaved so disgracefully and now they have started to claim that it is the *kolis* who are doing whatever. The regime's agents poured into the city of Kerman in the guise of *kolis*, and they have done the same elsewhere, in other cities, cities such as Hamedan where the people were so savagely attacked. It is said that the same has also happened in Zanjan. As for Qum, disturbances, shootings and killings have been going on for the past two or three days now, and the city has been in a state of unrest as have some parts of Tehran. Even today, I listened to a number of reports broadcast over Iranian radio which named many different places where there is unrest and so on. And so there we have the people's celebration for October 26, the day which commemorates his birthday! Black is being worn today. Yes, the radio mentioned one or two places—I think it was Maragheh or somewhere—where this and that had happened, and then the radio continued to give some account or other of events there. As for who did what, I do not know how valid their accounts are or who was actually involved in these events; but having said that, the fact remains that many cities have been quoted over the radio even though the truth is without doubt something other than that which they have been reporting. There is certainly more to it than this, and news of what actually occurred during these events will no doubt reach you later.

Firing upon people inside a cinema

While two important events came to pass because of the Most Noble Messenger's birth, those being: the end of polytheistic and fire-worshipping tendencies, and the collapse of the columns of oppression, now his (the Shah's) birth has in fact served to rekindle fire-worshipping! If he had been given the chance he would have revived the principles of fire-worshipping, for we already saw how he had changed the calendar, and had erected those towers besetting oppression. It is such towers of oppression which give rise to these holocausts of fire. What exactly had those poor people who had gone to the cinema¹ done to warrant the Chief of Police going and closing the

¹ The tragedy of the Rex Cinema in Abadan, a city in the province of Khuzestan in the southwestern part of Iran, on Mordad 28, 1357 AHS [August 19, 1978]. This outrage which had been planned in advance, involved the horrendous immolation of over four hundred people.

doors (while the cinema was ablaze) and refusing to allow the people to open them? Of course it must be said that the cinema in Iran is not really a place which one should frequent. This is one of the tragedies in Iran that the cinemas there serve to corrupt and ruin our youth. In spite of this fact certain people had indeed gone to the cinema on this occasion, but even so, why should they have been treated in this way? Evidently certain incendiary devices had been planted there with the intention of creating a fire, of burning those poor people alive, of turning them into ashes. And the whole purpose was to make others out to be terrorists! Surely though, there was no need to go so far as to commit such a terrorist act yourselves and then to place the blame on other supposed terrorists. But then these are the kind of people they are.

Shah, the agent of all the tyranny

This is the kind of regime the Iranian people have to put up with. They (the regime) committed that shameful act in Kerman, storming the mosque there, suffocating a group of those present by means of certain gases, killing another group comprising men and women, adults and children, setting fire to everything in the mosque, in the Muslim's place of worship; and then they invaded the bazaar, looting it and setting it ablaze. Yet now, after all that, they say that they intend to send some people to discover who actually committed such a deed! But who does he intend to send to make enquiries? Does he mean to send the same people that he sent to discover who had caused the incident in Abadan (i.e. the Rex Cinema tragedy)?! Does "His Imperial Majesty" wish to punish the ruthless brutes who committed this act? He himself is that person! It is he who is the source of all the tyranny and misery suffered by the people.

If the people of Iran do not make a move...

If the people of Iran do not make a move and put an end to this soon, then there are many things which he intends to do. This nation must be rescued. Everyone, wherever they may be, must help these people; otherwise this man will destroy the very fabric of society. Now, having behaved so disgracefully in Kerman and having laid the blame on the *kolis* or whoever—no one being more of a *koli* than he (the Shah) himself—yes, now he has sent people to conduct a so-called public enquiry into who carried out such an act, who committed such an atrocious deed! But sir, the nation can no longer

believe these things that you say. From the very beginning of events in Abadan, the people of that city took to the streets of their own volition for they realized that they (the regime) were the ones who were responsible for this crime. They realized this because it was evident that if someone or some trouble-maker had wanted to carry out this deed in such a smooth manner, if he had wanted to create a fire with such skill, to plant incendiary substances so effectively and then to close the cinema doors thus preventing anyone from leaving the cinema . . . there is no way that he could have achieved this. And this is why people began to make their voices heard (in protest), and why now, whenever such incidents occur, the people themselves are aware of who is to blame. Again, anti-regime protests were widely held when the people went to visit the cemetery.¹ And this is how things now are in Kerman; how they are in Hamedan; how they are in Zanjan. Now he (the Shah) has recently made the decision to silence the people in this way. The people all know that these acts of oppression are all performed on his orders. There is no way that a member of the police would set people on fire unless he had been given leave to do so by him (the Shah). Do you really think they would dare to kill someone without his permission—without his instructions, without his strict instructions?

Shah, the commander of the Khordad 15 massacre

On Khordad 15 (June 5), he himself was in command. From what they say he commanded the forces himself. He who is in command in all of these different places is this very man. This man's birth has been the source of all the sufferings of the people of Iran; God willing, this source of oppression will be removed (the audience cries, "Amen"), may He cast this black flag to the ground (the audience cries, "Amen"); and soon so He shall, God willing. This is something which is about to take place. This kind of frantic action that we now see is that of an animal whose head has been severed and who now wants to make a last desperate struggle.

Our duty is to fight against the Shah's slanderous propaganda

Be that as it may, we are all duty-bound, all of us. Those of us here all have a duty to perform. Each one of you, if possible, must pass on written material about Iran to the newspapers here, to the journals here, to your fellow students and to the universities here. Pass on information about the situation in Iran. Tell the people about Iran. Their propaganda is widespread.

¹ It refers to the anti-regime protests of the people of Abadan at the city's cemetery, after the Rex Cinema tragedy.

Even now there may still be certain people who are not aware of what is really going on. Is America right in saying that the people are upset because they have been given freedom, because they have been given too much freedom too quickly? Have the Iranian people got indigestion because of the freedom that has been given to them?! Has the nation raised its voice because it has been given too much freedom?! Indeed, this is how Mr. Carter sees it! And the newspapers—either *Kayhan* or *Ittilaat*—have quoted him as saying that a quick democracy has been brought about, a sudden new-found freedom has been given, and that this is why the people are now opposing him (the Shah)! Is this really the case? Is it that he has granted freedom, and because of this the people still cry out: “We want freedom, we want freedom?!” Are they crying out because of the independence and the great civilization’ that they enjoy?! Again only today, this man (the Shah)—I do not know what he is made of—was talking about how everyone could see for themselves how much freedom there is in Iran; how everyone could see the freedom he had granted to this nation. Only today, October 26, did he say these things. I really can’t figure out what makes these people tick! I am astonished! God knows there is indeed call to be astonished, firstly, at the kind of people they are.

The rumor of Iran’s becoming communist

And secondly, at the fear that has arisen among the Muslim people that, as the Shah puts it: “If it weren’t for me the communists would take over.” The world would in fact come to an end! Without him (the Shah) there is no Iran! Indeed, Iran is Muhammad Rida! Without him Iran would no longer exist! Thus, he argues that we Iranians wish to live in our own country, we wish to resolve our differences or whatever in our own country; but he says that if he were not there then there would no longer be an Iran! Those young people who shout slogans¹ such as these, slogans which are false and groundless; those people are presently assisting the regime. On the one hand they are assisting it by trying to make a group of people afraid of a possible communist takeover should the Shah leave—although in fact these kinds of remarks no longer frighten the people. On the other hand, these very differences of opinion which exist between us and between the young people themselves, this dichotomy which is to be found among the young people, serves to assist this regime whereby those of you who are under the impression that you are helping to bring the Shah down, are in fact,

¹ Irreligious and communist slogans.

paradoxically strengthening the bases of his oppression. I regret the fact that these youngsters are assisting the regime in this way without even being aware of what they are doing. Those who ask you to chant these slogans are those who are actually allied to this very regime. These communists who belong to the officially recognized Tudeh Party, these leading communist figures, in actual fact serve his (the Shah's) regime and our children, our youngsters, will have been taken in if they go along with their game. The light of Islam still lies within these youngsters but they have been deceived. They ought to break away from these criminals, from those who urge them to join their outfit. These people in fact want to save the Shah and you are unaware of this. It makes no difference whether they are inside the country or abroad. Propaganda is being disseminated under various pretexts in order to save this person (the Shah). Whatever means possible are being resorted to so that this person can remain, and this affair (concerning the supposed threat of communism) is one such means. Wake up. These youngsters of ours are to pay close attention to what is currently going on for events which are now unfolding are crucial.

The defeat of communism in Iran

If what they say is true and one and a half thousand students have staged a pro-communist demonstration, then this itself is a sign of the defeat of communism in Iran. The very fact that a mere one and a half thousand people are standing in confrontation against a population of thirty million, all of whom have risen the banner (of Islam) and are crying out for the Quran, is itself proof that these (communists) have suffered a defeat in Iran. Hence, it is not the case that the communists would take over should he (the Shah) leave. If he should leave, not even a single communist would be found in Iran; for even if we suppose that instead of one and a half thousand people, five thousand people are now standing in confrontation against the rest of the population, these youngsters of ours in Qum alone could easily deal with them. There would be no need for those in Tehran to assist in any way, for our youngsters in Qum alone could deal with these communists. What on earth are the communists capable of doing? They have tricked you. Everything that they say is mere rhetoric. They wish to use you to the Shah's advantage. They have now exploited you; they have made fools of you.

Cry out in unison

Do not listen to what they have to say. Unite and cry out with one voice. Join the Muslims in their cries. If you were to cry out in unison, then it would

be all over for him (the Shah). Do not sow discord. A house divided against itself cannot stand. Today, the presence of differences means suicide for the Muslims. Everyone must unite. Everyone must cry out in unison. Everyone must cry out for the same thing, they must all cry: "Death to this Shah and to this monarchy; death to those who support him, such as Carter and others like him." This is what we are crying out and this is what will make the people succeed. Do not be afraid of these things that they say and all this commotion that they make. Can a nation which has risen up to make a legitimate claim carry on living under oppression? We all saw for ourselves how the martial law governments were unable to do anything about the situation. In Qum for example, isn't martial law still in force there? Yet for the past three or four days now, anti-regime slogans have rung out in the city. Clashes have broken out there. Unrest prevails. And what about the situation in Tehran, is that any different? No indeed, the situation there is the same.

I beseech God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant good health to all of those brethren both inside the country and abroad, who are making sacrifices for the sake of Islam. May God grant you all success. May He grant you all good health. Everyone must make an effort to assist this nation which has now risen up and is shedding its blood. Everyone must cooperate seriously with this nation so that, God willing, it may succeed. Right now, in order for you who are abroad to cooperate, you must propagate the nation's message. The people there in Iran are having to deal with commandos...and those so-called "*kolis*"—who are in fact commandos also—and they are presently shedding their blood, whereas those of you who are here, abroad, must help your fellow countryman in whatever way possible by means of propagation (those present chant a *salawat*).

Interview

Date: October 27, 1978 [Aban 5, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 24, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The reasons for opposition to the Shah's regime

Interviewer: French Channel One TV

Question: [Will you partake in a transitional government with the Shah present? On what condition?]

Answer: With the presence of the Shah, we will not partake in any type of government, whether transitional or non-transitional, and we will not accept any conditions.

Q: [Aren't you afraid that the political and economic crises may worsen upon the departure of the Shah?]

A: The political and economic crises will continue on with the presence of the Shah, because people will not cooperate with him. And this is what's causing the crises. If the Shah leaves, the crises will obviate.

Q:[Has the recent uprising and movement not been or is it not being conducted and supported by a Marxist ideology?]

A: Not at all, it has not been, it is not being and it will not be. And nobody will accept their support.

Q: [Will you allow the support of a communist country?]

A: We are seeking independence, and won't accept the support of any country, and we are not under the protection of any country.

Q: [Can Islam guarantee freedom and social growth, considering its rigid laws? Can you give an example in another country?]

A: The basic laws of Islam cannot be bent to begin with, but many of its laws can be flexible by considering certain views, and can guarantee all means of democracy. What we are looking for is an Islamic country in every aspect, which at the present time, such a country does not exist anywhere, but it has in the past.

Q: [The recent movement of Iran is said to be reflexive. What is your response?]

A: The recent movement has occurred in order to deny the reflexive actions. It is the Shah's government and the likes that have caused all aspect of reflexivity and retardation, and these are the things we want to get rid of. Our movement is a civilized and modern one.

Q: [You want the Shah to leave, can you explain why? Do you wish he'd get killed and destroyed?]

A: For the last fifty years, we have been announcing the reasons of the Shah's conviction and the need for his removal in our statements, and here, I will refer to some of them for you: It has now been over fifty years that foreign governments have imposed the Shah's father and the Shah on us in Iran. The British, according to their own confession, are the ones who brought the former Shah to power in our country. They clearly announced that issue in *Radio Delhi*. The present Shah wrote in one of his books: "When the allies came to Iran during the war, they selected me to be the king, and they deemed it was advisable that I would be king."¹ We have now been living under pressure and extreme strangulations for fifty years. We do not have an independent culture nor do we have an unattached army or troops; we do not have a healthy economy nor do we have befitting political directions. And as far as our culture is concerned, it is what the Shah has imposed on us by the orders of others. Our schools are often half or completely closed, and when they are open, they have been ordered to keep them backward and not let any intellectuals be produced in the country. All our media and other means of advertisement have been under the Shah's control during the last fifty years. Any type of freedom has been taken away from our people. We have not ever had a national parliament in these fifty years. At the time of Rida Khan, they changed the regime, i.e. transferring the kingship,² by his resorting to force. When they formed the constituent assembly, it was by the force of bayonets, and the people were totally against it. Thus, the bayonets did not allow their opposition to be expressed. Therefore, the constituent assembly that was formed under such pressure at the time of Rida Shah, was illegal. Bearing this illegality in mind it makes Rida Shah and his kingship illegal. And that makes Muhammad Rida Shah's rule illegal. In every aspect of our progress, Muhammad Rida Shah has done

¹ Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, *Mission for My Country*.

² Rida Khan came to power as a result of the British-sponsored coup d'état of Esfand 29, 1299 AHS [March 20, 1921]. Then, after establishing a ceremonial constituent assembly and overthrowing the Qajar dynasty, he became the king assuming the title, Rida Shah Pahlavi'. He was crowned in 1305 AHS [circa 1926].

something to stop the process of our growth. He has not let our culture become modern. He has brought our army under other army's supervision. It is the American advisors that run our army. Our economy has been totally destroyed. Iran's agriculture has been destroyed and the oil is being overused and wasted, and since they are giving too much of that away, that will soon be finished too. If Muhammad Rida Shah stays in power, our country will face poverty and destruction in a few years. Therefore, as long as he is in power, we won't be free and won't progress, so he must go.

Speech

Date: October 28, 1978 [Aban 6, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 25, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The politico-devotional dimensions of Islam and the characteristics of Islamic government

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Man, not only an outer apparent being; a higher plane exists

. . . for all of those dimensions which pertain to the human being. The human being does not solely comprise this outer, apparent being which eats, drinks and performs those other functions which animals also perform. This is not the extent of his being; differences exist between him and other animals. Other creatures also live an animal existence in this material world to the extent of that seen to be lived by the human being. Other living beings, whatever exists in this material world, whatever lives an animal existence, exists on a material plane as does the human being, and the same applies to the living matter which lives the life of a plant, an existence which is on a lower plane than that of the human being. Among all the living creatures which exist in the natural world, the human being possesses certain properties not possessed by other creatures. An inner faculty, an intellectual faculty, a faculty even more superior to that of the intellect is innate in the human being. From birth it is in man's instinct to transcend this material world to that world which lies beyond our comprehension, and each of the stages to be passed on this journey requires guidance and instruction. Just as there are relevant instructions and guidelines to deal with the material life of this world, so too there are further instructions which pertain to other stages of being, some of which man is able to grasp and others—which form the majority—of which are beyond man's comprehension. God, the Blessed and the Most High, is He who is All-Knowing and the mission of the prophets (*a*) is to develop, promote and give instruction on those stages of man's existence of which man himself is unaware, stages which others, the materialists, are incapable of understanding and concerning which they cannot therefore instruct man, those stages of man's being of which mankind itself is oblivious. And such instruction is necessary, for without knowledge of the malady and the remedy, there can be no cure. The ultimate level of understanding which can be attained by any of the materialists, irrespective

of the actual level they may indeed reach, is confined to that which they grasp of the features of this material world. But there is both a mundane world and a supra-mundane world, both of which enjoy a similar existence; although in reality the latter exists on a much higher plane than the former. Now, we are in fact asleep and cannot perceive that (metaphysical) world with our natural eyesight. But because man is capable of being trained and so can discover those spheres of existence which lie beyond the material realm, and because there is no one who can offer mankind the necessary training and instruction, God, the Blessed and Exalted, has appointed the prophets to come and instruct man so that he may reach those metaphysical stages, so that whatever possesses potential may realize that potential, so that instruction given may be divine instruction.

Worship, the prescription of real doctors for leading man to perfection

Those of you gentlemen who either reside outside Iran or are living inside the country, you young people of whom we are truly fond and whom we look upon as our own children, you who have entered a new stage in your lives; be you abroad or within Iran, you can now only see the visible exterior of this world and the actions you now take are taken in accordance with this vision. What I mean to say is that you are aware only of that material realm and of those things which pertain to it such as these acts of revolt which are now taking place. Although these acts of revolt are divinely-inspired and are of course divinely-decreed, their purpose being to allow these people to win their rights, nevertheless, even once this aim is achieved, these are material matters, matters which are related to the life of this world. Yet there are in fact higher levels of existence of which you must take note.

These acts of worship which were brought to you via the prophets and which the latter urged you to perform—acts such as prayer, such as fasting, such as performing the holy pilgrimage and so on—these are a set of commands, a set of prescriptions prescribed by those original and authentic doctors who came to help you reach the various stages on the road to perfection. This they did, so that just as you continually make use of the material world throughout your natural life, so too when your souls have departed from this material existence and your newly-enlightened souls have departed for another world, you may go to that world having received the correct instruction and you may live a life there which is full of bliss and happiness.

Some youth's negligence of practices relating to worship

I hear that some of our youth do not properly or fully perform all of the externally visible Islamic acts of worship, acts such as prayer which is of extreme importance in Islam. And that which grieves us is that, God forbid, as Muslim youth you are not acting in accordance with these divinely-prescribed rules which have been given to us by the physicians of the soul, and that later, on the Day of Judgment, when remorse may fill your hearts, there may no longer be anything that you can do about it. Islam is unlike Christianity in that it has not concentrated on one aspect of man's being; Islam contains instructions to meet all of man's requirements. Those instructions, which are to be found in Islam—be they with regard to politics, to government, to the society as a whole, to the individual, or to Islamic culture—these are all instructions to match man's needs. That is to say, no matter what kind of needs man may have, no matter what kind of material needs he may have, Islam contains instructions, which pertain to those needs. This need within man for the metaphysical—a need of which at present you and I are unaware—is also provided for in Islam by relevant instructions and guidelines. Hence, this need can be satisfied, or in other words, Islam can offer us the correct training and can lead us to happiness.

Manifestations of the Prophet (s) and Imam Ali's (a) ethics and methods

God, the Blessed and the Most High, is not at all in need of our deeds or of us ourselves. Neither do the prophets need you and I or the deeds performed by us. When one examines the kind of lives led by the prophets and sees to what pains they went, when one examines the lives of Moses and Jesus, may God's peace be upon him, and especially the life of the Most Noble Messenger, our own Prophet [Muhammad (s)], and when one considers the history of Islam and the historical accounts given of these prophets and the lives they led, one realizes that a number of the latter actually formed a government during their lifetime, that they have certain rules and guidelines which relate to government. But in spite of this, when one takes another look at the lives and character of these prophets, one sees that they were in fact nothing like the presidents and kings of today. The prophets were different; they lived and conducted themselves differently. During the Most Noble Messenger's lifetime, for example, although he ruled over both the Arabian Peninsula and certain other countries, at the same time, when we look at his life and the way he interacted with others, we see that his way of life doesn't even bear a remote resemblance to the life lived by a

district Chief of Police. As the sovereign of the Hijaz and as its supreme commander, the Holy Prophet, when seated beside his friends and companions in the mosque, could not be distinguished from the rest of the people. Those who entered the mosque could not identify him as that prophet who rules over all of those vast lands. This was the way in which he interacted socially. Do not suppose that just as I, because of my age, have been asked to sit on this seat here, so too he, the Prophet, used to sit on such a seat. No indeed, he used to sit there where you are seated (i.e. on the floor) and would sit as you are now sitting. Thus, people entering the gathering at which he was present, could not tell who the Prophet was and who was not. This is how he conducted his life, unlike the present heads of state, to obtain an audience with whom, one has to go to such great lengths and for such a long period of time, and even then not everyone is granted an audience for only certain people are allowed to meet with them. With regard to the Prophet however, the door to his mosque was open to everyone, and everybody would go to visit him: the wealthy, the poor, the dervish, the orphan, whoever, they would all go to talk and discuss their problems with him, to listen to what he had to say in reply, to listen to his teachings and so on. And once he had a house and had built a mosque there, do you suppose that this mosque was like that in Medina now? Not at all—it consisted of a piece of land around which they had built a kind of protective fence in order to prevent animals from entering, a fence which was made from pieces of wood and branches taken from trees. That is what his mosque was like. Initially they built two or three houses there, two or three rooms made from mud. The Prophet's house didn't even have the trimmings and decorations found in my and your homes. This is what the Holy Prophet was like.

What do we find when we turn to Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali), may God's peace be upon him, the rightful executor of the Prophet's will, and we examine his life at the time when he was the sovereign—to use the word "sovereign" is in fact impertinent of me—when he was the leader of certain vast countries and when the entire Hijaz, the whole of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Iran were under his rule and formed part of his sovereign dominion. What kind of life did he lead? Was he like an emperor? In fact the Hadrat possessed one pelisse made from sheepskin which, according to the religious traditions and historical documents, he would spread on the floor at night in order for his wife and himself to sleep upon it. During the day he would scatter grass upon this very same covering so that his camels could come and eat; such is the Islamic government. Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him, used to construct wells single-handedly, by using his

very own pick. History relates how on that day when they paid allegiance to Hadrat Amir as their caliph—the caliph of such a vast domain at that—on that same day, allegiance having been paid, Hadrat took up his pick and spade and got on with the job in hand (i.e. the digging of a well). He worked. The work in which he was engaged at that time was not for his own personal benefit; it was not for him to gain some kind of return from the well. But rather, when water gushed from beneath the ground, like blood from a camel, he took up pen and paper and bequeathed the well to the poor. He bequeathed it to the poor for it to be used by them. This is the kind of ruler we want. We who go to such lengths and who shout out in protest, urge the nation of Islam to join us in our demands for a ruler, for a king, who is not treacherous. Hadrat Amir was busy reckoning the accounts of the public treasury, he was making a written account of the religious and other forms of taxes which were due from the people to the public treasury, and he was doing so in the light emitted from an oil-lamp—it seems that in those days oil used to be burned to give light. However, according to written accounts,¹ when someone came to speak with the Hadrat, the latter turned out the light and said: “Before, when the lamp was lit, it was lit to enable me to reckon the public treasury of the Muslims, but now that you want to speak with me concerning something which bears no relation to the public treasury, I have turned out the light. This lamp belongs to the public treasury and thus I have no right to use it under these circumstances.”

What type of Islamic system

On the contrary, just look at how these heads of state behave today, how these kings behave. Since we are not familiar with these people, let us take a look at Iran. Just take note of how this man (the Shah) behaves—this person who now stands responsible for so much corruption. Just look at what he does with the public funds, with the public treasury of the Muslims. The kind of ruler we seek is like those rulers described earlier. They continually ask: What is Islam? Islam is not something, which wants to disrupt everything. Islam preserves and follows the exact laws of nature: it roots out all forms of corruption one by one. Islam says that there is to be a government but that this is not to be a government of a plunderer, a government of a traitor. Hence, it is not a case of Islam wanting to destroy the governmental system. Indeed as we saw, Islamic rulers themselves in fact adopted a governmental system. But in Islam sovereignty means government, it does not mean

¹ Ibn Shahr-Ashub, *Manaqib Al Abi Talib*, vol. 2 (*fil-Musabiqah bil-Adl wal-Amanah*).

committing these offences and so on, it means governing by Islam. In Islam the ruler is to be Islamic; the system is to be Islamic; and it is to be devoid of these plunderers and these acts of theft and betrayal.

Sovereignty in the opinion of the Shah's regime means treachery and plunder

When we cry out for an Islamic government and we shout out: "Death to this depraved sovereign rule," this is because by looking back in history we are able to see for ourselves that former kings in fact committed very few acts of treachery. Yes, they were tyrants and so on, but whatever they were, they were nevertheless not treacherous. They were cruel tyrants, they were evil, they oppressed the people, yet even so, they did not give their country, their country's assets, away to other countries. I myself have never heard of a former king selling his country to someone; of him offering his country's assets to someone. This is something which has only taken place in the recent past and especially during the reign of this man (the Shah). This kind of thing has appeared during the reign of this depraved king who has destroyed whatever we had. Yes, that is the kind of life he lives, and this, as you see, is the kind of life we live, having to sit here in damp places such as this.

I have said this two or three times on previous occasions—I can't remember now whether I read it somewhere in a magazine or whether someone wrote to me about it—and that is that one of this gentleman's (the Shah's) sisters has purchased a villa somewhere or other, the cost of which was some phenomenally large figure; I can't remember what exactly. What I do recall however, are the words: "Five million dollars has been spent on flower-beds and floral layouts." That is thirty-five million tumans!¹ Yet we have seen how another sultan turns out the lamp for it not to give light during the two minutes it takes to speak to someone about customary issues, or to hold a friendly conversation for example. And as for his court and palace, we see that this is the mosque. He comes to the mosque, sits down, and everyone comes to him to discuss whatever they will. He also uses the mosque as a military base from where to assemble an army, which he then dispatches here and there in order for Islam to spread. Yet we see how the life he leads such that I described when I spoke of a sheepskin pelisse. On the eve of the Hadrat's demise, the night before his martyrdom, he was a guest in his daughter's home and the latter brought him some salt and milk. According to written accounts, he then said: "When did you ever see me eating two

¹ Tuman: every *tuman* is equivalent to ten *rials*.

different kinds of food at the same time?" So his daughter took away the salt, but the Hadrat told her to take away the milk instead. Thus, this sultan of the Hijaz, of Iran and Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, Jordan and elsewhere, ate bread and salt. This was how this sultan, in spite of all his power and might, spent the last night of his life. And as for his daughter, what a great and noble lady she was! The criminal sister of this criminal man (the Shah) however, spends five million dollars on floral embellishments! This is the figure which was quoted as the cost of the floral layout for this villa she has purchased abroad. And only yesterday evening, in one of the local newspapers that had been brought to me, I read that the Shah and Farah (the Shah's wife) had held a celebration alone on the eve of October 26 (the Shah's birthday)! This had been because all of the other members of his family have gone. They have taken the money and gone! The nation's wealth has now gone to America. And furthermore, it has been said that several days prior to this, someone had telephoned from Iran and had said that an airplane full of jewelry, the crown jewels, had been flown to America. Now he (the Shah) realizes that he will probably be leaving soon, he is plundering the people; he is taking their wealth out of the country.

Islamic government, no chaos and plunder

When we say we want an Islamic government we do so because we do not want such a chaotic situation to exist. Yet they say that the reason we want to rule via Islamic government is in fact so that we can bring the wheels of progress in this country to a halt! What they say is wrong however. This is nothing but false propaganda. Indeed, we want to set the wheels of progress in motion. At present, the wheels of this country are traveling in the direction of Europe. Your oil is now on its way to Europe and to America, and this is what we want to be stopped. We want a reasonable quantity of oil to be sold, and moreover; we want to be paid in cash for it rather than having our oil taken away and in return weapons being brought into the country and a military base being set up there for America. What we say is that such a chaotic state of affairs is not to prevail in our country, and not that we do not want any form of government. Yes, we do want a government, but a government like that described earlier, although not the same [as that established by Imam Ali], for there is no doubt that neither we nor anyone else is capable of achieving what he did. Nevertheless, we want a government, which will not thief; a government, which, at the very least, will not indulge in crime and treachery; a government which will not kill a group of people should the slogan: "Death to the Shah" rings out at any time.

But in any case, this is the task now ahead of us and this is the Islamic government for which we must strive. Do not let them make you afraid of Islamic government. Islamic government is a government of justice. It is a government, which will afford you a life of ease and happiness, God willing. It is in the people's best interests. It is something, which can only benefit the people. And it is hoped that this task of establishing an Islamic government will soon be accomplished, God willing (the audience cries: "God willing").

Speech

Date: October 28, 1978 [Aban 6, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 25, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Neglect of spiritual matters as dangerous for the continuation of the movement

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islam needs to be understood in all its dimensions

The house is small and the respected gentlemen are uncomfortable . . . may they be successful and enjoy good health.¹ I feel it necessary to remind the young people, both inside Iran and abroad, of a few things. A while after the appearance of Islam, it was the wont of different groups and scholars to devote all of their attention to the spiritual aspects of Islam, to those Quranic verses and traditions, which were concerned with spiritual matters, with self-purification and things beyond this physical world. The Holy Quran contains many verses pertaining to spiritual matters, that is, to that aspect of the human being, which is of the unseen world. For a while this was the situation and scant attention, if indeed any at all, was paid to the social and political laws that exist in Islam. Then gradually some groups appeared who began to address themselves to social and political affairs and issues of the day, but they took matters to the extreme, they concentrated solely on social and political issues and the rules for government and paid no heed to spiritual matters. So there now existed a group of people who concentrated solely on these matters, just as up until some time ago the other group, which comprised scholastics, philosophers, mystics and Sufis, looked only at one

¹ In Neauphle-le-Château (situated twenty-five kilometers from Paris) two small houses had been placed at the disposal of Imam Khomeini and his entourage. Imam along with his family resided in house number one which was very small; house number two, which stood opposite, was set aside for gatherings and the use of Iranian students and members of Imam's office. It was in this house that Imam held prayer gatherings. Another building was rented and used as a hostel where students and others visiting Imam could rest. This hostel was administered by Mahdi Araqi (who was later martyred) and because of a shortage of space, sometimes twenty or thirty people had to sleep in one room. Those visiting Imam could stay here for a period of two days and nights. Imam was very particular about how religious funds were spent and he would not allow the rent for this building to be paid from moneys given as *sahm al-imam* for charitable disbursement, instead it was paid by those Iranians whose financial situation allowed them to do so.

side of Islam and spoke only of its spiritual aspects and invited people to these—some of them even strove to change the meaning of those verses and traditions which dealt with matters of this world, with social and political affairs, into a spiritual one and tried to convince everyone else to see them in the same light. This was unfortunate for Islam, for to concentrate only on spiritual matters, to ignore those verses of the Quran which pertain to social affairs, to disregard those verses and traditions which deal with the government of Islam, with the politics of Islam, with social affairs and with reforming this world was tantamount to paying no heed to Islam. This group has only understood one aspect of Islam and has ignored the other which deals with worldly affairs, for Islam comprises this aspect also; it is concerned with all matters that relate to the human being. So the fact that those belonging to this group—theologian, philosophers, mystics, and Sufis—strove to give a spiritual meaning to all the verses of the Quran and the traditions which pertained to social and worldly matters constituted a blow to Islam, for they concentrated only on the inner or secret [*batin*] meanings of Islam and ignored its external, obvious [*zahir*] meanings. Now the blow to Islam comes from the fact that our young people, our intellectuals and scientists who have studied the natural sciences are striving to give all the traditions and the Quranic verses, even those pertaining to spiritual matters, a temporal and mundane meaning and they are neglecting spiritual matters. This group of people is both mindful and heedless of Islam; they have read about one aspect of it and have neglected the other. Neither of these two groups has understood Islam properly. Islam's call is restricted neither to the spiritual nor the material, it contains both aspects. The Holy Quran was revealed to train and develop the human being in all his dimensions.

Man's level is higher than that of a plant organism

If you consider the human being, you see that in the beginning he grows and develops no differently from a vegetable organism. A date seed, for example, or any other seed, is planted in soil which nourishes it and makes it grow. Soil is its special place where it grows. Animals too begin life as a seed, they have their special place where they are nourished and that is the womb. If at any time another place is created which has the same qualities and can perform the same function as the womb, then it is possible that their sperm can develop there; this applies even to a human being. So in the beginning man is no different from a plant; he grows just as a plant grows; and although he has his special place with certain qualities and the plant has

its, nevertheless they are like one another in that they have both been planted and this planted seed begins to grow through the power that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has placed in the earth and the womb. So at first they have this in common. However, the seed which is cultivated in the soil develops into a vegetable organism; remains such and produces fruit of the same type, whereas the seeds of animals, including man, gradually develop beyond the plant stage and find an animal spirit while still in the womb. They become distinct from vegetable organisms, but they are all animals in that they have sense organs, can move and possess an animal spirit. Animals are distinct from plants in another aspect and that is that at the required time they are born into this world and are cut off from their place of development (the womb). If a plant is separated from its place of growth (the soil), it will die, but animals are cut off from the womb when that aspect about them, which they have in common with plants, has been fully developed and they take on animal characteristics and no longer need the womb. So they enter this world as animals, sharing common characteristics: they eat, sleep and have the same desires. They are all animals, all the same, bearing no difference in their animal characteristics, it is in their degree of perception that they differ from one another. Monkeys have a higher level of understanding than other animals. Man is distinct among the animals in that he can advance further; he is different from them in both his perceptive capability and in the extremes to which this can reach. Animals can perceive only to a certain degree beyond which they cannot pass. Man, on the other hand, is almost unlimited in his perceptive ability and his capacity to be trained. Man is a microcosm of this world and more. He has things in common with all that exists in this world, from the beginning of his existence up until the stage where he is distinguished from them; he has things in common with all animal, plant and mineral life. However, he has something more; he possesses the power of reason and a higher power which the others do not possess.

Islam's intention of training man in all dimensions

If man were meant to develop only to the degree that the other animals do, then there would be no need for prophets. What would we need prophets for if man were simply meant to come into this world and live an animal existence, to eat and sleep like an animal until death? Man needs prophets because he is not the same as other animals, he does not have an animalistic limit which cannot be surpassed. His limit is beyond that of animals and he can attain a stage higher than the animal stage, a stage beyond reason [*aql*], until he reaches a stage that we cannot explain, although this final stage has

been described by some as “annihilation” [*fana*]¹ or “god-like,”² among other interpretations it has been given. So man needs prophets, because the training of a human being in all his dimensions, his physical, spiritual and intellectual dimensions and beyond these, cannot be left up to ordinary men, for they are not aware of all a human being’s needs and do not know how to educate a human being in the metaphysical. If you put all of man’s abilities together, you see that he can understand only this world and the attributes of nature, even then he has not discovered all that nature has to offer and although in recent years many of the doors to nature’s secrets have been unlocked, many more remain for posterity to find the key. Whatever man discovers up until the end of time will be of this natural realm, of this world, of this side of the coin.

Man only understands within the bounds of nature

Those things that man can understand, that are within the bounds of his understanding of nature, lie within the world of nature. Even if we suppose that one day, man discovers everything there is to know about natural phenomena, his understanding will still be confined to the realms of nature, it will not have extended beyond. He will have gained no knowledge of the other side of the coin. If man tries until the end of time, he can only come to understand the relationship that exists between things in nature, the cause and effect. He can be trained and educated but in the end, he will only discover the nature of this tangible world with all its attributes and its relationships. For example, he may understand how an earthquake affects the earth, when it will strike, he may determine the results and effects, how long it will last, and whether it will occur vertically or horizontally. He may understand all of this, the relationship between the nature of man and all other things, and we may suppose that there is nothing left for him to uncover, but his knowledge will still be confined to the realms of nature; he will not have stepped further than this and will not have understood what lies beyond this.

¹ *Fana*: extinction, cessation, annihilation, passing away. As a technical term in Islamic mysticism it is used to indicate a stage in the mystical experience in which all man’s imperfections and earthly ties are annihilated or extinguished, and he is absorbed into the Deity losing consciousness of the self and those things which impeded his spiritual perfection. To put it another way, *fana* means that man dies to himself² so that he may be born in God.’

² It is the world of essence [*dhat*], attributes [*sifat*] and actions [*afal*]. Islamic philosophers believe in four worlds or four beginnings: the world of nature or mortals; the world of fancy or angels; the rational world or the world of dominion; and the world of the godhead or the divine world.

The denial of the metaphysical is a result of incomplete understanding

Thus, there is a group of natural scientists and philosophers who, because they cannot comprehend the metaphysical, because they cannot sense it or see it, have denied its existence, denied it without proof. They have said that because they have not seen it, they do not know of it and because it has not come under their knife, they can say that this non-material intellect, for example, does not exist. But it is wrong for a person to say something “does not exist,” he must say “I do not know if it exists or not.” There are things of which man knows nothing. There are those who will say: “I have reached this stage and of this much I am sure, but I do not know about the rest.” Denial stems from ignorance. You do not comprehend everything that exists in the world, so you should not deny its existence. This group of people has reached a certain level of understanding, and even if they were to uncover all the secrets of nature their understanding would still be confined to the realms of nature. This understanding can attend to the human being’s material desires, that is, our material requirements. When nature in all its aspects has been discovered, when all the powers of the natural world and the relationships that exist between the elements of nature have been discovered, even then only our material requirements will have been met, no more than this. Our material requirements vary according to our level of development, to what has been discovered so far. Travel nowadays calls for the use of an airplane, whereas in days gone by man traveled by camel, and in the future he will travel by something more advanced, but it still belongs to the realms of nature and is satisfying man’s material needs.

Man’s need of divine religions to attain his existential perfection

If man were confined to the bounds of a natural dimension, possessing no other, then there would be no need for something to be sent from the unseen to train his spiritual dimension, because this would not exist. However, man is a reality independent of this natural world. Nature itself implies an existence beyond this natural realm. For the human being possesses another dimension besides his natural dimension, and, according to the proofs which are established in philosophy, something beyond nature exists in the human being and man possesses a potential non-material intellect which will later be actualized. The training of that dimension, which is man’s spiritual dimension, should be in the hands of one who has knowledge of the Hereafter, a true knowledge, a knowledge of the relationship between man and the metaphysical, one who has this level of perception. This is a task, which does not belong to ordinary men, for they do

not have this level of perception, ordinary men can only understand matters which pertain to this natural world, whatever can be put under the microscope; the metaphysical, however, cannot be seen under a microscope, it requires different means. The relationship between man and the celestial world is hidden from man. However, God, the Blessed and Exalted, who is the creator of everything, gave knowledge of it through divine revelation to some individuals who had attained spiritual perfection and understood.¹ They were sent among the people to develop and give instruction on this second dimension of man, and to educate them in this regard.

The prophets (a) were sent for divine training and man's happiness

God, the Blessed and Exalted, needs neither us nor our training; whether we are polytheists or monotheists makes no difference to Him; He does not benefit from our being monotheists; we are the ones it makes a difference to. The prophets were sent to educate us, to give us the training we need for the next life, to ensure that we are trained in such a way that in the other world our life will be a blissful one. If man were not given this training and he entered the next world bearing the same animalistic nature he had in this world, then his life in the Hereafter would not be a happy one and he would be in a state of misery; man would enter into darkness in that world.

The prophets came to gradually educate us away from this natural world—for otherwise we would remain as animals confined to this natural realm unable to perceive further than this—and, through the revelation of God, the Exalted, to give us the spiritual instruction needed to prepare us for the next world, so that when we are taken from this earthly existence to the Hereafter, our life there will be a happy one too. The whole point of the prophets' coming is to educate mankind, for man is capable of being educated and is superior to other animals, so that just as in this world—material circumstances permitting—he enjoys a happy life, the next too will be blissful for him. The fact that man is capable of being trained is a kindness from God, the Blessed and Exalted.

The training which man receives from the prophets through divine revelation concerns those things that form a relationship between this world and the next. If we act upon that which we are instructed to do, it will have a hand in our spiritual training. We are told to do certain things and we do not know what the relationship is between us performing the ritual prayer [*namaz*], for example, and our happiness in the next world, but God does.

¹ A relationship was formed between man and the world of revelation.

Just as you and I who are not physicians do not understand what the connection is between the tablets the doctor prescribes and the illness, but a connection does exist; he who is knowledgeable in this field understands the relationship and tells us what we should do to cure our illness and we must follow his instructions. The prophets, through the revelation of God the Blessed and Exalted, knew about the relationship that exists between our actions, our virtuous actions, and the other world. They were sent to tell us that if we perform certain virtuous acts, this will have a bearing on our life after death, and will train our spirit so that we will be happy when we enter the next world.

Divine enjoining (the right) and forbidding (the wrong) is for man's happiness in both worlds

Likewise, the commission of sin is like a poison, which affects us in the metaphysical and spiritual world. If a human being eats something, which is poisoned, he will suffer from the effects of that poison and may even perish. There are some sinful acts or beliefs, which, if committed or believed in by man, are like a deadly poison taken in degrees, sometimes there is a cure but if taken persistently there is none. The prophets have informed us of these things; they have told us what to do and what not to do. Of course, some of their teachings pertain to the organization and reformation of the material world and society, but there are many which concern the metaphysical. Because the human being is a creature of many dimensions, with many needs, the prophets came to answer these needs and teach man how to act in order to attain true happiness.

The condition for understanding Islam—considering both the material and spiritual aspects at one time

Therefore, neither of these two groups has understood Islam, neither the one which concentrates solely on spiritual matters ignoring social concerns nor the other which focuses on social and political matters, science and such things, disregarding spiritual matters. He who understands both the spiritual and material dimensions of Islam knows Islam. He who wants to have an understanding of Islam must look at both these aspects. He must try his best to understand the Quranic verses, Prophetic narrations [*riwayat*] and injunctions [*ahkam*] which have been revealed and passed down to us concerning spiritual matters, just as he must understand those verses, commands and traditions which are to do with regulating and setting right social, political and governmental matters. He, who understands these two

aspects, as much as man is indeed capable of understanding them, has understood Islam.

The difference between Islam and distorted Christianity

Islam is not monastic like Christianity. Of course the Christian religion has been changed and that which is practiced nowadays—with the emphasis being solely on spiritual matters—is not true Christianity. Neither is Islam like the religion of Moses, which concentrates mainly on temporal issues. The message and laws of Hadrat Moses (*a*), who was one of the great prophets of the book, were of course, for his time complete and sufficient to meet the needs of man then, but his book, along with that of Hadrat Jesus, has been lost. The content of the books which are in the hands of their followers today is proof itself that they are not the original Torah and Gospel. Our book (the Quran), however, praise be to Allah, has been preserved throughout the years; even the Quran written by Imam Ali in his own hand or that by Imam Sajjad are still extant.¹ We do not have anything else which has remained totally unchanged except for the Quran.

The need to pay attention to spiritual matters and the divine aspects

Islam was revealed to educate us and if we do not follow its teachings in all their aspects, then we will not learn. So at the same time as you, our dear youth, involve yourselves in the pursuit of the natural sciences or in the *jihad* which are necessary for you to carry out—indeed a *jihad* which all of us must carry out now is to assist our Muslim brethren who are suffering in Iran, by at least propagating their cause—you must not neglect the supreme *jihad*,²

¹ A number of copies of the Quran ascribed to Imam Ali (*a*) can be found in libraries and museums throughout Iran. They include a copy in Imam Rida's shrine in Mashhad—written in Kufic writing on parchment and beginning with *Surah Hud* (the Prophet Hud) and ending with the final verses of the *Surah al-Kahf* (the Cave)—at the end of which appears the inscription: “Written by Ali ibn Abi Talib.” Another copy can be found in the Amir al-Muminin library in Najaf, Iraq, written in the Kufic style and at the end of which this line: “Written by Ali ibn Abi Talib in the fortieth year after *hijrah*,” appears. The Iran Bastan museum houses a copy written in Kufic on parchment at the end of which we read: “Written and illuminated by Ali ibn Abi Talib.” A copy of the Quran ascribed to Imam Sajjad (*a*) and written from verse 180 of *Surah al-Baqarah* (the Heifer) until the end of the book is in Imam Rida's shrine in Mashhad. It is written in the Kufic style on parchment made from deer skin. The name of Ali ibn al-Husayn ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib appears on this copy.

² That is, the struggle against the appetitive soul. For more information, see Imam Khomeini, *The Greatest Jihad: Combat with the Self*, tr. Muhammad Legenhausen (Tehran: Institute for the Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, 2003, downloadable at <http://www.geocities.com/icpikw/jakbar.zip>.

you must not disregard the spiritual aspects of Islam. For you are not a uni-dimensional being, you do not simply possess this dimension, you are not only men of *jihad*, or men of the natural sciences, you are human beings and a human being possesses both spiritual and material dimensions. Your material dimension is being satisfied by that which you are doing now, but you should struggle to satisfy your spiritual dimension also. You must take heed of all God's commands, a Muslim cannot say that he accepts the aspect of Islam which pertains to *jihad*, but not its spiritual aspects or vice versa. We should accept it all. A Muslim is he who accepts and acts upon all the teachings of the Most Noble Prophet.

So, although you may find it difficult to understand the relationship that exists between the spirit and the outwardly apparent acts of worship that God commands us to perform in this world, you should not count them as insignificant. They are important for you. They are important for your life in the next world. You should continue with your *jihad* and your pursuit of the natural sciences and complete your work in these areas, but at the same time pursue spiritual matters so that you will find true happiness.

Our responsibility is to propagate issues relating to the movement to the world

May God grant you all this happiness. May we all act upon our duties, one of which, now that a movement has begun in Iran and the people are relinquishing their lives, their wealth, their children and their dear ones for this cause, is for us who are over here to do our utmost to help them. You gentlemen should speak about the problems of Iran and propagate the Iranian cause among the people of the countries in which you reside at present, be they one of the European countries or America. Speak to your friends and your acquaintances, whenever you get together tell them about the problems in Iran and about the crimes committed by the Pahlavi dynasty and this Shah, who is more treacherous and criminal than all other past kings, or rather who is just as criminal as they were but more treacherous. This man is ruining Iran; he is destroying it; he is getting ready to leave the country and he wants to destroy it before he goes. Tell your American and European friends about this. Speak to your friends at the schools that you attend. God willing, a wave of support will be created among these people and they will help the Iranian nation, and their governments, those which are just, may also help Iran to rid itself of this man. God willing, the evil of this man and the foreigners who assist him will be uprooted from the land and Iran will be yours for you to administer yourselves.

Speech

Date: October 29, 1978 [Aban 7, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 26, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Subject: Freedom and independence, the two legitimate demands of the Iranian nation

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I seek forgiveness from you gentlemen for not being able to maintain much contact with you due to my age and weak constitution. There is no barrier existing between me and you and anyone wishing to see me may do so, I welcome everyone. We are all brothers together and I am very fond of you gentlemen who are performing a service for Islam and your country here abroad. The reason I cannot come out and contact you much must be put down to my heavy workload, which does not give me much time,¹ and also my old age, which saps my strength, otherwise I would very much like to keep in constant contact with you all so that I might express my appreciation and thank all you young Muslim people abroad who are busy both with your studies and with serving Islam and the Muslims.

The first issue: Freedom

Today, I do not have anything new to add to that which I have already said before; my words have always revolved around the same thing. From the very beginning of the Islamic movement, which began about fifteen years ago or more and which has passed through different stages, sometimes progressing quickly, sometimes slowly, up until the present when, praise be

¹ During his stay in Paris and in addition to delivering speeches and meeting with students and others daily, Imam Khomeini was kept busy with the following tasks: issuing legal opinions; studying the translated text of the important news reports and analyses from foreign newspapers; studying the news reports received from Iran on the progress of the Revolution and events taking place in the country; reading letters sent to him by political and religious personalities from around the world and replying where necessary; holding private meetings with different individuals; giving interviews to foreign and Iranian reporters (in the book *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution*, one hundred and thirteen interviews given by him during his stay in Paris have been published); writing messages and issuing directives and declarations; observing religious duties, performing supererogatory prayers and reading a section of the Quran at eight specific times, as well as spending time with his family members.

to God, it has reached its peak, our aim, one in which we have persevered, has been the same, and that is to secure freedom and independence for the Iranian nation. Both these demands are legitimate rights that all human societies, those that is which have not strayed from the path of humanity, recognize. A nation of thirty or thirty-five million people is being suppressed; for fifty years this thirty-million-strong nation has been stifled and repressed and has suffered difficulties in every respect. Throughout this period, it has enjoyed neither a free press nor has its radio been a national radio run by the people its preachers and orators have not been free to speak out on different matters. All have been under police pressure and control. But now this thirty-million-strong nation, having been deprived of its legitimate right for fifty years, has risen up and is demanding its right. The people are saying that they want to be free and this is a demand that all human societies recognize, for it is a just demand. The Iranian people are not asking for something, which is not their right.

The second issue: Independence

Secondly, we demand independence. There have been many periods in our history, and especially during the rule of this father and son, although more so during the rule of the son, when our country was dominated in all aspects by foreigners. Our economy is now disrupted because it is being controlled by foreigners. They are taking our oil and in return they build bases for themselves in Iran, that is, they sell us the weapons for bases to be built for themselves here. They have kept our education in a state of backwardness; they do not allow our young people to receive a proper education lest some of them begin to oppose what they are doing here.

The regime's attempts at defeating the power of Islam and the *ulama*

They do not permit our Islamic culture to develop, and through their propaganda, they try to distance the people from Islam and the *ulama* of Islam, for they know that the two oppose their designs. They realize that were true Islam put into practice in Iran, or in other countries, the foreigners would have no place there. One of the commands of Islam states that foreigners should not be allowed to interfere in the destiny of Muslims. If the *ulama* of Islam acquire power, they will not permit this command to be forgotten; they will put it into practice. So these two forces, the forces of Islam and the *ulama*, must be defeated (in the view of the foreigners).

Keeping education backward

For many years their specialists studied the problem and arrived at the conclusion that those barriers which could possibly stop them from achieving their aims should be destroyed, and they determined how they should be destroyed. After much research into the matter, they decided that one of these barriers is the country's culture and education, such that if Iran were to have one proper university, one non-parasitic and independent university, then righteous people would be found there, independent-minded scholars would be found there who would not let them do whatever they want to do. This itself would be a barrier blocking these opportunists in their aims. So education must be kept in a state of backwardness so that the foreigners can take the advantage.

Efforts at relating Islam with dictatorship

Another barrier which is greater than all the others is Islam. Islam is an obstacle to their exploitative plans so the Muslims must be made to view it disparagingly; they must be distanced from it. To this end, their propagandists, wherever and in whatever way they can, spread the idea that Islam contains rules which pertain to one thousand four hundred years ago and that it is of no use today. They describe it by using words such as "reactionary" and "retrogressive," among other such inappropriate adjectives, while others say it is dictatorial. A person here yesterday said that some people believe—and perhaps he was airing his own views but was too shy to say so—that once we get rid of the Shah's dictatorship we will be faced with the problem of an Islamic dictatorship! I asked him: "Which Islamic government have you seen up until the present that has led you to believe that Islam is dictatorial?" I will relate some of the stories that I have in mind now so that these gentlemen who presume that Islamic government means a dictatorship will realize how uninformed they really are on the subject.

The justice-seeking personality of the Prophet of Islam (s)

One story, which has been fully confirmed, concerns the Prophet, who is the head of Islam, and the other is about Imam Ali. The first is about the time that the Most Noble Messenger was the ruler. It is related how one day, toward the end of his life when he was ill, this leader of Islam, who, according to the logic of the gentleman who was here yesterday, was a dictator, went to the mosque and ascended the pulpit where he told the congregation that if any one of them was nursing a grievance against him to speak out so that he might put it right. An Arab gentleman stood up saying

that he had a grievance against him. When the Prophet asked him what it was, he said: "You struck me on the shoulder," upon which the Prophet told him to come forward and return like for like. The man said: "When you struck my shoulder it was bare." So, as the story has it, the Prophet bared his own shoulder so that the man could strike it. However, the gentleman came forward and kissed the Prophet's shoulder instead.¹

Tell me, is this how a dictator acts?! The head of a nation declared that if anyone had a morally just or legal claim against him that person was to speak out so that he might put it right, even if the Prophet had taken ten pennies off someone, that person had the right to say, "You have wronged me, you have taken my wealth." But no one said anything, only this one man who said that the Prophet had struck him, and then it became clear that this was merely an excuse on his part to kiss the naked shoulder of the Prophet. Now if among all the world's governments, all those governments which you consider to be democratic, you can find one leader who will stand before the nation, before peasants, and tell them to speak out if they have a morally just or legal claim against him, if you can find one government in the world which acts in this way, then you can say that the Islamic system of government is dictatorial.

A little about Ali's (a) government of justice

Another story which I would like to relate for you concerns Imam Ali, may God's peace be upon him. A Jew went to a judge, whom Imam Ali himself had appointed, complaining that Imam Ali had a coat of mail belonging to him. The judge sent for Imam Ali, who came and sat before

¹ Ibn Babuya quotes from Ibn Abbas an event which occurred just before the Prophet's demise. He relates how the Prophet went to the mosque and ascended the pulpit from where he spoke to the people. During his speech the Prophet said: "The Most High God has sworn that He will not overlook any unjust or oppressive acts so in God's name I beseech whoever has suffered an injustice at the hands of Muhammad to rise up and take their revenge, for retribution in this world is more desirable to me than retribution in that world in the presence of God's angels and the prophets." Sawadah ibn Qays then stood up saying: "May my mother and father be sacrificed for you oh Messenger of God, when you were coming from Taif I came to greet you, you were riding upon your she-camel with your staff in hand and when you raised it to strike your camel you struck me on the abdomen. I do not know whether you did it intentionally or whether it was an accident." The Prophet replied: "God forbid that I should do such a thing intentionally," and then he ordered for his staff to be brought to him and asked Sawadah to return like for like. Sawadah rose up and approached the Prophet, but when he reached him he began to kiss his body. The Prophet asked him: "Are you taking your revenge or granting your pardon?" Whereupon Sawadah said: "I am granting my pardon." *Muntahal-Amal*, vol. 1, chap. 7, "Concerning the quality of the demise of the Seal of the Prophets, Muhammad al-Mustafa (s)," pp. 101-103.

him with the Jew, even insisting that he be shown no preferential treatment while the Jew's case was heard. At the end of the hearing, the judge found in favor of the Jew and commanded Imam Ali to give him back his coat of mail! Imam Ali was the leader at that time; he was the caliph, the sultan, yet the judge, who had been appointed by him, summoned him to court and Imam Ali complied and sat before him along with the complainant, who was a Jew, while the case against him was heard,¹ and at the end of the hearing it was Imam Ali who was found to be in the wrong! If you can find just one government from among all these democratic governments which acts like this, then you can say that Islamic government is dictatorial. Yes, did you think that an Islamic government is that which is in power in the Hijaz at present?!² The government there has nothing to do with Islam; they (the rulers there) too are dictators who only pay lip service to Islam. Or did you suppose it was like the government of that military ruler in Pakistan?³ He knows nothing about Islam.

Equal rights in Islam

An Islamic government is like that which was in effect at the time of the Prophet and Imam Ali, its leaders act as they did and in the eyes of the law they are on par with the lowliest in the land. Do not think that were an Islamic government set up, it would torment the people or ignore education and take everything back to such and such a time!

Belittling of the *ulama* at the time of Rida Shah

This is just idle talk, which is spoken to deceive the people, to frighten them away from Islam and belittle the Islamic *ulama* in their eyes. At the time of Rida Shah, the Islamic *ulama* were disparaged to such a great extent that when a clergyman wished to ride in a taxi, the wretch of a driver would not allow him into his car saying: "You and certain others⁴ are people we will not allow into our cars!" This is what it was like at the time of Rida Shah.

The *ulama* of Islam do not work for the court

Indeed their propaganda has been so effective that they have led our people, our youth, to believe that the mullahs work for the court! Well, if this

¹ Khwarazmi, *Manaqib*, p. 98.

² It refers to the government of Khalid Abdul-Aziz.

³ It refers to Gen. Muhammad Zia al-Haqq, the then President of Pakistan.

⁴ Prostitutes.

were correct, then why did they clench their fists and rise up against the court? These people who have now clenched their fists are following the example of the *ulama*, this movement began with them. Are they then courtiers? Of course there are those who wear turbans on their heads and have joined the service of the court, but they number only three or four and the people know who they are. They are not true members of the *ulama*, they are people whom SAVAK has issued with a turban and describe as mullahs! When have the *ulama* ever been affiliated to the court?!

This idea has been created by imperialist propaganda to distance you from the *ulama*, for when the power of the *ulama* has been separated from the power of the people, then the *ulama* can do nothing. This is all part of the imperialists plans to distance the youth, through different forms of propaganda, from Islam and the *ulama* of Islam, for once this has been achieved they will be able to do whatever they want (in the country).

Torrent of the Revolution, the destroyer of Shah and the plunderers

However, be that as it may, this uprising, this movement which is taking place in Iran now is becoming more extensive day by day. As we sit here a revolution is unfurling in many Iranian cities, the people have raised their voices in protest; there are clashes and killings. Iran is now gripped by a revolution which like a flood, is sweeping away the Shah and destroying the interests of those who have benefited from his rule. God willing, it will succeed. We ourselves want to administer this country, which is ours and which has been passed on to us from our ancestors. We do not want the American President to send people to administer it! We do not want him to send someone to control our army; we do not want our universities to be under his control or our Members of Parliament to be appointed from the list which the foreigners give. We want our nation to appoint its own parliamentary representatives. For fifty years now the people have not enjoyed true parliamentary representation.

The peak of suppression during the reign of Pahlavi

From the time that the Constitution came into being up until the present it has not been observed as it should have been. Before the establishment of the Constitution our country was always subjected to the rule of despots, but its situation since then has been even worse. When at the time of the despots were there so many killings? When at the time of the despots did the country suffer from so much suppression? Our clergymen have not been free to speak out, nor have our politicians, our academics or our students. No one has been

allowed to utter a word. Two years ago this was still the case, however today, praise be to Allah, things are slightly better and the people are speaking out a little more freely than before.

The regime's attempts at causing division

The imperialists are trying to divide you through this propaganda that they disseminate. They want to distance you from Islam and other Muslims through different means and by employing different names so that they can execute their plans. To this end, they create deviations and promote much propaganda about how the clergymen are "retrogressive" and "reactionary!" Who are the reactionaries? Which manifestations of civilization are the clergy opposed to? We accept all aspects of civilization, what we do not accept are these deviations.

Our opposition is to prostitution, poverty and plunder

We say that a country in which the centers of corruption outnumber the libraries or whose inhabitants stand in line to sell their blood cannot be a country for us! According to what we are told, the poor people have to queue up to sell their blood in order to get a few tumans to subsist on! We are saying that this situation has to change, the centers of fornication must go; this plundering must end. We are saying that one group of people should not have to live in hovels or go into holes in the ground to sleep while another owns multimillion dollar villas at home and abroad. This is what the *ulama* of Islam are saying. They are calling for the establishment of Islam, of justice, of Islamic justice; they want the nation's wealth to be distributed more evenly and Islamic laws to be implemented. This plundering must be stopped.

The need for equal distribution of wealth in a just Islamic government

An Islamic government is a just system of government, far better than the present one; it is a government minus the thieving, the plundering, the wrongdoings and the bullying. There should be no bullying or oppression, plundering should not be allowed, the wealth of the nation should not be stolen and devoured. All the people should live comfortably, the poor should be helped; the poverty-stricken hovel-dwellers who have nothing should be taken care of. The wealth of the nation should not lie only in the hands of the elite and the aristocrats. The government should not see solely to the needs of the aristocrats. No, the government belongs to all sections of the community; it should work for everyone, it should work more for the weak and the poor

in order to help them attain a suitable standard of living. Gentlemen, do not listen to their propaganda.

The need for paying attention to the Islamic rules of worship

Another thing I must remind you of is the importance of performing those deeds, which Islam has made known to you, for they are for your own good. The rules that Islam has brought are to train your spirit so that in the next life you will enjoy a happy, good life there also. All the deeds which you are told to perform are to ensure your own happiness. So, just as you engage in struggle and pursue your studies, so too you must perform those deeds which God has enjoined you to do. Do not neglect these. Do not view *namaz* [ritual prayer] as being of no account; it is necessary for you to pray. Fasting and the other deeds which you are told to perform are to train you and guide you so that you reach higher degrees of perfection and attain (true) happiness. Thus, I ask you all most sincerely, I advise you all not to desist from performing those deeds which belong to the branches [*furu*] of religion. I say this now because on different occasions I have been told that some of our young people have begun to neglect those aspects of the religion. Do not neglect these things, gentlemen; they are for your own good; they will benefit you. If you strengthen your relationship with God, He will help you all; He will remove all the evils that afflict you and He will make you independent and free. I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for your health and for the greatness of Islam and the Muslims. May God grant you all success and assist you.

Speech

Date: October 29, 1978 [Aban 7, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 26, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Subject: The illegal nature of the Pahlavi regime; the Shah's unpardonable crimes; the powers' incapability in the face of the nation's will power

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The confession of the British Foreign Minister

A matter about which we have spoken repeatedly was made public by the British Foreign Minister. From the very beginning we have said that the previous Shah (Rida Khan) carried out a coup d'état on the orders of the British and came to power to preserve their interests; he was thrown out of the country and taken off to the island of Mauritius only when he transgressed their bounds and broke their rules. The present Shah also came to power in Iran to protect the interests of the Allies: the Russians, Americans and the British, and throughout his rule he has worked for their interests. A few days ago the British Foreign Minister confirmed this saying that they could not remain silent while someone who was in Iran to preserve their interests was in such a situation! The Iranian nation which has risen now has done so because of this matter of which the British Foreign Minister speaks.

Iran under fire and in bloodshed

The nation of Iran—a nation which has been dragged into so much bloodshed and whose youth have been killed in such great numbers—all the important cities of Iran, the towns and large villages of Iran are now in the grip of revolution. They have written that Zanjan is aflame with fire and every corner of Tehran is seething with revolt. The situation is the same in Qum and other cities. A full-scale uprising is taking place which I am afraid may result in a revolution that no one will be able to stop. The British Foreign Minister and those foreign ministers of other exploiting countries do not have the sense to realize that they cannot treat a nation in this way. The heads of the superpower nations think that because they are superpowers they can devour the whole world!

The dire consequences of military government and coup d'état

But when a nation rises and gives everything it has for the sake of its freedom and independence then this fire cannot be quenched with bayonets, martial law or a military government. They are mistaken by thinking it can. If they want to set up a military government for instance, what good is it actually going to do them, for twelve cities are already under martial law; indeed the whole of Iran is unofficially under martial law. The government in Iran now is like a military government, but the people have not succumbed to it. Someone who is ready to sacrifice everything is not worried by a military government. Suppose that a military coup d'état does take place and a military figure comes to power, he¹ will be no different from this person. As it is now that the Iranian government is (like) a military government.

The people have stood up and are demanding their rights. They are not calling for something which is illegal; they are calling for something to which they are legally entitled. It's been more than fifty years! Our forty and fifty-year-olds were born into suppression.

An illegal regime and unpardonable crimes

The people have two things to say: firstly, that this Shah is not a constitutional monarch, he is a despot, and secondly that the crimes he has committed are unforgivable. Even if we suppose that he is truly repentant now, as he says he is, and that when he promises not to do such things again and to act in accordance with the Constitution from now on, he is speaking the truth—which he is not, but let us suppose that he is—could the people ever accept the repentance of someone who has committed all these crimes and has killed so many? According to Islamic law, the penalty for someone who orders the killing of someone else, even though he does not actually carry out the killing himself, is life imprisonment. Now someone who has ordered the killing of a multitude of people turns around and says: “I will reign, not govern!” The hell you will! Rule is for he who is legally appointed to rule and who then rules according to the Constitution and does not govern.

The Pahlavi dynasty, a dynasty of bayonets and force

We all know that the Pahlavi rule is not at all legal. The Pahlavi dynasty came into being through the power of the bayonet. It began with Rida Shah who carried out a coup d'état, he was an army commander, then he became

¹ Jafar Sharif Imami.

Minister of War and then temporary governor, and all this took place through the force of the bayonet. Initially, the Iranian nation was not aware of the kind of man he really was, so they said nothing. Later, however, he gradually began to show his true face, that of a person who respected nothing. He destroyed Iran's dignity; he formed a Parliament at bayonet point and this Constituent Assembly that he created in order to depose the Qajar ruler and put himself on the throne did not have any connection with the people. The people were not aware of what was going on, they had no say in the matter. It was created by him himself at bayonet point! Those who were a part of it voted for him, it was set up only to give him the vote! Articles were removed from the Constitution and others put in their place so that the Qajar monarchy could be disposed of and the Pahlavi monarchy brought in its stead: this was all done through the power of the bayonet, it was not lawful. These articles which are now in the Constitution are not constitutional articles; originally the Constitution did not contain such articles. They were put there by force of the bayonet, and the people were not aware of what had happened. So Rida Shah came to power against the wishes of a nation through the might of the bayonet in an un-constitutional manner. After him, rule was passed onto his son who himself said that the Allies had told him that he must rule! An unlawful rule! From the beginning his rule was unlawful! This Shah is a criminal; it wasn't only his father who was a criminal; he is one too. The people could not speak out, but now, praise be to Allah, they can; now they give lives and speak out.

The dismissal of the Shah for the crime of treason

In sum, everything that our nation is saying is that this man is a traitor. Let us suppose that his rule has been legal—which it hasn't and according to the rightful law it has always been invalid—but let us suppose that it has been legal and that he has ruled according to the Constitution, when he betrays a nation, when he diverges from the constitutional law, then he should be dismissed; he should no longer be the ruler.

Throughout his rule this man has deprived the people of freedom. He even admits this himself. When he says that he will give the people freedom, it means that he had taken their freedom away from them. He had it in his pocket and now he wants to give it to them! This is admitting a crime. If he is tried in court, which God willing he will be, the fact that he says he gave the people freedom is confessing to a crime, for according to both the constitutional law and the *shariah* [Islamic law] the nation is supposed to be free; the constitutional law has granted the people freedom so when he says

he will give them freedom it means that he had taken it away from them and thus he is admitting a crime.

The people's cry for freedom

One of the things that the people are shouting is that they have never had freedom, neither throughout his rule nor that of his father. Our youth have never tasted freedom. When they first opened their eyes (to this world) there was a policeman standing over them, a military agent, a government agent or a plunderer, they have not witnessed a day of freedom and neither have we. From the time of Rida Shah to the present there has not been a hint of freedom. One thing that the people are shouting for is their freedom. The young children are shouting for freedom, the old men are shouting for freedom, the people from the universities and others are all shouting for freedom, everyone wants freedom. He has deprived a nation of freedom and so he is not fit to rule; thus, even if we suppose that his rule was once lawful, it is no longer so and he no more is the ruler. Moreover, even if we suppose that he were the legal ruler, the whole nation is now saying that they no longer want him; they are saying, "death to this Pahlavi monarchy"! This is itself a referendum; all the people from all over Iran are shouting that they do not want him. They are shutting down the bazaars; they are showing their opposition in governmental institutions. The people do not want him, and even if on the basis of the Constitution and the votes of the nation this man was once the Shah, as soon as the people refuse him their vote, he is Shah no longer. Now our people are saying that they do not want this man. One of the reasons why they do not want him is that he has deprived them of their freedom. For fifty years he and his father have deprived them of their freedom and now they are saying that they no longer want him.

The surrendering of Iran's resources and wealth to foreigners

Another reason why they want to be rid of him is that he is selling off their resources to foreigners. Whatever the nation had he has given to others! God forbid that his rule should be perpetuated for a few more years. If his rule continues for a few more years he will give all of our oil to America, Britain and other countries! At present he is recklessly giving away our oil without us knowing what the oil money is being spent on. Yes, we know that the regime buys arms from America, arms which are used only for creating American bases in the country. America wants to create military bases in Iran against the Soviet Union, so it takes our oil and builds bases for itself in the country with the money it pays for the oil! It takes our oil and uses the

money it paid for itself! So this too is to its benefit! What need does Iran have for these sophisticated weapons which the Iranian army knows neither how to use nor what they are good for? Only their own experts know how to use them.

He is a person who has disrupted our economy. On the one hand he is giving our oil away to others such that if he remains in power, in a few years' time there will be neither oil nor other resources left for us. On the other hand, in the name of "land reforms," he has destroyed the agriculture of Iran and has turned the country into a market for the consumption of American goods. So now everything we need we have to get from abroad, and if they ever stop the imports, Iran will be left with no food supplies. If he remains in power for a few more years, he will exhaust the oil reserves; he has already destroyed the agriculture so how will the future generation live? What will they have to live off? Nothing!

A barren and dependent educational system

So this is the state of our country's economy. Now, what of its education? The hands of foreigners will not allow our children to receive a proper education; they prevent them from being educated properly. Today, the call of all the teachers and students is that they want to be independent, they want to be in control of their own affairs, they are shouting: "You do not allow us to live our own lives." They (the foreigners) have a mission to keep our education in a state of backwardness; they do not allow our educational system to train true human beings, they do not permit our youth to receive a proper, independent education for fear that they will become independent thinkers. They do not want a generation to be produced which will think independently and which will grasp the reins of power in their own hands. Our educational system must produce only parasitic individuals whose sole concern is with the policies of America, Britain and the Soviet Union, so that these countries can take advantage! So we have no education now, he has destroyed both our education and our economy. What is there then left for us?

A dependent enemy

When we look at the army we see it is an army which is under the control of American advisers. So do we have an army? An army which does not enjoy independence, an army which cannot do anything for itself, is not independent in its actions. Sixty thousand American spongers have come to Iran under the name of military advisers', I have no idea what they are

actually doing there; but our army is under their control. So we have no army either. What then do we have? What does Iran have? This Iran that he says has reached the gates of a great civilization? Is this his great civilization?!

Carter's sophistry

Carter says that the cause of opposition to the Shah stems from the fast freedom that he has given the people! According to Carter's logic, all this shouting by the people is because they have had their fill of freedom; he has given them so much freedom that they can't digest it; it is giving them indigestion! That's why they are shouting, so they say! Carter said this just a few days ago. It was reported in our newspapers that he had said the Shah had given the people a fast freedom' and that this was the source of the people's opposition to him! This is why the people are shouting out so much for freedom!

Killings all over Iran

Now, as we sit here, I do not know exactly what is happening in Iran. I know that incidents are taking place, but I have no information on where or on how many people have been killed in them. Any newspaper which comes from Iran now reports on some incident or other, and even though the press may not be able to give all the facts, we can get an idea of what is happening there from their reports. In Kabudar Ahang, a village in the vicinity of Hamedan, the newspapers reported five people killed in incidents there. Five people in one village! This fire which has been lit in Iran now is spreading and is engulfing all the villages of Iran, all the towns of Iran, and all the Iranian cities, both large and small. It bears glad tidings for us, for it shows that the disaffected have raised their voices. They are being killed and not without reason; they are being killed because they are shouting out that they do not want this man. If they do not shout "death to the Shah" they won't be shot at. The agents are ordered to shoot at them whenever they utter the name of the Shah without saying "His Excellency Aryamehr"! All the people of Iran today, from the small children to the elderly gentlemen, are shouting just one thing and that is: "We do not want this man; he has to go." Such a nation cannot be anything other than victorious.

The powers' incapacity in the face of the nation's will power

A nation cannot be trifled with. Do not be afraid of the support that Carter, the British Foreign Minister and the Kremlin have said they will give the Shah. This is all talk; do not let it scare you. When a nation, no matter

how weak, says “no” it means “no”, and no one can make it into a “yes.” The military cannot do this and neither can the armies of America and the Soviet Union; it simply cannot be done.

The Shah and his government keep talking about how they must sit down and find a solution to this impasse which they themselves have created, but the solution does not lie in the hands of a minister or a representative of the Parliament. It lies in the hands of the Shah! Nobody but he can quench this fire, he holds the key and that is for him to go, to leave the country and let the people be! When he goes, then there will be peace, and when those who supported him gather their forces and leave after him, the country will be calm. And why shouldn't Iran be calm? The Iranian people are a peace-loving people, but when they are put under so much pressure, then they raise their voices, otherwise they are a peace-loving and noble people. It is because of their noble nature and their strength of character that they are shouting out now.

The responsibility of Iranians abroad

May God assist you all, all the people of our country. Every night, gentlemen, I repeat that we all have a duty to perform; you who are here have a duty to perform. We are indebted to the Iranian nation. There are those in Iran now who have sacrificed their children, mothers and fathers have seen their children killed; we are indebted to them. They have risen for the benefit of the whole nation; they are not doing this just for their own benefit; they have risen for the (whole) nation. We too are a part of the Iranian nation, so they have risen for us too. So now wherever you are, here, America, Britain, elsewhere in Europe, you should serve this country; and the service that you can do is to propagate the Iranian nation's cause. You can all do this; each one of you has contact with a few individuals and can tell them about Iran's problems.

Denial of reactionism in relation to the Iranian Revolution

These people (in the West) have been misinformed about the circumstances surrounding events in Iran by the evil propaganda that has been disseminated. It has been said that they (the clergy) are reactionaries, that they want to put the clock back, they want to take the country back to how it was some one thousand and odd years ago. No, they do not want to do this. You (the Shah) are the one who wants to put the clock back; you are the one who changed our current calendar, adopting one of two thousand five hundred years ago: a Zoroastrian calendar! This is reactionary, not that which

we say. We want our history, our own vital Islamic history. They say that the Iranian people are reactionaries. This is not so; they are not reactionary; they are progressive; they want freedom and independence. Is someone who wants freedom and independence a reactionary?! He who deprives the people of freedom and he who wants to go back to the time of the tyrannical kings is reactionary. The reactionary is he who takes away freedom, he who betrays a country and a nation, not the people who ask why he betrays them, why he deprives them of freedom.

I hope that, God willing, you will all serve your country and tell the people in your universities about the situation in Iran, tell them how this man has oppressed us. If we suppose that every one of ten thousand Iranians (and there are more than that number here) tells ten people of the facts, then a large number of people will be informed about the situation in Iran and even if they are already informed you can enlighten them further. Thus, the problems from which this nation suffers will be made clear to them and they will realize that this nation wants to be free. God willing, a wave of support will be found over here for the Iranian people's cause which will bear fruit soon. There is no doubt that it will eventually bear fruit, but let us pray that it will happen soon. May God keep you all.

May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: October 30, 1978 [Aban 8, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 27, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The form of government established by the Holy Prophet (s), and the struggles of the Imams (a) and the Shiah clergy against the tyrannical rulers of their day

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The enemies' propaganda against Islam

We are now confronted by a propaganda campaign which was launched by the foreigners when they first made inroads into Iran and conducted research on the country with a view to taking away Iran's resources. At that time they began to propagate that the people saw Islam and the Islamic clergy as something which was against this life, something against reason, something reactionary, something of no use to their everyday life, and so on. Via this extensive propaganda campaign, they accused the different religions of essentially being an opium to stupefy the people,¹ of being a creation of the capitalists, and they accused the *ulama* of Islam of being the agents of these capitalists, who serve to stupefy the people so that they remain acquiescent, so that there is no chance of a revolution taking place at any time. This kind of propaganda was spread by those missionaries and others, who regarded Islam as something which stood in the way of their interests, and who saw the *ulama* of Islam as another such barrier.

The Quran as the scripture of Islam

During my past few days here, I have spoken on different occasions about many of the issues involved in this regard to the gentlemen in the audience, an audience which of course changes from day to day as people come and go. An example of those things of which I have spoken and which need to be repeated, is the question which asks: if one were to study the

¹ The misconceived phrase: "Religion is the opium of the masses" is one of Lenin's celebrated theories. During the third congress of the Communist Youth Association, Lenin said: "Marxism is materialism and as such it is the dour enemy of religion . . . religion is the opium and morphine of the masses and Marxism has always held all modern religions, churches and the entire religious establishment to constitute anachronistic means employed by the bourgeoisie to preserve exploitation and to poison the minds of the working classes."

scripture of Islam, that is the Quran, or were to learn its teachings, then would it be as if he had taken opium? Would this person then retire to his home and become torpid? Does the Quran invite people to retire to a monastery? Or is the Quran a stimulus for society? Does it not support the elimination of oppression and of those acts of cruelty which take place?

The Prophet of Islam (s) at war with those holding power

Whoever is in any way familiar with the logic of the Quran, realizes that indeed it was the Quran which led the Prophet of Islam to constantly wage war against the capitalists, against those who were capitalists in the Hijaz, in Taif, in Mecca and so on, and who possessed power and were cruel. It was the Quran which urged the Holy Prophet to wage war against those who did not respect the people's national sentiments and who acted as a barrier to the interests of the social masses, unfairly exploiting the latter. It was the Quran which urged the Holy Prophet to do this and to establish some form of justice.

Those battles which were declared by the Prophet during his lifetime, once he had mustered up the troops needed to go to war that is, were always fought against the holders of power. They were fought against people like Abu Sufyan and others like him, people who possessed power and who wanted to appropriate the people's assets, the assets of their own people, for themselves; and they were fought at a time when oppression, injustice and acts of cruelty were rife. And those battles which took place were fought between the oppressed in society, those in society's lower social stratum, the poor, and those with power, those who wanted to take possession of what rightfully belonged to the indigent. That which the Quran has to say about war and about waging battle against these polytheists who were the holders of power at the time, is by no means exiguous; those verses contained in the Quran in this regard, are by no means few in number. There are numerous verses which relate to war and to struggle against these men of power. If anyone is able to find one verse throughout the entire Quran which tells the people to act moderately toward these powerful men, and to go home and sleep leaving the latter free to do as they please, then indeed he is entitled to say that this Quran and this religion have come to stupefy the people, that they are the opium of the people; opium in the sense that like a narcotic substance which is consumed and which subsequently induces man to feel drowsy, the Quran too has come to make people feel drowsy!

The plot to separate the Muslims from the Quran

This has all been but propaganda directed against the Quran, and its aim has been to separate the Muslims from this holy book and to destroy the logic contained in it in full view of the Muslims so that those Easterners who are Muslim and who possess valuable resources no longer have the power to put up a fight. If there is no Quran and no religious ministers of the Quran, then these people and popular masses will not put up a fight. It is due to the very fact that we do have the Quran and its religious ministers that putting up resistance is indeed a possibility. . . This kind of research has concluded that that which constitutes an obstacle in the path of Western interests is the Quran and those people who have read its teachings. These people may at some time stand in the way of the West's interests. Hence, these two barriers must be destroyed in order for the path to be cleared. They destroyed—to use their own words—the Quran, or they intended to do so that is, by using the argument which holds that essentially religion, not only the religion of Islam but religion in general, has always been a kind of opiate from time immemorial. And they used this argument not because they were unaware of the facts, for they were indeed aware; they were fully aware of the facts; but rather they did this because they were involved in a plan which was meant to deceive. It is we who were unaware of the fact that we were being deceived. They were involved in a deceitful plan, and their plan had a purpose, a political purpose from which they hoped to gain; but as for the Muslims, they were duped. We were the ones who were ignorant of the facts. Even now that Islam, the Quran, the clergy and so on have such firm foundations among the youth in our society, they are trying to shake and destroy these foundations. Someone who is working for the foreign powers, or if not, then someone who has been fooled by them, might still forward the same argument and insist that the Quran, and for example the clergy, are in fact opiates! Even though they are witnessing this movement, a movement which got under way fifteen years ago and which has now caused such upset—not only to the Shah, but to America, Britain and the Soviet Union. They are trying to discover how to find deliverance but cannot, since the bayonet can do nothing when faced with the will of the people—nevertheless, even now some ignoramus from among them may still be found to utter such foolish words.

Foreigners' logic is to separate us from the Quran

All of the former prophets, those of whose life histories we are aware that is, were from the lower social strata, they were from among the poor in

society, and yet they rose up against the sultan of the day as did Prophet Moses, may God's peace be upon him, for example, against Pharaoh. A simple shepherd with staff in hand rises up and invites the people to lead a virtuous life. He then goes to Pharaoh whom he wishes to guide aright in order for him to become a true human being. It wasn't a case of Moses being appointed by Pharaoh to stupefy the masses! He himself (Moses) came from the masses. That is, God chose him from among the popular masses to confront the might of Pharaoh; and the same goes for the other prophets (a), those with whose lives we are familiar that is. The Most Noble Prophet (Muhammad) lived nearer to us in time than did the other prophets and we know more about his life than we do about the lives of the other prophets. Hence, we know about all of the battles in which he was involved, we know how many battles he fought and against whom he fought; and all of these battles were in fact fought against people who were oppressive and cruel. Therefore, the logic which argues that Islam or indeed other religions are opiates is an argument forwarded by those foreigners who want to appropriate your wealth; those who want to distance us from the Quran so that we would be devoid of support. If a support such as the power of the Quran were not behind us and we become ideologically divided, each person holding a different opinion, then their propaganda would be effective in misleading our youth and this would mean that they (those in power) would be free to get on with whatever it is they want to do.

The war of the Prophet, Hadrat Amir and the *ulama* against the *taghuts*

When we take a look at those who propagated religion, like the Prophet himself, like Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali), peace be upon him, like the caliphs who succeeded the Prophet—or rather those pseudo-caliphs who succeeded the Prophet while it was still a question of becoming caliph and not sultan¹—and later, like the *ulama* of Islam, we see on examining history that the wars engaged in, were always between these aforesaid people and the tyrants. The former were never seen to sit back in silence. However, when they fought they did so according to their strength and power which at that time was in fact very little. There were reasons for this of course, reasons which involved certain shortcomings on their part.

¹ Muawiyah changed the caliphate into hereditary monarchy.

The *ulama*'s resistance to Rida Khan

Within my own lifetime, during the period that I myself have been witness to events, I have seen this same sector of society fight against Rida Shah. When the latter came and staged a coup, wreaking the havoc he did, and committing those acts of oppression and those injustices against all classes of society, no powerful force stood up to confront him except for that of the clergy. And thus many uprisings ensued, all of which I can call to mind. Yes, there have been many uprisings, uprisings such as those initiated by the *ulama* in Isfahan, when the latter all assembled in Qum along with the *ulama* from other cities; or again, like the uprising which sprang from Khorasan when all of the *ulama* of that province who had risen up were arrested and taken to prison, *ulama* such as the late Aqa Sayyid Yunus,¹ the late Aqa Zadeh and others like them. During the uprising which arose in Azerbaijan, the distinguished *ulama* of that province, such as the late Mirza Sadiq Aqa, the late Angaji and others, were arrested and sent into exile. Yes, there have been many uprisings. Again, with the uprising initiated by the late Aqa Qummi when he went to Tehran only to be refused true support from the people, this too resulted in Aqa Qummi's arrest and exile. [*Ulama*] such as these have risen up in revolt on many occasions and history shows that it wasn't a case of them urging the people to remain calm and to say nothing in the face of oppression, to hold their tongues in the face of those tyrants. It has been propaganda which has brought us to the present stage where even now such false accusations are made. That is to say that those who have been misled still say these things even now, and are thus in fact aiding this regime of oppression.

Communist games and propaganda

Those who whisper about these issues are either themselves allied to, and serve, the regime, or they have been deceived by the regime's agents. The same applies to those who chant these so-called communist or Marxist

¹ Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Yunus Ardebili (1876-1959) was one of the famous Shiah *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 Kha, 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).

slogans, for they are a group of youngsters who have been fooled by these very slogans. These youngsters have not made any enquiries as to what those who have called on them to support communism or to support Marxism are actually like. They haven't looked into the lives of these people to see what kind of people they actually were. Stalin for example, whose life we all witnessed in the recent past and who was a contemporary of mine and of some of you, just what kind of a person was he? What kind of a person was he that made these youngsters want to follow him?

Stalin with his special cow!

When World War II broke out soldiers from the Russian army came to Iran. They were to be found in that part of Iran which stretches from more or less the other side of Tehran to Khorasan and that area, and they had captured the areas which were formerly occupied by Britain as well as those which were formerly occupied by America, each of these countries having had a presence in Iran and each having claimed a part of the country for itself. And we all saw this for ourselves; I personally witnessed this. During that momentous period a certain event occurred which itself came to be equally famous. This event involved the Allies' visit to Iran, that is, when the leaders of the Allied countries, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, came to Iran. When Stalin came to Iran—Stalin, the person whom these gentlemen insist was a Communist, was in favor of the popular masses, behaved fairly with the people and so on, the person whom they used to call "*qardash*," the person who was a comrade and so on—they even had to bring along a milk cow for him, so that this gentleman wouldn't have to drink the milk of an Iranian cow! When this man, he who sat in the Kremlin and whose comrades comprised those members of the armed forces as well as the popular masses, when he came to Iran during the period of global warfare to hold negotiations, it was a well-known fact that he took a special kind of cow along with him for its milk, for, God forbid, that he should have no milk of his own and should therefore have to drink milk from an Iranian cow! This was the kind of aristocratic life he led.

Beggary of the Soviet occupying forces during the World War II

And on another occasion I personally remember coming across some Russian soldiers as we were traveling from Tehran to Mashhad by bus, and how these soldiers believed that we and Stalin were each other's brothers and that we all had things in common! These soldiers used to come up to us and beg for cigarettes or some other thing! Once they had been given a cigarette,

they became so pleased that they would whistle as they walked away! Yet when he (Stalin) came to Iran, he came by airplane traveling in such grand style and surrounded by such a great entourage and so on; a milch cow also being brought along so that this gentleman could drink its milk!

Examples of the methods of communist leaders

Yes, indeed, they are leading the people on. Lenin, whose praises they sing so loudly, initially made a name for himself because of a love affair gone bad and opposing those who held a religious faith. He opposed the religious scholars of that time, the religious scholars in his own country. Some kind of love affair was involved which the latter had declared to be forbidden leading Lenin to become outraged. It is said that at that time Lenin had proposed the need to make a calculated assessment to ascertain both the income and expenditure of those in the country. He is said to have argued that we are of course to hold on to those individuals whose annual income and expenditure are found to balance or whose income is found to exceed their expenditure since they earn enough to meet their own living costs and we too stand to benefit in some way! But as for he whose expenditure is not less than his income, he who earns less than he spends, this person must be cast into the sea! This is the kind of person that this philanthropist was! He whose praises they now sing so loudly, is someone who argues that the poor who are unable to work, that person who has now reached old age, who has become infirm, who, because of some impairment, is unable to earn enough to cover his own living costs, is someone who is no longer of any use; he is to be tossed into the sea. And even then, note that he is to be tossed into the sea to preclude the need for a ground burial and so on! Yes, they are deceiving our youth, and their words are mere propaganda, words which bear no truth. This is what their form of government and their leaders are like. But we too have a form of government which we shall make known to all—that form of government which we now seek.

Methods of the Islamic rulers

The form of government which we seek is epitomized by that of the Holy Prophet who himself was someone who once governed. I now want to take a look at such leaders, to consider what former leaders (in Islam) were like, to consider the way in which they behaved. One of these leaders was Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali), and another, Umar.¹ Let us ask ourselves whether today's

¹ Umar ibn al-Khattab was the second caliph who succeeded Abubakr, the first caliph.

leaders are even like Umar was. And then let us ask the same about Hadrat Amir. Whoever has written about how the Holy Prophet himself actually lived, has told of how he in fact led a life more simple than that led by the ordinary people in Medina at the time. The Prophet lived in a home built from mud; he lived in a mud-built room within the mosque. He used to ride a donkey and would seat a passenger behind himself. He would discuss religious issues with his passenger during their journey and would give him instruction and guidance. Now just name one governor, one chief of police, one village headman who is like this, who behaves toward the people as did the Prophet. It is related that when the latter used to go to the mosque—which is where governmental administrative affairs were conducted—and he used to sit and talk with the people there, anyone who did not know the Prophet and entered the building would not be able to distinguish who was the ruler and who were the ruled, who was the Prophet and who was not. He did not lead anything like an aristocratic life. Yet in spite of the simple life he led personally, at the same time he took care of the indigent and the weak so much that it defies description.

Some aspects of Ali's (a) life

And then there was Hadrat Amir, someone who was sultan—indeed it is impertinent of me to refer to him as sultan¹—someone who was the caliph of many countries, just one of these countries being Iran, another one being the Hijaz, another Jordan and another Egypt. Yes, this is how vast his dominion was at that time. Let us now take a look at his life to see whether it was he with such a great dominion who caringly looked after the people, or these other leaders that they (the communists) speak of. Just look back in history and make a comparison of the lives that they lived. According to written accounts¹ Hadrat Amir owned a pelisse made from sheepskin on which he and his wife would sleep at night. During the day he would use this sheepskin on which to scatter grass for his camels to eat. This is the kind of life which was led by Hadrat Amir! He probably never once ate a wholesome piece of bread in his life. So you can tell what kind of diet he had. According to written accounts, the Hadrat's diet was such that he would seal the lid of the container² in which barley bread was kept in order to ensure that no one would open it up and add something to the bread inside—some kind of fat or

¹ *Biḥar al-Anwar* vol. 40, p.323.

² *Manaqib* vol. 3, *fil-Musabiqah bil-Zuhd wal-Qinaah*, p. 113.

whatever which his children, example Zaynab,¹ may want to add as a kindness to their father. Yes, the Hadrat would seal the lid so that the bread could not be tampered with. This was the kind of food eaten by Hadrat Amir, May God's peace be upon him.

On the eve of Hadrat Amir's death, the night on which he was struck a blow, he is said to have been a guest in the home of Umm Kulthum (Hadrat's daughter),² and on being brought salt and milk by his daughter with which to break his fast, to have asked the latter when she had ever before seen him eating two kinds of food on the same occasion. When the Hadrat then told his daughter to take one of the two foods away and the latter was about to remove the salt, the Hadrat is said to have implored her to take away the milk instead. He then took two morsels of bread and salt and ate them. This is the kind of government we are looking for from the rulers of our government; this is what Islamic government is like; this is what a true Islamic ruler is like; and what was said previously is what the communist and Marxist rulers are like.

The enemies' propaganda is for plundering us

One must consider carefully to discover how one has been cheated. One must ask oneself: what was all this deception for? What was all that propaganda for? You must question the real reason for their wanting to turn you away from Islam and wanting to alienate you from Islamic government. The real reason for this is that one gentleman wants our country's gas, and another our country's oil. But the fact of the matter is that certain people already own this oil and gas and they may well begin to shout out in protest and cause an outcry. Islam says that no power has the right to impose its will upon the Muslims; yet these (powers) want to impose everything upon them. They want to bring someone by the name of Muḥammad Rida, and to install him here to fulfill a mission, a "Mission for my Country"! They want to commission this person to give whatever is of worth in this country to them. But since there is a possibility of the *akhund* voicing protest against this, they silence him. They say that *akhunds* are parasites! That all the *akhunds* are parasites! Yet the life led in the *madrasah* chambers by this *akhund* who is

¹ Zaynab: the daughter of Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib (a) and Fatimah az-Zahra (a) who played the crucial role of mouthpiece of the revolution of her brother Imam Husayn (a) and the tragedy in Karbala. For more information on her life account, see Badr Shahin (comp.), *Lady Zaynab* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 2002); M.H. Bilgrami, *Victory of Truth: Life of Zaynab bint Ali (a)*, <http://www.al-islam.org/victory/index.htm>.

² *Biḥar al-Anwar* vol. 42, *ḥadith* 37, p 226.

now supposedly living a parasitic existence, consists of nothing but a few books, a short-napped and coarse carpet, and other such things. Those who say that these *akhunds* are parasites are in fact the ones who own this and that. They say that these *akhunds* are lazy! But is it the *akhunds* who are lazy—those who have never relaxed their efforts in the struggle over the past seventy years, those who see a job through to the end in order to protect their own nation and their own faith—or those people who generally just do not give a damn? The latter say that they (the *akhunds*) are lazy! The aim of all this propaganda is to discredit the *akhund* before the nation, to strip the nation of this potent force. It aims to wrest the power of Islam, a power which exceeds all others, and to tear away the power held by the promoters of Islam. Once these two powerful forces (i.e. Islam and the clergy) have been removed then Muḥammad Rida will be free to do whatever he pleases, in his own good time, with no one there to question his actions.

Mudarris' resistance to Rida Khan and the imperialists

By the same token, when Rida Shah came and committed all of those outrageous acts, again it was an *akhund* by the name of Mudarris, may God rest his soul, that stood before him in the Majlis and voiced protest. No one else did this other than Mudarris and a few of his supporters. Nowhere else in the entire country did any other opposition force stand up to confront Rida Shah. Mudarris was a man who wore a turban, he was a mullah, a virtuous man, and dressed in a particular kind of shirt, a particular kind of *aba* and canvas trousers—trousers which were humorously called “canvas trousers” in the poetry which used to be recited as a tribute to him at that time—he stood up before Rida Shah and said “No!”

When Russia issued an ultimatum to Iran—an ultimatum which concerned some affair or other the details of which have now escaped my memory—having mobilized its troops until they had reached a certain area in Iran, the ultimatum in question was then taken to the Majlis for the deliberation of the deputies there. Indeed, it was a case of the Russian army having entered Iran, of it intending to advance even further, and of an ultimatum having been issued by the Russians which threatened that if such and such an action wasn't taken then Iran would pay the price! Hence, to quote accounts given by the Russians themselves, all of the Majlis deputies were seated in silence believing that they were unable to do anything about the situation—indeed, what could they have done—when a *sayyid*, a man wearing a turban, a certain mullah, is said to have ascended the speaker's rostrum, his hands trembling (from age and infirmity), and to have said: “It

may be the will of God that our liberty and sovereignty shall be taken away from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands! No, we reject these demands.” And so the ultimatum was rejected and the Russians didn’t do a damn thing about it. According to the Russians themselves, other deputies found courage¹ and also cast a negative vote, thus refusing to succumb to Russian threats. As for the Russians, they did absolutely nothing about it. They merely want to scare us.

America and Britain’s support of the Shah

And even though you are still under the impression that (it is not this way) nevertheless, it was only the other day that they sent yet another telegram to mark October 26 (the Shah’s birthday). Only a few days ago did these parasitical, oil-devouring state leaders send telegrams to congratulate the Shah on the occasion of his birthday, telegrams in which they expressed their firm support for him! And this especially applies to Carter who in expressing his support pulled out all the stops saying: “We are firmly behind you” and so on. While only a few days earlier, the British Foreign Minister had also accurately described the situation! He had said something to the effect that the Shah was the protector of their interests, that they had certain interests in our country, and so they had to give him (the Shah) their support!

International threats

No, we will not allow you to give your support. The nation is no longer fooled by these words. Even now, despite the things they (the foreign powers) say, do not be under the impression that if the people were to stand up in revolt, if they were to make firm their ranks and dismiss all of the threats made against them, then they (the foreigners) would bring in their troops from abroad. This is not the case; it is all talk, all lame verse. Indeed, today’s world would not allow anyone to take such action against a nation which is making sense, a nation which is speaking the truth, which is saying: “We do not want you to take away our assets, we do not want you to take away our resources, we want to enjoy national independence, we want to be free. You yourselves have spoken of this in the Declaration of Human Rights; hence, we want to act in accordance with this Declaration. We want to be free; we want national independence; we want freedom.” Our children are also shouting this message; our old men too, they are saying the same thing. You cannot fight such a nation with the bayonet. A martial law

¹ Because of Mudarris’ statements.

government can no longer stand in the way of this nation, nor can a non-military government. It is just not possible. Neither can Carter stand in its way, nor can those in the Kremlin. It simply cannot be done. They go on saying these things because by saying them they hope to frighten the living daylight out of you, but the fact remains that they never follow their words up by coming and creating an onslaught. Each of these foreign powers has certain interests, certain international interests and so on which means that country aren't make a move for fear of the other and vice versa.¹ These countries are each afraid of the other. But this being the case, they nevertheless now say these things so as to frighten us.

At that time an *akhund*² stood up and said "no," but the people were not behind him; they were not yet ready. Propaganda³ against the clergy has been such that at one time no one would even give an *akhund* a lift in their car, I swear it. The late Haj Shaykh Abbas Tehrani,⁴ may God rest his soul, once said that while in Arak⁵ he had wanted to take a taxicab and that the taxi driver had said: "There are two kinds of people that we do not allow on board: one is the *akhund*, and the other, the prostitute." This is how things were for the *akhund* at one time, that is to say, this is what the situation brought about by the regime was like. They (the regime) alienated the people from the *akhunds*, and Rida Khan went ahead and did as he pleased. As for the gentlemen (clergymen) in question, they rose up in revolt, some of them that is. They weren't able to succeed however because the people had been duped and did not therefore give them their support and the *akhunds* had no army of their own with which to fight. Likewise, today there is a constant bombardment of propaganda; propaganda is unrelentingly churned out. "So-and-so lives in a country mansion" they say! "That is where he lives and the young people go to visit him there" they say! (Imam laughs). This is our country mansion in which we do not even have a room for the gentlemen to sit in. Instead they have to remain standing like this! (Imam laughs). It is

¹ America and the Soviet Union.

² Sayyid Hasan Mudarris.

³ By Rida Khan.

⁴ The late Haj Shaykh Abbas Tehrani was among those clergymen who have a leaning toward hermeneutics and gnosticism; and in the year prior to the events of 1961-63 (1340-42 AHS) he had associated with Imam Khomeini. On several occasions the latter made fond mention of Haj Shaykh Abbas Tehrani in his literary works. Imam Khomeini's students remember Shaykh Abbas Tehrani for having initiated the weekly meetings in Hujatiyyah Madrasah in Qum at which the *Nudbah* prayer used to be read, a prayer which indeed is still read but now in memory of this great man.

⁵ Arak, the center of Persian Iraq.

nothing but propaganda. And this is how they hope to alienate the people from religion. But today Iran no longer heeds their words; the words they speak are now redundant. The people have seen the light; they are now aware of these tricks. They no longer listen to what they say. This person (the Shah) must go; there are no two ways about it. If you would like Iran to be put right then know that this is not possible while Muhammad Rida and this evil Pahlavi dynasty remain. He must leave in order for Iran to be put right. And following this, if the country is to be straightened out, the hands of America, Britain and Russia, these three superpowers, must be severed from Iran and Iran must enjoy national independence. God willing, this is in effect what we hope to achieve.

We all have a duty

Now let us ask: What is the duty of those of you who are sitting here? I am tired and can no longer continue. What is the duty of us all? Our brothers in Iran are presently fulfilling their duty. What I mean to say is that even now as we sit here, have no doubt that some kind of disturbance or other is taking place in Qum or elsewhere. Wherever one goes in Iran, be it Tehran, Zanjan or elsewhere, something or other is happening; some movement or other is under way; screams are being heard; beatings are taking place; murder and plunder are being committed. Those in Iran are now caught up in these affairs, whereas here, you and I are unfortunately not confronted by the same events. Each one of you however is able to propagate the cause, here, abroad. Whoever has some connection with the schools and universities go and talk to ten of the foreigners there. Tell them: the situation in Iran is like this; this is what they (the regime) are doing there; this is how these state leaders are oppressing us; this is the way in which the Shah is committing acts of tyranny; this is how they are killing the people; the people's rights are these; this is what they are demanding; the people are not barbaric or uncivilized.

This man (the Shah) is saying: "The people in our country do not yet deserve the freedom we have given to them!" He says that they do not deserve freedom! While Carter says so much freedom has been given to the people that the latter have begun to shout out in objection! All of this killing and plunder then is due to an excess of freedom according to Carter's logic, a logic which he expresses so unequivocally. Really, this kind of mentality is beyond me! I do not understand the kind of person he is! One of the newspapers—either *Ittilaat* or *Kayhan*—quoted him as having said that the Shah has granted a fast freedom to the people and that this is what has caused all of these conflicts! This "fast freedom" has caused the people to cry out:

“O freedom! O freedom!” And in so doing, they supposedly mean to say: “We do not want freedom! We do not want freedom!” Or so Carter maintains! This is the light in which they are interpreting things. This scoundrel (the Shah)—even the other scoundrel (Carter) is better than this one—says that these people of ours do not deserve freedom, that freedom ought not be granted to them! He says that they should not be given freedom since if they become free they won’t want him! This is what he’s saying (laughter of the audience), he’s saying that as soon as the people were told “you are free”, they began to say “death to the Shah.” As for the other scoundrel (Carter), he says that they (the regime) gave the people so much freedom that they are shouting out in protest! So, one says one thing while the other says quite the opposite. This is what we have to contend with. We who are seated here and who are in contact with each other, and those of you who are in touch with those European or American friends of yours, are to speak out about these things. You are to tell people about the pain and suffering of Iran and its people. Tell them about how they are killing these small children, about how they are killing these seven- or eight-year-old children.

[A member of the audience: Are we to solve this matter or is it the job of others?]

Imam: Please pay attention. No, we shall solve the matter ourselves, we just need some help. We want to mend the image portrayed of us abroad which presents us as barbarian people. Something was written quoting a journalist—who was European, maybe British—as saying that: “I was just leaving the *Id al-Fitr*¹ gathering toward which people were advancing in a most orderly fashion and where slogans were being chanted, a gathering which was nonetheless peaceful, no skirmishes taking place at all, when an American, on seeing that I was foreign, stopped his car. I got in the car and he said: “Just look at those barbarians.” To which I retorted: “You say they are barbarians? Where in the world do you know of that a crowd of half a million, that one million people have set out and walked with such poise and order? These people are merely demanding their legitimate rights; does that make them barbarians?” Yes, those abroad have portrayed the people in Iran as barbarians; and a barbarian is not to be set free; a barbarian belongs in a zoo, and his cage door is to be securely locked!

¹ *Id al-Fitr*: the Islamic feast marking the end of the fasting month of Ramadan.

All of Iran is saying one thing

This is the picture they are painting of you and in order to erase this image from the minds of the foreigners you must tell them our side of the story. You must tell them how the Iranian people see things; tell them that this is how we see it, so that the minds of the foreigners may be cleared of this image. Once this image has been erased then a wave of support will appear here also and these foreign governments may, to a certain extent, take note of the public opinion in their countries. This is why we must take this step (to tell those abroad the truth of the situation), and not because we want these foreigners to come and solve our problems for us. We must solve our own problems. But you must nevertheless erase this image that they are creating of the Iranian people—an image which shows them to be barbarian and incapable of handling freedom, or which presents them as a nation which is crying out in protest at being given too much freedom—and you must explain the situation with which the Iranian people are faced, explain why they are crying out in protest and exactly what it is that they are seeking. The nation's eight-year-olds are crying out: "Freedom, independence, Islamic government." Its old men are also now demanding this as are its mullahs, its preachers, its intellectuals, those in the bazaar, those in the high schools—they all want to be free. They were in a wretched state; for fifty years they were repressed; they now want to be independent. For many years, for more than fifty years, they were in fetters; they now want to break free from these fetters. We must propagate the Iranian cause here abroad. That is, we must tell the people of this country,¹ we must tell whichever of them we associate with about the problems facing Iran. We must tell them these things in order to destroy the image they have of the Iranian people which depicts them as a bunch of savages setting fire to the bank! And if at some time arson is committed we must explain that this has probably been the work of the regime's agents. We must erase this image which tells people: these are nothing but a bunch of savages! If they set these people free there's no telling what they'll do! Thus, we must tell them: no, this is not the case. These poor souls are crying out for freedom; and they are sacrificing the lives of their children so as to prevent the possibility of a return to the fetters and yokes laid upon them by the foreigners.

May God protect you all. May you be successful and may you cause Islam to grow stronger. We pray that this nation which is now in such difficulties will achieve victory, and God willing, so it shall.

¹ France.

Letter

Date: October 31, 1978 [Aban 9, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 28, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Decision to continue temporary residence in France

Addressee: Husayn Nuri Hamedani

In His Most Exalted Name

I would like to extend my gratitude to you for the letter which spoke of your honor's health constitution and release. May God bestow health and prosperity upon you. I have not yet been able to read the detailed letter written in exile. There have been demands from Hamedan requesting you, though I find your presence more urgent in Qum for training seminarians. God willing, may you be successful in serving Islam and Muslims wherever you are.

If not bothered, I will stay here¹ until I find a place in an Islamic country. Although it is unpleasant in some ways, but it is a good place for delivering the nation's voice to the world. I ask you to pray for me and may you succeed in serving God. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ That is, France.

Speech

Date: October 31, 1978 [Aban 9, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 28, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The need for preserving unity and refraining from disunity

Addressees: A group of Iranians students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Unity is the only way to victory

Different doctrinal beliefs and ideological leanings can be found to exist between these groups that are now around. I myself more or less sensed that there were differences when I came here (to Paris). A group of people who share the same aim and who want to see this aim through to the end, people who want to prepare the ground for this aim to be realized, who want to win the day, can be likened—both the individuals within this group and the group as a whole—to drops of water, to streams, floods and seas. If you take a look at individual raindrops you will see that each one, when in isolation from other raindrops, is not even capable of wetting a leaf; one raindrop is even insufficient to make a leaf wet. Even if you were to consider millions of such drops, drops which existed in isolation from each other, which were not linked together in any way, they still would not be able to achieve anything worthwhile. While each raindrop remains isolated from the rest it can achieve nothing. Now it may well be that a number of raindrops join together while others remain unconnected. For example, imagine that raindrops have fallen somewhere and that a certain number of these drops have joined together whereas the other drops have either not come together or they have indeed joined together but remain unconnected to the former group of interconnected drops. Here, one group of drops forms one stream or canal while the other group forms another. Of course if these drops did not join together in the first place then they would remain as the individual drops they initially were. But having come together, this stream which will have been formed will be capable of achieving something yes, but it will not be anything of great significance. This link which will have been established between these drops of rain and which will have given rise to the formation of a stream, could possibly serve to irrigate a piece of land for example which could then be cultivated, but even so, there will be a limit to what this formation of raindrops can achieve. And the same goes for the other stream which will

have been formed. As for any drops which may have remained separate from the rest, they will be able to achieve nothing at all. Were these streams to join each other however, and give rise to a flood of water or a river, then the power at their command would increase. Initially, before forming a flood of water they would have been individual raindrops whose capability was that possessed by a raindrop, and hence they would have been neither able to wet a leaf nor make it stir. On joining together however, and thus giving rise to the formation of a stream, these drops would become a powerful force by virtue of this very interconnection. That is to say that minor forces would have come together, those without power would have come together and as a result a unitary force would have come into being, a force which would be commensurable to the number of drops it comprises, or even on occasion a force which would exceed the sum of its contents. But even so this would be a limited force, a force which is sufficient to irrigate a piece of land, or, were it to find momentum, a force which is sufficient to create a flowing stream, to set a piece of straw in motion. However, were these streams, these canals formed from individual raindrops, to combine and thus form a flood of water, they would increase in power whereby this newly-formed flood would become a raging flood, a flood which may well uproot certain trees, a flood which because of its raging nature may destroy certain structures. Moreover, were all these floods of water, these rivers to combine thus forming a sea of water, then the powerful force which would come about as a result would be so great that merely one wave of this sea would be enough to wreck ships.

Indeed, the same principle applies to this society of ours. If each person were to be regarded in isolation, then even if there were one hundred million individual persons, even if there were a society one hundred million strong in which each person was an isolated individual, no one having anything to do with anyone else, this society would be able to achieve nothing. Each person's capability would be confined to the individual level and because there would be no link between these people they would be unable to achieve anything. They are like those drops of water which could not cause a leaf to stir. One individual person possesses a certain power, a certain capability, but his power is far, far too limited to achieve anything of crucial importance; he cannot achieve anything. Even if we were to suppose that a certain group of people somewhere came to share the same ideas as this one individual person, and that they joined him in trying to achieve the same aim, when the rest of the people in society either do not share the same ideas as them or worse still hold ideas which are quite the opposite, when the rest of the people are not of the same opinion as this group, then there is only so much

that the latter can accomplish for it has a limited capability. Yes, indeed, it can accomplish minor achievements due to this newly-found strength it has acquired from the bond which has developed between its members, and especially if there is nothing there to act as a hindrance, then yes, it is able to achieve something. But should another group of people disagree with the course of action adopted by this group, should they want to adopt another line of action, they would then present an obstacle and this newly-developed obstruction would mean that any action taken by the former group would be undermined. That is, neither would the former group reach its goal nor would the latter group. If the latter group of people should want to succeed in achieving its objective then it is not to get in the way of things. Should you want to go from here to somewhere outside the city for example, you will only be able to do so if there is nothing obstructing your path; but if you are faced with some obstacle or other, by some kind of flood, if some kind of mountain is there to cause you a problem, then you will not be able to leave the city.

Disunity is a factor in undermining the resistance

Let's now imagine that this group which we have conjured up has been formed from a limited number of people and that these people have cooperated with each other to reach a certain goal and they want to take certain action to this end, if another group of people were not confronting them and causing them problems then they would be able to take some kind of action and even achieve some minor success as a result. But if another group of people were to appear, and were to stand in the way of the first group, neither group would get anywhere. Just imagine a group of people a hundred, two hundred strong, two hundred people who have united to form a group, but two hundred people who all hold different views and follow different lines of action, people who are a hindrance to one another—the case not only being that they have nothing to do with each other but that they hinder each other too—then the potential strength of this two-hundred-strong group of people would be undermined by these ever-arising obstructions. That is to say, this group would become a lame duck; no one would achieve his goal; everyone would fail to realize his objectives. When can the objectives of a group of people be realized? It is when the people in that group are united, when the Muslim people say, people who number something like eight hundred million or maybe by now one billion,¹ become united. The reason why these

¹ The estimated Muslim population at the time of this speech was 800 million people. The exact number of Muslims in the world has never been ascertained, while any statistics issued in this regard are far from accurate, an official census on the Muslim population in certain countries not having yet been conducted. Furthermore, in certain other countries the people are not in a position to reveal their religious faith, while in some places census-takers try to make the number of Muslims there appear smaller than it actually is for political or religious reasons. In Europe and America, only the details of one's sex, age and occupation are usually sought in censuses taken, a person's religion not being accounted for at all. Therefore, one cannot say with certainty exactly how many Muslims there are in countries such as these. Again, in countries such as America and India, Muslim converts are unaccounted for in statistics gathered. Nevertheless, an approximate estimate of the world's Muslim population is held to be about one billion people, this being a figure which has undoubtedly risen dramatically during the past decade.

one billion people can be seen to lie under the domination of others—there not now being any part of this one-billion-strong community, this community whose members are all Muslims, which is not under the influence of the superpowers—the reason one billion people lie captive to a superpower of say two hundred or one hundred and fifty million people is that this one hundred and fifty million people have united to achieve one goal, whereas the one billion Muslim people are not only disunited, they even oppose one another.

When you take a look at Iran, when you consider Iran and her neighboring countries, you see that these countries are not in fact her neighbors. This is what has become of the Islamic countries. But this state of affairs has not arisen out of the blue. It is not a case of these Islamic countries—countries which disagree among themselves, which stubbornly disagree with one another and on occasion go to war with each other—just happened to have turned out this way. Indeed no, it is the intrigues weaved by the superpowers which cause these countries to jump at each other's throats and to be disunited so that this one-billion-strong force will not become an obstacle and gain universal predominance. But what must these superpowers do to achieve this? They must separate these countries from one another; these countries, countries which are like different rivers but rivers which do not converge, must be separated from one another: this country must follow one policy; that country must follow another policy; the other country must follow yet another policy, and so on. Each country is to have a policy of its own and is to be in conflict with the other countries; there is to be quarrelling and fighting. And this state of affairs has arisen because of the acts of betrayal committed by the leaders of these countries, of these Islamic countries, or because of their blindness and ignorance whereby they have failed to reach any mutual understanding or to combine like the waves of the sea in order to smash whatever confronts them.

Muslim unity is the way to save Palestine

Indeed, you can see for yourselves how in Palestine¹ a certain number of Zionists,² a limited number of Jews have behaved in such a way with so many Arab countries, countries whose population exceeds 100 million, that some of the latter have surrendered to them while others, although wanting to take action, can't actually do anything about the situation. How many years is it now since Israel went and usurped this land which belongs to the Palestinians, yet throughout all this time this vast Arab population and all of these Arab countries haven't been able to rid themselves of this problem in Palestine. They say that America is supporting her (Israel) and they can therefore do nothing. But this is not so, it is you (the Arabs) who are feckless! Yes, they are feckless. It is not a case of America preventing them from taking action. If this one-hundred-million-strong Arab population were to join forces, then even America wouldn't be able to stand in their way and neither would the European countries. No country would be able to stand in their way. But the fact is that they are not united. Yes, indeed, what the foreign powers do is to ensure that these Arab nations are prevented from joining forces. If at any time they suspect that these Arab governments plan to unite, what they do is to act so as to foil these plans. Hence, for example,

¹ Palestine is a small and extremely important territory which, like a bridge, acts as the connection between the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe, and which (from a geographical point of view) is lodged at the heart of the Arab world. It is a territory 20,700 square kilometers in area and is situated in south-west Asia. In the past, it was known as Canaan but its name was then changed to Palestine. Before the advent of Islam, Palestine was attacked on numerous occasions by various clans, however, after the advent of Islam it became a part of the Islamic realm. Following the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Palestine was occupied by Britain and in 1920 was mandated to Britain by the League of Nations. In the same year, due to pressure from Britain and America, the League of Nations officially recognized Palestine as the chosen home of the Jews. The settlement of Jews there had in fact begun some time before this but henceforth it increased considerably. In 1948 [1326 AHS], the United Nations declared a resolution that Palestine was to be partitioned into two independent states: a Palestinian state and a Jewish state. A year later, the British withdrew their troops from this territory and armed Zionist Jews then attacked the Palestinian state killing many Palestinians there and rendering some homeless. The freeing of Palestine, the first *qiblah* of the Muslims, is something which all Muslims seek to achieve.

² In 1920, twenty-six years before the Jewish state was established, Palestine had a population of 747,000 people of which 663,000 were Arabs (590,000 Muslim Arabs and 73,000 Christian Arabs) and 84,000 were Jews. In 1948, the year in which the United Nations Organization decided to divide Palestine between the Jews and the Palestinians as part of a British and American plot, the Jewish population in this territory reached approximately 700,000 (following the arrival of Jewish immigrants)—this figure including all Jewish residents in Palestine, both women and children, young men and old, some of whom were Zionist Jews.

they take the Egyptian President to America where they sign a treaty with him or whatever.¹ They thus lead him along a path which is not open to others, while they lead another Arab leader along a different path which, again, is not open to anyone else. It is because of our lack of understanding and our inability as Muslims to do something that we are all under foreign domination and that America, Russia and other countries like them are taking away whatever is of worth in the East. It is because even in those places where they have combined together, these drops of water have not in fact united.

You can see for yourselves that this is the case; but now let us turn to that which we intended to look at which is the case of Iran. When Iran is now claimed to have a population of thirty-odd million people, and these thirty-five million people,² thirty-five million individual lives, then they are only able to act on an individual basis and can only achieve that which can be achieved by a single person. They cannot act as a social group because there is no unifying link between them. Now supposing that these people join together and form some kind of social group, others may then cause disagreements over the very idea of them having formed such a group and may try to prevent their continued existence. Different camps would then be set up. Do not be mistaken in thinking that these parties that you now see in Iran—remember we are now discussing the case in Iran—that these parties which more than likely initially appeared on the scene subsequent to the Constitutional Revolution,³ came together as different groups and then formed various parties just by chance, for indeed this has come about as the result of a devilish conspiracy. In order to prevent the people of Iran from uniting, the powerful nations have set up one party calling it such-and-such, and another party, calling it something else. This party is hostile to that and that party is hostile to this. They have implanted different parties into the

¹ Anwar Sadat, the former President of Egypt, made two visits to America: the first was in April 1977 [Farvardin 1356 AHS], to hold talks with Carter; and the second was in September 1978 [Shahrivar 1357 AHS], when he met with Begin, the then Israeli Prime Minister, at Camp David and when the treaty known as the Camp David Accord was signed by both men.

² The quoted figure of 35 million refers to Iran's population prior to the victory of the Islamic Revolution. The 1986 [1365 AHS] census put Iran's population at 49,445,010 people.

³ It refers to parties such as the Tudeh Party, the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, the Party of Justice, etc. These parties had turned Iran into an arena in which to promote their own policies. For information on those parties which were active prior to the Revolution, refer to *Documents Discovered from the US Espionage Den*, Nos. 20-22, under the heading "Political Parties in Iran", published by the Muslim Students Following the Line of Imam.

womb of this society; they have caused different parties to be formed. Moreover, it is not a situation where these various parties and fronts get on with their own business and have nothing to do with the other parties and fronts. No indeed, they in fact oppose each other; they are against one another. One of the ways in which the West can use us, and in which America and Russia can benefit from our resources and wealth, is precisely by doing this; by sowing discord via various means into the very heart of a society, a society which ought to be able to stand on its own two feet and achieve some kind of progress. They engineer disputes between different camps: the conflict between the Turks and the Persians; the conflict between the Kurds and the non-Kurds; the conflict say between the Baluchis and whoever, are all examples of disputes engineered by them. They are the architects of such disputes. In a country where everyone should be united, they lead each person toward a different path. That is to say, these plots of theirs take the people in different directions. And it is by means of these very differences, differences which lie at the heart of the society itself, that they prevent this society from developing. The superpowers take full advantage of the situation, and the people busy themselves with internal conflicts. The former come and take the people's oil away and take the people's gas away, plundering whatever they have, and no one says a thing about it because there is no consensus in the society; people hold divergent and diverse views. Therefore, this range of differences are differences which they implant into the heart of our society, differences which have not appeared by mere chance but which are in fact part of a deliberate scheme to sow discord.

Another issue concerns their planning some divisive scheme before the arrival of the holy months of Ramadan and Muharram, the two months when the Muslims come together—Ramadan being a month of social activity, a time when the people become preoccupied with the social gatherings which are held in the mosques; and Muharram also being a month of social activity in Iran, a month in which even those in our own government co-operate with the people, yes, even the members of our own government. When these two annual occasions next come around test the validity of my words for yourselves and see whether they (the regime) do in fact come up with some divisive scheme or not before these periods.

We actually saw over the past two or three years—and the repercussions of this incident are still in evidence—what a great commotion they caused over the book *Shahid-e Javid*!¹ There was discord between all groups:

¹ *Shahid-e Javid* [The Eternal Martyr] is a book written by Nimatullah Salihi Nafajabadi about Imam Husayn's uprising. In this book, the author has argued that initially Imam Husayn had risen up in revolt in order to establish a government and to make reforms in society, but that later, because of the situation in Kufah the Imam had decided against continuing with the uprising and had intended to return to Mecca. However, the author continues to argue that since Yazid's troops had prevented Imam from returning to Mecca the latter was forced to engage in battle with them and that it was at this point in time that he prepared himself for martyrdom. In the author's opinion, at the outset of his journey Imam Husayn was optimistic about establishing a government and believed that he would be supported by the people in Kufah. Shiah *ulama* who have conducted research in this regard however, hold that the Imam knew of the horrendous events which were to happen, prior to his having set out for Kufah, but that he nonetheless went to Karbala in order to fulfill his duty to God and to honor the pledge he had made to Him. For a long period it was issues relating to this book that were the subject of argument and discussion in religious circles rather than matters relating to the struggle against the regime in Iran. Meanwhile, in the thick of the revolution, the said author decided to publish another book which discussed the Tradition of the Cloak [*Kisa*]. However, Ayatullah Sayyid Hasan Tahiri, a lecturer at the theological center in Qum, was appointed from among Imam Khomeini's close associates to pass on information to the latter concerning this book so as to prevent another contentious affair from arising during the height of the struggle. Having passed on information to Imam via Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, Ayatullah Tahiri then conveyed a message to the said author from Imam which said that he was to refrain from publishing this book and as a result publication was postponed until a later time.

between the orators, the preachers, the merchants and so on. A tug of war ensued. People wasted the entire months of Ramadan and Muharram as well as days which lay outside these periods (debating this issue); their energies were dissipated and "His Imperial Majesty" was free to appropriate the nation's wealth at his leisure, while at the same time strengthening his rule over the people! The gentlemen of the clergy all know by heart what is written in the book *Shahid-e Javid* and where it is written; they know what the book is and is not trying to say! They argued and differed over these issues, everyone's efforts and harangues, speeches that should have been addressed with a view to destroying this dam which serves to obstruct Islam, to check the spread of Islam and to check the country's development, this dam which is personified in the figure of Muhammad Rida, were instead used to dispute issues concerning the book *Shahid-e Javid*! For several years these gentlemen wasted their energies. And even to this day the traces remaining from this affair can still be seen. Following this yet another matter was sparked off. The late Shamsabadi,¹ may he rest in peace, was killed thus giving rise to yet another song and dance. Again for another year the people were kept in suspense as to who did and who did not kill Mr. Shamsabadi. People even argued over an issue as obscure as this.² But this didn't come about by chance. Do not imagine that it just so happened that someone was killed and someone else did whatever, for this is not the case. These matters all form part of a deliberate plan, a plan which has been carefully thought out. Whenever you are about to come together as a social group and those in authority fear the outcome of such a social gathering, the latter come up with something of the nature already discussed; and once this particular affair has become somewhat outworn, they again come up with something else. Ali Shariati:³ just look how much of our energies and the energy of Islam they managed to exhaust over the controversy surrounding this man's works. Look how they succeeded in directing everyone's attention toward each other, and how they succeeded in sapping everyone's energies, all with a view to sowing discord among the preachers and orators. All hell was let loose; and disputes were held concerning the role of the preacher and the role of those in the universities and colleges.

These differences of opinion still persist today and it is these very differences which have allowed your real enemies to sleep soundly and to praise the Lord that the people have lashed out at each other and are fighting among themselves!

The need for the young generation to wake up

The younger generation must wake up. It must awaken to these devilish conspiracies that they devise. In Europe right now, there are several thousands of you. If these several thousands of people were to fight for the

¹ Abul-Hasan Shamsabadi is one of the clergymen of Isfahan.

² SAVAK had received instructions from the Shah to spread false reports about Imam in order to make the people wary of him. In 1976 [1355 AHS], when Ayatullah Shamsabadi was killed by a group led by Sayyid Mahdi Hashimi, SAVAK blamed this death on someone who they claimed was a terrorist and a follower of Ayatullah Khomeini (see the *Ittilaat* newspaper of May 15, 1976 [Ordibehesht 25, 1355 AHS]). Similarly, in the *Kayhan* newspaper of May 15, 1976, it was announced that Ayatullah Shamsabadi's murder had been committed by someone who approved of the book *Shahid-e Javid* and who was a supporter of Khomeini. Following this, some of those who had been deluded by the regime's propaganda created a public outcry.

³ Dr. Ali Shariati was someone who was very active in Husayniyyah Irshad (an institution of religious learning in Tehran) from 1971-1976 (1350-1355 AHS), and whose speeches and books were widely published. Certain *ulama* and clergymen objected to the views and beliefs held by this man. The younger members of the society who thought highly of this person could not tolerate opposition to his views, hence much controversy and debate arose with regard to Shariati's opinions, and certain people in supporting the latter, either knowingly or unknowingly became engaged in a campaign against the clergy. Moreover, a number of clergymen, again either knowingly or unknowingly, aggravated the situation in various ways during their sermons. Meanwhile, SAVAK benefited to the full from this embroilment.

same goal, that is, if those of you who are in France, others of you who are in Germany, and others who are in America, were to set out with one aim in

mind, if you were to operate efficiently, if you were well organized, then should you wish to devise a plan of action you would be capable of achieving great things. Regretfully however, this is not the way things now are. Differences still exist. So-and-so has formed one group, and so-and-so has formed another, and these groups are in conflict with each other. X comes and accuses y of something or other and y comes and accuses x of something or other. This is the way things are in Iran. But now that Iran has pulled itself together somewhat, and now that conflict over this ultimate aim is either slight or nonexistent among the popular masses in Iran—those among whom discord is to be expected either being in the minority or having now put their own house in order—it is not the time for us to sit down and argue among ourselves over these trivial matters. For you to do this would be like sitting down together and discussing what such-and-such a story is about; it would be like sitting down somewhere and relating stories to each other while an earthquake is taking place in some city or other which is about to destroy homes and kill everyone.

Now that the Muslims in Iran have all joined forces and are standing up to the various powers that be, now that they are standing up to the Shah and those powers which support him, it would be tantamount to treason against Islam for us to sow discord among ourselves and for us to differ with each other. It would be a betrayal of the nation were this momentum, which has appeared in Iran, to come to naught because of these differences among us. Should this momentum which has appeared in Iran come to naught—a momentum which is unprecedented in history and not only in Iranian history, for you won't find any other time when a child so small has cried out for the same thing as an old man, when everyone was so united in their demands—God forbid, but should this uprising, this historically unprecedented movement which has now appeared in Iran stagnate, having achieved nothing, then you will remain under foreign domination for evermore. You will remain servile to foreigners for evermore; they will put an end to you and your progeny once and for all.

The obliteration of the Shah and his masters depends on unity of the society

They have now realized that these people command a certain power. The people in Iran hold some kind of power. It is a kind of power which cannot be destroyed by the military; martial law cannot stop that which has already been started. A certain powerful force now exists in Iran which has truly frightened the superpowers and has baffled them as to what they should

do next, what devilry they should get up to next to curb this force. Right now they are busy researching, investigating and planning ways to harness this power, ways to quash this uprising which has now appeared, an uprising which is driving forward like a raging flood and which is foiling their plans. They are considering which plan they should put into action to quash this uprising, to arrest this movement. God forbid, but should this movement fail to accomplish its aims and should it die away, then Iran, Islam and the Muslims will live under European and American rule forever. If this is the case, although in truth there is no if¹ about it, but if indeed we do believe this to be the case or suspect that it may well be so, then religious law and reason dictate that we must all be united in our demands. A situation where there are differences between us and where each person follows a different path is unacceptable. We are all to cry out in unison. We are all to say: No! No to Muḥammad Rida Shah! No to the Pahlavi dynasty! No to London! No to America! No to Russia! We are to say yes to Islam, to the Muslims, to ourselves. Should you manage to accomplish this, should you now succeed in maintaining this unity and in making further headway, then you will have found deliverance. But should you fail to find deliverance now, then, God knows, you will remain in a state of wretchedness forever.

O Lord! I told them—I told the gentlemen (of the clergy) all I know; I told the people of Iran all I know. Thus I am not to blame. The matter in hand is not one to be taken lightly. It concerns a nation which throughout history has suffered under the rule of kings. Throughout a two-thousand-five-hundred-year history it has been under the rule of kings, kings who have brought it nothing but suffering and misery. Even those supposedly just rulers were also evil; even that Anushirvan the Just¹ was an evil ruler in Iran; even that Shah Abbas who is now said to “dwell in Paradise” was a perverse ruler like the rest¹—he was someone who blinded his own son.

¹ Shah Abbas, known as “the one who dwells in Paradise”, was one of the despotic kings whose cruelty and hardheartedness has been chronicled in part of volume two of the book, *Zendegani-ye Shah Abbas-e Awwal* authored by Nasrullah Falsafi. Page 123 of this book reads: “Shah Abbas employed special executioners to kill, torture or punish criminals and offenders. These selected executioners, all of whom were selected from among men who were thickset, tall and of an unpleasant character, numbered up to five hundred men. . . Practices ordinarily carried out by these heavily-built men included decapitation, the gouging of eyes, kicking a person to death, and the severance of ears, noses and tongues. . . Shah Abbas commissioned Shaykh Aḥmad Aqa-ye Mirghazab to go to Gilan in order to capture offenders there with the help of a number of local governors, but because a month later this search had still led nowhere, there being no sign of any outlaws, Shah Abbas became furious with the people of Gilan and sent an order to Mirghazab for them all to be slaughtered. In this regard, the author of *Tarikh-e Naqawatul-Asar* writes: Cruelty under the rule of Shah Abbas had become such that women deliberately miscarried their pregnancies from fear of this man. The stomachs of some of those women who had not deliberately miscarried were cut open, babies then being removed from the womb and suspended at the end of bayonets.’ Again, on page 130 of the same book the author writes: Another form of persecution which Shah Abbas would order to be carried out entailed boring through the feet of a convicted criminal, inserting a rope through the hole thus produced and then suspending the said criminal from a tree so that his shoulders scraped the ground. If the king then decided that this person was to die, the latter was left to hang in this position until he starved to death, or alternatively, again while in this position, his stomach was extracted and torn to pieces.’”

Yes, throughout history this nation has lived under the rule and oppression of these evil kings.

The colonialists have been plotting for centuries

Two or three hundred years ago, when the foreigners found their way into Iran they conducted certain investigations and a thorough inspection of the situation there. They studied the mentality of the people there; they studied the land there; and they traveled to our desert regions by camel to conduct research, to see what was and what was not to be found there! Just take a look at historical accounts—at a time when there were no buses or the like, these foreigners traveled by camel, they covered the entire desert regions of Iran, regions with neither water nor vegetation, mounted on camels. They studied these regions and examined the mentality of all those who live in Iran including the members of its tribes. Their investigation included everyone from the Baluchis to the Kurds to the Lors, so that they could discover how to keep these people in a backward state. The foreigners convinced these people that they were never to revolt, and from that time onwards we have remained under the domination of America and Europe. Initially, we were under the domination of the European countries, of Britain and so on, and now America has entered the scene—America, a country which is worse than the others. Russia and America—each has attacked the country from different sides! Indeed, if they want to take away our resources, to destroy whatever we possess, to capitalize on the situation and to keep us in a wretched state of backwardness, what should they in fact do? Having conducted investigations they have reached the conclusion that they must cause the people to be divided. They have many plans in store, numerous plans, and if their plans are to succeed they must firstly create division among the Muslims—Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and so on must all be separated from one another and each must be at war with the other. This is one way, one means of preventing these people from getting their act together and from uniting with each other to confront the superpowers.

Resistance to Islam and the clergy is the imperialists' old plan

They have endeavored, through various means, to do something within every country to ensure that the different forces there do not unite, as they have in today's Iran. At the time of Rida Shah, they humiliated the *akhund* so much that the latter was unable to leave his home, not for fear of the government, but for fear of the people! This is the extent to which they had influenced the people. The people used to say: "These *akhunds* are all affiliated to the Royal Court!" While that member of the Royal Court (Rida Shah) was in fact busy behaving with such hostility toward the *akhunds*, the people believed and argued that they (the clergy) were affiliated to the Royal Court! This Royal Court' was killing our *akhunds*, our mullahs, it would imprison them and kill them, yet at the same time the people believed that they were all affiliated to the Royal Court! They had brainwashed the people into thinking that any mullah who stood up to confront the powers that he had to be ruined before the people of his own nation, that he was to be segregated from the people, for once they had done this he would no longer pose a threat for he would have lost any power he might have had. They had convinced the people that the *akhund* was not someone fit for leadership, or someone who could engage in active opposition while enjoying the support of the people. He was an *akhund*; and the *akhund* must be driven to the wall.

Moreover, they weren't satisfied with ruining the *akhund* alone, but rather they claimed that Islam is an opiate, that religion as a whole is an opiate! They call this religion an opiate—this religion which serves to encourage all kinds of social action, this Quran whose verses with regard to battle are so explicit, whose verses with regard to social action are so explicit—they call this an opiate! That is to say they claim that this religion aims to put the poor people to sleep so that the holders of power may continue to devour. This Quran which has come to wage battle against those with power is said to have been produced by the powerful to enable them to fleece the poor and needy! Although the wars engaged in by that Most Noble of Messengers (the Prophet Muḥammad) and by other Muslim personages were fought against these holders of power, the people have nevertheless been made to believe that it was in fact the latter who brought the Prophet to power! But these are all stratagems devised to make you disunited and to alienate you from the Quran.

The Quran is an obstacle; it is a barrier in their path; it is something which, had it been adhered to—and at one time indeed it was adhered to—the Muslims would not have found themselves in such a wretched state. But we abandoned the Quran, we did not follow the teachings of this obstacle'

and as a result we reached this present state where we are being struck on the head by them (those in power) from all directions. No matter where one may step out of line, an official has been placed there to beat him into silence.

This Muḥammad Rida Shah himself has said: "The Allies thought it fitting that I should remain!" And only the day before yesterday, the British Foreign Minister said: "He (the Shah) is on our side. Indeed, he is protecting our interests, so how could we not give him our support!" We are fully aware of the fact that he is protecting both your and America's interests! This is precisely what the nation is shouting against, it is protesting against his having come in order to serve his country! He has a "mission" for his country! He has been given a mission by America and by Britain, a mission to behave thus with the people; to keep Iran in a state of backwardness; to destroy the education in Iran; to destroy Iran's clergy; to push Islam into the background; to change the Islamic calendar. You were under the impression that what this demon had done was of no grave importance! Yet taking all of the crimes he has committed into account, from the very first to the last, nothing compares to his crime of changing the calendar of Islam, so could this crime that he committed be said to be of little significance? Yes, they all joined hands together in order to smash these barriers which stood before them. Now that the people of Iran have risen up and are crying out in unison saying: "Down with this monarchy," for differences to exist between us, whether outside the country or within it, is self-destructive, it is suicidal. For differences to exist between the intellectual sector of society and the non-intellectual sector, or within the universities themselves between this and that group, is at this moment in time, tantamount to self-destruction; it is an act of suicide; it means the country's undoing; it means betraying the country; it means betraying Islam. Over what do you disagree? Why do you, people who have come abroad and who are busily engaged with your work, why do you differ among yourselves? Come together; hold social gatherings together; follow one path; all cry out in unison, all of you, until your protest movement becomes transformed into a flood and until this destructive flood eradicates this dynasty's set-up and the set-up of those who drain our assets dry with the help of this royal family. May the Lord keep you all safe from harm and may He grant us all His forgiveness (the audience cries: Amen).

Statements

Date: November 1, 1978 [Aban 10, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 29, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Explanation of Islamic laws and commandments

Addressees: The reporters of *La Croa* (?) newspaper, printed in Italy (a leftist Christian organization, Leftist Christian Daily)

[In a press conference with *La Croa* (?) religious newspaper, known as a Christian leftist organization (Leftist Christian Daily), Ayatullah al-Uzma Khomeini, the national and religious leader of Iran, said]:

Islamic laws are progressive and advanced. We fight because Iran's present regime and those who have imposed this regime on the nation are intending to destroy our humanistic, cultural and religious values.

[In this interview, held by a priest reporter, Ayatullah al-Uzma Khomeini said regarding the Islamic ideology:]

Islam came to bestow on the people man's real dimensions and dignity; that is to change people's lives in social, personal and political aspects and to help them in their spiritual wealth. Islam does have the capability of making such changes. Islamic laws respond to man's needs; these laws are very precise and clear. Islam according to some particular laws has adapted and regulated the attitude and behavior of every individual in relation to the society. Islam has specified the structure of the societal policies in connection with the religious minorities. The Islamic laws are indeed progressive and advanced in this respect. If Islam's economic laws become enforced, the country will achieve an advanced economy.

Freedom is one of Islam's principles. A true Muslim is by nature a free man. The present regime of Iran is intending and trying to crush these progressive fundamentals, as it always has. Another of Islam's principles is the concept of national independence. The Islamic laws specify that no other nation or person may have the right to interfere in our country's affairs, but the regime has deprived us of this independence and has given it away. The regime wants to control our mosques, and turn the religious universities and Islamic schools to that of their satisfaction; the regime wants to hold back the country's scientific and modern universities; because it can't and won't tolerate capable, independent and bright physicians, engineers, technicians and worthy politicians. This regime we're fighting against, has tried to destroy all these Islamic traditions and principles, and this is why the whole nation of Iran has risen against it altogether.

Interview

Date: November 1, 1978 [Aban 10, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 29, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The reason for leaving Iraq and migrating to France

Interviewer: Austrian Radio-Television reporter

Question: [Why did Your Eminence leave Iraq?]

Answer: The government of Iraq, under the pressure exerted by the Shah, prohibited me from political activities I'm responsible for; that is why I left there.

Q: [Do you intend to go to Iran? Why have you not already gone?]

A: It is more convenient to unveil the Shah's crimes on a worldwide level while living abroad.

Q: [What do you think the chances are for the oppositions to take over power?]

A: It is the nation that forms the opposition, and the nation is bound to win.

Q: [How do you evaluate the Shah as the leader of the country, particularly after the massacres?]

A: The Shah has never been a leader, he has been rather a hindrance to leadership; and after these massacres, he will no longer have a place among the people—as he never had—but now our nation have stood up against him consciously, and this regime will have to change.

Q: [What do you think about Iran's future changes and transformations?]

A: By the revolutionary uprising of the people of Iran, the Shah will leave, and the state of democracy and Islamic republic will be established. In this republic, there will be a national parliament consisting of truly nationally elected people, running the country's affairs. The rights of the people, especially the religious minorities, will be valued and observed. Mutual respect will be considered in relation to foreign countries. We will not oppress anyone nor will we allow ourselves to be oppressed. The country is presently bankrupt and everything has been destroyed. By the establishment of the Islamic republic, the real construction of the country will begin.

Interview

Date: November 1, 1978 [Aban 10, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 29, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The state of monarchy

Interviewer: Elizabeth Targood, reporter of the British newspaper, *Guardian*

Question: [Does Your Eminence Ayatullah believe that the Shah, as the commander-in-chief, can survive the current struggle against his regime [and stay]? If not, then why?]

Answer: No; the rule of the Shah and the Pahlavi dynasty has been imposed on our people. The Shah has also been imposed on the army as the Commander-in-Chief. The Shah does not, by any means, represent the army. During the past fifty years, the regime has used the army and the disciplinary forces to suppress the nation. We hope that the army will awaken and will join the national movement. I am certain that the rule of the Shah and his dynasty will not escape this movement.

Q: [Under what conditions will Ayatullah consider returning to Iran? Will you consent to the Shah's remaining as "the king and not the ruler," as written in the constitutional law? Could His Eminence Ayatullah give more explanations?]

A: Based on our nation's previous bitter experiences with this dynasty, no solution will be accepted within the framework of "the Shah only reigning and not ruling". We are entirely against monarchy. And my return to Iran will depend on the progress of the movement's targets. For the time being, I'm not intending to go to Iran.¹

Q: [Has the Shah himself or any member of his government—such as Ardeshir Zahedi²—ever tried to approach and meet with His Eminence, Ayatullah? Has anything been suggested to His Eminence Ayatullah as a possible ground for negotiations?]

A: No.

¹ The slogan, "The Shah must only reign, not rule," was the slogan of the liberals and nationalists.

² Ardeshir Zahedi was the last ambassador of the Shah's regime to the United States.

Q: [Has any of the opponents of the regime, such as Mr. Bazargan or Dr. Karim Sanjabi tried to mediate between His Eminence Ayatullah and the Shah? If yes, what has been the outcome?]

A: No, never.

Q: [Will His Eminence Ayatullah consider anybody inside Iran, as the admissible prime minister? If yes, who?]

A: I will not confirm anyone in the monarchial system as the prime minister.

Q: [His Eminence Ayatullah has stated that there is no solution for Iran but to overthrow the Pahlavi dynasty. Is His Eminence Ayatullah now working on the overthrowing of the Shah? If yes, what have you considered as the grounds of your work? For example, are there any plans and strategies prepared?]

A: Our nation's current great movement is against the Shah and the monarchial system. Therefore, the struggles are in the course of the fall of the regime. Our instruction is unanimity among all sectors of the society. People themselves have always found and will still find the methods of fighting. Our main guidance will be given in due time. In the case of observing insufficiency in the ongoing process, applying new methods will be considered.

Q: [What long term measures have you taken for the disposal of the Shah? Perhaps the young are considered for filling top positions, or will His Eminence Ayatullah be able to count on the support of today's government officials? In a situation like this, which will have the priority: loyalty or capability?]

A: Iranians inside the country or abroad have many talents, which the Shah's regime wouldn't allow to surface. These talents will be invited to work according to their capabilities and loyalty to Islam and people.

Q: [His Eminence Ayatullah has been criticizing the Shah's policies for a long time. In what criteria do his policies differ from the Shah's on the following issues?]

A- Social: Will the Islamic laws be put into effect? And what difference will they make in daily life, compared to the current laws? May Ayatullah precisely explain whether women could choose between Islamic and Western dress freely, under the banner of Islam? Will the cinemas remain open? If yes, how would the movies be selected? Will the consumption of alcoholic

beverages be prohibited? In the end, will Iran turn into another Saudi Arabia or Libya?

B- Defense, foreign policy and oil: His Eminence has always been criticizing the role of foreigners, particularly the Americans. Precisely, what sort of changes do you wish to see in Iran, regarding the influence of foreigners on the oil exports and the arms imports?

C- Internal security: SAVAK has in fact been established to guarantee the internal security against local instigations. Will Ayatullah dissolve SAVAK? If so, what forces do you have in mind to replace the security forces with?]

A: A- Enforcing Islamic laws depends on the fulfillment of many conditions and preliminaries, and in order to assure justice and to see that Islam is carried out within its general boundaries, many different aspects must be examined. If such procedures are followed, you will see that Islamic laws are less harsh than other laws. Women are free to choose their own activities and destiny as well as their mode of dress within Islamic standards. And the ongoing anti-Shah activities have proved that women, more than ever, have found their freedom in the dress that Islam has suggested. We are against the cinemas whose programs corrupt the youth's morals and destroy the Islamic culture. However, we agree with the programs that are educational and useful for the morals and scientific growth of the society. Alcoholic beverages, alcoholism and narcotics will be prohibited. Our desirable Islamic republic shall not comply with any such regimes (Saudi Arabia and Libya).

B- Our relations with all foreigners will be set upon the concept of mutual respect. On this issue, we will neither give in to any oppression nor will we oppress anyone. And on the issue of entering agreements, we will take our own political, economic, social and cultural interests into consideration.

C- Yes, we will dissolve SAVAK and every anti-people organization. People's awareness and their participation, supervision, and accompaniment with their own selected government will itself be the best guarantee for maintaining peace in the society.

Q: [Your Eminence has stated that you are not seeking power. Suppose the Shah has left the country and His Eminence Ayatullah has returned to Iran. In that case, how would you fill the political vacuum? What will be your opinion about the possibility of a military coup-d'état?]

A: Departure of the Shah will not create a political power vacuum. It is rather the continuation of the Shah's rule that has created this vacuum. The time to reach a solution by pulling off a coup-d'état has already expired. If foreigners

pull off this coup-d'état, the Iranian army will become a more dependant and occupying army, and this will intensify the political vacuum there is in Iran.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah are longing for the overthrow of the Shah and the establishment of a republic. What kind of republic do you have in mind? American or French?¹]

A: We want an Islamic republic and that is a government that relies on the people's votes. The final configuration will be determined by the people themselves, based on the current conditions and circumstances of the society.

Q: [Does His Eminence Ayatullah agree that Ayatullah's fame and popularity among Iranian youth is because you offer all the things that the Shah lacks?]

A: The issue is not the comparison between two persons. It is rather our people's political awareness and alertness, and their Islamic identity and standards. Anyone observing these Islamic standards will be accepted and loved by the people.

Q: [About the communists: Ayatullah is famous for being against communism. He doesn't trust the communists. But these days, the young communists in Tehran, not necessarily those seeking specific targets, are willing to have a national government running the country, because they do not agree with only one person ruling, whether that person is the Shah or Ayatullah. Does Ayatullah think that he can concede to their wish? Or better said: Does Khomeini considers the Communist Party as permanently illegal?]

A: In Islam, the pleasure of God, and not the personalities, is the principle. We measure the personalities with truth, not truth with the personalities. Righteousness and truth are the standards. Contrary to Islam, communists make idols out of personalities and concentrate power in them. Our Islamic government will rely on people's votes. And all those parties working for the interests of our nation will be free.

Q: [What made Ayatullah leave Najaf? Did you think Iraqis and Iranians had made a deal? If so, could you explain?]

A: Apparently, the Shah of Iran had forced the government of Iraq to prevent my political activities and entrusted responsibilities. That's why I left Iraq.

¹ In the American system, the president has full authority. But in France, in addition to the president, the prime minister also has certain duties of his own.

Q: [Under what terms is Ayatullah residing in Paris? Is he planning to stay in Paris? If not, where will he go? Have other countries, Algeria and Syria in particular, extended invitations to Ayatullah? Can Ayatullah anticipate how his presence in Paris could effect Iranian-French agreements especially on the atomic power plant and Tehran's underground? And what could the West learn from this change in the development programs?]

A: My stay in France is temporary. My only term for staying in any place is to be able to do my duties. Considering this explanation, for the time being, there is no relation between my presence in France and the issues of Iran-France ties.

Q: [How soon will the Shah fall?]

A: This is not a matter we can predict. But it can't be too far from now, according to the signs.

Q: [Will Ayatullah consider holy armed struggle as a means of fighting?]

A: I hope there won't be a need for a holy armed struggle, and that the crisis will dissipate as people proceed, and their goal, which is the overthrow of the regime and the establishment of the Islamic republic will be achieved. However, if matters persist and become complicated, we may consider the case.

Q: [Therefore, you'd prefer the ongoing peaceful methods with no bloodshed?]

A: Yes.

Q: [When you return to Iran, after the departure of the Shah, will you not yourself become the leader of the Islamic republic?]

A: I do not want to run the government myself. But I will guide the people in choosing government, and I will announce its terms to people.

Speech

Date: November 1, 1978 [Aban 10, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 29, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The inevitable fall of the imperial regime and the people's inner changes

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

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

The unprecedented revolutionary spirit in Iran

. . . I don't believe that you will find a situation like that of Iran existing in any other country, whether from the point of view of the people there or with regard to the Shah and his government. I don't believe that anything similar to either of these two: either the people in Iran or the Shah and his regime in Iran can be found to exist anywhere else. As for the people, this popular uprising and this momentum which has now reached such an elevated stage, has never before occurred throughout history, other than over the past few years when a nation has become so self-motivated. If at any time in the past the people may have wanted to close down a city's bazaar, this may well have been an impossibility. Let's say in Qum for example, a city which has a thriving bazaar, even if the *ulama* of that city were to have told the people there to close down the bazaar; in all likelihood the people would not have done so. This is likely to have been the case. And then things reached the stage where...whenever an incident would occur and the regime would act impertinently toward the *ulama*, the people would then close their shops down, but they would do so without relish, reluctantly, their hearts would not be in it. Now, however, the situation has become such that the people close down the bazaar at the slightest request or with the slightest excuse; and not only in Qum but in all cities. Across the entire country the situation has become one where Iran's bazaar, including the bazaar in Tehran, which is said to be a political institution, is now in a closed or semi-closed state. This is what Iran, especially its bazaar, and especially the bazaar merchants, have turned out to be like; and these people who at one time found a one-day closing burdensome, now find it burdensome to be told to open up their shops. They have now on occasion complained about the fact that someone or other has for example said that the people are to go about their normal business... The people would become annoyed at this. Or were it to be suggested for example that the closure had gone on for long enough,

even if they were about to reopen their businesses, on hearing this suggestion, the people would again close up shop! The people now act of their own accord. And this revolution has boosted the people's morale and strengthened their spirits so much so that it has reached the stage where they now become upset and angry at being told to go about their usual everyday business.

Readiness of the masses for sacrifice

Furthermore, if at any time someone's nose was made to bleed, if someone was delivered a blow, this was seen as a disaster...for someone to be killed for example, was looked upon as a disaster. Now however, things have reached the stage where only last night I received a letter from a mother saying that four or five of her children had been killed and how proud she was of this fact, and it said that she and her family were now fully prepared to make any sacrifice. Today it has become quite normal for the loved-ones of a number of people in any given city to have been killed...it has become something quite normal for the people. A tremendous impetus...has developed and the fact that the people as a whole are engaged in struggle has now become an accepted fact of life in Iran; and this does not apply to just one or two cities in the country. As for the newspapers, although they may not paint a complete picture—and that goes for the radio too which doesn't tell the whole story either of course—and even though we are only partly informed of the facts by these media reports or by the reports we receive from foreign radio stations, nevertheless, whenever you turn on the radio you hear of the strikes and killings in such-and-such a city, of the same having occurred in such-and-such a village. This situation now even having reached those villages which...apparently it has been a village on the outskirts of Hamedan...a village in which a number of people have been killed and where five thousand have taken strike action.

Strikes capable of bringing down a castle

In the past taking political action such as this was never even thought of, no one ever spoke of going on strike. In the past people had no idea what the word 'strike' meant. Yet taking strike action has become something quite commonplace, strikes now being held by the people in all cities throughout Iran, and five thousand people having gone on strike in one village (a village in Hamedan) alone. I hear... that strike action is now being taken by the people in all of the cities nationwide—strikes such as that held by the workers of the oil company, may God be with them. For some years now I

have had it in my mind to say that these workers should be told to halt oil production so as to prevent others from taking our oil. But the point to note here is that . . . is now an undisputed fact—strike action is now being taken in Iran, and be it in the schools, among the workers, among those in the aviation industry, or wherever, the fact is that everyone is now out on strike. Whereas before, even if anyone had mentioned taking strike action the people wouldn't have known what it was; now, they themselves go on strike of their own volition, without anyone having to urge them to do so. The government however, was under the impression that it could make out that these strikes were being held because... This is what they would say when strikes first began to be held. A certain group of people, I can't now remember exactly which one, sent me a message from Khorasan to say that what the government is saying about our strike action being in demand of a wage increase is a lie; we are on strike for political reasons. Likewise, the people are now declaring that these strikes in which they are engaged are being held to secure the release of political prisoners and to ensure that martial law is lifted and that these foreigners, who have set upon this nation and have ravaged this nation's wealth, leave our country. These demands that the people are making are indeed of great significance! What exactly do they (the government) want from this nation? These figures of forty-five, fifty or sixty thousand tumans which are quoted as being the salaries paid to these Americans . . . are enormously high figures.

Internal changes within the masses

Now, going on strike has become something quite commonplace and normal, and so has being involved in bloody confrontations, and closing down the bazaars and thoroughfares, and staging demonstrations, and participating in acts of protest, and chanting "Death to" whatever, and expressing the loathing felt toward the tyrannical regime; all of these are now looked upon as being quite normal. If, five years ago, a policeman entered any of these bazaars in Iran declaring that a certain flag was to be hung above the shops there—say it was Aban 4 (October 26, the Shah's birthday) for example, Aban being a month which is now known for its wretchedness (laughter of the audience)—yes, if a policeman entered the bazaar and told those there that they were to hang a certain flag above their shops, he met with no opposition whatsoever. No one ever imagined that a policeman could be challenged, a policeman . . . (laughter of the audience). It never occurred to the people that it was in some way possible to defy a policeman. Everyone used to do as he was told. One policeman would walk through the bazaar of

Tehran, or Qum, or Shiraz,¹ and would order those there to close their shops or whatever. He would order them to hang a flag above their shops, and so indeed they would hang a flag above their shops; or he would order them to festoon their shops with lights, and so they would decorate their shops with lights. Now however, the situation is one where the people no longer pay the slightest attention to martial law and to rule by the bayonet, or to rule by the Shah or any other form of rule! We have seen martial law being enforced in the past: in the past as soon as martial law was declared somewhere no one dared to show any opposition and everywhere became evacuated; no one even opposed a policeman let alone martial law . . . But as you can now see for yourselves martial law is in force in several cities in Iran yet none of the people there give heed to this form of rule. Instead they pour into the streets and shout out in protest. As for them (the regime), fear that the people may now stage a major attack has led them to relinquish their position somewhat, or rather, to relinquish their position considerably.

Monarchical rule is the vilest regime of the world

This is the situation in our country with regard to its people. One must compare what this nation was like prior to the present movement and what it is like now. The situation of thirty years ago must be compared to the situation now in order to realize the extent to which our nation has developed its political awareness, the extent to which it has developed its religious awareness, its political awareness. In the past the situation was such that no one gave themselves the right to interfere in any of the country's affairs, for (they asked themselves) what was it to do with us, the people? The country is embodied in the person (of the Shah)! Yes, this is what was commonly said: the country is embodied in the person (of the Shah), in he who is running the country! And he is at liberty to do as he pleases! The nation belongs to him; everyone belongs to him! So this being the case, he is at liberty to do as he pleases! Indeed, this was the logic of the people in general, except for some who were very few in number; those who, although not in a position to speak out, nevertheless did not accept this way of thinking. They did not accept this logic but were unable to say so. The bulk of the people held that there is the Shah... there is his country, and there are his subjects! This was the accepted way of thinking! You must all surely remember how twenty or thirty years ago the situation was such that the mass of our oppressed people were conditioned by these tyrants and dictators into accepting their habitually

¹ Shiraz: the capital of Fars Province in the southern part of Iran.

being struck on the head as something normal. When a nation has been trampled upon by these people (tyrants) for so many years, for two and a half thousand years, when it has lived under this vile flag for two and a half thousand years—monarchical rule being the vilest of the world's regimes, and its rulers the vilest of the world's people¹—then such a nation has become used to giving a free rein to its oppressive rulers to do as they please and it has become accustomed to not objecting in the least! Such a nation has become accustomed to believing that this is his (the Shah's) right! That this is his country! That these are his subjects! This was the accepted way of thinking at that time. Muḥammad Rida never dreamt that one day someone might ask: "Why did the Shah behave in this way?" What is the meaning of asking "why?" anyway? If this person happened to be the Prime Minister say, there was no way he would dare to ask "why?" In a certain gathering—some time during the thirteen or fourteen years that Prime Minister held office²—the latter became annoyed when the Shah was addressed as the country's number one man! He argued that to use the words number one' means that there is someone else in this country who is to be called number two!'; and he asked: "Why did you use the words: the country's number one man?! Indeed, is there anyone else in the country whereby the Shah may be referred to as the country's number one man? . . . There is no one else other than His Excellency'. That is to say, the country does not have a number two man thus enabling him (the Shah) to be referred to as the country's number one man!" Yes, this is how things were! In this way they were conditioning the people and indeed the people were conditioned into believing that there was no distinction between God's command and that of the Shah! That the Shah's command was God's command! That there was no difference between God's command and that of the Shah! And they put a false construction on certain words, words which in essence bore the truth,

¹ It is related in a tradition accounted to the Prophet of Islam: "The most hated of all titles in the sight of God is King of kings." Refer to *Sahih Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1688.

² The person in question is Amir Abbas Hoveyda, the son of Abdul-Malik and the grandson of a well-known Bahai in Iran. He was educated in Beirut and in 1944 [1323 AHS] was appointed as a foreign diplomat in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1960 [1339 AHS] he became a member of the board of directors in the National Iranian Oil Company and in 1964 [1343 AHS] the Finance Minister in Mansur's Cabinet. He succeeded Mansur as Prime Minister in 1965 [1344 AHS] and remained as such until the year 1977 [1356 AHS]. In 1979 [1358 AHS] he was tried and executed. He is believed to have been a follower of the Bahai school. His grandfather, Mirza Rida Qannad, was one of the devout activists and supporters of Abbas Effendi, a leading figure of the Bahai sect, and after fleeing Iran he went to Akka in Occupied Palestine where he served Abbas Effendi as his servant.

such as: 'The king is God's shadow'.¹ Here they put a false construction on the word shadow.'

Taking advantage of "God's shadow"

Nobody's shadow exists independently, its existence, its motion—if it has any—are dependent upon him whose shadow it is. The shadow of a person who is walking somewhere or who is in motion does not move of its own free will. Its movement is subject to that of the person in question. That is to say, no matter how this person may move his hands... the hands of his shadow also move in the same way. If he walks then his shadow follows after him. If he sits down, so too does his shadow. The shadow cannot act of its own free will, it does not enjoy an independent existence but rather owes its actions and its existence to the person to whom it belongs. The words: 'The king is God's shadow' have sealed the doom of all kings, for indeed these are not true kings! The person who allows himself to act of his own accord, to behave in a way which is not in accordance with the behavior ordained by God, is not the shadow of God'; he is an independent agent; his actions are self-motivated. The Holy Prophet is 'the shadow of God' because he is not an independent agent; he himself is of no significance; he is the "Divine Revelation;" he is subordinate to divine revelation; he is subordinate to God's command; he is subordinate to God's admonition; his actions are inspired by Him; His inspiration prompts him to act. Whatever battle he engages in is in accordance with His divine revelation. He has no selfish desires or aspirations of his own which could prompt him to perform a certain deed. Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali) (*a*), is quoted as saying that when he was engaged in a fight to the death with Amr ibn Abd Widd² and once he had defeated the latter having thrown him to the ground, Amr ibn Abd Widd then insulted him by spitting at him. The Hadrat rose to his feet—accounts relate how he rose to his feet and departed from the scene, after which he is said to have returned and killed his opponent. The Hadrat was questioned about his actions. In reply he said that he had behaved in this way since at that particular moment in time the person in question had done something to (offend) him and he thus feared that some kind of personal

¹ The Most Noble Messenger (*a*) has been quoted as saying: "A just and modest king is God's shadow and His spear on earth." And again: "The king is the shadow of God on earth in whom the weak take refuge and from whose assistance the oppressed benefit."

² Amr ibn Abd Widd (Wudd) Amiri was a famous warrior of the Quraysh tribe. During the Battle of the Trench [Khandaq], while the Quraysh troops were on the other side of the trench, he leapt over the latter on horseback and approached the Prophet's camp, requesting that someone be his opponent in battle. Ali (*a*) thus fought with this man and killed him.

feelings may interfere in any action he might have then taken. Action is to be divinely inspired. This is what is meant by the shadow of God.' Yet they purposely misconstrued these words of truth, these words which seal the doom of all kings, which seal the doom of all tyrants and of those in authority, and which make clear just what the believers and the Muslims are to do with kings, with the kings of tyranny. They fed people the idea that he (the Shah) is "the shadow of God" . . . that "there is no distinction between God's command and that of the Shah." They committed these wrongdoings, these cruel and oppressive acts, and those acts of betrayal in such a manner that a nation became accustomed to them! Had these acts not been committed then perhaps the nation would have become accustomed to quite the opposite state of affairs! But what happened to make things change? Now our people have reached the stage where their twelve-year old children stand before a policeman in Qum and elsewhere and say "Death to the Shah!" This is the way things have turned out. Shouting "Death to the Shah" has now become something quite commonplace among the people of our nation! It has become commonplace! These are the first words to be uttered by the child who has recently learned how to talk! What glorious words they are (laughter from the audience).

Uprising against the 2,500-year old monarchy

So much for our people, for our nation from within which this dynamism has emerged and has gushed forth thanks to the movement upon which the people have embarked. No one can take the credit for this. No one has the right to do this. It is wrong for someone to say that this is his doing, that he is the one who has brought this about... No mortal is capable of transforming a nation in such a way. It is God who has done this. This is God's doing. No power is capable, within the space of a year or so—it can now be said to have been a year and so many months, for things had gradually begun to change from some time back although nothing was yet visibly apparent—of bringing about this change and transformation which has been realized within our country and our nation, whereby the situation of the past hundreds of years has been changed meaning that two thousand and five hundred years have been trampled underfoot and wiped out. This cannot be the doing of just anyone. It can in no way be said to have been the clergy's doing. It cannot be said to have been the doing of the people from the bazaar. No indeed, this movement is God's doing; it has gushed forth from within the nation itself in accordance with God's will, and it therefore holds promise. This is something from God, something which is hopeful.

Spiritual changes by Allah's favor

The situation among the people of our nation has now become one quite opposite to that which prevailed in the past when the norm was for people to believe that they must act in a certain way; that they must revere the Shah and the policeman and civil officials and the like. That they must behave in such-and-such a way; that they must take the blows and say nothing; that they must pay those unfair taxes and say nothing; that they must accept foul abuse without protest. Now the time has come for change, for this kind of change which has been bestowed upon us by God's command. And the fervor which has emerged from among the people themselves has reached the point where it has now become the norm to shout out "Death to this monarchy" of whatever; this has now become the norm! Only a few days ago I received a letter which told of the small child of one of our own people saying such things. That is, it told of how this small child who had recently learned how to talk had actually spoken these words! Yes, this has become something quite commonplace now. Therefore, we are not to suppose that this service which the nation has so far rendered itself, this favor which the Divine Being of Absolute Truth has bestowed upon this nation, is the doing of some of those who in fact work for the regime and who repeatedly make suggestive sayings such as: "Well, what happened; what did all this bloodshed achieve? What happened? What did this movement achieve? What happened?" A nation which has known nothing other than suffering and distress and which has remained silent in the face of oppression, is now standing up to the oppressor like a mountain, and is fighting against the bayonet with its bare fists! What more do they expect? The people of a nation have sacrificed their youngsters. These youngsters stand before tanks and cannons and are killed and then the people announce that they have given their children's lives in way of a sacrifice, and that if needs be they are prepared to do the same with the rest of their children! What else can be expected from these people? What could be better than this? What greater transformation could be wished for? What kind of spiritual development can exceed this, where a nation's state of mind has become transformed into another state within the space of one year, within the space of thirteen months, where a nation's state of mind has become so transformed?

The masses' non-acceptance of insult and their sacrifices

So much for the people and their present state of mind, a state the likes of which cannot be found to have existed at any other time; a state whereby people everywhere in the country have closed down their businesses,

including people in those places which have never before in history held even a one-day closing to this end, people in certain cities who have never before in their lives involved themselves in such affairs, anyone who actually did become thus involved having been called a political *akhund*! If someone were to stand up to the government with regard to one of the affairs which affected the lives of these people, if he confronted someone or other on such an issue, he would have been branded as someone involved in politics, as someone who must from thenceforth retire to his home for he was concerned with politics! This accepted logic of the people became something to be manipulated by the menacing propaganda which has been spread by the regime throughout history in order to accustom the people to this way of life and to being abused, to having their resources taken away, and yet, in spite of everything, to giving the regime their support! This is a service' which is unprecedented in history. It has been rendered to this nation, and this nation has now undergone a transformation. One must not ask what has been achieved! Many things, many things have been achieved. But even supposing that this was not the case, that from now on there was nothing more we could do and that having reached this stage they were to seize us and strangle us, nevertheless that which we have achieved to date will have been worthwhile. That is to say, those sacrifices that the people of Iran have made, and this ensuing transformation which has followed have been worth the loss of hundreds or thousands of lives; it has been worth making such sacrifices in order for a state of mind such as this to be brought about. An alert state of mind such as this whereby you now no longer believe that they can force you to behave in the way they used to; their harsh treatment of you is now a thing of the past; they can no longer send a policeman to you with orders to beat the people. This is now a thing of the past; it is all in the past.

Letter

Date: November 2, 1978 [Aban 11, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1, 1398 AH]

Place: Neaphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The Shah's culture and logic

Occasion: Release of Mr. Taleqani from the regime's prison

Addressee: Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 1, 1398 AH

Your Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani, may his blessings last long:

For a personage like you, who has spent his valuable life struggling for his country's freedom and independence, and constantly opposing the autocratic system and international plunderers, it is natural to be imprisoned, tortured and deprived of freedom. The freedom of people like you is against the Shah's logic and his government's standards. The pressure produced by the miraculous will of the people, has made the Shah so nervous that he has insanely committed some disgraceful crimes, and has put the history to shame. As you are aware, he has done some unimaginable crimes! In some cities, unknown groups of gypsies and hirelings carrying clubs and broadswords, supported by disciplinary forces, have come down on people and committed evil acts, and are still doing so. The government, which is supposed to maintain discipline, along with its disciplinary forces, have become vandal and turned into vandalizing forces.

In our time and in our hopeless country, logics and words have changed their meanings: Political freedom means strangulation and multilateral censorship; great civilization means worse savagery than the Middle Ages; reconciliation government is wiping people out with machine guns, tanks and

¹ Ayatullah Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani (1289-1358 AHS / 1910-1979) was a highly learned and dedicated clergyman who played a pivotal role in the struggle against dictatorial regime of the Shah. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatullah Taleqani was appointed as the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and was an elected member of the Council of Experts. In Mordad 1358 AHS [August 1979], Imam Khomeini designated him as his representative to lead the first Friday congregational prayers at the Tehran University campus. Ayatullah Taleqani had many written works on the exegesis of the Quran, Islamic education, and socio-political issues.

recently, with clubs and broadsword; land reform is destroying agriculture; independence means economic, cultural and military dependence on foreigners; shouts of "Down with the Pahlavi rule" is interpreted as loving the Shah and the regime.

Now that you have been transferred from the small prison into the larger one, you will be facing these strange facts and new words, but on the other hand, you will be confronting a great emotional change in the people, in terms of comprehension, and a greater practical change in their acts. The people whom, before the occurrence of the great Islamic movement, believed in kingship as the symbol of nationalism and the country's axis of grandeur, and obeyed indisputably the Shah's orders, and due to the kings' and the speakers of the courts' braggings and eulogizings, assumed that the country was at the gates of the great civilization under the progressive and modern Shah, they presumed that the country's independence was guaranteed under the banner of monarchy, brought down all the columns and crenellations of this imaginary castle in a leap and with comprehension, and the contents of these deceiving and made-up words and expressions became known, and the vacuity of these noisy drums surfaced; and the economic bankruptcy, the plunderings of the treasury, the destruction of the agriculture, and the cultural and military dependence were uncovered.

And also, the same masses whom, before the occurrence of the movement, would start celebrating by the snap of a finger of a constable and would raise banners on the roofs of their shops, and would recognize the Shah's orders, following the exaggerations of the court poets, as God's order, rose up in one move, and man and woman, young and old, swarmed into streets with clenched fists screaming "Down with this Pahlavi monarchy," and heroically resisted against machine guns, cannons and tanks, and by sacrificing their lives and the blood of their brave youths, broke the monarchical power that was relying on the might of the superpowers, and forced him to surrender. But they have not and will not accept his surrendering. According to what logic could they forgive the endless disloyalties and crimes of this hellish devil, and still consent to his illegitimate rule? We are against this logic; and those who agree with it won't agree with the nation and us who are the nation's servants. And Allah is the hearer of complains. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 2, 1978 [Aban 11, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château

Subject: Monarchy is the source of backwardness and misery

Addressee: Husayn-Ali Muntaziri¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Honor Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Shaykh Husayn-Ali Muntaziri, may his blessings last long:

This is not surprising at all for the tyrannical criminal system to deprive such a great personage like you, that is serving Islam and the nation, of freedom, which is of the basic human rights; and to treat him and other religious authorities and liberal dignitaries with medieval tortures. The traitors to the country and people are scared of justice seeking personalities like yourself. Religious and political personalities must be in chains so that it will be much easier for the foreigners and their relatives to plunder the treasury and resources of the country, as much as they can. According to the logic of Carter and other oil guzzler freeloaders, political liberty means the imprisonment of the liberal and independence-seeking fronts, from the enlightened religious authorities to the political personalities, students, esteemed traders, as well as the censorship of the press and advertising systems. And according to this logic, progress and civilization of the country means the dependency of its arteries from culture, economy and army down to legislative, judiciary and executive systems. For the past gloomy fifty years of the Pahlavi era, this program has been and still is going on in our country.

Now that the Iranian zealous nation has made this great Islamic uprising and stood up against the cruel and ravaging system with clenched fists, like

¹ Ayatullah Husayn-Ali Muntaziri was born in Najafabad of Isfahan province in 1923. He completed his religious seminary studies in Isfahan and Qum and attained some of the highest religious achievements. He was persecuted and imprisoned by the SAVAK for his support of Imam Khomeini before the advent of the Islamic Revolution. Upon the culmination of the Islamic Revolution and in 1985 the Assembly of Experts chose him as the successor of Imam Khomeini. However, he was denied the position in 1989 when it became known that power-seeking individuals had infiltrated his office to give him the distorted versions of the political state of affairs. As a result, he started voicing opposition against the natural course of the Revolution and Imam Khomeini decided to take back the status bestowed upon him.

an iron dam, and the systems main pillars have fallen or are collapsing one after another, it is for the leading fronts, i.e. the great Islamic authorities and distinguished spiritual leaders, honorable preachers, instructors and scientists, political personalities, intellectuals of the universities and markets, respected employees and conscious oppressed workers, to take advantage of this divine opportunity and lead all layers of the nation, relentlessly; and not to step back even one step, or to violate the will of the nation. The nation's will is the overthrowing of the kingship and stopping the foreigners' interferences in the country's fate, and ceasing of their lootings, and putting the Islamic republican movement, which guarantees freedom and independence, in the place of the monarchical regime, which is the source of all miseries and backwardness, because otherwise, it would be wasting the blood of Islam's beloved youth and ruining the country in every aspect, and assisting in the destruction of the commandments, which are Islam's principles, and destroying them will be considered as the greatest of sins and treacheries.

In the present regime we will not accept democracy, even if it is impossibly granted. People cannot ignore the blood of their dear children and the so many years of betrayal. Islam has determined the fate of this criminal. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: November 2, 1978 [Aban 11, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The target is the establishment of the Islamic republic

Interviewer: Luxembourg Radio-Television reporter

Question: [From France you encourage the Iranian people to revolt. Do you think this is the only solution to Iran's problems?]

Answer: People are tired of the fifty year strangulations and disloyalties, and have stood up to claim their primary rights. In this legitimate crucial matter, we encourage people, both when we were in Iran and now that we are abroad, to revolt, and at the present, we have no other solution to remove the corrupt regime, but to proceed with the movement and to demand our rights by crying out about our being oppressed, and we will change course if necessary.

Q: [Are you planning to take over power when the Shah leaves? What would you do if you had the chance to take over? I mean, it is your future plans for ruling over Iran that must substitute the Shah's. Many spectators believe that going back to the constitutional law is a right move.]

A: Our aim is the establishment of the Islamic republic, and our plan is to achieve freedom and independence, filter the ministries, remove those articles that Rida Shah and the present Shah have annexed to the law by the force of bayonets, and to remove the articles concerning constitutional monarchy.

Q: [Do you think there might be a risk of a national uprising and a public turmoil?]

A: If the Shah and his dynasty leave, as the nation wishes, and his foreign supporters stop supporting him, the problem will become simpler; otherwise, there will be the possibility of an armed national uprising.

Q: [Will you accept the crown prince as the head of the government, instead of his father?]

A: No. The Iranian nation has very bitter memories from this dynasty, and will not tolerate the rule of any of them.

Q: [Isn't it surprising to you to see that the French government, which has always supported the Iranian government, has not thus far caused any problems for you in issuing your messages encouraging Iranians to uprising and revolting?]

A: It would have been surprising if they had. We are demanding the human's primary rights, and interfering with freedom disagrees with the reputation of France, and will surprise our nation as well as the world's liberals.

Q: [What are your plans for the future?]

A: Continuing the movement till the end.

Q: [The military did not interfere in yesterday's demonstration, and the Shah is withdrawing and has accepted the retreat. The Shah has agreed to receive Karim Sanjabi. It has been heard that Ayatullah has accepted Sanjabi. Now that the Shah is ready to compromise, are you too willing to do so? Are the oppositions willing to somehow compromise with the Shah?]

A: The Tehran's demonstration in favor of Mr. Taleqani and the Qum's demonstration in favor of Mr. Muntaziri were staged by the people to show their opposition with the Shah, and in those demonstrations they praised those personalities for their opposition with the Shah. In Iran, any anti-Shah tune will be praised. The Shah cannot get anywhere by these struggles and seeking this and that's help. It is too late and useless for such strives now. He must go; we will not compromise with anyone for anything because the nation won't. We have clearly stated our points with these people in our negotiations. Whoever agrees is one of us, otherwise not.

Interview

Date: November 2, 1978 [Aban 11, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1, 1398 AH]

Place: Neaphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The reasons for the fall of the Shah

Interviewer: *Paeze Sera* (?) Italian newspaper reporter

Question: [Why are the decline of the Pahlavi dynasty and the establishment of the Islamic republic inevitable in pulling Iran out of this distressing crisis?]

Answer: He was not legal from the beginning, and enjoys no legitimacy, and now the nation, as never had been before, won't tolerate him and his dynasty, for his stepping on people's every right and his countless cruelties, and since the unanimous majority of Iranians are Muslims, it is obvious that, after the fall of this regime, they will not be satisfied with anything but an Islamic government.

Q: [How could the risk of the military taking over power be prevented, which is something that the moderate opponents of the government are so afraid of?]

A: Today, it is the nation of Iran who wants to determine its destiny, and this nation will not tolerate a military government. And in reality, the Shah's government has thus far been nothing in content but the dominance of the army and the military.

Q: [Is there a possibility for a national solution to obviate the current crisis? Bearing in mind that America and western countries, particularly Britain, support the Shah, and the army is controlled and led by Americans.]

A: The national solution for today's Iran is what the whole nation—backed by their own blood—has informed the world, including America and others since over a year ago, and that is the fall of the Pahlavi dynasty, the removal of the monarchial system and the establishment of the Islamic republic.

Q: [It has been attributed to you that you want to form an Islamic unitary regime, while other Muslim regimes such as Algeria, which is not unitary, and other Islamic regimes such as Saudi Arabia which is feudal, have not created any hatred in the west. Can you explain the characteristics of the

Islamic republic you have in mind? What are its social contents and political structure, particularly for the parties, syndicates and media?]

A: Today, our portrayal of the Islamic republic cannot be found in the world. None of the Islamic republic essential characteristics can be seen in the government of Saudi Arabia. Must Iran seek the approval of the western countries in order to determine its own destiny? Do other countries ever resort to the opinions of Iranians when preparing their political policies or choosing their kind of government? In the Islamic republic, the statesmen cannot become rich or grant any privileges to themselves by taking advantage of their positions. They must carefully observe the Islamic standards in the society and at every level, and must even protect them. They must show respect for the public opinion in anywhere. They should not accept any foreign control over or intervention in the destiny of people. The press is free to publish the facts and realities. Any gatherings and parties of people are free as long as they don't disturb people's interests, and Islam has determined the limits of all these matters.

Q: [How is the international status of such a republic in today's world, particularly against major problems of the third world countries on the issues of economic crises, oil and raw materials?]

A: It will act as a one hundred percent independent country, and will never be a toy in the hands of major colonialists, and will never commit aggression upon another country for our own interests, and according to the Islamic stipulations, we will do our best to help solve the problems of the oppressed nations.

Speech

Date: November 2, 1978 [Aban 11, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The alteration of the meaning of those terms used in the vocabulary of the Shah and of the powers supporting him

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

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

Open political climate' means suppression

One of the things with which we have to deal these days are these words and terms whose meanings have been altered. There are many words and terms nowadays in Iran, which have taken on a new meaning and for which a new dictionary needs to be referred to. For example, one of the terms which are now used is open political climate, a term which appears regularly in the Shah's vocabulary. Thus he speaks of having provided and brought about an open political climate' in Iran;¹ and again, the same thing is repeated by his

¹ Carter's candidature for the American presidency and his so-called human rights' campaign, caused the Shah to panic. The latter believed that if a certain amount of freedom were to be given to the people in Iran, then the communists would take over! He had said: "Everybody interprets human rights in a different way, and there is no reason why our interpretation should conform to that of the Americans." After Jimmy Carter was elected as President however, the Shah was forced to improve the stifling climate in the country and to create a so-called open political climate'. Thus, on December 29, 1976 [Dey 8, 1355 AHS], the Fundamental Reforms Bill' was presented to the Senate and on February 3 [Bahman 14], sixty-six political prisoners were released. On February 29 [Esfand 10], the Shah said in an interview: "The country's political and administrative posts are open to all of the people." On May 11, 1977 [Ordibehesht 21, 1356 AHS], officials from International Red Cross went to Iran to visit political prisoners held by the Shah. On the following day, Cyrus Vance and David Owen (the American and British Foreign Ministers) request that the Shah give more freedom to the people. The Shah agrees to this, and commissions the Rastakhiz Party to publicize the new political policy. He also orders SAVAK agents to make fewer public arrests whereby the said agents then kill (rather than arrest) those involved in the struggle against the regime, both in the streets and in the latter's homes! This newly-hatched scheme however is ineffective, and thus we see both the Muslim students from Tehran University and the Muslim people nationwide, staging massive demonstrations on the day which commemorates the Khordad 15 [June 5] uprising of 1963 [1342 AHS]. In an interview with French radio the Shah said: "Allowing various forms of political freedom has put the monarchy in danger." The Shah's final publicity stunt—that being the announcement of an open political climate'—did not pay off either, and it became clear to America that he was now in fact on the verge of being toppled from the throne.

masters, by Carter for example, who keeps on talking about the Shah having created an open political climate. Only yesterday, it appears that the Crown Prince, meaning the Shah's son—yes, the Crown Prince, who of course is like himself (the Shah) in every respect—was taken to Carter who once more sang the Shah's praises for his having given (the people) freedom!¹ This is again one of those words which in this day and age has lost its original meaning for something else.

An open political climate' in Iran means the suppression of everything! It means the censoring of the entire press and the prevention of any opinion being expressed! Man is free to express his opinion, yet an open political climate' means the prevention of any kind of opinion being expressed! Man has no say in his everyday life, in his own destiny! The press has no right to print one word which falls outside that which it is told to write! Recently, I grant you, these newspapers have begun to say certain things to a degree, and that goes for the radio too. This public awareness and these clenched fists of our brothers in Iran have meant that they (the regime) can no longer behave as they would otherwise like to. But even having said that, there is still no freedom as such. Thus one can see how in all of these newspapers, and in all of these radio broadcasts and other media used for propaganda purposes, they still cannot make mention of that key factor. We all know, they all know, all of the newspapers and their proprietors know that this key factor—the key factor when it comes to the servants that is, and not when it comes to the servants' masters—is none other than the Shah! That is to say, all of these crimes which have taken place in Iran within our lifetime, within the present period in history—all of these crimes have been committed on the Shah's orders! There is no way that a soldier would kill someone without having been told to do so first; or that an officer would allow people to be killed without having been told to do so first; or that a minister or Prime Minister would have the authority to order for people to be killed, to order for people to be wounded, to give commands such as these without having been told to do so first. All of these crimes which have taken place and which continue to take place, have been and are now committed on the direct orders of the Shah; it is he who has ordered for the people to be struck down. On Khordad

¹ Rida Pahlavi, the Crown Prince of Iran at that time, was undergoing flight training at a US air base in Texas, and in October 1978 [Aban, 1357 AHS], on the occasion of his birthday, he was invited to meet with Carter, the US President. During this meeting, which was held for both political and publicity reasons, Carter stressed that the American government would back the Shah. He also expressed how pleased he was with the steps taken by the Shah toward establishing democracy, and he spoke of how vitally important Iran was to America.

15 (June 5), as is now a well-known fact, he was personally in command and flew above the scene below in his private helicopter, giving out instructions. The order he gave was to strike in such a way as to ensure that there would be no wounded in the hospitals any more, that is to strike to kill.¹

Freedom' and open political climate' mean no one has the right to express an opinion! Like our press, which even now doesn't have the right to express an opinion. Should our press and the media, which is used for propaganda purposes, media such as the radio, television and so on, become free one day, the truth of that which is now going on and that which has gone on in the past will then become apparent. Meaning, at present, neither I, nor yourselves, nor the majority of the people, know about what has really gone on. We only know of what is visibly apparent; of these streets in which dead bodies have been heaped together, and of these visible factors. People like us are only aware of this outer surface. As for that inner surface and those things which have happened to Iran in the past, and continue to happen now, those matters which remain veiled, we don't yet have knowledge of these things. But there are those who indeed do know about these things and who have been deeply involved in them; and although evidence of all that has occurred in the past may not have survived to the present, nevertheless, most things have been recorded in the annals of history. You can be sure that there are now books which have been written but which they (the authors) have not been able to print and publish. But the day that they become free in the true sense of the word, is the day that these books will come to light. That is the time when material published will truly be worth looking at. Our press is still now being censored and hence the name of the true criminal is not to be revealed in any of our newspapers—and indeed, it has not been revealed. And again, not one of the distinguished figures (in Iran) has yet been able to openly speak out on such a matter, a matter which involves exposing the true criminal, this person who is responsible for all the crimes which have been committed, this person known as Muḥammad Rida, the son of Rida. So far none of these figures have been able to come out with this fact, yet the people have. The people, including ten- and twelve-year-old children, are giving voice to this concern; people in the streets of Qum and Tehran, and in

¹ 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 were they 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 [June 5] the Shah actually flew above the city of Tehran in a helicopter, from where he personally took it upon himself to command the operation in progress.

other cities, are giving voice to this concern, yet our so-called men of distinction are unable to do so!

Exemplary mothers who have given martyrs

These masses of people... cannot be defeated. Not only are they prepared to lose a life, but rather to lose lives, or indeed, they even lose the lives of their young ones and then take pride in this fact. The mothers of today are one of a kind, I swear it. That is to say, history has never before witnessed mothers like these, save for those few who, their children having been killed, then came forward and rather than being upset, announced the sense of pride they felt. Some youngsters said to me that (the example of) these mothers caused them to remain fervent; that the reaction of these mothers who have lost a child keep them going and cause them to remain fervent, since it is they who give them courage; it is they who encourage them to carry on. So there you have our open political climate! That is to say, this term has been altered and has lost its true meaning. According to the logic of Mr. Carter and the Shah, it has now come to be understood as meaning all of those clamp-downs, clamp-downs which are enforced in the name of providing an open political climate!

A great civilization' or educational dependence?!

Words now used in this way include terms such as great civilization', the gateway to a great civilization'¹ Great civilization' is another of these terms whose true meaning has been lost; to their mind it means something else. This term, like certain others, crops up a lot in the Shah's choice vocabulary! And so too in the vocabulary used by Carter, his (the Shah's) grandfather! He (Carter) also uses a term similar to a great civilization in his choice of words, a term which, in the vocabulary of these people, means to trample on and crush all the signs of a nation's civilization! A nation's education is considered to be of pivotal importance in a great civilization, for

¹ In mid-August, 1978 [Mordad 1357 AHS], the Shah said: "It is my hope that this new chapter we have recently begun in Iran, where as much freedom as the law permits is enjoyed by the people, has a good ending, and that it takes the country of Iran forward toward progress and greatness, and toward a great civilization. The course of action to be followed to this end has been described in the book: *Toward the Great Civilization*, and has been accepted by the Iranian Nation's Reconstruction Organization. Those who would like to see the country advancing toward a great civilization know what is expected of them and how they are to cast their votes. And once the voting is over, they shall see just how great is the number of those who support the idea of taking Iran toward a great civilization."(!) Quoted from *Ittilaat*, August 19, 1978 [Mordad 28, 1357 AHS].

education is something which must be in tune with civilization. But when you look at education in our country, you see that it is an inferior education which is dependent and unprogressive whereby they prevent our youngsters from advancing beyond a certain level, from taking one step higher than a certain level. This is not only the case in Iran, but it also applies to those youngsters of our country who have come abroad to study. Only yesterday, the day before or sometime, a number of these students, these fine youngsters, came to see me here in this room and said that they are currently studying in some country or other—I can't remember exactly which one now—but that they are not being taught anything. They said that they are only really students there by name; that since they have come abroad the instruction they receive is of a lower standard than that they received when in Iran! Yes, of a lower standard! And thus they argued that they were studying here abroad like this to no avail, and they asked my permission to go to Iran where they could at least do something useful, that is, where they could work alongside their brothers (in Islam) there.

Manifestations of a dependent education

In Iran in the past, the aim has been to bring about a dependent education, dependent' in the sense that we are to have an educational system, and we are to have universities so no one can say that we don't have such things. We are to have universities, colleges, teachers' colleges, all of these things which accompany and are in tune with the generally-perceived image of civilization, but we are not to have that which truly constitutes civilization, so that the external form resembles civilization but is one which is hollow within! From the very beginning when schools were first established in Iran—schools established with a view to helping the country to develop—this has been the way things were, except they weren't as bad as they now are. From the beginning their intention has been to prevent an educational system in the true sense of the word from materializing; for they knew that if a real educational system and if properly-educated people were to appear in Iran, then they would get in the way of things; they would cause a problem by getting in the way of their goals and interests, interests which lie in plundering the wealth of this nation. From the beginning they planned things so as to hinder the materialization of an educational system which would be capable of developing our youth and of rearing a properly-educated youngster. And so now things have worked out as they wanted them to, whereby our educational system in fact bears no resemblance whatsoever to that which a true educational system should be like, and whereby they are

wasting the lives of our youngsters. That is, going to these colleges and universities is nothing but a waste of the lives of the teacher and the student. And the teachers know this; the students know this; everyone knows this; but still, that is the way things are. When we say that this page (in history) must be turned back, that all of these schemes which the foreigners have initiated in Iran via these evil agents of theirs must be abandoned, it is because we see that everything we happen to point to is rotten to the core!

Even if we could only be said to have one genuine school and university, how come the wealthy in our country, how come His Excellency' himself, on becoming unwell, must either bring doctors into Iran from abroad, or must themselves be taken to another country, to London, to receive treatment?! How come no one ever comes from London to Tehran to be treated, or to any other country for that matter? It is we who have to leave here; these people have to leave Iran and go to London for treatment! The reason for this is that we don't have any proper doctors. Yes, we have doctors, we have doctors who have a license to practice, who have been awarded the appropriate certificates, doctors who have obtained all the necessary qualifications and who are called professor', but they are doctors who are not in fact properly qualified. They are not in fact doctors; they only appear to be so. Yet another of those words that has been changed is this word professor'. That is to say, they have used this word to mean something that it does not. Hence, when someone becomes ill they say there is nothing else but for him to go abroad, for him to go to London! The doctors also say that he must go to London—yes, even the doctors themselves say this! Even once those doctors who have gone to Iran to treat the patient actually arrive there, they say there is nothing else but for the latter to go abroad, that the patient must go to London for them to treat him! This is the sorry state of our education, the sorry state of our universities, of our colleges. And they want us to be in such a sorry state too. Why should we have doctors? Our nation must remain in a certain state of need; it has to be in a state of dependence! They want our nation to be dependent upon these other governments and nations. And being dependent means our education being dependent, as it is at present. This is borne out by asking: Why, when we once had an educational system of our own, why, when we now want to construct a dam, must we make a contract with an American company, or with whatever other foreign company? On what grounds must we do this? Why are the laborers all from Iran? The one, who has to carry bricks and sand to and fro on his shoulders for a paltry sum, for a meager reward, he who is to receive a small wage and must work from dawn till dusk, is taken from the Iranian workforce! The situation is the same in the

oil company. It's the same everywhere. This is in fact the whole idea, and this is how we have turned into a nation of third-class workers while at the same time having a great civilization! A great civilization' indeed! Essentially, in Iran this great civilization' consists of a group of laborers, or, that is, of a group of people who appear to be laborers. It would seem to consist of an educational system and of stooges who are to transport oil for these masters of theirs, and to feed it to Mr. Carter and his friends! These stooges are to work for a paltry sum, for a meager reward, as coolies, and they are to transport oil for them (their masters). And when they (the Iranian government) want to construct a dam, an expert has to come (from abroad); he has to give the instructions, and he has to say how the plans are to be drawn up. In return for drawing up the plans he receives several millions of dollars for each plan produced. After sitting down for a night or two and producing one draft, he then receives several millions of dollars! But what about us? You must do the hard labor! You and I, we must do the hard labor, we must carry the bricks! We are incapable of doing anything else. And why are we incapable? Because we haven't received an education; we haven't been able to construct our own dams ourselves.

A name with no substance!

Whatever one points to in this great civilization' can be seen to exist in name, but not in substance. Many engineers, doctors and the like can be seen to exist in name, but what of their caliber? They lack substance! When we examine our military, we see that it abounds with names and titles! We have enough lieutenant generals and field marshals to fill a regiment! A humorist once used to say: "There are only two or three field marshals—or words to this effect—there are only two or three field marshals in the whole of America, but in Iran there are rows of, there are hundreds of field marshals!" These titles all remain in force, but on closer inspection you find that Field Marshal' so-and-so is in fact no such thing!

Rida Khan's army in the face of the Allied Forces

These titles were already around before the time when those foreigners, the Allied Forces, attacked and entered Iran; these phoney titles such as His Majesty' were already around—of course, he (Rida Shah) was His Majesty' at that time, for this one (the Shah) was not yet born. He (Rida Shah) was then His Imperial Majesty, and all of his oppressive traits along with some additional ones were inherited by this one (the Shah)! Yes, because the latter is advancing toward civilization' his oppressive traits have been added too!

Indeed, he has clipped everyone's wings. They talk about the whole of Iran now having become so independent that everything has become whatever, that the soldiers have become this and the police have become that and so on and so forth! Because they used to beat the intellectuals and the *ulama* and take them to the police stations; because they used to insult them and have in the past oppressed the women so—only God knows the suffering we have been through in Iran;¹ and because they have treated both men and children in the way they have. Yes, because of all this, they had set the stage and their propaganda spoke of no other country being a match or something for our country any more! At that time, the humorists used to talk of the first that didn't have a second: a phrase which referred to that matter concerning a war in which they (the Iranian government) wanted to engage to protect the country's borders, when an initial declaration of war was made which was never followed up by a second declaration! The war in question only lasted for three hours! When Rida Shah asked one of his officers why it had only lasted for so long, he received the reply that it should have only taken a quarter of an hour! We had nothing and they had everything. I myself saw how all of the soldiers just took to the streets. They abandoned their barracks and took to the streets, and this was because there weren't in fact true soldiers, there wasn't in fact an army.² Do you really think that we now have an army of 250,350,000 which truly serves us as an army should? The titles used in this so-called army are the same as those used in all other countries, from the titles of its officers down to those of its lower-ranking members. Yes, the titles are the same, but on closer inspection one sees that these titles are in fact forged; they are without substance. Indeed, everything has changed, and you can see how the same goes for all other aspects of society.

Destruction of agriculture in the name of reforms'

¹ On December 2, 1935 [Azar 11, 1314 AHS], Maḥmud 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.

² Those forces whose duty it was to silence the tribes, groups and clans, and to stop the occasional unrest in the military and among the leaders of various central government forces (all such operations being called for by the British), were later converted into a so-called national army which resembled the armies of Europe. The visible strength of this army was increased daily by the purchase of military equipment for the land, sea and air forces, and by sending members of the army to France and Italy for military training. But in reality this army was nothing but a big drum which was hollow within. On August 26, 1941 [Shahrivar 4, 1320 AHS], the day after the Allied forces had crossed over the Iranian border and had occupied the country, the supreme military headquarters issued what became its first and last declaration of war. In this declaration, it was claimed that the various military units of Iran were busy defending the country and that the people's morale was very high and so on. But this declaration did not contain the least information as to how these military units actually fared. In fact the majority of Iranian brigades and regiments had actually broken up before confronting the enemy. Army generals and senior officers had abandoned their units before having received the Shah's order to halt their defense. Hungry and thirsty soldiers wandered in desolate areas and along the highways without any supplies, and many of them fell to the ground as they neared their death. Thus, we see how an army which had been allocated one third of the nation's budget over a twenty-year period, and which had been provided with the equipment needed to cope on such a day as this, in fact fell to pieces on the very first day of the foreigners' attack on Iran!

They keep talking about the economy! Well, of course, another issue of concern is the economy, but this man (indication is made to a member of the audience) is actually an economist and he is well informed in this area, so this being the case, should he really be living here (abroad)? Shouldn't he really be serving his own country? They talk of our economy being this and that, and of us no longer being economically dependent and so on! So let's now consider these land reforms," the latter being yet another of the terms in question. Reforms! We can see for ourselves how these have ruined our agriculture, destroying it and reducing it to nothing, whereby we are now lacking in every respect and have even approached Israel to supply us with fruit!¹ Whatever we need—wheat, barley, or whatever—is continually being supplied to us such that should they at any time cut off these supplies, this nation will have to go hungry! They say that the entire agricultural produce of Iran is only sufficient to meet her needs for a thirty- or thirty-three-day period! That they must bring the rest of the produce needed from abroad! A country which once exported produce now has to be reduced to this. Reforms! The word reforms' is in itself a good word, it is something really

¹ Iran was a truly lucrative market for Israeli goods. Eggs, bananas, cucumbers, oranges and other citrus fruits used to be sent from Israel to Iran.

nice, yet here it has no true meaning. The White Revolution.¹ The White Revolution indeed! Here, the word revolution is appropriate but it is actually a black revolution! It is a red revolution! All of these words are words which are very impressive and fine-sounding, they are words which have been carefully chosen; but what have they been used to refer to? When we look beneath the surface we find that these words lack substance, they are meaningless! They are words... which were used to please us and to please the people at a time when the latter could not speak out and when they were unaware of what was going on. This is no longer the case however. People are now aware that the words land reforms are empty words, that they are in fact used to mean a market for America, for America's satellites, and for America's allies. We are a consumer market! They (the foreign powers) have a surplus of wheat—so much so that because of its perishable nature they sometimes pour it into the sea. So, this being the case, what better than to start a program of land reforms! Once they have begun to implement land reforms, then there is no longer any need for them to pour this wheat into the sea . . . land reforms have been made! Wheat will not be poured into the sea any more; it will be given to others in return for money!

Oil in exchange for American bases

They get oil from us and give us weapons! And just what is meant by weapons here? Giving us weapons means that America has to set up a military base to counter the Soviet Union for example! It has to set up

¹ In the book, *The White Revolution*, a book which carried the Shah's name as its author but which was in fact written by someone else, we read: "The philosophy and spirit of this revolution (the Shah's White Revolution) is based upon Iranian mentality and culture. And in bringing about this revolution two cardinal principles have been borne in mind, those being: spiritual belief and religion, and the protection of individual and social freedom. And again, attention has been paid to the overall principle which states that any signs of exploitation and any situation which only benefits the minority while being to the detriment of the majority must be destroyed. It was in pursuit of these goals that land reforms had to be made and the roots of feudalism and serfdom had to be wiped out. The worker-employer relationship is to be founded on a new basis whereby the worker no longer feels exploited; the electoral law is to be reformed; the disgrace and affliction of illiteracy is to be wiped out nationwide; health care is to become available to all throughout the country; signs of the nation's backwardness are to be destroyed; and the country's resources and wealth are to be declared as national property rather than being privately owned. We are to advance in other areas of education, training, social welfare and industry, and are to bring about a state which is in tune with today's civilized world, while acting upon the distinguishing feature of this White Revolution—that being the principle which calls for the pursuit of a democratic economy at the same time as maintaining political freedom." More of these deceptively-attractive statements are to be found throughout the said book.

military bases in Iran; it receives oil and sets up bases! This is one of the incredible achievements that America has accomplished—it takes away our oil and what does it give in return? In return it wants to set up a military base for itself in Iran! If this were not so, then would Iran need these billions of dollars worth of weapons that they provide her with?! Do we have anyone with the expertise needed to put these weapons into use?!¹ Even when you want to lay an asphalt surface you bring in a specialist from abroad for this task, so what do you expect to do with these weapons that they have made, weapons which are technically advanced and which need to be deployed by someone who is trained in these affairs? Yes, in Iran it is all empty talk. But surely you can't make cannons from mere words! True ability is needed to make these things, and this we don't have.

The cost of these weapons that they have brought into the country is oil, yet they should in fact pay us in hard currency for this oil, hard currency thus being another of those words which has lost its true meaning. Instead of giving us hard currency they bring weapons into Iran and establish a military base for themselves so that should they one day find themselves in difficulties, they will have a base here which they can use! This is the state of affairs in Iran—a state in which the country has lost its agriculture on the one hand, and has lost, and continues to lose, its oil on the other, for indeed they are still taking it away, and they do so in the manner already described. Here, right here in this civilized country, airplanes worth 350 million and 550 million dollars have been said to have been received in lieu of oil given! What on earth do we want with these airplanes? We only want to travel between Mashhad and Qum or Tehran, so why must they provide us with an aircraft worth 350 million dollars? I just can't imagine why! They are to take away our oil, and this aircraft is to be here in its stead. And it is the same everywhere.

The result of the popular Rastakhiz Party!

The situation in Iran is one in which truly impressive terms are used, terms such as land reforms—what a terrible shambles that has turned out to

¹ Prior to the Revolution, the Iranian army was unable to use those weapons bought from America unless it received 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.

be—and again, terms such as the Rastakhiz Party, the popular Rastakhiz Party! Again, from the very beginning, from the time when they first established this party, we spoke up about this matter. We have already said all that we could in this regard. But now we are talking about the popular nature of this party, and how these words were in fact words without meaning. Members of their (the regime's) own outfit, people from intelligence (SAVAK) and the like, were forced to form this party. The people did not accept it; they did not give it their vote. As for those who did vote for it, it later became apparent that the whole thing had been forced upon them, because no sooner was the external pressure relaxed than one member withdrew from the party, and then another, and then another, until they had all abandoned it and returned to their own affairs. Unlike other parties which are recognized by the people, this party has now become a party which is not in any way recognized as such! So much for this popular party! Yet you all saw for yourselves how much, how extensively, this man (the Shah) spoke about this party! One of the things he said was that it was all well and good for those who joined this party—here we have another example of those freedoms given to the people—but that whoever did not join it was to take his passport and leave, for he did not belong to this country! The only ones who belonged to this country were those who had joined this party, this so-called popular party! It was called a popular party, but what did this word mean here? It meant nothing. It was meaningless. Everyone realized that it was a popular party in name only. And so the story goes on. If we were to expand upon these terms now, it would take a long time, and I am no longer well enough to talk or to hold a discussion for such a lengthy period.

Two choices: death and life

I pray that God may keep you; and may you all be soldiers for your country. Gentlemen, please take this matter seriously. The issues now facing Iran are serious ones; they are issues of vital importance. You who are abroad must take these issues seriously. What we are talking about is no joke. We are talking about Iran teetering on the brink whereby she is either to be annihilated, to be destroyed for ever, or she is to recapture her vitality and prove her own existence. We now lie at this fork in the road. There are only two paths for us to choose from: one leads to life and one to death—death for evermore. This cause for which our nation is now fighting demands that this monarchy be destroyed, that this form of rule be done away with, for it is corrupt. The terms monarchical regime and imperial regime are meaningless

terms, they are intrinsically corrupt. This nation says that this regime must go. We say we want independence; we want to administer our own country by ourselves; we don't want it to lie under the control of others. The country belongs to us, whether for better or for worse it is still ours and we don't want others to interfere in our country's affairs.

Step by step politics means compromise and defeat!

If we step down in any way from the position we have adopted, or if we proceed by taking things step by step—to quote certain gentlemen—this means in the first instance agreeing to allow that gentleman (the Shah) to rule as sovereign rather than to govern, for this is the policy adhered to by the said gentlemen! Some argue that for now we are to say that he is to reign and not to govern! But what does this mean? It means that a person who, for almost thirty years personally, and along with his father for almost fifty years, has killed our youngsters, has violated our honor, and has allowed our country to be plundered, this person is now to reign as king! As King of kings! As *Shahanshah*! It means accepting this; accepting that he is now to reign as sovereign but not to govern as sovereign. If we listen to those who make this argument and we agree with them on this point, then we will have signed the death warrant of Islam, the Muslims and the Islamic State forever. And this will have been the greatest act of betrayal that we could ever commit against our own country, or that we have ever committed against Islam.

If we treat this matter lightly and remain content with what we have achieved so far, they will silence us once and for all. This time if this poisonous snake is allowed yet another chance, then it will poison Iran and the Iranian people such that they will never again be able to make a move. Wake up gentlemen! Beware! Don't make the mistake of believing that we ought to proceed in stages, a step at a time, for this is a mistake. This argument is in error. Or again, don't listen to the argument which calls for a monarch who is to abide by the constitutional law and is to allow free elections to be held—these are the ideas which are injected by the Shah himself; he himself injects these ideas. A constant interchange of visits is now going on in Iran!¹ Visits have begun to be paid and repaid now in order to undermine the nation! The Shah has in fact held a private meeting with one person for two hours. Someone who had come here today to hold an interview told me this. He said that he had interviewed the Shah in private for

¹ It refers to the Shah's meeting with Mr. Siyasi, Sadiqi and Sanjabi, for choosing the Prime Minister.

two hours and that he now wants to interview other leading governmental figures.¹ As for these (members of the government), if they manage to thwart just one of our plans, they will then pulverize us so that never again will an Iranian experience a proper life, freedom or independence. Now that the nation's fists are raised, are clenched and are putting up a fight, there could be no act of betrayal worse than causing them to be lowered, causing these uplifted fists to drop down and extinguishing this fire which has now been kindled in Iran. Should this fire go out, there is no way that a second could be relit.

Everyone's duty is to spread the truth

Listen gentlemen, we must pool all our resources together, all of them. That is to say, *a* has a duty to fulfill, and so does *b*, and so does *c*, and so do I—so do we all. The duty to be fulfilled is to propagate the cause here as much as possible. Tell those who don't already know, about the issues at stake. Their propaganda has served to introduce us as reactionary people, to introduce the *akhund* as a reactionist. This *akhund* says that we want what is rightly ours; we want freedom; we want independence. Is this being reactionary? Taking away that which belongs to us is not reactionary! Is it then a sign of civilization? Does our wanting not to give what is ours away make us reactionaries? Are you, those who want to keep us in shackles and who want us to remain as captives forever, are you not reactionaries, whereas we who say we want to be free are?! If we abandon our own argument, our own objective, then we will have to bear the burden of this oppression and tyranny for ever.

¹ Following the show of incompetence by Azhari's military government, the regime took steps to establish a coalition government which was to comprise members of opposing views. Thus, it contacted certain political figures such as Dr. Sadiqi, a member of the National Front. The latter agreed to accept the Premiership on condition that a Regency Council be set up without the Shah having to leave the country, but this proposition was not agreed to by the Shah. Prior to the establishment of the military government, the Shah had held a meeting with another leading figure of the National Front, Dr. Karim Sanjabi. On this occasion, the Shah proposed that Sanjabi form a national alliance government. After consulting with his colleagues in the National Front, Sanjabi went to Paris where he met with Imam Khomeini and asked for his opinion on the matter. Imam told him that he regarded this as a conciliatory move and one which was against the country's interests, and Sanjabi came to accept this view. After returning to Tehran, Sanjabi was arrested before he had chance to tell journalists of the outcome of his talks with Imam. In the end, the lot fell upon Shapur Bakhtiar, and following lengthy discussions with the latter, the Shah decided to appoint him to form a new government. The Shah also held several talks with Ali Amini.

Assisting the movement is a divine duty

Each person, each individual, now has a duty to perform; he has a sacred duty, a righteous duty, a moral duty to help these Iranians who are now putting up a fight and shouting out. Each person is to help as much as he can. Those in Iran are sacrificing their lives, sacrificing their young for our sakes and for the sake of Islam. They are making sacrifices for the sake of the nation, and we too are a part of that nation so we too must help; whoever is able to must help as much as he can. If you are able to give a press interview, then do so and tell them what you have to say. Or if you are able to talk to those friends that you have in the universities and elsewhere, then when you see a few of them are assembled together, stand and talk to them; tell them that this is the state of affairs in Iran; they are doing this to Iran; this is how much they have oppressed these people. Tell them what it is we want; what this uproar is for. Is it really because they have given us too much freedom that we are shouting out and asking: why do you allow us so much freedom?! Does this uproar stem from the fact that they have given us freedom too quickly and too rapidly, as Mr. Carter says when he argues that the reason these people are crying out is because His Majesty has given freedom too quickly?! When we shout the word freedom', are we saying that we have been given indigestion from too much freedom so don't give us any more of it?! Is this what we are saying? Is this the problem? According to Mr. Carter it is! Therefore, we all have a duty to fulfill. All of us must do everything in our power to rescue this Islamic country. Saving a nation is no laughing matter; it concerns the rescue of a nation. We must all join hands together in fraternity. God willing, you will succeed (the audience: "God willing"). May the Lord grant you all success (the audience: "Amen").

Letter

Date: Circa 1978 [(During residence in Paris) 1357 AHS]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Avoiding giving interviews to reporters; religious funds; the political prisoners' welfare

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh¹

In His Most Exalted Name

I would like to inform Your Honor of the receipt of your kind letter through Mr. Aqa Rida Wasil. May health and happiness be upon Your Honor. Here are the issues that I must inform you of which you need to deal with:

1. You had written "if referred to the parliament or parliaments," if that "referring" is concerned with me, don't even let that cross your mind, and don't approach any official concerning me, no matter what.

2. As I've heard, you give interviews to local and foreign reporters; that's totally inadvisable, because my words, if said bluntly, will definitely cause you problems, at least exile, and this shouldn't happen, and if stated as others do, it would raise the criticism of friends and other fronts. Your Honor, do not give interviews to either local or foreign reporters.

3. Looking after some prisoners such as Mr. Dastghayb and Mr. Hairi Shirazi and so on, and visiting with their families is essential, as is looking after the financial needs of the families of some of the prisoners and the martyred.

4. I know Haj Shaykh Abdul-Ali² very well and he is one hundred percent trustworthy. Kindly give him the responsibility of the financial affairs, collections and grants. You are unable to handle all these affairs for your age and weariness. Others are not as reliable as he is; if you appoint him to this job, my worries about the Islamic levies would end.

¹ Ayatullah Murtada Pasandideh, the elder brother of Imam Khomeini was born in the town of Khomein in 1895. He started teaching Islamic lessons upon his completion of courses in the principles of Islamic religion and jurisprudence at domestic and foreign seminaries. Imam Khomeini was among his students. Ayatullah Pasandideh took it upon himself to pay for Imam's tuition and expenses during the latter's imprisonment and exile after the popular rising of June 5, 1963. Ayatullah Pasandideh passed away in early November 1986.

² Abdul-Ali Qarahi, a member of Imam's office in Najaf and Qum.

5. Do not allow even single word of criticism against the jurists, especially Mr. Shariatmadari¹ in your house. Due respect must be paid to these personalities. Stop anybody from acting rudely. Such things should not be allowed in your presence at all. Your own honor should not even complain, for it will do nothing but cause mischief.

6. I have heard that you had admitted Pirasteh and had lunch with him. You don't know; such things are not good for you. Friends have started complaining. Your Honor needs to put aside your old affections toward some people now, because of the crucial situation you are in.

7. It has been said (I've just heard) that Your Honor have stated: "I approve of Dr. Amini's solution." This might be taken as though I have also approved it, which I never would, and Dr. Amini will not succeed either, and his solution is wrong, too.

8. Tell Haj Shaykh Abdul-Ali that he and others who were sending funds to Najaf, to stop doing so, and until further notice, take them to Qum and give them to you. They are also to inform Isfahan and Tehran. I am here² on temporary basis, until I find a quarter in Islamic countries, so I can continue my activities. There are some restrictions here, and numerous policemen stand guard around the house day and night for security reasons, so they claim.

Have the enclosed letter delivered by Haj Shaykh Abdul-Ali or someone else. Also, have the receipt delivered by Mr. Kupai in Isfahan. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari was born in the city of Tabriz in 1905 and completed his religious educations in Tabriz, Mashhad and Qum to attain the degree of *Ijtihad*. He had a meeting with the Shah in 1947 and kept his close relationship with the court until the culmination of the Islamic Revolution. His specific view of political issues and his repeated expression of opposition to the revolutionary clerics put him at loggerheads with the Islamic movement in the country. Upon the disclosure of his being linked to Nozheh coup attempt, he was disrobed and denied of his religious status by the Association of Qum Seminary Teachers. He died in 1986.

² Neauphle-le-Château.

Speech

Date: November 3, 1978 [Aban 12, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The progress of the movement and the futility of the military government

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

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

The progress of the movement and the Shah's retreat

The Islamic movement of Iran has now reached its climax and is going through a period in which it is bearing fruit. The Shah is now resorting to a variety of measures as he has done in the past. One of the forms which these measures of his have taken has been to establish a government, a 'government of reconciliation!' And that was the government which, from the time it was formed until the present, has killed thousands of our youth, massacring them and plunging the whole of Iran into a state of mourning. They wanted to deceive the people by appearing to have become reconciled with them, and so the government announced its reconciliation with the people, and also said that the calendar was to return to being what it legally was in the first place (that being the Islamic calendar). They gave the law of the Zoroastrians and the Rastakhiz Party a miss,¹ and later scaled down those arms deals that they had made² and either cancelled or cut back on the deals concerning atomic energy.³ These are all tricks which they are busy playing

¹ In an interview given to mark Mordad 28 [August 19] coup, the Shah said: "When we said this party is one which is all-embracing, we meant that whoever wanted to could join it. Now, with this policy known as an open-door policy which affords people ultimate and absolute freedom, we no longer expect one hundred percent of the country to join this party. No indeed, there may be someone who for some reason or other may not want to join it; he may hold different ideas. This person, in accordance with the civilized laws of the developed world, will be able to, and indeed now is more or less able to, either say or write whatever he wishes."

² In a report entitled: "Major arms purchases temporarily cancelled," the *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 20, 1978 [Aban 27, 1357 AHS] read: "The reason these purchases have been cancelled is said to be due to the unrest and internal problems now facing Iran. As a result of these disturbances, the Shahanshah of Iran intends to decrease the amount of oil revenue currently used up by the country's military."

³ One of the steps which was to be taken by the government of national reconciliation (i.e. Sharif Imami's Cabinet), was the reassessment of major, multimillion-dollar contracts. One such contract involved the purchase of nuclear arms technology from the West. The *Kayhan* and *Ittilaat* newspapers reported on October 16 and 29, 1978 [Mehr 24 and Aban 7, 1357 AHS]: "The Iranian government intends to pursue the establishment of atomic power plants 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Bushehr, but although the German company Kraftwerk Union has already been notified in writing of Iran's wish for it to construct four new nuclear power plants, nevertheless, negotiations to finalize agreements have, for the present, been postponed. Other matters which are expected to be reassessed because of the government's policy to cut back expenditure include negotiations concerning the purchase of eight nuclear power plants from the company Westinghouse Electric." Toward the end of October, 1978 (the beginning of Aban, 1356 AHS), a delegation of economic advisers came to Tehran from Germany and deferred Iran's purchase of four nuclear plants for a period of one year. Following the arrest of the head of the Atomic Energy Organization, an arrest made on the orders of Sharif Imami's government, talks over other agreements also came to a halt.

in order to silence this movement; to destroy this wave which has appeared in Iran and which is laying everything to waste like a raging flood, and to put out the fire in people's hearts. And initially they may well make certain compromises, and make it appear as though there are certain freedoms, as though there is "an open, free climate"—to quote them—but following this, as soon as this affair (the uprising) has died down and that burning passion which has now flared up in Iran has cooled down, then, once they have had chance to re-establish their footing and they feel sure that no such movement will again start up, they will make such an attack and will inflict such damages on whatever concerns the nation, that neither the clerical front, nor the political front, nor those from the university or the bazaar, will ever again be able to breathe!

The situation which has now arisen in Iran has wounded this venomous serpent. Those things of which he (the Shah) was always convinced in his own mind—ideas which told him: "there is only I, and the rest of the nation are all my supporters; love of the Shah exists throughout Iran; everyone is under my command and no one dares or could possibly want to oppose me" all of these ideas have caved in! The veils screening these ivory towers, these fanciful ideas which they had impressed upon the people, ideas which bore no truth but which were nevertheless conveyed to the people in impressive, dressed-up terms—these veils were drawn back somewhat and these lofty ivory towers that they had erected fell to pieces one by one, many of the hopes and ambitions that they held being trampled upon. He (the Shah) is now a wounded viper who, given the chance, should the nation show any signs of weakness or of relaxing its efforts, will lift up its head and this time will inject its poison into all sectors of society—a poison for which they will no longer be able to seek a cure.

Futility of martial law and coup d'état

All of these measures to which he has resorted are acts of deceit; like his forming a government of reconciliation,¹ a reconciliation which they now recognize as something which would seem to be even worse than war between the nations! Those conciliatory measures they believed they had taken, appeared in the form of a crude martial law system, and again, in governing by martial law they suffered defeat. Martial law indeed! Now, it is just them and their public announcements which are left! They announce in public announcement number whatever, that no more than two people are to walk together in the streets. But on the contrary, in the very place where martial law is in force, 300,000, 500,000 people and sometimes more, march in the streets chanting slogans and saying whatever they please! Yes, martial law also failed. And due to the failure of martial law and the confrontation between the fist and the tank, they realized that the fist is more than a match for the tank; that the nation's will preponderates over the cannon and the machine-gun.

And neither do they hold out any hope for a military coup d'état, although they do still give it some consideration. Yes, a military coup d'état!¹ That is in fact what we are now faced with, a military coup! For what is a military coup anyway? When a military coup takes place some military figure or other takes charge of affairs and, should he be a really callous person, he treats the people harshly, although sometimes he may not in fact be callous. So today martial law is in force throughout the whole of Iran. In some cities however, it is being officially enforced, whereas in others, it is being enforced unofficially. Now, throughout Iran, the definition of a military-governed country, and of depriving the people of everything, holds true.

Continuous defeats and the Shah's new tricks

Therefore, the first trick to which they resorted was to establish a government of reconciliation with all that it entailed, including making claim to its religious affiliations, for when this government was first installed he referred to himself as a clergyman, claiming that he was a clergyman's son,

¹ During the final months of the Shah's reign, one of the solutions to the popular demonstrations and the Islamic Revolution which was considered by the Shah's supporters and discussed in political circles was the staging of a military coup and the installation of military rule. However, the Shah's mistake lay in establishing a military government under General Azhari, and this mistake, combined with Imam's timely warning to the effect that: "A military coup d'état can do no more than can a military government," meant that this plan was never given the chance to be put into operation.

that he was someone whose mother and father came from a religious background and so on.¹ Then his government began to make those concessionary and deceitful moves, and that was when, from the moment this government was established, I impressed upon the people not to be taken in by this deceit for this government was in fact worse than that military-style government! This government posed a greater threat than the other one! With a military-style government, one knows that this government has been installed so as to use the bayonet when dealing with one, and so one obviously behaves with caution and so on. But when a government is installed through deceit with the intention of keeping the people in their place, this catches the people off their guard; and this is extremely dangerous. Right from the beginning, right from when it was first announced that a government of reconciliation was to be established, I informed the people of the issues entailed in whatever way I possibly could. However, this government of reconciliation was defeated and martial law was enforced throughout Iran! It was enforced officially in twelve of Iran's major cities, but now this too has met with defeat. Martial law is still in force, but it is a defeated martial law. According to martial law regulations, no one is to come out at night—they put the initially-designated curfew back two hours, then, again brought it forward, announcing that the people were to do whatever two hours earlier than they had to do before—yet the people opened up their shops and while seated there, began to recite the Quran. The government was thus compelled to put the curfew back by the same number of hours that it had previously been brought forward.² Demonstrations also continue to be held on the same grand scale in all of those places where either martial law, or indeed another form of law, is in force—that is to say, those places where martial law is officially in force, or where it is unofficially in force! Hence, this too has failed, and because of this, any plans to stage a military coup or to appoint a military figure as Prime Minister will also fail. Should they be stupid enough to establish military rule nationwide, that is, to appoint a military figure as Premier with a view to frightening the people, then let it be known that the people have shed their fear, they no longer heed threats such as these. Even small children have rendered the police powerless and have stood up in confrontation against them. The latter fight with bayonets, cannons and tanks, and the people, with fists, stones and these kinds of

¹ In August/September of 1978 [Shahrivar 1357 AHS], having accepted the premiership, Sharif Imami introduced himself as someone who was a descendant of the Prophet (i.e. a *sayyid*), who came from a background of clergymen, and who followed Mr. Shariatmadari in religious matters! Parsons writes: "The Shah appointed the President of the Senate, Jafar Sharif Imami, a man who came from a religious family and who associated with members of the clergy, as Amuzegar's replacement." In truth however, he did not in fact associate with the clergy, and especially not with those religious leaders who opposed the regime. Basing its comments upon Sharif Imami's genealogy—a publication published by himself—the *Ittilaat* of August 27, 1978 [Shahrivar 5, 1357 AHS] wrote: "The Prime Minister of Iran is the child of a clergyman in every respect and is related to the descendants of Islam's great thinkers!"

² Following the announcement of martial law in twelve of the country's cities on September 8, 1978 [Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS] and the earthquake which occurred in Tabas on September 16, 1978 [Shahrivar 25, 1357 AHS], the situation in Iran seemed to calm down. Under the impression that martial law had brought about this state of calm, the regime gradually began to reduce the hours during which the public circulation of people was forbidden. In Announcement Number One, the Military Governor's Office for Greater Tehran, which had previously declared the hours of curfew to be between 9 pm and 5 am, now, on September 10, 1978 [Shahrivar 19, 1357 AHS], reduced this period by one hour, declaring curfew hours to be between 10 pm and 5 am. The following announcement reduced this period by yet another hour, declaring the hours of curfew to be from 11 pm until 5 am. The new regulations declared in this latest announcement, were also observed in other cities where martial law was in force. However, from the end of September 1978 (the beginning of Mehr, 1357 AHS), a time when the movement entered a new stage, the regime was compelled to increase the hours of curfew, Qum being the first city in which this new law was enforced. Hence, Announcement Number One, issued by the Governor's Office in the city of Greater Qum, declared the hours in which the public circulation of people was forbidden to have changed from between 11 pm and 5 am, to between 9 pm and 4:30 am.

things. Thus, martial law, the government of reconciliation, and military coups, are all doomed to fail. These can no longer be considered as viable options. These moves are ones which will fail and indeed have failed to achieve their intended objectives; no matter how much they may want them to work, they will not.

Another measure resorted to, has been for them (the regime) to choose certain persons for the Premiership say, and thus to further their aims. This sometimes means them selecting someone with whom the people are somewhat familiar; and sometimes it means them selecting someone who has not featured predominantly in the government, either while these recent governments have been in power or during those periods when he (the Shah) has engaged in acts of oppression and cruelty. They themselves have realized that the nation will no longer accept those who have held a key post, headed a ministry, or have been a parliamentary delegate during this government's term in office. But they are making a mistake in trying to fool the people in this way. Sometimes a person's resignation from a ministerial post; sometimes from a parliamentary post; sometimes a person's withdrawal from

the Rastakhiz Party¹—all of these are now tricks which this nation of ours no longer falls for.

Parliamentary delegates not the nation's representatives

It may well be that someone (in the government) has really and truly repented, but even disregarding those great sins which he has so far committed, those acts of betrayal which he has committed to date, it is likely that one act of betrayal is common among all other such acts, that being the parliamentary delegates' awareness of the fact that they are not the nation's true representatives! Indeed, this is not something known to the parliamentary delegates alone. Everyone knows that this Majlis does not belong to the people and that it is a Majlis which was established on the Shah's orders, at bayonet point—at first there was no need to use the bayonet or other coercive measures, but now there is, for initially it was established on his orders, and there again, not in fact his orders, but according to the instruction list which would come to him from the (foreign) embassies. He himself admitted that not so long back they would present a list and the foreign embassies would determine who were to be parliamentary delegates.² Now however, it is not like this! No indeed, now the situation is as I have explained and even worse still. All of these delegates without exception know, and indeed knew at the time they actually entered Parliament, that they are not the true representatives of the people and that this Majlis is a violation of the Constitution. But in spite of this they still entered the Majlis, all of them. Those who violated the Constitution and entered the Parliament while knowing that this is in contravention of the Constitution committed an act of betrayal with the very first step they took into the Majlis. Now even if we overlook the things they did in Parliament and disregard their changing the Islamic calendar—an act of such outrageous impudence toward the station of the Holy Prophet—even if we overlook this, the fact that all of

¹ On November 5, 1978 [Aban 14, 1357 AHS], the resignations of the Minister of Science (Abul-Fadl Qadi) and the Minister of Education (Manuchehr Ganji) were announced. Before this date, on November 4 [Aban 13], Ahmad Bani Ahmad, resigned his position as a Member of Parliament, and so too four days later, Manuchehr Azmun (Minister of State), Bahihri (Minister of Justice), and a number of parliamentary representatives, resigned as members of the Rastakhiz Party. See newspapers published between September and November 1978 [Mehr and Aban, 1357 AHS].

² In the book *Mission for my Country*, we read: "During the Second World War, while Iran was under Allied occupation, the latter's officials would prepare a list of candidates chosen by themselves which they would then give to the Prime Minister of the day, insisting that the said candidates were definitely elected to the Majlis."

these delegates voted for these things, and that these things came about because they gave them their unanimous approval, cannot be overlooked. It may well be that one of these delegates now asks for forgiveness and argues that when they brought this proposal to the Majlis, he didn't want to give it his vote but that he was afraid not to, or again, argues that he did not in fact cast his vote, but even so, you entered a Majlis which lay in contravention of the Constitution, as someone who has been given the authority to act on behalf of the nation, and this is treachery. Just stepping into the Parliament was itself a treacherous act. Therefore the nation does not accept these people who have at any time been a part of this government, this illegal government that is.

Principle of monarchial rule of the Pahlavi's dynasty is illegal

Yet another point to note is that in principle monarchical rule by the Pahlavi dynasty is a contravention of the constitutional law—yes, the very principle on which the monarchy is based. As anyone of my age or even a little younger remembers, when Rida Shah came and staged a coup no one was at all able to say anything in opposition to him. As for those who do not remember or have never heard of this, they can go and ask the more elderly men about it, although this affair is in fact something quite obvious and well-known to all. No one had the power needed to speak out against him, and if there were a few people who were strong enough to do this, these were the odd ones who could not make any impact, those who were unable to achieve anything.

The Constituent Assembly, which they set up during Rida Shah's reign in order to alter the contents of the constitutional law, was an assembly which was opposed by the nation. It wasn't a case of the nation being unaware of what was going on; the nation was actually against it! However, the people didn't dare to express their opposition although no one actually went to cast their vote either. The people stayed put; they got on with their own affairs; they didn't dare to speak out. The parliamentary representatives of the Constituent Assembly, an assembly of appointed delegates which was established in order to alter the contents of the Constitution, to overthrow the Qajar dynasty and install the Pahlavi dynasty, were not the people's representatives! Everyone knows this. Rida Khan knows this too; even now as he lies in his grave, he knows that these were not true representatives. His son also knows! As for these parliamentary representatives, unlike us, the popular masses, who remain little informed, they are now well aware of what is going on; and they all know that the underlying principles of the Pahlavi

monarchy indeed lie counter to the law, counter to the constitutional law. And if his (Rida Shah's) reign as monarch did not accord with the constitutional law, if the Pahlavi monarchy did not accord with the constitutional law, then neither does his son's monarchy, for the fact remains that when the latter's reign is a violation of the Constitution, so too is the appointment of parliamentary representatives. Even if the latter are appointed by the people, the Constitution states that the king must give the order for such an appointment to be made, and we do not have a king to give such an order. The people did not have a king. This king in fact never was. A king whose reign is a violation of the constitutional law is not a king. These representatives are aware of the fact that this so-called dynasty of kings came to power unconstitutionally, and that consequently, whatever they (the representatives) do contravenes the constitutional law. I am talking in their own language. I am using their own logic as a premise for my argument, since they no doubt respect the constitutional law. Hence, by taking this matter of the Constitution and that contained within it into account, I assert that we have never, from the outset, from the time of Rida Shah down to the present, had a true representative of the people! The people however, were unaware of this fact, or if they were aware, then they were not in a position to determine who was to represent them—there was just no chance of this. Therefore, throughout their entire reign, both the monarchy was a violation of the Constitution and so were those who were in the Majlis. As for the Senate, half of its members were to be appointed by the Shah and the other half by the nation. But the nation was not sufficiently informed and we in fact had no Shah to make such an appointment, for the Shah was not a legitimate king. Hence, those who were appointed to represent the people or to administer their affairs, have all represented or administered in contravention of the Constitution—all of them!

With regard to this other measure to which they resorted, which involved changing one key figure for another, and choosing someone whom they believed was not disadvantaged by having held a governmental post during their time in power—a move which involved turning to the universities for example, and choosing a university lecturer who had not held a governmental post while they have been in power—now let's say that this has been done, and the person in question now wants to enter Parliament, this again is a violation of the constitutional law, for who is in fact putting him there? Who appoints him to the Premiership? And what kind of Majlis sanctions his Premiership? Which Majlis does this?! The Majlis which is a violation of the Constitution, the monarchy which is a violation of the Constitution; and thus,

this Premiership too is a violation of the Constitution. God forgive me, but imagine if they were to go and bring the honest and trustworthy Archangel Gabriel down from the heavens to the earth, and that they were to incarnate him here, he who is so pure, clean and chaste, even if they were to do this, nevertheless, according to their own reasoning, the constitutional king would still have to appoint the Prime Minister and the Majlis representatives, and then the Majlis would have to sanction this appointment, but indeed, we don't have a constitutional king!¹ From the very first day the Constitution was not abided by. From day one of the constitutional law, this very law, which they all (supposedly) agree to, was not abided by. One of the articles stipulated in the constitutional law states that five *mujtahids*² are to have a presence in the Majlis and are to supervise affairs to ensure that those laws passed therein do not contravene the religious law in any way. This is what this constitutional law of ours says; this is what the supplementary constitutional laws say. So in fact they deceived the people from the very moment that the Constitution was first composed. They engaged in deception from the beginning—just like they want to now deceive the people by bringing a government of “reconciliation” to power. From the very moment that they first laid down the Constitution, these evil fiends who were wise to

¹ From the time that the constitutional law was first formed, it had made provisions for the Shah to be vested with many powers, yet even so, in 1949 [1328 AHS] the constitutional law was altered such that the area of authority vested in the Shah was widened even more. Article 48 of the constitutional law of Iran, which had been accepted in 1906 [1285 AHS] as the basis of a constitutional system, had stated that Parliament could only be dissolved with the consent of its members. In 1949 [1328 AHS] however, this article was altered whereby the Shah was granted the authority to order for the dissolution of both Houses whenever he pleased. Again, according to the supplementary constitutional laws, monarchical rule could be legally transferred from one person or family to another person or family through the Constituent Assembly. However, in accordance with an amendment which was legislated on May 8, 1949 [Ordibehesht 18, 1328 AHS] and added to Article 48 (of the Constitution), the Constituent Assembly itself was in fact to be set up by favor of both parliamentary Houses and the Shah. Moreover, this amendment also stated that decisions reached by the Constituent Assembly are only legally valid when endorsed by the Shah. The rights which once belonged to the people and to both Houses of Parliament, were thus now granted to the Shah. In 1961 [1340 AHS] the Shah announced that he also had the right to legislate laws in absence of the Majlis! This claim, which clearly contradicted every article contained in Iran's constitutional law, was accepted as a royal command' by the government of the day, and after this, the Shah actually governed for a period without a Majlis! Hence, it would be true to say that from 1955 [1334 AHS] onwards the Shah was able to rule with plenary authority, and that the difference between this autocratic king and the constitutional monarch was plain for all to see.

² *Mujtahid*: an authority on divine law who is entitled to give an independent judgment on a point of theology or law.

the situation deceived those clergymen and devout believers who supported them. These fiends acted deceitfully; they accepted the supplementary constitutional laws and so on, but when the time came to act according to these laws, this they did not do. That is, they did not bring five *mujtahids* to the Majlis! Initially a meeting of sorts was held, but that was just for show, then that was it—nothing. Now its nearly fifty years, in fact more than fifty years, that the clergy have not been allowed into the Majlis whereby to supervise affairs, and this contravenes the constitutional law. So supposing that Gabriel does actually descend to earth and that His Majesty now wants to go to the Parliament to appoint him and to give him his authorization so as to receive the approval of both the lower and upper Houses, here, even the honest and trustworthy Archangel Gabriel would be violating the constitutional law, for this act is not legal. His office would be illegal. And therefore this measure resorted to would not come to anything.

The people's remark: "We do not want the Shah"

Apart from this, if we now ignore the legal side of things and disregard the perspective in which they (the government) look at the matter, how could these things possibly make the people have a change of heart? Are the people crying out in despair of the ministers, saying: "Just look what our minister is like?" The people are shouting: "We don't want the Shah," yet you (the Shah) want to appoint a new minister?! Is this how you answer the cry: "We don't want the Shah," by saying: "This is who your new minister is to be?!" Indeed, why don't these foreigners who claim that this nation is demanding whatever, go and see for themselves just what the people really want? Let them go and see what the people in the bazaars are shouting; what those in the schools are shouting; what those in the universities are shouting; what those outside the universities are shouting; what those on the farms are shouting. Yes, let them go and see these people. Let them see just what these people are crying out all across Iran, just what it is that they want. If twenty-four hours should pass by without them having heard the said slogan chanted repeatedly by each person, then I shall take back what I have said, and shall simply go about my daily life. But they are sure to hear the people crying out that they don't want him (the Shah); they will hear them shouting: "Death to the Shah." Everyone is shouting this, from the small child who has recently learned to talk, to the old man, who, like me, is now only able to speak very slowly. Indeed, everyone is shouting that they don't want him. When an entire nation doesn't want something—even though the Shah is supposedly there to serve the nation—when it doesn't want him, then there is no way that

he can be forced upon the people. Yes, they did force him upon the people, but to no avail.

They may even resort to dismissing one minister and replacing him with another, with someone who may well be a very good person, or even with people who have all been chosen by other parliamentary members and ministers, people chosen from among university figures or people who are virtuous men of distinction. If they heed such considerations that is—but nevertheless, the point is that the people's demands do not concern the ministers whereby they can be made content by being told: "There you are, we have provided you with a minister who is of honorable character!" The people are shouting that it is the monarchical dynasty itself that they don't want! The underlying principles on which monarchical rule is based have been false and erroneous from the start. Now, even if we were to suppose that the entire nation is not in fact crying out against monarchical rule as such, still, no one can deny the fact that all of Iran is crying out that it does not want the Pahlavi dynasty. The Iranian people are saying: "We don't want the Pahlavi dynasty," and you say: "I have got rid of that minister and appointed another one!" But this reply does not answer the former statement. This reply cannot put an end to the matter, for this is not what the people are demanding. If the people were shouting: "Our minister is no good; our parliamentary delegate is no good," then yes, they (the government) could change that minister for another, they could change that delegate for another, this would be feasible. But when this is not what the people are asking for, you are in fact doing something which does not accord with their demands; you are not doing that which the people are demanding of you, and therefore things cannot be put right. Therefore, this measure resorted to will also end in defeat. Its defeat is a hundred percent guaranteed because it is a measure which has nothing at all to offer (the people). And no matter how they carry out this deception, it will get them nowhere: should they wish to take the military option, this they have already done and it has failed. Should they wish to replace military rule with another form of rule, there is no telling whether those in the military would accept such a situation any more, for having seen a cruel system like that of this good-for-nothing (the Shah) suffer defeat, and knowing that they cannot outdo him when it comes to being wicked, they realize that any new form of rule is also doomed to fail. Hence, neither martial law, nor a military coup d'état, nor these tricks, such as establishing a government of reconciliation—none of these have paid off.

The Shah's resorting to club-bearing *kolis* and *hooligans*

Now, they are taking another course of action, and that is to call the *kolis* (gypsies) into play. God knows what a disgrace it is for a country when its government has a military force of which it is in despair, or which it is afraid to put into use, and when, in a country whose king, ministers and defense forces should, in principle, seek to establish law and order, they (the regime) turn to a group of hooligans for help! We hear of these *kolis* in Kerman. And in other places too, we hear of other mercenaries of theirs (the regime). They intend to remain in power under the protection of club-bearing *kolis*! That a person such as this (the Shah) should rule over us is for us a disgrace. That a person such as this should administer our affairs on our behalf, or that he should act as our representative, is for us a disgrace. Yet he (the Shah) is now continuing to survive as king under the protection of the club-bearing *koli*! However, this too is to no avail.

If the club is to be resorted to, then indeed, the people too have clubs! The people also took up the club in retaliation and got rid of them (the *kolis*). Of course, these hooligans were protected by the military, like the time before Khordad 15 (June 5), when they poured into the city of Qum and into Faydiyyah Madrasah and committed those acts of violence. On this occasion, the regime hired a group of their own people who stormed the religious school (Faydiyyah) and carried out the said deed while enjoying police and military protection. And this is what they are doing now. They are engaging in acts of violence while under the protection of the armed forces, the military. The armed forces' indeed! This is one of those terms of which I spoke earlier as having lost its true meaning, our armed forces' now only being a semblance of the real thing! Our armed' forces have now become destructive' forces. They pour into the provinces behind these hooligans. They have done this in several cities so far, pouring into the city and committing acts of violence there. But this too is a futile exercise; these measures resorted to are all to no avail.

Foreign propaganda to besmirch the movement

As for the propaganda spread by the Americans, the British, and so on, this too has now run its course; it will no longer get them anywhere. Certain publications have reported America as saying that an underground Anglo-Russian network has in fact orchestrated these disturbances,¹ meaning that

¹ The Shah was convinced that the uprising in Iran was not in fact a popular uprising! Instead he believed it to be a plan devised by others which the Iranian people then acted upon. He held that what was happening could not be the doing of the KGB alone and that there was no doubt of the CIA's involvement in affairs! The Shah particularly had his suspicions about the British, saying that they held a grudge toward Iran following the nationalization of Iranian oil. He believed that because the oil consortium had not conceded to the conditions proposed by the British for a renewal of the oil contract, the latter had incited the Iranian people against him. During a private discussion with Parviz Raji, the Iranian ambassador to Britain, the Shah had said: "There is no doubt that the KGB is behind many of these events that are taking place and it would seem that our friends in the West have also had a part to play in recent disturbances."

the British and the Russians have joined forces and have told me to say these things that I am now telling you, and so this I do! Or that they have told those in the bazaar to shout out in protest, and thus the latter shout out! Or that they have also told the mullahs to shout in protest and have supposedly come and told you to shout these slogans that you now chant! It has been said in America that this is all the doing of an underground Anglo-Russian network, that these disturbances are being orchestrated by the British and the Russians. It is highly likely that the British are involved in this brazen interference. Their usual policy is to cast a slur upon themselves in order to further their aims—to besmirch this movement by saying that it is an Anglo-Russian affair! But this will get them nowhere either, because now even our children know that whatever they say is false! Let them say whatever they want to say. Not only all of our youth and our elderly people but even our small children know that these things that they say are empty, deceitful words, and that their purpose is to silence this movement. The people know that these things are said in order to silence this movement that is now causing all of the various groups which are plundering us to tremble, and which, God willing, will bring them to ruin (the audience: “God willing”). They know that these things are said to extinguish this fire which has been lit in people’s hearts. This is something of which the people are now aware. Therefore resorting to these tactics is to no avail.

Shah must go

The key to that which would indeed be expedient, lies in the hands of His Royal Highness’ himself! No one else can provide the answer: the answer being for him to get up and leave! (laughter from the audience). He himself holds the key should he want calm to be restored! He ought to take his wife and children, leave this country and save himself, for I fear that the disturbance may get out of hand and that they (the regime) may even resort to killing small children, and we wouldn’t like to see something like this happen, where even small children are exterminated. Yes, he himself holds the key—although of course the nation too has a part to play in this. I know

what is best for him, and that is for him to quietly board some airplane or other at night and to go to those villas which have been provided for him abroad at such great expense! If our people let him that is.

[A member of the audience: They won't let him; they feel obliged to stop him sir. They feel obliged to stop him; they won't let him leave.]

Imam: God willing, they will track him down even once he has gone there.

God willing, God will grant you success. May you make progress and succeed, God willing. You are the victors; that is to say, you are already victorious. There is no need for him to leave, you have (already) pulled him down from his throne; he is no longer on the throne. Now he constantly has to resort to different measures (to survive). I prefer not to discuss some of these measures to which he has resorted. I prefer not to talk about them but suffice it to say that he constantly has to resort to new tactics. You have pulled him down from that lofty Aryamehr' rank; you have brought him down to an inferior level whereby he is now busy resorting to the *kolis*! This constitutes a victory for you. May God grant you further victories and may you see this triumph through to the end, for this nation has always before been an oppressed nation, a nation which has until now struggled desperately under the heels of both foreigners and those within the country. May God grant you and grant us all success in rescuing this nation.

Interview

Date: November 4, 1978 [Aban 13, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 3, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The necessity for the ending of Pahlavi dynasty

Interviewer: Swedish Radio-Television reporter

Question: [The Shah and Dr. Amini¹ have entered some negotiations which indicate the Shah is ready to retreat and show lenience. He has released the political prisoners. Could His Eminence Ayatullah agree on leaving a role for the Shah in a more free government?]

Answer: The Shah has been carrying out a plan for a while now to deceive the people; he has entered negotiations with some people and has made some withdrawals to mislead people. But people do not want the Shah, no matter how much he backs off. The final word supported by the nation is that, for all the crimes that the Shah has already committed against this nation and country, and the disloyalties he has thus far carried out, he is not acceptable; neither him nor his dynasty. This dynasty must be overthrown! The type of government will be determined by holding a referendum.

Q: [You have stated that you will call people to an armed war if needed; are you still considering this?]

A: We will try our best to avoid an armed confrontation, and believe that we will get results by the way the nation is proceeding; but if he shows obstinacy, and the superpowers continue to help him, we may then consider that.

¹ Ali Amini, the veteran politician and former prime minister who was famous for his being pro-American.

Speech

Date: November 4, 1978 [Aban 13, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 3, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The need for opposition to the conspiracies of the Shah's regime to maintain sovereignty

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A people with unity of purpose

Our burdens are many and so too are the tactics which the Shah and his partisans resort to. The latter have in the past and even now still turn to various ways of suppressing the nation. They either resort to the use of force, employing the military, the security forces, the police and so on, means which experience has shown to be inadequate in calming the people, or they turn to the use of threats in the belief that threatening to assassinate someone¹ will have an effect and that our people are now reliant upon one person. This nation whose impetus now emerges from within and which is now acting on its own volition, cannot be motivated by any power to act in this way, whereby, as you can see, throughout a country of thirty-odd million people—from its villages to its large cities, its capital to its outlying cities, its remote villages—everyone is standing up with a unity of purpose and is loudly shouting with one voice, “We don't want this Pahlavi monarchy.” Even if at one time there had been some external motivating force involved or whatever, some kind of plea for action, which led to the present situation, nevertheless, now this is not the case. Now, whether those who are believed to have been the motivating forces are present or whether they are

¹ The rumor concerning the money laid out by the Shah's regime for Imam Khomeini's assassination had become widespread. While prayer gatherings were being held, or when Imam was delivering a speech, the adjoining street to Imam's residence at Neauphle-le-Château was closed off by the French authorities. The latter monitored any movement in the area on a twenty-four-hour basis and opened any kind of package, subjecting it to careful inspection. Once these rumors had broken out, the number of security agents stationed in the vicinity was increased tenfold and these agents were replaced by more experienced and high-ranking forces. These agents had told Imam's staff and family members: “The French government has been informed of an intended attempt on Imam's life by a group of mercenaries (citizens of an Asian country) who have been paid 500 million dollars.” The abnormal state that now reigned across the city of Paris—in its suburbs, its airports, its key areas and in places which were frequented by students—was now quite discernible.

assassinated and so are not here any more, it makes no difference, for this nation no longer seeks to rediscover a course which it has already found; the path it is to take is now evident. The effort needed to show the people which path they should take has already been made; the path they are to follow is now evident. Our country and our people now act of their own accord. That is, when they observe a general shutdown, they no longer wait for so-and-so to tell them to do this, or for the head of the union or some clerical or political figure to tell them to do this; this is the furthest thing from their minds. Say they believe that today a shutdown should be observed, suddenly, across the whole of Iran, everywhere can be seen to be closed down. Shutdowns in large cities are observed due to the fact that the people there decide that today is the day for a shutdown. It no longer makes any difference whether someone is there or not to tell them to close down. These threats, which suddenly caused the people to talk about so-and-so being assassinated, let us say, are childish threats. The fire will not become extinguished once the assassination has been carried out. The fire may well become brighter, but even if not, it will certainly not go out. This is yet another childish tactic to which they (the regime) sometimes resort. They used to do this in the past, and they have done it again now.

The people will not be fooled

They recently saw how the government of reconciliation could not achieve its intended aims, and this was because from the start it was a government which intended to trick the people into being misled and which wanted to silence this movement. They made certain promises and took certain steps and so on, but all of which bore no relation to the people's demands, for the people were demanding something else. Yet in answering their demands, the government announced: "We have closed down the casinos!" But a thousand different kinds of centers of corruption still remained open! The main centre of corruption is the regime of Muhammad Rida Khan, whose doorway to corruption still remains open! Corruption here, not being used in its literal sense but being used to mean something even worse. Here corruption is being used to mean a royal court of utter oppression, a royal court of utter betrayal, of utter crime! If you were to close the doors to this (royal court), the nation would calm down to a certain extent—only to a certain extent of course, not completely. But you say you have closed the casinos! Are we to suppose that the people are doing all of this shouting and yelling and are giving so many lives because the casinos are open?! Is this what the people want, for the casinos to be closed down?!

Of course, this is indeed one of the things they want, but one must listen to the cries of the people in the streets to see what it is they actually want. Once the true colors of the government of reconciliation were revealed and it became evident that reconciliation in fact meant martial law; that it meant finding a way out; that it meant handing authority over to one of the unruly rebels, to the *kolis*, to one of the down-and-outs, for them to deal with the people; that it meant clubs, beatings, repression, suffocation and so on. Once all this became evident, they then adopted another tactic, although it was indeed evident to us from the start that this government was not what it claimed to be but that instead it aimed to fool the people so that it could silence this movement once and for all by whatever means necessary, an aim which they have failed to reach however, this reconciliatory government having been in power for several months now and having fought the people to no avail. In his addresses, the Shah has said many times: "Surely we need to have a country. Even supposing that I was whatever, nevertheless we still need to have our country. If I should leave, then there will be no country! Do you not want to have a country? If I am not here, then the country will be taken from you! They will seize this country; they will annex it and treat it as their own! One part of it will be taken by the Soviet Union, another part by America, and yet another by Britain." Yes, this is what he has said: "Surely we need to have a country."

The Imam's response to Ali Amini's statements

Recently, someone from among the Shah's loyal devotees' who has set his sights on the Premiership¹ also gave an interview in which he put the cause of Khomeini's upset down to his having been through a lot and having suffered pain and so on! Of course these are the sort of things they always say! His argument is however, that others have also suffered, to a greater or lesser extent, but that they have let bygones be bygones (laughter from the audience). He says: "If so-and-so is a patriot—if he is that is, and indeed he certainly claims to be one—then although he argues that the monarchy must be abolished, he must lower his sights somewhat. He must relax his demands for the sake of the country, for it is said that our country is now in great danger due to its strategic location. It goes without saying that we need to have a country." (This is just what the Shah had said—a parliamentary delegate also having said this in the Majlis—and now he (Amini) too is saying it.) He says that we obviously want to keep our country and that even

¹ Ali Amini: one of the original players in America's influence in Iran, who from Ordibehesht 1340 AHS [circa 1961] was the Shah's Prime Minister for a period of 14 months.

if someone has suffered some kind of imprisonment, exile, torture or hardship in the past, and that if he is a true patriot, then he is obliged to overlook this and to prevent us from forfeiting our country! What a catastrophe! We are about to forfeit our country! What he (Amini) is in fact saying is: "If I were to meet with him (Imam himself) then I would explain things to him, and were he to see that one of the nation's demands had been met, that some positive step had been taken, and were the people also to see this, then things would calm down a little—the problem being however, that the people have not yet witnessed anything being done. This government which has been in power hasn't done anything (to meet the people's demands)." Essentially then what he is saying is that: "It is best if I—and here I am quoting him—step in to show that action is being taken! Let the people see that something is being done; let them taste some kind of freedom so that they calm down."

Response to the claim that Iran will be separated into parts without the Shah

So this whole troubling affair is but another kind of tactical maneuver which has now been employed in the fight. He (Sharif Imami) took office on the pretext of forming a government of reconciliation,¹ and now this one (Amini) wants to do so on the pretext of wanting to do what is best,² on the pretext of being a patriot as he himself puts it, and wanting the best for his country. He has made sacrifices to ensure that the country is never forfeited at any time! And he has gone through a lot of trouble in order to come and hold talks with the Shah and then to go and visit certain people in Qum, although I'm not exactly sure whether these people actually consented to meet with him or not and it would seem that some of them did not.¹ Yes, he wanted to visit Qum and then take action to rescue the country! He (supposedly) wanted to rescue the country from the plan which Khomeini has designed and proposed—a plan which has jeopardized the country! By meeting with the Shah and visiting Qum—where it is still uncertain whether he was received or not—he wanted to rescue the country! He has made sacrifices and forsaken everything to save this country! He says that while he was visiting Qum, he saw the unrest there, the demonstrations there, and the shouts of protest which were sounded there. He says that he actually saw for himself what things were like and that these people will not calm down unless they see some kind of action being taken; unless some government takes over which can be seen to be doing something (to rectify the situation). In essence, what he is saying is that he should be allowed to form a government which would then calm the unrest and grant some kind of freedom and so on. And it would probably close down the pubs and take other such steps, but His Royal Highness' must remain—he must remain to prevent this country from ever falling into the hands of Russia or Britain! It is the might of "His Royal Highness" that is now keeping Russia at bay and is keeping America at bay! (Laughter from the audience). No one has the right to tamper with this power. And the people must be persuaded not to

¹ Here, the person in question is Ali Amini. A day after having met with the Shah, Amini visited Qum to discuss the country's affairs with the *maraji* there. However, whilst in Qum, he was only able to meet with Mr. Shariatmadari. During this meeting, Amini spoke of his talks with the Shah, and Mr. Shariatmadari then remarked: "The Shii clergy do not wish to head a government, and the clergy's wish is the people's wish...and that is for Islamic values to be observed in the country; for the constitutional law to be fully implemented; and for elections to be run fairly." In reply to a question posed by an *Ittilaat* journalist as to the outcome of his visit to Qum and his talks with Mr. Shariatmadari, Ali Amini states: "Actually, after hearing the reasonable and laudable comments he had made, and as an Iranian who is worried about the country's destiny and about the country's well-being and independence being in jeopardy, I felt it necessary to visit him in person. As always, I found Ayatullah Shariatmadari to be well aware of affairs." Similarly, Amini says: "I have great respect for Dr. Sanjabi and Mr. Bazargan, and there is no doubt that should it be necessary for the national and patriotic forces to form a coalition, then these two (men) deserve to be at the helm!" *Ittilaat* newspaper, November 4, 1978 [Aban 13, 1357 AHS].

destroy this power and not to present a challenge to this power which is now preserving the country!

Now, before anything else, we would like to ask this Mr. “Loyal Devotee of the Shah,” or, as others call him, Mr. “America-lover,” a question. Now that you have been to Qum, now that you have traveled by car through the streets of Tehran to go to Qum, you have no doubt seen the demonstrations which are being held in Tehran, not to mention those in the villages such as Hasan-Abad, Ali-Abad¹ and so on. Indeed, you talk about having seen Qum, so since, praise be to Allah, you have the ability to hear, and since thankfully you have your wits about you, I would like to ask: “Did you not hear what they (the people) were saying, what they were asking for? These people who have taken their lives in their hands, who send their youngsters forward to fight, these mothers who send their young children out into the streets, children who are loudly crying out, did you not hear what they are saying so as to discover the cause of the nation’s pain and the remedy for this pain?” Unless one discovers the cause of pain, one cannot treat it. The people are all saying: “We don’t want this Shah” and you say that you will make them

¹ Villages lining the route from Tehran to Qum.

content! You will make them content about the Shah remaining! The people say: "We are discontent because this Shah has betrayed us; we don't want him." You however, are saying two things: one is that: "I have heard what the people have to say and they will obviously not rest until we meet their demands, or at least until we do something positive, do something to make this gentleman (the Shah) get on with his own life so that the people may calm down—to a certain extent that is, not entirely."

The other thing he is saying is: "Iran's strategic location is such—as if we don't know what her strategic location is like—that should these rebellions continue, Iran will be faced with great danger; but if we have the Shah, then there is no such danger!" Hence, what he is saying is that this danger will not arise while the Shah is in power, but, God forbid (as Amini would say), should this Shah leave, then the country will fall into the hands of two powerful countries, and good God, what a catastrophe that would be! But we argue that which has handed this country over to these two powers is this very Shah! Surely, the task that these powers mean to carry out in Iran, doesn't involve them coming and carrying away a certain amount of soil from Qum to the other side of the Russian frontier, and a certain amount of soil from Tehran to the other side of the American frontier! He (Amini) himself agrees that this is not the aim; the aim is for them (the two powers) to rule over our country. Indeed, is that not what they are now doing?!

The country is under American occupation

Yes, Iran's geographical location, being as it is, is a matter of concern to them, and more importantly, they are concerned about those things which are inside our country and which they are in need of; but are they not now in control of our nation's wealth anyway?! Are they not now devouring our oil?! And yes, in return they are setting up a military base for themselves. They give us money for this oil, that is, they give us weapons with which to set up a military base for them here. Doesn't the fact that they are taking our gas away mean that they predominate over us?! The wealth of this nation is slipping through its fingers. Doesn't the fact that America has brought about land reforms and the White Revolution, mean that it rules over us?! Is this White Revolution a revolution which belongs to the Shah and the nation?! He himself claims to be the nation! The nation has no part to play in this White Revolution; and as for the Shah, he doesn't come into it either. It was an American Revolution through and through! The whole idea of this revolution was for the Americans to take away that degree of independence which this country enjoyed in relation to other countries, because of its

thriving agriculture. Indeed, does American predominance over us mean anything other than their gaining control over the assets we possess, the resources we possess, those things that we possess both beneath and above the ground, and their taking them away?! Do they not now have control over us? And if the Shah leaves then will they have control? If an Islamic government should come about which adheres to those words of the Quran which state that a non-Muslim is not to exert control over a Muslim,¹ would they (the foreign powers) then have the upper hand?! In any case Iran's geographical location demands that an independent power which has the support of the nation, a regime which enjoys the people's support and which has the force of the people behind it, be established here, to ensure that neither that country encroaches upon that one, nor vice versa. The strategic location of our country demands the presence of some kind of power, and not some kind of parasite, to stand in the way of those other two (foreign) powers and to guarantee peace in this part of the world! Our military and our army are now in a parasitic state. It is an army which is being run under American supervision and which is being managed in such a way as to serve American interests. Forty-five thousand, fifty thousand, some say up to sixty thousand American advisers and oil-devourers have played havoc with us and are now in our country. They have set up all of those bases here for themselves. Our country is under military occupation; our country is under American occupation. This gentleman (Amini) says: "They (the Iranian people) will be at great peril!" But is there a peril greater than this?! Our agriculture has been completely destroyed; was this not beset with perils?! You want to remove the danger facing the country now (at this late stage)?! You are the one who was in government when this whole affair first sprung up and when America imposed its will upon us! And I was the one who sent word to you that you were not to go ahead with this, that this would be the ruin of our agriculture. God bears witness to the fact that I sent word via his (Amini's) envoy, that he was not to go ahead with this. I told this envoy to tell him (Amini): "You (Amini) know this for yourself. You yourself are a landowner so you know that they cannot handle the country's agriculture. This country's agriculture will be ruined." It was you who ruined the country's agriculture for the sake of America! Yet now you want to put things right² by saying that they (the Americans) should never be allowed to gain the upper hand over us?!³ Are we now independent?! Is a powerful nation now standing up to everyone and keeping them at bay, and do we now have an independent, civilized country of free men and women?!⁴ We want to be a powerful country whose power is

¹ *Surah an-Nisa* 4:141.

² The Shah's regime made a devious attempt in its propaganda to introduce the popular and clerical uprising of 1963 [1342 AHS], led by Imam Khomeini, as an anti-land reforms movement, and as a movement which had come about because of the collaboration between the clergy and the landowners and feudalists. And this it did, in spite of the fact that Imam's uprising actually opposed the objectives pursued by America via the Shah's White Revolution. Imam was opposed to the regime's policies and the Shah's land reforms—policies and reforms which resulted in nothing but the monopolization of the country's fertile land by the Shah's family and the destruction of Iranian agriculture. In fact, not only did Imam never object to true land reforms being made, or to dispossessing the large land monopolizers, he was actually an ardent opposer of the feudal system.

³ Here, Imam is addressing Ali Amini, who himself was from a well-known and long-established landed family in the north of Iran.

⁴ Following the events of June 5, 1963 [Khordad 15, 1342 AHS], the government prepared itself for the holding of parliamentary elections. For the oncoming term in office, the government intended to prevent the representatives of various groups from entering the Majlis, allowing a number of those involved in the 'land reforms' program as well as certain workers' representatives (SAVAK members) to be sent there instead. To this end, a union council known as 'Freewomen and Freemen' was set up, headed by Hasan-Ali Mansur. This group, whose formation had been endorsed by America, and which declared its loyalty to the principles upon which the 'Shah-People Revolution' was based, brought new faces into the Majlis such as those of Hasan-Ali Mansur, Abbas Rosta (a wealthy tailor from Tehran), Habibi (a famous wrestling champion in Iran), Majid Muhsini (a star of the cinema and radio),

based upon the support of its people, a country which receives its inspiration from the people. If an army is backed by the people, then there is nothing that either this or that power can do. They (the foreign powers) want to ensure that the situation is such that neither of these two powers can attack the other, but¹ when there is an independent and powerful state involved, they cannot do this. By way of these intrigues, you want to give these two powers the upper hand over us! You don't want to settle the country's problems; you want to give even more of this country away! We want to rescue this country from these two (foreign) powers. You want this country to remain under foreign control forever. And just how do you intend to achieve this? By maintaining that if His Royal Highness' were to leave, then this country would fall into disarray! By arguing that His Imperial Majesty must remain in order to keep these two powers at bay! But my dear man, it is this very same Imperial Majesty' who has allowed these powers to rule over us, as did his father!

and Abbas Mirzai (the workers' representative at the Tobacco Company, and a member of SAVAK).

¹ Apparently these two refer to America and the Soviet Union.

The reason for opposition to the Shah

This gentleman (Amini) makes out and believes that so-and-so has gone through a lot—and again, this is exactly what the Shah said—so-and-so” meaning myself. He says that “so-and-so” has suffered in the past and whatever. When he (Amini) says: “He (Imam) holds a personal grudge against me; he wants to retaliate,” these are the exact words that the Shah had used, his exact terms. So you (Amini) now in fact serve as His Majesty’s loudspeaker, in that just as he (the Shah) spoke of the need to have a country and said that if he were to leave then indeed there would be no country, so you too also say that if the Shah were to leave there would be no country. These words of yours are identical to those of the Shah. The latter says that our country’s situation is such that if he were to leave then the two foreign powers would approach the country from either side. Yes, you are his loudspeaker! He (the Shah) says: “He holds a personal grudge against me; he (meaning myself) is now retaliating. I threw him into prison, I sent him into exile, and now he is retaliating.” And he (Amini) is his loudspeaker; he is repeating his very words. I always thought that they (the foreign powers) tell the Shah what to say and he says it—and that is actually the case, his superiors dictate what he is to say—but it is now also apparent that he (Amini) in fact reads a dictation of what has been dictated (laughter of the audience). It is with him (Amini) that I must set the record straight. I was never before a Prime Minister and I don’t own a palace or any finery. I was the same person then that I am now that I have come here (to Paris). You¹ yourself have seen how there isn’t even enough room to sit down comfortably in my house, and I wouldn’t wish for any more than this. Even when I was detained and I entered that officers’ club—initially, they took me to an officers’ club—I noticed what a good place it was and how it had everything, things that my family have never even dreamt of! I told the guards who were present that this is better than my own home (laughter from the audience), and indeed it was; and then afterwards they took me elsewhere,² to a place similar to my own home but somewhat better! When in prison, my imprisonment was not one during which something bad happened to me so causing me to have a difficult time, it wasn’t as if the Shah and I

¹ The audience present.

² At 3 am on June 5, 1963 [Khordad 15, 1342 AHS], a group of people entered the city of Qum to arrest Imam Khomeini. After having arrested Imam, they set off for Tehran, where they arrived at 5 am, and took their prisoner straight to the officers’ club. It was on that day that the tragedy of Khordad 15 occurred. That evening Imam was taken from the officers’ club to Qasr garrison in a car which had been covered with a dark-colored material.

had a punch-out or anything! (Laughter from the audience). And as for those who were with me during my detention, those who were on guard there, they showed me kindness, they thought highly of me. After leaving that place, we then lived somewhere where there was a huge garden and a great mansion, somewhere that we had probably never before even dreamt of.¹ Then, when I returned to my own house, that once more became my home! And since I never used to go out and walk around as I do in the yard of this house in which I am now living, I can't say that I'm having a bad time now either! Furthermore, when they sent me to Turkey, personally speaking, it was much better there for me than it had been in Iran. That is to say, I didn't suffer in any way there.² Then I went to Najaf which was our home. And now I have come here, to a place which is again better than my own home. There is a garden here and everything! Thus I have not experienced any hardship—speaking personally that is—for this to be given as the reason for my opposing this person (the Shah). The nation's suffering is my suffering. When I picture the faces of those men whose children, whose sons have been killed, I am pained. Seeing the woman who strikes herself because of these things, and who cries: "Come and kill me; you who have killed my child come now and kill me," this causes me pain, not the fact that I have had a bad experience in the past, or that I am someone who has suffered in the past. No, on the contrary, I have had a very good time. That which pains me is the disaster which has befallen our nation. Indeed, should a Muslim not feel pain for his own nation, then he is not a Muslim. I cannot call the person who wishes to be like this a Muslim. We don't consider he who shakes hands with the hand of a murderer to be a true human being, and indeed, neither can he

¹ On August 2, 1963 [Mordad 11, 1342 AHS], following the pressure brought to bear by different sectors of society, and especially that exerted by the *maraji* and clergy, the regime was forced to release Imam Khomeini from his state of imprisonment and thus he was transferred, along with Ayatullahs Bahauddin Mahallati and Qummi, to a house situated in Dawudiyah in Tehran. This house belonged to Mr. Haj Abbas Nijati, the brother of Ayatullah Qummi who was allied to the regime, and it was located in an area which lay under the strict and constant surveillance of SAVAK agents. As soon as the people learned that Imam had been taken there they gathered around the said house and in the surrounding streets. Furthermore, security forces were positioned from one end of Shariati Avenue (formerly The Old Shemiran Road) to the other, and from this street to the place where Imam was residing. Several days later, SAVAK agents again transferred Imam, this time to a house in Qaytariyyah which belonged to a Mr. Rowghani. Here, Imam was forced to remain under house arrest and to live under the surveillance of SAVAK agents until he was eventually freed on April 7, 1964 [Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS], after which he returned to Qum. Following the victory of the Islamic Revolution, documents were released which revealed the cooperative ties between Mr. Mahdi Rowghani (the son of the above-mentioned householder) and the US embassy in Iran. Refer to the six-volume collection entitled, *Documents Discovered from the US Espionage Den*, pp. 145, 148- 149, 202, 205.

² As soon as Imam arrived in Turkey (November 4, 1964 [Aban 13, 1343 AHS]), he availed himself of two books: a one-volume work entitled *The Poems of Mawlawi*, and a *Teach-Yourself Turkish* book, after which he set about learning the Turkish language. Three days later, on his own request, he toured the main streets by bus and visited the major sight-seeing attractions, while accompanied by SAVAK agents and security officers of the Turkish government. Again three days later, and once more under tight security, he visited Ataturk Boulevard; the old, well-established areas in the city of Ankara; the mosques and museums in the history-rich city of Istanbul; and the graves of forty Turkish Muslim *ulama* who had been martyred on the orders of Ataturk (i.e. Kemal Ataturk, 1881-1938). In order to weaken Imam's resolve, SAVAK agents told him that he was to wear an overcoat and hat, and hence, Imam put on an overcoat but he in fact refused to wear a hat. On November 12, 1964 (Aban 21, 1343 AHS), eight days after being exiled to Turkey, SAVAK agents, concerned that Imam may talk to visiting journalists, took him to live in the south of Bursa—a city which lay 460 kilometers to the west of Ankara, near to the Sea of Marmara. Three months later, Imam was joined by his distinguished son, the late Haj Aqa Mustafa (may he rest in peace). Thinking that his son may have resorted to requesting the regime's permission to visit him, Imam asked him whether he had been compelled to come or whether he had come of his own free will, to which Aqa Mustafa replied that he had been taken there by force. According to Imam's son, the food brought for Imam to eat tasted extremely bad, but nonetheless, Imam never refused to eat it. During his eleven-month stay in Turkey, Imam wrote *Tahrir al-Wasilah*, a celebrated book in the field of jurisprudence. He was eventually exiled to Iraq on October 5, 1965 [Mehr 13, 1344 AHS].

be a Muslim. This is what hurts me and not the fact that they detained me or took me to prison. I am pained for sure by the fact that they sawed off the *ulama*'s legs!¹ That they burned them by immersing them in boiling oil! I am pained because our *ulama* have spent seven, eight, ten or fifteen years in prison. This gentleman's father (Imam points to a member of the audience) spent several years in prison. This is what pains me. These people have now however, been released from prison. Yes, "we freed the political prisoners!" Or as he (the Shah) puts it, "We granted them a pardon!" So is that now it? Now that the political prisoners, the prisoners who suffered ten years in prison—one honorable *alim*² having been struck so hard on the face that it has affected his hearing—now that he has come out of prison, is he to come and thank the Shah, asking him to remain?! Believe me, this is an impossibility! This nation cannot be appeased by the things you say. Neither could the Prime Minister³ achieve anything, nor can he who awaits the

¹ An allusion to Ayatullah Shaykh Husayn Ghaffari Azarshahri, who was subjected to the most heinous forms of torture and who was martyred as a result.

² *Alim*: Islamic scholar; singular form of *ulama*. It refers to Ayatullah MuntaZiri.

³ Jafar Sharif Imami.

Premiership!¹ There is nothing you can do. Neither the military, nor martial law, nor anything else, nothing will do the trick. See what it is that the people want and give this to them. The people, both children and adults, are shouting: “Freedom and independence;” “Give us freedom and independence, not Pahlavi rule.” This is what our nation is saying, what both its adults and children are saying. Everyone, both those who are abroad and those who are inside Iran, are saying this. If you meet their demands then the people will have no complaint against you and they will calm down. But you want to keep the one who is the prime culprit in power. They set Azerbaijan on fire and then put the blame on its police! This is what they did to console the people. This Mr. Premiership Prospector says that those who have committed an injustice against this nation must be punished, so I ask this gentleman: Who has committed an injustice against the nation? Tell us who. Come now, sit down and tell us who. Have the police killed someone without leave to do so?! Do policemen kill people without being given the permission to do so?! Do the governors general give unauthorized commands?! Does the commander of the armed forces give orders without the Shah’s permission?! These actions could never be taken without the Shah’s permission. This could never happen within the armed forces. It is he who is the commander-in-chief.² Unless he gives the permission, no one is killed.

Shah’s punishment

Punish this criminal and we will kiss your hand. Go ahead and punish him! According to the religious law, even if he hasn’t actually killed anyone he must still be sentenced to life imprisonment. The punishment for someone who orders for a person to be killed is life imprisonment; this is what the sacred laws of religion say. In an Islamic system of rule he must be imprisoned for life. However, it is said that he (the Shah) has actually committed murder with his own hands, and should this prove to be true then the punishment is just retaliation [*qisas*]. We don’t wish for all of the crimes which have been committed... You are to punish the criminal who is the source of all the crimes, the criminal in whose name all of the people regard these crimes to have been perpetrated, and whom they consider responsible for all their misery. You are to punish this criminal for the people to calm down somewhat. And once you have done this, there is the matter of independence that you must also resolve; otherwise this nation will not rest.

¹ It refers to Ali Amini.

² A title which was used to refer to the Shah in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the entire armed forces.

These constitute stratagems which, from the beginning down to the present, have aimed at suppressing and silencing the various social classes in our country which form the driving force behind this Islamic movement. But crushing the movement by means of the military won't work; crushing it by enlisting the services of the Kurds or those from Lor or wherever, won't work; crushing it by acts of deceit and by establishing a government of reconciliation' won't work; and neither will the pretext that our country is now in danger! As for the pretext that our country is now in danger, if this is the case, then come on, rescue it from danger! You say the Shah must remain? He is the one responsible for all the danger now facing us. Are we then to allow him to remain so as to preclude all danger?!

Islamic slogan

Gentlemen, you must all be united; shake off these differences which exist among you both within and outside Iran; discard any non-Islamic slogan. All of you should chant one slogan, one Islamic slogan. According to what some clerical gentlemen have written, a phone call was received from Iran which said that certain students had announced that they had resolved their differences, it said that they had resolved any differences that existed among the students and that they were now all a united front. May God preserve them. All of you, everyone must form a united front. If you each go your own way, then believe me, you will be crushed beneath the boots of oppression, boots which are to be found both within and outside the country, for evermore. Future generations will call you to account. If you do not take advantage of this movement today, while it still exists, then you will for ever remain trampled underfoot both by those abroad and those within the country.

You must all help, meaning that all of you who are present here must discard any differences which exist among yourselves; and you can tell these news reporters, these journalists, these people in the universities, these teachers, tell all of them about Iran. What is happening in Iran has been shown in a very bad light over here (abroad), and so now you must compensate for this and give them your side of the story. This is a service which you are able to do for this nation. You must brush all differences aside, unite with the Iranian people—those who are in Iran that is—wholeheartedly and unanimously, and tell people about Iran, about those things which the general public there are demanding. In the colleges and universities everyone is to shout out the same thing and to chant the same slogan, that being the slogan of unity in Islam. This is what can rescue you.

Others cannot come to the rescue; indeed, they will eventually get you hung. May God grant you all success and may you be triumphant, God willing.

Letter

Date: November 5, 1978 [Aban 14, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The need for expediting the introduction of the suggested members of the Revolutionary Council, in coordination with Mr. Mutahhari

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Beheshti¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1398 AH

After extending greetings, [I would like to state that] the time is passing by and I am afraid that the non-introduction of the individuals² may cause problems. You were supposed to meet the selected individuals one by one and in groups upon his (M.T.)³ arrival, and inform me of the result right away. And also to send me a letter approved by a certain handwriting and signature. I am waiting, and you must hurry; and some of them need to be questioned about overseas trips. Anyway, all the matters previously mentioned to you and to him need to be taken care of quickly, and if some other individuals are found, sign them in. That's all.

Peace [be upon you].

¹ Dr. Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Beheshti was among the combatant clerics and a very high profile academic and political personality of the Islamic Revolution. Imam Khomeini appointed him as the first Judiciary Chief. Ayatullah Beheshti and 71 other members of the Judiciary, thinkers, writers and revolutionary elements were martyred by a bomb explosion of the Islamic Republican Party Headquarters perpetrated by the hypocrites on Tir 7, 1360 AHS [June 28, 1981].

² A few months prior to the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Imam ordered the formation of the Revolutionary Council, which the above letter is in regard of. The formation of this council and its members and sessions were all covert due to the strangulations and suppressions going on in Iran, and the hints and codes given in the letter indicate that.

³ It stands for Murtada Mutahhari.

Message

Date: November 5, 1978 [Aban 14, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Warning to the people and the army chiefs

Occasion: The crime of the regime at University of Tehran

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings to the noble and brave nation of Iran, may God Almighty assist them:

I don't know which miseries of the nation and which crimes of the Shah I should write about; my pen is incapable of writing. Should I mention about the crimes committed in the university by the Shah's executioners or about the general massacres throughout Iran by the order of this professional criminal? I am not capable of counting all the crimes committed across Iran which stepped our brothers and sisters in cold blood. Received information informs us of the new major crimes all the time, and Islam's children suffer new tragic events everyday.

The Shah's and his government's performance has become a disgrace. He wants to save himself under the protection of hired gypsies and mercenaries, but at the same time, he still doesn't want to stop cheating, and he wants to mislead people by formation of the so-called national government and commonplace theses and groundless propaganda. He has encouraged some pro-American royalists to scare people that due to the geographical situation of Iran, if the Shah leaves, the whole country will be lost, on the one hand, and to peddle and get the help of clergies and politicians in order to save the Shah, on the other, unaware of the fact that people have become so familiar with political matters that they won't care about these desperate moves anymore.

People of Iran recognize the Shah as the cause of all devastations and betrayals; he is the one who has given control to the superpowers over the country's political, economic, military and cultural state of affairs, and if he is given a chance, the country will be lost. These traitorous plans threaten the country to destruction; these plans come out of the mouths of the pro-Americans. The passionate people of Iran have risen to save the country from destruction, and to cut off the hands of the looters, and to upset the backstabbing conspiracies. How could a nation accept the reconciliation plan,

while it is mourning over its beloved ones and is aware of every crime that the Shah has committed? Those who are ignorant of God and are traitors to the nation and Islam are planning to keep the Shah on the throne and consequently to give him satanic power to burn down the good and the evil all together, in revenge. Now that the people of Iran are stuck on the junction of life and death, freedom and slavery, independence and colonialism, and economic justice and exploitations, and are responsible before God, the Exalted, for the generation to come, they must continue the movement as sensational as possible till achieving their goal, and disappointing those who want to waste the shed blood of our youth by pulling off satanic plots, and respond to these rationalizations of the Shah's agents with clenched fists, and to remember that:

1. Our Islamic target is removing the monarchy and overthrowing the reign of the Pahlavi dynasty, whose illegality and illegitimacy is clear to everyone and its betrayal and crimes are even clearer. The people of Iran will oppose any plan that requires the survival of the kingship system and the preservation of the Pahlavi dynasty; and there is no ambiguity about this suggestion, which the Iranian nation has frequently declared in its referendums throughout the country. And the governing system of Iran is an Islamic republic, which maintains independence and democracy, and it will be announced according to Islamic standards and laws, and soon we will officially resort this suggestion to the people's votes, and anyone, or any group disagreeing with these triple suggestions, will not be with us and the Iranian nation.

2. In order to achieve this holy goal, it is necessary to continue the Islamic movement in all its dimensions:

a. Continuing strikes in all government divisions with the same goal mentioned in paragraph one;

b. Supporting the strikes of all government employees; especially the employees and workers of the national oil company, and preventing the wastage of this great resource, and continuing the strikes till achieving the Islamic goal;

c. Offering financial assistance to those suffering losses due to the strikes, including the brave merchants and the religious and deprived laborers and workers, and the respectable employees, and helping the continuation of the strikes among all groups.

3. It is for the top officials, and the air force, army and navy high ranking officers, to join the people along with their soldiers; for obeying the Shah would be obeying the devil. And the soldiers and other disciplinary forces are

to disobey orders when they are against the course of the nation's will; for obeying such orders is against the glorious Quran and the Prophet of Islam (s), and Imam of the Age [*Imam al-Asr*] (may God expedite his glorious advent).¹ And it is for the wives and children of the army and other disciplinary forces to stop them from opposing the nation, and imposing cruelty and injustice on their Islamic sisters and brothers, and castigate them for these ruthless behaviors, for all these cruelties will have bad consequences for them. I thank the noble and brave nation of Iran, who boldly and consistently demolished the battlements of the palace of cruelty one after another, and heroically broke this satanic idol.

My dears! Be patient, because the final victory is eminent and God is with the patient. Gratify yourselves and the children of the future generation, because the today's Iran is the place for the freeborn; and do not allow weakness and fear to enter your mind—which you won't do—and do not listen to the satanic temptations of the affiliates of the brutal system. You, the nation of Iran, and your ambitions and courage are proverbial among people of the world and freedom fighters. I have my hopes up for you from so far away, and will offer whatever is in my power to serve you, which is serving God; and will deliver your voice of seeking freedom and independence to the world, as I always have. And will pray to God, the Exalted, for the health and magnificence of you great and noble nation. And may God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1398 AH

¹ It refers to Imam Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Mahdi, the Twelfth and Last Imam from the Prophet's Holy Progeny who is presently in the state of major occultation and will appear on the appointed time in the future to fill the world with truth, justice and faith after being engulfed by falsehood, injustice and unbelief. For further information on the Islamic belief on the Mahdi, see Ayatullah Ibrahim Amini, *Imam Mahdi: Just Leader of Humanity*, <http://www.al-islam.org/mahdi/nontl/index.htm>; Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Baqir aS-Sadr and Ayatullah Murtada Mutahhari, *Awaited Savior*, <http://www.al-islam.org/awaited/index.htm>.

Message

Date: November 5, 1978 [Aban 14, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Extending thanks to the people of Kurdistan for declaring unity with the movement

Addressees: The Muslim people of Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1398 AH

Greetings to the Muslim brothers in Kurdistan who have joined the Islamic movement of other brothers by their courageous uprising and bold and brave confrontation with the devil; and have made it rough for the enemy of Islam and the country.

Today, we are obliged to avoid any discord no matter in what dress or occupation we are, and to incline to Islamic unity, which has always been suggested by the Book (Quran) and the Sunnah, and to let the word of righteousness reign supreme, and the word of falsehood at the bottom.

In this crucial time that our country and dear Islam are in great danger, all groups and individuals have an important and heavy task. Frailty, indifference and discord at a time like this, is the same as committing suicide and squandering the shed blood of the children of Islam.

We thank and appreciate the efforts of the Kurds of Islam and the vigorous and young seekers of freedom and independence of that territory. Both we and you are fighting in the same line against the devil and are defending Islam's creed and the great Islamic country, and are irrigating the nation's tree of growth with our beloved youth's blood. I appreciate the assistance of all you dear brothers and may God, the Exalted, help you in the collapsing of the pillars of cruelty.

The nation of Iran is indeed a model nation for its unique unity and withstanding the enemies of Islam and the country, and has its name recorded in the history; and has taught the oppressed nations the way to fight against oppressors.

Dear brothers! Be patient in this holy movement, in which the formation of the Islamic government is the prime goal, and guaranteeing freedom and independence is of its fruits, and don't be fooled by the propaganda of the profit seeking parasites, and rely on God and the generous Quran and

proceed ahead. God is with the patient, and with justice seekers. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruḥullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 5, 1978 [Aban 14, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Migration to France

Addressee: Mahdi Hairi Yazdi¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1398 AH

I would like to inform Your Honor of the receipt of your telegram and may God, the Exalted, bless you with health and prosperity. The reason for not replying to your telegrams is because your telegram was lost during the time of moving to another place, and I couldn't find it. Now that Mr. Nusratullah Amini has come here, it was decided to reply. Due to some circumstances, I moved from the holy city of Najaf to Kuwait, and there, I was denied entrance, even just to pass through the city to get to the station. I was compelled to go to Paris; because there was a chance of facing the same conspiracy in other Islamic countries; and I am intending to move to an Islamic country whenever I find a place suitable to continue my services. I hope Your Honor will pray for me. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mahdi Hairi Yazdi is the younger brother of Ayatullah Haj Shaykh Murtada Hairi Yazdi, the father-in-law of the martyred Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini.

Interview

Date: November 5, 1978 [Aban 14, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The nature of Islamic civilization

Interviewer: Dutch Radio-Television reporter

Question: [In your opinion, what is the cause of the recent demonstrations in Iran? What do you anticipate to happen?]

Answer: The cause is what the Shah has been doing all along. People are frustrated over strangulations and killings, and demonstrations are spreading. A greater revolution is expected to occur if the situation worsens. If the Shah comes to his senses and withdraws soon enough, relative peace may be maintained.

Q: [What is your political plan? Will you consider armed combat, or will the assassination of the Shah be an acceptable method?]

A: Our plan is that by continuing these current demonstrations, things will work out, God willing. And if we realize that the matters are not solvable, we will reconsider armed combat.

Q: [What kind of regime will you want to replace this current one with? Do you believe that Islamic civilization and the present Western civilization are incompatible?]

A: The regime which will replace the Shah's cruel regime is a just one, whose like cannot and will not be found in the western democracy. Our desired democracies may be similar to those of the West's, but the kind of democracy we are looking for does not exist in the West. Islam's democracy is more perfect than the West's.

Q: [You have recently denied the kingship article that was added to the constitutional law¹ in 1906; would you explain about that?]

¹ The 1334 AH [1284 AHS] constitutional law was approved by Muzaffaruddin Shah Qajar, and after the coup-d'état of Esfand 1299 AHS and Rida Khan's empowerment, the monarchy was transferred from Qajar dynasty to Rida Khan by the formation of a made-to-order constituent assembly, and he was crowned in 1305 AHS as the first king of the Pahlavi dynasty.

A: Today, the whole nation of Iran has stood up and does not want the monarchial regime. The monarchial regime that is supported by constitutional law must be in accordance with the nation's vote, and the whole nation has voted against it. Therefore, the monarchial regime is condemned and must be completely eradicated.

Q: [In fighting against the Shah, wouldn't it be better if Your Eminence accepted the Shah's invitation to Iran and returned there?]

A: I would prefer to remain here in order to make the world aware. Strangulation still exists in Iran, thus going to Iran is called off for the time being.

Speech

Date: November 5, 1978 [Aban 14, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Islam, a life-bestowing religion for human societies

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Response to the doubts of the Soviet Union newspapers

Once again today certain articles have appeared in the Russian newspapers, and one in particular was translated for me which was entitled “Islam, the opium of society.” When we take a look at the governmental systems of the world, we see that there are systems such as the monarchical system or the republican system, and there is the system of the Islamic government. In studying the latter, we should look at the written text of Islam to see what the nature of Islam truly is. Is it an opiate? Did its message invite the people to indolence and lull them to sleep? One only needs to study the Quran, which is the written text of Islam and which holds precedence over all other documents in Islam, to find the answer. Those who read the foreign newspapers and listen to the foreign propaganda should not accept everything they are told without first making their own investigations into their claims and finding proof for them, for to do otherwise is to act contrary to human nature. It is not within man’s nature to simply accept anything he is told without first seeking proof for it.

Sometimes it is propagated—as it was in the newspaper yesterday—that “Islam is the opium of society,” and sometimes we hear that “religion is the opium of society.” This kind of propaganda is not new, it has a history, and it was started in order to distance this Muslim nation from the Quran and Islam. One should ask oneself what the basis for making such claims is. Why a journalist on the other side of the world does in Russia write that Islam or religion is the opium of society and what does he hope to achieve by writing such an article? The basis for this article lies in the fact that they (the imperialist countries) want to exploit you and your country, they want to colonize your country and take whatever (resources) it has. In order to do this they must first remove those things that they feel may form an obstacle to their plundering so that they can freely do whatever they want to. What constitutes a barrier or potential barrier to their plans, and what should they

do about it? One of the barriers is Islam, Islam itself, or religion in general. They have carried out their studies, and it is on the basis of these studies that they have reached this conclusion and that they make their plans. They have studied the Quran, they have studied the religion of Islam and have discovered that the Quran is such a book that if the Muslims follow its teachings closely, they will deliver a punch to those people who want to come and dominate them. The Quran says that God, the Blessed and Exalted, will never consent to the dominance of non-Muslims over Muslims. Such a thing should never happen, they should never gain the upper hand, there should be no way open for them to do this: *“And never will God grant to the unbelievers a way over the believers.”*¹ The polytheists should find no way open to them to do this and the corrupt powers should find no way to hold sway over the Muslims.

They (the imperialists) have carried out their studies and have seen just what Islam's stance is in this regard, what the Quran and the other Islamic texts say on this matter. They realize that were the Muslims to become aware of Islam's stance, were they to adhere to the teachings of the Quran and Islam, then it would sound the death knell for them and their plundering and domination. So what must they do to ensure that they remain in control and are able to continue with their plundering? They must distance this nation from Islam. The same applies to other religions too. This propaganda was not something that existed five hundred or one thousand years ago, it began when the Europeans penetrated the countries of the East and found them to be good prey. So they studied ways to devour this prey and it was from then that this kind of propaganda began. They used it first against other religions, but this was to prepare the ground for their attack on Islam, for the other religions were not so important to them. This propaganda was used as a precursor so they could go on to belittle Islam, to knock it from the position of great respect it enjoyed among Muslims and to distance them from it, so they could plant this idea in the Muslim mind that Islam is a religion which came to put the society to sleep so that the powerful people could devour the society! This is what they say their logic but it is not logic, and with this propaganda and those words they want to distance you from Islam. So when our youth read in a newspaper, a book or a journal that Islam is the opium of society, should they just accept it without question? Should they just read it and then say “yes, that's right”!? To do so is to act against one's Islamic and

¹ *Surah Nisa* 4:141.

human nature. It is human nature to seek proof for any matter which is not evident; man does not accept something without first questioning it.

The text and history of Islam, the reason behind Islam's dynamism vis-à-vis the plunderers

So we have to carry out our own investigations to see whether Islam, which is documented in the Quran and the books of *hadith*, is really as they say it is. Does the Quran opiate the society so that the tyrants can devour the society, so that the kings can devour the society and do whatever they want to do, impose whatever rule they want? Or is the Quran other than this? We do not have to conduct an in-depth study to find the answer, a cursory glance at the Quran is sufficient. It takes only a cursory glance to see how many times the Quran mentions battle and against whom it tells the Muslims to wage war. So many of the verses in the Quran are concerned with battle and its rules; so many of them encourage the Muslims to take up arms, even order them to do so. And with whom does the Quran tell the Muslims to do battle? The answer to this question is not difficult to find, it does not require learning and careful investigation: the Quran encourages the Muslims to join battle with the polytheists. In Hijaz hostilities first began when the Holy Prophet was residing in Medina; he only had a few followers, but still they did all they could. Before that, when the Muslims were in Mecca, it was the time for laying plans and for development. There, the polytheists did not give them the opportunity to do anything. Those rich and powerful polytheists did not let the Prophet carry out his mission in Mecca. During the years that he was there, Mecca was like a prison for him—just as Iran today is like a prison for the people there but I don't want to make comparisons. When he despaired of being able to achieve anything in Mecca, and he saw that he could carry out his mission better in Medina, he secretly and quickly established underground links with the people of that town, and they prepared for him to go there. So he migrated to Medina, and shortly after he had done so, the battles began. It was the Quran, which is the text of Islam, the source of Islam, which called upon him to do battle, many battles. With whom did he do battle?

They (the imperialists) say that Islam is the opium of the society, that Islam has come to rock the lower social classes, the poor, to sleep, so that the powerful elite can exploit them and consume their resources! They even say that religion (in general) was created by the powerful elite for this very purpose, so that it would prevent the people from hindering them in their aims and so that the people would take everything lying down! So let us take

a look at the many battles which took place in Islam at the time of the Most Noble Messenger. We will not concern ourselves here with the period after the Prophet, only the time of the Prophet himself when there was the text of Islam, that is, the Quran and the teachings that it brought for man, with no annotations, for it is this which they (the imperialists) say the powerful elite invented in order to colonize the weak and the poor and exploit their resources. Let us take a look at these battles to see whether they were battles in which the Holy Prophet collaborated with the powerful elite to attack the poor or whether he sided with the poor and attacked the powerful elite. Whoever takes even a superficial look at events in the early history of Islam will see that the Prophet gathered around him a group of poor people who were called the "Companions of the *Suffah*"¹ for they had no shelter except a *suffah*.⁷ These people were so destitute that they lodged in the *suffah* of the Prophet's mosque. They had nothing, they were poor. Historical accounts tell us how in some of the battles, the Prophet's followers had only one date to share among themselves and from which to gain sustenance, each man could only taste the date and then he had to pass it onto the next to do the same. This was at the time of war! The Prophet's followers comprised these poor, beggared people, and it was these destitute paupers who, while the Prophet was still alive and through the teachings of the Quran, later conquered Hijaz. But initially they were so powerless that the Prophet could not stay in Mecca and had to flee for Medina in the middle of the night after he had established links with some of the Medinans. When he arrived in Medina, it was the poor, not the rich, with whom he aligned himself. Can one then say that the Prophet sided with the rich to silence the poor?!

The Prophet's wars with the *taghuts*

All the battles that the Prophet fought were against the Arab polytheists, the oppressive and powerful polytheists. They were warriors, but the teachings of Islam had given the small number of the Prophet's followers solace and had trained them in such a manner that on one occasion one of them killed a hundred of the enemy! This happened because of the teachings of Islam, for Islam trains man to fear no power, to be afraid of nothing. It

¹ A *suffah* is a covered place found before the doors of some Eastern houses or mosques and where one can rest. During his stay in Medina, the Prophet had a *suffah* built onto the Qaba mosque so that his needy friends and a number of the Muslims who had left their homes and possessions in Mecca to accompany him on his migration to Medina could lodge there. This group of people was called the companions of the *suffah*. After the pledge of brotherhood was taken between the Emigrants [*Muhajirun*] and the Helpers [*Ansar*], the latter shared their belongings with some of the companions of the *suffah*.

trained the Muslim warriors such that one of them said (this was later in Islamic history after the time of the Prophet), that with only thirty men accompanying him he could defeat the sixty-thousand strong vanguard of the Roman army. Those with him argued that he could not perform such a feat with only thirty men. He agreed, and so the number including him on the surprise night attack was sixty. But even so, only sixty people went and with their swords forced sixty thousand Roman soldiers to retreat! And they were from the class of the poor!

However, to get back to the time of the Prophet, we must take a look to see whether the Quran, which is the text of Islam, and the Prophet, who was the bearer of the message of Islam—and at that time Islam had no annotations, there was just Islam, the text of Islam, Islam in its original form with no modifications—invited the people to align themselves with the wealthy. Did Islam tell the people that if the wealthy, if those men of power, took what belonged to them, they were to say nothing, that God willing they would go to heaven so they were not to say a word!? Or was it the Quran which stirred these paupers—many of whom had no shelter or food and were obliged to sleep huddled next to one another in the *suffah* of the mosque and to share every morsel of food they could find, even one date, among themselves—to take the Hijaz and defeat the holders of power? Can such a religion then be described as the opium of society? Or is it the awakener of society? It is you who want to opiate the people with these words of yours! It is those who say that Islam is the opium of the society who themselves want to lull the Muslims to sleep; they want to distance the Muslims from Islam; they want the Muslims to sleep while they devour their wealth. The opium lies in these words, not in Islam. They are using the words “Islam is the opium of society” to deceive the people. That which they say is the opium, not that truth which, when revealed and with a following of a number of impoverished people, conquered the lands of Hijaz and spread justice and equity to the boundaries of Hijaz.

This was at the time of the Prophet himself. Later, during the first century of Islam or in the first thirty or thirty-five years of Islam when the Muslims became more powerful, they conquered two empires: the Roman and Persian empires. They conquered Persia and Rome.¹ Was this the result of an opiate? Did Islam come to encourage compromise with Kisra² and to tell the people to obey him? Did Islam come to encourage the Roman people

¹ Rome was conquered in the nineteenth year after *hijrah* (i.e. 641 CE), and Iran twenty-one years after *hijrah* (643 CE). The conquest of Iran was described as “the victory of victories.”

² The Arabic for Khosrow (Khosroe), the title of Sassanid King.

to compromise with the Roman emperor and to instruct them to obey him? Or did Islam vanquish two empires in order to spread justice throughout the world and stop the exploitation of the poor?

And now today, at such a point in time as this, that wretch writes in the newspaper that Islam is the opium of society!¹ Indolence and negligence may well have existed in the past,² but now the people, our youth, have looked at the Quran and are now aware of its message. Unfortunately, some of them accept what they hear too readily,³ someone says something and they are taken in by his words. But when a person hears something said about a system or about anything else, shouldn't that person investigate what has been said to see whether it is correct or not? Shouldn't one question the views of this idiot who writes that Islam is the opium of society to see whether they are correct or not?

So far we have spoken about Islam itself. Now let's take a look at those who followed the teachings of Islam when they were first revealed, that is, when there was only the Prophet and the text of Islam (the Quran), and those Muslims of later times when Islam was involved in wars, wars between these people from the lower social classes and the emperors. Islam gave such strength to this small group of followers, these few thousand Muslims, that they went and conquered the Roman and Persian empires.⁴ The soldiers of the Persian empire were very powerful in battle, they were well equipped, the saddles on their horses were made of gold, whereas the Muslims were barefooted and lacked armor, many of them walked to battle for only a few of them had a camel. They had swords and some of them had a horse, but they had perhaps only ten horses between them. So they did not have enough horses, camels or sufficient provisions, but Islam gave them strength. The teachings of the text of Islam and of he who executed those teachings gave

¹ That is, at a time when the Islamic Revolution, inspired by Islam, was at the forefront of the struggle with the Shah and America, the article entitled 'Religion is the opium of society' was published in a Russian newspaper.

² This is a reference to the quietism adopted by some people, including some of the *ulama*, in the face of the painful events which have taken place in the past history of Islamic societies, and their abandonment of the struggle.

³ Here Imam is referring to those youth who are deceived by Marxist propaganda and who, without even reflecting on the life-giving laws of Islam, condemn religion as a retrogressive element.

⁴ The number of soldiers in the Muslim army at the battle of Nihavand (642 CE) did not reach twelve thousand, while the Iranian army comprised one hundred and fifty thousand men. The war paraphernalia on each side was not comparable, the Muslim army had no weapons other than a few old swords and small spears, while the Iranians were armed to the teeth and had brought more than enough weapons along with themselves.

them such strength that those people who yesterday had been nothing more than a handful of beggared people living an aimless existence today took their swords in hand and defeated the two world powers of the age: the Persian and Roman empires. They were a handful of poor, beggared Arabs who had only a few swords to share among ten or twenty thousand, they didn't all carry swords or wear coats of mail, they were ill equipped for battle but their spirit was strong—they weren't weak in spirit and heart like us—Islam had given them spiritual strength. So with a divinely-inspired strength, with the support of Islam and due to its call, these Muslims, although small in number, set off and conquered those two great empires. Less than thirty years after the advent of Islam, Iran and Rome had been defeated and the realms of Islam had been extended to Africa and even beyond to Spain. However, later the Muslims were to demonstrate incompetence, but that is another matter.

The way of the Prophet and his successors

So if we study the text of Islam we see that Islam did not come to give the kings dominance over the poor or to give those with power authority over those who enjoyed no power. This was not the case.

As for those who invited the people to Islam, such as the Prophet himself and after him the first caliphs, who were different from the others, and Hadrat Amir [Imam Ali], may God's peace be upon him, what kind of people were they? How did they live? Were they the mullahs of the court? Was the Prophet himself a courtier, or did he do battle with the courts and defeat them? Was Hadrat Amir a courtier, or did he do battle with a power that also claimed to follow Islam, like Muawiyah? The actions of Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him, and the Doyen of the Martyrs [Imam Husayn], may God's peace be upon him, provide the reason and license for battle between the Muslims and this corrupt regime today. The necessity for such action comes from their actions. They fought with two powerful people (Muawiyah and Yazid) who had taken control of Shamat¹ and who commanded armies there. Why did Imam Ali and Imam Husayn take up arms against Muawiyah and his son? They too were Muslims, so why did they go to battle with them? Now someone tell us, is this man who has published copies of the Quran a Muslim? Our reason for carrying on the struggle to wipe out oppression and to sever the hands of the oppressors from the Islamic countries lies in the actions of Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be

¹ Shamat, which up until four centuries ago included Syria of today, Lebanon and parts of Jordan and Palestine.

upon him, and the Doyen of the Martyrs, may God's peace be upon him; and even if a few hundred thousand of us have to sacrifice our lives for this cause, then it is still worthwhile. Yazid succeeded Muawiyah, he was a powerful man and enjoyed all the trappings of a king. So on what basis did the Doyen of the Martyrs confront the king of his time? Why did he confront *Zillullah* [shadow of Allah']?¹ "The king should not be touched," so why did he confront this king who recited the *Shahadatayn*² and claimed to be the successor of the Prophet? He did so because Yazid was a cheat, he was someone who wanted to exploit the nation, he and his subordinates wanted to devour the nation's wealth. Has he or this man today (the Shah) devoured the most? One must work it out.

So these were the actions of some of the people who lived during the early years of Islam, and it was through them that Islam became powerful and spread to the extent that it did. The Prophet himself fought with the powerful elite, and those who came after him in the early period following his death fought with the powerful elite and the kings, as did Hadrat Amir after them. So was Islam the opium of society? Were these people the court mullahs?

Some say that they want a democratic country. Let us consider the Islamic government, the Islamic regime, in the early years of Islam's history when there was only Islam and the text of Islam, to see whether this was a democratic regime or whether it was a tyrannical or despotic regime. If you can find stories similar to those which history relates about this period (and there are many but we will speak about only one or two now) concerning one of the leading democratic countries, then you can say that the democratic system is better. One story concerns the Messenger of God (s). Indeed there are many narratives like the one I am about to relate, but the one will suffice for the present. Another story is about Hadrat Amir (a), and another concerns Umar. When Umar set off to enter Egypt—after the Muslim

¹ *Zillullah*: the shadow or representative of God and used as a royal title or epithet. Imam's remonstrance here is a sign of the injustice shown him by the theological schools, for at a time when under his leadership the whole nation had risen and the corrupt monarchical government was in its final days, he still had to answer to the doubts and criticisms of the pseudo-saints and those men of stagnant views who saw the Shah as *Zillullah* and asked Imam for legitimate proof for his struggle. In the light of this, one can imagine how painful Imam's situation was during the events of Khordad 15 AHS [June 5, 1963] and in the early days of his struggle.

² *Shahadatayn*: literally, the two acts of witnessing or bearing testimony. It refers to the recital of *ashhadu an la ilaha illallah wa ashhadu anna muhammadan abduhu wa rasuluh* [I bear witness that there is no god but Allah and I also bear witness that Muhammad is God's servant and messenger], one's recital of which signifies his being Muslim.

armies had conquered the country and Islam was a powerful force¹—he did so with a camel which he and his slave took turns in riding; as one tired the other took his turn to walk. According to historical accounts, when they entered Egypt it was the turn of the slave to ride on the camel, so when the people of Egypt turned out to greet the caliph, they found him on foot guiding the camel on which his slave rode! This was how a caliph acted. We do not accept Umar (as the rightful successor to the Prophet), but this action of his was Islamic. It was Islam which made him act this way, and even though we don't accept Umar, still his action was in keeping with Islamic teachings. The Prophet also acted in a similar manner. He would ride on a donkey with someone seated behind him and would answer the questions put to him by his companion and instruct him. Can you relate a similar story about the leaders of any of these democracies? Can you name any democratic leader like Umar who, even though his realms were several times larger than Iran or France, treated his slave in such a way, who had a camel, nothing more, and who lacked the loftiness and embellishment that usually accompanies power. Take any democratic leader and see how he enters a vanquished country. Umar was entering a conquered land, yet his slave rode upon his camel—because it was his turn to do so—while he walked in front leading the camel. The noblemen of Egypt came to greet him... they all paid homage to him, yet this was the manner in which he entered their land, and it was the teachings of Islam which made him act in such a way.² When the Most Noble Prophet sat with a group of people speaking to them or passing judgment, the situation was such that it was not immediately clear for someone entering the room who was who, who the leader was and who his companions were. He would sit with his followers in a circle, and it was not clear which one of them was the Prophet. He didn't even sit on a cushion,³ like the one you have brought for me to sit on. He sat on the floor just like

¹ In the nineteenth year after *hijrah*, Egypt was conquered by the troops of the caliph Umar under the command of Amr ibn al-As. The conquest of Egypt was a great victory for the Muslims and opened the way for the conquest of North Africa.

² The following words, as quoted in Philip K. Hitti's book, *The History of the Arabs*, p. 163, sum up the Egyptian's views of their Muslim conquerors: "We have witnessed a people to each and every one of whom death is preferable to life, and humility to prominence, and to none of whom this world has the least attraction. They sit not except on the ground, and eat naught but on their knees. Their leader is like unto one of them: the low cannot be distinguished from the high, nor the master from the slave. And when the time of prayer comes none of them absents himself, all wash their extremities and humbly observe their prayer."

³ It refers to the blanket which Imam Khomeini sat on.

everyone else, and ate his lunch seated on the ground. And what a lunch it was! Do you think that he enjoyed a magnificent spread? No. When Hadrat Amir, whose realm was several times larger than Iran, sat down to a meal, one dish lay before him containing oaten bread. The lid of the dish was sealed to make sure that his daughter or son could not, out of pity for him, add some fat to the bread to make it a little softer for him. He would seal the lid so they could not touch the bread. This dry bread was the food of the emperor of a realm greater in size than Iran. This was their way of which I spoke.

The method of leadership of the Prophet of Islam (s) and Hadrat Ali (a)

The next story is one that I have related on a number of occasions. The Messenger of God (s), near the end of his eye went to the mosque and ascended the pulpit from where he spoke to the congregation. He told them that if any of them had suffered an injustice at his hands then they were to speak out. No one spoke out, but then an Arab (Sawadah ibn Qays) stood up saying that he had a grievance. When the Prophet asked him what it was, he told him that upon his return from a battle (of Taif) the Prophet had struck him with his staff. The Prophet asked him where he had struck him and the man pointed to his shoulder. The Prophet then told him to come forward and return like for like. The man told the Prophet to bare his shoulder for his own shoulder had been bare when the Prophet had struck him. This the Prophet did and the man went forward and kissed his shoulder. All along the man had only wanted to kiss the Prophet. The point of this story being that a leader who enjoyed absolute authority over the Hijaz at the time, and over some other places as well, would ascend the pulpit and tell the people to come forward if he had committed an injustice against them and not one of them could even say that he had unjustly taken ten coins from them. Could you find such a thing happening in one of these democratic countries? Would a leader there ascend the pulpit and tell the people to speak out if they had a grievance against him? Would any leader do this? Which leader would allow someone to strike him because he had at one time struck that person? Which democratic leader, which just king or president, would act in such a way? Yet they say that it is Islam that is despotic while they describe other systems as being democratic! We say that your countries are not democratic, they are authoritarian but in different guises. Your presidents are autocrats in different guises. The attributes and technical terms used in their description are many, but they have no substance.

Hadrat Ali (a) in the presence of the *qadi* (judge)

Then Hadrat Amir (a) was the caliph, his authority extended over an area a few times larger than Iran, it comprised Hijaz, Egypt, Iraq, Iran and many other places, and he was the one who appointed the judges in these places. One day a Jew went to a judge with a complaint against Hadrat Amir claiming that the Hadrat had a coat of mail which belonged to him—I can't remember all the details at the moment so I'll just give you the gist of the story. The judge, whom Hadrat Amir had himself appointed, summoned the Hadrat to come before him! Hadrat Amir went and sat before him and apparently even insisted that he be shown no preferential treatment, that judgment called for both men to be viewed as equals. So the two men sat before the judge, one a Jew and the other the ruler of a realm which comprised Iran, the Hijaz, Egypt and Iraq! The judge studied the case and found in favor of the Jew. Can you find a similar case in the history of monarchical or presidential rule? Hadrat Amir was the caliph; the Jew was his subject as was the judge. If you can, name a president, a monarch or any other leader who has acted in a similar way so that it can be said that an Islamic regime is inferior to all others. We want an Islamic regime. We are calling for an Islamic government. We want a government which allows a judge to summon the ruler to court. Can anyone do this to "His Imperial Majesty?" Can anyone go to a judge and tell him that the Shah has plundered his wealth? Can one of these people from Mazandaran province go to a judge and complain that the Shah has robbed him of his wealth? Would a judge dare summon the Shah to court?! You all know what the circumstances were like in Iran a few years ago, but even today, when all the children are shouting, "Death to the Shah," would a judge dare summon "His Imperial Majesty" to court? What about the President of this country (France), could a judge summon him to court? And if he did, would the President attend the hearing and accept a ruling against him without question?

Islamic government is a government for the people

We are calling for an Islamic government, and they propagate that we want to create anarchy! Is it anarchy that we want? We want a government in Iran—if, God willing, the Muslims are successful—and in all the Islamic countries, which will not devour the wealth of the people, a government which will respect the law, which will bow to the law, which will accept whatever the law says. We don't want a government under which the law applies to the ordinary people while the ones with power are made exempt from it. The powerful ones do not pay taxes; their lands have not been

divided up, such things do not apply to them. Up until the day before yesterday, all of [Asadullah] Alam's estates remained untouched by the land reforms, because at one time he had been the Minister of the Court and the Prime Minister.¹ This talk about carrying out land reforms' meant nothing, the whole thing was just a game, the White Revolution' was just a game.

Separating the people from the clergy is the enemies' conspiracy

I am now tired, but I must tell you gentlemen that it was about three hundred years ago when propaganda aimed at distancing the Muslims from Islam and the clergy began. During the reign of Rida Shah Pahlavi, the taxicabs would not pick up clergymen. The late Aqa Shaykh Abbas Tehrani, may God have mercy on him, said that once in Arak he hailed a taxi but the driver refused to allow him into his vehicle saying that there were two classes of people that the taxi drivers refused to pick up: clergymen and prostitutes. This was the attitude at the time of Rida Shah, and you all know what the situation of the clergymen has been throughout the reign of the present Shah. Such propaganda has come from abroad and is aimed at distancing you from the clergy and Islam so that the foreigners can take all your resources and no one will try to stop them.

I have neither the time nor the energy now to talk about that group of people, who, later in the history of Islam, rose up against the kings, to see who they were and whether they were Muslims or not. This man who has written that Islam is the opium of society should take a look at the uprising, at the movement which is a reality in Iran today, to see whether it is an Islamic movement or not. This Islamic movement has come about through the help and blessings of Islam and the Muslims, the true Muslims. It is the voice of Islam which has been raised and is delivering a punch in the mouth to Russia and America. Is then Islam the opium of society? You (the imperialists) are now saying that Islam is an opiate in order to dispirit the people so they will let you continue to devour their oil and gas! You yourselves know that it is not an opiate. You all know that it impels the people to action. Islam has taken the people toward progress, toward battle, toward fighting with the infidels and with you.

¹ In 1960 [1339 AHS], Alam was appointed as the first head of the Pahlavi Foundation a position from which he profited greatly and amassed a large fortune. He was one of the few men who enjoyed the Shah's complete confidence and was considered to be the Shah's closest adviser throughout his tenure of office as Minister of Court and Prime Minister. He died in the summer of 1977 [1356 AHS] at the age of fifty-seven.

You are describing Islam as the opium of society at a time when Islam has caused thirty million Muslims in Iran to rise up against the holders of power, and when they are all calling for Islam. At such a time as this, this vile person¹ has written that Islam is the opium of society! Perhaps a few of our youth, who are unaware of the facts, will accept what he says unquestioningly. Wake up gentlemen! Wake up you young people! You must realize what their plans are; why they want to distance you from Islam; why they want to attract you to other ideologies. They are not doing this for your good, they are doing it because they want to devour you, but Islam will not let them do this, the clergymen of Islam will not let them do this. May God grant you all success. May you be victorious.

¹ A Russian writer.

Interview

Date: November 6, 1978 [Aban 15, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 5, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Occasion: The Shah's speech and the change of cabinet

Interviewer: American CBS television reporter

Question: [What is Your Eminence's reaction to the latest occurrence; that is, the Shah's speech and the change of cabinet?]

Answer: Changing the cabinet will not affect the public movement in Iran. Governments, whether military or any other kind, are not capable of solving the problems, i.e. they cannot break down this uprising originated from the people. Also, the Shah's words are of the type that people will no longer believe. He said the same things and gave the same commitments, and took the oath at the beginning of his kingship as he did now, and he violated them. Now, these commitments will do him no good. He must leave without bothering himself anymore, so the people will decide what to do to the country.

Q: [How do you want to overthrow the Shah? By armed combat or by bringing the army on the people's side? How?]

A: We hope there won't be a need for armed combat, and these strikes, demonstrations and the people's display of their disgust will do the job. And we expect that the army, which is from the people and the people are their brothers, does not turn its back on the people and moves to their side. However, if this type of combat does not work, and we were forced to change course, we then may think things over.

Q: [What will you do to the Shah? Will he be sent to exile or must he be put on trial?]

A: If the Shah escapes, then there won't be anything we can do, but if we arrest him, we will treat him according to the Islamic government laws and commands. If he has committed murder, he shall be punished, and if he has

¹ Jafar Sharif Imami's cabinet was dissolved after he couldn't resist the Revolution's wave, and the Shah, through a radio-television speech, confessed to his past errors and apologized to the people, and sought the help of the clergy, and compelled himself to compensate for his mistakes; but the military cabinet of Ghulam-Rida Azhari started to work the following day and continued with the killing of people.

ordered [someone to] be murdered, he will be sentenced to life. In any case, his rule must be brought to an end and he must be put on trial for his betrayals and crimes.

Q: [What is your proposed government and who will run it?]

A: About the kind of government and regime, our suggestion will be an Islamic republic, and since the people are Muslims and they trust us as their servants, therefore I guess they will accept our proposition. We will form an Islamic republic by holding a referendum. But about the person, it depends on the people's votes, and we don't have anyone in mind yet.

Q: [How will the relations be between an Islamic government and the American government in the future?]

A: We must see what role America will play in the future. If America intends to treat people the way it does right now, our reaction will be hostile. And if the American government treats the Iranian government with respect, then we will mutually have respect for them, and will treat them fairly, so we won't oppress them, nor will we be oppressed by them, and that way, there will not be any problems.

Interview

Date: November 6, 1978 [Aban 15, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 5, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Victory of the Iranians, a model for the oppressed nations

Interviewer: *Tuima* (?) Greek newspaper reporter

Question: [The great nation of Iran has stepped toward the final battle for freeing itself away from Pahlavi dynasty, and building a modern future. Do you believe this struggle is now coming close to victory? In that case, what facts are your beliefs based on?]

Answer: Yes, we do believe that our nation's battle is coming close to victory. Today, the Shah and the monarchial system are shakier than ever. The Shah has consented to all kinds of retreats just in order to save his and his family's rule, but our people have shown their definite opposition against the current regime by staging continuous multi-million mass demonstrations and giving thousands of lives. Our nation has risen up and will be victorious.

Q: [In your opinion, what are the foreign interferences that have the intention of taking away freedom and independence?]

A: The foreign diplomacies of America, Britain, Russia, China, and others support the Shah's corrupt regime and his crimes, and have destroyed our economy, made our army dependent and our culture immoral. But, our nation will put an end to these foreign interferences by its uprising.

Q: [How do you see the positions and standings of the new stage of the people's struggles in comparison to the battles of the era of Dr. Musaddiq's government?]

A: Iran's current struggle is a totally Islamic move in the direction of complete change of the monarchial system, and the establishment of Islamic republic.

Q: [What will be the future effects of the victory of the Iranian people on the Middle East?]

A: The victory of the Iranian Muslim nation will undoubtedly set a good example for the world's oppressed nations, particularly the Middle Eastern nations, for it shows how a nation could defeat a major power by relying on an Islamic revolutionary ideology.

Interview

Date: November 6, 1978 [Aban 15, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 5, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Evaluation of Iran's condition and the Shah's regime

Interviewer: Arabic *Al-Mustaqbal* magazine reporter

Question: [How would you evaluate Iran's condition today?]

Answer: The Shah's corrupt regime made the country bankrupt by its wrong and destructive policies. It has ruined thousands of people by applying pressure, torture and inhumane methods, but our people have stood up against the Shah and his family, regardless of all the pressure, and the people's great Islamic movement will go on until the fall of the monarchial regime.

Q: [You have stated that you are for the establishment of an Islamic government like the government of Ali's (a) period. Does that mean that you will establish an Islamic caliphate government after the fall of Pahlavi dynasty?]

A: Our desired Islamic republic' will be inspired by the trend of our great Prophet (s), and Imam Ali (a), and will rely on the people's votes, and the governing system will be determined by resorting to the people's votes.

Q: [The Shah has been accusing you of standing in the way of his reformatory measures since 1963, i.e. from the White Revolution all the way down to what he calls granting liberation. How would you deny these accusations? What is your political and reformatory plan which you will refer to, or you will carry out once you take over power?]

A: The Shah's intention of his claimed revolution was to cause more dependency on America. And about the land reforms, the foodstuffs' yearly import statistics show well that the farmer's poverty has reached a point that they have rushed to cities in scores, in order to make a living by settling in ghettos around the cities, and working in factories for little money. However, our plan is to bring the farmers life standards up to that up of others, so they can provide all their necessities, and to turn the colonialist assemble industries—which have resulted in a minimal living standard for the laborer, and unbelievable huge incomes for certain people—into independent industries, in accordance with the needs of the society, and regarding the

underground resources, they shall be used in compliance with national interests and demands, with regard to the human interests on a global scale.

Q: [In the past you have had words with army officers and soldiers about their not obeying the Shah's orders, and the army's position is still unclear for all political parties in Iran. Do you still expect the army to take sides? Whose side? And how?]

A: The military forces are from these very people and we hope they will soon come to their senses and join the people's combat lines. But one thing is certain, and that is, that the Shah cannot continue his rule by merely relying on the army.

Q: [What will be your position in the case of a military coup d'état against the Shah? There are two presumptions for military action: 1. Accompanied by the oppositionists' movement; 2. Turning into a dictatorship as it did in Chile. Therefore, which method is it that could enable you to prevent the formation of a dictatorship?]

A: The current deadlock is the result of the Shah's dictatorship and his colonialist plans relying on the army and police organizations; and a military coup d'état that shall be forcibly pulled off by foreigners, won't do anything but to continue the current situation. Therefore, it won't solve any problems, and their fight will go on until the people themselves set up their own government.

Q: [The connection of the American president Carter to the Shah, and his assistance to the Shah on Black Friday¹ was an important factor for the Shah to once again gain confidence in his power. How long do you think the United States of America will support the Shah and his regime?]

A: Carter's support of the Shah will make matters worse, and will intensify the struggles of the people of Iran, and he needs to soon realize that his support of the Shah is not in the interest of the people of Iran, and as a result, not in the interest of Americans.

Q: [What will be the grounds of your negotiation if the doors of negotiations open? And what are the limits of this negotiation with the United States?]

¹ It refers to the massacre of the Muslim and defenseless people of Tehran on Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS [September 8, 1978] in Zhaleh Square (now Martyrs' Square).

A: Until the time that the freedom and independence of the country has not been established, Iranians will not hold talks with America or any other government which supports the Shah and his crimes.

Q: [You have stated in the past that if the current demonstrations in Iran do not lead to the fall of the Shah, you will encourage people to a civil armed movement. When do you think will be the time for the announcement of such an armed movement?]

A: We still hope that the way the struggles are currently being pursued, will end in the collapse of the Shah's regime.

Q: [Recently, you have received some opposition leaders in Iran and Dr. Sanjabi¹ has also been among them. And it has been said that, those you have talked to, have agreed with your opinion concerning the need for overthrowing the Shah and his family. Could this mutual understanding be a beginning to the formation of a joint front for the opposition? And will you accept the joining of the Marxist opposition groups, at the time of the formation of this front?]

A: Iran's current Islamic movement has embraced the whole society, and will continue on as it is. And I shall point out that we have not been and are not connected to any front or group, and we will not accept anybody or any group that does not accept our terms.

Q: [It has been said that because of your insistence on the overthrow of Pahlavi family, the violence of Iran's civil turmoil will surpass the limits of a political conflict. And that the aforesaid violence will actually be the struggles of the majority of people against the religious minorities. How true is that?]

A: The current movement of Iran with its already announced triple goals includes everybody in the society, and the just rights of anyone approving and following these triple goals will be protected.

Q: [How do you see your relations with Iran's Arab neighbors?]

A: The direction of our Islamic movement is pointed toward opposition to the Shah's regime, and any group cooperating with this regime will be opposed and hated by the people. Our interests and the interests of the

¹ After meeting Imam Khomeini at Neauphle-le-Château, Dr. Karim Sanjabi (the leader of Iran's National Front), condemned the Pahlavi regime by issuing a three-article statement. He was arrested and imprisoned upon arrival in Tehran.

neighboring and Muslim nations share certain Islamic characteristics; therefore, we seek as close ties with these nations as possible. It is colonialism and the foreigners that have and will create disputes among these Muslims.

Q: [The disappearance of Imam Musa as-Sadr has raised concern among Lebanese citizens. Have you made any contacts in that regard? What are the results so far?]

A: Regarding Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Sayyid Musa as-Sadr, which is the concern of many of the Muslims, we have taken some actions; however, unfortunately we are yet to get any results.

Q: [During your stay in France, has there been any contact between you and the French government?]

A: No.

Q: [It has been said that based on the evaluation of the situation in Lebanon, you have not accepted the offer to stay in that country. Have you chosen a place outside France for yourself yet? Where?]

A: My stay in France is temporary.

Interview

Date: November 6, 1978 [Aban 15, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 5, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The need for overthrowing the Pahlavi dynasty; describing the Islamic republic's foreign policy

Interviewer: German Channel 2 television reporter

Question: [The Shah of Iran has formed a military government.¹ What is your opinion or reaction to that?]

Answer: People will treat this military government just as they did all the others. And these struggles won't work in Iran and won't help the Shah. The Shah must go and he has no other choice.

Q: [Will Your Eminence accept constitutional monarchy as legal, and will you agree if the Shah resigns and his son takes his place?]

A: Constitutional monarchy will never be accepted by us and the people, and it must be eradicated; and this dynasty, in particular, is hated by the people and must be thrown out, and the people themselves should select a regime.

Q: [After an Islamic government has come to power, how will be its position and relations be with major countries, the superpowers and the Western, Eastern and other countries?]

A: All countries, if they have respect for us, we will maintain mutual respect toward them, and if any country or government tries to impose anything on us, we will not accept such a thing. We won't oppress others and won't allow ourselves to be oppressed.

Q: [Concerning the Muslims in Russia, would you approve them and could any contribution be extended to them for their freedom?]

A: They are our brothers. We are brothers to all Muslims and this is an Islamic concept that any Muslim must help other Muslims.

¹ Ghulam-Rida Azhari's military cabinet.

Speech

Date: November 6, 1978 [Aban 15, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 5, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Reconciliation with the Shah and compromise with the military government constitutes treason against Islam

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Deceit and bayonets: the Shah's two pretexts

Once again the Shah has resorted to two means in an attempt to save himself: one is deceit and the other the bayonet. The first means, deceit, was employed in his (recent) address¹ when he swore an oath, when he promised the nation that he would not repeat past mistakes and would make up for them, and that henceforth he would act according to the letter of the constitutional law. In this address, he asked the people to cease in their opposition; he called on the great clergymen and the most learned *ulama* to guide the people and calm them and appealed to other classes of society, among them the workers, students and the youth, to stop their opposition and think about Iran!²

His words provoke many questions, one, which requires investigation, is: Were his actions up until the present, mistakes or deliberate acts? His violation of the law and the opposition which he has shown to Islam, the treason which he has perpetrated against the nation, and the crimes which he has committed, were these all mistakes as he claims? Take for example the oil that he has given to America; did he think that the Americans were one of the tribes of Iran, or that America was one of the Iranian cities so he was

¹ Shah's television address on Aban 15, 1357 AHS after the introduction of Ghulam-Rida Azhari's military cabinet.

² On November 6, 1978 [Aban 15, 1357 AHS] following the failure of Sharif Imami's government, the Shah, in a nationwide address broadcast over the radio, announced the establishment of a military government led by General Azhari. In this address, he implored the people to respect the law and promised that he would not allow past mistakes to recur, that he would bring an end to corruption and would establish a popular and democratic government. In this address, he refrained from referring to himself as "we," as was his wont, and employed the pronoun "I" instead, as he explained to the people in an apologetic tone that in the interests of national security he had been obliged to install a military government.

giving the oil to Iranians? These weapons he received in return for oil, which are of no use to us and were used to create bases for the Americans, did he think that these were foreign currency?! Did he make a mistake?! Did he take these weapons under the mistaken impression that he was getting dollars?! Did he think that he was getting pounds? The crimes that he has committed in Iran up until now, the imprisonment he has ordered, the persecution and the torture he has carried out, the massacres he has perpetrated, were all of these mistakes? When he sent his commandos to the Faydiyyah Madrasah where they burnt copies of the Quran, set alight the turbans of the theological students, broke their arms and legs and destroyed their chambers, did he think that he was attacking somewhere in Russia, so it was a mistake?! Did he think that the Faydiyyah Madrasah was foreign territory?! Did he presume that the people he had imprisoned had been taken away to a garden somewhere and only now he realizes that this was not the case and that they were taken away to a prison cell not a garden?! The members of the *ulama* and the political figures who were imprisoned and either killed or had their legs immersed in boiling oil or, as we are told, had their legs sawn off, was all this the result of a mistake?! Were these incidents just pure imagination? Now he promises that such mistakes will not be repeated, but didn't he make pledges and swear oaths at the beginning of his rule? Someone who wants to rule has to do this; he is making the same pledges now as he did at the beginning of his rule, pledges which he later broke. Are the pledges he is making now any different from the ones he made then? Are they pledges which can't be broken? He broke them then, but would he have us believe that now things have changed and they can't be broken? How has he made up for his mistakes? Indeed, can he make up for them? How can he make up for the ten or fifteen years, or more, that so many people lost in his prisons? How can he compensate for the torture, the suffering and the humiliation they endured during that time? Their lives were wasted. Do his promises compensate for this? Can someone who has committed so many crimes now expect everything to be forgotten as soon as he makes new promises?!

The Shah's repentance, a wolf's repentance

Let us suppose that his promises are sincere, we will suppose this even though "it is obvious" that they are not. (When Rida Shah visited Najaf, he met with the late Firuzabadi in the holy shrine there and told him: "I am your follower sir," to which the late Firuzabadi replied: "It is obvious.") (The audience laughs). His promises today remind me of the book, *The Cat and*

the Mouse.¹ *The Cat and the Mouse* is a useful book, an instructive book, which discusses the tricks kings and rulers play at the time when they enjoy power and when their power begins to wane. As the story goes, the cat one day threw down his prayer mat, performed his *namaz*, repented and asked for God's forgiveness vowing never to repeat his past actions. After a while the poor mice were taken in by his promises and began taking the cat gifts and the like, until one day the cat pounced on five of them at once. Whereas previously the cat could only get one mouse at a time, now he got five at a time!² Well, we know that your (addressing the Shah) repentance is the same as that of a wolf or a cat! The nation knows this so don't trouble yourself by continually repeating it! These most learned *ulama* that you are now calling upon to guide the people and calm them are those very same *ulama* whose words until recently you described as "black reaction." Until recently these *ulama* were, according to you, "reactionaries," "black" reactionaries.

When I was in Qum, he delivered a speech in one of the Iranian cities in which he spoke about the *ulama* saying that one should avoid these reactionaries like impure animals! These impure animals have now become the great clergymen and most learned *ulama*! If these great clergymen and most learned *ulama* give him time to breathe, by the second breath they would be the same impure animals once again!

These mistakes, as he calls them, were all in fact intentional acts, these acts of treason were all intentional, and if this nation gives him a respite, then he will repeat these same "mistakes" again. He is trying to trick the people; on the one hand he promises not to repeat past mistakes, and on the other he calls on the people to think about Iran! It is because we are thinking about Iran that we are speaking out now. It is because this nation realizes that you are taking Iran away from them, because you have allowed the world powers to dominate us, and because you have exhausted our resources, that they have risen up and have embarked on this movement against you. It is precisely because we are thinking about Iran that we are opposing you and struggling against you, for you are the source of these "mistakes" as you call them but which as far as we are concerned are intentional acts. Our concerns

¹ A short critical versified story of Ubayd Zakani.

² Extract from the poem:

سال یک موش می گرفت از ما آرزش اکنون شده فراوانا
این زمان پنج پنج می گیرد چون شده مؤمن و مسلمانا!

Every year he used to take one mouse from us;

His greed now has increased.

This time he is taking five,

As he becomes a faithful and Muslim!

about Islam, about a Muslim country and about the poor have forced us to oppose you in this way. “Come let us think about Iran!” We want to think about Iran, we are thinking about Iran; just because we are opposing you does not mean that we have stopped thinking about Iran!

The Shah’s claim of maintaining the stability of the country!

This person will just not stop saying these things! What kind of a person is he? How does his mind work? Who does he think he is trying to fool? Who believes him when he says that if he were to no longer be around, then Iran too would cease to exist?! According to him as soon as he dies—and the day will come, God willing, soon (the audience laughs)—Iran too will cease to be! So it seems that we have lost Iran! According to him, after ten days, a few months or whatever, Iran will be destroyed because it was he who preserved Iran and when he is no longer around we too will cease to be!¹ (The audience laughs). He should cease to exist, not Iran!

...So deceit is one of the means that he has resorted to; deceit, as demonstrated yesterday by his minister² when he said—and perhaps this was dictated to him by his masters—that mistakes had been made and when, among other things, he called on the youth to make their peace (with the regime)! But the people paid no heed to his words, and the situation in the various parts of Iran, in Tehran and other places, is the same today as it was before.

Resort to the bayonet and bludgeon

The second means that the Shah has resorted to is the bayonet. He now turns to two means for protection, one is the bludgeon, the bludgeon of seditious mercenaries who have been given money to set upon the people with bludgeons; and the other is the bayonets of those people (the army) who are on the streets. Well, the bayonets are nothing new! The Iranian nation has been living under the shadow of the bayonet for a while now! For some time now he has had no recourse other than the use of bayonets and bludgeons. This is the man who until recently described the nation as a king-loving people—and given half the chance he would say the same thing again, indeed I am surprised that he is not doing so today (the audience laughs) . . . As the

¹ Refers to Firdawsi’s (Ferdowsi’s) famous poem:

چو ایران نباشد تن من میاد بدین بوم و بر زنده یک تن میاد

If there is no Iran, I will no longer cease to be;

If there exists no country, it is better that nobody is alive.

² Jafar Sharif Imami.

cries of “Death to the Pahlavi monarchy” were being raised in the city of Isfahan the Shah in his speech called the inhabitants of Isfahan a king-loving people! One of his aides or his agents said that if the truth be known, the Iranian people bear an intrinsic liking for the monarchy. This is his logic; he thinks that the people want the monarchical regime! What can the poor things do?! The people are now pouring into the streets and shouting out because they fear that, God forbid, the monarchical regime will be toppled!

So, he is seeking recourse in the bayonet and the bludgeon, and he has been doing so for a while now, but to no avail. Martial law was announced under which gatherings of more than two people were banned, but this did not stop the people and just after it was announced, seventy thousand, a hundred thousand, three hundred thousand people came together and set off from one place to another saying what they had to say! This martial law could not influence the people. Someone who is ready to give his life cannot be stopped by martial law. A man who gives his child and then says he is honored to have done so, a woman who sacrifices her child and then turns around and says that she is proud to have performed such a service to Islam, cannot be stopped by bayonets. Does the bayonet do anything other than kill people? Well, these people are saying that they want to be killed! They cannot be stopped by bayonets. The establishment of a national reconciliation’ government first of all, and then now a military government are foolish attempts to solve the situation. A military government! Has your government up until now been anything other than a military government? Yes, we can say that the head of the government was not a military man, he was a lawyer who became a politician, but the method of government was that of a military government for all of Iran was under martial law, in some parts it was official and in others unofficial! The people have had the experience of a military government, it is nothing new to them, they are not going to be frightened by it, it is something quite normal for them!

The people are not afraid of a military government

One should not think that a military government is the answer. America should not presume that by carrying out a military coup d’état and replacing this regime with a military one that the problem will be solved. Is it possible? Will it have an effect on the people? They are used to military governments. Yes, at one time it was something new to them; if a military man went into the bazaar and began doing whatever he pleased nobody would tell him to stop. If someone had two stars on his shoulder, it was disastrous! He would go wherever he wanted, do whatever he wanted and perpetrate whatever evil

he wanted, and no one would stand up to him. Now, however, if the Shah himself enters the arena they will tear him limb from limb! Times have changed and the nation has changed. The people have undergone a transformation which has changed them, changed their nature. They are no longer afraid of martial law; the thought of a military government coming to power holds no fear for them because they have already experienced life under military rule, they have confronted the military and suffered blows and death at the hands of the military. When the regime wants to kill the people, it makes no difference whether it does so through martial law, a military government or a civilian government. The people are ready to be killed, so these moves do not offer the solution to the problem nor will they cure the people's pain.

The propaganda of the Soviet newspapers

An article appeared in a Russian newspaper, and has been corroborated by an American attaché who is also one of the Shah's friends, stating that many different interpretations of the crisis are going around. One person says that these clergymen who are now opposing the Shah are doing so because the land reforms' were detrimental to them and endangered their interests! Another one says that so-and-so¹ (Imam himself) harbors a personal grudge against the Shah! As I said yesterday, I have no personal grudge against the Shah, this is not the problem; and as for that which the Russian newspaper has written, that is incorrect too, for the clergy enjoy a much better life now than they did before the reforms were implemented! Whoever wishes can go and see for himself. If they are talking about the conditions under which the clergy live, then their situation is one hundred percent better than at that time! They haven't lost anything, their influence remains as it was, as we are witnessing, otherwise why would he (the Shah) appeal to the great *maraji* and the most learned *ulama* to guide the people?! Suddenly he has a change of heart! In the early days (of his rule) when he replied to letters from the *maraji* he would write telling them to concentrate on guiding the populace, meaning that they had no right to interfere in the affairs of the country! Someone should tell him that this is just what we have done (the audience laughs), the masses have now been guided and you were asleep while this was happening! Now that they have been guided in the right direction, you resort to telling the *ulama* to "think about Iran and protect me!"

¹ In their prejudiced analyses some Western writers have cited Imam Khomeini's uprising as the Imam's personal enmity toward the Shah.

The regime must go

These are just contrivances, they won't work! There is only one solution and that is for this regime to go, for America, Russia, Britain and all those who sit down to eat, free of charge, at the banquet of Iran, to remove their rapacious hands. We do not want to stop giving them oil so that they have to struggle and some of the nations suffer from the cold. No, we wish to be in control of our own oil and sell as much as we want to sell. And sell it we will, for no matter what kind of regime comes to power in Iran it will want to sell its oil, but not in the manner it was previously sold. We oppose the plundering of our oil, not its sale at its true price. We will sell our oil at its true price and get currency for it; we want the money, we want it to spend on the people. Our oil is being extracted now at a much greater rate than it should be and they (those in the Iranian government) does not get money in return for it, they get either scrap metal or buy airplanes at exorbitant prices! As for the small amount of money that they do receive in return for the oil, it is not spent on the nation; what does this poor nation have? Don't just look at the situation of a few wealthy merchants of the bazaar in Tehran or some of these landlords who live off their prey (the villagers), go take a look at the shanty towns and the villages. Go to Khuzistan and look at the situation in the villages there. God knows what a sorrowful state of affairs is to be found there. A river runs through Khuzistan, a large river, it is not a stream but a river on which boats sail, and the land there stretches for as far as the eye can see, yet it is devoid of agriculture. Once, about thirty years ago, when I was passing through Khuzistan on my way to the *atabat* [holy places] I stopped and pondered over the land there and thought that perhaps the soil was not suitable for farming, but when I took a closer look, I saw that it was very good soil and thus I realized that it was the hand of treason which did not allow the land to be cultivated. The water of that province is being wasted, as is the land! The people of Khuzistan have no doctor for their sick children, they have nothing. Sometimes one sees that ten villages, twenty villages even, do not have a clinic. Is this the great civilization'?! One clinic is for twenty villages while other villages have to go nowhere and the people there do not even know what a doctor is. In one of their (the regime's) own newspapers they wrote that there is so little water that when the people wake up in the morning they have to wash the trachoma-infected eyes of their children—a condition brought about by this corrupt regime—with urine so they can open their eyes! This is what was written in the newspaper. This is the kind of life our people have to endure because of this man's mistakes'!

Up until now he has made mistakes but now he claims that they won't be repeated and Iran will become the great civilization!

But your mistakes do not number one or two or ten! Your premeditated acts do not amount to one or two or ten! These newspaper reporters continue to ask us why we are at odds with the Shah. Need they ask? Ask the people what this man has done to make them oppose him so. Listen to what these children and adults alike are shouting. Do they disfavor him because they have a personal grudge against him?! Do thirty million people have a personal grudge against him?!

No room remains for compromise

He has perpetrated so much treachery and committed so many crimes in this country that there is no room for compromise. He has left no way open for someone to say that his mistakes are forgotten or that from now on, God willing, he will not repeat them; this is impossible now. If a clergyman, a politician, a merchant from the bazaar or an academic were to try to tell the people: "The Shah has repented today so let's compromise with him, he has asked for God's forgiveness so give him your forgiveness," the people would regard him as a traitor! Why should we forgive him? Is what he has done worthy of our forgiveness? Should we forgive him for spilling the blood of our children and youth or for the fact that he has brought our country to rack and ruin? Why should we forgive him? What will he do from now on? He has plunged the families of this nation into a state of mourning. Now should we say: "In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful; let's forgive him and finish the matter?!" "Forgive me I made a mistake." What on earth does this mean? At whom are these words directed?

In any case, the aim is this, if anyone thinks differently he is a traitor to the nation, the country and Islam. If you give him a respite, then tomorrow neither Islam, country nor family will remain for you. Do not give him time, squeeze this throat (of his) until it breathes no more.

May God grant you all success. May He lift the evil of these overlords from us for the overlords are worse than they (the regime) are.

Message

Date: November 7, 1978 [Aban 16, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Occasion: Coming to power of the military cabinet

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1398 AH

Profound greetings to the brave nation of Iran—a loyal nation that jolted the plunderers' palaces by their sacrifices for the revival of Islam, and the country's independence; a nation that considered the offer of national reconciliation policy as nothing but a trick; a nation that offers (its) youth and lives in order to get rid of tyrant looters, and to overthrow the monarchial regime, and to establish the Islamic republic based on the people's votes.

Although, I know that the Shah's deceitful plots, his smooth talk and practical intimidations will have no effect on the cramped lines of people, I find it necessary to give you, my dears, some warnings whenever and wherever needed:

1. The targets are still what I have already mentioned in my speeches and statements:

a. The overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty and the devilish monarchial regime;

b. The establishment of an Islamic republic in compliance with Islamic principles, based on the people's votes.

2. Carrying the movement by applying different methods; strikes must go on, particularly in all government offices and organizations. The military government¹ of Iran is usurper and illegal, and people are to disobey its commands to the point of paralyzing the government offices. I thank all honorable government and other organization employees who support their brothers and sisters by their strikes. This is an Islamic obligation and it is indispensable.

3. The Shah has worked out a different conspiracy by appointing the military government. On the one hand, he begs for forgiveness before God and the people, and admits to the mistakes and crimes that he has committed

¹ Military cabinet of Ghulam-Rida Azhari.

throughout his shameful rule, and seeks the help of honorable Ayatullahs and distinguished *ulama* and other classes of people. And on the other hand, his military government strikes out on the oppressed people by harsh punishments, killings and sending club holders, bayonet stabbers, cannons and tanks, and drags our loved ones in cold blood more than ever before; presuming that he can exonerate himself from the guilt of the murders and lootings that he committed during his rule, and introduce himself as penitent by arresting his corrupt officials who had been the elements of his entire life's betrayals. The Shah is holding clubs, bayonets and machine guns in one hand for repressing the people with, and a letter of regret for confessing to his treasons, crimes and guilt in the other.

The wise and vigilant nation of Iran will neither fear those clubs or bayonets, nor will it fall for this treason and trickery. This person who is seeking the help of honorable *maraji* and distinguished *ulama*, in order to undermine the Islamic movement and to find a way for looting and destroying Islam and the Holy Quran, is the very same person whom, up until yesterday, was calling the Islamic authorities and the great clergy reactionaries, and their way that is the way of Islam, the black reaction. In one of his speeches he said, "Keep away from them like you do from filthy animals," and in another speech he said even more unashamedly, "They squirm in filth like worms;" so, now, what has happened that he wants to make peace with the clergy? Isn't this a trick? Isn't this the same thing as the reconciliation government?¹ He, who has turned to politicians and the youth of the nation, and seeks their help for the country, is the very same person who used to, and still is executing, torturing and imprisoning them by the groups, has and still is seeping our youth in cold blood and has turned our universities into our youth slaughter-houses (sacrificial altars).

I am grieving over the crimes recently committed to Islam's children in the universities. I thank the precious students who have given lives for Islam and the country, and have stood up against the Shah with clenched fists, and have condemned him.

I am proud of our vigorous youth who have uplifted our people. The people of Iran should know that, these beguiling speeches are for distracting the people, and subsiding people's anger in order to save his crown and regain power; and God knows what miseries Islam, the clergy and the people will have to go through afterwards.

¹ The Sharif Imami's cabinet which called itself "the National Reconciliation Government."

My dears! Do not be afraid of this military uproar as you are not. You brave people of Iran proved that these tanks, machine guns and bayonets are rusty and nothing can withstand the people's strong will, and don't be tricked by these satanic flexibilities and devilish letters of regret, which I know you won't. The Shah took the oath at the beginning of his oppressive rule to be faithful to Islam and not to betray the people; and now he confesses that he is indeed a traitor and has dragged Islam and Iran to the verge of destruction, and all his treacheries, that he calls mistakes' today, have been intentional. Do not be neglectful, because these intentional mistakes will be repeated and will destroy the country and the nation. Today, it is the divine obligation of all groups of people, from the honorable *maraji* and distinguished *ulama*, high ranking educators and learned people, esteemed university and college professors, courageous students and brave seminarians all the way to political fronts and intellectuals, the laborers, farmers, merchants, government employees, the officers of the three forces, soldiers, high ranking civil officials and all classes of people to follow their Islamic goal and to press the throat of this historic oppressor, by having unity of word and without any fear of the powers and superpowers. (They must) proceed toward their goal with determination and diligence, for God's promise to the indigent is imminent, and killing and being killed for God is an honor. In the end, I would like to ask the honorable nation of Iran, which has already passed its test in similar occasions many times to help with utmost respect, sisters and brothers who have been injured or hurt financially and physically, and to perform this divine duty to the best of their abilities, for Khomeini always remembers them and shakes their hand.

May God grant you success and approve you, and forsake and defeat the enemies of the nation. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: November 7, 1978 [Aban 16, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Military cabinet; armed struggle

Interviewers: Reporters from Great Britain, France and Germany

Question: [The Shah has resorted to a military government, and has selected field marshal Azhari, who promised to hold absolutely democratic elections in the future. The Shah has also asked Ayatullah and other honorable clergies to help in the maintenance of peace and tranquility in Iran once again. What is your reaction to these acts?]

Answer: The resorting of a deceitful monarch, who has on one hand sought the help of the clergy and other people in his speeches, and on the other hand, has murdered and looted the nation by forming a military cabinet in order to suppress the nation, will not affect our destiny and movement at all. The promise of a democratic election is just a delusion, and besides, holding elections, whether democratic or non-democratic, is not legitimate anyway; because neither the Shah is legitimate nor his appointed government. Therefore, there exists no issue for holding elections, democratic or non-democratic. And the nation will never abide by him.

Q: [Yesterday, the Shah said in his speech, that he had tried his best to form a coalition government, but since he couldn't succeed, he had to form a military government instead. He believes this government is temporary; will you believe him? If not, then why? Do you believe that at the time of elections, the military will waive its own power and give the authorities to the parliament? Will the Shah meet his commitments? Won't the mistakes, cruelties, violations and corruptions be repeated?]

A: The Shah is busy seeking shelter and making conspiracies, for his survival's sake. He seeks refuge every way he can; therefore, he might have been trying to find some people taking his side. However, since the Iranian nation is unanimously against him and doesn't want the regime, those who are nationalists won't cooperate with him, because they can't cooperate with whom the nation is against. The issues of free elections and the Shah's promises are all untrue, and as long as the Shah and this regime are in power, holding elections—whether democratic or non-democratic—is illegitimate.

And the Shah's promises are all bogus, and the Iranian nation will no longer be fooled by these conspiracies.

Q: [You are a great religious leader with outstanding influence in Iran; if the Shah refuses to surrender and stays in power, then, in order to overthrow him, will you use your influence for issuing permission for a general revolution, which may lead to blood shed and massacre? Will your action comply with the way of Islam? What is the nature of the Islamic republic you are proclaiming?]

A: We hope that, by this very same movement that has widely spread all over Iran, and the government employees and personnel going on strikes one after another, leading to the shut down and paralysis of the governmental organizations, the Shah will not be able to stay in power and survive; however, if the worst comes to the worst, we may reconsider an armed struggle. And if necessary, Islam allows armed struggles in due time, in order to save Islam's creed and the nation's interests; and bloodshed for the sake of the Islamic laws and the interests of the nation is the way of Islam. And the government which we suggest is an Islamic republic, based on liberty, independence, and exercise of justice and modification in all government organizations. And when this happens, the world will know what it's all about.

Interview

Date: November 7, 1978 [Aban 16, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1398 AHS]

Place: Neaphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Azhari's military cabinet; Camp David Accord

Interviewer: A British reporter of the *Associated Press*

Question: [What is your opinion of the military cabinet appointed by the Shah?]

Answer: The Shah's new plot, i.e. appointing the military cabinet, is for more killings and defeating the Iranian nation, however, not only is that not a way out for the Shah, but also, it brings the Shah as well as his supporters, to a worse deadlock.

Q: [Will appointing this cabinet make the fall and the overthrow of this regime easier or harder?]

A: For one thing, it will make the fall of the regime more definite.

Q: [Has there been any unanimity among the leaders of the political oppositions whom you have been in touch with, since your arrival in France?]

A: I have always advised all the people and the heads of all groups, not to deviate from the will of the nation, which is the overthrowing of the regime.

Q: [Considering the fact that some of these leaders seek a non-religious regime, which is contradictory to the Islamic principles you are defending, do you think that there may be any mutual grounds among yourselves?]

A: In the holy Islamic movement of Iran, there's no place for such people.

Q: [What do you think of the Shah's efforts at aligning public living standards with some aspects of Western modernism?]

A: Basically, the Pahlavi regime has stopped any type of modernism since its imposition on the Iranian nation, and Iran's all around dependency and economic bankruptcy are clear indications of this regime's being reactionary.

Q: [Will you support a pro-Russian Marxist government produced by a coup-d'état?]

A: The uprising of the Islamic movement of Iran has not given any opportunity to such a thing, and we will treat such conspiracies the same way as we are treating the Shah's present regime.

Q: [Regarding the Middle East circumstances, what diplomacy do you think Iran should adopt, from now on?]

A: We certainly won't be the gendarme of the region.

Q: [Will you also, like other Islamic heads, be opposing the Camp David Accord?¹]

A: The Camp David Accord and the like are plots to legitimize the Israel's aggressions, which has consequently turned to the advantage of Israel, and disadvantage of Arabs and Palestinians. Such a situation wouldn't be acceptable to the people of the region.

Q: [In your opinion, if a war breaks out between the West and the Islamic or Arab world, should Iran use its oil for political reasons, and probably stop the oil exportation to the western countries?]

A: We are moving toward our people's interests, and will do anything beneficial for them and their Islamic ideal.

Q: [Do you think you will personally play a role in the new government, after the fall of the present regime?]

A: No. Neither my tendency nor my age and circumstances will allow me such a thing.

¹ The Camp David Accord was entered into by Jimmy Carter (the then US president), Menachem Begin (the then prime minister of the Quds-occupier regime) and Anwar Sadat (the then Egyptian president). As stipulated in the Accord, the Israeli regime was officially recognized by Egypt. The Camp David Accord was opposed by the global Muslims, and many Islamic and Arabic countries broke ties with Egypt.

Interview

Date: November 7, 1978 [Aban 16, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The reasons for people's uprising; changing the political system through public referendum

Interviewer: A reporter of the German *Spiegel* magazine

Question: [Since the beginning of the year, hundreds of thousands of people have come to the streets and staged demonstrations against the Shah in your name. Over one thousand people have lost their lives in facing the army and the police. Have you organized this civil uprising, and for what purpose?]

Answer: The main reason for the people's uprising is the Shah himself and his regime. Firstly, it is his father and himself who have, vengefully shown animosity toward Islam and have tried to destroy Islam under the pretence of protecting the country's freedom and independence for the past fifty years, Secondly, they have disregarded the nation's rights and laws specified in the constitution; thirdly, have totally destroyed the country's independence. Every economic, political, social and cultural foundation that has been laid by the nation for centuries, with the intention of achieving independence, has been destroyed by this regime. Furthermore, the economic schemes that the Americans have administered very treasonably, have destroyed the economic system, and today, people are living on the oil exports and goods imports. But this type of living will result in the destruction of the country's economy in the future, when the oil resources will come to an end and the income earned from them, decreases. The nation has become aware and started to move. I speak for the people. We are all in this together and say one thing. We want neither the Shah nor the monarchy, and that means freedom and independence. Islam guarantees the unity of the country along with freedom and independence. This is the reason for the people's uprising.

Q: [Since the year 1963,¹ that is when the Shah forced you to leave Iran, you have always said that your condition for returning to Iran is the eradication of the Shah; does this condition still hold?]

A: I lived in Iraq in exile from 1964 until my departure from there, by the order of the Shah, and for the time being, I am not returning to Iran.

¹ The date of sending Imam to exile is Aban 13, 1343 (AHS) [November 4, 1964] and here, in his response Imam is correcting the reporter's mistake.

Q: [There are some unconfirmed reports from Tehran according to which, you will consent to the Shah's departure, and cooperating with his successor Cyrus, his 19 year old son, under certain conditions. Is this true? And what exactly are those conditions?]

A: No, this is not true, and I'm against the continuation of monarchy and the rule of this dynasty.

Q: [The wrath of the local clergies and the demonstrators has mostly been executed upon many public places, and banks and cinemas have been set on fire, and large stores have been looted.]

A: Setting cinemas and banks on fire is not what we had called for. The Shah's regime has overused these establishments in order to destroy the country's economy and culture, and that's why they have become the targets of people's oppositions; the people are not angry, they are conscious. The West is not well aware of the destructive role these institutions play. They don't know that the banks have severely exploited the people. They have taken away from the hardworking people the motivation to produce, to the advantage of the international corporations and in the promotion of foreign products. The cinemas' role is to deteriorate the resisting power of the country's young generation. Today, even the engineers of the regime's propaganda organizations admit it. But, of course, the people follow our sincere and honest guidance.

Q: [If we understood it correctly, your goal is not only overthrowing the Shah, but it is also destroying the monarchial regime. But what do you think it should be replaced with, a parliamentary democracy a people's republic of the Marxist kind, or a theocratic rule as Prophet Muhammad (s) has ordered?]

A: Selecting a political regime will be done by resorting to the people's votes. We will put the layout of the Islamic republic to the people's vote. The nation is now standing on the junction of life and death, freedom and slavery, independence and expansionism, economic justice and exploitation. This rule must protect the existence of the nation. It must bring back freedom to the nation and independence to the country, and replace the exploiting system with economic justice.

Q: [Who is supposed to turn the nation's will into political power in Iran, which is a developing country on its course to industrialization? What would happen to the minorities of such a society with a Shiah majority?]

A: The elected representatives would turn the nation's will into a political decision and strategy and a political leadership that is clean of corruption, and at the people's service. The religious minorities would enjoy all their rights in the best manner.

Q: [Setting aside the small group consisting of the current political leaders and the profit-seekers of this regime, in what aspects will Iran of the future differ from the Iran of today?]

A: In your fifth question, I gave you the differences between the Iran of today and the Iran of tomorrow. Here, I'll add these points to them: a.) the political leadership would be free of foreign influence, and clean of financial and political corruption; b.) the country's economy would come out of foreign control, and other economic plans won't be programs to promote international targets in Iran; c.) our future society will be a free one, and no type of pressure and strangulation, as well as exploitation, will any longer exist; d.) the person who is deprived of intellectual activities and freedom at work in this policing system, will gain every means of real advancement and innovation. Tomorrow's society would be an assessing and a critic one, in which, the whole nation would take part in engaging in its own affairs.

Q: [A strong wave of Islamic unity has started in many Middle Eastern and Asian countries. There's no doubt that the intervention of religion in these countries' political life has been growing. How strongly is the present condition of Iran related to this "Islamism"?]

A: This is a worldwide phenomenon. In fact, today's man is putting an end to the period of the separation of materialism and spirituality. Materialism is now re-finding its stance in man's inspiration of spirituality, everywhere. Materialism, which meant gaining materialistic power by any means, and in any way, has brought the man to a deadlock. It is now the time for materialistic activities to be construed as being ready to advance man's spirituality, and it is this interpretation that would bring the man of today and tomorrow back to religion. Islam is a religion that clears the path to the advancement of human's spirituality, by modifying materialistic activities. This is the real advancement that the growth of man himself becomes the target of materialistic activities; and Islam is the religion of this advancement.

Q: [This spring, the Soviets had also attended the First Islamic Unity Conference in Afghanistan with a lot of delegates. In your opinion, are there any common grounds between the socialist countries and the new Islamic movement?]

A: Such conventions are held under the name of Islam, but carry no Islamic goals, and those who participate in them as the Muslims representatives, do not represent the people. The Soviets play a two-sided coin. On one hand, they are anti-Islam and have taken away the religious freedom of the Muslims living under their rule, and on the other hand, they become the representatives of these Muslim people! The Soviets, due to their actions, and for practically taking the Muslim states in their control, no longer qualify for even claiming to be the supporter of the oppressed and oppose the exploiters.

Q: [There have been talks among religious opponents and the Marxists in Iran, at least about the common enemy, the Shah. For what purpose?]

A: There have been no talks.

Q: [French newspapers have reported that you will move out of your compulsory residence near Paris, in the near future, and will continue your struggles against the Shah from Afghanistan. What do you have in mind by this change of location?]

A: I have not yet made a decision on leaving France.

Interview

Date: November 7, 1978 [Aban 16, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The Shah's repentance; the rights of the minorities; the relations between the Islamic republic and the West

Interviewer: A reporter of the Dutch *Volt Krant* (?) magazine

Question: [Regarding the Shah's speech and his confession to his past mistakes', and his acknowledgement of hearing the "revolutionary message,"¹ it appears that you have called people to an uprising. So, don't you see another possible way of establishing a democratic regime?]

Answer: Firstly, the Shah's confession to his past mistakes is nothing but a trick and a deception, and he thinks that the nation would forgive him merely for his confessions, and would leave him alone. Besides, if a criminal confesses to his deeds, he must be put on trial and punished according to what he has confessed. And if he is pretentiously saying that I have understood your revolutionary message, that if he has heard—which he certainly has—the nation's message to him would be that, the Shah and his dynasty must step aside. Therefore, if he has heard this message and wants to act upon it, then why doesn't he withdraw and let the people decide about their own destiny? And why does he constantly impose himself on the people by the force of bayonets? And considering all of that, should we still believe that the Shah is willing to establish democracy?

Q: [Do you suppose that the army may disobey the Shah as you have asked them to do? If yes, would you give justified reasons? Otherwise, do you think that there is a real opportunity for an armed confrontation?]

A: It is obvious that among the army high-ranking officers, there are some who have taken part in the looting of the country by their supporting of the Shah and the Shah's supporting of them, and have also accompanied each other in murders and tortures. But, there are soldiers and a lot of officers who are with people, and are suffering because of the Shah, particularly because of the supremacy of the American advisors over them. And sooner or later,

¹ The Shah, on the verge of appointing the military cabinet, in a radio-television speech, while confessing to his past errors and apologizing to the people, promised to compensate for his mistakes in the future.

they will embrace the people for the bond there is between them and the people, and the indications are already surfacing.

Q: [Assuming the Shah agrees or becomes forced to step aside, what should be done to have an Islamic republic? Do you think you would have any obstacles in your way?]

A: The same people, who joined hands and courageously cornered the Shah, would choose their own desired government by the guidance of those who have always commiserated with them, and since they are Muslims, obviously in every stage, Islam would be the only basis and standard for the social system and the type of government. Therefore, I have suggested an Islamic republic, and I shall put that to popular vote. And of course, the more important the job, the greater its difficulties is.

Q: [If the elections become democratic, will you invite the people to take a middle course?]

A: In the Shah's presence, I would not accept any proposals, for they won't be anything but conspiracies, and if the Shah falls, I would encourage people not to vote to any government but the one they themselves will bring to power.

Q: [How would an Islamic government be formed?]

A: With the plan we have prepared, we would try to have all sectors of people select their members of the cabinet consciously and freely, and then choose the government representatives and those who would be in charge of the offices.

Q: [What would be the first step that an Islamic government would take?]

A: The first step would be to seriously eradicate every factor of corruption, and more importantly, every motive for corruption in the social, economic and other areas.

Q: [What would you do to those whom you believe are traitors and those who are seeking their own interests?]

A: The answer is what I've said before. People will choose whoever they find trustworthy for the positions, and they will put on trial and punish the traitors.

Q: [The National Front has taken an important step toward you,¹ by denouncing the monarchy. Are you too, in turn, willing to take one step toward the non-clerical opponents of the government?]

A: People all across the country have been strongly condemning the monarchical regime for over a year now. Therefore, anyone or any group denouncing the monarchy has cooperated with the nation, and if they persist in their struggle, people will not forget them, and I am with the people.

Q: [In the 1906 Constitution a board of religious authorities in charge of conforming the parliamentary laws to the Quran has been foreseen. Will such a board be foreseen in the Islamic republic too?]

A: The supervision of Islam's authorities over the parliament will be approved just as before.

Q: [Contrary to the Shah's desire, you are seeking a true modernization for Iran. Could you specify the difference between these two types of modernization?]

A: Restructuring and renovating the country are definitely among our concerns and plans. What the Shah has been doing as modernization has caused nothing but destruction and demolition. Would putting the oil—the black gold—on sale and filling the country with scrap iron instead, be called modernization? Would promoting dependant assembly industries with the help of hundreds of factories, be called modernization? Would the supremacy of tens of thousands of military advisors over the army and the country's destiny, and paying their astronomical costs be called modernization?! And...

Q: [What would be the rights of the religious, ethnic, and political minorities in the Islamic republic? Would the communist party still be legal?]

A: Islam has given more freedom to religious minorities than any other religion and faith. They too, must enjoy their natural rights that God has granted to mankind. We would treat them in the best way we can. In the Islamic republic, even the communists are free to express their opinions.

Q: [Specifically, how would women's rights in the Islamic republic be? What about the coed schools? What would be the case with the issue of birth control and abortion?]

¹ Karim Sanjabi's meeting with Imam in Neauphle-le-Château, which resulted in the denouncement of the monarchy by the National Front.

A: According to human rights, there is no difference between a man and a woman. Because they are both human, and like men, women have the right to take part in making their own destiny too. Yes, of course there are some differences between men and women that have nothing to do with their humanistic dignity. Anything not against women's dignity and nobility is free. Abortion is prohibited in Islam.

Q: [You have said that you will continue to export gas and oil to Western countries and import their technology; under what conditions?]

A: We would not shut down our oil wells, nor would we close the doors to our country, or turn our country into a consumer market for the West, so they could impose anything they want on us. We would put the oil into service, but we won't necessarily have to always be an exporter of it. We'd buy what we don't have and what we need from other countries, but why should we not be the producer of our own needs? Our policy would always be based on maintaining freedom and independence and protecting people's interests, and we won't sacrifice this principle for anything.

Q: [You have identified Iran's major dependency on western countries, particularly America. How do you think you would put an end to that?]

A: A nation that gives lives to earn freedom and independence, will tolerate patience, resistance and pain in order to keep and protect them.

Q: [Are you planning to nationalize particularly the oil companies?]

A: We would cancel any agreement that is damaging to Iran's interests.

Q: [Would you deport foreigners, especially Americans, from Iran? If yes, wouldn't that bring about the risk of shortages in technicians and experts, particularly in the oil industry?]

A: We are not the enemy of non-Iranians, but we won't give permission to stay to those whose presence is harmful to the nation. We do have sufficient skilled manpower.

Q: [Aren't you afraid of America overthrowing the Islamic republic? And Russia too? What measures would you take to prevent such possibilities?]

A: Iran's Islamic movement against the Shah is no less than confrontation with America and Russia, who are directly or indirectly supporting him.

Q: [What do you think of the change in the tone of the Soviet press that there's an obvious turmoil in Iran?]

A: The Soviets have lost their reputations many times because of their opportunistic diplomacies. And they think that they can always fish in troubled waters. We will cut off the hands of the Soviet mercenaries from Iran.

Q: [What do you think is America's reason for saying that if Iran faces turmoil, the Soviets will take advantage of that to get to the Persian Gulf?]

A: America has made many contradictory statements. It wasn't long ago that Carter said: They say the Soviets have a hand in Iran's turmoil. Carter's statement is not true, and if Iran becomes independent, she will take control over the Persian Gulf.

Q: [Suppose Iranian's uprising does not spread, and the Shah really granted people freedom, and in a referendum, people voted for a monarchial or constitutional government, what would you do?]

A: Iran's revolution is an Islamic movement which will continue, with or without the presence of the Shah. If the Shah shows stubbornness and doesn't withdraw, the movement will go on. As a matter of fact, the constitutional monarchy is strongly hated by the people. Besides, it's impossible for the Shah to give freedom to Iran's oppressed people. Aren't the demonstrations and strikes throughout the country to be considered as a referendum against the Shah?

Interview

Date: November 7, 1978 [Aban 16, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Strike at the National Oil Company; rejection of any reconciliation

Interviewer: A reporter of the British *Financial Times* newspaper

Question: [By encouraging the Iranian people to struggle against the Shah's regime, would you accept the serious consequences of this confrontation which would lead to major bloodshed? Are you planning to continue your struggles if these confrontations intensify? If a bloody turmoil occurs in Iran, would you unconditionally support it?]

Answer: The nation of Iran has begun its holy Islamic movement in order to be emancipated from the demon of dictatorship and expansionism, and to achieve an Islamic government, and by the help of God, the Exalted, it will continue doing so until gaining victory. Evidently, since the nation's sworn enemies, namely the Shah and his supporters, aren't willing to step aside easily, therefore, the stubbornness of the nation's enemies, and the resistance of the courageous Muslim people against them, will cause them damages. However, a Muslim knows that if he gets killed, he'll join the martyrs of Karbala, and won't lose anything, that's why he'll continue his struggle till achieving the ultimate victory.

Q: [You have recently announced your opposition to the military government. Are you going to ask people not only to rise against the Shah, but also to revolt against the army?]

A: We have not yet invited people to attack the army. We have only asked the army soldiers and officers not to obey their commanders, and I have also warned the high-ranking army officers not to obey and support the Shah. And I hope that the soldiers and officers, whose ties with people have not yet been cut off, will soon return to people to embrace the victory.

Q: [Are there any chances that you may reconcile with the Shah?]

A: No, never.

Q: [A reduction in Iran's oil production would be very costly to the economy of Western countries. Would you support the idea of oil flow stoppage?]

A: The deprived workers and employees of the National Oil Company have gone on a strike for their legitimate political demands, and have asked people to support them on their strike. And the western countries, who are not willing to suffer any losses, even at the cost of destroying the nation and the country of Iran, should know that the Muslim nation of Iran would do anything to achieve their legitimate rights, even at the price of destroying the interests of the West.

Q: [Would you support attempts upon the interests of the foreigners in Iran?]

A: If foreigners pay respect to the liberty and independence of the Iranian nation, their rights, within legal boundaries, will never be violated by the people.

Q: [What type of relations do you have with French officials?]

A: I have entered the country of France, and have seen no disrespect from the respectable people of this country, and I don't have no relations with any government officials either. My stay in France is on a temporary basis.

Q: [After your residence period has expired in France, will you apply for political asylum, considering the terms that would probably be imposed on you?]

A: I will not ask any government for political asylum.

Q: [If the present regime steps aside, will you destroy all that has been done concerning land reform?]

A: It is a basic right of every nation to choose its own destiny and their chosen form and kind of government. Evidently, since more than ninety percent of the people are Muslims, this government must be founded on Islamic laws and rules.

Speech

Date: November 7, 1978 [Aban 16, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The negligence of, and mistakes made by, the *ulama* and political figures throughout the Pahlavi rule

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Rida Khan's deceit

Throughout the rule of this dynasty, mistakes have been made which have been most regrettable. Some of them were made during the time of Rida Shah and others during the rule of this man (Muḥammad Rida). From the beginning when Rida Shah enacted his coup d'état on the command of the British, one of the mistakes which were made was that those who knew the facts and understood what was going on did not inform the people.

Rida Shah began his rule doing the same kinds of things that his son does now. He devoted much attention to attending *rawdahs*. He ordered groups of soldiers onto the streets at Ashura¹ to beat their chests in mourning—I myself saw this—and in Tehran, he himself used to go from this *takiyah*² to that *takiyah* where *rawdahs* were being held. Wherever he went, the mourning ceremonies were well-attended. It is this type of chicanery that this man (Muḥammad Rida) is practicing today. Rida Khan entered the scene with this weapon, and there were those then who knew exactly what was going on, but their mistake was that they failed to show his true face to the people. Later, when his hypocritical show was no longer necessary, he showed his true colors and closed down the *takiyahs* and banned all religious assemblies such that throughout the whole of Iran *rawdahs* and other

¹ *Ashura*: tenth day of the Islamic lunar month of Muḥarram. Imam Husayn (a), the third infallible Imam from the Prophet's Progeny rose against the corrupt rule Yazid ibn Muawiyah in 61 AH in spite of a handful number of supporters to safeguard and set right the course of Islamic religion. In the bloody epic confrontation that took place in the desert of Karbala in contemporary Iraq, Imam Husayn and 72 of his supporters were martyred on the tenth day of the lunar month of Muḥarram and the day came to be called *Ashura* [the tenth]. The followers of Imam Husayn still mark those eventful days by holding mourning ceremonies.

² *Takiyah*: a place where passion-plays are represented; a religious theater.

religious ceremonies were no longer held. This action of his is something that you all know took place.

Lack of support for Mudarris was one of the historic errors

Another mistake made at that time by those who should have enlightened the people to the facts was that they did not lend their support to Mudarris. Mudarris was the only great man to stand up and oppose Rida Khan, and while some of those in the Parliament supported his stance, he met with obstinate opposition from others. At that time too, some faction or other could have lent him its support. Had this happened, in the light of the fact that Mudarris was a man endowed with many laudable qualities, being an enlightened individual, a powerful speaker and a brave man, he was the kind of man who could have uprooted the evil of this family there and then. But it did not happen.

More distressing than this, and it grieves me whenever I think about it, is the invasion of Iran by the Allies. At the time, Rida Shah praised himself or other praised him so highly, boasting that Iran (under him) was a mighty country which no other country was powerful enough to attack! (His son's boasting now is just like that of his father before him; he is truly his father's son!) However, once it was clear that this was just empty talk, the first declaration was never followed up by a second! It is said that when Rida Shah chastised one of his commanders as to why it took the Allies merely one or two hours to invade Iran, the reply was: "It should have taken only five minutes . . . at least we lasted for two hours. They had everything while we had nothing!" All the means of suppression which were brought into being in the country were done so for the purpose of suppressing the power of the nation itself. During the Rida Shah's era, powerful people existed in Iran, men who were ruthless but who were loyal to their country. Rida Shah clipped their wings on the orders of the foreigners and, through the agreements he made with the latter, divested these powerful figures of all their power. In doing this, the foreigners too were acting in accordance with a plan, a plan which was to strip these powerful men in Iran of their power, to disarm them and thus preclude any display of power by them. So this is what Rida Shah did, he divested powerful men of their power and, as you all know, in the end he himself went in the manner that he did, being taken away by the British along with the country's crown jewels! I was told by someone who himself had been told by an officer who had accompanied Rida Shah on his journey to the island of Mauritius, how, upon being told by the British that he had to leave Iran, Rida Shah packed the crown jewels into his

suitcases to take with him believing that they (the British) wanted to take him somewhere to live in a palace! During his journey to board the ship that was to take him into exile, he stopped at a bridge and sobbed in vain. The British put him on board a ship with all the jewels in his suitcases and once out at sea, a ship used for transporting animals came up alongside his ship and he was told to board it; on seeing that he had no alternative but to do as he was told, he boarded the other ship. When he asked about his suitcases, the British told him that they would bring them for him, but he went one way and his suitcases the other! God only knows whether the British still have them or not. This is all very unfortunate. The nation has witnessed Rida Shah's transgressions; nothing remains hidden.

Yes, Rida Shah left, and I myself was a witness to this when the armies of three countries invaded Iran and everything was exposed to danger, the people still rejoiced. It was as if they were celebrating the arrival of the Allies, but they were rejoicing because they had been told that the Allies had sent Rida Shah away! For they had experienced Rida Shah's oppressiveness, it was not something that he hid from them, so when the Allies arrived, even though they were the enemy, the people rejoiced for they believed they would act better than he had done. When a personage, a king, a holder of power does not enjoy the support of the nation, the people rejoice when he is removed from power and leaves the country, proclaiming how fortunate it is that he has gone instead of rising up to ask why. Truly, how fortunate it is that he has gone. But here, what is indubitably a source of regret and great sorrow, is that at that time, when the Allies came and Rida Shah left, not one voice was raised to say that the people didn't want his son (to succeed him) and thus stop the Allies from putting him on the throne. For indeed it was they who installed him in power. The Shah himself has admitted this, he wrote this in his book, although I have heard that it was later deleted. The sentence "the Allies thought it fitting that I assume power" was later expunged from his book. If only at that time someone, such as one of the country's leading figures, a member of the *ulama* or a group of people had spoken out to say: "We do not want this dynasty; we have had to endure much at their hands; what did the father do for us that should make us think the son is going to do any better?" This was one of the acts of negligence which took place in the history of Iran; had it not happened, the course of Iranian history could have been changed and we would not be sitting here speaking about it today, neither would I be here, nor you gentlemen, everybody would be going about his own business in his own country.

The negligence of Qawwam as-Saltanah and Dr. Musaddiq

Political personalities, leading clerical figures and other classes of people in our country were grossly remiss in this regard, and thus this man was imposed on us and his rule subsequently strengthened. From that time until the present there have been further cases of negligence. Qawwan as-Saltanah¹ could have done something, but he was careless and weak-willed.² More important than Qawwan as-Saltanah was Dr. Musaddiq.³ He attained power, but he made mistakes. He wanted to serve his country, but he made mistakes, one of which was that at the time that he assumed power, he did

¹ Ahmad Qawwam (1252-1334 AHS) was prime minister on several occasions. The uprising of Tir 30, 1331 AHS was against his appointment.

² Ahmad Qawwam [1863-1955 / 1252-1334 AHS] known as Dabir Hudur, Wazir Hudur and Qawwam as-Saltanah in whose hand the command for the Constitution is written. During the reign of Muzaffaruddin Shah he was the special secretary and head of the king's office. At the time of Ahmad Shah he was the governor of Khorasan and later became Prime Minister. When Sardar Sepah (Rida Khan) assumed power, he was dismissed and forced to leave Iran. After August 1941 [Shahrivar 1320 AHS] Qawwam resumed his political activities and became Prime Minister four times. However, due to the events of July 21, 1952 [Tir 30, 1331 AHS] he was again dismissed. Qawwam is recognized in Iranian history as one of the famous political figures who aligned himself with British and American imperialism. The secret agreement which Qawwam made with the American government in October 1947 stating: "The Iranian government cannot employ military advisers from any other country without America's permission," effectively put the Iranian army under the command of the American war department. This agreement, along with his government's granting of special concessions to America, especially with regard to oil, was an important factor in the spread of American policies in Iran.

³ Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq (1882-1962 / 1261-1346 AHS) son of Mirza Hidayat was one of the famous politicians of Iran. He studied at the school of political science in Paris (1909-10) and obtained a doctorate in law from Neufchatel in Switzerland. In the year 1915 [1299 AHS], he became the governor of Fars province and in 1917 [1301 AHS], when Rida Khan was War Minister, he was appointed governor of Azerbaijan. During the period of the sixteenth National Assembly, Dr. Musaddiq created the National Front with the help of a few other political groups. After ratification of the law nationalizing the Iranian oil industry, the Shah was forced to select him as Prime Minister. Dr. Musaddiq came to power with the support of the people and the religious leaders, especially Ayatullah Abul-Qasim Kashani. The policies that he adopted greatly curtailed the powers of the Shah. In June 1952 [Tir 1331 AHS], the Shah took advantage of an appropriate opportunity and dismissed Musaddiq. However, faced with public outrage, the Shah was forced to appoint him to form a cabinet. The differences which existed between Musaddiq, who believed that religion should be separate from politics, and Ayatullah Kashani, who felt that it was necessary to observe the fundamentals and laws of religion in the administration of society, gradually deepened, and with the coup d'état of August 19, 1953 [Mordad 28, 1332 AHS], Musaddiq's government collapsed. Following the coup, Musaddiq was arrested and condemned to three years in prison before being exiled to the village of Ahmadabad, situated between Tehran and Qazvin, to lead a lonely life until his death in March 1967 at the age of eighty-four.

not stamp out that man (Muḥammad Rida) and end matters. It was not a difficult thing at all for him to have done at that time, because control of the army lay in his hands, all the organs of power lay in his hands and the Shah himself had not acquired the powerful position that he was to acquire later. At that time, the Shah was weak and was at the mercy of Musaddiq, but the latter was remiss. Another instance of negligence which occurred is to be found in the fact that Musaddiq dissolved the Parliament and ordered the deputies to resign one by one. When they did so, a legal way lay opened for the Shah to reassert himself, because in the absence of a Parliament the Shah reserves the right to appoint a Prime Minister, and this he did! These were the mistakes that the Doctor made, and in their wake this man (the Shah) was once again returned to Iran. In the words of some, “Muḥammad Rida Shah left and Rida Shah returned.” Some people told the Doctor that his actions had resulted in Muḥammad Rida Shah leaving—and at the time of his departure he was a man of straw completely at the mercy of Musaddiq—and Rida Shah returning. What they meant by this was that a man of ascendant power returned. They said how at that time they didn’t realize that later on Muḥammad Rida would be a Rida Shah of a much more fiery temperament.¹ This was one of the mistakes that were made. Today, we are once again at a sensitive period in our history, and I’m afraid more mistakes might be made. Today, it is we who are duty-bound. We have witnessed many mistakes over the years, and I am afraid that this time too, the different classes of our society, our religious and political personalities and our intellectuals, may once again err in such a way that will bedevil us till the end of our lives and dash the hopes of another revolution ever taking place.

You all know, and whoever is familiar with our history knows, that this movement we are witnessing in Iran today has no precedent in the country’s history, if not in world history. It is a movement in which seven-year-old children call out in unison with seventy-year-old men: “We don’t want him!” A movement in which soldiers take to the streets with bayonets, guns and tanks attacking and killing the people, yet still these people stand firm with fists clenched shouting: “We don’t want him.” I’m not sure whether world history has ever experienced a story like that of Iran’s today, but most certainly the transition which is taking place in the country has no precedent in the history of Iran. I know, and any other discerning individual must surely know, that if this movement loses its momentum, it can never be retrieved. It is not a case of being able to turn this movement on and off like a light

¹ It refers to Muḥammad Rida Shah Pahlavi.

switch. This unprecedented movement has come about as a result of much hardship and because the hand of God, the Blessed and Exalted, is involved. Today, even with a military government in place and the cities of Iran occupied—for we must describe them as being occupied by the military—demonstrations are held, voices are raised from every corner and cries of “Death to the Shah” are heard once more. Such a thing has never happened before and there is no hope of it ever being repeated. I am afraid that we, you and others in Iran might err and that this will result in the movement losing its momentum, not being brought to fruition and our country remaining for evermore captive and under the heel of foreigners.

Opposition to the theory, “The Shah must reign and not rule”

Now they are expending every effort through every means at their disposal to retain him, either by using those who have entered the Parliament as so-called deputies or those outside the Parliament who support the Shah. These maneuvers that you have witnessed lately in Parliament¹ also form part of their efforts. All this talk of one group constituting the opposition and the other the supporters is all nonsense. All the opponents and the supporters agree on one thing, that the Shah must remain. They go on about “free elections,” what does this mean? It means that “His Most Exalted Majesty” will order the people to select their representatives, the regime will be formally retained and the referendum will be in the hands of the Shah. It means that the elections will be free, but free according to his command! This is what free elections mean! There must be a democratic regime and the Shah must reign not govern! This idea must be advanced both inside and outside the Parliament, everywhere it should be voiced that the Shah must reign not govern, and now they are praying to God that the people accept this proposal.

Indeed, this the Shah may do for the first two or three months, even perhaps for a year, but what about after that? Even if we assume (albeit a false assumption) that from now on he reigns and does not govern, that the revolution recognizes him as ruler and he becomes a proper, correct person, nevertheless what about all these crimes that he has committed so far? Are they of no consequence? If your ordinary man in the street were to kill another human being and then say, “I’m sorry, forgive me,” would he be let off? Would the law set him free? Is it logical then to forgive this murderer? Should we now forgive someone who for the past twenty-five years has ruled

¹ It refers to the exhibitionist oppositions of the members of the national parliament on the last days of the Pahlavi monarchy.

the destiny of our country, who for these past twenty-five years or more has betrayed our country, has given its wealth away to others, is exhausting our oil reserves in this way and is giving our gas away, who has killed all these people and perpetrated all these massacres? In the massacre which took place on Khordad 15, fifteen thousand people were killed, and in those which have taken place recently even more have been killed. Now he's telling us that these were mistakes, that he "erred;" and he promises that it won't happen again! Even if we presume that these mistakes will not be repeated, what about those that have been made up until now? You (addressing the Shah) threw political and religious figures into prison for ten, fifteen years or more. You persecuted them terribly and made them endure so much. But now that they have been released, and in such a weak state of health at that, now that a number of them have been released, is everything over and done with? You robbed a human being, thousands of human beings of ten years of their lives. Is this of no consequence? Should we now let this man reign? Should we tell him, "Okay, Your Most Exalted Majesty, please, ascend your throne and reign over us"?! And should we all go to pay tribute to him at the "king's reception"?! Should he now go and sit in an opulent palace somewhere and busy himself with the pursuit of pleasure for he is no longer required to govern? Have things come to this? Could a just person, could a Muslim accept such a thing? Could a Muslim, a morally-conscious person, a human being be expected to forgive a criminal who for twenty-odd years has ruled over this nation illegally, who for twenty-odd years has squandered the wealth of these people, has committed mass murder and allowed foreigners to dominate our country, as soon as he says: "Well, I made a mistake, forgive me"?! Mistakes have been made which constitute criminal acts for which he should be sentenced in a court of law.

Compromising with the Shah and the monarchy is treason

Let us suppose that now he has indeed become a servant of God and a Muslim! What about his actions up to now? Would he be acquitted of them in a court of law anywhere in the world? Would a religious court acquit him? According to the laws of Islam or secular law is everything finished as soon as he, being the Shah, says sorry? Should we now let bygones be bygones and return to our everyday affairs? To compromise now, to even think of compromising with this man, to even think of permitting him to reign but not govern, or getting rid of him and allowing Farah¹ to reign over us and free

¹ Farah Diba, Shah's regent.

elections to take place later, is tantamount to treason against the nation of Islam, against this oppressed nation.

Is the aged mother who yesterday sat and ate lunch with five members of her family but who this evening sits alone with her husband for her children have all been killed, is she of no consequence? He (the Shah) is sorry, so is all forgotten? Can a Muslim accept this? How will we answer those who watch a group of children on their way to school in the knowledge that their child who accompanied them yesterday is not with them today? What will we be able to say to this nation? Will we say that we have made a compromise with "His Most Exalted Majesty" so the blood of your children means nothing now, it is insignificant? Is this not treachery? How can anyone think of doing such a thing?! What kind of negligence, satanic negligence, is this? What kind of devilish insinuation is this that creeps into the minds of some telling them to let bygones be bygones; that it is better to overlook what he has done?! "Everyone has suffered, but we have forgiven now you must forgive and forget!" Which crimes of his should we overlook?! Is it my place to overlook them? It is the right of the nation to say whether we should overlook these mistakes or not. Can this right be overlooked? It is the right of the nation, of Islam, of God. Is he worthy of pardon? I am afraid that such a mistake may be made. The people should all join hands together and prevent such a blunder from being made. All sides are now resorting to various measures in an attempt to make you young people here and those in Iran kick up a fuss about this. At this sensitive period in time, now that the movement has reached the last stronghold, do not let this man win. This is a danger which Iran now faces. If weakness is shown and a mistake made, or if the people are ruffled by the hue and cry Carter is creating by saying that the Shah preserves their interests, that they will not neglect their servant, that this servant must remain—although this is not the actual word Carter used it makes no difference for the substance of what he said is that they could never find another servant like him—then this would constitute a grievous danger for Iran. You should not be frightened by these things.

No weapon is effective against a nation

A nation cannot be intimidated indefinitely. As we saw, they were not able to use the army to do this. He (the Shah) is very eager for the military to commit genocide, to kill one, two or three million people, but it won't happen; this is not how it works. Those overlords cannot do this either. Do not be mistaken in thinking that if you resist their plans then the Russian army will invade from one direction, the American army from another and

the British from another. This is all a myth. When a nation does not want something, then it will not be. And now the nation does not want him. It is not a political party or faction or a group of people that are saying “no” now, but a nation, and when faced with a nation’s “no” neither bayonets, tanks, guns nor the empty threats of Carter or the Kremlin are effective! They can write all they like in their newspapers and speak out as much as they like, but such a thing will not happen. We ask God to grant the Iranians victory in the struggle for their rights (the audience replies with “Amen”). We ask Him to assist those in Iran who have risen up in pursuit of their rights (“Amen” from the audience). Each one of us, wherever we are, is duty-bound to help these Iranians to whatever extent we can (the audience replies with “God willing”). I don’t know the exact number, but there must be many thousands of Iranians living abroad and if they can tell hundreds of thousands of foreigners what they know then it will neutralize the prevailing propaganda abroad now which speaks of the Iranians as a people who seek anarchy and who are not worthy of being given freedom! This is the nonsense trumpeted over the Shah’s propaganda loudspeakers. You must nullify this. The Iranians are people who have stood up and are saying that they want their rights, they want to be free, they no longer want to be under the influence of American military advisers. This nation has progressed such that it no longer wants this situation to remain as it is, and God willing, it will not...

Interview

Date: November 8, 1978 [Aban 17, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 7, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Armed struggles

Interviewer: A reporter of the English *Sunday Telegraph* weekly magazine

Question: [If all opponents of the Shah put pressure on him jointly, wouldn't it be possible for the turmoil to end without resorting to an armed struggle? If not, what groups of people—workers, soldiers, students, farmers, etc.—could be counted on for participating in this armed confrontation?]

Answer: We hope that, by this uprising that has now included every sector of the people, and by the pressure that the nation is exerting on the Shah, all of Iran's problems would be solved without resort to an armed movement; otherwise, if the need for an armed movement arises, every sector of the nation would take part in it, and it would not be the monopoly of any specific group.

Interview

Date: November 8, 1978 [Aban 17, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 7, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The future of the Pahlavi dynasty

Interviewer: A reporter of the Channel 3 (ARD) German TV

Question: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, what are the terms you consider acceptable for a government? And also, what are your plans to divert the Iranian society from the existing situation to your own desired society? And how do you anticipate the future of the Pahlavi dynasty?]

Answer: Concerning the Pahlavi dynasty, basically, we will not accept any terms under the Shah's rule or the transfer of his power to any other government in his dynasty. After the collapse of the Pahlavi dynasty, a progressive Islamic republic will come to power, and in that system, the destiny of Iran will be determined, and by relying on the people, the government will be appointed.

Q: [Foreign critics believe and declare that, if you influence Iran's political affairs, the progress made in the area of social modernization will be all ruined. If this is not true, please express your opinion.]

A: There has not yet been any progress made in Iran. What has so far been done may look like progress, but in fact is nothing but destruction. If the people take over the government, they will work hard for their own interests, then, God willing, progress will quickly be made.

Q: [In case serious changes occur in Iran, what would be the consequences for the Western European countries, West Germany in particular, especially in the area of oil?]

A: It wouldn't bring about any bad results. We will have mutual respect for those governments having respect for us. And once the oil is under our control, and no one else is interfering in the affairs, we will then sell it to our customers, and spend the money earned on our own people.

Q: [What will you do to the Americans already in your country? Also, aren't you worried about the influence of the Soviets in your country?]

A: We won't tolerate those Americans whose presence in Iran is harmful to us. But, those who cause no harm, like all the other foreigners, would remain.

We are not afraid of the influence of the Soviets at all, for our society wouldn't allow them to have any such influence.

Q: [What is your opinion of the country's general conditions and the new military government?]

A: The new military government with the Shah's speech¹ was on one hand, to swindle the people, and on the other hand, to suppress them. Neither that swindling nor this suppression will have any effect. All the people have stood up and are demanding their legitimate right. And this uprising would go on until the people achieve their right and overthrow this dynasty.

Q: [What are your plans and decisions for the toppling down of the present monarchy?]

A: For the time being, continuation of the strikes, demonstrations and making the strikes as wide as possible is our concern. If there is no progress, our idea will change according to the circumstances.

¹ On the verge of the military government's takeover, in a radio-television speech, Muhammad Rida, while confessing to his errors, committed to compensate for his mistakes in the future.

Interview

Date: November 8, 1978 [Aban 17, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 7, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The military government; the future government

Interviewer: Japanese Radio-Television reporter

Question: [The new military government has taken over in Iran; do you think there's going to be some changes, and obstacles in the way of your friends' victory?]

Answer: The new government has not accomplished anything new; Iran has been run by military government for a long time now, and now that the prime minister is military, nothing is going to change, and the people will continue their resistance, and the defeat of the system has become more imminent now.

Q: [A unity is developing among all opposition forces in Iran. At one side, You are the head of the Shiah Muslims, and the leftist extremists are present too. Don't you think this will create internal problems in the future?]

A: No, the leftists are very little in number. There are thirty five million Muslims in Iran who are all shouting Islam in the streets. Who can stand in the way of these thirty five million conscious believers? In this respect, we don't have any problem that isn't solvable.

Q: [What is your decision and opinion about the future government after the fall of the Shah, especially your stance about oil?]

A: The future government would be an independent one, unattached to any other government. And the plan is to reduce the influence of other governments and the superpowers over Iran, and to let the people themselves have control over the oil, which indeed belongs to them, and sell it to those who would pay us foreign exchange. We don't want to keep the oil; we want to sell it to those who are customers, and we would sell it to any customer with a better offer. And we would never allow scrap iron to be imposed on us instead of money.

Speech

Date: November 8, 1978 [Aban 17, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 7, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Fifty years of crimes committed by the Pahlavi (dynasty)

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

The Shah's various conspiracies to fool the people

The gentlemen shout the slogan, "We will kill your bloodthirsty enemy;"¹ he is not only my bloodthirsty enemy; this man and his father before him have been the bloodthirsty enemies of the nation for fifty years! He is the bloodthirsty enemy of our country's independence. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of our nation's freedom. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of our nation's abundant resources. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of our culture and education. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of our economy. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of our armed forces. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of all classes of our society. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of Islam, of the *ulama* of Islam, of the children of Islam and of Iran.

Now that our nation is aware of this animosity, and this great Islamic movement has begun, he has resorted to various measures. Before this movement began, he turned to two means of recourse the most important of which consisted of what he said, the speeches he made and that which was written for him in books, such as *Mission for My Country* and others—which were written in his name by other people and published by him. By this means he propagated the notion that Iran had progressed because of him, because of "His Imperial Majesty the Aryamehr!" That America was no longer like our grandfather' whom we must obey! That the hands of foreigners had been severed from this land and the Soviet Union no longer had the nerve to lay a hand on us nor America the power to attack us! There is no end to this talk that he delivers in his speeches and whenever the opportunity presents it self he delivers such speeches! You have all seen in his books what he has said about things like the great civilization' and the like.

¹ It refers to the famous slogan during the period of the Revolution, "Khomeini, Khomeini, may God protect you; we will kill, we will kill your blood thirsty enemy."

Another recourse he resorted to using was coercion. Before the advent of this movement, he used SAVAK, the army and the police to attack the people and their property. As this movement entered its first year and as day by day it spread further throughout the whole of Iran—God willing this movement will be retained and will become more and more widespread until it achieves its objectives—he resorted to different measures and sought refuge in a number of shelters. At one time he sought the solution by bringing in a reconciliation government¹ which was supposed to act in accordance with the desires of the nation and meet the nation's demands. He also did some childish things. So many centers of corruption exist in Iran and are supported by him and his regime, yet at the time (of the national reconciliation government) the authorities announced that they were closing down the casinos and changing the calendar.¹ But this was just to deceive the people. Later, when the Shah saw that the people had not been taken in by this tactic and that they continued to shout out, when he realized that this maneuver had only served to enlighten the people and that they demonstrated against it, he resorted to imposing martial law! So while the government was a government of national reconciliation, martial law governed! And the killings and murders which you all know about ensued! So, first of all, there was a reconciliation government¹ and then when that failed, the bayonet and a military government were brought in! Still our countrymen paid no attention to this. This spiritual change which has taken place in our society, a change which has embraced all areas of our country, has no precedent anywhere, not even in the history of Iran. One of the rules of martial law, or at least, one of the announcements made, is that a gathering of more than two people is illegal. Even so, groups of two hundred thousand people, three hundred thousand people, half a million people, in the very city at the center of martial law, come out onto the streets and set off shouting, "Death to the Shah!"

The Shah's use of weapon of repentance

The regime realized that nothing was being achieved by martial law, so, a few days ago, the carrot and stick treatment was brought into use: in one hand the Shah held a declaration of repentance, while in the other he gripped a bludgeon! I guessed that this repentance of his was just a ploy, and indeed it has proved to be so. In that tripartite meeting with the Shah,² it was

¹ It refers to the re-changing of the calendar from *Shahan Shahi* to *Hijri*.

² It refers to the Shah's tripartite meeting with the ambassadors of America and Britain. See Solivan, *Mamuriyyat dar Iran*, Persian translation, p. 118.

planned that he should begin speaking like a man who had repented, that he should make promises to the nation, admit that up until now mistakes had been made but to pledge not to repeat these mistakes, and commit himself before the nation to refrain from repeating his past deeds and mistakes. Upon doing this, he then turned to the different sections of this society, to the clergy, the grand *maraji* and the most learned *ulama*—as he called them—requesting that they guide the people and pacify them saying that he has decided from now on to allow free elections to be held, to give the nation freedom, freedom in the fullest sense of the word, but first the clergy must pacify the people. Then he turned to the politicians and asked them to help prevent the people from doing anything like this again and told them that he would give freedom, he would allow free elections and set up a legitimate Parliament and he would not repeat deeds done in the past or mistakes made. Then he turned to the youth telling them that they were part of this nation, and to the fathers and mothers of the youth telling them not to allow their children to come out into the streets and do such things. He addressed all sections of the society and confessed before the nation; and as I have been told the radio mentioned this in all of its programs and the declaration of repentance was read out.

The Shah's repentance means confession to all of his crimes

Thus he has admitted that what he has done until now was a mistake; he has confessed that he is guilty of a crime! He has conceded before the nation that he has up until now deprived the nation of freedom. Now he says he wants to cease making such mistakes, that he has realized that his actions were mistakes and he doesn't want them to be repeated. He is admitting that the Parliament has not been a national Parliament but a Parliament of the bayonet! He is saying now that in this too he made a mistake' but from now on the elections will be free! He is admitting that he ordered the killings, beatings and the plundering to be carried out by his agents from SAVAK and other agencies, and he is now saying that this was a mistake which he will not repeat in the future! He is admitting that he ordered these imprisonments and sent members of the *ulama*, politicians and others to prison for ten, fifteen years or more, and now he is saying that this was a mistake that shouldn't have happened, but well it just did! He says it won't be repeated, that he won't do such things again. He expects you (the people) to extend a brotherly hand and for him to remain king and you the subjects! He expects you to settle down so he can have a trouble-free rule, so he can do whatever his heart desires; meanwhile he promises, he pledges and guarantees that he

won't do such things again! This is the hand in which he held the declaration of repentance.'

Intensified killing of the people simultaneous with the Shah's deceitful declaration of repentance

This was the plan, for him to come before the nation and say these things. Following this, the Prime Minister¹ repeated his words and both he and the Shah called on the nation, on all the classes of people who had risen up, to come together with them and think about Iran, to stop doing these things and all join together and think about Iran! This is the hand of repentance that he held out, the hand in which he held the declaration of repentance. At the same time, he held up his other hand and the killings began in earnest. At the present time in Iran the regime is busy killing the people. We heard just this morning from Qum that the city has never before been in such a state! The person who telephoned here said that Qum had never before witnessed such an uprising as that which is taking place there today, that never before had the city witnessed such scenes of depravity, with fires burning and guns blazing. I do not have information at the moment as to exactly what is happening in other places, but I know that the situation is the same. It is said that Zanjan is witnessing the same scenes as Qum and that the situation there is serious too.

So in one hand he holds his declaration of repentance saying: "God, forgive me! I repent, I admit that I was wrong," while in the other he holds a sword which he uses to strike the people. In view of this can the people really believe that he has repented?! Perhaps some uninformed people would believe this if martial law were not still in place and instead of the military government a national government—as he sees it—were in power. But those who have studied the mentality of this man, who have seen what kind of a person he has been over the past twenty-odd years or more, who have seen him dress up in a different guise and present another image, one minute appearing to be a devout worshipper and the next grabbing five at a time,²

¹ Ghulam-Rida Azhari.

² It refers to Ubayd Zakani's poem in the versified story, *The Cat and the Mouse*:

سال یک موش می گرفت از ما آزش اکنون شده فر اوانا
این زمان پنج پنج می گیرد چون شده مؤمن و مسلمانا!

Every year he used to take one mouse from us;

His greed now has increased.

This time he is taking five,

As he becomes a faithful and Muslim!

realize what is happening and don't believe a word he says. If he had merely presented the people with his apologies and his declaration of repentance, then possibly some of them, those who don't look too deeply into matters, would have believed him. But he didn't do this; he used both the carrot and the stick at once! This is sheer ignorance. Either that, or those who are instructing him have a score to settle with him and want to get rid of him, but they want to do it in an oblique manner, they want to indirectly make the people realize just what his repentance really means. They want them to see that along with his show of remorse, his pleas to the nation to forgive his shortcomings, his pledges and his guarantees, he carries a gun beneath his *aba* [cloak]! Should the nation believe such a person? Which nation, which fool would ever believe him? Who could be taken in by what he is saying? Even those who know nothing about him could they be expected to take his words to be true when he is repenting and killing at the same time? Does anyone consider it possible that the army could kill people without the Shah having ordered it? Could the army open fire on the people without first receiving direct orders from the Shah to do so?!

In their meeting, their impaired way of thinking led them to the conclusion that in order to solve the current problem they had to keep His Imperial Majesty free from blame, that he had to say he had repented and the army was acting on its own! They want to make it appear that the army is committing these atrocities not the Shah! But they have gone about it in such a way that it is clear what the true story is! It is obvious that this is just a face-saving policy. At the same time one cannot help but think that those who arranged this realized that hypocrisy, martial law and the bayonet were not leading anywhere, so they came up with this plan to make the people understand that he is not sincere when he says he has repented, or he will allow free elections and will create a proper, independent and free country. At this very moment as he calls on God for forgiveness and claims to have repented, his machine-guns have, on his command, opened fire on the people! At this very moment, with the ink on his declaration of repentance not yet dry, Qum and Zanjan have been set aflame. The same is most certainly happening in other towns in the country and we will probably hear news of it later on in the day. These plans of theirs will come to nothing; these people can no longer be fooled. They (the superpowers and the regime) will have to come up with something else.

If this is a plan of the superpowers, then they are indeed stupid! And if it was thought up by the regime, well, idiots can be found among those in the regime too; but there are also smart people among them. If the plan was

conceived by the idiots among them then that explains its absurdity, but if it was conceived by those who understand a thing or two, then it was done so against him. It seems they are on the side of the people too! They want to awaken the people to the fact that this man's repentance is attack, not death! It is said that the repentance of a wolf is for the wolf to die, but that of the Shah is for him to attack!

The Shah's unforgivable crimes

Under such circumstances, how can the deadlock which exists now be brought to an end? How can a nation that has risen up and seeks its rights, a nation in which all social classes have awakened and have a correct understanding of the situation, a nation to whom the treachery has become clear and who witnesses the crimes every day, now allow someone from among the people, one of the people's leaders, someone from the clerical establishment or a politician, a merchant of the bazaar or someone from the universities to act as a go-between telling the people to accept that this man has repented, that he is asking their forgiveness so forgive him?! As I have said before, even if we assume that this man has repented and that from now on he will strive to introduce democracy and provide independence for our country, and even if, according to an impossible assumption, he were to carry out nothing but good deeds from now on, what about the things he has done up until now? Should we just forget about them, about all the crimes that he has committed? A person who has left thousands of families without fathers, who has left thousands of mothers and fathers childless, now comes before the nation saying: "I'm sorry, forgive me!" And should the people just accept this? How would the person who did accept it justify his action before these mothers and fathers? If we accept that the Shah reigns' but does not rule'—even if we were to presume that this were not a trick on the Shah's part, which it most certainly is—what answer would we have to give the people? What would we say to the old woman whose children have all been killed and whose home is now bereft of her offspring? Should we say that His Imperial Majesty' will now remain His Imperial Majesty,' but will only reign?! Should we tell the people to go and pay tribute to His Imperial Majesty' and pray for his well-being?! Should we tell them that everything he has done until the present, the ten years of the lives of the *ulama* of Islam, the politicians of Iran, the merchants of the bazaar and the academics and students of the universities that he has wasted in his prisons is of no consequence now that they are free? By freeing them can he give them back the years of their lives that they have lost?! Isn't it the case that these wasted

lives have been lost and cannot be returned? Young people have grown old in these jails of his. When I compare the state of young people whose acquaintance I made and with whom I shook hands before they were sent to jail with how they are now, it is like comparing a strong athletic man with an old man! Is everything finished then? Are all these things that he has done of no consequence now?! The beards of these men were black before their imprisonment, now they are white; these men were in a good state of health, now they are afflicted with ill health and need medical treatment. Even if we suppose that he is sincere in his repentance, what about the crimes that he has committed until now? Are these no longer of any consequence? Have they all been pardoned? Should the nation forgive him for these?

Giving respite to the Shah means the destruction of Iran

He and his ministers order us to “come, think about Iran.” Well, in actual fact we are thinking about Iran. We have been thinking about Iran now for a few years, this Iranian nation is thinking about Iran and that is why it has embarked on this movement. The people realize that they are losing Iran, that they have lost Iran. They want to save Iran. They are thinking about Iran and are presently trying to save it. Are we expected now to open up the way once more for the Shah to plunder Iran further and make Iran even more dependent on the superpowers, to show that we are thinking about Iran?! Should we think about Iran (in a way that he wants us to) and allow him to betray Iran? He thinks that the Iranians have not reached the stage where they can be given freedom! In his view, the Iranians have to be spurred on by suppressive measures and the military and have to be under the heel of foreign and domestic forces! He says that the Iranians have still not reached the stage whereat he can give them freedom. This is his logic. And that wretch (Carter) says that it is because the people have been given so much freedom that this hullabaloo has started. Carter says that the regime has given a “fast” freedom and that is why the people have raised their voices!

These are his words. How should we deal with such people? What else can we do with them other than squeeze their sordid throats until we are rid of them? Do we have any other alternative? Is there room for compromise? Is the solution for the Shah to remain in Iran? This would mean the death of the nation. This is a solution which would destroy our nation. This is a theory which would be the ruination of Iran or worse. All his deeds up until now have been corrupt, and now he wants a respite in order to get ready for further attacks! God knows that if the people of Iran give him a respite he will deliver them a blow from which they will not be able to recover. I have

spoken of this previously, that you must not give him respite; you must not give him the chance to strike you further. You have been reeling from his blows for one year now, and matters will only get worse.

These statements that he is making now—if they are indeed his words—are childish: “Let’s think about Iran! If I go, Iran will be destroyed! If I go, Iran will be divided! Russia will move in from one direction and America from the other! It is because of my might that they do not move in now!” As if they haven’t already done so (the audience laughs). Our army is being run by American advisers; bases which have been built in a number of places in the country have been done so by the Americans; they are devouring our oil, while the Russians devour our gas. Are we then free and independent? He himself said that a list used to be sent from the American and other embassies citing those whom they wished to see made parliamentary delegates, and there was no alternative but to obey! Then he claimed that this was only the case at one time; that is, at the time of his father, the father whom he praised so highly. The Shah admits that it did happen in his father’s time, but he claims that he does not allow such things to happen now! That they are not even on friendly terms now either! These statements are hollow, they are not truthful statements.

Today, there is only one duty for the Iranians, and that is to staunchly support and sustain this movement and to strike at this regime in any way they can until it is destroyed. If we show weakness, we will have betrayed this nation, Islam and the Quran, because this person is against everything we have, he is the bloodthirsty enemy of everything of ours! If someone shows weakness, is remiss or speaks a word of compromise with this man then he is a traitor to the nation and a traitor to Islam and should be shunned. The duty of all you, all of you who are abroad, is to assist the Iranian nation, to unite with the Iranian people.

The Shah’s opposition to the intellectual growth of the youth

Now I would like to turn to a matter brought to my attention by a group of gentlemen who visited me here from Germany and who felt that what they were doing there was of no benefit to Iran, that indeed it presented a danger for Iran—only a few days before their arrival another group came to see me and said exactly the same thing. These gentlemen¹ explained that by the time our oil reserves are exhausted, atomic energy will be of no use to us either. It will not take the place of oil because it will last no longer than oil. This is

¹ University students specializing in atomic energy.

what those gentlemen told me, and they should know, they are the ones with the information. They said that in their work at the institute¹ they are only permitted to go to a certain point beyond which they are not allowed to develop their scientific studies, so they are neither achieving any scientific results nor are they doing a service to their country, rather they say their work is detrimental to Iran. If this is how they feel then they should no longer go to this institute. They should do something else. You have to decide what your duty is. If you discern that this is all a ploy to prevent you, the youth (of Iran), from developing your strengths and capabilities, then you should turn your attention to something else. Our universities are just like this, indeed everywhere in Iran the story is the same, they (the foreigners) do not want you to progress; they want to keep you at a certain stage of backwardness so that you will not resist their rule. They keep you at a certain level, bring in experts from abroad and expend our nation's strength on carrying out the orders of the foreign experts, in other words the Iranians labor while the foreigners act like lords, the Iranians labor for a pittance while the foreign consultants sit smoking pipes and drawing up plans against the nation of Iran and receive God knows how much every month for doing so.

The plan to distance the people from Islam

Indeed, this was the plan from the start, these plans to keep the nation in a state of backwardness and dissociate the nation from its religion, have existed since the time of Rida Shah. They (the foreigners) know that which will oppose their plans, that which will stimulate individuals and society is the Holy Quran and those who submit to its teachings. So from the time of Rida Shah, Islam and the servants of Islam have been suppressed. During the Rida Shah era, no one ascended the pulpit to give a sermon, for sermons were banned and not even one was delivered throughout the whole of Iran; during the months of Muharram and Ramadan no religious ceremonies took place at all throughout the whole of the country! Any *akhund* who ventured out of his home was arrested and taken to the police station where the police would rip up his *aba* and his clothes and then tell him to get out. As one was released another was arrested. Such crimes this man (Rida Khan) committed against Islam and the Muslims. Then this one (Muhammad Rida) inherited his father's throne and you are all witnessing what he is doing, of course you can see only what is apparent, none of us knows what is going on behind the scenes, and those who do are afraid to speak out about it, perhaps later they

¹ Company selling atomic energy plant (facilities) to Iran.

will do so, and his crimes are many in number. At present we cannot begin to imagine what they have done to this nation, to Islam, to the Muslim people, the nation and to our resources.

Shah, the destroyer of Iran's natural and human resources

We have two kinds of resources; all nations have two possible kinds of resources and Iran had them both: one comprised the minerals which lay beneath the ground, and the other was the youth—for they are indeed one of the nation's resources—but both of them have either already been or are presently being destroyed. With regard to the natural resources, (in accordance with the plan) the country's oil and its gas are being given away to foreigners and the country's pasturelands, which according to the regime have been nationalized, have in fact been given away to foreigners too, along with the forests. I have documented evidence of this but the document is not with me at the moment, it is in Najaf. Our agriculture has been totally destroyed. In thirty years' time, if the situation continues as it is, our oil reserves will have finished! If they continue to give our oil away to foreigners so liberally, then in thirty years' time it will be finished, and then the nation will have neither oil nor agriculture. If this man remains (in power), in thirty years' time Iran will be a nation of beggars! At the present time half the nation is made up of beggars, but if the situation is allowed to continue then in thirty years' time beggars will comprise the whole of the nation. If you give this man a reprieve, he will destroy all of your material and spiritual resources.

So much for our resources which lie under and above the ground; now what about our youth who comprise one of our greatest assets? They are not allowed to be educated properly; their intellectual development is not permitted. The foreigners want to keep our youth at a certain level whereby they can do nothing only labor for them, even those Iranians who study abroad are not given a proper education. They will not allow an opposition force to spring from the ranks of the youth, they will not allow our youth to develop intellectually for fear that if they do they will stand up to them and not allow them to plunder us so.

But now, praise be to God, this idol has been smashed and this barrier removed. Our nation has risen up and has recorded its bravery and its vigilance in history. The nation has proved that neither imperial trickery nor the imperial club can stop them! Neither martial law nor a military prime minister can stop the nation. Even today, with martial law and a military

government in place, the movement in Iran continues, and the cries of “Death to the Shah” continue to ring out.

The superpowers’ support for the Shah aims at securing their interests

This nation cannot be deceived any longer. Carter’s statements that America will co-operate with him (the Shah); that America cannot afford to lose such a servant as he; that he (Carter) will do whatever he has to do to preserve American interests in Iran, no longer frighten the Iranian people. That wretch¹ from Britain also said that they could not sit back while someone who is preserving their interests is in trouble. Well, the reason for our shouting is precisely because this man was put on the throne to secure the interests of Britain, America and the Soviet Union. He is a traitor! He is opposed to everything our nation has, so by law he is no longer king. He was not legally so from the very beginning. These Pahlavis have ruled illegally from the very inception of their dynasty. From that time on, Parliament has been created at bayonet point. We have never had a national assembly, the Parliament which established Rida Khan’s rule was a parliament created at bayonet point. I can tell you about this because I myself witnessed events just as many others of my age did. An illegal monarchy, an illegal Parliament and an illegal government is now governing us, and now this man has the nerve to say that he intends to allow free elections! Elections are illegal as long as he is on the throne! His rule is illegal so what talk is this of elections? What do free elections mean in this context? Elections should be held in conformance with the law, and according to the law the Shah must give the order for elections to be held; but he is not the Shah! He is a bandit! A bandit who sits on the throne illegally!

Propaganda against Islam

Gentlemen, do not give him a reprieve. We all are duty bound and if we are negligent, we will all be traitors. (*Salawat* from the audience). I hope that you young people will raise one call and will support this movement with unity of purpose and action, shunning all differences, for this movement is of benefit to your country, it is of benefit to you. This propaganda which is being disseminated on this issue is coming from the Shah. These views that Islam is no longer able to administer a country; that it belongs to fourteen centuries ago; that an Islamic system would mean a second dictatorship; that Islam cannot meet the needs of modern-day man; that Islam invites reaction,

¹ David Owen, the then British Foreign Minister.

come from the Shah and are all outmoded views. Perhaps ten or twenty years ago someone could have got away with saying such things, but today these ideas are outworn. Just look at what the very same man who spoke of the two unholy matters of the black and red¹ reaction is doing to the country! Now he comes forward, holds out his hand and asks the great *maraji* and the most learned clergymen to help him continue with his crimes and carry out more! (The audience laughs). Such is his present situation. These statements are old news now.

The way of life and governance of the heads of the Islamic government

Islam is that which within the space of half a century had conquered all those lands in order to make the people true human beings. The victory of Islam is not like that of a king or of Nadir Shah. No, that is not the way of an Islamic government; an Islamic government seeks to create true human beings. You must look at the leaders of Islam themselves, such as the Most Noble Messenger, who was the head of Islam, and the Commander of the Faithful, who was leader after him. You must look at their form of rule. Was it a dictatorship? When the Prophet was seated with others, one could not distinguish the master from the servant or the Prophet from the disciple. The Prophet used to sit in this manner with the people discussing matters with them, with a people who were indigent and some of whom had been slaves. Indeed, the life of the Prophet was that of a poor man, the money in the treasury belonged to the people and nothing was ever misappropriated. Toward the end of his life when he stood before the people and told them that if any one of them had suffered an injustice at his hands or could claim that he had unlawfully taken even the smallest amount of money off anyone to come forward and seek redress. Not one person was found who could say that he had suffered an injustice or had been spoken to badly, not one could say that, God forbid, the Prophet had betrayed or deceived the people. One man did stand up and say that the Prophet had once struck him upon his bare shoulder, but when the Prophet told him to come forward and return like for like, the man approached the Prophet and kissed his shoulder saying he had lied so that he could kiss the Prophet. Can you find a leader who acts in this manner in any of the world systems? We would like such a leader, of course we will never be able to find one, but we are searching for one who will at least act according to some of the precepts of this leader (the Prophet), someone who will not betray this nation, who will not devour the wealth of

¹ The Shah labeled the Islamic movement as “black reaction” and the Communist movement “red reaction.”

the nation, who will not take this nation's money in America and other countries and build villas for himself, his children and relatives!

When the Prophet departed this world, he had nothing. As for the second leader (Hadrat Ali), whose realms extended throughout the East and nearly reached Europe in the West, he had only a pelisse on which he and his wife, Fatimah az-Zahra (a), slept at night and which he used during the day to feed grass to his camel. This was the court and throne of His Excellency the Sultan! He worked just like other laborers did, but not for himself, rather for giving to others. On the very day that the people swore their allegiance to him, he took his spade and pick-axe in hand and went to finish a job he was doing! He was digging a well, digging it with his own hands. And to whom were congratulations to be extended when water sprung forth? He said that congratulations were to be given to those who would inherit this and asked that he be brought a pen and paper so that there and then he could dedicate the well to pious purposes. This is how he lived, and as for the food he ate, this was nothing more than a few morsels of oaten bread. We are looking for such a leader. But we will not find one like Imam Ali, he himself told his people that they did not have his fortitude, but even though that was the case, they must still have piety.

We are looking for a virtuous leader, one who possesses political virtue at least, one who will not devour the wealth of this nation, who will not throw the wealth of this nation away. We are calling for an Islamic government, a government which acts a little like our leaders (the Prophet and Imam Ali) did. In what way has an Islamic government ever been dictatorial that these men are so afraid of it?! What dictatorship? An Islamic government is a government of law. Under an Islamic government, if the first person of the country commits an offence, Islam calls for his removal. If he acts tyrannically, if he slaps someone across the face unjustly, Islam will dismiss him, he will no longer be worthy to rule. Is this the manner of a dictatorship? This is the manner of a government based on law, the law of God. If someone has a complaint against the leader of the country, the first person of the state, he can go to the judge who may then compel the leader to come before him. The leader must comply; indeed this actually happened to Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali). This is the kind of government we want, a government of law, a government based on the progressive laws of Islam.

Islam's opposition is to corruption, not civilization

They are trying to frighten you away from an Islamic government. They say that if an Islamic government were set up, women would be locked up in

rooms. This is not so, in the early history of Islam, women went to battle! They stayed with the armies throughout the years of battle and tended to the soldier's wounds, more than is expected. If you (the Shah) were to produce one cinema, you would not find one person who would oppose it. An Islamic government is opposed to centers of corruption, not civilization. Is this civilization which has filled a country with centers of corruption? Should a country have no libraries but be filled with centers of corruption? An Islamic government is opposed to such things, it does not oppose progress. In one of the speeches¹ the Shah gave while I was in Qum, the wretch said that the *akhunds* proclaim that they do not want this civilization! They want to ride around on donkeys! What can one do with such a person? After years of describing the mullahs as unclean animals that the people should shun and likening them to worms which wallow in the filth and dirt, he now turns to the clerical establishment calling on the great *maraji* and the "most learned *ulama*" for help. Well, they (the *ulama*) know that he is lying! (The audience laughs). It is possible that he is slightly deranged.

May God protect you and may you be successful. Unite, for if you are divided, gentlemen, you will not achieve anything. You cannot progress by working individually; you must be united. The hand of God is with the group. (*Salawat* from the audience).

¹ It refers to Shah's speech on Khordad 18, 1342 AHS.

Speech

Date: November 8, 1978 [Aban 17, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 7, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Human rights; politics of selling oil; describing the general situation of Iran

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad¹

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Military government in the name of democracy!

It was written in one of the newspapers that as soon as a military government is brought to power in Iran, America will support it. When such an action turned out to be against America's stance in defense of human rights, the White House spokesperson created the excuse that the measure enjoyed America's backing because the installment of a military government was necessary for the establishment of democracy in Iran, that it was the forerunner to the democracy needed to settle the people and restore order, and it was for this reason it had been installed. Moreover, it was argued that this was just a temporary measure, and later, when order was assured, a proper government would be brought in...

All this talk about human rights and this Declaration of Human Rights is just a way for them (the superpowers) to devour these weak governments and justify their action. Do not suppose that the Declaration of Human Rights is a reality. Do these superpowers show even the slightest respect for human rights? We can judge from the actions of these signatories to the Declaration of Human Rights as to just how far they have acted in accordance with the principles of human rights. We can see in the case of Iran alone to what extent these signatories: America, Britain, Russia and Iran—for she too has signed it—have observed the basic principles of human rights. Freedom of expression, free elections, freedom of the press, radio and television, and freedom to propagate, these are basic human rights.

Does America not know that we have neither the freedom to propagate nor a free press? At present all press offices in Iran are closed because the military government has reintroduced censorship control and has arrested many different people. It is said that six hundred celebrated figures have been arrested so far. Does America not know that the press in Iran was never free

¹ This speech has not been printed in the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

in the true sense of the word? Even in those few days that they apparently allowed a partial freedom, not one of the newspapers could write a word about the Shah himself who is the head of the thieves. Not one single word was written about him in any newspaper in Iran, the *Ittilaat* and *Kayhan* included. Whatever criticism appeared was leveled at the government and the agents; all blame was apportioned among the agents, the government and the military, whereas the main culprit is the Shah.

Carter's claim of human rights and his support of the military government

If the press is free, then they should say who is perpetrating these crimes, and upon whose command these crimes are being committed. The Shah has been constantly engaged in such crimes now for more than fifteen years. Throughout the period that we have had a constitution in Iran, very rarely did we have a national election. Throughout the rule of Rida Shah and this Shah, we never had a freely-elected government or Parliament; Parliament was always formed at bayonet point. One of the people's basic rights is that they are free to choose their parliamentary representatives, for it is these representatives who will determine the country's destiny and will oversee the administration of all state affairs. If the Parliament is a legitimate one, then the country will be orderly and sound. However, if the Parliament is illegitimate, it will destroy the country, as it has done. Does America not know this? Does Russia not know this? Does Britain not know that in Iran neither the parliamentary representatives nor the press are free? Nothing in the country is free; everything is subjected to censorship and control, for bayonets are created by bayonets. All the parliaments have been created by the bayonet and under coercion from the Shah. Don't the Americans know this? Or are they aware of what is going on in Iran? They have ambassadors in Iran who send them information, they have agents there, the country is in their hands; they know what is going on. They know what our nation wants, but they are afraid that if the nation prevails then they will no longer be able to encroach upon the rights of the people. Those who shouted out in defense of human rights at one time are now supporting martial law and a military government; and although it conflicts with their stance on human rights for martial law deprives a nation of all its freedoms, nevertheless Carter and the American government continue to help and support the Shah. They are now trying to justify this support by claiming that this poor man is going through a lot of trouble to make the people free and the country prosperous, but that the people themselves do not want to be free and do not want their country to

prosper, that the Iranian nation does not allow this Shah to give them freedom! Carter claims that the people lack good sense, that they are a group of savages who do not have the wits to see that freedom is good for them. He says that this disorder in Iran has come about because the Shah wants to give the people freedom, thus America is extending him its support so that the Shah can restore order in Iran and can, with peace of mind, grant the freedom he wants to grant. However, the people won't let this happen. Does Carter not know what he is saying? Does the White House spokesperson speak without understanding? Do they lack knowledge of the situation and thus they speak in this manner? Or does their knowledge of the situation lead them to speak in this way and they do so through clear-sightedness and because they are aware of what is really happening. The Declaration of Human Rights is a tool used by them to rob the people on the plausible pretext of doing something good. But this is just another face-saving tactic.

The Declaration of Human Rights is no different from the Shah's bestowal of freedom on the people or his provision of a free and open political climate! They are nothing more than idle talk. In this world such talk stems from people who do not have strong ideological foundations. Such people lack foundation; rather, their principles are based on nothing other than material values. Such talk is irrelevant.

Protecting human rights

A state can claim that it protects human rights when its government is based on divine religious tenets and it sees itself as answerable to a great power. Those who do not consider themselves answerable to a great power, who do not believe in a great power, who have no regard for a higher power or who do not believe that a real accounting and recompense will take place, then no matter how much they claim to be (true) humanitarians who want to protect the rights of men, their claims will always be simply claims, they will have no reality. As long as that most fundamental detail, which is belief in God, is missing, as long as there is no fear of Him nor of a reckoning on the Day of Judgment, then confusion and disorder will reign among man and mankind will be dragged toward corruption and ruin. It is human nature to do wrong. That which brings the human being onto the path, that which establishes control and determines man's path, is religion; it is belief in a beginning and a resurrection which can prevent man, even when alone with no one else to see, from straying. We do not believe all this talk that high rank and humanitarianism make a person care about humanity. It was the humanitarians who went to Iran even after the killings on Black Friday. It

was that humanitarian who rules over a billion people¹ and claims to be both humanitarian and communist who went to Iran, flew over the bodies of the dead in a helicopter and (then) shook the Shah's hand and congratulated him. These are the humanitarians for you!

Do the superpowers, Britain, America and Russia, who have signed the Declaration of Human Rights and have laid the foundations for other similar projects, not know what is currently taking place in Iran? Do these humanitarians not know what is happening to the thirty million people in Iran? Do they not understand what is going on? No? Are they not informed of the reality? Is the truth that the Shah wants to give the people freedom and they are opposed to this? Is this the situation? Is this what Carter has understood the situation to be? Or has he come to this understanding through some supernatural means? Did this just come into his mind? No, Satan instructed him to say such things. This is the work of the Devil. They (Carter and others like him) are the Devil incarnate, they are *taghuts*.

Human rights and the amelioration of mankind only by means of religious belief

So long as spiritual values are not respected, mankind will not be bettered. Such things as the amelioration of mankind and the protection of human rights will not be achieved unless they are attempted from a spiritual basis. We can see again how those rulers who came to power and relied on God treated man, and how those who did not rely on God and had nothing to do with spiritual affairs behaved toward the rest of mankind. We can see how one who ruled over a vast region would get up at night and go to the doors of houses to examine the state of the poor and weak and attend to their needs. This ruler once said that he, may God's peace be upon him, was afraid lest somewhere in his realm, in Yemen or somewhere, someone went hungry while he ate his fill, and for this reason he kept himself hungry. It was belief the unseen that made him act this way, for otherwise he was human just like everybody else. It was belief in the unseen that made this man such that when a soldier of Muawiyah's army robbed a *dhimmi* woman, a Jew or a Christian, of her anklet, he became so distraught that he said: "If a person were to die from regret of such a situation, no one would reproach him."

Such a man can be said to care about humanity, because he has belief; he believes in a world after this world. He knows that life does not simply revolve around eating and food; it does not only involve an animalistic life,

¹ Hua Kuo-Feng, the then leader of China.

he knows there is something else. Those who believe in spiritual principles can be relied on; man can place his destiny in their hands; man can make such people his representative, his minister or his president. Our call today is that this is what we want to do.

The history of the Shah's crimes in Iran

Our destiny has for the past two thousand five hundred years been in the hands of black imperial rule. Until recently this man was saying that the Iranian people liked the monarchy, that they were Shah-worshippers, yet throughout the history of monarchical rule in Iran these Shahs and Shah-worshippers—as he calls them—have been at each other's throats. Battles and disputes between them have marked this period. Even those kings who were reputed to be good, whose name *Jannat Makan*' would evoke respect whenever mentioned, were evil. Shah Abbas is one of them; he blinded his own son for the sake of his realm and his position! Anushirvan the Just' is another; he was one of the worst tyrants, and his oppressive acts have been recorded in history.

God knows how Iran has suffered under these monarchs. You yourselves are currently witnessing the actions of this Shah, this justice-seeking Shah, this Shah who wants to create a just society and claims to protect Islam! A short time ago in a speech he claimed that he wanted to propagate Islam and implement the constitutional law. Up until a couple of days ago he was a liar, and he is no different today. He is lying to the people and I know that they realize this. A short while ago these Shah-loving people of Isfahan set alight anything associated with the government and the Shah! Yet at the same time he was speaking about his friends who are the Shah-loving people of Isfahan, the Shah-loving people of Tehran, Yazd and Kerman and claimed that everywhere was the same. Was it this love of the Shah that a few days ago led the people to bring down that statue and break it into pieces, each person taking a piece as a souvenir? Are these the Shah-lovers?

Control of the oil within our hands

Does he (the Shah) not know what state Iran is in and where the sympathies of the Iranian people lie? It is amazing. He is amazing. He installs a military government which tomorrow will set alight this city and that village and kill the people, yet still he stands before the people and comes out with such things as: "I give you a pledge, I promise, I guarantee that I will not repeat my past actions!" What kind of madness is this? A philosopher or a physician should be brought to explain this. This brain

should be inspected to see what kind it is that makes him speak such words. What kind of behavior is this? This kind of behavior needs to be examined; a normal person would not act this way. This is abnormal behavior. It is a miracle of nature! (The audience laughs). Yes, he has said this and it is truly extraordinary. (The audience laughs).

Be that as it may, he takes advantage of everything, but most of all he has taken advantage of the apathy shown by the nation up until recently. However, now that apathy has been transformed to ardor and he doesn't know what to do about it. According to the translated account of events that I read, the supporters of America who were in Japan¹ are once again talking about the oil problem. They fear that without (Iranian) oil, European industries and factories would cease to function. This was said in Japan to get the Japanese to join them in opposition. However, the truth of the matter is that we want to sell our oil to anyone who will give us money for it, not to those who will set up bases for themselves in return. It is amazing that some people are allowed to take our oil and set up bases for themselves in Iran in exchange. Do not think that those who give us weapons do so because we need them. These weapons they give us are those that they want to have in Iran to use to establish their bases there against the Russians for example. Even though this is the case, he (the Shah) does not say anything, so he himself agrees with this. When they want to do something they use the excuse that they are doing it to pay for the oil they have taken! The oil money does not go into the pockets of the nation, no, it goes into the building of bases in Iran for the Americans! This is how they are robbing this nation of its wealth.

The politics of selling oil in an Islamic government

We want this to stop. We are not going to cease selling our oil; we are not going to keep it. We want to sell it to whichever government is willing to give us the best price for it. The oil is ours, we are the sellers and they are the buyers. We want to have the choice, we do not want the choice to lie in their (the Americans') hands, we do not want it to be them who say how much we can extract, what price we can sell it for and what we receive in return for it. They take our oil and the money they pay for it goes back into their pockets through the bases they have built for themselves in Iran. We want this to stop.

¹ At the summit conference of the world's industrialized countries.

Government, law, justice

The first right of a human being to which he is entitled, one which is recognized by all countries of the world, is freedom. We want to acquire this. The people of this nation have taken to the streets barefooted, they shout out and give their youth and are trampled under foot and under tanks. The women and men of this nation face the tanks shouting in unison: "Freedom, Independence and an Islamic government." We want a legitimate government, one that will respect the law. We oppose a government which shows disregard for all human rights and all international laws and which acts in whatever manner it wishes toward the people. We want a government like that during the first age of Islam, one which will govern no other way except in accordance with the law, in accordance with a law which is just and right, a law whose aim is to develop man and better him. We are facing these problems now, and as we sit here the troubles continue in Iran. But along with the suffering there is hope. We hope that, God willing, for all their might we will sever the hands of the superpowers which grasp our resources. (The audience replies with "God willing").

May God protect you all and grant you success.

Message

Date: November 9, 1978 [Aban 18, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Inviting the clergy to help the deprived

Addressed to: The theologians and clergies of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1398 AH

To all Iranian distinguished clergy and Hujjat al-Islams, may their blessings long last:

After extending greetings to you, I would like to declare now that the hands of the Shah's criminals and executioners are more than ever drenched with the blood of our youth and children, and have left behind many killed and injured, and have made a huge number of people homeless and unprotected, and have brought you gentlemen and myself great grief. Now that strikes and public shut downs have been undertaken as a protest against the tyrant system, and for administering justice for those without shelter, it is obvious that such occurrences will bring about losses, and some sectors of the noble and deprived traders, employees and workers, already have and will suffer; and this matter concerns me a great deal. Therefore, I am respectfully asking you gentlemen to appoint and assign reliable missions to every city and their suburbs to obviate the needs of the needy, whether for surgery, lack of a guardian and care or financial hardships resulting from their just strikes and shut downs, and to eliminate their problems as much as possible, so that they would be encouraged to hammer the enemy down by their strikes. And it is to the brave and conscious people of Iran to assist their sisters and brothers directly and pay their divine debts.

You, distinguished gentlemen, are allowed to spend from the blessed Imam's (a) Share for this legitimate and divine matter; my representatives are allowed to spend up to half of the Imam's (a) blessed Share for such matters. You, gentlemen, should also encourage the respectable merchants and benevolent people not let their brothers and sisters, who have experienced hardships trying to save Islam and in the demand for justice, and who have served the great nation and shed their blood in doing so, to suffer. I pray to the supreme God for the eminence of Islam and the magnificence of

the dignified nation of Iran, and for cutting off the hands of the foreigners from Iran. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruḥullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: November 9, 1978 [Aban 18, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Detention of Amir Abbas Hoveyda and other issues on Iran

Interviewers: Reporters from Brazil, Britain, Thailand, Japan, America, etc.

Question: [After all these recent annoyances and commotions of the students,¹ and the subsequent establishment of the military government, does Your Eminence Ayatullah believe that the current situation is for the overthrowing of the Shah? And has the arrest of Hoveyda, the former prime minister, caused any changes in the circumstances? And finally, would you encourage and invite your supporters to an armed struggle against the Shah?]

Answer: The military government has no effect on Iran's affairs, but it plays a major role in intensifying uneasiness, strikes and demonstrations. So, this is how matters have been getting worse since the military government's establishment. The arrest of Hoveyda won't do any good either. This is another maneuver that they think will be effective in calming down the people. The only thing that could undoubtedly be effective is if the Shah himself and his dynasty leave, then a relative tranquility will follow. Although this is our method of struggle for now, which I hope it will solve all the problems, but if it takes a long time, and we are left with no other choice, then we would re-consider the matter.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, is interested in replacing the present regime with an Islamic republic. Would such a government guarantee democratic freedoms for everyone? And what role would you personally play in such a government? Also, regarding the democratic freedoms, we would like to know whether or not the communists or the Marxists would enjoy freedom of thought and speech.]

A: The Islamic government is a democratic government in the true sense of the word, and under which, there are equally complete freedoms for all religious minorities, and everyone will be able to express his or her opinion. And Islam has the responsibility to answer every opinion, and the Islamic government will answer logic with logic. But I am not active within the

¹ Demonstration by university students on Aban 13, which resulted in the martyrdom of several of them.

government and will act the same way as I am right now, and when the Islamic government takes form, I will take a guiding role.

Q: [What will be the Islamic republic's foreign policy, particularly in connection with the superpowers?]

A: The Islamic government's policy would be maintaining independence and freedom of the nation, government and country, and mutual respect after achieving complete independence, and there won't be any difference between the superpowers and others.

Q: [You have denounced the West's influence, especially America's. How could this influence be limited? As it goes now, Iran is dependent on Western technology, and the West is also in severe need of your raw oil?]

A: It is the intention of the Islamic government and our nation to end the influence of the West and all other countries in Iran. When an entire nation, with all sectors rise toward a single goal, no influence can impose on them anything other than that. And about the oil, once we gain our independence and control over the oil, we will sell our oil the way that we choose, and spend the money earned on our country's affairs. We have no problems with selling our oil, but we don't want to sell it the way it is being sold now.

Q: [How long would Your Eminence wait while the Shah is in power, before you call for an armed holy struggle?]

A: Until I become certain that we won't achieve our goals this way.

Q: [There has been an order issued for a general strike next Sunday in Tehran. Is this supposed to mark the beginning of serious confrontation with the present military government in Iran?]

A: This type of struggle has always been serious, but the amplitude has fluctuated. However, the military rulership and the government have caused more disturbances among the people, and the expansion of our strikes and demonstrations.

Q: [What are the outcomes of your negotiations with Dr. Karim Sanjabi and the National Front?]

A: There was no negotiation in the sense that an agreement was reached. I presented what I had in mind and they accepted. I present what people have always wanted; whoever accepts, has acted according to the people's wishes.

The people's wish is to overthrow the Shah and to establish an Islamic republic. Take a look at the demonstrations.

Interview

Date: November 9, 1978 [Aban 18, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The ruling system in the Islamic republic

Interviewer: A reporter of *Amsterdam* weekly magazine

Question: [What do you see wrong with the Shah, his legitimacy, strangulations, or his social and economic performance?]

Answer: Firstly, the reign of the Shah as was his father's has been against the will of the nation to start with, and secondly, the foreigners have imposed them on us in order to protect their own interests. Therefore, his economic, political, cultural and military plans have all been against the nation's interests, and their damaging results are now observed in every field.

Q: [Why doesn't the Shah's change of direction satisfy you? Wouldn't the people of Iran be satisfied with the purging of the military? How are you going to resist the army?]

A: Under the pressure exerted by the nation, the Shah has submitted himself to this change of direction, and in order to free himself out of the deadlock he is trapped in, so this way, he could ease the wrath of the people, and start his treachery once again after reinforcement. But no army or any other power can face the nation. Has the Shah not been imposing his rule on the nation by relying on the army so far? And we see that he has been defeated.

Q: [If the monarchy falls apart, how are you going to build up your Islamic republic from the bottom and be certain that those who took advantage of the Shah's regime wouldn't benefit from the changes once again?]

A: By relying on Islamic instructions and enforcing its laws, we would, on one hand, try in every aspect to cut off the corrupt hands, and on the other hand, to obliterate corrupt motives. And we would also oblige all people to immediately prevent any deviation from Islam anywhere they notice it within any rank, from the lowest to the highest. So in this way, corruption would be prevented from increasing, and the corrupt elements would lose any all opportunity.

Q: [What does returning to the laws of the Quran mean as far as women, illiterates as well as entertainment—alcohol, movies, etc.—are concerned?]

A: In an Islamic system, women can actively cooperate with men in building an Islamic society, but they will not be used as objects. Neither do they have the right to degrade themselves, nor do men have the right to hold such a concept of them. And about anything considered as entertainment, Islam opposes anything which makes man feel empty and alienated from himself. Drinking of wine is prohibited in Islam. Movies that cause man's deviation from his sublime morals are prohibited.

Q: [What are your plans regarding land reforms, industrializations and selling raw materials such as oil, and what is your position concerning OPEC and the Arab war?]

A: Iran can quickly solve its agricultural problems such that the farmers can have a standard of living in line with others, and also the country can become self-sufficient as relates to food. And we will work on industrializing the country, though, not on assembly industries which have not only caused more dependency on foreigners, but also, have taken the majority of the poor and the deprived into the service of a bunch of capitalist aggressors.

Q: [Are you interested in leaving France for another European country once your tourist visa has expired in two months? Would you go to the Netherlands?]

A: My stay in Paris is temporary, and I will leave as soon as I find an Islamic country where I can continue my activities.

Q: [What do you think of the delivery of the Dutch ship to the Iranian naval forces while the country is already severely armed by America?]

A: The unchangeable principle is that our foreign policy must be based on maintaining the country's freedom and independence, as well as protecting the nation's interests. However, under such circumstances, the technical authorities of the selected government would look into the matters in the future and the government would come up with a decision.

Interview

Date: November 9, 1978 [Aban 18, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The youth; residence in France; the military government

Interviewer: A reporter of the Dutch Radio-Television

Question: [You are very popular among the youth. How are you going to respond to this amazing popularity?]

Answer: They have realized that we are exactly pursuing what is in their nature and in their dream from way back; they consider us their servants. This is why they like us, just as I like them.

Q: [How would you evaluate the communists' position in Iran? To what extent and based on what evaluating factors? What do the Soviets' think about the current situation?]

A: The Communists have no power in Iran. Almost all Iranians are Muslims, and in this movement, they have proved how much they love Islam and desire an Islamic government. But the Soviets, like other superpowers, support the Shah, and they are trying to preserve the Shah by supporting him but they can't. People don't want the Shah; he must go.

Q: [In the current situation of France, some members of the parliament have questioned the government about your stay in France, and expressed their concerns. What is Your Eminence's opinion?]

A: We expect the government of France, which has always introduced itself as a human rights observer, to recognize and support the ongoing movement in Iran against the Shah's oppression, which demands nothing but legitimate basic human rights, and to prove their liberalism if they're claiming to be liberals. And we expect the French nation to support the Iranian nation, which is giving martyrs and the wounded under the boots of the superpowers everyday, and still has not ceased its freedom-seeking struggles for administering justice.

Q: [Can it be said that with the establishment of the new government and the imprisonment of some individuals,¹ a new problem and situation has been created?]

A: Iran has been run by a military government for a while now, and these actions that the Shah is taking are some maneuvers that won't affect our movement, and are plans instigated by the Shah and foreigners to be executed, but they won't do the Shah any good. The nation is extremely angry with the Shah. The presence or absence of the military government makes no difference.

Q: [Is coordinating all the opposition forces in Iran possible?]

A: We don't have different forces. The Iranian nation has truly arisen for its rights. But those who are affiliated to the Shah and feed on him, may be varied until they are brought under one umbrella by the exercise of politics. The Iranian nation is unanimous and anyone opposing the nation's will is a traitor.

Q: [Are you ready to issue an order for an armed movement against the Shah, which would naturally turn into a civil war?]

A: We hope to win without having to resort to an armed war, and that the Shah withdraws. And if at some point the circumstances demand, we would take the armed struggle into consideration.

¹ Ghulam-Rida Azhari's military cabinet and imprisonment of some of the regime's affiliated elements including Amir Abbas Hoveyda.

Speech

Date: November 9, 1978 [Aban 18, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Islam the answer to all of man's needs

Addressees: A group of young French boys and girls¹

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

I hope that an Islamic government will be established in Iran and that its virtues will be made known to man, so that he will come to understand just what kind of religion Islam is; what the relationship between a government and a nation should be; in what manner justice is administered, and what kind of differences exist between the living standards of the first person of the country and those of a peasant. If the people were to come to understand some of the virtues of Islam, then it is possible that they would embrace Islam.

The first person of an Islamic government, who is the caliph of the Muslims and can be said to be a ruler of the Muslims, lives a more humble life than a third class citizen does, and his standard of living is the same as that of a poor person. The social justice and other rights which Islam brings into effect to the benefit of all social classes are without precedent among mankind. An Islamic government is not like other systems of government such as a monarchical or republican system. The ruler of an Islamic state takes his example from he who used to go and sit with the people in a small mosque in Medina. Those men in whose hands the destiny of the country lay would gather in the mosque too, just like the other classes of people, and this gathering was such that were a stranger to walk in on it, he would not be able to distinguish the leader of the country or the man of high office from the poor man. For, the ruler would dress as the poor did and would feast as they did. The execution of justice in an Islamic system is such that were someone from the lowest class in the land to lodge a complaint with a court of law

¹ Before the Imam's speech, the representative of the French youth group had written to the Imam, thus: "...Through this bunch of flowers that we offered to you, we expressed our ardent feeling that your presence in France has intensified our interest on Islam. Taking into account, particularly, the peculiar circumstances we have witnessed here, we became interested to undertake a group travel to Iran so as to actually see the relationship between man and God that Islam puts forth."

against the first person of the country, that is against the ruler or the governor, the judge would summon the ruler to stand before him and he in turn would have to comply; if the judge's decision went against the ruler, he would still have to abide by that decision.

Unfortunately, the virtues of Islam have remained hidden to man, even to the Muslims themselves, and the oppressors and oil-devourers have not allowed Islam, as it truly is, to be revealed to the people. Were true Islam to be put into practice, then there would be hope that the whole of mankind would come out under the banner of Islam, and all other ideologies would be defeated. Unfortunately, they have not allowed the people to come to know Islam. Sometimes they have described Islam as "reactionary," sometimes as barbaric and sometimes they have said that it is something which belongs to one thousand and so many hundreds of years ago and cannot be used to administer a country today. But all this is just propaganda. Proof exists in the Islamic scripture showing that what the propagandists of other countries have said about Islam is untrue.

We are in search of original Islam

We want to bring Islam, or its government at least, into effect in such a way, that you will see the true meaning of democracy and mankind will discover how greatly different Islam's democracy is from that more well-known conventional brand of democracy that the leaders of republics and (constitutional) monarchies claim to practice. The divine laws are not something that can be explained, even briefly, in this one session, however, I will try to give you just an overview of them. The laws of Islam are laws designed for people, for each individual in the human race. They govern the relationship each person has with God, with the Prophet of Islam and with the government, the relationship he should have with other people and with those who are not of his nation. All relationships which can possibly exist between two people or between human societies are covered in Islam and rules have been given for them. Many of these rules pertain to the relationship between man and God, to that dimension of man's being which, (according to the Christian religion of today), Hadrat Jesus, may God's peace be upon him, introduced to man. [According to today's beliefs,] Christianity concerns itself only with our relationship with God, the Creator. In Islam there are many rules pertaining to this relationship, but in addition, there are rules for other relationships concerning man. There are rules to ensure man's well being even before he is born, to ensure that a sound, healthy, refined individual comes into the world. Islamic law contains provisions relating to

the preliminaries of marriage, the choice of spouse, and the form in which a marriage should be contracted; there are laws for when intimate relations take place between a man and his wife, for when a child is conceived and when it is being suckled. There are rules for the child for the time it is being reared by its mother and when it is being trained by its first teachers. Islam has rules for all of these things, and laws to train man. Moreover, Islam is not like Christianity which has no rules for government and the administration of a country—and if it once had these rules they have not reached the Christians. Islam has a form of government like other governments do; it has institutions which are based wholly on justice. The relationship between the government and the various citizens of the state; the relationship of the citizens with the state; the relations between the government and the religious minorities; the relations of the Muslims with people of a religious minority; the relation of the government with other governments; the relation of the Islamic society with other societies; Islam has laws governing all of these. I cannot explain all the Islamic laws for you in this one session, not even briefly; if however, God grants you His favor and you embrace Islam, then whichever one of you is interested will gradually learn about these for yourselves, God willing.

Speech

Date: November 9, 1978 [Aban 18, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The real culprit is the Shah

Addressees: A group of students and Iranians living abroad

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

The arrest of a number of his accomplices in crime is just another one of the desperate measures the Shah has adopted. They have realized that martial law and this military government that they have established are not having the desired effect, so now they have set off down another road, namely arresting those who until yesterday were the Shah's accomplices in crime—some of whom had aided and abetted him for twelve or thirteen years in every crime he committed¹—on charges of treason and criminal offence. They have arrested one accomplice to protect the other! They think that now that these accomplices have been arrested, public opinion has been satisfied and the people will let the Shah remain! For what else could the people want from him? On the one hand he has apologized for his mistakes and has pledged not to make such mistakes again! And on the other hand he has released many of the political prisoners: scholars, politicians and others. In addition, he has arrested a number of former government officials who have committed offences and is going to put them on trial!

So why is the Iranian nation being so stubborn? ...He will remain "His Imperial Majesty!" Where could they find a better Shah than this one who arrests thieves, frees political prisoners and promises to be a devout worshipper and Muslim from now on?! What more do the people want from the Shah that they continue to strike all over Iran? What are these strikes for now? Why are the strikes still persisting? Why are the firms, the airlines and the national bus company still on strike? Why are the doctors and all the others on strike?

¹ It refers to the arrest of Amir Abbas Hoveyda (the prime minister for 13 years) and other officials of the regime on Aban 16, 1357 AHS.

Shah, the one responsible for all of the crimes

Let's take a closer look at the arrest of these men to see if they have added to or diminished the crime. It was you (addressing the Shah) who formed the governments and approved of them all. These criminals that you have now had arrested were all once members of your government! They were your accomplices in crime! Are you now calling them criminals? You are the one who brought these criminals to power! Are you calling them thieves now? You are the one who brought these thieves to power! You brought these criminals and traitors into your governments and worked with them in plundering this country and tormenting this nation! If two or ten people work together and perpetrate a crime or commit treason, then later one of them, who is more powerful than the rest, turns the others over to a court of law, is his own crime forgiven because his accomplices have been arrested? Or does this act actually constitute acknowledgement of his own treason because he brought these men to power? Some of these men have been in the government for twelve years or more, and do you (addressing the Shah) mean to tell us now that you were not aware of what they were doing for these twelve years, that you have only recently found out about it? Are you saying that you were not aware until a few months ago of the activities of this man who was once your prime minister and adviser, and was involved in the running of affairs doing everything under your supervision and on your command? That you have only found out in these past few months? If someone betrayed and pillaged this country for twelve or thirteen years and you did not know about it, then you are not fit to hold this post—if indeed it can be called a post! You are unworthy of this position! The fact of the matter is that you were aware of what was going on just as you are today. You were two accomplices in crime! But you were the key partner and he was the small fry. Now if the key partner arrests his subordinate and throws him into jail, does this mean that the crime is forgotten? Well, you have arrested the small fry, now the nation wants the kingpin! The nation wants to punish you for the same reasons that you have had these accomplices of yours arrested. The people want to see you arrested. What the regime and its supporters are doing now is seeking a way to save him, but this is not a sensible way, this is not the way out!

The people will not be fooled

All this talk and all of these deceptions are brought about because they think they have a chance, be it only one in a thousand, to trick the people, the ordinary people that is. However, we see that the people will not be fooled.

His accomplices in crime have been arrested and his speech is repeated again and again, the people have heard it and we have heard it too along with that of the military prime minister, we have seen the bayonets and the attacks on the people. The regime's agents broke down the doors of a hospital and burst in killing the people there. The people of Qum were attacked and three people killed in a public bath by gas. In Hamedan and everywhere the situation is the same, yet still the people continue to shout out, the strikes continue, the revolt continues, it cannot be stopped.

A nation which has been trampled by these criminals for more than fifty years has now opened its eyes and sees that it must defeat them by force, by bringing pressure to bear and by creating tumult, by demonstrations, strikes and the like. The people know that if they are in the slightest way remiss, the situation will return to how it was fifty years ago and they will not be able to create such a movement, such an uprising, as this again, not even in another fifty years' time. The nation knows this. It knows that if this movement is not carried through to its final stage and does not continue until this man is overthrown, then the situation will return to being as bad as it was at the time of Rida Shah, or even worse. And this time if this man regains his power, then neither children nor the elderly will be spared, all his opponents, which means the whole of the nation, will be crushed, none will be spared.

Do not believe all this talk about social justice! Every so many days he would ascend the rostrum and rant on about social justice, an open political climate, free elections, a great civilization, the gates of a great civilization and other such myths, a hundred of which mean nothing now to the Iranian people. He would say these things one after the other, and he is still doing it. Whenever he speaks, it is about such things! The only thing that differs is the audience. Sometimes he speaks to the bazaar merchants. When he went to Qum, just before the events of Khordad 15, they say that he was so confused that instead of going in the direction of the shrine, he set off down a side street! They had to go and tell him: "Sir, this way please." (The audience laughs). They had to guide him to the shrine, and when he arrived there and took up his position to speak, he was shaking. Still he abused the people. He abused the devout merchants of Qum calling them the "bearded ones" and other such irrelevant things. He spoke about the *ulama* in an even worse manner, calling them impure animals!

Satanic monarchy

Now, however, he comes before the nation, repents once again and claims to be sincere when he says to all the sections of society that he has

made mistakes which he will not repeat! Well if, as he claims, his past actions were mistakes then why is he killing again now? If he accepts that he made a mistake, is there a more serious mistake than murder? Is there a mistake as grave as that of killing the women and the youth of this nation? He has acknowledged his mistakes, and he says that these won't be repeated, so why is he doing just that? How can the people be expected to believe that he won't make such mistakes again when he is presently killing the people. Is it at all possible for the military to kill someone without first receiving the Shah's permission to do so? Are they killing the people for anyone else's sake other than his? As long as he gives the command and the military feel obliged to obey and dare not do otherwise, the killings will continue. No one will kill the people and perpetrate such vile deeds if he does not order it. It is on his direct command that they are made to kill the people and do other things, on the direct command of this same man who says he made a mistake and asks for the Iranian people's forgiveness; this same man who promises and guarantees not to do such things again. You (addressing the Shah) have given promises and guarantees before. At the beginning of your satanic rule you gave the same promises, you went to the Parliament and swore your oaths and then you went on to commit these "mistakes," as you call them. So what is so different this time? At least at that time you gave the people a grace period, you waited until ten days, one month, two or three months after you had made your promises before you broke them. Today however, you perpetrate these vile deeds, these crimes, at the same time as you admit to your past mistakes and promise not to repeat them. So how can the people be expected to accept your repentance? If we suppose that, God forbid, an *alim* were to tell the people to settle down now, how could the people be expected to listen to him? They would say that he was making a mistake, or that he was a naive and gullible person who did not realize what kind of man the Shah really is, that is if they were being polite about it, otherwise they would say he was a court-affiliated *alim*! The nation cannot be thought of as being unaware; a nation which has stood up, is shouting out and is seeking its constitutional rights cannot be put to sleep by these things now.

Religious minorities under the protection of Islam

From one direction we are faced with multifarious propaganda. Propagandists both in Iran and abroad are using the issue of religious minorities in Iran to create the distorted view that were an Islamic government established in Iran, then all minority religions would be swept away. Do you (addressing the Shah) treat religious minorities better or does

Islam? You are trampling both the minority religions and the majority religion underfoot and are destroying them! You have eliminated all human rights in Iran. You have allowed neither Muslims nor non-Muslims to be free. In Islam, however, the religious minorities are shown respect, they are free. Yet we are repeatedly asked the same question: "If an Islamic government were established (in Iran), how would it treat the religious minorities?" They ask this question because they are constantly instilled with the idea that in the event of an Islamic government being set up in Iran, all the Jews or all the Christians or Zoroastrians would be murdered.

At what period in Islamic history did an Islamic country during peacetime—I am not speaking of a country at war here—massacre its religious minorities or murder people from minority religions. Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali) wanted to die of shame when a Jewish woman, a *dhimmi*, who was living under the shelter of Islam, had her anklet stolen while he was ruler. He said: "If a person were to die in such circumstances, it would be worth it." Is then Islam or an Islamic government going to do the things they say it will do to those of religious minorities? This is all propaganda created by the Shah and his supporters and trumpeted over their loudspeakers to tarnish the image of Islam and Islamic government and sully the reputation of the Muslim clergy—at least in the eyes of those non-Muslims and non-religious people outside Iran. They promote the idea that they (the clergymen) want to have a reactionary government, a reactionary Islamic government! This man himself portrays Islam as being reactionary. On the one hand he invokes "the true religion of Islam" and on the other he says that those who preach Islam to the people are reactionaries! They are reactionary in that they have gone back one thousand four hundred years! They propagate something which belongs to one thousand four hundred years ago. The fact that he himself is reviving something which belongs to two thousand five hundred years ago is irrelevant! He is not considered to be a reactionary, only those who are promoting progressive laws from one thousand four hundred years ago, those who say that this man should be delivered a blow in the mouth for depriving the people of freedom, for establishing foreign rule in Iran and placing the people under the rule of the superpowers, are considered to be the reactionaries! While those who are stealing the wealth of the people through force and suppression, those who have deprived the people of freedom, they are seen to be the civilized ones who open the gates of freedom!

Islam opposes corruption

They say they are afraid that Islam will take power and keep the women behind closed doors, that it will lock the doors of their homes so they can't come out. Such talk and such myths come from abroad and God forbid that some of our own youth should be taken in by these. In the earliest age of Islam, women participated in the wars. They were there on the battlefields tending to the wounds of the injured, and many were killed there! Who has told you that women will be locked up?! They are free like men. Who says the religious minorities will be maltreated? One of their worries is that these casinos will be closed down. This will happen; the doors to the centers of corruption will be closed. An Islamic government will not allow these cabaret clubs, which have dragged our youth into corruption, to remain open. It is of no concern that these intellectuals, these modernists, support these centers of corruption, an Islamic government will close them down. An Islamic government will change cinema as it is at present, these cinemas today are dragging our youth toward corruption and lewdness, it should not be this way, a cinema should be instructive, it should be morally edifying. Islam opposes corruption; it is against the corruption of the youth and of Muslims. It is against robbery; it opposes the plundering of the treasury. Islam does not oppose civilization; it opposes this barbarism. It opposes this corruption that the regime has instigated; it opposes the use of the people's money in the setting up of casinos on that island¹ somewhere. These things will be stopped. If an Islamic government comes to power it will sweep away these effecters of corruption; it will not allow our youth to be corrupted; it will not permit our system of education to be kept in a state of backwardness so that our youth do not develop. Some of these youth who have come abroad to study have told me that (even here) they are not allowed to develop their scientific studies beyond a certain level. Of course, Islam opposes this.

Islam, the true defender of women's rights

Islam wants men and women to develop. Islam freed women from those circumstances which existed for them during the age of ignorance of pre-Islamic times. Islam did not serve men to the extent that it did women. You cannot imagine what circumstances were like for women during pre-Islamic times and to what degree their situation improved with the advent of Islam. Today, women are being treated worse than they were during the age of ignorance. At that time, they were regarded as unimportant and today the

¹ It refers to the Kish island along the Persian Gulf.

Shah says that women should be playthings, dolls! Such talk insults the dignity of women. He is mistaken in his beliefs about women. Islam does not want women to be treated as dolls, Islam wants women to have a say in all affairs just as men do, however unlike the Shah, it does not want women to make up, enter society and mingle with men for the youth to mingle as such. Islam wants to stop all this. It wants women to preserve their dignity and respect, it wants to give them pride, it wants to stop them from being treated as a mere object. They want to sell women from this man to that man. Islam is against this. Can Islam be said to be against women? Islam did a service for women which has no precedent in history. Islam raised women up out of that slough and gave her back her pride. Is then Islam against women? This is all propaganda. They want to separate you from Islam, drive you away from the clergy and steal your wealth. They want to prevent you from progressing in the field of education, they want to rob you of your subterranean wealth and keep you in captivity for ever. Today, if the nation does not join hands together and free itself from this captivity, whatever the cost, then the nation will remain captive forever. Anyone who speaks a word in support of compromise with this man is committing treason against Islam, the Muslims and the country. Take care not to do such a thing, and keep watch over others so that they don't do this either. If at one time someone were to speak a word of compromise, deliver him a blow in the mouth so that he will not make such a mistake again. May God protect you all. May you be successful and may you be of service to your country and Islam, God willing.

Interview

Date: November 10, 1978 [Aban 19, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 9, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The 1906 constitutional law; the Shah's false propaganda; the future of the Revolution

Interviewers: Reporters from Germany, France, Italy, Spain, etc.

Question: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, please give some explanations on that part of the 1906 constitutional law which you think must change in order for the Islamic republic to be established.]

Answer: The constitutional law has gone through two phases:

1. The phase before Rida Khan's coup d'état: In that period, the circumstances did not allow Iranians and Muslims to make a program for the Islamic government. Therefore, in order to reduce the oppression and dictatorship of the Qajars and those before them, it was decided that the laws were to be drawn up, and the kingship be changed to constitutional monarchy. However, these matters were foreseen in the laws. All the issues to which we are now referring to can be supported by the supplementary constitutional law. This was one phase of the constitutional law.

2. This was the phase that occurred after Rida Shah's coup d'état and added to the constitutional law. During that time, Rida Shah pulled off a coup d'état, which faced complications and finally caused him to change the constitutional law by the force of bayonets and bullying, and he established a constituent assembly by using force, and the nation did not in any way agree with him. In a parliament in which the people played no role, he changed some articles of the constitutional law, ended the Qajar's reign and ratified the Pahlavi monarchy. Therefore, the constitutional law in phase one, along with its supplement, can support the issues we have just raised. In phase two, the reign of Rida Shah and the Pahlavi dynasty was totally illegitimate, and this dynasty was imposed on the people in violation of the constitutional law. Rida Shah was imposed on us by the British, and later, when the Allies came to Iran, they imposed Muhammad Rida Shah.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, in your own plans, in order to solve the economic problems, you have reportedly said that you intend to shut down the banks. Would it be possible to close the banks in a situation like this, and in this economic period?]

A: This is not at all true. So, your question is irrelevant.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, the Shah has recently been favorable toward some of his opponents. Why did you reject the Shah's agreement? It has also been said that you've had some meetings with Mr. Bazargan and Dr. Sanjabi here, and have entered some negotiations. What were the outcomes of these negotiations?]

A: As to what the Shah always proposes and displays in various guises, they are all for misleading people. The Iranian nation, who is now grown and has experienced all kinds of betrayals and crimes in the past fifty years, won't fall for any trick. The reason why we didn't accept it, is because the nation doesn't accept, and because these are all tricks. The Shah wants to first save his throne, and then after a while, act even worse than he did before. And about negotiations with Mr. Bazargan and Mr. Sanjabi, yes they came and I told them about Iran's issues and the nation's interests, and they didn't disagree.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, the religious minorities like the Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians have lately been anxious and uncomfortable. What do you think about their future status under an Islamic government, particularly, because in Western countries, such treatments of minorities are considered as some sort of discrimination?]

A: All the issues recently raised are the Shah's propaganda against this movement. Islam has respect for these minorities. It is the Shah who wants to stain our movement by releasing such statements. The West should know that Islam treats the religious minorities with great respect. I have said many times that they are performing their rituals in Iran freely, and we are obliged to protect them.

Q: [What is Your Eminence Ayatullah's opinion about the new military cabinet, the arrest of the former Prime Minister Hoveyda, as well as the decision made and pronounced by Prime Minister Azhari, regarding the possessions of the Pahlavi dynasty?]

A: These are all false pretenses and none of them is valid or true. Hoveyda was one of the Shah's partners, and a weak one, having a hand in the Shah's deceitful acts. Apparently, the Shah has arrested Hoveyda in order to save himself. The intention is to deceive people into believing that he is carrying out reforms. As to the issue of the Pahlavi dynasty's possessions, and that they plan to make modifications, it is nothing but a trick. They must first interrogate the Shah himself, and then put him on trial for all the money he

has taken out of Iran, and deposited in foreign banks, and then get to his relatives. The crimes that he and his family have committed are out of control, and they intend to do nothing about it either. They want to mislead the people. But the military government, which is the other face of the Shah—his bullying face—has also intensified, and is still intensifying the movement and the people's uneasiness. The same report has been received from Iran, too.

Q: [Does Your Eminence Ayatullah intend to take a place at the head of the government and assume official responsibilities in the new government after the victory of the Revolution and returning home, or you don't?]

A: No, we have the responsibility of guiding. There will be no involvement in other affairs.

Q: [In Your Eminence Ayatullah's opinion, what needs to be changed in Iran, and what are your political plans?]

A: All of what Muhammad Rida has ruined must be renovated. Every damaging contract to the nation holds no weight with the people. Our political plan is to first achieve freedom, true democracy, independence in the true sense of the word, and cutting off the hands of the governments who have taken possession of the country.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, how would you evaluate the diplomacy you would be adopting toward the German government? Do you think the existing diplomacy between Iran and Germany would change?]

A: Germany is like any other country, and if there are any contracts with Germany that are damaging to our nation, they will be invalid. And we would treat Germany and other countries with mutual respect, and will not let them oppress us, as we will oppress them.

Q: [They insist on knowing what you would do to the fourteen thousand Germans said to be in Iran?]

A: If they engage in their own regular work in the interest of Iran while serving the government, they will be allowed to remain in Iran.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah has stated that the future system of Iran would be an Islamic republic. In this republic, what would be the role of other non-Islamic political parties opposing the Shah?]

A: The parties would be free to participate in their activities as long as they are not detrimental (to Iran).

Q: [How do you see the effects of a successfully established Islamic republic in Iran on Muslims in the Soviet-Russian regions? Doesn't Your Eminence believe that the reason why the Russians oppose the Islamic movement is because they are afraid that a successful movement in Iran would affect the Muslim regions?]

A: Its effects can't be quite predicted. However, the Soviets' opposition to our movement, and their supporting of the Shah, is because they want to have influence in Iran, and to interfere in our internal affairs. The Islamic government would not give such permission to them or any other country.

Q: [In Your Eminence's opinion, what would be the role and future of the army if the struggles persist? Does Your Eminence think the movement would succeed by continuing these methods of confrontation, or is there a chance that you may have to take other measures?]

A: We hope that our movement will succeed by continuing the ongoing method. We also hope that the army will wake up and join the nation, and if we lose hope, we might then review our movement's course of action.

Interview

Date: November 10, 1978 [Aban 19 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 9, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The type of relations between the Islamic republic and America

Interviewer: A reporter of the American *News World Report* magazine

Question: [What would be the role of America if the Shah falls?]

Answer: All we expect from America is that they respect our national interests and our country's independence, and avoid interfering in our affairs.

Q: [In case of Russian interference, are you not afraid of its political consequences?]

A: We are not afraid of any power standing in our way to freedom and independence, and if the Russians interfere, we would treat them as we do others.

Q: [Under the new government, would Iran need sophisticated and expensive military equipment similar to what the Shah is now buying from America?]

A: We are against buying weapons which are of no use to our poor people. We haven't needed them in the past, and we won't need them in the future.

Q: [Why do you think America is trying to keep the Shah on his throne?]

A: Because the Shah is an obedient and submissive puppet when they are looting the country's resources and building military bases all across the country.

Q: [Would you be interested in selling oil to America?]

A: We would sell our oil to America and other customers, but not in the way it is being done today, which is a total loss to the nation, but by taking our national interests into consideration, and maintaining our independence.

Q: [Would there be a chance that a successful revolution in Iran would also influence the Persian Gulf countries?]

A: In today's world, no event occurs in any region without influencing other regions. However, the level of acceptance of the people in other places depends on their own awareness and preference.

Q: [You have so far not issued an order to start an armed struggle. Will you do so if the circumstances require?]

A: We hope that the nation would achieve its goals by continuing the current method. Should the Shah and his supporters not stop their stubbornness, we would then examine this issue.

Interview

Date: November 10, 1978 [Aban 19, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 9, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran after the fall of the Shah; the necessities of the period of struggle

Interviewer: An *Amnesty International* delegate

Question: [Your targets are overthrowing the monarchy, freeing the oppressed nation of Iran, and establishing an Islamic republic. a) Is the current movement of Iran based on an organization? b) What criteria would you set to rate the values and worth of an organization? What criteria would you set to measure the capability and competence of a group or groups, whom after the victory would lead the people?]

Answer: a) In this worst strangulatory condition ruling over Iran, the performance of the Iranian nation's movement indicates an organizational spirit that has been capable of bringing the movement to this point, and the structure of the organization would become more definite and manifest as the movement proceeds to the final stage of victory. b) Enjoying a one hundred percent reliable and honest leadership, as well as having slogans and ideals, indicating the true will of the general public, are among the basic and essential guidelines, and in this stage, those slogans are about bringing the Pahlavi monarchy, removing the monarchical system and establishing an Islamic regime. c) Having an clear record, true recognition of the identity of the Iranian society and its essential ideal materially and spiritually pretty and abstinence, honesty and trustworthiness, capability in leadership and managing affairs, and persistence in the struggle for beliefs, are the basic qualifications for guiding the people.

Q: [a) Would the Marxists have freedom of speech and thought under the Islamic republic? b) Would they have freedom of choosing a career?]

A: a) In the Islamic republic, everybody would be free to hold any kind of belief, but they won't be free to cause sabotage. b) In Islam, the right of anyone to choose a career is protected in accordance with the legal regulations.

Q: [From an Islamic point of view, to what extent would women be allowed to participate in the construction of an Islamic government?]

A: Women play a significant role in building an Islamic society; Islam promotes women to where they can realize their humanistic values in the society, and more beyond the boundaries of being simply an object, and along with such growth, they can assume responsibilities in constructing an Islamic government.

Interview

Date: November 11, 1978 [Aban 20 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The impossibility of reconciliation with the Shah; explaining the Revolution's present and future conditions

Interviewer: A reporter of the American NBC TV channel

Question: [What goals would these demonstrations, strikes and protesting walks in Iran serve?]

Answer: The goals must be understood by what the people shout. They are shouting: "liberty, independence, Islamic government," and "Down with the Pahlavi monarchy," and... . And these are their goals.

Q: [Would Your Eminence Ayatullah give any possibility of reconciliation with the Shah?]

A: No; the Shah doesn't stand a chance for reconciliation anymore, and has no choice but to leave.

Q: [Some of the western countries claim that the Shah must stay, because the opponents don't have a clear plan to run the country. What is Your Eminence's opinion?]

A: These are the propaganda spread by which the Shah's followers, who want the chaos of the country to remain, and for the Shah to illegitimately dictate over the people. There are distinguished men and committed specialists in Iran who would run the country; but the way the Shah is running the country, is based treason and is damaging to the nation, and would do no good. Basically, what good has the Shah done within the past thirty some years?

Q: [If the Shah leaves, what role would Your Eminence Ayatullah consider for himself in the future government?]

A: I will play no role except for guiding the nation and the country.

Q: [What do you think of this fear among the Americans that if the Shah leaves or gets overthrown, the flow of oil to the West would stop?]

A: This is another propaganda spread by the Shah's followers. By establishing the Islamic government, we aren't planning to keep the oil under ground. We would need the oil income in order to run the country. We would

sell the oil for a fair price to any buyer, and would use the revenues toward the nation's interests. We don't want to act as the Shah does, because that amounts to treason.

Q: [Your Eminence has complained about the foreigners' influence in Iran. Can you explain what countries these people are from?]

A: America is at the top of the list, and its influence can be seen in all of the country's affairs. The reason for the Iranian nation's hatred toward the American rule and government is the American exercise of influence. The American interference is now almost direct. I am afraid that these interferences may end up making the Iranian nation uneasy about the American nation. The American nation must stop its government from interfering in our internal affairs, which has caused all these commotions and unease.

Q: [Isn't Your Eminence worried that the recent riots and complexities of Iran may result into formation of a communist government?]

A: Never, as seen in Iran, all sectors of the nation are shouting for Islam and demanding an Islamic government. Communists, are very small in number, if there are any, with no chance to do anything significant. We are not concerned in that respect at all.

Q: [Recently, Your Eminence has had meetings with other leaders of opposition to Shah, such as Sanjabi. Do they agree with your plans? Are there any agreements made in that regard?]

A: They accepted what we said, and expressed their consensus. No national or religious personality would be skeptical about the issues we pointed out, unless they're affiliated to the Shah.

Q: [What does Your Eminence Ayatullah predict will happen in Iran within the next month?]

A: As long as the Shah is in Iran, and the superpowers are trying to save him, the murders and the recent occurrences will continue. But, if the Shah leaves and the heroic people of Iran take hold of their own country's affairs, peace will return to Iran and the Islamic republic will be established; and God willing, all affairs will proceed in favor of the nation.

Q: [Is Your Eminence Ayatullah planning to return to Iran?]

A: With the chaos created by the Shah, which has recently reached its peak, it is not yet clear whether or not I should return to Iran. I'm better off staying abroad where I can deliver the Iranians' cry of oppression to the whole world. Although, whenever it lies in the interests of the nation, I will return to Iran.

Q: [Is Your Eminence Ayatullah worried or fearful of his own personal safety at all?]

A: That is not important and I'm not worried about such things. But if my assassination would result in the complete victory of the revolution, why should I not consent to it? I am no better than anyone else. In any case, God knows all and He is the protector.

Interview

Date: November 11, 1978 [Aban 20, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The issues of women and foreign policies in Iran's future system

Interviewer: A reporter of *Al-Qawm Al-Arabi* magazine

Question: [Is the Iranian movement politically organized?]

Answer: This movement has arisen from the heart of the nation and the nature of the people, and does not rely on a certain person or persons, and enjoys a strong spirit and a political organization, familiar with the understandings of the Iranian society. And this factor itself assures the replacement of the Shah's regime with a powerful political organization.

Q: [Have the outcomes of the contacts that the opposition leaders have made with you, been positive or negative?]

A: The Iranian nation has already announced its demands which are overthrowing the Shah, removing the monarchy and establishing an Islamic government. And I have suggested the establishment of an Islamic republic to the Iranian nation, which we would put to the vote of the people after the fall of the Shah, and no person or group can oppose the will of the nation, for he would be doomed to destruction. And the opposition leaders have also agreed with what I've said.

Q: [What does women's active involvement in the revolution mean?]

A: The Shah's prisons are crammed with lionhearted and courageous women. In street demonstrations, our women have held their children close to their chests and have come to the arena without any fear of tanks, cannons and machine guns. The political meetings held by women in various cities of the country are not few. They've played a very valuable role in our struggles. The brave mothers of Islam's children have kept alive the memory of the heroic women's self-sacrifices and bravery throughout the history. In what era or what country can you find such women?

Q: [What is your position concerning Arabs?]

A: We extend our hands toward those Arab countries who are continuing their fights against Israel, and have always been in support of them against

Israel. We hope that the Arab nations will support the struggles of the Iranian nation.

Q: [With which powers would you possibly cooperate, after the removal of the regime?]

A: We would cooperate with the countries who now make clear their positions regarding the Shah.

Q: [What rights would the religious minorities have in the Islamic republic?]

A: All religious minorities of Iran would be free to perform their religious and social activities, and the Islamic republic views it as its duty to protect their rights and safety; they, like the Muslims of Iran, are Iranians and respectable.

Interview

Date: November 11, 1978 [Aban 20, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The Army's stance in the face of the Revolution; the illegitimacy of the Pahlavi dynasty

Interviewer: A reporter of the English *The Observer* newspaper

Question: [Your Eminence Ayatullah has recently stated that he hopes these struggles will succeed without the need of armed confrontation, and it is not yet the time for people to resort to arms. In the recent events would led to the military taking over power, hasn't the risk of a civil war increased? Or has it decreased?]

Answer: Although the army has entered the scene very violently, this very increase may bring victory closer. And a nation that has risen up altogether, cannot be quieted down by such violence. There is now a greater hope.

Q: [What mistakes has the Shah made that are to be quickly eliminated?]

A: The Shah's mistakes are not just one or two for me to mention right now. However, to make it short, from the day the Shah came to power and the Pahlavi dynasty took over reign, they have not been legitimate and everything has been against the text of the constitutional law, and whatever they have so far done, are betrayals and crimes. Therefore, they must go. The Shah has dragged us into political, economic, cultural and military bankruptcy. Isn't any of these a good enough reason for the nation to dismiss him?!

Q: [What is Your Eminence's position and opinion concerning modernization of the country?]

A: This is a matter to be handled by experts once the Islamic country has been established. But of course, not the type that the Shah claims.

Q: [Have your negotiations with Mr. Sanjabi, as the leader of the National Front, been successful?]

A: Dr. Sanjabi agreed with everything I said. And he was supposed to announce them. However, based on what I've heard, he's been arrested.¹

¹ Mr. Karim Sanjabi was arrested and imprisoned upon his return to the country, after meeting with Imam Khomeini in Neauphle-le-Château.

Interview

Date: November 11, 1978 [Aban 20, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The military government; the arrest of Hoveyda; Palestine

Interviewer: A reporter of the Lebanese *An-Nihar* newspaper

Question: [Does Your Eminence Ayatullah think that there is going to be some changes in Iran after the appointment of the new military government and the arrest of Hoveyda? Would these clashes lead to a civil war or will they not?]

Answer: The appointment of a military government will not effect the affairs, though it would intensifies the movement and makes it harder on the Shah, and would expedite his departure. Arresting Hoveyda and others who have been the Shah's partners in theft and corruption, is to mislead the people and will do no good.¹

Q: [Are you planning to upgrade your struggles to armed battle?]

A: For the time being, we hope that everything works out by the nation's uprising. However, if it was not resolved, we would give it a second thought.

Q: [How do you explain and interpret Moscow's and Washington's approval of the Shah?]

A: It's clear that they can't find a better servant than the Shah who would allow them full use of Iran, and would betray Iran in serving them. At any rate, they need a servant and there's no one better than the Shah.

Q: [What is Your Eminence's opinion about the Palestinian movement and the people of Palestine in general, and Jerusalem in particular? What kind of relation exist between you and the PLO?]

A: We have always been talking about Israel and her usurpation for many years now. It has always been our intention to stand next to our Palestinian brothers, and whenever we gain power, to fight along with them like brothers and fighters alike, while they fight for their rights. Jerusalem must return to the Muslims. The Israeli's are usurpers. Nevertheless, I don't understand why Arab countries cannot regain their rights and territories and defend their

¹ After Ghulam-Rida Azhari started to work, Amir Abbas Hoveyda was arrested and imprisoned by the order of the Shah, in order to subside people's commotion.

country considering their great population and all the materialistic means they possess. And that's because of the disputes they have among themselves. And I hope they work out their disputes and that the governments pay more attention to Islamic matters, and God willing, they cut off this cancerous matter¹ from their lands.

Q: [In Your Eminence Ayatullah's opinion, who has been involved in the hiding of Imam Musa Sadr? Does Your Eminence believe that Imam Musa Sadr is still alive? Do you think he will return to Lebanon or not? What connection is there between you and the Shiah grand parliament of Lebanon?]

A: I have no idea in regard to who has hidden him? But about his being alive and returning to Lebanon, I hope that he is alive and shall return. I am fond of him and I hope that he would return safely and continue his work.

Q: [What is the nature of your desired Islamic republic? And what are its features?]

A: The nature of the Islamic republic is such that it will be established under the conditions set forth by Islam for government, relying on the public votes of the nation and enforcing the Islamic laws.

Q: [What message does Your Eminence Ayatullah have for Muslims in general, and the Muslims of Lebanon and Palestine in particular, especially after Lebanon's recent events?]

A: My message for all Muslims is that, considering all the facilities and vast populations that the Muslims have, and the numerous countries they have under their control and power, they unite. If they should unite, none of the superpowers can have the power to encroach upon them. All the miseries of the Muslims are because of their disunity. Muslim nations must get together and force the governments to stop their disunity as well as their protection of the foreigners' interests. But regarding Lebanon, I feel sorry about the situation there and the oppression that the Muslims are going through, and may God assist them and liberate them from the control of foreigners, particularly America.

¹ The Quds-occupier regime.

Speech

Date: November 11, 1978 [Aban 20, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1398 AH]¹

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The politico-religious dimensions of Islam

Occasion: The eve of the *Id al-Qurban*²

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

***I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful***

I apologize to the gentlemen present here for the inconvenience caused by the lack of space. May God protect you all.

Shah's final efforts

Today is a day of feasting, and in Iran people wanted to offered prayers, however, the army obstructed the participants in the performance of this religious ritual. In Qum, they dispersed the people with tear gas so that they could not hold the prayers. In some places, they have sown chaos and acted with savagery. Well, this is the last bolt the Shah has in his quiver. They have treated the people all over Iran with absolute savagery and want to persist in having their evil way.

Military government with a military prime minister who is ignorant of God Almighty—all this is useless. All this hauling and tugging is futile. The Shah has lost ground with the people. Rida Shah's rule was also illegitimate from the very beginning, and even if it had been a legitimate one, it was based on an (anti-God) rebellion. Through their cries everywhere, the people have rendered it invalid. Now, the Shah is a rebel who is plundering the Treasury through his ungodly rule and is massacring the people.

These occasions in Islam like *Id al-Fitr*, *Id al-Adha*³ or *Qurban*, the *Hajj* ritual, the Friday and other congregational prayers that are held night and day, have religious as well as political and social aspects; that is, their devotional thread is woven into their political fibers; they are adjoin. The

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, vol. 3, p. 120, the date of the Speech has been noted as Aban 21, 1357 AHS.

² *Id al-Qurban* (Feast of Sacrifice): the Islamic feast marking the end of the *Hajj* rituals in the month of Dhul-Hijjah. It is associated with the offering of animals for sacrifice.

³ *Id al-Adha*: the other term for *Id al-Qurban*.

religion of Islam is not only a religion of devotion or a duty a servant has toward his Blessed and Exalted God; it is not only a spiritual duty; neither is it merely a religion of politics, rather, it is devotional as well as political. Its politics is combined with its acts of worship. That is, its devotional aspect has a political facet, too. These very gatherings on feasts for prayers, from which Muslims should derive a lot of benefits, are a form of worship, but ones which have a political aspect too. For instance, in the early days of Islam, mosques were not the lowly places that they were later to become due to some devious personalities. Mosques were places from which armies would march out to fight unbelievers and oppressors; and where sermons would be delivered and people would be called upon to fight when a straying, aggressive individual had rebelled against the Muslims, plundering their property and bullying them. From these mosques, people would march toward enemy camps. In these same mosques, agreements would be concluded.

In sermons delivered at Friday prayers, the destiny of the country should be discussed; political issues in the country should find expression and social issues be made current; the problems of the Muslims and their differences should be discussed and solved. Crimes like those of Muḥammad Rida Khan should be mentioned and criticized and ways to eradicate these criminals should also be aired at Friday prayers. The Friday prayer is (a form of) worship, but worship that is blended with politics; politics that is blended with worship as the religion of Christ had once been—not this religion that Christians now believe in—I do not believe that the religion of Jesus (*a*), is the same religion as that which is being practiced nowadays. True Christianity is not a religion that does not concern itself with people's lives or politics. It is not merely a case of going to (church), ringing the bells after which a little prayer is uttered and that is it, one then resumes one's daily activities. I do not believe that such a religion was ever the religion of Christ. Christianity has been distorted. The Jewish religion, as well as the religion of the Nazarene (Christ), has digressed and has been distorted. But the religion of Islam, whose scripture is the Quran, has been fully preserved. Not a word of it has been changed.

Islam, the shaping of all of man's dimensions

Because of this the Quran is all inclusive. The glorious Quran was revealed to shape the human being and all his human dimensions. It is a book that contains everything that man needs and endows him with everything he has: spirituality and materiality, exteriority and quiddity. It

came to satisfy whatever needs he has and guide him in matters relevant to him such as his relationship with his Blessed and Exalted Creator, the concepts of the Unity of God, the Divine attributes, the Day of Judgment, socio-political issues and the question of war against the unbelievers. The Quran is replete with verses making it incumbent upon the people and the Prophet to fight aggressors and oppressors. When the illustrious Quran was revealed, it brought with it dynamism to the Arabs of that time who were a disunited people and who wasted their time by incessantly engaging in inter-tribal conflicts. They led a barbaric life and never bothered about political affairs. However, within less than half a century, within about thirty years, these very same small groups of nomads, who initially gathered around the Most Noble Messenger who had built up and enlightened them, conquered two empires which had nearly the whole world under their domination, namely the Persian and the Roman empires. Because it (the Quran) brought them such dynamism, these Arabs found their way out of the Arabian Peninsula and headed toward Iran and occupied it. They marched into Rome and conquered it and then toward Europe and conquered it! These conquests, however, should not be likened to those made by Napoleon¹ when he invaded a country. Islamic conquests were made to perfect human beings, make them monotheistic and just and enlighten them on certain issues. They were not for territorial expansionism. They were aimed at making human beings upright, at civilizing the savage—those who would engage in a life of savagery. And within half a century, the glorious Quran transformed a belligerent community, who had been continually at war and savagely killing each other, into a just people who would treat each other equitably like a civilized nation and even better than that!

Islam, unlike other religions which are now manifest to us, is a religion that rectifies all aspects of a human being's life with respect to his intellect, morals and moral edification. It is concerned not only with his physical appearance and outward behavior, but also with all affairs that are expedient to him. It follows then that an Islamic government cannot be similar to other governments which are concerned only with man's social and political affairs and are indifferent to what a person does at home. Such governments are not concerned with whatever misconduct an individual commits inside his house; (non-Islamic) governments do not care if he gambles in his home and does

¹ Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) ruled France from 1799 until 1814 as an absolute monarch. He won many great wars but in his last confrontation with the British army at a location called Waterloo he was defeated and taken captive. Later, he was sent into exile in Saint Helen Island and he died there.

all sorts of vicious acts because this is not a concern of theirs. They interfere only when he turns offensive and disturbs the peace and order in the society.

Islam cares for you and your family in the privacy of your own home. It is concerned with how you socialize with your neighbors and fellow citizens and establish relationships with them. Islam concerns itself with your relationship with your fellow believers too, as well as with those who do not share your religion. All these have rules to follow in Islam. That is, in Islam, a government is not one that is merely concerned with political affairs. One facet of Islam deals with government and governmental and political affairs, and another deals with man's spiritual development which concerns man himself alone: What should he be in terms of beliefs, ethics and social behavior? What must a man be? In these respects, Islam encompasses every aspect of human life, whereas other governments and societies are impassive toward the same. That is, no government will ever approach an individual and reprimand him for engaging in whatever (immoral) activities at home. It is no concern of such a government whatever misdeed takes place in an individual's home. Islam, however, is concerned with the individual even if he is alone at home; that is, it tells him what he is supposed to do, how to behave and what ethics and intellectual perceptions he should adopt. It tells him how a father should treat his children, how a child should behave toward his father, a mother to her child, a child to his mother, a brother to a brother, how families should behave among themselves or a family toward another. All of these have rules to follow in Islam which takes everything into consideration.

Islam belongs to all of mankind

Islam also has ideas about the society. It has matters relating to all mankind. In Islam, no country is inferior to another. It is not limited to a country, say, Iran or Iraq. The whole world is under its supervision because it is aimed at building human beings. It attributes no special relationship to any group of people, the East or West, North or South, or considers one group below or above another. It does not discriminate against any class of people anywhere. It is a divine religion, in the same way that the Blessed and Exalted God is the God of all, not the God of just the Easterners and Muslims or the Westerners and the Christians or Jews. He is the God of all and He provides sustenance for all. That is to say, He is the Creator. Islam is a religion that belongs to all. It was revealed to build up a human being in a way that it proposes; to mould him into an equitable man in such a way that one human being cannot commit one grain or pinhead of injustice against

another; that a human being cannot be unjust to his own child or to his wife, or a wife to a husband, or two brothers to one another or these to their friends. Islam wants to mould man into a just being in the fullest sense of the word human being, one whose intellect is humane, whose essence and appearance are human and one who respects human behavior and conduct. Islam wants to materialize these goals.

The need for discussing political issues in Islamic devotional congregations

One branch of Islam consists of its system of government and governmental issues are included in its canonical rituals as well. Take the Hajj ritual as an example. The Divine Exalted God has called upon the people to perform the Hajj in which there are stations. However, the Muslims have failed to exhaustively make use of this ritual as they should. The Hajj is a general assembly of all Muslim communities. This is a call to all kinds of Muslim groups whether from the near East or the far West, wherever they may be - north or south or anywhere in whatever country - "people" have been invited, not only the Muslims. Everyone must become a Muslim and go (to Mecca), that is, those who can afford to do the pilgrimage and have the means to reach Mecca are called upon to go there once a year. The aim of this ritual is actually to bring about a general assembly there. If Muslims realize its value, they can seek the solution to their problems and difficulties in this gathering. For instance, if Iranian Muslims go there and inform others of their problems and predicaments, it becomes incumbent upon the other Muslims to sympathize with them. Once they learn of what Iran wants, what it does, what its government does to the people, they should disseminate these issues in their country when they return.

Similarly, if these people have seen anything wrong with their governments or people and have discussed their problems there in Mecca, they (Iranian Muslims) should also sympathize with them.

Islam is a religion in which a gathering is both political and an act of worship. A person might think that congregational prayers are merely a form of devotion whereat people gather and pray together. At such congregations, political issues must also be discussed. The person who ascends the pulpit once a week, leads the congregational prayers and preaches, must also bring up the political problems of the Muslims and talk about them in addition to other things, like the anomalies they observe in their governments; they must guide the people in both matters of worldly affairs as well as their origin (God) and destination (the afterlife) and all the things they need in life.

Everyone's duty is to propagate and introduce the movement to the people of the world

Now, in Iran, the situation is such that the government is preventing people from performing acts of worship with bayonets. Today, they did not allow this divine act to be performed in Qum. The same iniquity is being committed in other places. We have not received all the news yet. But in many other places killings have occurred and the people have been answered with bayonets. In reply to those shouting: "Hey, Mister, do not give away our oil and natural resources to others! We want freedom, we have been strangled so much in these fifty years of suppression, we want independence!" and those who protested against their handing over the whole country to others, they came up with a military government with a military prime minister and cabinet. He (the Shah) wants to keep himself installed by resorting to the military. On the one hand, he unleashes his club-wielders to batter the people, and on the other, he sets up a military government! On one hand, he says there must be order, and on the other, he sows chaos! He orders his club-wielders to grab their maces and storm into the cities and set them ablaze and what not.

This condition of our country, the Shah's rule and this life now are indications of the abominable last days of this vicious man. We are duty bound to help the Muslims in Iran. At least we can help through propagation, by making individuals you meet here understand. For instance, these Europeans you meet, make them understand the facts. It is not true, as the Shah claims, that the people of Iran, may I say, are savages and that the Shah wants to subdue them but they cannot be subdued! You should tell the people that the Iranian people are a nation which wants to be rescued from this oppressor; they want to be free; they want to be independent; they want to lead a humane life and this man will not let them.

May God protect you all and may you be successful, God willing.

Letter

Date: November 11, 1978 [Aban 20, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Denial of a false telegram

Addressees: Sayyid Muḥammad-Ali Qadi Tabatabai¹

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1398 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Ulama al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Muḥammad Ali Qadi, may his blessings last:

May God grant you good health and success, and I hope that you will be even more successful than before in achieving the holy goals of Islam, and may you be successful. As I understand, an unknown person who has introduced himself as Abu Hamid, has distributed a false telegram in my name, in which, he has insulted Your Eminence and has accused of spying such a respectable personality as yourself, who is one of my old friends and is a servant of Islam and the Muslims, and is against the oppressive system and the regime. This telegram is false and this person, if he exists, is unknown to me, and he may be connected to the system² or perhaps he is a wrongdoer who is trying to create disunity. May God, the Most Exalted, protect Islam and the Muslims from the evil of the wicked. I hope that you will pray for me and for good results. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruḥullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Ayatullah Sayyid Muḥammad-Ali Qadi Tabatabai was among the well known scholars in the city of Tabriz and the head of the Islamic movement in the area. Ayatullah Qadi maintained his position at the forefront of the Islamic movement both before and after the Revolution before MKO terrorists martyred him on November 1, 1979.

² Security organization of the Shah's regime (SAVAK).

Interview

Date: November 12, 1978 [Aban 21, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 11, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: How the Islamic movement started and its plans

Interviewer: An Egyptian reporter

Question: [Would you explain the manner in which the Islamic movement began and its basic demands? How and why did this present movement start?]

Answer: The idea of an Islamic government, where Islam governs and nothing other than Islam is not a new one. At the early Islamic period, the plan has been for the divine rule to take over everywhere. Eventually, the Muslims' negligence of their own interests, and recently the hands of the expansionists from a few hundred years ago, made such an ideal plan not to be realized. The recent Islamic movement started over fifteen years ago through the leadership of Iranian *ulama*, through opposing the Shah's programs—programs that were against Islam and Iran, and were also the continuation of his past treacheries. The people supported the *ulama*. Widespread conspiracies occurred but that is a long story. What can be said to have happened within this one year is that the nation's desires gradually led to a plan and to the fact that a program was set in order to achieve the dreams originated from the early Islamic era. In this plan, not only would Iran become free of expansionism and tyranny, but it would also set an example for all Islamic countries, whether Iran or other countries under pressure and dictatorship. Our opinion, which is also agreed upon by the nation, is that, after removing the Shah's brutal and anti-Islamic government, an Islamic government and an Islamic republic, relying on Islamic laws and the votes of the people who are almost unanimously Muslims is to be established, and the Islamic commands executed as they should, and all affairs of Iran and its system should proceed according to Islamic preferences.

Q: [In Your Eminence Ayatullah's opinion, what is the quality and nature of the Islamic republic which you propose? And what is the difference between that and the Islam observed in the constitution? In the plans for an Islamic state, is more attention paid to social or political affairs of Islam? Does the

precise execution of Islam's commands mean, for example, the amputation of the hand of a thief from now on? What is your perception?]

A: What is intended is that when a system is against the system of Islam in every aspect, such as its culture, its army as well as its economy and politics, that system must be overturned and the Islamic system established. Once the Islamic system becomes established, there would be a parliament, the votes of the members of the parliament, and... We intend to enforce all Islamic commands and we would practically prove that Islamic laws are progressive and more than arresting and releasing a thief.

Q: [We would like to know about those who say Your Eminence Ayatullah doesn't have a clear plan, and whatever you say is nothing but a series of mottos, and perhaps there are personal disputes between the Shah and yourself; I would like you to explain about all of these. Are there any personal disputes? Why don't you have a clear economic plan?]

A: Concerning the plan, they think that there is none. Yes, there are plans; Islam has plans; we have plans too, which are Islam's plans, and more advanced and better than any plan executed by the colonialists. And about having personal disputes, I have no personal dispute with anyone whomsoever. If I had personal disputes, there would have been a chance that I would forgive him, and I would have. The dispute is over Islam, and this person has opposed and betrayed Islam's interests and the interests of the Islamic country, and therefore, the problem is not the kind one could ignore.

Q: [Do you have a specific economic plan? I comprehended your answer to the question regarding personal animosity, but does Your Eminence have a clear and specific plan?]

A: Yes, we do have a clear and specific plan. Islam's plan is clear and specific.

Q: [Can we understand its outlines?]

A: Not this time; you should study and find the basic outlines. We will declare all our political, economic and cultural policies in the future.

Q: [If the army remains faithful to the Shah, would Your Eminence have another means to achieve his goals?]

A: Such means as the military that the Shah has resorted to are no longer effective. They have all been defeated and can do nothing to silence this

nation, and they would inevitably surrender. But if the Shah persists, we will change our methods of struggle accordingly.

Q: [Concerning the economic issues, and the fact that there may not be a plan, Your Eminence wants for the Shah to step aside from the monarchy. If the Shah gives up the monarchy and the economy still remains unchanged, would that be considered as a change in the situation?]

A: No. Economic conditions will change and we will present a healthy and sound economy. They have incurred expenses which are against the interests of the people, committed thefts that amount to betrayal, and have given tremendous amounts of money to certain people in order to save themselves. We will put an end to all that and we are sure that we will no longer have economic backwardness, and will give a positive response to the needs of the deprived.

Q: [Why does Your Eminence distance yourself from cooperating with other oppositionist political forces in the struggle toward reaching your goals—for example, the communists who have the very same goal?]

A: No, we cannot accept the communists, because their danger to our country is not any less than that of the Shah's. We cannot accept them.

Q: [Concerning the Arab countries, have you applied for political asylum from any of them, and what is their position? What criticisms do you have about Iraq and your stay therein? What is your understanding of the position taken by the French government regarding your stay in Paris?]

A: I don't have a favorable perspective regarding Arab states. Arab governments have not managed to protect their independence, and neither have they afforded a unity among themselves in order to get rid of Israel. The disputes among themselves and the betrayals of some heads of Arab governments have paved the way for the Zionists to remain there and become established. Recently, the head of Egypt has unfortunately done it. However, some may not be too bad, but in general they have not been able to establish unity among themselves in order to save themselves from colonialism and its repercussions such as Israel. But concerning the Arab nations, they are all our brothers and we will treat them as our brothers. But, here the French government's treatment has so far been peaceful.

Speech

Date: November 12, 1978 [Aban 21, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 11, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The Islamic government is a government that the people desire and one that earns God's pleasure

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

On the one hand, the difficulty of the Iranian nation has almost reached its peak: martial law, a military government in force and, as I have been told, guns and tanks which have trained their muzzles against all mosques are posted in the streets. The people have been subjected to hardships and are suffering from food shortages. According to some, they are also facing water shortages. I don't know whether this is true or not. The Shah is fighting the people with all his might. The struggle has almost reached its summit. On the other hand, the Shah's downfall is imminent because this regime is shooting the last arrow in its cross-bow. It had previously been surmised that they (the Shah and his agents) would understand that their own ploys were no longer effective; because this present military government is no different from the previous one; it is the very same government and military forces. And supposing this government became more vicious and violent, it could never pacify the nation through bayonets. The people could never be coerced into satisfaction. This government is after pacifying the people, but is it possible to appease someone by force? Or pacify someone with bayonets? This military regime can temporarily suppress the people at gunpoint and stifle their voices, but only for a while. All of this is futile.

Well, assuming that the people's outcry is muffled, what then is the regime going to do with the strikes? Now, all activities have ground to a halt, that is, everyone is on strike everywhere. Can the regime coerce people to go back to work and start factory wheels turning again at bayonet point? This military government has now been defeated. It was obvious even from the beginning that this government was fighting a losing battle, but now, the government itself has understood it has been defeated and has resorted to rifles and machine-guns to suppress the people and end the strikes. This is impossible.

Creating peace by freeing the nation

We believe that unless the Shah leaves, the people will never find peace again. We have carefully studied the situation in Iran and the favors the Shah has done for the foreigners and their interests. All these issues have been well scrutinized, so it is only obvious that things cannot be mended with words. Now, they have set the last arrow in their cross-bow. The next move will be to stage a military coup d'état, banish the Shah somewhere and install another puppet ruler in his stead! This is also a futile move! Until the time that external influence like that of America, the Soviet Union and the like, is meddling in Iran, neither will peace be attained nor do strikes come to an end. These powers must leave Iran alone. Iran—the Iranian nation—wants to be independent, wants to be free. These foreign powers must give freedom to the nation, that is, leave the nation alone to manage its own affairs. This military regime needs to stop putting pressure on the people through bayonets, guns and tanks and forcing them into satisfaction. Such things are simply impossible.

Islamic government, in accordance with God's laws and the will of the people

The Islamic government we are talking about, that is, the government we want is one which the people desire and one to which God, the Blessed and Exalted, could say that these people who pledged their allegiance to you had pledged their allegiance to God. It should be a governing body allegiance to which is allegiance to Allah. In wars, when an arrow is shot, God will say: "*When thou threwest (a handful of dust), it was not thy act, but Allah's,*"¹ meaning that the hand that threw the dust was God's hand. The government that we want is one which is the shadow of God and is the extension of His hand; a government that is divine. The government that we want is such a government. Our wish is for a governing body to come to power that will not transgress against divine laws.

The Holy Prophet never went beyond the limits of God's decrees all his life, his hand was God's hand, his allegiance was only to God. In everything he did, his will was governed by the will of God; whatever he did was what God wanted and his government was a divine one. In such cases, we can say that he did not throw the spear. It was not him who threw the spear, it was God. Even though it was the Prophet who had thrown the spear, he did so as the shadow of God. He never acted independently of God; everything he did

¹ *Surah al-Anfal* 8:17.

was subject to God's laws. The Prophet was the Quran personified. He was the divine law incarnate. We want a government which is the law itself; one that is governed by law, not one ruled by Satan or a Satan incarnate; not by a devil among the people personified in the being of Muḥammad Rida Khan! These people are Iblis incarnate, they are the army of the devil. This government is the devil itself and is a follower of the devil; it is satanic and is the follower of Satan. This military rule is such a satanic rule; a rule that is opposed to the pleasure of God and that of the nation; such a rule is a satanic rule.

We want a divine rule that conforms with the desires and choice of the people and God's laws, and a rule that is in accordance with God's will is also concordant with the people's wants. The people are Muslim and God-fearing and when they see that the government wants to implement and execute justice they will support it. God wants justice to prevail among the people. God wants something to be done about the deprived and the third class people. Unlike nowadays that the plutocrats have accumulated all the power: one group eats and drinks *ad nauseum*, while another crams the outskirts of Tehran, starving, without water, electricity, bread or anything. The Shah claims he wants justice enforced. Some justice indeed!

The Shah's repentance is meant to fool the people

He arrogates to himself the implementation of social justice and the crystal-clear tenets of Islam, but he just preaches and never puts anything into practice. He comes and repents before the nation—all these are but his wiles and the nation should not fall for this chicanery and it will not. He says: "Up to now, I have made mistakes, but from now on, I will commit no more blunders"! Who can guarantee that you will not make any mistakes? But what you (the Shah) had done, you had done willfully. It was deliberately that you gave away the nation's wealth to America and the Soviet Union to devour! This act was deliberate and it was not a mistake. You knew what you were doing. You are a man with malicious intent. Despite the fact that you knew it was the nation's wealth and America was the enemy of the nation, you still gave the nation's wealth to its enemy for nothing in return. You were well aware of what you were doing, it was not a mistake; and after all this, you will carry out the same deeds again and then afterwards you will probably come before the nation once more saying you have made a mistake again! You have not committed any mistake. You have purposefully handed the nation's wealth over to others against its interests.

What we want is a government that will work to serve the people's interests. Of course, we can never establish a rule like that of the Prophet's time—that was a rule gone past—or find a ruler like Ali ibn Abi Talib. We are not saying that (someone like) Ali ibn Abi Talib, may God's peace be upon him, should rule over us because we can never find someone like him. What we want is, at least, a government that is governed by the law, one that is based on the laws of Islam, one that is governed by laws correctly derived from Islam. At the very beginning, these people (the Shah *et al.*) came to power illegally and they will rule illegally until the end. Ever since, neither the incumbent laws of the land nor the divine laws have ever recognized their right to rule. And up to now whatever they have done has been against the law and divine canons and laws and is against God's and the people's satisfaction. We want to set up a (simple) government—not a complicated one as they make it out to be. They think we want a government to descend from the heavens! Not at all! Right here on this earth, there are individuals who can rule with justice. There are dignified personalities right here on this earth, in Iran, or here abroad. Right here (abroad) among ourselves, there are individuals who can administer their country, who can establish justice among people and make them observe justice, manage national affairs systematically without discord and chaos as we now have in Iran. We have such people who can bring the country's economy under control. We do have such people. A lot of plundering is going on! A bunch of people are guzzling the country's oil (dollars) into their monstrous throats and of course, they render the country bankrupt. They are so gluttonous that the more the country produces, the greedier they get, devouring and gulping everything down their insatiable throats. Now, we want these throats to be wrung. A portion of this (national wealth) should be diverted to feed the people who have small throats. We want such a government not one which cares only for itself and its relatives devouring and squandering (the nation's wealth). Now, you (the Shah) claim that you are calling for their (the Shah's relatives') indictment and an inventory of their property so you can put them on trial. You, contemptible man, to whom are you saying these words? Don't people know you? Haven't the people known you? Do you really want to arraign your own relatives and sisters? Why don't you put yourself on trial? Allow them to try you in court and then we will see how much you have plundered the country! You are the ringleader of all these thieves! You are the one who has committed all the treacheries and your sisters took after you. They are just like you. You, your sisters, brothers, uncles, nephews and all your cousins and others, whoever and whatsoever! People say there are 60,000 of these

relatives and go-betweens; maybe even more. All the country's revenues are being drained into their throats and then they complain that the economy is in a mess! Have you ever thought of the economy? We believe that when we are rid of these gluttonous throats, our national wealth will be a lot more than what we have now. We are very rich but thieves in the government abound. Plundering is rampant and throats are wide. Their villas abroad need to be maintained, and I do not know how much—about 100 million dollars¹—has to be spent annually on bribing foreigners and foreign media to praise this man and publicize that he observes social justice and that the Iranian nation has not yet reached the stage where it can be free! What do you mean it has not reached that stage? Does the Iranian nation not want to be free? Has it not reached that stage where it can be free!? You (the foreign powers) are the ones who have not reached that stage to be a human being. The Carters have not reached the stage to even think like human beings and become human, not the Iranian nation which says it does not want to give you its wealth.

The need for awakening and counteracting the enemies' propaganda

Be vigilant, gentlemen! Propaganda abroad has increased and they (the foreign powers) are still publicizing here and there that these people (the Islamic activists) cannot administer the country! If administration means killing people, then all animals can also be administrators! If wolves come rampaging into the country, they can administer it better. What do you mean that the nation cannot run the country? Does Iran not have any dignitaries? Don't we have any students? Either they have been exiled and are living abroad and dare not come to Iran or they have been isolated inside the country. When you leave and this regime is toppled, right and competent people will come forth and administer the country. What do you mean there is nobody who can? You, yourself, could not do it, and that is why there is so much turmoil in the country and now you cannot suppress it. You cannot manage the affairs of the country. Very well, go and leave... When you cannot handle things, we will run things ourselves!

There is so much propaganda. Focus your (the audience's) attention on this and engage in propaganda too; counter their propaganda. Proclaim to the public that these people (the government officials) cannot run the country's affairs. What could be a better time than now that they can no longer manage the affairs of the country? Every affair in the country has been destabilized. There are strikes everywhere because everybody is dissatisfied. You (the

¹ Concerning this, see *Jang-e Qudrat-e Iran*, p. 117 and *Khidmatguzar-e Takht-e Tavus*, p. 310.

Shah) have created a discontented group, a discontented country. If one can manage a country, there will not be so many dissatisfied people in the country. You cannot manage the country, when you cannot, then everybody is dissatisfied. The merchants are dissatisfied; the tradesmen are dissatisfied; the office employees are dissatisfied; and the armed forces are all dissatisfied. Do you think that the military are this handful of inutile men who are massacring the people? Not everyone is like them. The armed forces have sent us word that they are ready (to support the struggle). When the right time comes, they will all be set and geared up to work (for us). Whom have you kept satisfied? You have kept four contented men who are now killing the people and destroying their possessions. You have bought off these four with money. You have fed them with our petrodollars and the nation's wealth and have unleashed them upon the people. We want to kick them out of our country. They should mind their own business. Enough of the looting! They should go and loot elsewhere!

The need for propaganda to acquaint the world with the issues of the movement

You (the audience) are all duty bound to tell people about the problems of Iran. Tell these Europeans and Americans and make them understand that this is Iran's situation now. A dissatisfied country has now emerged and this is all because of America, the Soviet Union and the flunkeyism of Muhammad Rida Khan. Anyway, his father was just the same as his son, or perhaps a bit better. Perhaps. You, gentlemen, whomever you meet, inform them of Iran's afflictions. They (the foreign powers) have presented Iran in a bad light. They have propagandized that Iranian people are savages who will not let the country be run properly! You (the foreign powers) are the savages because you did not allow us to run our country ourselves! In every affair you (the Shah) take up, America intervenes. Just take a look at the armed forces and you will find 60,000 or 45,000 American military advisers! Now, they are leaving one by one.¹ Look at its culture and education and you will see America meddling with it. Its Parliament has been created by them (America). The representatives of the Parliament are chosen from their list. Even the Shah himself was hand-picked by America. Everything is in their hands. What else do we have? We do not have anything. Do we really have our own economy? Everything is in America's hands and all these crimes are

¹ America's withdrawal from Iran started in the middle of 1357 AHS [circa 1978]. At the time of this speech these were approximately 20,000 Americans in Iran and in the middle of Azar (Ashura) it reached 12,000.

being perpetrated through this man's treacheries and the crimes of his foreign masters.

We want a country run by you (the people), one in the hands of the barefooted people who are suffering from hunger. Think up a solution for them. We want a ruling clique endowed with human dignity, one that believes in God and the Day of Reckoning, not like these people (in the government) who are ignorant of God, in order that something good be done for the poor people and the country and we be rescued from the claws of these parasitical oil guzzlers.

You (the audience) are duty bound wherever you go and whomever you meet to inform everybody of the country's afflictions whose cure is the deposition of this wretch, the overthrow of his unrighteous regime and our emancipation from the clutches of foreign elements. If this adversity goes and its remedy is found, which is when this man and the foreigners leave, for all of them are sources of afflictions and are like a cancerous tumor which should be removed . . . Let us eradicate them all. Our country is a great country, very vast and bountiful. It has everything. But a bunch of traitors is disturbing its state of affairs. This bunch of traitors must go. We have a great country. We will run it ourselves. May God bless you with success. May you all succeed, God willing.

Speech

Date: November 12, 1978 [Aban 21, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 11, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The need for the resignation of the armed forces

Addressees: A group of university students and Iranians living abroad

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Propaganda against an Islamic government

They have launched another series of propaganda ploys claiming that the Islamic movement has but one clear aspect and that the rest of its programs are vague! That which is clear is that all the people are saying this regime and the Shah must go and an Islamic government must be established. This is now on all the people's tongues. However, a group of uninformed individuals have been spreading the notion that this Islamic government does not have any clear program of its own; that they (Islamic activists) thoughtlessly talk about an Islamic government and that neither the Islamic government nor the Islamic activists have any definite program of their own, claiming that the Islamic Republic does not have a solid base, that it is but a vague idea and allegations such as these!

Notification and warning to the compromisers

Well, we have two steps to take: the first one is to eliminate the present (monarchical) base and end the current situation. This, they say, is clear. Do they have any objection to this? Which step does those who, in their line of thinking, oppose this (Islamic) movement, disagree with? Are they questioning the first step that calls for an end to the present order, to this regime and to Iran's present situation which is now at the crest of decline after fifty years, that they are saying such a state of affairs has to remain? Do they believe that this regime must stay? Of course there are those—advocates of the Shah and his regime, individuals affiliated to him or America—who believe that the present situation should remain as it is, or in the words of some, that the Shah should “take a low profile” out of the limelight. This is the scheme they have contrived. But does this group really believe that the present situation is all right and should remain? Or is it that the situation is bad but expediency necessitates that it remains so because there is no other

way? If they believe that the situation is all right, then it means that those fifty years of repression is all right! Censorship of the print media and other publications, and the security organization's divesting them of freedom are also good then. Can they really claim so? How can they have the impudence to say that such things are good while all our publicity and propaganda machinery is kept under surveillance and is being regulated by the security organization and no journalist has any right to oppose any issue dictated by them, and the radio and its propaganda vehicles do not have any freedom to air any program except those which they impose? While such repressive practices exist, can they really call them good? Can a Muslim or a human being state that such things are good? If so, then let one of those who disagree with us come forward and announce the same. Whoever they choose, it could be the Shah himself or any one of his cronies, should come forth and confess that their broadcast and print media are powerless and do not have any freedom in news broadcasting, that everything is regulated by the security organization and all these media should air only what they tell them to and that all these are good! Let one of those who believe that the Shah should stay in power state this in writing. They should publish it in the papers or on a leaflet and sign it! They should write that: "I, Mr. so and so, believe that such repressive measures are being taken, but I say they are good." Or, let him admit, too, that our education, which is backward, is backward and that they will not let us have an independent educational system; that our educational system is a subservient one, subservient to the will of embassies. Let them come forward and admit all these and say: "We want the Shah to stay because our educational system should be this way; it is a marvelous thing and it has not been forced on us." Let them say it is a great thing; that it is wonderful that our educational system is retarded and that they never let our youths be educated and trained in the sciences in a way that they become constructive. Those who believe that the Shah should remain in power must publish these matters if they really believe in them and think they are right, that things should be as they are and believe that they are good the way they are. Find someone from all over Iran to state this, publish it with his signature affixed thereto and introduce himself that: "I, Mr. so and so, the son of so and so, confess to such a belief." I do not think that such a person can ever be found. Or, find someone to admit that: "I confess that the regime's foreign military advisers are actually controlling our armed forces and that they are under foreign domination, under foreign military advisers, but that such things are good! It is good to be under their domination! Likewise, the various kinds of misfortunes that we have been afflicted with

(are good), be it in the main precincts of the cultural order, the military or the economy.” They must admit the fact that they are giving our oil to America so freely and in exchange they are setting up a military base for America in Iran. Let them admit this and declare: “What we are doing is good! It is being humanitarian or being kind, generous and hospitable to one’s fellow men and this sort of thing; that we give away our oil—well, as a gift—to another country! Well, we want to give (America) our oil as a present and the recipient compensates us with guns instead of money.” The thing is, they (the US) are not giving us the guns; these weapons they bring into Iran, they do so because they want to install bases to guard (their interests) against the Soviet Union! You see they cannot just do this without an excuse, so on the pretext that they are paying for the oil, they remunerate us with weapons instead of money. Weapons! Does Iran need weapons? These arms’ quantities are so enormous and excessive that the Iranians do not know what to do with them or how to use them. They do not even teach them how to use these weapons. These Americans want to set up a US base here to shield themselves from the Soviets. You see, if they (the US) say they want to build a base with no excuse, it will cause a big commotion (among the Soviets) and so Big Brother¹ will also create an uproar and say: “What will I do in this corner?” They (the regime) do not want these things to happen. So, they say that the US is buying oil and giving something in exchange for it! What is it that the Americans give us in return? In exchange for oil, they are giving us weapons. However, the real issue is to establish military bases for America. Presently, there are bases erected in many parts of Iran and they are all operational. They say that it is something that has already been done and is still being done. Perhaps, it is really good to be so “humanitarian!” So, if they consider it such a good deed, then they should find one crony of the Shah’s or America’s to certify such things in writing, the way I am bringing them up, and sign it. But nobody can say that such things are good.

The Shah’s dependency to America

What is left for them to do now is to say something else in this regard. They—these cronies, or may I say, slaves and lackeys² of the Shah—should say: “No, it is not so and, as His Imperial Majesty’ has declared, we are independent; we do not need anything. Our armed forces can resist Russia,

¹ It refers to the Soviet Union as the Russian soldiers call Stalin, brother’.

² It refers to persons like Iqbal Manuchehr and Asadullah Alam in which the first refers to the Shah in his letters in the following terms, *Chaker jan nathar* [I am your ransom] and the latter to the Shah as *Ghulam khaneh-zad* [I am your house servant].

Britain and America!” In his (Shah’s) own words: “The US is not our patriarch that we have to listen to every word it dictates!” With these words, do they want to say that America does not have any military base in Iran? They should look around; bases are so visible here and there, in the mountains, everywhere. All of them are conspicuous. They have been set up all well equipped with underground passages and sophisticated equipment. This being because you are giving away too much. They claim that they do not give America any oil! They deny it. They could at least say: “We do and what a good thing it is that we do!” But they deny the fact that they are giving oil to America, even though the whole world knows quite well that they do! They say they sell a moderate quantity, but everybody also knows that you (Shah) give it away profusely because you, yourself, have admitted that our oil resources will be exhausted in twenty to thirty years’ time. It is such since you are giving away too much. The United States has oil and does not have need for it. It has plenty of oil wells from which it does not extract its oil. It means that the Americans have their own oil wells and are also aware of their underground oil resources, but they have sealed off their wells for their future consumption and are benefiting from His Imperial Majesty’s’ trifling gift while their own oil resource is safely untapped underground! They dug their wells, tapped them, sealed them off, sat on them and then stretched their hands begging Iran and other countries for oil!

They say: “We do not give away oil. We haven’t given oil to America, or, if we have, it has been but a moderate quantity.” Well, by the oil revenues you are getting and the billions of dollars worth of arms you have imported, it is obvious how much of it you are giving America and the other countries. They brag: “We give them oil, but we are getting foreign exchange!” Very well, let one of them put it in writing that they are getting money from America. They all admit that they are giving away oil and getting arms in exchange. Do they believe that such arms and all this equipment and these facilities are necessary to the country? Do we wish to gain power like that of the Soviets’ or become as powerful as America? Is this why we need these weapons? Do we have experts in proportion to such and do we really use them ourselves?

Capitulation Bill and its precedence in Iran

It is public knowledge that there are about 45,000—some say 60,000—of these American advisers here and experts who enjoy political immunity. And not only these advisers but every single American here! They have been granted immunity from prosecution. These are tales that history should

record so that people will understand in the future what the Iranian situation had been. During Rida Shah's time, when the Capitulation Bill was rescinded,¹ as they had claimed, it was merely a verbal rescinding. Of course, it now really is abolished. And what a hue and cry they had made in their propaganda stunts when they proclaimed that His Majesty' had decided to annul the Capitulation Bill,' and so on and so forth. For quite a long while, the newspapers, the radio and other media celebrated the annulment of Capitulation Bill by His Majesty Rida Shah! They highlighted it with so much pompous publicity for some time. Then, on that day when "His Majesty Muḥammad Rida Shah," legitimate heir to "His Majesty Rida Shah," revived the Capitulation Bill for the Americans,² once again the same uproar was raised as to what a great service he had done! The poor media, held captive by the security organization, had to proclaim it. They dictated to them to publish it and the press had to oblige and propagandize what a great service it was and that no service could have been greater than that which His Majesty,' the Shah, had done. What had he done? That which his father had rescinded, he had now readopted! We are supposed to celebrate its annulment and then celebrated its re-adoption! (Audience laughs). The situation in the country is analogous to that of the poor rooster's when it laments that it gets beheaded (for the dining table) be it at funerals or at weddings!" (Laughter from the audience).

Iran's situation is such: there is commotion whichever version is recounted—good or bad! These are things we hear and witness at present. Later, will people believe we have endured such regimes? During my lifetime, I witnessed such incidents. You do not have any recollection of such things, not a single one of you remembers. But in my days such incidents took place. That celebration (during Rida Shah's rule) occurred in my time. And now, this celebration and situation (under the Shah) and the commotion

¹ In 1828, simultaneous with the signing of the Turkmanchai Treaty, the Capitulation Bill, which granted the Russian consulate immunity from judiciary prosecution, was ratified. The Russians unconstitutionally practiced this right for almost a century until 1921 when, for some reason, they renounced it. Six years later, on May 9, 1927 [Ordibehesht 19, 1314 AHS], Rida Shah's government decreed that His Imperial Majesty' had abolished the Capitulation Bill. See *Tarikh-e Bist Sal-e Iran* [Twenty Years of Iranian History], Chap. 4, pp. 390-391.

² This Capitulation Bill was passed in the Iranian monarchist parliament in 1963. Under the provisions of the said bill all of the US political agents, diplomats, advisors, and military advisors as well as their immediate family members were granted political and legal immunity. Imam Khomeini disclosed the unprecedented humiliating nature of this law in his historical speech that he made on the commemoration of Hadrat Fatimah Zahra's (a) birthday and called on everyone to mark the occasion as a day for public mourning.

that ensued—all these took place during my time, too; both incidents happened in my time. This was the way things had been. We had to rejoice on both occasions because His Majesty¹ treated the issue the way he did!

Are they saying such events did not take place?! Well, they did take place! But they say they were all right! What does this all right mean? It means that if a cook at the US embassy or a businessman, who is an American (in Iran), runs over a respectable (Iranian) citizen, say, a top official, a philosopher, a scholar, or anyone, and does it on purpose, the Iranian government does not have any right to hold him responsible for his action! The case should be referred to the embassy where they know how to handle the matter! What this decision, which he (the Shah) propagated so much and the man who introduced the bill to the Parliament¹ made so much hue and cry for, affirmatively proves is that every single American here is legally immune from prosecution. Nobody has any right, not even the Justice Ministry, to summon any American whatever (crime) he commits! The armed forces do not have the right to interfere in these matters; no one has any right to interfere in such affairs. Such issues will have to be resolved directly by Americans and in the precincts of the embassy, or, shall I say, in the US territory itself, and it is only obvious what the solution will be! Is this what they refer to as good? Is it very good that Americans enjoy immunity and nobody has any right (to protest)? However, if the highest official of this country (whoever he may be) runs over (an American) servant, he should then be prosecuted! When it concerns them, no one has any right to even criticize them, but when it is the other way around, the Iranians should be tried?! Well, is this what they consider good?

Does he, who believes that the monarchical regime should remain and that the Shah must stay and rule, mean to say that so far nothing has gone awry and so the Shah must stay?! Or, he does not believe in it and does not approve of the situation. If he believes that the situation is all right and that he approves of it, then let him put it in writing with his signature affixed and state that: "I believe in this system and it is quite favorable; that is if we cause a servant of theirs any trouble, we will have to face charges but if the victim is one of our dignitaries, then nothing should be done to them!" I do not think that a person or a human being can ever attest to such in writing. Yes, some of these (supporters of the regime) have really let their humanity slip, just like His Majesty¹ himself who is totally bereft of any spirit of humanity; he is possessed by a spirit other than a human one; that is why he

¹ Hasan-Ali Mansur, the prime minister at that time.

is saying all this bosh and tosh. Nobody can ever really say such things the way he does!

Obligation of the regime's agents in betraying the country!

Looking at the other side of the coin, we see the expediency of his overthrow. From this view, you cannot say that the things, that is, everything that has happened to the nation so far—like our educational system being backward or the economy being insolvent or parasitic—is really good. Our whole military is supervised by American advisers. I suppose this is also good!? You cannot admit this either. What is left for you to do is to admit that: “Well, we believe these things are terrible but we had to do them because we had no other alternative, it had to be this way. We had to endorse His Majesty’ and his remaining in power because we had to acquiesce in such arrangements. They made it expedient for us to accede to the notion that our education could only improve to a certain extent. They compelled us to accept their domination of our armed forces; that our Parliament members be appointed by them and that neither we, nor the nation, had any power to interfere (in the elections)! We had to oblige and because we were compelled to do so, things should be the way they are.” Now, the Iranian nation has risen up against them and is saying that it does not agree with all these so-called exigencies, but up to now nothing has been done. Presently, the people are mobilized and are following up the issue. Well, if they agree that this is wrong, but that they had been forced out of necessity to accede to it, the Iranian nation has risen up en masse stating its rejection of such so-called exigencies you have done. The Shah says: “I have a mission to serve my country.” He himself had written a book entitled *Mission for My Country*, and I, too, confirm he had carried out a mission to serve his country. But he says: “I had a mission to do this and that, to take my nation to the so-called gateway of the great civilization’.” I say you had a mission to sell your country’s oil, demean your educational system and reduce your country to what it is now: a total ruin which we call our country! If they aver that the regime has committed treason but which you (Shah) insist as expedient and imposed, can we accept such statements from a Parliament member, a minister or the Shah that they had been forced to betray the nation?! If that is so, then relinquish your post! Who has forced you to become a prime minister? Who has imposed membership of Parliament on you? Or pushed you into becoming a minister? Who forced you to become the king? Resign! A person who does not have the courage to safeguard the nation’s interests, confront the foreigners and a person who is held captive by foreigners and

who believes he has to sacrifice his country's interests for them should resign. Granted you want to keep your monarchy in place, but should you commit all this treason?! Are you not blameworthy? Who says your monarchy has to be preserved? If you are a man, or a human being, a man who is not a traitor, proclaim and say that you cannot protect your country and serve the interests of this nation, and thus you are resigning! Then you will see how people will shower you with blossoms enough to reach the empyrean! Unlike now that everybody is crying out: "Death to the Pahlavi monarchy!" They are crying this out because they have not seen any good deed committed by you to serve their interests. Who has compelled you to stay on the throne so that you can commit all this treachery? How can a person fabricate excuses for this? Well, that Parliamentary deputy who has been representing such and such constituency in Parliament for ten to fifteen years, serving as a representative, not of the people but of the Shah, or worse, the representative of the (US) embassy—they are all aware of this themselves—such people trod on that pile of debris,¹ and carried out whatever vile deeds they wanted, they committed whatever treason they wanted. Can we believe their pronouncements that they were forced to do so? Who told you to become a representative in the Parliament? Did anybody coerce you to surely become one? Stand behind the rostrum and announce it, tell them the story that you have been sent on behalf of the (US) embassy; that you are not a legitimate representative of the country and for this reason you are relinquishing your post in the Parliament and then you will see how differently the people will deal with you. Can this be a reasonable excuse that a representative says he is not to blame because he was compelled to be one? And can the Shah claim he is free from blame because the (US) embassy compelled him? Who else wants to exonerate himself? What is this nonsense?

They are all blameworthy! They are all traitors! They committed treason willfully in order to seize power. One person wanted to be the monarch for a while, another wanted to become a minister for a while, or, become a representative or a senator, etc... They all purposefully committed treachery against the country and all those who have been part of this system and have served this system are all traitors. Not a single one of them is qualified enough to take up even the most menial job, even that of a porter! Gentlemen, these MPs and Senators are the regime's advisers, and their treason is very clear.

¹ An allusion for the National Parliament.

Illegitimate representatives of the parliaments

Assuming that you (members of Parliament) had not given your vote to any offensive issues and you were a person who wanted to voice your opposition to such, but can you deny that you were not the people's representative? Can you deny that you occupied a seat in the Parliament and received a salary for it? Can you put it in writing that you were not a Parliament member and that you went there for no apparent reason and you were not involved, that there was nothing where you went and you did not get paid either?! Tell the people this and in turn, they will say: "No, Mister, you set foot in the Parliament and got paid from the nation's coffers. You got the people's money and you were not even their representative. You acted against the Constitution, betrayed the people and embezzled their money when, in fact, you were not a representative." If a representative is appointed by the (US) embassy or the Shah, then he is not a true representative and his representation is illegitimate. For representation to be lawful for a certain constituency, the people of that area or electorate must elect him. Well, say then that you have been appointed. The Tehran representative should come forward and say that the people of Tehran had elected him, so the people can then deny any knowledge of his election and his person! The Azerbaijan representative should come forth and proclaim that he had been elected by the people of Azerbaijan, so the people can say that they do not know any one of these representatives. Where and how have the people known such representatives? Who knows these men?

Necessity for the top-ranking army officials to be relieved of their posts

Their excuses cannot be accepted merely because they asseverate that they have acted upon orders. They aver: "We were forced to obstruct the development of our education and to put our armed forces under (American) domination." All top ranking officials of the armed forces should have resigned when they witnessed what the American top officials had done. Of course, it was not possible at that time. If only all our civil servants had resigned when they understood that they would have American superiors and that they would be working under their supervision, if all of them had sent in their resignations to the Parliament or the Shah declaring their disagreement with the situation, then American advisers could have not possibly entered the country.

They are here because you have not shown any growth and because you are retarded, they are here to subjugate you and run your affairs. If you were progressive, or you were a human being, who cared for this country and land,

or you were a religious human being—and religiosity is the very core of all the issues—then you could not possibly sit passively and wish to be just an official who kowtowed to anything that a man sent in by America said. It would be much better if you had resigned. Who has forced you to be a lieutenant-general or a general? You should have resigned; resign now.

Now that everything is as clear as daylight before your very eyes and you have witnessed the Shah's treacheries, and the Shah himself is ready to make confessions on the radio of all his sins which he calls "mistakes." He has been saying up to now that what he has done has been "mistakes" and he promises that he will not commit the same mistakes anymore. Now, that you see a king who has confessed to his crimes and has announced them over the radio, begging the people's forgiveness for his mistakes—all of you (the Shah's agents) must step aside right now; or abandon your posts in the army or join the people; do not attack people again and kill them. But you do, so you are all traitors! We cannot refer to you as human beings who can be trusted by the people. You are traitors in this country. You are not competent to do anything. Low-ranking officers cannot. They say they are ready to carry out some tasks for us. God willing, they will carry them out.

Monarchy, a cancerous tumor

This side of the coin says that this regime must be toppled. It is corrupt. It is like a malignant tumor which, if not removed, will kill a person and annihilate (humanity). A sick person afflicted with a (malignant) cancerous tumor cannot just sit without having it removed for it will kill him. This monarchy is a tumor in this country which, if not extracted, will contaminate the whole country. We do not have any choice but to eradicate it. This cancerous tumor, which is more dangerous than cancer itself, has to be eliminated. I would like to leave discussion of the other aspects of the issue for another time as I am too tired to go on. May God bless you with success and grace. God willing, you will return to Iran one day when conditions there have changed. (Audience responds with "Amen").

Interview

Date: November 13, 1978 [Aban 22, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 12, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The Islamic republic relies on the laws of Islam

Interviewer: A reporter of the French *Le Monde* newspaper

Question: [Our country is the country of freedom, and we are very delighted that Your Eminence has come to France. What does Your Eminence Ayatullah think of Iran's conditions after the arrest of Dr. Sanjabi?]

Answer: The arrest of the doctor will bring about no change. This is another one of the Shah's efforts, thinking that he will make the doctor surrender. And it is not clear whether anyone or some respectable people would surrender to the Shah.¹

Q: [What is Your Eminence's opinion of possible armed struggle? Two or three days ago, Mr. Shariatmadari said that no decision has yet been made in this regard.]

A: We hope that everything turns out to the nation's advantage before it gets to armed confrontation. If the need arises, we will then reconsider it.

Q: [Your Eminence declares that an Islamic republic must be established in Iran, and this doesn't make much sense for us French because a republic can be established without religious grounds. What do you think? Is your republic based on socialism, constitutionalism, elections, democracy, or what?]

A: As to the republic, it means as it is elsewhere although, this republic is based on a constitutional law, which is the law of Islam. We say Islamic republic' because the terms of the elected, as well as the commands enforced in Iran, would all based on Islam. However, the choice is the nation's, and the method of the republic is the same way as elsewhere.

¹ Mr. Karim Sanjabi was arrested upon arrival in Iran by the Shah's regime after meeting with the Imam in France.

Interview

Date: November 13, 1978 [Aban 22, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 12, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The investments of Germany and the people under the Islamic republic

Interviewer: a German reporter

Question: [What will happen to the Germans residing in Iran if the conditions within Iran change and the Islamic republic comes to power?]

Answer: They will be treated humanely, and if they pay regard to our national interests, they will suffer absolutely no losses.

Q: What will happen to German industrial investments?]

A: If the investments belong to them, they will be protected and no one will be treated oppressively.

Q: As Your Eminence Ayatullah is aware, the Shah has signed some agreements with the Germans and foreigners in the name of the Iranian nation. Will a new government, led by Your Eminence Ayatullah, continue these agreements? What would happen to these agreements?]

A: Those contracts that are consonant with the national interests will remain valid.

Q: [As you are aware, there have been some investments made in Germany in the name of Iran. What will happen to these investments?]

A: They belong to the country and nation of Iran, and the future government will do what would be in the nation's interest.

Q: [How the freedom of women in the future government will be? Will they have to leave schools and stay at home or will they have the chance to continue their educations?]

A: What you have heard about women and other issues are all propaganda spread by the Shah and the biased people. Women are free; they are also free in regard to education and they are free in other things as men are. It is now that neither women nor men are free.

Interview

Date: November 13, 1978 [Aban 22, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 12, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: How to hold a referendum; not needing Russian help

Interviewer: An Arab reporter of *Al-Bayraq* publication

Question: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, can the movement that you are introducing, along with the emotional and popular values it holds, come to power by itself in the name of the majority of Iranians, without the involvement of the leftists and the traditional oppositions? And if they hold a referendum today, based on the slogans you raise, what percentage of the votes will you earn?]

Answer: The absolute majority of the Iranian nation is Muslims and will vote for what we call for. The whole nation does not want the Shah. Can't ninety percent of the Iranians who are Muslims, establish an Islamic republic, as a majority in the society?

Q: [Is there a chance that the Soviets will help your movement? Is Your Eminence Ayatullah completely disappointed with America? Or do you believe that if someday America becomes certain that the time is up for the Shah's rule, it may then choose what is best for it?]

A: As to the Soviets, we don't need their help, and we will not accept them, as we don't accept the Americans. Concerning America, of course it is always concerned about its interests, but the nation doesn't care about America anymore, and the Shah must go, and there is no other way except this, whether the Soviets and America want it or not.

Q: [Is there a possibility for the army to join your movement, or will it remain faithful to the Shah? Is it that you have lost hope in the returning of the army to the right path, or do you believe that the thirst for power will overcome the army, and they will take control of the government, and the soldiers will join the nation?]

A: Can the mercenary commanders of the army, who were bought by America fifty years ago, change so rapidly? The army doesn't want the Shah, but the power is in the hands of the army commanders. The young officers and those holding ranks are particularly with the nation. But they don't have enough power to revolt yet. For the time being, the American military has got

the power in its hands. But one should know that handling the affairs of this government is very difficult. Basically, the military cannot govern.

Q: [The Soviets say, the reason for the religious revolution against the Shah, is because of the land reform, which has taken away the land privilege that the clergy used to have. What is your response to such an accusation?]

A: If anyone was familiar with the living conditions of the clergy, he would have well known that the clergy has not had, and does not have any lands. The clergy are of the third class. The issue is not the land reform. The struggles of the Iranian nation are because of the Shah's thirty five years of crimes and betrayals, which were unveiled by the clergy, and are also meant to topple down the Shah's regime.

Speech

Date: November 13, 1978 [Aban 22, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 12, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Introduction of three basic principles of the Revolution

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

We proposed three principles¹ and, now, we want to examine which one of these is disagreeable to those who may oppose them.

The first principle: removal of the Shah and overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty

One principle points to the fact that the nation of Iran, as confirmed by their demonstrations and slogans during all this time, does not want the Pahlavi dynasty rule. This, in itself, was a referendum in which people nation-wide voted; with their cries they voted that they do not want the Pahlavi dynasty.

If anybody opposes us in this regard and openly expresses before the Iranian nation that they want the Pahlavi dynasty to remain as it was before, he should come forward and declare once and for all that he attests to the reality of what the Shah has done, and that what he has done is good! He should admit that the Shah gave our oil to America in exchange for which he has purchased some quantities of scrap metal (arms) which are useless to us; that he has kept our education in a state of backwardness, massacred all these youths, ordered their imprisonment, caused all these sufferings and suppressions; he must state that all these, all these acts perpetrated by the regime, are good. If anyone says these things, it will also be good if he announces them publicly and affixes his signature to his statement stating "I am the person who attests to the propriety of his deeds." But I do not think that such a person can be found anywhere in Iran to attest to such.

¹ It refers to the three important principles which the Imam announced in an interview on Aban 19, 1357 AHS [November 10, 1978]. The first principle: the removal of the sinister Pahlavi dynasty; second principle: removal of the invalid monarchical regime forever; third principle: providing the preparations for government (Islamic Republic).

Supposition of the Shah's being unaware of the issues of the country

Or, they can deny these and say he has not done such things and that somebody else did them. Because there are some individuals claiming that "His Imperial Majesty" was unaware of such matters! That every single event that has transpired in this country, whatever oppression, or treason, has been committed has been committed by somebody else and the Shah never had any knowledge of it whatsoever! Every Iranian citizen knew about these things except the Shah! Wasn't the Shah one among the citizenry? Wasn't he one among the people? He who always says in all his commands and decrees that everything in this country passes through his hands. Others also confirm the fact that everything is implemented through him. Regarding what happened at (Qum's) Faydiyyah Theology School and how his agents attacked it. When we asked anyone, they all answered that it was done on His Majesty's order. They (the Shah's agents) said they had no other choice. On that very day, we wrote in one of the communiqués¹ that whoever we asked they all pointed to His Imperial Majesty as having ordered it. His Majesty had ordered soldiers to barge into the Faydiyyah Theology School and turn it upside down. What they said was true. No one could have ever consented to such acts (except the Shah). No one could order such without his knowledge, and the Shah, who is at the helm of the system ruling over Iran—which he himself admits—says that in this system neither the police chief, nor the general of the army, can order the murder of an individual, the looting of a place or the massacre of one whole area. Nobody else can ever decree such. All these exploits are executed through his orders or consent; the final say is always his!

Can we ever say that he did not have any knowledge of all the bills drafted, ratified and passed in Parliament? Has he been unconscious all throughout his rule?! If one is conscious and aware and is the king of the country whom everybody knows controls and dictates all these tyrannical acts, should these advocates of his and of America exonerate him from guilt? Was he ignorant of all these evil deeds? Should the guilt of a king who delivered that infamous speech before a great multitude in Qum and vilified the clergy of Islam and people of all walks of life be passed on to somebody else? Did he not have any knowledge of what he did or said? Was the king, who defamed the clergy on the radio calling them names, branding them reactionaries, and ordering the people to oppose these impure beasts,' as he put it, not aware of what offence he had committed? Had anybody else

¹ Imam's communiqué of Ordibehesht 12, 1342 AHS [May 2, 1963] on the 40th day death anniversary of the Faydiyyah martyrs.

committed it? Was the Shah not aware and had somebody else dictated it to him and he read the text without understanding, just like a child who had been given a note to read without understanding its contents! Was the Shah like a child who did not understand the context of what he read (on the radio).

The disgrace called “The Revolution of the Shah and the People”

And the issue of what they called the “Land Reform” Program and the circumstances that entailed it, or even the campaign drive that he himself called “the Revolution of the Shah and the People” or the “White Revolution.” He named it “the Revolution of the Shah and the People” but it was neither his revolution nor the people’s, because neither knew anything about it! Was the Shah unaware of this matter? What he was referring to as the “Revolution of the Shah and the People” was but a piece of paper on which there was something written that he had to read. And he was so sense bereft that he did not understand that the phrase “The Revolution of the Shah and the People” meant he had a role in it! He read it but did not comprehend what was written on it! According to the logic of the man who claims that the Shah is innocent, he was ignorant of all the affairs (in the country).

Well, nobody can believe this. Now, assuming that someone says so, can we believe it? The Shah, himself, says that everything should be carried out as he wills and that “it is me who carries out all affairs,” and who until recently counted on nobody else, no one, not a minister nor a (Parliament) representative—nobody had the right to say anything. Whatever he said was law and no one could utter a word! So, we cannot say that all these things have all been good and that the Shah who has done these has done something good.

We cannot say that these issues were wrong but that he was unaware of such or that others had perpetrated them and then later put the blame on him! Now, they have arrested a group of his cronies who were his accomplices in the crimes he committed. I do not know how they arrested them. Is it really true or are they just playing a trick on the people? Of course their friendship remains; we do not really know whether they have arrested them or not, perhaps they are just tentatively hiding them in a secret place somewhere, perhaps they have made them a comfortable hideout somewhere, we do not know. Assuming that he has betrayed their friendship and has really arrested his accomplices—of course, they purposefully want it this way—he wants such measures to be carried out to find credibility among the people, to show them that because he has now understood that his cronies committed treason,

he is arresting them! It now becomes obvious that they are traitors, and because of this he now arrests his own minister¹ who has served him for twelve or fourteen years and who was his own accomplice in committing all these crimes, and now that the people have risen and have created this commotion, he suddenly realizes that what his officials had done was wrong! They have now arrested them so that the people will think that “His Majesty” really means to reform! In the same way that he contrived the “Land Reform Program” and the “White Revolution”, he now wants to stage a revolution, solve the problems and arrest the incumbent ministers, this and that minister, and so on and so forth! What else can the people say?! No one can ever believe that such things took place without his knowledge.

Supposition of the acceptance of the Shah’s repentance!

Well, someone may also say that what had been done was wrong and he was the one who did it, but now he has repented. He has repented before the people and his repentance is acceptable to the people and we must accept the repentance of anyone who has done something wrong. Another solution is to say that because the Shah has repented for the wrongdoings he has committed, we should let him reign as king but not rule, and because he has repented everything he has committed will be a thing of the past! And now, that he has repented, he should be pardoned! Well as far as repentances go, assuming that he has repented, one point has to be considered! God will not accept it unless he gives back what rightfully belongs to the people. If one kills another and then repents, this repentance is not acceptable unless the victim is compensated. Only then will his repentance be acceptable to God. They (the Shah’s cronies) think that because he is the first person of the country, God will consider his case a special one, even though he has not expiated his sins and crimes. They think that because this man is the first person in the country, God will overlook the fact that he has committed numerous crimes, absconded with the people’s property, wasted many lives, ordered the commission of wrongdoings, and committed so many acts of treason and crimes. Will God ever condone his crimes of these past twenty odd years simply because he is the king?! Obviously, as they believe, God discriminates between a king and other people! His allies believe that because he is the Shah, he can repent at will! From their point of view people who have lost their youths can just disappear too as they are nobody before the Shah and such matters should not even be brought up before him!

¹ Amir Hoveyda, the Shah’s Prime Minister.

How could we say his repentance is accepted if the conditions for his repentance have not been met? If anyone runs off with the people's money and later claims to have repented, he should return their money before his repentance is accepted. Otherwise, the repentance of one who does not attempt to amend one's wrongdoings is just like the wolf's repentance. Now, if the Shah has really repented, let him come forward and disclose his foreign bank accounts and return to the nation the assets held therein. This is one way to compensate the material loss inflicted on the people. We will deal with the killings later on. First, let us take up the material compensation. He has squandered so much of the people's wealth. He has given oil to the foreigners in exchange for something which is useless to the people and is actually harmful to their interests. Let him atone for all such acts of his first and announce that he wants to compensate for them.

It is said that he has announced his wish to make amends and all his family members too will be investigated to determine whether they have committed illegal acts and if proven so, they will be prosecuted. He still doubts whether his family has committed any misdemeanor or not! Obviously, even an issue such as this is unclear to him and he is not aware of it! It is just now that he wants to determine whether they (Pahlavi family) have trampled upon the rights of anyone or have committed any crime. If they are guilty, he is now saying that they have repented. He faces the nation and admits: "Well, I've committed certain "mistakes" and I promise not to do so anymore. I now feel duty bound not to commit any more wrongdoings. I guarantee this." He keeps on repeating his plea. Now, the people, the whole nation, are opposing him. They say: "Well, you have to compensate for what you have done. When you have done so, then you can say that you can guarantee." The issue is a question of legal rights. It is not as if the issue is one between him and God. God may forgive him for his offences. But we are not God's public lawyers! God will not accept his repentance before the legal issues (arising from his misdeeds) are resolved. You are responsible for the people's rights, for the rights of the nation. You have wasted the wealth of this nation; for decades you have so despicably tortured our youth in prison and ordered such tortures to be carried out on them. You should first compensate for these acts then you may ask for God's forgiveness. You have not atoned for your sins and you are already asking for forgiveness! How could we believe in our right mind that you are repentant?! Do you think the nation has not known you well enough? When you began your rule, you gave all these assurances which by law you were duty bound to and now you, in your own words, are admitting you committed these mistakes? Are you not

going to make mistakes again? Or, is it that you are saying so to make the people negligent you so you can resume committing the same misdeeds that you call mistakes?!

All roads are closed, Shah must leave

Now, the one who supports him and rejects our first principle which calls for the Shah and this dynasty to relinquish power should state: “No, everything he has done is good and you do not understand. People do not understand that suppression is something good! It is a good thing to suppress people and the Shah has committed many good acts. All suppressive measures and similar acts are also good!” Such supporters of the Shah may also come up with: “No, the Shah has not committed any blunders, or, he has not been aware of the misdeeds, or, he has repented”! Now, if all roads are closed he had better not be there (on the throne) anymore.

Rejection of succession or Regency Council

Another solution (proposed by his advocates) is that: “Well, let him make an exit and allow his Crown Prince and respectable wife to step forward and set up a Regency Council to administer the affairs. The Crown Prince and the Queen have not done any wrongdoing! They are good and righteous.” But the Iranian nation cannot accept this. A nation which has suffered so much under this man and his father and has witnessed so many treacheries regards this son (Crown Prince) to be a chip off the old block, as the Shah himself was a true replica of his father (Rida Shah)! This was indeed a grave mistake of our nation to allow this son (Muhammad Rida) to rule after the rule of such a father! And it was quite easy for the nation at that time to tell the Allied Forces (which forced Rida Shah into exile), and stand firm on their demand that “We do not want him (to be the king).” It was so easy at that time to bar his way to the throne by reasoning out that he was the son of such a father. I have heard that he (the Shah) had said: “My father is keeping the prisoners in vain; they just incur extra expenses. He should kill them all and let them perish!” It is said that he had made such statements that rather than throw money away on prisoners they should all be killed! It is such a grave matter the possibility of which should be considered by the nation. Man should act very cautiously if he considers an important matter probable. If you consider the probability of an animal, a beast, attacking you and killing you once you leave this room, you will never leave this room. Consider it as a probability. But, of course, we do not view such a thing as possible. I believe in the possibility that if a wild, man-eating beast lurked

outside this room, you would act prudently and not go out. Now, we consider the probability that this family is savage and will destroy this nation as they have demonstrated so far and will do the same in the future; furthermore, they are lackeys of foreign powers. But the issue is real and not a mere probability though we are now talking of a possibility. For a fact, he is a tool, as his father had been in the hands of foreigners. Now, they (foreign powers) intend to use his son and manipulate him for their own ends. And how can the nation accept that they stay in power and lord over the nation after all the treacheries they have committed. As such, I do not believe anyone can refute our first principle which says that this (monarchical) base should be destroyed.

Second principle: removal of the monarchical system

Our second principle holds that the very concept of “monarchy” is baseless. The monarchical regime is an old reactionary one. It was baseless right at its inception. When we speak of reactionarism, we refer to a thing that was, in its own time, acceptable but which has now become obsolete. Even if the monarchy was of some substance at the beginning, it is now an antiquated phenomenon. The monarchy is a reactionary issue nowadays. Right from its institution, it has been an absurd practice in which a king gains dominance over a people who do not exercise any choice in choosing him! The founder (of a monarchy), the first king, has always come to power through coercion and has been imposed on the people. There has not been any time in which the people have had any discretion in the determination of a king. Kings have always bullied and coerced people and imposed their will on them, subjecting them to their tyranny and whatever they wanted to do to them. These dynasties have all been founded by usurpers who committed all kinds of evil... A monarchy, however, is now viewed as an object of ridicule among the world’s regimes! First, someone revolts against a regime. During the uprising, the move is considered as wrong and the dissenter is looked upon as a criminal who has revolted against a regime. Later, when he vanquishes and kills his enemy, commits all sorts of evil acts and prevails, then everybody begins to recognize him; he then becomes “His Imperial Majesty.” Up until that time he was a thief, a bandit who came and attacked wanting to overthrow, say, the Qajar dynasty. Up until that time he was a rebel who rose against the monarch; he was referred to as a brigand, a traitor. But as soon as he gained power and toppled the regime, the US recognized him, on the one hand, and Britain, on the other! He is now “His Imperial Majesty!” Now, anyone who rises against him is a criminal! He has been a

criminal up until now, but because he has now prevailed and has dominated the people and toppled the former strongman, this very hooligan becomes “His Imperial Majesty.” This is the cornerstone of such governments. This very same thief, a thief up to now, and one who, if caught, would be executed with the approval of all, now that he has prevailed and vanquished all, is now recognized by all, one by one. This scenario unraveled in Afghanistan just the other day. At first, they (anti-government elements) rebelled¹ against the Afghan regime and became the target of all sorts of accusations. But after they prevailed over the regime, global powers recognized them from everywhere! That is how after the titles changed and this bandit became “His Imperial Majesty,” anybody who criticizes him and his imperial regime, or insults him, will be imprisoned for several years!

The monarchical regime is invalid and it relies on force

The principle of the monarchical regime has been wrong from its very inception. What sense is there in making a man who is no different from us, who is usually inferior to all individuals in the populace and who is of lower intelligence, the first person and king after which no one can touch him anymore? Of course, these individuals (who ascended to power) were bullies; they were very powerful but the intellect of many of them fell below an average person. We all witnessed that Rida Shah set up a Parliament with the force of a bayonet. It was not a national assembly. But let us assume that he came to power as the consequence of the people’s decision to do away with the Qajar dynasty because of their wrongdoings. But after he came to power, he became untouchable although he ascended the throne through the people’s choice. He then did whatever he wanted and never listened to the people no matter how many times they cried out: “You became king upon our vote and our choice, but we don’t want you anymore. Step down and go about your own business.” To this demand of the people, he turned a deaf ear; he responded with bayonets? This is what is happening (in Iran) at the moment. Our fathers, those before us, chose someone, placing him upon the throne. Those before us chose him (Rida Khan), but we are now paying the price for the crimes of his son (as king). Did we choose him?! Is it logical that fifty years ago, another generation, another populace, elected someone as the king and then that person’s son too, without the people choosing him and actually against their will, remains as king over the people!? That is, he not only can do whatever he pleases, but he also becomes the constitutional king! Why

¹ It refers to the communist coup d’état of Nur Muhammad Turki in Afghanistan in November 1978.

should he be in power without the people's vote? What sense does it make? It is the prime right of any person, populace or society to choose anything that concerns their country's fate. If you search all over Iran now, you will not find anyone who admits to having been involved in selecting Muḥammad Rida Khan to be enthroned. No one was involved in his selection (as king). In his own words, "it is a divine gift", people have no role to play in it.

In our wrong constitutional law it is stated that "Kingship is a divine gift granted a person by the nation."¹ When did the nation ever confer on him the kingship? When did the nation ever have any discretion in such matters? He (Rida Khan) launched a coup d'état, moved to Tehran from Qazvin, occupied Tehran and arrested and imprisoned a group of individuals, and gradually stayed on. At the beginning he was an army general, became a war minister and eventually the prime minister. He later set up a Parliament at bayonet point forcing the deputies of the Parliament to depose the Qajar dynasty and install him as the monarch. It was the bayonet that forced all those developments. Assuming that the monarchy is a "divine gift" conferred upon an individual by the people, when did the people confer it on him? When? As I have mentioned earlier, supposing that the people conferred the kingship upon his father, then what? The people who were living then deputized someone as their ruler, but my father was not my representative (to vote on my behalf). None of you remember that time; you could not vote at that time. You were non-existent to cast your vote. None of you were living then. Those of us who were around in that period could not vote at that time and the people had not voted for him, either. But still let us assume that the population then gave their votes to him. Now, we are alive and we wish to choose someone to determine our country's fate and administer its affairs, can that someone interfere in the country's affairs without us having any knowledge or approval of what is going on and does anything he pleases?

Comparison of the monarchial system to the republican system

Therefore, the very principle of monarchy is wrong. What is a "monarchical" regime?! First, the people should appoint someone. For instance, the people should choose someone as their deputy to work for them. They should choose someone to administer their affairs, but later, they should be able to tell him to step down whenever they do not want him anymore. But in a regime which comes to power, like Iran's present regime, if the ruler learns that for whatever he does the people cannot touch him or

¹ The 35th Supplement of the former Constitution stipulates: "The monarchy is a divine gift granted to the person who is King by the nation."

depose him, then naturally he can stay in power forever. This is how monarchy is; people will be stuck with anyone who becomes the king. Such a person has a free hand to enact whatever unlawful act he pleases. He has no worry of being deposed. There is no overthrowing him. He will rule eternally. All the people, too, will have to be king-lovers! But if someone is elected, for instance, to head a country as president, say, for five or ten or eight years and is asked to run the affairs of the nation and if people are free in choosing someone for the task, then that person, no matter how bad he might be, will think of his own vested interests but at least he will tell himself that "Well, I'll be out of office after five years and I'll be taken to task by the people then. If I've done injustice to someone then the people will skin me alive. I hold the reins of power now but after five years, I'll be an ordinary citizen like the others." Such a thought will surely keep him at bay. So, the monarchical regime has always been something wrong and imposed on the people.

Our second principle concerns the baselessness of the principle of a monarchical regime. People should have the discretion to choose. This is a logical issue and any sane man agrees that each individual should have the authority to decide his own fate. It is up to the people to whom the country belongs to determine that all the wealth and resources of the land should be spent in such a way as to serve the people's interest. Everything in a country should be directed to the best interest of that country. Now, how can people entrust their fate to the hands of a person who is estranged from the people and believes that the latter have no say (in the national affairs) and says that he has the absolute power and he should be able to do anything he wants with no popular intervention? This runs counter to a situation in which people gather and declare to choose a certain person as their president for five years. Assuming that that person is a scoundrel, still the wisdom of this cunning man will not allow him to do whatever he pleases and do injustice as he wills. Assuming that the people do not have any rights, but in a republic, rights exist...

So you (the Shah) are wrong and should mind your own business! If the republic is Islamic, everything is then quite clear because Islam has set forth certain qualifications for the one who is to lead people and has a patriarchal role to perform toward the people. If any one of those qualifications is not met, his leadership is subject to automatic dissolution. It is no longer necessary for the people to gather to depose him; he becomes nothing. If the president of an Islamic republic commits an act of oppression or slaps somebody with no good reason, he will be deposed and his rule ended. A

misdemeanor such as this will terminate his tenure of office. And for slapping a person, he should compensate it in kind, that is, he should also be slapped on the face. This is the kind of regime we want.

Therefore, our first principle is that we do not want this dynasty and it is crystal-clear that this is the way it should be. People are in agreement with us in this. This is a popular demand; an issue which concerns the people's right, is a popular one. All people have shouted this in street demonstrations. They are presently shouting it. Just today, it has been relayed that some fifty thousand people have revolted against the regime, launching a movement and staging demonstrations in Isfahan. They too are saying the same thing. The second principle of ours holds that a monarchy, a royal regime, is false from its very origin and this will be attested to by any sane person who deliberates on it that such a regime is not an upright one at all. The authority to decide the fate of the country should rest with the people. If someone is appointed to be the king by another power and if this king appoints another person as his successor, the fate of the nation will be in their hands (and this is wrong)! Everybody must exercise the right to decide their own fate. This present generation should decide its own fate and its fate must not be decided by someone who lived, for instance, 700 years ago, and who has now gone about his own business.

[Electing a] president means the people must decide their fate. People now wish to elect someone as their president whose term of office will end in five years after which they will elect another and then another. This is better than that. That was a mistake; this is better. It is possible that it is better. But the republic we are referring to does not mean electing just anybody to the post of a president. This criterion applies everywhere, that is, the head of state, in order to preside over the people, should possess certain qualifications. A ruler has to meet the requirements specified by Islam in order for the country to enjoy a just government.

Third principle: establishment of the Islamic republic

Our third principle pronounces the fact that we want an Islamic government; an Islamic republic in which popular votes will be sought and qualifications (for the head of state) will be announced. Islam delineates such qualifications. You can select anyone who meets these requirements. Requirement should not be such that thief can be chosen to run the government. No sane person will accept it if we appoint a thief to this office and we will never do so. This is our third principle.

That is the third principle. I now feel exhausted and will continue this discussion later. Some statements have been made and “His Imperial Majesty” has also made a speech today. Let me have a look at what he has said and consider how we should respond to that.

Message

Date: November 14, 1978 [Aban 23, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 13, 1398 AH]

Place: Neaphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Gratifying the struggles by Muslim students and forecasting the ultimate victory of the Iranian nation

Addressees: Iranian students living abroad

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 13, 1398 AH

The message of you dear students was received.¹ I am honored and proud of the enthusiasm, courage and boldness of you brave youth.

You the enthusiastic youth abroad and within the country are my hope in this Islamic movement. My dears, be patient; God is with the patient. The victory belongs to the great nation who has risen to demand for its rights. The cremations of brutality are falling down one after another. Through persistence and perseverance, the final victory will belong to the nation by the will of God, the Exalted. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ Imam Khomeini's message was issued in response to the message of support of the Iranian Muslim students residing in America, who were having a sit-in strike in protest of the Shah's crimes and the American support for the Shah.

Message

Date: November 15, 1978 [Aban 24, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 14, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The necessity for continuation of the strikes and the support of people for the strikers

Addressees: The employees of the National Oil Company and government institutions

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 14, 1398 AH

My and the nation's greetings to the workers and employees of the Iranian National Oil Company! May God, the Exalted, have mercy on you, the alert people who have made the nation proud by your strike! Every day and every hour of your strike is precious and grinding; precious for Iran's looted people, because you have stopped the flow of this black gold and the country's abundant resources that have been looted by the traitors, and robbed by the oil-guzzlers for years, and that you have prevented the squandering of this poor nation's possessions as much as possible; and that you have crushed the traitors who consider their giving away the country as a backing for the survival of their devilish rule and their shaky satanic throne. Every hour of your strike is a service to God, the Exalted, and to the country of Islam. Those who try to break this noble strike by force are criminals, servants of the foreigners, and traitors to the nation and country.

When the workers and employees of the National Oil Company and other government establishments and departments are on strike, it is on the noble nation of Iran to support them respectfully, and to compensate for their losses in the best manner, and to encourage and appreciate them in their noble strike, which is done to express hatred toward the treacherous Shah and his filthy dynasty, and to support the people's general struggles.

The illegal military government is trying to return people to their normal condition by the force of bayonets; unaware of the fact that the nation's satisfaction can't be fulfilled by bayonets. These bayonets will eventually cause a huge explosion. The brutal military government is the final option the Shah has resorted to, in order to save himself. This government also won't last long either; because this system has putrefied from the inside.

Filthy and treacherous supporters of the Shah, try to scare people of the Shah's departure and the gap that will be created afterwards! We must see what shortcomings the presence of the Shah completed and what gap has it filled. What has the Shah filled except the pockets of foreigners, himself and his greedy relatives? God willing, these traitors will be punished sooner or later.

America should know that if they want to preserve the military government by force, and to put our unprotected people under their mercenaries' shower of bullets every day and night, and if they want to put pressure on our respectful employees and deprived workers of the Oil Company who are for the Shah's departure, then strategies shall be formed for the oil wells, where our precious resources would last for the generations to come. America must reconsider its support of the Shah. American politicians should warn their own government of these oppressive and anti-human rights policies which are against the interests of the American people.

Our holy Islamic movement has put an end to the lootings and dictatorships in Iran. The officials who open fire on the nation must know that the victory of the nation is imminent, and its revenge from the traitors is harsh; the Shah's commitments and promises are weak and the nation's revolutionary wrath is dreadful. And they must know that the Shah, in order to survive, may put them on trial and imprison them, as he did his loyal servants.

I thank all fronts, educators, traders and merchants, the Oil Company, telecommunications (company), transportation company, the press, and other government and private institutions for their strikes, which were to save their country and serve Islam and the Muslims. And I respectfully and humbly request the distinguished clergy all over the country—may God exalt their words—who are the guides to the path of deliverance, and the pioneers of the great Islamic movement, and a strong barrier against the superpowers of the East and the West, and servants—may our souls be their ransom—to compensate for the losses of any kind, that the indigent stratum, who have always been the pioneers of our civil struggles, have and will sustain in the struggles, from the blessed share of contributions to Imam (a) and religious funds. I thank the noble nation of Iran, particularly the clergy, for the hardship they are going through. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: November 15, 1978 [Aban 24, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 14, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The communists' condition in Iran; the political and economic betrayals of the Shah

Interviewer: A reporter of Germany's Swiss language Radio-Television

Question: [Your Eminence, in Iran everything depends on the Shah. No political movement can breathe anywhere near him. You are for the Shah's departure. Are you not encouraging chaos and disorder? Will the Marxists not be able to draw the country toward atheism?]

Answer: All the things that depended on the Shah fell apart, and now the Shah plays no role in Iran. All these riots and disputes occurred because the Shah was despotic and treacherous to the nation. It was the despotism and betrayal that caused these problems. If the Shah leaves and the Islamic government and Islamic republic replaces this regime, all these riots will obviate and Iran will become truly democratic. But the Marxists and communists don't play any role in Iran—where there are over thirty million Muslims, all standing up crying for Islam—and we are not afraid of them at all.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah had an important discussion with Karim Sanjabi from the National Front in Paris. Will you struggle jointly with this political party? I mean, will you form a coalition?]

A: I told him the points and issues that are on my mind and it is impossible that I would step back from them even one step and we have not formed a coalition with any particular front. The whole nation is with us and we are with the whole nation. And anyone who agrees with our concerns, which are independence of the country along with total freedom and the Islamic republic, which is the replacement for the monarchy, is of our group and of our nation. And if he disagrees, he has stepped away from the interests of Islam and the nation, and we will have no relations with him. And those who agree with us, we will be one voice with them, though we don't have a particular connection with anyone.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, Americans have great influence in Iran's army. Why is the army still loyal to the Shah? Do you think the army's loyalty to the Shah will continue? Or, are the opposition forces so strong that

they can pull the Shah down and overthrow him, regardless of the army's support?]

A: Under the present circumstances and the Revolution of the people, it is not clear that the army is loyal to the Shah or not because the nation is from them, and they are of the nation. And the people, through the solidarity they have among themselves, have the power to eventually absorb the army. It is the Americans who have preserved the army in order to save the Shah, through their influence in the army. Otherwise, it's not evident that the army itself is loyal, and if it is such a little bit, the nation will absorb them.

Q: [Iran has great economic and strategic significance for the West. Does Your Eminence Ayatullah believe that Americans are willing to jeopardize their stance in the Persian Gulf region by allowing essential changes in Iran?]

A: The danger directed toward the region is due to the Shah's unworthiness and the corruption in his government organizations and the ruling system. We know that industrial countries need oil along with other things. But, we rely on the nation, and the Islamic republic is one which relies on the people and must be free and independent and not affiliated anywhere. God willing, we would provide their needs with the materials that we have, in due time, in such a way that mutual respect is maintained between those countries and ourselves. And we would give our oil to the customers if they observe our interests. And if a risk arises, it would be from their side because of wanting to treat us unjustly and not from our side where we would want to act fairly and observe mutual respect. This stubborn American support of the Shah may ignite a great explosion causing political, social and financial problems. America must stop its stubbornness.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, banks are one of the targets of the people's attacks. Switzerland is a country with important international banks. And it appears that a great deal of Iranian capitals has definitely been transferred to Swiss banks. What do you think about this?]

A: The destructions that have taken place in Iran and the Iranian uprising are due to the corruption in the ruling body. And it is also due to the illogical acts of the Shah. The devastations all over the country, caused by the Shah's agents, are meant to stigmatize the people, and to misrepresent the Iranian peoples' genuine struggles, by their attack to the center of exploitation and prostitution and corruption, which shows their hatred for anything that leads to deviation and plundering. Right now, the local and foreign broadcasting services report that some groups of bullies or a number of commandos attack

the cities of Iran guised as *kolis* and natives, and perform the act of sabotage. And these acts are what undermine the stability of the country. If the Shah leaves and the Islamic republic, which is the true democratic government, takes its place, these riots will end and stability will return to the country. The regime of Iran would turn into a democracy which will create stability in the region, and capital will return to Iran and be used to the people's advantage.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, the present regime's economic policy has led to Iran's severe dependency on foreign countries. Is it possible to return to an independent economic policy? How will you do that?]

A: One of the treacheries the Shah has committed is making our economy dependent on foreigners. Our economy, because of the Shah's acts, whether in land reform, which has completely corrupted agriculture, or in extremely high overheads being wasted, like buying excessive weapons, not only has no benefit for our nation, but it is also damaging. And by those weapons, bases have been built for foreigners, etc. This would make the economy weak and disintegrate it, and will loosen the economic foundations. Our people with the present Revolution could put all affairs along the correct and independent channel.

Q: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, yesterday Amini¹ met with the Shah. If he gets appointed as prime minister, do you think this would be the last chance to save the regime?]

A: Nothing will give the Shah a chance to survive. The whole nation of Iran has revolted in the cities, and they will not calm down until the Shah leaves, and no one can save the Shah. He has no choice but to leave, and the superpowers have no choice but not to disagree with our nation, and if they do, things will get worse for them.

¹ Ali Amini.

Interview

Date: November 15, 1978 [Aban 24, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 14, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran's general condition before and after the Revolution

Interviewer: A reporter of the German *The Third World* magazine

Question: [Mr. Khomeini, considering the increased pressure on the Shah's regime, do you think his reign is about to end?]

Answer: The Shah's regime has disrupted the country so much, by using force, and unprecedented massacre of the people last year, and by unlimited corruption, for which no solution can be accepted by the people, unless the Shah leaves.

Q: [What kind of rule will you suggest after the fall of the Shah's regime? Do you intend to save the monarchy within the framework of the constitutional law as well as the Pahlavi monarchy? What kind of government do you prefer?]

A: The nation of Iran desires an Islamic government, and I have suggested an Islamic republic that relies on the votes of the nation. And the Pahlavi rule or the monarchical system is something that the Iranian nation has generally been rejecting within last year, and anyone who approves them is a traitor to the nation.

Q: [The people's demands for higher income and a better socio-economic condition, play a basic role in Iran's present political circumstances. How can these justified interests of the people be achieved and fulfilled?]

A: Repairing the destructions will be possible once the Shah leaves. Agriculture which has totally been destroyed will be revived. The oil income that has so far been wasted on unnecessary and damaging expenses would be spent on the welfare of our own needy people. Distribution of wealth based on Islamic justice would improve the condition of the masses.

Q: [What importance do you lend to the Shah's proposed reform programs called as 'The White Revolution' or 'The Revolution of Shah and the People'? Today, what do you think of the land reform and its effects on the rural population and their constant migration?]

A: The Shah's land reform was nothing but a program to destroy agriculture and to impose single-product economy on our society to the point that today most of our needed foodstuff is imported. After the destruction of agriculture, farmers left their villages and lands, and rushed to the cities. The Shah's wrong policy in assembly industry, not only didn't solve the problem and didn't secure the lives of the immigrant villagers even at an acceptable level, but it made the country dependent on foreigners more than ever, to such an extent that the damaging effects to the economy are uncountable.

Q: [Along with land reform, capitalization of industries was developed in Iran, in the form of temporary industrial projects. Establishment of these industries would lead into changes in production and distribution of commodities. Traders have not requested a reduction on production of industrial goods, rather they have asked for a return to traditional conditions of production. Considering the interests of the traders and consumers, how do you think the development of manufactured consumer goods should be organized?]

A: The industrial policy of the Shah's regime is to expand the assembly and consumer industries, and to affiliate the industries to the foreign ones. The industrial policy of the Islamic republic of the future would be based on creating fundamental and mother industries, to the point that every type of dependency would come to an end. By creating fundamental and mother industries, the development of manufactured consumer goods will also improve in such a way that the interests of Iranian consumers will be held priority over everything else.

Q: [On what basis that the Shah has said, "Iran will become a one hundred percent Westernized country by the next twenty years"? This issue is indicative of a Western democracy without communist parties, as well as the production conditions and living standards of the West. Do you think this will be a desirable future for Iran? And what solution do you suggest?]

A: The Shah has said and continues to say many things of this nature to mislead the people. And today, there's no one in Iran or many other countries that would doubt the fact that the Shah has resorted to such fabrications merely to cover for his crimes and also his continuous failures. Besides, there's no reason for the Iranian nation to imitate the patterns of Western or communist countries in order to progress and become modern, when they have such an advanced school of thought as Islam.

Q: [Do you have any specific idea about reducing the huge gap between the life standards of the people of cities and villages, the bourgeoisies, workers, and farmers?]

A: Yes, God willing, our Islamic programs which would be announced and enforced in the future, could administer this important task in the best way possible, and become a role model for the people of the whole world.

Q: [What do you plan to remove the present financial corruption and the accompanying inflation?]

A: If the hands of the thieves and local and foreign looters are withdrawn from the country, and the economic programs become adjusted and are carried out according to the society's reasonable and logical needs, and the ungodly laws, which are used as instruments by the profit-seekers, are cancelled, then there will no longer exist a problem such as inflation in the country.

Q: [What role will Shiism play in a government without the Shah?]

A: Basically, the Shah and the monarchial position is an outgrowth in the governmental organizations, such that if he interferes in the affairs—which he shouldn't—then there won't be a reason for him to stay. And when he interferes in government affairs which the Shah has always done, he violates the rights of the whole nation, and when the people want to take their rights from him, he shows stubbornness and massacres them. This is where Shiism becomes involved and sets up such a great movement by resorting to Islam's rich culture, and will not quit until forming an alternative system conforming to Islam's approved standards.

Q: [In the opinion of Western countries, Shiism is being considered as a conservative element in progress. We have also heard the Shiah desire to withdraw women from the scene of social life, as well as their wish to return to Shiah laws, which would call for setting religious traditions as the basis of governing laws, as referred to in the constitutional laws, which has become illegally obsolete. We have also heard that Shiism rejects Western life style because it doesn't agree with religious traditions. Will it be possible for you to give your opinion on this matter based on Shiah belief?]

A: Shiism, which is a revolutionary school of thought, and the continuation of the Prophet's (s) true Islam, has always been under the dastardly attacks of the dictators and expansionists. Not only does Shiism not drive away women from the scene of social life, but it places them in their own elevated

humane position within the society. We will accept the West's advancements, but not the West's corruptions that they themselves are whimpering about.

Q: [Being Iranian has created such a stable national situation that there has been no dispute among religious minorities like the Jews, Christians or the clergies of the minorities in Iran. How will these relations among the minorities be in your desired type of government?]

A: Being a Muslim has created more stability among Iranians than being an Iranian. Not only are the religious minorities free, but the Islamic government is obligated to protect their rights. Besides, every Iranian has the right to benefit from social rights, like all other Iranians. There's no difference between Muslims, Christians, Jews, or [followers of] other religions.

Q: [The influence of the West in Iran is of crucial importance. For example, there are forty thousand American advisers permanently living in Iran, who are mostly in the army. What will be your foreign policy?]

A: The presence of the American military advisers in Iran is due to the anti-Islamic and anti-nationalistic policies of the regime in Iran. In addition to creating tremendous costs which are a burden to the nation, it has given them such a supremacy over the army and the affairs of the country that the dignity and reputation of the military officials and officers have been stigmatized and destroyed, and in such situations, we will act according to an independent and free policy without the interference of the superpowers.

Q: [The rate of Iranian oil is very low as compared to the rate of that of OPEC countries. In comparison with the investing goods purchased from the West, do you think the price of oil is adequate, or should there be some adjustments to be made?]

A: The West's capitalist class extremely overuses the oil, in order to earn the highest profit as well as to aggravate the economic crisis, without thinking about the world's major dilemma and dangerous future, once this vital substance has finished—a dilemma which would take away purchasing power from the oil-producing countries after the termination of these huge resources, on the one hand, and force other countries to pay unbearable prices for the needed energy, on the other. Therefore, the problem with oil is not just the problem of its price, which is unjust now anyway. The problem is that in the economy of countries oil-rich countries in particular, the proper

and appropriate role should be given to oil, and there should be real potentials available for the growth of the economy of the countries, not false potential. This is how we will adjust our oil policy. It is then that we as an equal party can act fairly as relates to the price of oil and its products and to the price of the goods that we purchase.

Q: [How do you think your future relations would be with Soviet Russia, the member countries of the Warsaw Pact, and the Communist China? The current relations of these countries with Iran may be described as cold.]

A: For the time being, the Soviet Russia and China have both joined the list of the opponents of the nation by supporting the Shah. In the future, our foreign policy would be built upon the principle of protecting the freedom and independence of the country and mutual respect. They would have to make their decisions by considering this principle.

Q: [What significance do you think Iran has in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean?]

A: The region's strategic importance is other than the importance it holds to those who have set their greedy eyes on the region. We, along with other people of the region, without accepting anyone as gendarme would preserve its security, and would block the influence of the superpowers, on the basis of maintaining freedom and independence.

Q: [How will be your relations with Arab Muslim brothers? These relations are currently limited to some extent.]

A: Our relations are brotherly, which have origins in our religion. We also share a common history and culture. We always understand each other's problems, and our enemies are common also.

Q: [At the present time, Iran may be considered as a supporter of Israel in the Middle East conflicts. What reforms do you suggest?]

A: Under the present circumstances, the Shah's regime is a supporter of Israel, and it has been almost twenty years now that I have been opposing this in my announcements and speeches, and I have already announced my partisanship to the legitimate struggles of the Arab nation and Palestine.

Q: [Why did you have to leave Iraq? Why do you spend the rest of your period of exile in Paris? Why do you like Paris regardless of the fact that you've been given the chance to return to Iran?]

A: Iraq, being forced by the Shah, put me under pressure, and I considered it my divine and religious duty to leave it in order to carry out my struggles. I am temporarily in France now, and the location is of no importance to me.

Interview

Date: November 15, 1978 [Aban 24, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 14, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The people's attack on centers of corruption

Interviewer: A reporter of the *Weekly Magazine*

Question: [You said the struggle will be peaceful, but why has it gone beyond these limits and turned into destructive activities?]

Answer: The struggles started peacefully by the people, but it turned violent by the Shah, and that provoked the people. Besides, most of these devastations have been and still are caused by the Shah's agents. People only hit the corruption centers, because they are demanding a just government.

Q: [Do you believe that the military pulled out of the cities on Sunday by the order of the Shah, so that all of this would happen and become a good reason for establishing a military government in the future?]

A: That day, most of the fires were set by the system, and people only destroyed the houses of prostitution and exploitation.

Q: [What will happen to Iran if the Shah left? Will Iran be released from the American influence?]

A: In my opinion, if the Shah leaves, Iran will become a good Iran, God willing. The superpowers' influence in Iran will come to an end, and Iran will belong to the Iranians, and for the present, all Iranian forces will be used to repair what the Shah has ruined.

Speech

Date: November 15, 1978 [Aban 24, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 14, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The need for the rejection of the monarchical regime and establishment of an Islamic government

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

The ultimate goal, realization of an Islamic republic

The Iranian nation, in whose path we tread, demands three basic principles as aired in all the demonstrations which were, and are, being held across the country. The people's objective is nothing but the realization of these three principles. Of course, the third principle, that is, the establishment of an Islamic government, an Islamic republic, is the main and principal goal, which is their ultimate objective. The other two principles are intertwined with the third one, that is, even if the people only voiced this third principle, the other two would intrinsically follow as imperatives to the third. People are calling for the formation of an Islamic government or Islamic republic, the realization of which necessitates the downfall of the monarchical regime; and the negation of this system is a negation of the person of the Shah even if he were lawfully enthroned, let alone if his rule were totally baseless.

Crimes of the last 50 years, a reason for the rejection of the Shah

Well, these two other principles, although not as significant as the third, seek the same end. The ultimate goal is the establishment of a just Islamic order; yet the people's call for this man's (the Shah's) and this dynasty's removal from power has now become an objective in itself for the Iranian nation. It has become so because over the past fifty years, the regime has perpetrated countless crimes against the Iranian nation and has subjected the people to numerous afflictions. It is this very regime that has staved off the young generation's attempt to attain intellectual growth. Just consider how much debauchery has been spread by the regime through its establishment of countless centers of corruption and prostitution. The diffusion of immorality by these centers, such as the proliferation of liquor shops (everywhere), casinos and places such as these; the magazines which were vehicles of moral depravity published merely to corrupt the youth, the deplorable state of

affairs in the radio and television stations and the movie theatres—all these are consequences of the fact that this regime and government are aiming at depraving our youth. All these centers of corruption were established everywhere in order to drag the youths out of universities into taverns of hideous and evil activities. To make our youths indulge in corruption is, therefore, one of the plots hatched by this corrupt government. If this government were an upright one and cared for the expediency of Muslims and the nation, it would never let this great force of the youths and this immense national power fall prey to corruption, transforming them into otiose citizens. The people consider the present situation a handiwork of this very ruling clique established by the Shah and his corrupt regime.

On the other hand, the Iranian nation also believes that all afflictions that are now extant in Iran in the educational, economic, and other realms stem from the ruling clique. It is a fact that a corrupt government is to be blamed for all the depravities beleaguering us. As such, it is now the objective of the people to get rid of this man and this regime. This is indeed now a noble and a necessary goal for the people although, if we look at it, this is only a prelude and an imperative to the achievement of the main objective (in this uprising). The toppling of this regime is a must in the setting up of a rightful Islamic regime. Therefore, no one can object to these two principles and a rational being who is not dependent on the US and the Shah can never accept the remaining in power of this system considering the iniquities associated with it. Nor can anyone deny the fact that corruption has been so rampant that even the Shah himself has realized it. That was why, as you heard over the radio a few days ago, he admitted committing all those acts which he chose to call mistakes'. He confessed, however, that whatever has been done so far has been against the law and he promised to stop them.

Yet, there are times when people, who are more fervent in supporting the regime than the Shah himself, who are either mentally retarded or drowned in wishful thinking and who still love to keep the country under the Shah and the Americans, would like to exonerate the Shah of his crimes, while he himself has admitted that many mistakes had been committed during his rule. From our point of view, however, these have not been mistakes' but willful acts. Since his coming to power, all the measures he has taken have been against the nation. Even if we announce that a king reigns through legally right procedures, once he betrays the nation, he is not fit to rule anymore; he is defunct and hence, deposed.

The invalidity of the basis of the monarchial regime

Therefore, the nation's first and second adopted principles call for the Shah's abdication. Besides, ever since its inception, the monarchial regime has always been an outdated invalid regime that runs counter to conventional wisdom. Let us assume that these kings came to power at the nation's behest, although we know it has never been the case. We know how the founder of the Qajar dynasty... took the reins of power and how he disturbed the national scene in order to establish himself. We have seen how Rida Shah grabbed the helms of the government. It was indeed spectacular and sensational how he made his debut onto the scene. I remember how he acted and how he, in complete disregard for the nation, established his domination and monarchial rule using coercion and the force of the bayonet. Let us now assume that a nation has brought a monarchy to power, or let us say that, some 700 years ago, the Iranian nation assembled and chose a man to be their king who, in turn, bequeathed this monarchial legacy to his descendants. Well, the nation's choice then only concerned the king ruling at their time and with whom they dealt. The country and its affairs belong to you and you may choose any person to rule over you. But let us ask the people living some 70 or 700 years ago this question: What relation do you have with us? What business do you have with our affairs? For what reason did you appoint a man to be our king? Because it is we who should choose a ruler in our time. If a man or a dynasty were chosen to rule 700 years ago, could this choice be logically, legally applied to us at this time? If so, for what reason? Any law article compelling us to submit to a choice made 700 years ago regarding someone's selection as king is not valid. So, even if we could assume that Rida Shah's rule had been made possible by popular consent and that the then National Consultative Assembly, although unlawful, had been lawfully set up, the majority of those who voted for these, except for a very few found here and there in cities, have passed away. Furthermore, it is not clear whether those who are still alive today were of the proper age to vote then. Most of them were either minors or quite young. Well, let us assume that 70 or 60 odd years ago, the Iranian population, who were the forefathers of the present population, elected a group as deputies to the Parliament to choose someone as the king. Let us also assume to be true, that these deputies were free in casting their votes and had the right to select someone to hold the reins of power. But these deputies were not our deputies. You were not living then to have deputies. So, these deputies were not yours. On what grounds then did they decide to give the rein of your fate to the son of Rida Khan? What right did our fathers have to do such a thing? Neither had we deputized

our fathers, nor had we appointed those Parliament deputies. They had no right to do such a thing.

The kingship of the “Shah” is even against the constitution of the regime

So the monarchical regime carries this absurdity within itself. The very constitutional law of that time with all its spurious by-laws holds that the kingship is a divine gift granted to His Majesty’ by the people. Now it is a divine gift’ and the people grant it! How the people became God’s deputies to grant this divine gift is in itself a mystery! What nonsense is this?! Well, perhaps at that time they (the deputies) saw that they could not oppose Rida Shah and the other kings and they were forced to draft the Constitution the way they did thereby adding insult to injury! All these are nothing but nonsense. This monarchy is a decadent and false order. But anyway, the Constitution holds that the kingship is a divine gift granted to the king by the people. Now, we want to apply the very same law article to him (the Shah): that the people should bestow the kingship on the king. Now, we ask people all over this country this question: “Did you grant the kingship to this man?” No one can answer this question in the affirmative. Even if this statement were right, although I believe it is false, and your fathers had given this divine gift to Rida Shah, he is now dead and so his rule is now over. Neither were our fathers our deputies or guardians, nor were the majority of the people residing out of the country that their fathers had to act on their behalf. On what grounds then does Muḥammad Rida Khan within the framework of the present Constitution which regards the kingship as a divine gift granted to the Shah by the people, now consider himself the king? We ask him: “Which people gave you such a vote?” He, himself (the Shah), admits that the people gave their vote to his father, not to him. Moreover, among those who cast their votes—if ever they had really cast their votes—only but a few have remained alive; most of them have passed away. So, according to the same constitutional article to which he refers as the basis of his rule, the Shah has no right to rule, because this divine gift should be granted to a person to become the Shah, and the people have not given him such a mandate.

And I must remind you once more that the foregoing is based on the assumption that the people did grant Rida Shah the kingship, but we know very well that the people did not. Let us assume that the kingship was a divine gift given to the Shah by the people. We now make this assumption that the people themselves gathered together and presented this divine gift to Mr. Aryamehr! But now the people are saying that they do not want him anymore. So, the issue is resolved! (Audience laughs). The people granted it

and are now taking it back. A thing can be given by someone and taken back by the same.

Let us assume that one day all the people unanimously endowed this mandate upon and presented this divine gift to Muḥammad Rida Khan. What are you saying now? He wanted to rule basing his right to rule on the previous monarchy! Yes, that was presumably the case in the past; and as you claim, it was done legally! But what about now? People are saying “no” to your rule. Sometime ago, the people of Isfahan were setting everything on fire and this wretched man, or one of his cronies, was praising the Isfahanis as the “king-loving” people of Isfahan! (Imam and the audience laugh).

They are describing the people as the “king-loving” people of Iran! Well, these “king-lovers” have gathered and are now unanimously voicing their opposition to him. They are saying: “We have deputized someone and he will be our deputy for as long as we have not revoked his appointment as one. Once we do, then he can no longer argue that because we have appointed him, we have no right to voice our opposition to him.” Well, the kingship was something to be granted to a person by the people and we assumed that the people gave him this right. But they are now saying they do not want him as king anymore. What excuse can he resort to for staying in power? He is but a usurper now! I sometimes refer to him in my writings as a usurper and this is not an exaggeration. He is a usurper. A usurper is a person who, contrary to law, imposes his rule and deceives the people. Whatever abuses he has committed all these years have been out of rebellion and deception. If we assume that a king should be given a certain salary and he received this salary, this act is tantamount to deception because his rule has not been legal and as such he was not entitled to receive any remuneration!

Even if we assume that being a king entitled one to a salary and even if he ruled without violating any laws and then received this salary, we want to ask him this question: “What right did you have to get this salary? You were not the legitimate king to have done so. Now, the people are shouting “no” to your face. For what reason that you have occupied a place that rightfully belongs to the people and have continued to rule? You call on the people; what right have you got to take away the people’s money? How can you justify such an act for the people?”

It is then a principle in this movement that he (the Shah) should be deposed... the people are now saying that he should no longer stay in power. Perhaps the majority of people have neglected the fact that this man should not have been in power from the very beginning. No longer (being in power is) for someone who was there in the first place. But anyhow, we are now

saying: “Hey, mister, you’ve been in power up to now. Fine. What about from now on?” We are saying that the hustle and bustle should stop! “Whatever good or bad you have done so far, well, we do not want you to continue ruling anymore.” If we delve further into this issue and look into the history of his monarchy, whatever may still have remained in some people’s minds, and whatever has been written in history books—if indeed anybody found the courage to write it down, apparently, they did write it, although not very clearly—those who know the truth realize that the monarchy of Rida Khan, the father of Muḥammad Rida, was not granted to him by the people as held by the Constitution. The monarchy of Rida Khan, the father of Muḥammad Rida, was imposed through bullying and the force of the bayonet and by a Parliament that was formed at gunpoint and whose deputies were coerced to ratify a law that when one dynasty¹ bowed out, another² should come to power. But neither dynasty was legitimate.

The superpowers support the Shah so as to stabilize their interests

The Parliament was not a legitimate one, nor were the votes. We do not believe in the legitimacy of your regime from its very inception. The Shah has not been a legitimate king from the beginning. His father was imposed on the nation by the British. He, himself, was installed by the Allies (during World War II). In other words, he was imposed on us by Britain, Russia and America! Who has ever said he should be king other than those who, up until now, have been staunchly backing him and have been shouting night and day that they want him and that they cannot find anyone better than him? Carter has explicitly said: “He is our man and should stay in power.” But we do not want him Mister (Carter)! You have installed him for your own vested interests. But we should consider our own interests. The Iranian nation is saying it wants to safeguard its own interests, not those of the America. America, Britain and Russia are united in propping him up. But the outcry of the nation is: “Who are these powers to say that the Shah should stay on the throne? It is our nation and land. None of you has any right to say that he should remain in power.”

Some (foreign powers) claim, “He preserves our interests better than others.” Well, he safeguards your interests, but what does it have to do with us? If he preserves your interests, then take him anywhere you wish and do away with him as you please. What logic is there to this that a person safeguards your interests but he, in effect, steals from us and gives our

¹ Qajar dynasty.

² Pahlavi dynasty.

property over to you! We want him to steal no more. We intend to tie up his hands so he will not be able to steal and give away our people's property to you. We have two archenemies: the US which plunders our wealth, and this man (the Shah) who loots the people's wealth.

The disintegration of the country is with the Shah's presence, not with the Shah's abdication

Yet, this man is making other comments. He repeatedly says that "Once I abdicate the throne, this country will disintegrate. It is now an integrated Iran but it will crumble into fragments which can be dominated by Russia, becoming part of it as Uzbekistan is; and I do not know what else is going to happen next; Iran will be a fragmented Iran: on the one hand it will be partitioned into four parts and on the other, one part of it will be under British, Russian or American hegemony; Iran will crumble into pieces." In other words, he claims that Iran is now whole only because of the blessing of his presence! If he is not there, Iran will disintegrate, with each chunk falling prey to a different power! Now, if each part of Iran is seized by a certain power, will it be to the interest of those powers or not? It is definitely to their advantage. Now let us see if the country will disintegrate with him in power or with him off the scene. He says that once he bows out, the country will crumble. Such an event is then to the interest of those powers. So how come these powers are all supporting him?! He says that if he is not in power, the Russians will devour Azerbaijan. It is, of course, the great wish of the Russians to annex our Azerbaijan. The British too would love to take possession of parts of our territory, and presumably, other parts would be taken over by others such as America, which would love such a thing! Now, if his removal from power serves their interests and will cause Iran's disintegration, how come they all stress that he should stay in power? Why does Carter, time and again, voice his support for him and say plainly that they (the US) need the presence of this man (in the region), he should stay in power because this serves their interests, while according to him (the Shah) his disappearance from the scene gives them access to parts of our land, which is, in reality, to their greater interest! Are you (the Shah) saying that the foreign powers do not understand and only you understand the situation?! (Laughter from the audience.) Are you saying that Carter and these Americans and the British do not realize what will happen if you are removed from power, while this will be to their advantage, and this is why they are supporting you?! This absurd statement is unverifiable. It is quite evident that the country is in a state of disintegration with you in power! We

do not have an independent country now. Our armed forces are run by one power; its educational system by another and the Parliament, too, is controlled by another power. What do we really have? A country is a country if it has a valid Parliament. But we do not have a true Parliament. He, himself, has admitted in his own writings and speeches that foreign powers would send lists containing the names of would-be Parliament deputies to his father during his reign. The Shah does not really know what he is saying! At times, he praises his father and at times, he admits that until a few years ago “foreign powers would send us lists with names of deputies of their choice for the governments to determine the Parliament members there from.” He admits to the same thing being practiced for quite a while during his father’s time as well as during his own. But now he is saying that it is not the case anymore. Anyway, this is the situation of our country; they provide the list of deputies to be elected by the people for the Parliament. Not even the king has a say in this. The foreign embassies dictate to him as to who should become deputies, so it means we do not have a Parliament, then the Constitution and its implementation make no sense at all!... There is no Parliament to legislate on the Constitution. We have no Constitution to act upon. It was drafted and then shelved.

Our educational system too, as you know, is one imposed by foreigners. The same is true of our armed forces. And the state of our economy is the worst; all its sectors are under foreign control. Now our country is a disintegrated country, one that is supervised and controlled by foreigners who are plundering all its resources. Moreover, they are corrupting our youths, causing their energies to be dissipated and obstructing them from advancing in their studies. Even some of our students, in particular, a group of students who went abroad to study atomic energy, one or two groups of them came to me the other day telling me that hurdles were being put in their way, barring them from advancing. They said they were being intentionally kept below their true academic level. The authorities do not allow them to study in our own universities either. They do this to our youths to stunt their intellectual growth, to keep it at a certain level so that they cannot become potential threats to those in power in the country. Therefore, the removal of the Shah from power will eliminate the danger of disintegration and lead to the establishment of true independence in the country.

Islamic government is the entire nation’s vote

He (the Shah) says that our plan for an Islamic government is a plan to disintegrate the country. The people’s call for the establishment of an Islamic

government, according to the Shah, will lead to a disintegrated government! But the people's ubiquitous and unanimous call for an Islamic government is, in itself, tantamount to integration. This means that the people are united in this demand. Disintegration and dispersion is when one group wants something and another wants something else.

One of the things he says is that with his removal from power, Kurdistan would become detached (from Iran)! According to this line of reasoning then Baluchistan, Lorestan, and other provinces too would become detached from Iran, each one opting for an independent and an autonomous government. Right now the whole country is in a state of turmoil. But the fact that all the people are crying for an Islamic government means that they do not want the country to be disintegrated. It means that Kurdistan and other provinces wish to have an Islamic government. Everywhere, cries for the establishment of an Islamic government are echoing. Go now to Kurdistan, you will hear cries for an Islamic government; go to Baluchistan, people are crying out for an Islamic government; go to Khurasan and it is the same; everywhere you go, it is the same talk of an Islamic government—the same thing is being said everywhere—people are crying out for an Islamic government. Now, with the entire nation demanding an Islamic government, will the country be disintegrated?! Can anyone ever call this disintegration? This is nothing but a propaganda ploy of the regime. I now feel exhausted to go on explaining about the rest of the Shah's remarks'.

May God support you all and rectify the affairs of Muslims and those of Iran, God willing.

Interview

Date: November 16, 1978 [Aban 25, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 15, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Evaluating Iran's condition

Interviewer: A British reporter of the *Reuter* News Agency

Question: [In your analysis of the current condition and development in Iran and the changes taking place there, aren't you afraid of a reaction?]

Answer: One thing that can be briefly said is that, the Shah's excessive pressure on the people brought them under such straitened circumstances that they started a public uprising. The Shah has destroyed our political, military, cultural and economic independence, and has made Iran dependent on the West and the East in every aspect. He has killed the people of Iran under torture and in prison dungeons. He has prevented all *ulama* and preachers from telling the truth. This is why the Muslim people of Iran want an Islamic republic...—an Islamic republic founded on independence and freedom. But as to the cruel military reaction, aren't we already caught up with such a government? Have you seen more cruelties in the history than what the Iranian nation is facing now? Or, have you heard? Haven't we been facing cruel military reactions for fifty years now? A military coup d'état cannot stop the people's struggle, just as a military government cannot. The struggle will continue till the overthrow of the monarchy and the fall of this dynasty.

Q: Why doesn't Your Eminence Ayatullah accept a moderate solution?]

A: Moderate solution means surrendering to the Shah's regime because, every thing related to the monarchy, every source of pressure and strangulation, and every plan that has brought Iran to this point and has put the regime at the current deadlock, still exists. Therefore, moderate solution means joining the Shah's regime, and this act, not only wouldn't break the deadlock, but also it would complete it, and not only does the nation negate those who listen to these solutions, but also consider them as traitors.

Q: [Aren't you afraid that you might become a covering for the Marxist groups?]

A: Basically, we don't know of any Marxist group or groups having any standing among the people, and such a group or groups don't exist except for a few kids who, not only have no understanding of the Iranian society, but

also haven't read but two or three books yet. You see how the Shah is supporting these few, pretending to be attacking them? As you see, they have made something out of a few kids. Our movement is deeply religious and its spiritual influence is so great that the world is frightened by it...as much as we consider the Soviets as betrayers, we think of America and Britain as exploiters. China stands in the same row. Don't you think the Shah's regime has resulted in or is resulting in Iran being driven toward the Soviets?

Q: [How were the meetings of Mr. Bazargan and Mr. Karim Sanjabi with you?]

A: I have repeatedly said that the Iranian nation demands the overthrow of the monarchial regime and the fall of the sinister and treacherous Pahlavi regime, and the establishment of the Islamic government. I have mentioned this issue to anyone who has come here; these two gentlemen also came and I mentioned it to them and they accepted it and left. Anyone addressing an issue against the wish of the nation is a betrayer to the nation and to the country.

Q: [The Arab and Western governments support the Shah. What effect will this support have? And what will happen if this support stops?]

A: Of course, if these governments stop supporting the Shah, the Shah's regime will soon fall apart, but this doesn't mean that if they support the Shah, we won't win. Our nation's victory is definite, the Shah is a goner and he must go... whether the Arab and Western governments support him or not. But we expected our Arab brothers to at least have religious consciousness. The Arab nations are on our side, and all of their conditions will change once we win.

Q: [How are your relations with the French government?]

A: Recently, the restrictions have been lifted.