



*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
ع	
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ة	ah

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
أ	a
إ	i
أ	u

Persian Letters

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



Figure 1. Map of Iran

Note:

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

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

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Interview

Date: November 17, 1978 [Aban 26, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 16, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château,¹ Paris, France

Subject: Shah's false claims; Camp David Accord

Interviewer: A reporter of the Libyan News Agency

Question: [What is your opinion about the Shah's claim that you want to disintegrate the country?]

Answer: I believe that the Shah has lied. If we did not want to unite all the Islamic countries, we would not maintain that Iran should be disintegrated; these are Shah's misleading campaigns and are not true.

Q: [What is your stance on the countries that support the Shah and overlook the assassination of the Iranian Muslim people?]

A: We condemn them and if they insist on their stance, we [at an appropriate time] will revise our relations with them.

Q: [At the time of the declaration of an armed struggle against the Pahlavi government, do you expect the progressive Arab and Islamic countries and the people to assist you?]

A: Of course, if the time comes, the Muslims must help one another.

Q: [What is your vision about a progressive Islamic Iran in the Middle East, its current problems and international situation?]

A: Our people will of course remove the problems and, God willing, we will overcome all the problems. We will treat all the states on the basis of mutual respect.

Q: [How do you evaluate the "Camp David Accord"² and Sadat's compromise on the Bayt al-Muqaddas?]

¹ Neauphle-le-Château: A hamlet near Paris where Imam took up residence in early October 1978 during his period in exile.

² Camp David Accord: the name given to accords signed in September 1978 by the president of Egypt at the time, Anwar Sadat, and the prime minister of the usurper Israeli regime, Menachen Begin, with the mediation of James Carter, the then US president, at Camp David, a US presidential retreat in the Appalachian Mountains in Maryland. These accords constituted the greatest act of betrayal to be carried out in the wake of the bloody and heavy battles between the Arabs and Israel and the first step toward compromise. So greatly offended were the sensibilities of the Arab nations by the move that Egypt was expelled from the Arab League. In the early days of the victory of the Islamic Revolution—a revolution which had given self-confidence, fighting spirit and a new assertiveness to the Islamic nations, while at the same time weakening the position of Israel and its supporters—this great act of betrayal led to Sadat's assassination (October 1981) at the hands of a number of soldiers who were supporters of the Islamic Revolution. A few years later, however, the compromising Arab governments, on conciliatory grounds, once more welcomed Egypt back to the fold.

A: I strongly condemn him.

Q: [Do you expect a progressive Islamic revolution in the Islamic world against the reactionary regimes that safeguard the colonial interests?]

A: We hope that it happens and all the Muslims rise against colonial powers and also against the governments that betray their nations.

Speech

Date: November 17, 1978 [Aban 26, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 16, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Monarchy is rejected and invalid

Audience: 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*

Right of self-determination

Out of those two fundamentals we and the Iranian nation propose three principles: the first one; the Pahlavi dynasty is not legitimate. Hence, it should be ousted. The second one; the very monarchy with its regime is not rightful, and should be eradicated. Let us now turn our attention to this article (on monarchy) in the Constitution. Muhammad Rida Shah¹ based his reasoning on this constitutional principle that “the monarchy is a divine gift granted to the king by the nation.” Well, a nation comprises the population presently inhabiting this land, being the native of this country, and united in their beliefs and several other directions. The population in Iran forms the nation at present. What about those who no longer exist nowadays? Are they to be regarded as the Iranian nation? “Were” they the nation or “are” they the nation? It is beyond doubt that, say, five hundred years from now, Iran will have a population; can they be considered Iran’s present nation? Those who are yet to be born, can they be from Iranian nation of today? In the same way, can we say that the Iranian *ulama* and the people’s political parties of today are the *ulama* and parties that will come into existence five hundred years from now? For instance, if it is to be desired that an issue must be

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.

decided by Iranian *ulama* or physicians; who are they? Whether those who are yet to come into existence are the *ulama* of Iran? Or, those who are not existent now should be named as Iran's physicians or *ulama*? As it has no bearing on the persons yet to come, similarly this law too cannot be applied to the claim that the nation of Iran would come into being later, bestows the kingship. Every nation is regarded a nation of the time wherein it actually exists. Those who are now existing, such as the physicians of Iran who are now living, are the present physicians of Iran; their *ulama* now are the *ulama* of present Iran; their engineers today are the present engineers of Iran; their tribes, say, of Kurdistan, are the present tribes of Iran. But those who will be born five hundred years from now cannot be regarded as the *ulama*, engineers, physicians and nation of present-day Iran. Likewise, those who existed five hundred years ago and are now out of existence constituted the Iranian *ulama* of that time and not of any other time; their engineers "were" and not "are" the engineers of Iran.

The regime now resorts to the Constitution which holds that "the monarchy is a divine gift granted to the king by the nation." Well, according to this criterion, the nation that exists now should confer the monarchy upon a certain individual. Let us assume that the people who lived five hundred years ago had knowledge of the unseen, and based upon that knowledge, they knew that Muhammad Rida Khan would emerge in Iran in such and such a year and that the kingship should be granted to him who would come into existence five hundred years later. But they are not the Iranian nation of today. They made up the Iranian nation of their own time when they were living. So, at present, it is the present Iranian nation that should bestow the kingship on him. The present Iranian nation is made up of the people who exist now. If, and only if, this Iranian nation, according to the constitutional law to which the Shah refers, votes him as king, then he can be the king. But the present Iranian nation has not given him its vote. Who, from among the nation, has voted him to be the king?

Now, we do not want to base our argument on the fact that the people have already withdrawn their vote because they are now saying "no" to his rule. Before delving into this issue we say that you (the Shah) yourself are saying that the Constitution says that "the monarchy is a divine gift granted to the king by the nation." Those who confer this position on the person of the king should constitute the nation at the time. Those who, for instance, voted for the kingship of the great, great grandfather of a king, made up the Iranian nation as far as the king of that time was concerned. Well, according to the Constitution, they gave their vote to that person and he became king.

But they gave their vote to that man who existed in their own time and not to the present king who did not exist at that time that is of course assuming that they did indeed give their vote to the king of their time. However, those voters do not comprise the present nation of Iran. They are all decomposed (in their graves) and so have their votes; their story is now a closed book. Neither do they exist now, nor do their votes.

Can anyone claim that the decision of the people who lived five hundred years ago still holds at the present time? Well, those people have no vote now. They have all passed away and may God bless their souls! So, on the basis of the constitutional law, the nation has not voted for him to be the king, because we all know that there has been no consensus among the people to give their votes to him. We assume that those who lived during Rida Shah's time did give their votes to him. But except for, maybe four, five, ten or maybe a hundred old men, no one has survived since then. They are not the Iranian nation which is made up of those who exist at present.

Opinion of the Iranian nation

So the bygone generations are not the present Iranian nation, that is, those who have passed away—our forefathers—are not the Iranian nation. The present Iranian nation is made up of us who exist now. You can survey the whole Iranian territory to find who gave his vote to him within the framework of this constitutional article that regards the kingship as a divine gift to be granted to the person of the king by the nation. This law does not apply to him.

Illegitimacy of the regime

Another issue arises here and that is the fact that this law as the article contends that the kingship is a divine gift that the nation grants to the person of the king. Assuming it is true, although it is not, that fifty years ago, the nation intended to grant the kingship to the present Shah's father who was a real living person. Those who gave their vote to him later extended the votes to include "his dynasty." But "his dynasty" is only an attribute, not a person. A "person" has to be real. The term "scholar" is an attribute, not a person. This man present here is an actual person. The law holds that the kingship is a divine blessing to be granted to the "person" of the king by the nation. We take it for granted that it did not really matter that the nation of Rida Shah's time is not the nation of today. We assume that it is the same nation. However, the law says that the kingship should be granted to a person, a real being of such and such height and weight with such and such characteristics

by the name of, say, Muhammad Rida Khan who possesses such “magnanimous morals” that drive him to massacre all the people! [Laughter from the audience] But Rida Shah was an external (not a subjective) being—a being with two ears and a head is an external being. Let us assume, too, regarding Rida Shah’s rule which was absolutely, definitely and positively false and wrong from its very inception, that the people gave, God forbid, this divine gift of kingship to him. [Laughter from the audience] However, the nation did not give their vote to him (Muhammad Rida). Later, they included the “Pahlavi dynasty and his progeny.” “His Progeny” is a general name, not a real “person”. This utterly contradicts the law which holds that the kingship should be given to his person because in fact it has not been bestowed on his person.

All these are based on the assumptions, although false, that when Rida Khan launched his coup d’état, occupied Tehran and committed all those atrocities and sordid acts, the Iranian people should have voted for Rida Shah! In fact the people of Iran had no knowledge of the whole affair and indeed they were inherently against Rida Khan. But the bayonet had been brought into play. Just as today the military government rules by the force of the bayonets, at that time, too, Rida Khan’s forces marched in with their bayonets and set up the Parliament. They brought in a band as deputies without the knowledge and consent of the nation. Everything was done at bayonet point. It was by the force of the bayonets that they established the Parliament, coerced it to depose the Qajar dynasty and install Rida Shah. Every single thing was done at bayonet point. There has never been a time that the nation ever implemented this particular article of law. In other words, if we take a look at history, from the time that (as the regime says) Iran had its first monarch up until the present time, that is from 2,500 years ago, or shall we say a hundred thousand years ago, from the time that kings emerged in this world, they were no more than a bunch of thieves who invaded and occupied a land by force and set up their rule. Had the people voted them to power? Had these kings ever cared for the people? Before the constitutional movement, not even this view or law (that the kingship should be bestowed by the nation) was existent. So, anybody could invade and occupy any place! At first the thief was merely a thief, but later, after he conquered a land, he became “His Imperial Majesty”! [Laughter from the audience]

This law article has never been enforced since the constitutional movement. From the beginning of this movement, that is, since the time of Muzaffaruddin Shah, up till now, your time, the few kings who came to power—with Muzaffaruddin Shah being succeeded by Muhammad-Ali

Mirza who was then replaced by Ahmad Shah who was then toppled by Rida Shah and eventually, this man (the Shah), ascended the throne—this law, which holds that the kingship is a divine gift the nation grants to the person of the king, has never been implemented. Muhammad Rida Shah must produce a single witness to state that a village—if he can produce a village (of voters), let alone a whole nation—had given its vote to him. Leave the people to their own volition; do not force them to vote at bayonet point. They (the regime) should let the people be free and set aside their bayonets; and like an ordinary citizen, he (the Shah) should come forth and ask the people who they will vote for. If a single village casts its vote in his favor, then we will confirm that he is the “King of kings”! But this will never happen. Neither have people voted him to power nor has this law article ever been implemented, not in the past, or during his monarchy. Even if we forego all its other flaws, this article has not been acted upon or implemented, like many other constitutional law articles which have been ignored from the very beginning.

Illegitimacy of all the affairs during the Shah’s rule

Well, based on the illegitimacy of this man’s monarchy, he is, first and foremost, a usurper. One whose rule is illegal and imposed on us is a usurper according to the Constitution. He should be prosecuted and made to answer as to why he has kept the reins of power; why he claims to be the king; why he held a coronation ceremony and why he treated the people iron-handedly; why he levied and collected taxes; why he got the monarch’s salary; there are so many ‘whys’ and he does not have any answer to give. And more importantly, according to the Constitution, all contracts which have been made since the constitutional movement until the present time are void and illegal. The Constitution holds that the Parliament should be set up based upon popular vote, and it is only when the incumbent king who has sworn to serve and be faithful to the people, etc., decrees that elections be held freely and honestly within the framework of the Constitution and its subsequent amendments, then the vote of the people acquires legal merit regardless of whatever the election outcome might be. None of the contracts entered into since the constitutional movement, whether under Muzaffaruddin Shah and Ahmad Shah, or under these two from the Pahlavi dynasty, are legal, for the simple fact that neither the kings nor the Parliament have been legal according to the Constitution.

As I have just mentioned, the king has no legal standing because the people never voted him to the throne. The Shah himself should succumb to

this reality. But he and his clique claim that the nation and every child that has been born have come into existence with a love for monarchy! If you ask them even now that people are shouting “Death to the Shah,” they will still say that the people are king-lovers! The people’s cries are signs of their “love” for the Shah! [Laughter from the audience] Therefore, his kingship is “legal” indeed!

The illegitimate parliament

Let us now talk about the Parliament. As we know, the Parliament has not been set up as a result of popular vote. It is one of those crystal-clear facts that popular vote was never sought during the reigns of Rida Shah and Muhammad Rida Shah. Everybody knows this. Just think about the present Parliament. Those of you who are aware of such matters, can you believe that the people in Tehran, Isfahan, Yazd, or Kerman ever gathered to elect their representatives to the Parliament? Or, was it the case that, as the Shah himself admitted sometime ago, the list containing the names of the Parliament deputies would come from these foreign embassies dictating who should become a deputy. Of what import are the people that they should decide? What is the government to decide on such matters? Who is the king to make any decisions? Our fate is decided by the American, the British and the Soviet embassies. And this is what has been going on so far. The list containing the names of Parliament deputies was determined by them. They included in this list only the names of their cronies, or, in other words, their lackeys whom the foreign embassies had determined, so that they would ratify in the Parliament whatever bill will secure their own interests.

So, as far as we remember, under these two dictators there has never been a legitimate Parliament, nor has there been a national one based upon popular votes. Perhaps there were, say, four deputies whom the nation popularly elected to the Parliament, but the rest were not elected in the proper manner. Four deputies, say, from Tehran, were somehow popularly elected. Electoral formalities were accorded due regard and the people elected four people to the Parliament such as the late Mudarris¹ whom the

¹ Sayyid Hasan Mudarris (1859-1938) was one of the greatest religious and political figures in the recent history of Iran. He received his elementary education in Isfahan and then traveled to the cities of the holy shrines (the cities of Iraq where some of the Imams are buried: Najaf, Karbala and Kazimayn, and to a certain extent some others) where he received further education from such scholars as Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khorasani and, after graduation to the level of *ijtihad*, he returned to Isfahan and began teaching Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and principles [*usul*]. In 1909, at the time of the Second National Assembly, he entered the 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 AH, 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 Islamic Revolution, on the occasion of the renovation of Mudarris' grave, wrote: “At a time when pens were broken, voices silenced and throats gripped, he never ceased from revealing the truth and abolishing falsehood...this feeble scholar, weak in body but strong in a spirit joyful from belief, sincerity and truth and possessing a tongue like the sword of Haydar Karrar (Imam Ali) stood in front of them and shouted out the truth and disclosed the crimes, making life difficult for Rida Khan and blackening his days. Finally, he sacrificed his own pure life in the way of dear Islam and the noble nation, and was martyred in exile at the hands of the oppressive Shah's executioner and joined his virtuous forefathers.”

people voted for, but a Parliament is legitimate only when all its members are elected according to legal procedures so that one can say it has been formed upon the (people's) vote. The majority of the Parliament deputies who voted for a contract, (setting up) a company or an issue were not legitimate, although a few of those deputies were nationalist elements and were elected by the nation. No one can ever claim that during the reign of Rida Shah and Muhammad Rida Shah, the Parliament was a National Assembly formed through the votes of the people. No one can ever say that the people elected those deputies. Yes, Mudarris and very few individuals like him entered the Parliament by popular vote, but one, two or three rightfully elected deputies cannot sufficiently legitimize a system. All of these deputies should be national deputies, that is, the nation should have voted them to the Parliament in order for the legislative body to acquire legitimacy. If this had been legally done, then when the majority of the deputies voted on something, that vote would have been valid and legitimate; but it was not like this.

Illegitimate contracts

All the contracts signed during the constitutional years, or under Rida Shah and Muhammad Rida Shah, were approved against the Constitution and

contrary to the will of the nation. This nation is opposed to all those contracts. Not even one of them is legitimate. As such, all these contracts, with whomever they have been concluded, even if some are useful to the nation, are yet illegal. Yes, if an Islamic national government is formed, all these contracts will be re-examined and if one or two are found to be beneficial to the nation, if they exist, then such contracts will be signed again and approved. That is, these contracts that have been null and void in the past will now be legal ones. In other words, if such a government, which is legitimately set up, accepts a contract as legal, then that contract becomes legally binding. But this cannot be retroactive or vice-versa because they were all illegal. So, if those who are backing Muhammad Rida Khan, these governments which are propping him up, persist in their support for him, all their contracts with Iran, even if they are to the national interest, will be cancelled. They should reconsider their stance regarding these matters.¹

The criteria of today's world

The Iranian nation will not give in to their current threats. There is a possibility that they will unleash their lackeys on the people and beat them up as they are doing so in the cities at the moment, or hire *kolis* (to carry this out) or disguise military men as hooligans to attack and beat up the people.² Or, it may be assumed that the Soviet and American governments will deploy their troops (to help the regime). But this is just empty talk! These ploys will

¹ Imam Khomeini's threats arising from possible policy changes in the future Islamic government regarding contracts and their possible nullification in cases of continued foreign governments' support of the Shah aroused the concern of companies and governments holding huge business investments in Iran and were given massive foreign media coverage. This put pressure upon European governments continuously supporting the Shah and as a result, the British House of Lords demanded the suspension of arms deals with Iran (the BBC's Persian broadcast). Some European papers reflected Imam Khomeini's stances and warnings as cumbersome blows to the Shah's supporters.

² As the Revolution reached its climax, Frank Giles, a correspondent for the *Times* newspaper, met in America with Ardashir Zahedi, the Iranian ambassador to the US at the time. During the interview, Zahedi sought Giles' opinion on the tactics used by the ruling body in Iran to stop the Revolution. Giles told him that were the military to stop shooting the people so indiscriminately, perhaps the situation would get better. Zahedi said that he would pass his opinions on to the Shah. On October 29, 1978 [Aban 7, 1357 AHS]—the same day that Zahedi was supposed to inform the Shah of Giles' opinions—the regime suddenly switched tactics and brought groups of hired thugs onto the scene in place of armed military personnel! October 30 [Aban 8] was the day that these thugs attacked people in different cities, including Tehran, Yazd and Sanandaj, and the day that the 'Salarjaf' hirelings attacked the inhabitants of Paveh. These thugs, who were a number of destitute, ignorant and refractory people, became tools in the hands of the regime and they were used in the worst possible way.

not work because of the criteria current in the world. Today's world is totally different from that of yesterday. It is not the case anymore that one does as one pleases, at will, and one uses one's force to impose one's will on others. Everything has to be done according to a certain criterion. Now, a whole nation has risen up and says it wants to be independent. This means the Iranian nation does not want the US to meddle in its affairs and this applies to the USSR as well as Great Britain. We want our country to be totally ours.

Threatening to cancel the foreign contracts

Now we declare here that if these governments persist in their policy of supporting Muhammad Rida Khan, once the desired government is set up, the Iranian nation will ordain to nullify all their contracts with Iran even if they are favorable to the nation. If the US does not change its stance, no more contracts will be signed with it. From today, the US officials must define and rectify their stance. Each of these foreign governments and presidents had better correct their stances toward Iran. That is, they must stop supporting this man who, with his family, has persecuted the people in the last fifty years, and who has, on numerous occasions over these recent years, especially this last year and also on Khordad 15 (1342 AHS) [June 5, 1963], massacred so many people.¹ He is the archenemy of the nation and the people are his enemies. If these foreign governments continue backing him and persist in their support of him, the Iranian nation will cancel all the contracts signed with them, and will never enter into any other deals with them. There will be no oil or anything else for them [Laughter from the audience]! We will not give them even a drop of venom [Laughter from the audience]! However, if they desist from backing him, behave themselves like decent human beings and clearly define their stance toward Iran, we will sell them the oil, as we cannot guzzle it down! But we will take the money from them to ameliorate the nation's conditions. We will not sell the oil to buy their arms that will be used to safeguard their own interests in Iran.

¹ On June 3, 1963, Imam Khomeini delivered a historic speech in Qum, repeating former denunciations of the Shah's regime and warning the Shah not to behave in such a way that the people would rejoice when he should ultimately be forced to leave the country. Two days later, he was arrested at his residence and taken to confinement in Tehran. His arrest prompted a major uprising in many Iranian cities, which resulted in the deaths of not less than 15,000 people in the span of a few days when the Shah's troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators. The date on which this uprising began was 5th June or 15th Khordad according to the solar calendar used in Iran and became known as the uprising or movement of 15th Khordad.

Just a few days ago, Mr. Carter spoke about Iran. Among the things he said was that Iran has purchased \$18-billion worth of arms from them and a strong country has been established which serves their interests and staves off the communist threat and that of the Muslim leftists. He also said that Iran was their gendarme in the Persian Gulf and that this was very important to them. Well, it is on account of these very statements that the Iranian nation says: "We don't want this man who has purchased \$18 billion worth of arms and is siphoning our oil to you in order to be your gendarme and guard." It is for this very reason that the Iranian nation is sacrificing its youth and giving up its wealth and everything it has to eliminate this man who has betrayed the nation so willfully. Carter regards this 18-billion-dollar arms purchase an issue to laud him for, because he has made the country strong enough to face American foes—the communists and Muslim leftists—and to safeguard their interests in the Persian Gulf, and so on and so forth.

People's poverty and deprivation, the Shah's legacy

It is for these same reasons that the voice of the Iranian people has risen, saying: "We do not want to be dependent upon others. We do not want our country's wealth be given to you (the US). We want this wealth to be spent for the betterment of the poor and helpless people; those who have no fresh water to drink and nothing to eat." There are areas in Iran which do not have anything. Do not believe in their attempt at depicting Iran as a prosperous country. It has been customary that when the Shah accompanied by a certain head of a foreign country intended to pass a certain place, they (government officials) would force the people to line up on the streets and made them put on their best suits which they had to procure by hook or by crook, so that the visiting dignitary would think the citizenry nation-wide consisted of well-dressed people. The miserable people were starving but they had to line up on the streets, or sometimes the non-natives, in new or borrowed suits were hauled in to shout "Long live the Shah!" so that the visiting foreign head of state would think that Iran was a prosperous land. Do not be deceived by the few (modernized) streets in Tehran. Go and see for yourself how the situation is in Khuzestan and localities around it where water and land are being wasted and people are starving. Go and see those areas where, according to a recent issue of the daily *Ittilaat*, or *Kayhan*, people use urine to wash the trachoma-infected eyes of their children so they can open their eyes. Do not be deceived by Tehran's few posh streets that have been factitiously decorated to show off its prosperity to foreigners. All parts of the country should be seen. Go to the remote areas. Right here in Tehran, go to the

shanty towns and see how people are living. The Iranian nation has raised its voice in protest at these bitter realities that the regime has brought about.

On the one hand, there is the regime's propaganda machinery: each time one turns on the radio you hear nothing but cries, praising "His Imperial Majesty, the Aryamehr". You probably could not find any station which did not report constantly on the activities of "His Imperial Majesty" or this or that "Exalted Highness".¹ While the people are kept abject, helpless, all of them hungry and miserable, a particular group has acquired wealth for themselves either because they are from the Shah's clique or because they are in liaison with him, or, are rich themselves.

People are awake

In any case, people no longer heed the regime's propaganda. Nothing changes whether you (the Shah) impose martial law or set up a military government. The situation remains the same even if you change its name and call it a "government". Iran has for a while now been under martial law. Some cities are officially under martial law, while others unofficially. The military is involved in everything; is everywhere. Can you (the Shah) ever manage to survive without the force of the bayonets behind you? Spare the bayonets for a single day and you will be destroyed. You cannot survive for a minute without coercion. Assuming that the US plans to set up another government in Iran, take the Shah away and stage a military coup, nothing will change, it will be the same situation, the same massacres, the same crimes, the same discipline. And neither will the people change; they will not give up their struggle. The people want to be free from the Shah's shackles. They (foreign powers) should think. They should leave Iran alone and mind their own business. They should let Iran be free.

May God grant all of you success and may you all succeed in your undertakings, God willing.

¹ *Wala Hadrat* or "Exalted Highness," was a title given to Rida Khan's and Muhammad Rida Shah's children (Ghulam-Rida, Abd ar-Rida, Ahmad-Rida, Mahmud-Rida, Hamid-Rida, Ashraf, Shams, Fatimah, Rida, Ali-Rida and Farahnaz.)

Speech

Date: November 18, 1978 [Aban 27, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 17, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Material and spiritual destructions of the Shah for Iran; the mission of message-conveyance of the Iranians abroad

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

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

Brain drain

May God protect you all. I hope that these skilled people who are the most important resource a country has and whose skills are now mostly being utilised abroad at Iran's expense will return to serve their own country.

This is another loss in addition to the material and spiritual losses, which our nation has had to sustain because of the Shah. The environment in Iran has been made such that the Iranians themselves, those people who are useful to the country, cannot remain in Iran. Unfortunately, many of the physicians, doctors, engineers and others who could be of service to Iran, who could administer the country's affairs, spend their time abroad because of the problems which exist in Iran and which have been brought about by the Shah.

Only today, two physicians who had come to see me from America told me that there were about twenty thousand Iranian physicians and their families living in America. They said that they had been there so long that their children had been brought up there and (many) did not understand the Persian language. These people constitute a force and they should be in Iran using their abilities for the benefit of Iran. However, because of the repression which exists in Iran and because the people have had enough of the situation in Iran, many skilled individuals have left the country. And now much of our skilled workforce is being wasted in foreign countries. These skilled people should be serving their own country. I hope that this movement which has started in Iran and all the citizens of Iran who have risen and who seek freedom and independence will, God willing, be successful and these skilled Iranians who make up a huge force abroad will return to serve their own country.

Iranian revolutionary nation's ideals

I hope that you young people who are abroad now will unite with the people back home and inform those in the countries where you reside of the situation in Iran. There is much propaganda being put about by the Shah and his family. They present the situation in Iran in a bad cloak and misrepresent the people's demands. Perhaps many foreigners are of the opinion that the Iranians are complaining now because they have been given such extensive freedoms, as indeed Carter would have them believe, and perhaps many of them think that the Iranians are sedition-mongers and barbarians! Whereas in fact they are only after freedom, which every human being desires, and independence, which everybody wants. They want to cut short the arms of the foreigners that are stretched out against their land. They want the economy of their country to be in their own hands. They want to administer their educational system independently. They don't want their army to be administered by others. They don't want American advisers to come to Iran and take possession of the army; they want to get rid of the American bases in their country. They want a free and independent country. The call of the people of Iran is that they want a government of Islamic justice to do away with all the corruption.

The mission of Iranians abroad to spread the message

I hope that you young people abroad will get the message of the Iranian people across to your American, Italian, British, and French friends and make them understand that it is these things that the Iranian nation wants and the people are not shouting out because they have been given too much freedom! No, this is not the case. They are shouting out because of the repression, which exists in Iran. Even now as this man goes on about how he has granted freedom and so on, the newspapers are suppressed, the radio station is in the hands of the military, the country is in a state of emergency, and the military and the bayonet prevail throughout Iran. There is no peace in Iran now. Every day there are killings and every day there are arrests. Even now, as I was informed by telephone from Iran, demonstrations are taking place in Mashhad for the murders which were committed yesterday and about which I have little information at present.

May God grant you all success. I pray to God that you all return to your homeland, to a safe, independent and free homeland. May God assist you. [The audience replies with "God willing" and a *Salawat*].

Speech

Date: November 18, 1978 [Aban 27, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 17, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The ultimate aim: the formation of a government of Islamic justice

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To act upon divine duty is a great victory

In this affair in which you and I are involved, there are three basic principles: the deposition of Muhammad Rida Khan and the abolition of the Pahlavi dynasty; the destruction of the monarchical regime; and the establishment of a government of Islamic justice, that is an Islamic republic. In everything man does, there are two kinds of action the fruitfulness of which he must take into consideration: Will it produce good results or not? Will he reach the aim he has set himself, or not? If he is sure that he will reach his aim, he carries on the work, otherwise he ceases his action. And the other he performs because it is his God-given duty to do so. This action may be fruitful and then again, it may not. Achieving a result does not come into it; man performs this act because it is his duty to do so.

Campaigns of the ShiAh Imams

Hadrat¹ Amir (Imam Ali),² upon whom be peace, rose up against MuAwyah³ to remove him from his position and put a just person in his

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

² Imam Ali (A), the leader of the Muslim world was born in 600 CE to a 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 observer and overseer who prevented deviations and defections. After the murder of the 3rd Caliph, Ali's disciples and a group of people swore allegiance to Ali (A) and elected him as caliph. The Imam's period of administration lasted for 4 years and 9 months. Ali obliterated the changes that had been made after the Prophet (s) and restored things to their earlier conditions. Opposition elements, whose personal interests were threatened, rose pretending to take revenge for the third caliph's death. Bloody civil wars followed that lasted throughout the reign of Ali (A). Finally the unique man of history was martyred in the altar. There is a great deal to say about Ali (A). It is difficult to give a thorough picture. He did not neglect even a moment, sacrificing for God's religion. In his house of adobe, children such as Imam Hasan (A) and Imam Husayn (A) were raised, who left an indelible mark on history by keeping hoisted the kindled torch of humanity in the dark atmosphere of time and became the leaders of truth-seeking men.

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

³ MuAwyah 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 MuAwyah's dismissal. However, MuAwyah 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 MuAwyah's troops and those of Hadrat Ali, Amr ibn al-As, MuAwyah'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 MuAwyah remained in his principality. After Imam Ali's martyrdom, his son Imam Hasan (A) was forced into a conditional peace with MuAwyah because of the actions of his traitorous troops and commanders and eventually relinquished the caliphate to him in 661 CE. From this date on, MuAwyah 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*.

place to govern over Syria, for MuAwiyaah was a sinful man who stole the wealth of the people. Rising up to stop MuAwiyaah's tyranny, to show the people that he was a tyrant and that individuals like him should be driven away, was his religious duty. So he rose up against him, but he did not succeed in removing him from his position.

The Doyen of the Martyrs¹ rose up against Yazid,² perhaps knowing fully well that he would not succeed in deposing him, and indeed, as is reported, this was the case. So even though he knew that he would not succeed and that his own death may result from his action, still he and his followers rose up, for their uprising was one against an oppressor. They killed and were killed and in the end the Doyen of the Martyrs lost his own life.

Now, today, we have a similar situation in Iran with the Iranian government and the Shah; however, MuAwiyaah was a congregational prayer leader and a leader of the Friday prayers. He was not a person who refrained from performing his *namaz* [the ritual prayer] or from fasting. No, he did his *namaz*, he fasted, and he led the congregation in prayer. He used to go to the mosque and the Muslims would stand behind him and do their *namaz*. He

¹ Imam Husayn: grandson of the Prophet, and also known as the Doyen of the Martyrs [*Sayyid ash-Shuhada*]. In 60 AH/680, Imam Husayn refused to swear allegiance to Yazid, son of MuAwiyaah 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 Shi'ah 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>.

² Yazid ibn MuAwiyaah: (26-62 AH) succeeded his father to occupy the office of the Caliphate in the year 60 AH. He was a young man devoid of knowledge and virtues and was well known for his debauchery and other vices. Yazid ruled for three and a half years. During his first year he killed Imam Husayn (A) and his votaries at Karbala and made the latter's surviving kith and kin captives. In his second year as Caliph, he ransacked Medina, (the seat of the Prophet's rule and his burial site), and in his third year of rule he invaded Mecca.

would lead the Friday prayer and outwardly perform his religious duties. So Hadrat Amir did not rise up against him because he did not do his *namaz* or because he was an unbeliever, no, for this was not the case, he was not an unbeliever; he was a Muslim who outwardly espoused Islam. He rose up against him because he was a brigand, he was an oppressor who stole the wealth of the people and who committed acts of oppression and murder in whatever way he could, and because he had usurped his position. MuAwiyah's government was unjust; he himself contravened the divine rules and usurped his position and then governed in an oppressive manner. This is why Hadrat Amir rose up against him, and even though he did not achieve his aim, still he had performed his duty, a duty which was to actively oppose and do battle with such a person.

A similar situation exists in Iran today, in that the ruler there usurped his position and just as MuAwiyah's rule was tyrannical, so too is this man's. As I have said many times before, even if we consider ourselves to be bound to the Constitution, then on this basis too his rule is illegal for it violates the Constitution. Constitutional law states that dominion is a divine gift that the people entrust to the one they want as ruler, and we know that the people did not entrust dominion to him or to his father before him. So as his rule has not been entrusted to him by the people, he has therefore, according to the Constitution, usurped this position, and consequently, in the eyes of the law, he is a bandit.

Unlawful reign

According to constitutional law, this man is a bandit like any other who captures a place and seizes control of it illegally. According to religious rules also, these Pahlavis are in no way worthy of legitimate rule. He who is entitled to rule over the Muslims has to meet certain conditions which these people do not satisfy at all. Therefore, in accordance with both the constitutional law and religious rules, this dynasty, that is, this man, his father before him and his children after him—if they succeed to the throne—has usurped this position and is not entitled to rule. So he can make pilgrimages as many as he likes, he can ask for forgiveness and publish copies of the Quran to his heart's content, he can play as many of these tricks as he wishes, it won't make any difference. He has still usurped his position and no matter how much a usurper asks for forgiveness, as long as he remains in this position, it is one which he has taken illegally.¹

The duty to struggle against tyrannical governments

When oppressive leaders such as MuAwiyah and others like him, usurped their positions, it was the duty of the Muslims to depose them and hand over the reins of government to the person in whose hands they should have been held, and who, on the basis of the divine law, had the right to rule. Today too, this is a bounden duty for the Muslims, it is obligatory. We are Muslims and it is incumbent upon us to strive to remove the Shah from this position, even if we are unsure of success; we don't have to be certain of success. However, it is more than probable that this movement, which has been embarked upon by the Muslim people who all shout out together that they don't want this man, will be successful, and, God willing, he will be toppled [The audience replies with "God willing"].

Hadrat Amir fought a bloody battle with the forces of MuAwiyah for eighteen months in which men from both sides were killed, men who were Muslims—for the followers of MuAwiyah were also Muslims, albeit sinful ones, while those of Hadrat Amir were justice-seeking Muslims—yet he did

¹ In order to present himself in a pious light, the Shah occasionally made pilgrimages to Mecca and the shrines of the Imams (A) and held discussions with religious figures. In addition, he organized religious mourning ceremonies in the name of the Court; arranged for the formation of a Religious Corps; increased the number of religious programs aired on radio and television; and saw to the repair of holy shrines. Ordering the publication of the Aryamehr Quran was another act in his deceitful show of piety.

not succeed in removing MuAwiya from his position. Suppose that in our case too the Shah proves to be mightier and that just as Hadrat Amir was unable to remove MuAwiya, we too are not able to topple the Shah this time, the thought of a number of us being killed or killing a number of the enemy in an attempt to achieve this does not strike fear into our hearts for we are acting upon our duty. God the Blessed and Exalted has charged us with a duty to actively oppose and do battle with people like him, with oppressors and those who weaken the foundations of Islam and destroy the interests of the Muslims, and if at some time we are able, we will take up arms, we will throw guns over our shoulders and fight them, whenever it is necessary.

We are not afraid of sacrificing ten or twenty lives. In Hadrat Amir's eighteen-month battle, more than ten thousand or even twenty thousand people were killed. It was the same at the time of the Prophet. When the Prophet wanted to depose a leader, when he wanted to depose those Quraysh infidels, he had to face them in battle. In some of these battles he triumphed, while in others he was defeated. Men were lost in these battles, great men like the Prophet's uncle. In the battle of Siffin,¹ Ammar Yasir, that great

¹ Battle of Siffin: This battle was fought in the year 37 AH between Imam Ali (A) and the Governor of Syria (ash-Sham), MuAwiya, for the so-called avenging for the killing of Caliph Uthman. But in reality it was nothing more than MuAwiya who had been the Autonomous Governor of Syria from Caliph Umar's days not wanting to lose that position by swearing allegiance to Imam Ali (A) but wanting to keep his authority intact by exploiting the killing of Caliph Uthman, for later events proved that after securing the government he did not take any practical step to avenge Uthman's blood, and never spoke, not even through omission, about the killers of Uthman. MuAwiya at the head of an army decided to wage a war against Imam Ali and when they reached an area close to the Euphrates River, called Siffin, he confronted Imam Ali's troops. The two parties fought each other in 90 battles. When MuAwiya found out he could not defeat Imam Ali, he resorted to a trick contrived by Amr ibn al-As and told his men to hang copies of the Quran on their swords and at the same time called for the end of the confrontation through arbitration. The trick was successful and Imam Ali finally yielded to arbitration. The Battle of Siffin lasted for 110 days in early seventh century CE. For a brief account of the battle, see *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 123, "To exhort his followers to fight," footnote 1, <http://www.al-islam.org/nahjul/index.htm>.

man, was killed. Many were killed. At this time too, it is of no consequence to us if we have to sacrifice lives.

Transformation of masses, greatest gain of the movement

Some people complain: "You have given lives, for what? This is our duty, but what has been achieved?" First of all much has been achieved. The situation in the country was such that when a policeman entered the bazaar and told the people to close their shops, they did so. When the police entered the bazaar in Tehran, the largest bazaar in Iran, and told the people to close up shop and bring out the flags for today was the fourth of Aban (October 26: the Shah's birthday), they didn't disobey, it never even entered their heads to disobey a command from a policeman. A four-star or even a three-star officer could enter the bazaar and commit any malfeasances he liked; no one would say a word to him. This holy, Islamic movement has changed all that, and now even small children shout out in the streets: "Death to the Pahlavi monarchy!" This is the change which has come over the people, such that today the people disregard the police; they pay no heed to officers or to martial law.

Previously, when the country was put under martial law, the people would continue to go about their daily lives and would never dream of opposing or fighting it. Today, however, martial law is in effect and according to one of its regulations, gatherings of more than two people are not allowed, yet seventy thousand, one hundred thousand, five hundred thousand people take to the streets and begin shouting against the Shah! This is indeed a great change which has been brought upon the nation, it is not something insignificant.

Retreating step by step

We see that in some areas the Shah and his regime are now retreating from their previous stance step by step—indeed, they have to be taken to death's door to be made content with a temperature. Was the Rastakhiz Party¹ a matter of little importance that they relinquished it as easily as they did? You all saw to what extent they eulogized it and how this wretch himself (the Shah) went on and on about it with his idle talk: “Everyone has to be a member! Whoever is not must leave the country for he is not an Iranian,” and other such nonsense. But then, because of the people's movement, because these bare hands prevailed over the guns and tanks of the regime, the Rastakhiz Party was suddenly dissolved! They announced that it was an insubstantial thing and the government itself did not accept it! [The audience laughs]. It became something that even the government did not accept, even though its members came from this party! They changed the calendar and then they had to change it back again.² A man who was not prepared to concede anything to this nation now comes forward and addresses all classes offering his apologies and saying he has erred, he has made mistakes which he will not repeat in the future. You all saw what this man was like fifteen or twenty years ago, and the same can be said of him

¹ The Shah had ordered for various parties to be formed such as the Mardom Party, the Milliyyun Party and the Iran Novin Party. In 1974 [1353 AHS] however, he announced that the Rastakhiz Party was to be regarded as the country's only legitimate party and he made membership of it obligatory. He demanded that anyone who was opposed to this party should leave Iran! The Rastakhiz Party was established on the basis of three principles: allegiance to the constitutional law; allegiance to the monarchical regime; and allegiance to the Shah-People Revolution. Hoveyda, the Prime Minister of the day, was elected as Secretary General of the Rastakhiz Party and ‘Rastakhiz’ became the focal attraction for those who sought power or influence. No sooner had this party been established than Imam declared its illegality according to religious law. He thus issued a religious decree forbidding anyone to become a member of this party and he argued that to demand compulsory membership was a violation of the Constitution. On the party's first birthday following its establishment, the regime announced that this party enjoyed a membership of twenty-three million people; the total population of Iran at that time was thirty-three million people! The Shah forbade the party's members to discuss or hold meetings about oil, the White Revolution, the procurement of arms and equipment, and the country's foreign policy. Six months after its establishment, high-officials of the American embassy in Iran reported to Washington that this party played no practical role in the politics of Iran.

² After the tragedy at the Rex Cinema in Abadan [August 19, 1979 / Mordad 28, 1357 AHS], in the early days of September [Shahrivar] the government of Jamshid Amuzegar was dissolved and a new cabinet led by Sharif Imami brought in Shahrivar 5, 1357 AHS [August 27, 1978]. During the first few days of his premiership, Sharif Imami announced that the imperial calendar which the Shah had decreed on March 31, 1976 [Farvardin 11, 1356 AHS] would be changed back to the *hijrah* calendar.

during the period of stagnation—from Khordad 15 to the present—he took no account of anyone. He was responsible for everything that happened. Now when he talks about making “mistakes”, he is lying! Everything he did, he did so consciously, knowingly and intentionally, as the servant of the foreigners; mistakes did not come into it. All these “mistakes”, all these “blunders” were carried out intentionally and if you give him a respite now, he will carry out more of these “mistakes”.

Our goals

Anyway, these are the concessions made by degrees until now, but we should not let it stop here and say we are satisfied with these. No, we seek to achieve the final aim which means that we should continue with these initial steps until this man goes, until the Pahlavi dynasty and the imperial regime are done away with, until the hands of America, Britain and Russia are severed from our land and our country is ours to administer ourselves, and until an Islamic government is established, God willing. [The audience replies with “God willing”].

This is what we are seeking, and we will continue to endeavor to achieve this with all the strength at our command. If we are successful, then praise be to God, we will have been able to be of some service to this nation. If, however, we do not succeed, then still we will have carried out our duty and we will not have to make up excuses before God for not having done so; for truly we tried, and were unsuccessful, and we will not have lost face before God. Thus, we must go through these stages which comprise this man’s going, this dynasty being abolished and the hands of foreigners being severed from our land, to reach the ultimate goal which is the establishment of a government of Islamic justice based on Islamic ordinances. This is our ultimate aim. All the rest form a part of this aim, and of course it goes without saying that when we declare that we want an Islamic government it means that we don’t want this dynasty or the present regime, and the hands of the foreigners must be severed from this land, for under an Islamic government no unbeliever has the right to occupy an Islamic land. So even though these three aims are intrinsically present in the ultimate aim, I have elaborated on them here and presented them as forming a part of our hopes and aspirations.

Abiding by God’s decree, a great achievement

To get back to the main point that I am trying to make which is that if we do not succeed in our aims, we should not question the value of our efforts or

ask what has been gained by the spilling of blood. For indeed much has been achieved. First, they (the Shah and his regime) have had to relinquish their obstinate stance a little and secondly we have carried out our duty. Such questions were likely to have been put to Hadrat Amir by the Kharijites:¹ “What has been accomplished? You have done battle for eighteen months, for what? What have you achieved?” What is the meaning of “for what” here? It was our duty.

We perform our *namaz*, and someone may ask us what we have achieved after twenty or thirty years or so of doing *namaz*. In reply we can say that by praying we have obeyed God and ask them what they mean by “for what?” We have obeyed God, this is what He told us to do and we did it. The question “for what?” applies to something which is not a religious duty but a personal matter, something which is done with an aim in mind and when that aim is not achieved then one can ask: “What was it all for?” But when one is trying to prevent an oppressive system from demolishing the foundations of Islam and the clerical establishment, when that system is destroying a nation and has placed the interests of the people and the Muslims in danger, indeed has already destroyed them, then it is the duty of the Muslims to rise up and make this Shah eat his words, to throw him out of the country, or, if they are able, they should arrest him and put him on trial and get back the money that he has taken from the people. In the event of him not having it or having squandered it, he must be punished for each oppressive act that he has perpetrated. This is something which is incumbent upon us as Muslims. If we are able to do this then praise be to God, we will have carried out our duty and achieved our aim; if we cannot do this, still we will have performed our duty; in the same way as we did our *namaz*. So then what is the meaning of “what for?” We did our *namaz*, we opposed and fought against oppression, we did battle with a person who wanted to ruin a country and who has in fact ruined the country, who has trampled over the interests of the Muslims and has given their resources away to infidels, we shed blood and spilled blood, we did all of this and we fulfilled our duty. If we achieve our aim, then praise be to God, if not then at least we can say we did our duty. We are not afraid to do our duty and God willing we will achieve our aim. [The audience replies with God willing].

¹ Kharijites: from the Arabic word, *khawarij* meaning seceders or dissenters. After the Battle of Siffin, a group of Muslims who had fought with Imam Ali in the battle split off from his army and using the slogan “No command except God’s” sought to kill him. This group became known as the Kharijites [*Khawarij*].

Propagandistic support

I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to keep you in good health. Nearly every day I repeat the same thing, and that is that we are all duty bound, all of us, not just one or two of us, to assist the people who have embarked on this movement in Iran at present. They are sacrificing their youth. One old lady lost a few of her sons, still she stood firm and said she was prepared to sacrifice everything she had. We have to help this movement. Even though you are over here you can help by telling the people you are in contact with, your friends and acquaintances, the truth about the situation in Iran and thus counter the propaganda disseminated by the Shah, his regime and the reporters who are in the Shah's pay, which portrays the Iranian people as anarchists and barbarians and so on. You must tell the people over here who do not know any better the truth about this movement in Iran. You can hold demonstrations, and you must do so. Whenever you are in a gathering of Europeans or Americans, a few of you stand up and tell them they are mistaken in their views on what is happening in Iran. Tell them what the Iranian people are saying. Tell them the Iranian people are not barbarians, they are a progressive people who are saying, "We want freedom; we don't want America to steal our wealth." Put it to them that if someone says America should not take their wealth, does it mean that they are barbaric and have broken the rules? Have these people contravened the rules by saying they want freedom and independence? This is something everyone can accept; whomever you tell will accept that the Iranians are a people who have risen for their independence and their freedom, a people who do not want other countries to hold sway over them. Up until now the Shah and his regime have betrayed the nation and now the nation wants to get rid of these traitors and place the country in the hands of trustworthy individuals, people who at least will not fill up their pockets as is being done now!

The desired government

Of course, we could never find a ruler like Hadrat Amir, one who would live a life as he did. We don't expect to ever find one like him. On the last evening of his life, the following morning of which he was to die a martyr from his wound, this man who reigned over such a vast realm—it is impudent of me to say he "reigned," rather he was appointed to administer this realm—was staying in the house of one of his daughters. History relates that when his daughter brought him salt and milk to have, he turned to her and asked her when she had ever seen him take two accompaniments with his bread. When his daughter came forward to take the salt away he stopped her

and told her to take the milk instead, that he would eat the salt. Naturally, we cannot find such a ruler, but we can find one who is not a thief, one who will not steal the wealth of the people in this way, one who will not plunder the country and give its resources away to others. We seek a ruler, who will not spend the people's wealth on himself and his family, who will not give the bigger part of it to America, Russia and other countries in order to preserve his throne.

The desired rulers

Such treason he and his regime have committed! We are not even aware of most of it. Later you will come to discover the extent of their perfidious acts, but now none of us is fully aware of them. However, there are those who do know, they have recorded them and hold their records in safekeeping. Later, God willing, people will see just what this man and his regime has done, just what treachery they have committed against Islam, the Muslims, the Islamic countries and Iran. God willing, these things will eventually come to light.

We want this treacherous ruler to go. We cannot find a ruler like Hadrat Amir, but at least we can find one who is loyal, one who will not squander the wealth of the nation so, who will not give the oil away to the Americans and in return build bases for them here on the pretext that we want the arms! With these arms they have made bases for the Americans in Iran; in return for the oil they build bases for them. We don't want this set-up. We can find a ruler who will meet these requirements. There are many honorable individuals to be found both within Iran and among the Iranians here in Europe who would fit the bill. God willing, we will select them for government and these problems will be solved.

Speech

Date: November 19, 1978 [Aban 28, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 18, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The Islamic government of Hadrat Amir (A)¹ as the model of all governments

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***

An Islamic government model

The festival of *Id al-Ghadir* is one which commemorates the day when the Most Noble Messenger, may God's peace and blessings be upon him and his descendants, determined the duties and the form of Islamic government for all time. He demonstrated that a governor in Islam should be an individual who is righteous and highly qualified in every way. Of course, the Most Noble Messenger knew that no one except Hadrat Amir, upon whom be peace, could satisfy these qualifications, but he determined that the governor for all times should strive to emulate Hadrat Amir's example.

Hadrat Amir himself, in his instructions to Malik Ashtar, laid down the program of Islamic government and determined the duties of those whom he appointed as governors.² According to the stipulations of the Most Noble

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).

² The Malik Ashtar treaty is the name given to the famous instructions Imam Ali wrote to Malik ibn al-Harith al-Nakha'i surnamed al-Ashtar (= the man with inverted eyelashes) because of a wound he received in battle when he appointed him governor of Egypt and its provinces in the year 659 CE (38 AH). It is the longest set of instructions in Imam Ali's *Nahj al-Balaghah* and is one of the earliest and best expositions of Islam's explicit and implicit instructions concerning government and its role in society. Among all his letters, it embraces the largest number of good qualities. The instructions were written before Malik left to take up his post in Egypt, a post he never did assume as he was poisoned on the journey to Egypt. The most important points to be found in these instructions are: (1) The need to refer to the Quran, the Sunnah and the example of the Immaculate Imam himself in all political and social affairs; (2) The establishment of social justice and the creation of prosperity through the adoption of a correct method of tax collection and distribution of wealth and resources; (3) Looking into the affairs of the employees and the criteria governing their selection; (4) Adopting correct methods in carrying out affairs and paying attention to the manner of relations between the administration, the governors and the inspectors, and their attributes; (5) The determination of the position of the traders and classes of the people and stating how to deal with them. A complete translation of these instructions can be found in William Chittick's *A Shiite Anthology*, pp. 68-82; *Nahj al-Balaghah* [Peak of Eloquence], Letter 53, "An order to Malik al-Ashtar," <http://www.al-islam.org/nahjul/letters/letter53.htm#letter53>.

Messenger concerning the caliphate and based on the program laid down by Hadrat Amir for government, which embraces the attributes those who govern should possess, all those governments which have come to power after Imam Ali, apart from the few days that Imam Hasan, upon whom be peace, ruled, up until the present, whether those which were educated in the correct behavior of rule and to a certain extent adhered to the example of the Prophet—if indeed any can be found—or those which did not at all, all of them have not been fit to rule.

The Imam's uprising against MuAwyah, a paradigm for campaign against despotic rulers

Hadrat Amir, upon whom be peace, himself rose up against MuAwyah, even though MuAwyah too was an adherent of Islam, performed Islamic acts and possibly even held Islamic beliefs, then there again maybe he didn't. In any case, Hadrat Amir did not pay any heed to the words of those who thought they were giving him sound advice when they told him to leave MuAwyah in power in Syria for the time being until the foundations of his own rule had been strengthened, then depose him. Hadrat Amir's argument for not listening to their advice was that he could not tolerate someone who was acting against the divine laws and establishing oppression throughout the land to remain as governor for even a moment.¹ Had he allowed MuAwyah to remain in his seat, he would have set a precedent for a corrupt individual to be appointed governor by the one who holds authority [*waliyy-e amr*]. Hadrat Amir refused to do this, even though it may have been to his advantage to wait until his rule was stronger, when he could have possibly deposed MuAwyah; but this he didn't do, he did not allow himself to permit MuAwyah to govern even for a day.

His action is proof that, if we are able, we should dispose of oppressive governments. However, if, God forbid, we cannot do this, then to give our

¹ MuAwyah refused to comply with the order for his dismissal. Mughayrah ibn Shubah and Abdullah ibn Abbas (Imam Ali's cousin) did not agree with the removal of MuAwyah and recommended that a moderate approach should be adopted in their dealings with him and they should be condescending for a period of two years until MuAwyah himself secured the pledge of allegiance from the people of Syria for Imam Ali. Only then, he proposed, should action be taken against him. But Imam Ali was not prepared to allow MuAwyah to remain in control of the lives and wealth of the Muslims for even a short period of time.

approval to such governments, even for a day or an hour, is to approve of oppression, tyranny and the plunder of the wealth of the people. No Muslim has the right to give his approval to an oppressive government, not even for an hour. We are all duty bound to wage war against these governments which contravene divine ordinances and secular law, and which even contravene their own laws. Everyone should oppose them and wage war against them to whatever extent they can; no excuse is acceptable today.

Rising against Shah a response to the message of the Prophet of Islam

Today, the vigilance of the Iranian people and their awareness of the problems have led them to rise up. The cities, villages and hamlets in Iran all resound with one call which is that they don't want this oppressive government, they want an Islamic government, they want to be free, they want to be independent and they want their government to be an Islamic government. This is the response that the people have given to the command of the Prophet of God, may the peace of God be upon him and his descendants [The audience says a *Salawat*]. The attributes which are found in the government that the Prophet established are attributes necessary for valid government. We should take our example from the nature of the government of Hadrat Amir, upon whom be peace. Of course, we cannot observe the manner of his government in all its aspects, for in addition to those attributes which it possessed inherently, there were some exemplary deeds which derived from the nature of that great man. The principal thing is that government must be just and not oppressive in any way. Under an Islamic government, if someone kills another, he is arrested and punished by the law of retribution; and if any one even slaps the murderer, then the latter has the right to seek retribution for the slap he was given, because it was something in excess of his (prescribed) punishment. To imprison someone wrongly for a day contravenes the Islamic system of government. Sometimes circumstances demand that a person be imprisoned, but it is not as if under an Islamic government anyone who is arrested can first be made subject to beatings for a while, then tortured during internment, as people so often are under some governments in power today; or when after a period the authorities carry out investigations and realize that they have made a mistake, they cannot simply turn around and say: "We made a mistake," and that is an end to the matter!

The irreparable betrayals of the Shah

This wretch (the Shah) has ruled the people for twenty-odd years and in that time he has persecuted them. He has robbed them of their peace of mind and deprived them of their freedom; he has deprived the press of its freedom; he has kept the educational system in a state of backwardness; he has given the Muslims' resources away to the unbelievers, to foreigners; and he and his friends have plundered the wealth of the Muslims. Now he turns to the people, to the great *maraji* and the most learned *ulama* and says: "I apologize, I made a mistake! Come, make peace and cooperate with me!"¹ He extends his hands to others too. But this has no meaning, it is wrong. Even asking God the Blessed and Exalted, who is the most compassionate and merciful, for forgiveness carries with it certain conditions. If someone who has tyrannized the people, taken their wealth, oppressed, persecuted and imprisoned them—the very things that this man has done all along and is still doing—now comes forward saying: "God, I repent," does that mean an end to the matter?! The hell you have repented! You have truly shown repentance when you have made up for all the deeds you have done up until now. Only after you have done this, will it mean something when you say you have repented. Is everything he has done of no consequence? He sent respected people to prison for sometimes ten years or more, thousands of people were tortured in his prisons, their feet were sawn off, they were burnt, they were subjected to all kinds of disgraceful acts,² and now when he says: "I have repented," should we reply: "Very well, all is forgotten! He has repented and his repentance has been accepted"?! How can it be accepted? He has to make up for his actions to really repent and for God to accept his repentance. We cannot assume that he is being truthful in what he says and that he does not want to trick the people, for the evidence points to the contrary.

Shah's deceitfulness in expressing repentance

At the very same time that he made his address saying he was sorry and that he had made mistakes which would not be repeated in the future, he installed a military government, and the persecution and killing of the people continued! The day before yesterday there were killings in Mashhad, but I do not know how many people were killed in this incident. Killing is however something quite normal in Iran nowadays. It is now normal for the (various) governments to kill the people and wipe out our youth. So then as soon as someone addresses the nation saying that he has repented, should someone else say that it is enough he has repented? That everything should end now?! No, the Shah is doing this to fool the people and strengthen his position. If he succeeds in doing this, then the situation will be worse than before, a hundred times worse, because now he knows his enemies and once his enemies are known and his position is strengthened, his actions will be more severe.

¹ In a speech delivered on November 6, 1978 [Aban 15, 1357 AHS], the Shah said: "I herein request the grand Ayatullahs and the most learned *ulama*, who are the spiritual and religious leaders of the society and are the guardians of Islam, in particular of the ShiAh faith, to strive to save the only ShiAh country in the world through their counsel and calls for calm and order."

² In 1957 [1335 AHS], the Shah ordered the establishment of a National Information and Security Organization (SAVAK) and in 1971 [1350 AHS] on his orders a joint committee of SAVAK and the Town and City Police was organized. Agents of this organization arrested opponents of the regime and took them away to political prisons. In these penitentiaries, prisoners were subjected to various forms of physical and psychological torture which included: abuse; whipping and beating; long periods of interrogation; sleep deprivation; the extraction of nails and teeth; tying the prisoner to a metal table heated to a white heat or an iron frame like a bed-frame covered with wire mesh which was electrically heated like a toaster; the breaking of limbs; electric shocks; beating the soles of the prisoner's feet with an electric cable; hanging prisoners from the roof and broadcasting the screams of torture victims by means of tape recorders. Another of SAVAK's heinous methods of torture was placing the legs of prisoners in boiling oil. For more information on SAVAK's activities and its abuse of human rights, refer to Fred Halliday's *Iran, Dictatorship and Development*, pp. 78-90.

The program of Islamic government

Islam has determined the nature of government and has prescribed the program for government. It is not the case that Islam does not have a program for government. This is just the nonsense that has been uttered. The attributes of the ruler have been made clear and laid down in Islam, and the program for government has been determined by Hadrat Amir: the kind of government an Islamic government should be; how justice should be administered; what qualities its judges should possess; and how the various branches of government should function, have all been made quite clear.

A state lacking freedom lacks civilization

So when this gentleman (the Shah), or his friends, say that if he is not around a vacuum will be created, this is just sheer nonsense. The vacuum exists at present. His existence has caused the vacuum since everything has been emptied of reality. We have no realities, everything is superficial, just talk, vain talk. All his words are empty. Everyone knows that there is nothing in all that bluster about how we have arrived at the “gates of civilization” and are ready to go through them. Civilization is not in sight. The first step toward civilization is the freedom of the nation. A country which has no freedom has no civilization. A country which has no independence and is

dependent on others, this being because of his actions, cannot be said to be a civilized country. A civilized country is one which is free, one whose press is free and whose people are free to express their ideas and opinions. No one (in Iran) is free!

He kept going on about how we had reached the gates of civilization, etc. Every day he would go on about this and rant on about this party business saying that there should be a popular party and what have you, but afterwards it became clear that all of this talk was literally just that, words which had no meaning. Everything we have now is hollow, empty, nothing more than a sham. It is now that a vacuum exists. If this man were to go, then there would be no vacuum, for there are just, educated people who can be found both here abroad—for they cannot return to their country—and within Iran itself—those who have retired from public life—who can fill this vacuum as soon as he has gone.

Islam's program is clearly laid down, the qualities of a ruler and the kind of person he should be having been determined. We are telling the people that a ruler who meets the specifications laid down in Islam and who is their choice should be appointed. The parliamentary representatives likewise should be chosen by the people. It is the people who should decide on everything. There will be no vacuum if he goes, indeed once he leaves the country all the vacuums will disappear. This talk of a vacuum appearing is just that, talk and nothing more, this is just a myth they have created.

I hope that God will show us mercy in these days and grant us success in this struggle. May He grant victory to the Muslims in their struggle, strengthen Islam and bring about the establishment of an Islamic government so that the world will see what the attributes of a government are; what the meaning of government is; how a ruler behaves; and how he treats his subjects, so that these are made clear. The kind of people the government employees should be; the kind of people the judges should be; the kind of people the teachers should be, all of these things have been stipulated. If, God willing, an Islamic government is established, all of the country's affairs will, please God, be carried out according to the will of the nation [The audience says "God willing"].

Speech

Date: November 19, 1978 [Aban 28, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 18, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The Iranian nation's uprising is divine and its victory is a certainty

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

Uprising for Allah

*"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 The admonisher here is God and the conveyer of this admonition is the Most Noble Messenger. In this verse, God the Blessed and Exalted says: *"I do admonish you to do one thing;"* this one thing must be of great importance for God to speak of it in this way. The admonition is: *". . . to rise up for God, it may be in pairs or it may be singly."* In order to rise up for God, to rise up to establish justice, it is not necessary to first form a group then rise up, this duty can be carried out by man individually: *". . . it may be in pairs or it may be singly."*

This duty to rise up for God can be performed either individually or in pairs, which is the least number of people in a group. A group is first formed by two people and then the number of people in that group can increase to any number above that. The cardinal rule is that man determines that the uprising is for God. If the uprising is for God, then there is no need to be afraid of being alone, or of being small in number. If the uprising is for God then there is no loss involved, no detriment.

Uprisings for worldly aims have two aspects: one is loss and the other gain. When man trades or partakes in other business enterprises, one aspect of this is loss and the other is gain. Sometimes he sustains a loss in his business dealings and sometimes he makes a profit. When man's motives are spurred purely by material gain and God does not play a part in his actions, then whatever he does he will never truly gain from it. Sometimes he does make a gain, but this is only a material gain, and sometimes he suffers a material loss. However, if man does something for God, if he rises up for God, then he will never suffer a loss. One may think that fighting with the unbelievers, killing and being killed, constitutes a loss. But this is not the case, and those killed (in this way) are alive with God. The rewards which are to be gained from these actions have nothing to do with this world. That which is done for God is always to one's advantage, it is always protected against loss.

Prophets confronting the taghuts alone

Throughout history, many men have confronted forces without help from anyone else. Hadrat Abraham rose up alone and destroyed the idols. When he was told that this was what he had to do, he rose up alone and confronted the idol-worshippers and the devil of that time.² He was not afraid of being alone, for his uprising was for God and because of this he knew he would gain whatever happened. If he won he would gain and if he lost he would still gain. He had the best of both worlds, for he would either succeed in his worldly aims, or, if he did not achieve this, he would most certainly attain the good things of the afterlife.

¹ *Surah as-Saba'* 34:46.

² Nimrod (Ar. Namrud). He is a king identified with the figure in the Quran who cast Abraham into a blazing fire in *Surah al-Anbiya'* 21:68-70.

Hadrat Moses was a shepherd. He was the shepherd of Hadrat ShuAyb.¹ He was commissioned to rise up (against Pharaoh) and for a time he carried out this mission alone. Then he asked God, the Blessed and Exalted, to allow his brother to join him. So then, there was a pair. Moses initiated his uprising alone but then his brother joined him and thus one became two. What kind of system did they rise up against? It was a Pharaonic system the remarkable remnants of which can still be seen in Egypt today. Moses confronted this system alone, being joined later by another: his brother. As for the Bani Israel (the Children of Israel) they did not do anything but create trouble, just as today they do nothing but create trouble.

When the Most Noble Messenger, may the peace of God be upon him and his descendants, first rose up, he did so alone. Alone he rose up and invited his people to the One True God and to *tawhid* [belief in the divine unity]; nobody supported him. His wife Hadrat Khadijah was one, who believed in him, but she was in the home, and the other who had faith in him, Hadrat Amir, was a child at that time. Over a period of thirteen years in Mecca he could not perform his mission, for the people of Mecca were powerful and wealthy and they perceived that were acceptance of him to grow, this would conflict with their interests. Because of this, they opposed

¹ ShuAyb: Arabian prophet sent to warn the people of Madyan to worship the One True God and against sharp business practices; they reject his message and are punished accordingly in an earthquake. ShuAyb has sometimes been identified with Jethro, the father of Moses' wife.

him; they opposed him out of fear that were this to develop further it would be inimical to their interests. The idols were a tool for them to use, it wasn't a case of the idol-worshippers really believing in these idols. Their principal concern was their material possessions and the fact is that they perceived the Most Noble Messenger to be a threat to these and felt that their material wealth was in danger of being lost. It can be said that as long as he was in Mecca, the Most Noble Messenger was practically alone. He had only a small number of followers and their activities were limited to propagating Islam—which had to be done in an “underground manner” so to speak—until the time was ripe and they went to Medina. It was here that they began their work in earnest and stood up to the great powers.

The fruit of faith in God's power

When anything is done for God, fear of other powers does not come into it, for no power is like that of God. Those who have no faith in God, the Blessed and Exalted, should fear the power of others. The Muslims, the believers who have a firm belief in an original power, should not be afraid of other powers. The Most Noble Messenger believed in the absolute power of God, the Blessed and Exalted, and rose up even though his followers were few in number and were indigent people; they were a poor, powerless people but they had the power of faith and, one by one, they defeated the moguls of that time and invited everyone to *tawhid*. They promoted *tawhid* in society and within a short space of time these Muslims, who took part in important battles with nothing but one camel, perhaps ten horses and ten swords among them, were able to defeat the armies of two empires—one the Roman empire and the other the Persian empire, both of which predominated over the world at that time—and take Islam to Rome and Europe because they had the power of faith. The main thing is the spirit of faith which should prevail in man.

These powers which we confront today are trying to frighten us because they are superpowers. It is true that Russia, America and Britain enjoy great power, but the power of a nation which is speaking the truth, which has risen for God, and which wants its country to be a true Islamic country, not one whose outward appearance is Islamic but whose essence is otherwise, is stronger.

This uprising upon which the nation of Iran has now embarked is against all these superpowers, and you can be sure that these superpowers cannot do anything, for God, the Blessed and Exalted, has set them against each other, and if one wants to make a move, the other will threaten it. Russia has

recently warned America that if it interferes in the affairs of Iran, it will react in some way.¹ But they cannot do anything. Again, it has been said that the Russian leaders have said that the Iranian people should determine their own destiny themselves. Of course they are just saying this, but this is indeed true and every nation should determine its own destiny.

Iranian nation's uprising, a divine one

If a nation rises up for God, as the Iranian nation has now done, I believe, and indeed it is so, that it could not have been brought about by man's propaganda or by words spoken by somebody like me. We might be able to move a small theological center or create a small wave in society, but this uprising is different. It is God who has created this uprising. Throughout the whole of Iran tribes that previously had nothing to do with such matters are now involved. And it is not only them; the bazaar in Tehran, the country's main bazaar, previously did not concern itself with such affairs, and the same applies to the other bazaars in the country. For the past few years, the people at the universities and the political factions have never even spoken of such matters; they had nothing to do with such affairs. The clerical groups too had their hands tied and their mouths gagged, and they did not dare speak out. Those groups that might have achieved something have been suppressed during these fifty years of black rule.

During the time of Rida Shah, the clerical establishment was delivered such a blow that the people themselves stood against the clergymen. The latter were not allowed to ride in a taxicab for the drivers did not want people from this social group in their cars. Once I was riding in a cab when the petrol or water finished, a shaykh² was traveling with me and the driver said that his car had stopped because the shaykh was sitting in it! His car had certainly stopped, but only because the water or petrol, I can't remember which, had finished [The audience laughs]. However, the propaganda spread at the time of Rida Khan by himself and his agents, or more appropriately by

¹ In the final days of the Shah's rule, *Pravda* wrote that Moscow would regard any foreign military interference in Iran as a threat to the interests of its security. This was the Soviet Union's strongest warning to America since the Revolution began. *Pravda* also wrote: "The crisis in Iran does not just arise from the people's opposition to the monarchy, rather in reality it is an uprising against American imperialism. The Russian leaders have stressed that they oppose any kind of foreign interference in Iran." It is important to remember that the Russian leaders continued to support the Shah's regime as long as they were unsure of the victory of the Revolution in Iran.

² Shaykh: old man, chief, title of respect for Islamic religious leader, tribal head, master of a Sufi order.

his executioners, was such that a taxi driver in those days would attribute his car's running out of petrol and stopping to the presence of a shaykh in his car! He would blame it on the presence of someone from that group of people who, as you are witnessing at present, are very active in Iran and who have at times managed to render ineffective the actions of the government. People from other walks of life also adopted a similar attitude toward the clergy. Throughout Iran, religious assemblies could not be openly held, and if any were organized, they had to be held in a clandestine manner in the middle of the night; all kinds of religious propaganda from whichever quarter was stopped. The politicians had all retired into a corner and did nothing; indeed, they were unable to do anything. No one raised a voice in protest. Yes, the clergy rose up a number of times but each time they were defeated. The clergy of Azerbaijan rose up and suffered defeat, subsequently being arrested and apparently sent to Sunqur.¹ The clergy of Isfahan also rose up and once again the uprising was defeated and the clergy dispersed.² Uprisings did take place, but they were uprisings which could not bear fruit. The people at that time were not awake; they did not face their problems properly.

Victory of God's army

What I want to make clear is that at this time neither the political factions can say that they have brought this about, that they have mobilized the whole of Iran, nor can the clerical factions. It is the army of God that has brought this about. This has come about because of God's command. Therefore there is hope. This is not man's doing, so one cannot say that it has no support. God has commanded this. Only a few years ago this nation was such that if the regime wanted to close the bazaar it was enough to send just one policeman to do so, but now it has risen up to confront all the powers. The people have clenched their fists and stand against the powers shouting: "No, we don't want this set-up."

¹ 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.

² In 1927 [1306 AHS], Rida Khan called for conscription to become compulsory and he gave orders that the clergy be indirectly prevented from carrying out some of their duties and from interfering in the affairs of the state. This command constituted a declaration of war against the *ulama* and the clergy and hence the people of Iran, especially the *ulama* and the people of Isfahan, protested bitterly to the government. Ayatullah Haj Aqa Nurullah Isfahani, a militant clergyman of that time, set out for Qum along with about one hundred *ulama* and religious combatants and a group of ordinary citizens all from the city of Isfahan. On entering Qum, he issued a letter of invitation to the entire *ulama*, clergymen and religious combatants of Iran, and while inviting them to Qum, he urged them to issue a warning to Rida Khan's government and to take action so as to check those measures already taken by Rida Khan. A number of the clergy from different cities accepted this invitation, came to Qum, and arranged a gathering of over seven hundred people. These clergymen came to be known as "the migrant *ulama*". Following this 'migration,' a general closure was announced in several cities including Shiraz and the holy city of Mashhad. Telegrams were cabled to the government from both the people and the clergy in support of the demands made by the council of *ulama* in Qum, and the spread of popular demonstrations and augmentation of protests made by the *ulama* caused Rida Shah to become alarmed. Thus, on the latter's orders, the Prime Minister (Mukhbir as-Saltanah) and the Minister of the Royal Court (Teymurtash), accompanied by the Friday prayer leader and Zahir al-Islam set out for Qum where they met and held talks with Ayatullah Nurullah Isfahani and the city's elected council of *ulama*. Eventually, a compromise was reached over the following points: the practice of compulsory conscription was to be reassessed; five *ulama* were to superintend legislation in the Parliament (Majlis); in each of the country's provinces someone was to be appointed as guardian of the religious laws; pre-emptive action was to be taken against the perpetration of sinful acts; and registry offices were to conduct their affairs according to Islamic laws.

However, Haj Aqa Nurullah, who had agreed to the migrant *ulama* returning to Isfahan on condition that the above points were legally legislated, died under mysterious circumstances on the eve of December 25 [Dey 4]. Since he had been the one who had until then conducted affairs, after his death the body of migrant *ulama* broke up.

At one time, as soon as the name 'martial law' was mentioned people would stand around with bated breath, afraid to utter a word. They would not violate martial law; they could not even contemplate the idea of someone violating martial law. But now martial law is a meaningless thing which the people pay no heed to. Yes, it is true that the regime continues to create a fuss about it, issuing declarations one after the other, but following their announcement that gatherings of more than two people were not allowed, groups of a hundred thousand and two hundred thousand people rose up in defiance. In Isfahan, Tehran and Qum where martial law is in force, the people are violating it every day. They pay no heed to it. So then they installed a military government, but there is no difference between the two, military government is the same as martial law, both are run by the military and by these old spongers who have plundered this nation for years. They will not be able to do anything. They are good-for-nothing, all they can do is give orders to kill, but this is of no use any more, this is no longer effective! The military government cannot do anything either, it has no substance.

Reply to the threat of a coup d'état

Let us suppose that after this their last-ditch effort is a military coup d'état—about which the Russian government is also speaking saying that they have such intentions and if they carry them out then Russia will take action, however we have no need for your action, we will take the necessary action—even if this were to come about, at the end of the day it would be the same military, the same old men and the same guns! It would be nothing worse than the martial law that for the past few months this nation has been living under and has defied, or the military government which is in power now and which the people can see is not capable of doing anything. So even if a military coup d'état were to be enacted, it would be nothing new, just another military regime. The people are accustomed to this now; a divine power holds dominion over Iran now.

Divine makeover of the Iranian nation

You must realize that this is not a human power which is involved here. Man is not able to bring about this change which has taken place in a country a few times larger than France with a population of thirty-odd million people. From the seven- and eight-year-olds who attend primary school, and even those who have not yet gone to school and who have just begun to speak, to the old men who are (normally) asleep at home unable to leave the house, all are shouting: “Death to the Pahlavi dynasty.” This is God’s voice. This is divine inspiration. This is not something that a human being can bring about. A human being cannot suddenly change a whole nation, a nation of thirty-odd million who yesterday were afraid of one policeman; when one policeman entered the bazaar and told the people to put up flags for it was a certain day in Aban, he never met with any opposition.¹ Today, however, even if “His Imperial Majesty” himself were to go to the bazaar, the people would tear him limb from limb with their bare hands. He is too afraid to come out [The audience laughs]. When the Chinese leader went to Iran, the Shah did not dare take him through the streets because of the people there; they would not have been able to pass through. So he went above the people’s heads and took him to the airport by helicopter! And from there he went about his business.²

Today, Iran has undergone a great transformation. All classes of people are involved in this uprising. Do not think that all the people in the armed forces want the Shah. A few people from the air and ground forces have come to see me to date bearing messages to the effect that they are ready. The problem is that America, the American advisers and Israeli military men are there;³ but we are not afraid of them, we will kick these Americans out of

¹ It refers to the fourth and ninth of Aban, the birthdays of the Shah and his son, respectively.

² On August 29, 1978 [Shahrivar 7, 1357 AHS], just when the movement was escalating, Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Premier, came to Iran by invitation of the Shah on a four-day visit. His stay coincided both with the dissolution of Jamshid Amuzegar’s government and the appointment of Sharif Imami’s government, and with the burning of the Rex Cinema in Abadan. The Shah boastfully sensationalized the fact that great nation states such as China still regarded him as a powerful sovereign and that they had pledged their support for him. Hua Kuo-feng however, was hopeful that by accepting the Shah’s invitation to come to Iran, he would be able to gain further important concessions from her.

³ The political relationship between Iran and Israel dates back to the post-1953 [1332 AHS] years. In 1960 [1339 AHS] the government of the day in Iran gave official recognition to Israel and a friendly relationship between the Shah and Israel got under way. During these years of friendship many army officers and SAVAK agents were sent to Israel to receive training from MOSSAD (the Israeli intelligence agency) agents, and hundreds of Israeli officers and agents came to Iran to supervise the army and the Shah’s intelligence agency (SAVAK) and to assist the Shah’s agents. Toward the end of the Shah’s reign the transactions which passed between Iran and Israel had reached an annual sum of four-hundred-million dollars. The Shah had himself ordered for an arms purchase worth six-hundred-million dollars in one go alone. According to the documents which were obtained from the American ‘Espionage Den’ after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Shah’s regime had in fact, since 1958 [1337 AHS], been a member of an official tripartite organization composed of the security services of Iran, Turkey and Israel which was named ‘The Triple-Headed Bayonet’.

Iran. We will kick the American advisers out of Iran along with those Israeli military personnel and those who are devouring the people's land and destroying the resources of the Muslims. God willing we will throw them all out of Iran [The audience says God willing].

Iranian nation's uprising backed by the power of God

God's hand has done this. We need not fear man's failure, for the hand of man is not involved here. Do not think that thirty million human beings who only have a few weapons cannot stand up to such powers as China, with a population of a billion, or somewhere else, with a population of a few million or a few hundred million. Of course, our power as human beings is inadequate, but when the uprising is for God, then you need have no fear. God admonishes us to do one thing and that is to rise up for His sake. If you have risen up for God, then you need not fear any man. What is the power of the whole of mankind compared to God's? If the whole of our solar system were lost in these other solar systems which exist, even the angel Gabriel would have to search to find it for these systems are so huge. That which has

been discovered so far is amazing to our small minds. Some stars are so far away from the earth that it takes six billion years for their light to reach us! Just think about it; light which travels at such a great speed, takes six billion years to get from there to us here! The universe is so huge. The power that created this is a divine power; it is the power of God. Carter cannot silence a nation which has arisen for God and for truth. He says that he supports the Shah, well so what? Lend him your support, let the other lend its support too, they won't be able to do anything for the power of God is involved here. One cannot trifle with the power of God. These people are a godly people, they are Muslims; they have risen up for God, for truth. Young and old alike are shouting: "We want an Islamic government, we want Islam." Such a power cannot be defeated by machine-guns and the other things they employ. Eventually they will be forced to yield and eventually this man will go, God willing [The audience says "God willing"]. It may take a little time, but for certain he is on his way out. He needs another push, God willing [The audience laughs]. May God assist you so that you may give him this final push, God willing [The audience says "God willing"].

Revealing the Shah's crimes, a divine duty

All of you, all of us have a duty to discharge, a duty which is God-given, and that is to assist this uprising, this movement upon which the people of Iran have at present embarked. Every day they are sacrificing lives, only today we were informed by telephone from Iran that a hundred people had been killed in one city. A hundred people killed in only one city of Iran according to the report that we received! In another city thirty people have been killed, in another sixteen people, and this happened only yesterday and the day before... They are now targeting the people, they are killing the people, but be assured that, God willing, this power, these powers, will not be able to do anything in the face of the power of the people, which is the power of God.

Now that our brothers welter in blood, we have a duty to help them, and the help that each one of you in Europe and other countries can give them is to propagate their cause. In other words, tell the people about the crimes that this dynasty, and in particular this man, the Shah, has committed. Tell your friends in the universities or the factories, wherever you may be, tell these European friends of yours the truth of the matter. Tell them that he (the Shah) has committed crimes and that the people who have risen up want freedom; their call is: "We want freedom, we want independence." Tell them that these people who want freedom and independence are not barbarians, they are

civilized for they want freedom and independence. The barbarians are those who have taken their independence and freedom from them, not these people who want freedom and independence. Freedom and independence are two rights to which all of mankind are claimants. They constitute one of the basic rights of human beings. He who deprives the people of these is the barbarian. He who wants this right is civilized.

The nation of Iran is a civilized nation, but it is held captive by barbaric governments. Thus, it is incumbent upon us all to help the nation of Iran, each one of us to the best of our ability. You who are over here should propagate their cause in whatever way you can. You, young people, wherever you may be, in the universities, in the other places you go, enlighten the people there to the facts. They have been exposed to malicious propaganda to such an extent that they cannot believe that this nation is one which has stood up for truth, or that it is a civilized nation which is standing against barbarism. They describe the Iranians as barbaric! But in actual fact, the Iranian people are the civilized ones who have stood up to the barbarians. May God keep you all secure from danger and protect you. May God grant you success.

Speech

Date: November 20, 1978 [Aban 29, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 19, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Clarifying the motives and the aims of the uprising and warning against reconciliatory plans

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*

Fall of monarchy desired by the nation and leader

There are a few demands that all the people of Iran are making—and as one of those people I myself am also making them—and about each one of which doubts sometimes arise. One of these demands which all the people are voicing is: “We do not want this Pahlavi dynasty.” All the people are saying this. Today, if you go to the mountainous regions of Iran or the provincial cities, the people there are all saying the same thing: “We do not want this.” Sometimes the demand is that they do not want the Shah, and sometimes they say: “We don’t want this dynasty.” This is the Iranian nation’s demand. Of course it is not the demand of those who are the servants of America or of the Shah, those who earn their daily bread from him, but they should not be counted as being a part of the nation. Those who fill the bazaars and the fields of Iran, those who run the factories of Iran comprise the nation of Iran, and their call is this: “We don’t want this dynasty.”

This is one of the principles about which I have always spoken and about which there is no doubt to make someone ask: “What is the wish of the people?” Or “What is the wish of so-and-so?” There is no doubt; it goes without saying that we do not want this Pahlavi dynasty. First it was Rida Shah, now it’s the turn of Muhammad Rida Shah, and if, God forbid, this dynasty should remain in power, then later it will be the turn of Rida Pahlavi. We do not want them. No explanation is needed on this matter for there is no question about it. If someone were to say something to the contrary, then this would be against the demands of the Iranian nation; it would be against my demands as a member of the Iranian nation.

The ambiguous slogans of liberalists

If someone says that we want constitutional law, or we want free elections or a government of the people to rule over the people; then whoever

may say such things is saying something which is quite different from the demands that we are making. He either does not know what he is talking about or he means that this dynasty should remain and constitutional law should be implemented. The meaning of constitutional law is that this dynasty should remain, and the meaning of free elections is that the order for the elections lies with Shah, that he must issue a decree for the elections to take place. This is contrary to that which we are saying. We are saying that we don't want any of this. There is no question about this. Those who say that they want the constitutional law are also inevitably saying that they want this present set-up to continue. Therefore, between these two opinions there can be no compromise. No one can say that we are both making the same demand. No, these are two different demands.¹

We should learn from the people what it is that the Iranian nation is demanding, just what it is saying. As everyone has witnessed in these demonstrations that the nation has embarked upon in the various cities and which continues to hold in every city, that which the people are shouting is: "We don't want this dynasty," and sometimes they say that they don't want the Shah. So there is no question about what the people want.

Answering the vain talks

It is true that the Shah has created some doubts about this demand and some people are repeating what he says. From time to time some people in Iran who have connections with this regime, people who want this regime to be retained and some of whom would like to secure a position for themselves in the regime, a ministerial post or the premiership, write letters repeating what the Shah is continually saying, and some respected individuals have also voiced concern in this regard. They repeat what the Shah is saying that his going would threaten the independence of the country! That he is the one who is preserving the country's independence! Sometimes the Shah would put it this way and sometimes he would say that if he were to go the country would be divided, that Russia would take one piece and Britain another and

¹ After Imam Khomeini's announcement in Paris in November 1978 [Aban 1357 AHS] that whoever did not accept the three principles: the overthrow of the Shah, the removal of the monarchical regime and the formation of an Islamic government, would be rejected by the leadership and the people of Iran, the nationalists in their interviews, most often without making clear their position in this regard, said that their words were the same as those of Imam. This was at a time when they spoke of the establishment of a national and democratic government instead of an Islamic government and they repeatedly stressed the importance of constitutional law, free elections and a step-by-step policy. Imam Khomeini's speeches are testament to this.

Iran would be reduced to the province of Iran. It would become something like Uzbekistan, a part of another country! Thus he argues that he should remain to preserve the independence of Iran and prevent it from being cut up into pieces! Sometimes he says four parts! He himself says Iran will be divided into four parts. So most probably one part would go to Russia, one to America, another to Britain and the part which is left would most likely be for Iran. Tehran would belong to Iran, but the other cities from one end of the country to the other would each become the possession of another nation.

This is how they have cast doubt on the first demand that we are making, that this dynasty must go. They say okay this is so, then they ask: "But what of the country's independence if this dynasty does go?" And they make a lot of other points about which I have repeatedly spoken. However, concerning this matter that if the Shah does not remain in Iran then the country's independence will be lost, the people are saying something very similar, only they say that there is no independence because he is in Iran!

We should evaluate just what a country's independence is, then decide whether with him around, the country enjoys independence and were he to go it would lose that independence, or whether independence has actually already been lost because of his presence and were he to leave, the country would find it again. Which one of the Iranian government's main institutions now enjoys independence?

A look at Iran's military

Well, the most important one, about which he boasts so much—at times saying that its strength puts it at such and such a level when compared to all other countries and superpowers—is the army. The army is one of the country's institutions which should be independent; it should not work for foreigners and the hands of foreigners should not be involved in its running. Independence of the army means that it is under the control of its own country and that foreigners and those outside the country do not interfere in its affairs; the army should be in no way linked to them; links to another country or being subjected to the influence of another power run counter to the idea of independence. Is then our army independent? Is it not subjected to the influence of another power? Or is our army presently being controlled by these forty-five thousand American advisers—as some put the figure—who are in Iran? Do we at present have an army that is under the command of the Iranian government? Let us suppose that the government is itself one with an independent will and let us appraise its army from this point of view. Is the Iranian army one that belongs solely to Iran that works solely for Iran and for

this nation and one that is in the service of this nation?! The army belongs to the nation; an army is for the protection of the country and is to serve the nation just as any government in any country is there to serve the nation. So we will appraise the Iranian army to see whether it is an independent army and a national army, one that is for the nation and is to the advantage of the nation, or whether it is an army dependent on others, in the service of others and one which acts against the interests of the country and the nation.

Plundering of resources

As everyone knows our oil is leaving the country, is in fact going to waste, at a rate now exceeding that which is necessary to meet the needs of the country. It is going into the pockets of America and others, and that which the Americans give us in return for this oil is weaponry! In their own words eighteen billion dollars worth of it! The people in Iran cannot use these weapons; they don't even know what they are, let alone how to operate them. So, American advisers have to be there to show the Iranians how to work them. This weaponry has been brought into Iran not for the benefit of Iran, but to create bases there for America. That which America does for us in return for these bases is to take our oil! It takes our oil and in return creates these bases for itself! If in the first place America had said that it wanted to build bases for itself in Iran against the Russians, the Soviet Union would have stood up to it and told it not to make that mistake! So it is on the pretext that because the Americans take oil and the Shah wants to make his country a powerful one that he has, hitherto, received eighteen billion dollars worth of weaponry in exchange for the oil. This is the figure given by Carter. Is there a reason for him, buying this eighteen billion dollars worth of weaponry that Iran cannot operate, other than because the Americans wanted to build bases? Today, even in the mountains of Iran their underground bases can be found.

Army heads in service of the US

The oil workers have stopped work saying that they don't want to give their oil away, now who is pressuring them to return to work and why? Why is the bayonet being used to try to force them back to work? The army is doing this. Why? Should these workers return to work so that this oil, this black gold, will flow again for other countries, for America? This is why the army is not our army! The army is not independent. For if it were, it would not want to make sure America got its oil. The army is an army dependent on America and under the command of American advisers. They use this army

to oppose what the nation wants. The nation says the oil is ours, the army says the oil is America's!

At present it is the practice of the army to use bayonets to force the oil company workers in Abadan and the vicinity to return to work so that oil can be exported.¹ This action is something that the army is doing against the nation of Iran. It is an act of treason that it is committing against the nation of Iran; or rather the heads of the army are using it to commit an act of treason against the country. These heads are under the supervision of someone else, and it is America itself which is carrying out this action. So the Shah should be saying, should be maintaining that if he goes we will be independent! If he goes the army will no longer be under the control of America and will no longer force the people, or rather the (oil) workers, to give the oil to America. At present the workers are forced to keep the oil flowing to America and every day to take large amounts of oil from the pocket of the Iranian nation without the people deriving any profit from it.

This is the way in which the wealth of Iran is being destroyed. Part of this wealth goes into the Shah's pockets and into the pockets of these sixty thousand people who are described as his rapacious followers and an even greater portion goes into the pockets of America and Britain while the gas of this country goes to Russia. Now the people want to stop giving the oil away, but the army tells them they have to. If the army were independent, it would not tell them to give it away. It is because it is dependent that it tells them to do this.

So this is the shape of our army which is one of the things about which he is always speaking, saying we are independent and boasting that we have an army. This is the state of our army. Is this army of ours in the service of the people? Is it in the service of the nation? Or is it against the nation? Who constitutes the nation? The nation is made up of these merchants of the bazaar, these cultivators and farmers, these industrial and office workers. It is

¹ After 'Bloody Friday' (the tragic killings by the regime on September 8, 1978 [Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS]) most of the oil workers (about thirty thousand workers) in Abadan, Tehran, Ahwaz, Gachsaran, Aghajari and other places stopped work. On September 27, 1978 [Mehr 5, 1357 AHS] twenty thousand oil workers on Khark island went on strike. These strikes stopped the export of oil. Sharif Imami's government in an ultimatum described the striking workers as traitors to the country and on October 31 [Aban 9] a military group took over control of the country's oil installations and tried through threats and intimidation to force the workers back to work. But the workers continued to show resistance. The government announced that if the striking workers did not return to work within three days, they would be fired. The brave workers paid no heed to this threat and continued in their strike action. This strike delivered a severe blow to the regime.

made up of all these people who have stood up and are saying that they don't want him.

Iran in a general strike

Government offices, one after the other, are going on strike. The employees are shouting out that they don't want to go to a job from which others benefit, and consequently they are leaving their jobs. Our universities are closed; our schools are closed; these days everything has shut down. There has been a shutdown in all sectors of Iran. What is the aim of this strike and for what reason does the army want to break these strikes? Why have the people closed up shop and gone on strike? To find the answer one should listen to what they are saying and what their demands are. One of their demands is that they do not want this dynasty. This is one of their demands, one which is even among those voiced by the oil workers who say that they do not want the Shah, that it is the Shah who is betraying them in such a big way and that the amount of oil they are exporting to other countries is pricking their consciences.

Army's attempt to break the strike

The nation has risen up to attain independence and freedom, the army has risen up to stop them from attaining independence and freedom! If the army were an army in the service of the people, if it were an independent army, one which served Iran and was under the command of the nation, a nation in whose hands everything should be placed, then this army would enjoy independence. It would not stand against the nation, trying to break the strikes upon which the nation has embarked. The heads of the army and the military prime minister give the commands and subsequently the army is set loose into the streets beating and killing the people in order to break the strikes! The people are striking because they want independence; they want freedom and an Islamic government. That which breaks these strikes is opposing the wish of the nation. The people say we want freedom and it says no, there should be no freedom! It is opposed to their wishes. If it were of the same opinion as the nation is then it would not break these strikes. It does so because it opposes this wish of the nation. The nation wants independence, but these people oppose this.

Army commander: Shah or Carter?

Thus, the country's army is opposed to independence! According to army regulations, the Shah is its commander-in-chief, but in point of fact the

commander is Carter! This is the reality. Do we enjoy independence with all these advisers in the country? Can independence be created with one word? As I have said before words in our day and age have lost their true meaning. Many impressive-sounding words are spoken and much whitewashing has been done. But these words have no substance. The word independence has no substance. "We are independent!" "If I go the independence of the country will be lost! The country will be divided!" That wretch too says that the people are shouting because the Shah has given them an aggressive freedom, because he has given them freedom too quickly!! Words have lost their meaning. Words are used the true meaning of which is unclear! They mean something else! Are we independent? Wherever you look in the country you see we have no independence, we are dependent. This army above everything else caters to the desires of the Shah. Such an army it is that he constantly brags about; an army which does not serve the nation but is in the service of America. It kills the people of its own nation in order to satisfy the interests of the Americans.

Dependent educational system

So now let's take a look at the education. Do we have an independent educational system that others do not interfere in? Do we have universities that are independent, that think for themselves and are run by the university chancellors? We can only dream about such a system. Have we ever had a correct educational system from the constitutional period to the present time? It was always a dependent system, a system that others devised for us! This is why if the tonsils of a viperous prince were to become inflamed and he were to come down with tonsillitis, they would bring doctors from America or Europe to treat him or alternatively take him there for treatment! At one time we did have a proper, independent university, if we had one now, then we would have proper, independent doctors. When we want to tarmac a road, we have to hold out our hands and ask people from other countries to come and do it for us! How shameful! The story of tarmacking roads in Iran is quite an amazing one: with the excuse of tarmacking a road, the nation's wealth is destroyed. The same is true for the very many other jobs which are carried out there. If we need a building put up, if we want to build a hospital, then most certainly someone has to come from abroad to draw up the plans and tell us how to build it! If we had a (proper) educational system . . . we have had modern schools for over seventy years now, from the time that Dar al-Funun was established, and it has been for many years now that we have had universities; if these universities had been to the benefit of this nation, if they

had allowed our youth to receive a proper education, if the system had not been an imperialist one, then everything would have been put right by now and our youth would have been people who would have stood up to the government. If we had had one independent university then the country would not have found itself in the state that it is in today where everything is in ruins.

Undermining the educational progress of the youth

The youth constitute an important force in our country and they (the Shah and his regime) have destroyed this force. They have squandered the energies of the youth. Two groups of young people who came abroad to work in the field of nuclear physics came to see me—the number in one of the groups was quite large—and they said that they were all agreed that what they were doing was quite useless! They said their work was futile because Iran has oil and if we suppose that we have oil for another twenty years, then after that time this kind of nuclear physics in which they are involved will be of no use. The work they are doing is therefore useless, and, more importantly, they told me that they are not allowed to learn anything, that they are kept at a low level beyond which they cannot progress, adding that the training they had received in Iran was more than the small amount they were being given abroad! They said they had been brought over here to be kept at a low level so that they could not progress. Our youth are not allowed to acquire an education.

The story is the same in the Iranian universities; that is the system is such that they are kept at a certain level. The system is an imperialist one. We have an educational system which is in a state of dependence. We do not have an independent system. Through this educational system which is dependent on the imperialist government, they want to keep the youth in a state of backwardness like this. It is at the hands of that man who talks about taking us to “the gates of a great civilization”¹ that our youth are presently being kept at a low level and are not allowed to progress!

So much for our education which is an imperialist education, one kept in a state of backwardness and not allowed to progress. It produces neither competent doctors nor skilled engineers. Nothing comes out of it right. They have paralyzed the country by depriving it of its force of young people. We do not have a force of young people at present.

Corrupting the human resources

Look at this culture of ours, that part of our culture which is prevalent nowadays, they count this corruption which exists in Iran nowadays as being part of the culture! The cinemas are considered to be part of the culture! They say they stem from the culture! And which cinemas do they mean? Those cinemas which have destroyed our youth, our force of young people, those which have paralyzed them so that whatever happens means nothing to them! They (the Shah and his regime) are creating an atmosphere whereby it is enough for the youth to busy themselves in the pursuit of bacchanal desires! They are destroying, and in some cases have already destroyed, the very roots of this country. Each country is a country because of its human resources; if its human resources are of no use then it is no longer a country.

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].

These people are destroying our human resources; everywhere our human resources have nearly dried up. So, if he goes our cultural independence will be lost, will it?! What independence do we enjoy for it to be lost? He says if he goes independence will go with him! He asks what will become of our country without its independence! We want independence.

Overall dependency

The problems of our country stem from the fact that it has no independence! Its culture is not independent, its army is not independent and neither its economy is. Its economy is in a state of dependency. These people do not do anything right. They have created a dependent economy which is, to use their terminology, a montage. They have to bring in goods from abroad, to buy goods from abroad, and we assemble them. We are consumers, bring in the goods and let us consume! We are a consumer country. Such an agrarian economy this Iran of ours enjoyed at one time. It enjoyed such farming and cultivation that it did not need to turn to foreign countries. Indeed, Iran exported goods, it was an exporter.¹ It took only one

¹ For many years, Iran's agricultural output had been enough to meet the needs of its population. According to existing reports and documents, animal and agricultural produce constituted Iran's primary export. Following the imposed 'Shah-People Revolution' and the implementation of its first tenet, i.e. land reform, agricultural production began to decline. This is itself a common phenomenon in the immediate aftermath of land reform, however in Iran this weakness continued long after the short-term unsettlement of the reform itself had worn off and in a short period not only did the country experience a decline in its exports, but agricultural production was no longer sufficient to meet domestic demand. During the years 1972-1977 [1351-1356 AHS], the money paid for the import of cereals rose from 6.8 to 35.8 billion rials! Most of the imported cereals were those which could be produced within the country to the level of self-sufficiency; however the regime's agricultural policy of the time prevented this. Consequently, in only a few years, the shortage of Iranian wheat had knocked the country off the list of wheat exporting countries and onto the list of wheat importers. In 1968 [1347 AHS], the export of wheat, even though reduced, reached 254,000 tons, whereas in 1970 [1349 AHS] not only was wheat not exported at all, but it had to be imported into the country. In 1977 [1356 AHS], imports of wheat into Iran reached more than 1.4 million tons. Refer to *The Economic History of Iran* and Fred Halliday's *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*, chap. 5.

of its provinces: Azerbaijan, Khorasan or Fars, to meet the needs of the whole country, but now it has been reduced to a state where even the regime itself in its appraisal says that we can produce only enough food to meet the country's requirements for a thirty- or thirty-three-day period, in order to meet our needs for the rest of the year we have to hold out our hands to others.

Iran, an arena for the looters

They (the Shah and his regime) have given away to others whatever could have benefited our country. The "nationalization" of our pasture lands indeed! I was informed of these things by someone who wrote to me giving me documented evidence to prove what he was saying; however the documents are not with me now; they were sent to me while I was in Najaf and unfortunately have been left behind there. The gentleman in question wrote telling me that when British specialists came to Iran and saw some of the finest pasturelands in a certain area—he did write exactly where they were—they remarked that they were the best pastures for the farming of any kind of livestock. And so the Shah and his regime gave them away to the British Queen and some other people!¹ Our forests have also been nationalized," and they too have been given away to others!

¹ The Arjan Plain is a vast plain situated on the rural outskirts of the small province of Kazeran. Embraced by a mountainous range, it is the repository of the water of numerous streams which runs into it from all sides via waterfalls, forming a lake of clear water in its center. The lush, verdant land of Iran, like that in Kazeran, was given over to the British to do with as they pleased.

In this way they have fallen upon this banquet (which is Iran) and are plundering it! A part of the profit made from this goes into his pocket and toward preserving his rule. From every corner of the world we hear countries saying that they support him, but it is not because he is the apple of their eyes, no, they want the oil! And there is no one better than him to give our oil away to them. In the name of "land reforms"¹ they want to turn the country into a market for America! America has a surfeit of wheat which it has to throw away, to throw into the sea, so what better than to give it to Iran in return for oil or money.

They have completely destroyed the country's animal husbandry. They have completely destroyed its agriculture and they have given its pasturelands away to others. They have destroyed everything it had, leaving you (Iranians) in need of everything. If at one time these countries stop exporting to Iran, then after thirty-three days everyone in the country must go hungry. This is the state of the country that he says if he is not around, will break up! The country will no longer be a country! We need a country so let him remain so that this country will remain!

A few days ago in a speech he said: "Come, let us all think about the country!" [The audience laughs]. This is exactly what we are saying. The whole nation is of the same mind and that is why the people have raised their voices. They didn't think about their country before, but now they have begun to do so. They are thinking about their country now for they are shouting out and asking: "Hey, what the dickens do you think you are playing at devouring so much? You're ready to burst!" God only knows how much these people have plundered! You don't know and we don't know, but

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

later on it will be discovered just what they did to the well-being of this nation and this country.

The lost independence

What do we have? What independence do we have to lose if you go? Do we have cultural independence to lose? Do we have economic independence to lose? Or military independence, do we have that to lose if you go? Just what kind of independence do we now enjoy that we will lose if you go? You go and let us put it to the test! [The audience laughs].

So this is their logic concerning the first aforementioned demand of the nation which is that he should go; the people want him to go, but they create doubts asking what would happen to the country if he did go! He himself is constantly talking about this. Now a certain group of people are repeating his words in an attempt to keep him in power. Why are they doing this? Well some of the reasons are obvious: they want to become ministers or whatever and they realize that were the nation to prevail, they would have to forget the idea, and for this reason they are now panicking and are making efforts to keep him in power. God willing, this nation will not be taken in by these people [The audience says God willing].

Fists mightier than bayonets

Know this, the bayonet cannot rule. There are times when this bayonet is not needed: when the people are not awake, when they are asleep in their homes, each one going about his own business. Yes, at such times they can frighten the people without resorting to the bayonet, they only need to threaten and frighten them by using someone with a few stars on his shoulder. But there are times when a change occurs in the people, and this is the case now. What is happening in Iran at present is an example of that change and wherever you look throughout the course of history you will not find an example like Iran. This change which has taken place in the people has no precedent in Iranian history, and I'm not sure that you would be able to find an example in the histories of other countries either of a period when within only a short space of time the people of a country changed to such an extent that they became something completely opposite to what they had been. There was a time when on the fourth of Aban it was absolutely unheard of for the people to disobey a command to put up flags. They did not do it because they truly wanted to, but because the police had told them to! And no one could argue with the police! This was the situation, but in a short space of time this nation changed, becoming another kind of nation, the kind

whose small children and old men alike shout out in the streets: “Death to this Shah” and “Death to this Pahlavi monarchy.” This is the transformation that has taken place, a country has changed from top to bottom, once it was one kind and now it has become another.

This movement cannot be stopped by bayonets; the bayonet does not possess such power. We have seen this for ourselves. They imposed martial law whereby gatherings of more than two people were prohibited; and the people listened to every word! Fifty thousand [Laughter from the audience], one hundred thousand, two hundred thousand, three hundred thousand came together in every corner of the country, in those places where martial law was in effect! When they (the Shah and his regime) saw that martial law was not having the desired effect, they went a step further—if indeed it was possible to go any further—and brought in a military prime minister and the government became a military government. But it was still the same thing. The people have seen the military; they have weighed it up and have defeated it. The power of the people, that is the power of the fist, has prevailed over the tank.

The power of religion, the power of faith, has prevailed over the tank and over guns. This power is a divine power. It is a divine power which has vanquished these tanks, guns and machine-guns with these fists. Thus, martial law was defeated and a military government arrived. Their military government is the same as their martial law, it is nothing new; the only difference is that at the time of martial law the prime minister was a politician and now the prime minister is a military man. They are both two old men who are good for nothing! [Laughter from the audience]

Military coup d'état, a conspiracy already defeated

Let us suppose that this military government will pass too, the next step, if their way of thinking is once again confined to such methods, will be a military coup d'état, whereby the Shah will go and the military will take over the reins of power. But it will still be the same military, it will be nothing new, it will be the same military that yesterday enforced martial law and was defeated by the people, and which today forms the military government and has been defeated by the people, for indeed it has been defeated. Tomorrow it will be the same thing, it will be nothing new, the people have seen it all before. They won't be experiencing something strange that will frighten them. It will be the same military, only they will have called it a military coup d'état! This too will be defeated.

A country whose people have risen up and have clenched their fists and say: "Shoot us, but we want independence, we will not go away," whose men and women are saying the same thing, cannot be driven back by bayonets. That woman whose four children were killed and who shouts as she does in Behesht-e Zahra inviting the people to clap not to cry for her dead children—and as one person said the people both clapped hands and cried over the disaster which had befallen her—is not going to be frightened by this, it is nothing new. Such a country cannot be driven back by bayonets.

People's duty to keep up the movement

Keep this uprising, gentlemen. It is the duty of us all to do so. It is my duty as an *akhund*, it is the duty of you sir, it is the duty of you merchants of the bazaar, you workers and you scientists. We all have a duty to fan the flames of this uprising which has appeared in Iran. Through this movement you can attain your independence and secure freedom for yourselves. You and I will be held accountable by God the Blessed and Exalted, we will be held accountable by the future generations if we cannot, if we are not competent enough, to utilize this movement which has appeared. You have to be competent enough to utilize this movement. Do not let this movement subside. Those who are in charge of affairs, the heads of political parties, the *ulama*, the religious students, the merchants of the bazaar, the people from the universities, the people from the Justice Ministry, the lawyers from the Justice Ministry, the various groups of people in the country should not let these strikes subside, they should not allow this movement which is alive in Iran now to die down. If, God forbid, this movement should subside, then we will be under the yoke of oppression for all times, and the next time this man draws his sword he will sever your line.

Negation of a step-by-step policy

I told some of the gentlemen who had come to see me and spoke about a "step-by-step policy" saying we should take one step now, wait a while and then take the second: "Gentlemen, if you relax in this step, then in the second they will defeat all your plans. They are not going to wait after you have taken the first step allowing him to reign but not rule!" After all these crimes that he has committed they say that this man should now reign but not rule! They are after quelling this uprising in whatever way they can. If this movement is stopped, if this fire which is aflame in the hearts of the people—may God make it brighter ["Amen" of the audience]—is quenched, then it will not be possible to start it again or for another one like this to

occur, everything will be lost. If this man's position is made secure before you achieve your aim, if such a disaster should occur, then you will suffer for time to come, and your sufferings will not be the same as they are today, he is only catching his breath now, then he will discontinue your line. Be vigilant! The Iranians should be vigilant, the Iranians should be aware of the sensitive stage they are at, of the sensitive situation that Iran is in at present. The situation today is not the same as it was before for us to say: "Well, if not today then tomorrow." No, this is no longer possible. You are in a life or death situation!

I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to help this movement and He will help [The audience says "God willing"]. God will support you provided that your uprising is for God and is to establish His religion ["God willing" from the audience].

Speech

Date: November 21, 1978 [Aban 30, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 20, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty and its unconstitutionality

Addressees: A group of (Iranian) university students residing abroad

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

Shah's regime and the Constitution

Now, they (pro-Shah governments) have resorted to certain tactics and are in a frenzy regarding what we and the nation want: that is, the first principle (of this movement) stating that the nation does not want the Pahlavi regime and the Shah and that it renounces the Pahlavi dynasty. The previous prime minister¹ in his time reasoned that they (military agents) killed the people because they would shout unconstitutional slogans! What he meant was that the people were saying “Death to the Shah” and “We don't want the Shah”—and this was against the Constitution.

Well, first we must set one angle from which to approach the issue and then we will analyze it to see if these slogans were really unconstitutional or not. One such viewpoint is to ask if anyone who says any anti-Constitution slogan should be machine-gunned and killed. Or, are there laws regulating such activities? According to the law, what should be done to someone who has, presumably, opposed the Constitution? Secondly, let us examine which act constitutes a constitutional infringement: the nation shouting slogans, or, the Shah being the Shah? We are now discussing the present Constitution (which says that): If there is a king and dynasty empowered by the constitutional law which stipulates that the nation should elect someone king—the Shah himself confirmed this (constitutional) provision that “the monarchy is a divine gift granted to the king by the nation”—we should probe into whether the people have really invested him with such an office, in which case, if there was any hostile slogan (said against him), we could then construe that such an act constitutes a violation of the Constitution. Or, could it be that the people had no knowledge of such issues at all?

¹ Jafar Sharif Imami: Prime Minister of the National Reconciliation Government.

Rida Khan's coup d'état

When Rida Khan first came to power through a coup d'état and occupied Tehran,¹ he achieved everything at the point of a bayonet. Nobody, at that time, had any regard for the nation. Even today, they are in culpable negligence of the nation. I remember the time he grabbed the helms of power, although you, or perhaps most of you, may not have any recollection of those incidents. But I witnessed such incidents; I remember everything: how he staged the coup d'état and came to Tehran. Initially, he pretended to be so religious and Islamic. They said that at night during Muharram, he would walk the streets barefooted mourning [for Imam Husayn (A)]; he would attend all the *takiyah*² ceremonies held in Tehran and assert his pretensions to faith³ and his being Islamic before the *takiyah*'s organizer until his rule slightly gained a footing. It was like this at the beginning; then when his rule became firmly entrenched; he resorted to the use of the bayonet, went around with it and suppressed people of all walks of life. Those days were different from today; it was not like this recent year that a change has taken place in the nation that they question and oppose (the ruling system). There had never been a word uttered in protest against Rida Khan's decisions as no such possibility existed. He came (to power) with a bayonet and with it set up the Parliament, without the people knowing any of its deputies or being aware of the issues at all. Furthermore, it was not clear whether Rida Khan had really done it himself or not, because lists would be brought in from embassies, as the Shah himself admitted, written in which were names of deputies for each constituency. Their functionaries would go and deputize a group initially appointed by embassies which would provide the lists and determine the deputies. During Rida Khan's time, the British embassy held paramount importance and during his (the Shah's) time, it was the American embassy. These embassies would give the list and determine the deputies. These appointments were, in reality, made by those (foreign powers); Rida Khan and, presently, Muhammad Rida Khan would superficially second the motion. But what involvement did the people have in this?

Appointed MPs during the Constitutional and Pahlavi periods

We never had any legal Parliament recognized by the very same Constitution during the entire constitutional period. I do not know what transpired during the first term of the constitutional movement, but as far as I can remember there has never been a legal Parliament. One article in the Constitution's amendments stipulated that five *mujtahids*⁴ to be determined by the *maraji-e taqlid* [Religious Reference Authorities] should be assigned to the Parliament to oversee its affairs. If these *mujtahids* were not present there, the Parliament could not acquire legitimacy. During the whole

¹ Esfand 2-4, 1299 AHS.

² *Takiyah*: a place where Shi'ah Muslims gather to mourn the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (A) in the month of Muharram.

³ Malik ash-Shu'ara Bahar, a leading Iranian poet, wrote: "It was the day of *Ashura*; a group of Cossack soldiers under the command of Rida Khan (he had not yet become Shah) arrived at the bazaar in a particularly organized and disciplined manner. Accompanying them were some horses and a few groups of musicians who were playing a dirge . . . Sardar Sepah could be seen leading them, his head was bare and he was throwing hay over his head (as a sign of mourning). Similarly, on the evening of the tenth day of *Ashura*, groups of Cossacks arrived at the bazaar again and took part in the ceremony for *Sham-e Ghariban* [the night immediately after the demise of somebody]. Sardar Sepah himself attended mourning ceremonies at the Friday Mosque and the Shaykh Abd al-Husayn Mosque in Tehran where, at that time, some of the largest *rawdah* ceremonies were held. He entered with a group of his men and walked around the gathering once, in an act which demonstrated the great importance with which he viewed the religious rites. Such demonstrations were to continue every year for the following two or three years until, that is, he became Prime Minister, after which he gradually prohibited chest beating, the holding of *rawdahs* and other religious assemblies and became the number one enemy of Islam." Refer to *Tarikh-e Mukhtasar-e Ahzab-e Siyasi*, vol. 1, pp. 183-184.

⁴ *Mujtahid*: an authority on divine law who is entitled to give an independent judgment on a point of theology or law.

constitutional period, this stipulation was observed only once, only in the first term of the Parliament—whether it was during the whole term or just halfway through it, is not within my knowledge—but if my memory serves me correctly, since about sixty years ago, such an amendment has never been applied, that is, neither have these five people ever gone to the Parliament nor have the people had any knowledge that they should deputize anyone to this end. And if ever any deputy would be elected by the people in some places like Tehran, in other places, even sometimes in Tehran itself, the deputies were perhaps completely estranged from the people. All deputies were hand-picked by the Establishment.

During all this time, we know and you know that we have never had any national deputy; there is, and was, not one single deputy in the Parliament elected by the people. None of them have been true representatives of the nation; they have all been chosen by the government and have been their (the embassy's) protégés. Lists were either brought in from the US embassy dictating to install those deputies, or, as the Shah himself put it, lists would be brought to them during his father's time. But now, he claims that it is not the case anymore and such things no longer happen! At no point in time did we ever have any legal Parliament wherein any law was ratified or passed based on the vote of a great majority. Hence, the Parliament set up during the

time of Rida Shah was a rubber-stamp body whose members were determined by lists sent in by the British embassy or hand-picked by Rida Shah or imposed on the people at bayonet point. The people did not have any say in the affair.

Illegal advent of Pahlavi dynasty

So, the Parliament he established was illegal, anti-nation and unconstitutional. It was set up against the Constitution, gave Rida Shah a mandate and then deposed the Qajar king. That is, they formed a Constituent Assembly, of course, with the force of the bayonets, installed Rida Shah and the Pahlavi dynasty, and dethroned the former monarchy. This was the manner in which the Pahlavi dynasty ascended to power, and the principle upon which it was founded.¹

Therefore, it is his statement that he is king, which is illegal and not the people's statement saying that he is not the king. What is unconstitutional was what that contemptible former minister (Sharif Imami) was saying that his forces massacred the people because they were shouting anti-nation and anti-Constitution slogans. What they meant by these anti-nation and anti-Constitution slogans were the people's cries of "Death to the Shah!" and not any other slogans. People were crying out loud "Death to the Shah! We do

¹ After a bloodless coup on February 21, 1921 carried out with British encouragement, Rida Khan, the main architect of the coup, quickly established himself as the dominant political personality in the country. On October 31, 1925, the Parliament deposed the reigning monarch Ahmad Shah, and it was decided that a Constituent Assembly should be elected to decide on a new ruler. Only those who had already agreed to Rida Khan ascending the throne were allowed to become members of this assembly and consequently the people, knowing what the results of the referendum would be, saw their voting on the matter to be a futile act. However, police and army personnel forced people to the voting booths and handed them a list of the names of the people for whom they were to vote. Eventually, a single article was prepared in the home of Rida Khan and ratified. This article read: "The National Consultative Assembly, for the well-being of the nation, announces the overthrow of the Qajar dynasty and hands over temporary rule within the confines of the Constitution and the country's common laws to the person of Mr. Rida Khan." This article gave the Constituent Assembly, which was formed to change articles 36, 37, 38 and 44 of the Constitution, the authority to determine who was to rule. After the ratification of this article deposing Ahmad Shah and prior to the formation of the Constituent Assembly, the plan was for the people to select a successor to the deposed ruler. But this plan was not followed through and monarchical rule was given to Rida Khan, the Sardar Sepah [Chief of Staff], for the duration of his life with the intention that after his death Parliament would choose his successor. However, after the Constituent Assembly completed its work and Rida Khan was crowned Rida Shah in April 1926, he opposed this ruling and decided that monarchical rule should become the hereditary right of his family. In this way, the Pahlavi dynasty came into being.

not want the Shah! We do not want the Pahlavi dynasty!” (For them) these slogans are anti-nation and non-nationalistic! That is, because the Iranian nation, which is supposed to be a king-loving nation, is now saying that it does not want the Shah; therefore this is an anti-nation slogan! And if the whole nation is saying it, then, which “nation” is the slogan opposed to?

“Death to the Shah” a national slogan

Indubitably, the majority of the nation, now and before, especially in the two months prior to this and after the month of Ramadan, on the day of the feast,¹ are shouting “Death to the Shah! We do not want the Shah!” This is a nationalistic slogan; the nation’s slogan has been nationalistic; it is pro-nation, and not anti-nation; it is not anti-Constitution but is pro-Constitution because this Constitution does not recognize him as the monarch. He is not the king according to the Constitution. The people meant to say absolutely the same thing as the Constitution. Therefore, the people’s slogans, implying that the Shah is not the king and that they do not want the Shah, have been concordant with the Constitution. So, all his vaunts of holding the monarchy, being the monarch and being this and that, all the actions he has done in the capacity of a king are against the Constitution. In addition to this principle, his reception of people as the king and his coronation as the monarch are all unconstitutional. This Constitution does not recognize him as king and when it is so, all his actions and everything ensuing from them are unconstitutional.

Legal questions about the Shah’s reign

In this government, which succeeded the previous one, talks would be brought up addressing those Iranians residing outside the country, such as Europe and other places, to return if they believed in the Constitution and those who disbelieved should not! What they meant was whoever acknowledged the Shah as the king should come and those against his being king should not!² Their reasoning, as I have just mentioned, is wrong because it is the statements of those who oppose the Shah that conform with the Constitution, and not the statements of those who believe that the Shah should remain. This is one of the means they have resorted to which they have recurrently aired ever since—reviving the very same issue again and

¹ Iran witnessed the people’s greatest rally ever held in the whole history of the country on *Id al-Fitr* (feast marking the end of the fasting month of Ramadan) in 1978 [1357 AHS].

² In September 1978 [Mehr 1357 AHS], Sharif Imami’s government announced that students who had been actively engaged in anti-regime activities outside the country up to that time would be granted amnesty and could return to Iran once they recognized the Constitution.

again; from the very start they have repeatedly stressed the idea that when the people say they do not want the Shah, such an act is tantamount to a constitutional infringement.

Presuming that these claims conformed to the Constitution and all the other snags have been smoothed out and that it was the Constitution which set the Shah upon his royal throne, still there would be some knots to be untied viewed from various aspects. One aspect is the fact that the very same people who have voted you (the Shah) to the throne based on the Constitution in which an article stipulates that the monarchy is a "divine gift" to be entrusted to the person of the king, are now saying "no" to your rule! If you dare refute the truth of this, then hold a referendum! Let there be a referendum but one without the bayonets, of course! Lift martial law and dissolve the military government and let the people vote freely. Then announce to the people that anyone who acknowledges this monarchy should assemble up north of the city and those who oppose it should gather south of the city. We will then see which part of the city will be more crowded, the north or the south? If what they say is true, then they should put it to test if they really want to abide by the Constitution; if they believe in its principles. Given that we believe that a constitutional article stipulates that the monarchy is "a divine gift granted to the king by the nation" and given that we are foregoing all the other fallacies I discussed some nights ago and that we agree with his (the Shah's) reasoning that the nation must give this gift to the person of the king. But supposing it is now the nation which comes forth and declares that it does not want this king any more, the same nation which invested him with this "gift" is now saying "no," this "no" is now constitutionally binding. That "yes" (their confirmation of his monarchy) has held true but only up to now, henceforth it is "no" to the monarchy. Therefore, based upon our assumption that the Pahlavi chain of rule was legitimate and their monarchical rule was in accordance with the Constitution, we agree to all the premises of this argument, but now the people are saying "no", so, he is now divested of his monarchical powers. Therefore, his claim to the monarchy, his appointment of a prime minister for a country and, I do not know, everything that he is doing within the powers of a monarch do not hold anymore. He does not have any right to appoint a prime minister. Hence, the prime minister is also illegal and his appointment unconstitutional.

There is yet another objection we can raise. Assuming that we, the people, installed a monarch to whom we had given our votes and brought to power. As a monarch he swore under oath that he would commit no treason,

would safeguard the religion and serve the nation; that he would remain loyal to the religion and would not betray the nation—these were the oaths he took, but has he remained loyal to his oaths? If a king swore that he would not commit treason but later did, he would be divested of the monarchy. He would have violated (the law) and hence would be no longer fit to be the monarch. Has he not betrayed this country?! Has he not given America our oil gratuitously?! Has he not placed the armed forces under the control of American advisers?! Is he not in the service of America? Is he not in the service of the Soviets? If this is not the case then why are they supporting him? How come Carter is raising this hue and cry in his defense? Carter is not a cousin of his! Assuming that he is not serving the US's interests, or he is not their servant, then there is no difference between him and another ruler. How come that these people who have interests in Iran and are devouring the country's wealth, looting our oil and erecting bases for themselves as payment for the oil (they are getting), guzzling and stealing our oil and giving it to Israel which is the archenemy of Muslims and Islam, are now crawling out from every nook and cranny? If these people are not serving foreign interests and are not traitors to their country and they have not granted them (the foreigners) domination over the country, how come the foreigners have now grown so anxiously frantic? Why? Why is the British premier saying, "We have interests here?" The Shah has done us service and so, in return, we must help him!" Why did he not deny this statement? How come Carter is saying: "We have given Iran arms worth eighteen billion dollars because there is danger (posed by the USSR) for us and our interests lie here!" You (US) have imposed on him \$18-billion worth of arms which are useless to us, and he has served you! Isn't this a betrayal of the country? Well, he has committed treason and with it he has lost all his credibility, even if we assume that the people have not said "no" (to his rule).

Illegal contracts

All contracts which have been entered into by Iran up to now during the reigns of these two monarchs, namely Rida Shah and Muhammad Rida Shah, excluding those made in the early days of the constitutional period, are illegal, hence void, because the Parliament is not legal to approve any of them. The king is not a legitimate king to, say, propose them to the Parliament (for approval), or appoint a prime minister or inaugurate the Parliament. All these acts should be carried out according to the laws and regulations. But none of these had been based on any laws or regulations. All these contracts, these arms deals they have concluded, are null and void.

They should give our money back to us and take their “scrap metal” (weapons) back. You (US) took our oil and must pay for it! Take this scrap metal back, it’s all yours!

Some of the Shah’s betrayals

With each contract they have entered into, they sold out Iran’s fertile green pastureland. As they have reported to me in writing, they have given our rich pastureland, which had been appraised as the best in the world in terms of animal husbandry, to some people, among them the Queen of England! The country of Iran was dispossessed (of a part of its land) and then frozen red meat had to be imported in. Is it not tantamount to a betrayal of one’s country? Is the “land reform program,” which had completely destroyed the agriculture, not one of the greatest treacheries ever committed against the country, leaving our miserable peasants no choice but to flock into cities?! Tehran is now crammed with these unfortunate peasants who came in from all around, dwelling miserably with their families in shanties, in tents and hovels even in freezing winter! Is this not a betrayal of a nation? He has committed treason! Consequently, he is no longer the king! A king who is a traitor is not fit to be a king!

Shah’s reign against the Constitution

Thus, his taking possession of the throne and the crown today, his appointment of a prime minister, his decree for the inauguration of the Parliament and its suspension—all these are against the constitutional law. The nation’s cry saying they do not want the Shah conforms to the Constitution. It is not against the Constitution; rather, it is concordant with the Constitution. It is his statement, the Prime Minister’s statement referring to him as “His Imperial Majesty,” that is anti-Constitution. He is not “His Majesty.” He is not the monarch of this country. This is one of the issues they have raised and are following up.

Another issue is their claim that once they are gone, regional stability too will be gone!¹ We will see how things will develop later. If he is gone, what stability will go, and what stability do we have now?

May God grant all of you [the audience] success. God willing, you will be successful. You too should serve this movement which concerns Iran, in whatever capacity—those inside the country should serve domestic interests in whatever capacity and those outside the country should do whatever

¹ Upon arrival in Iran for a visit and negotiations with the Shah in March 1978 [Farvardin 1357 AHS], the British Foreign Minister said: “Iran plays a vital role in regional stability.” After his meeting with the Shah (March 27 [Farvardin 1357 AHS]), he said: “Iran’s military power is the major factor in establishing regional stability. *Rastakhiz*, March 27 (Farvardin 7 AHS). A month after this meeting, David Owen, the British Foreign Minister, recalled Iran’s vital role in guaranteeing regional security and lauded the Iranian government’s efforts in establishing security in the region as worthy of appreciation! *Rastakhiz*, April 23 (Ordibehesht 3 AHS). On April 28 [Ordibehesht 8 AHS], Margaret Thatcher, the leader of Britain’s Conservative Party came to Tehran and after a meeting with the Shah on April 29 (Ordibehesht 9 AHS), she said: “Safeguarding Iran’s sovereignty is a matter of life and death to our future because Iran-UK deals are worth over one billion pounds!” (*Rastakhiz*, April 28). In a press conference held in September 1978 [mid-Mehr 1357 AHS], Carter, while announcing his support for the Shah, expressed hope that Iran would immediately take steps in establishing a progressive social order and a democratic government and said: “In any event, America will protect its long-time friend and its major business enterprises which are vitally instrumental in maintaining regional security.” *Matbu’at*, October 11, 1978 [Mehr 19, 1357 AHS]. Kissinger, ex-US State Secretary, announced at gathering of the International Jewish Congress: “Iran is expedient in keeping stability and is necessary to its Western allies to keep peace in the Middle East.” (Press archives, November 4, 1978 [Aban 13, 1357 AHS]). On November 13, 1978 [Aban 22, 1357 AHS], Carter categorically branded the revolutionary people of Iran as criminals who had endangered regional stability! Carter said: “A powerful and independent Iran is a major factor in regional stability. We don’t want to see this stability become a plaything in the hands of criminals and the government be toppled, a situation that may be followed by unforeseen consequences.” (Press archives, November 13, 1978 [Aban 22, 1357 AHS]).

services are feasible such as propagation, press interviews, writing articles in the print media, because Iran and its people have been introduced in a bad light. You are duty bound; all of us are, to clarify the issues for people here, too.

Dialogue

Date: November 1978 [Aban 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran-Britain relations; situation of human rights in Iran in the future; freedom from the ShiAh point of view

Addressee: Russell Kerr, a member of the British House of Commons and member of the Labor Party¹

[**Russell Kerr:** There are widespread propaganda in the US and Britain claiming that if Khomeini assumes power in Iran, he will pull the country back to five hundred years ago. They say that your movement is traditional and retrogressive; they say it is a plan against the Shah's modernization. In our opinion it is important to introduce the progressive aspects of the Islamic movement. I have the time and opportunity for the introduction of these aspects; and I am doing so to help Iran's future.]

Imam Khomeini: What you have seen in the media is merely Shah's propaganda. Huge amounts of money have been spent in this regard to safeguard the Shah. Well, you just see what the people's scramble is. Are the people retrogressive? Is the exclamation for independence and freedom retrogressive, or the Shah's claim?

Islamic government is identical with development, civilization and progress; it is not against them. Under the Shah's rule the country is moving toward deterioration and retrogression. He has kept our youth and our culture backward and does not allow them to complete their studies; our universities are retrogressive and dependent; the ruling system is dependent on others; and dependence is indeed retrogressive. Our economy is in shambles; it is dependent on others. We do not have industry; it is assemblage, not a progressive industry. We want an independent nation, independent country, and an independent economy, but the Shah is a hurdle in this way. We, and the nation, have risen against the Shah, for he, not us, has kept the country retrogressive. Are we reactionary? The Shah is reactionary. Currently he is enforcing the medieval laws in the country.

¹Kerr was one of the critics of the Shah for his violation of human rights and torture of political prisoners.

[**RK:** What would be the situation of human rights in Iran's future? What is your plan for the State Organization for Information and Security (SAVAK)?]

IK: SAVAK? No, we won't need it. There will be no pressure. SAVAK has had nothing except oppression, suppression, and encroachment upon the rights of the people; it won't exist in the Islamic government. The Islamic government will be based on the human rights and its observance. No organization or government has cared for the human rights as much as Islam has. The head of the state in an Islamic government is equal with the lowest person.

[**RK:** Your enemies claim that the rights of the women in the Islamic government will be violated, the present rights that the women have gained during the Shah's rule will be revoked. Of course, I do not personally believe in it. What is your opinion?]

IK: The women are free in the Islamic government; their rights will be identical with those of men. Islam emancipated the women from the captivation of men and put them on an equal footing with men. The propaganda carried out against us aim to misguide the people. Islam has guaranteed all the human rights and issues. Due to the oppression of the regime in Iran, there is neither any freedom for the men nor for the women now; in Islam, there is freedom for every one.

[**RK:** What is the meaning of Shii freedom? One of the Ayatullahs in Qum—your brother—gave a very spiritual answer about the free values of man to a member of our group, a very attractive answer.]

IK: One of the exclusive principles in Shiism is struggle against oppression and oppressive regimes. The ShiAh fought against the dictatorship from the first day of its emergence; they fought against oppression and hegemony, made sacrifices and were killed [in their struggles]. And the Shii school of thought has guaranteed the freedom of man by offering blood. There is no other school like Shiism in other religious sects to rise against the wrong. This is an outstanding feature of Shiism.

[**RK:** Do you see any other solution except the Shah?]

IK: There is no hope; even if the Shah is set right. Neither the people nor Islam allows this. The crimes committed by the Shah's regime are numerous.

[**RK:** What is the nature of your relations with the National Front? Have you held any meeting with them recently?]

IK: We do not have any relations with the Front. Only Sanjabi came and we explained our stances to him—not as a representative of the Front—and he accepted them.

[**RK:** I am surprised. They know you as a leader in most cases—religious and political leader. Why such a great gap is there?]

IK: It is not the question of gap. I have been accepted as the leader by the nation; I am not the leader of the Front; I am the religious leader—in fact the basis of religion is politics. The Iranians have accepted; and therefore they [the Front] have said on their own.

[**RK:** You have a dual role—the leader of the ShiAh and a political leader; you struggle against the Shah, the fascists and the military officers. But you must have some friends among all the classes; you have your spheres of influence. They are influential figures; they should be strengthened. Why should you not have closer relations with Sanjabi and Foruhar so that they move in the same direction with you?]

IK: We have equal relations with all the citizens of Iran. It is not correct for any religious, political leader to attach himself to a specific front. We establish relations with the entire nation. Special ties are against the interests.

[**RK:** You need good political friends, and in a very tough war you need such people.]

IK: Of course we need all the political figures; we need them. We do not have relations with a specific group. The entire Iran is united, and all of us want to accomplish the task, and since the *ummah* wants it, everybody is encompassed by it and they go ahead with the help of all.

[**RK:** What is the future plan for the country? Is it a socialist plan?]

IK: No; it will neither have a socialist leaning nor a communist tendency; it will be a plan based on justice, democracy and the constitution; of course its own specific constitution...

[**RK:** Socialism in our view is a common school.]

IK: The Islamic laws—if implemented—will result in justice, without having the corruptions of other systems.

[**RK:** What is your opinion about the British government?]

IK: In our opinion, the miseries of the East in general—and those of Iran in particular—stem from these three governments, that is, the United States, Britain and Soviet Union; these are the ones who helped Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida dominate us; and we want to emancipate ourselves from their domination. The nation has risen to get rid of domination. What the nation wants will be accomplished.

[RK: What will be the nature of your relations with South Africa and what will be the role of Iran's oil in the Third World?]

IK: They will be contrary to the past policies of the Shah's regime.

[RK: If you conquer, what will be the nature of your relations with Britain?]

IK: We have not had any war with the British nation and will not have any. These governments are aggressors. If they treat us on the basis of goodwill and respect, we too will treat them in the same manner.

Letter

Date: November 1978 [Azar 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Islamic Republic on the side of the Palestinian nation

Addressee: Abu Jihad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable brother, Mr. Abu Jihad,

Member of the Central Committee of Al-Fatah and member of the General Command Council of “*ASifa*” Forces, may Almighty God assist him:

I received your kind letter and I am grateful to you for expressing your sympathy with the oppressed Iranian nation and for feeling duty-bound to contribute to their legitimate demands. I beseech the Almighty God to grant success to you and other Palestinian Muslim brothers, who have risen up in the way of righteousness. I hope that the Islamic movement of Iran, which is an unprecedented movement in history, on the side of the Palestinian Muslim brothers attain their humane, Islamic ideals and uproot the banner of oppression and crime forever and hoist the glorious flag of Islam; and simultaneously our brothers succeed in cutting off the criminal hands of Israel—the source of corruption—and hoist the banner of victory over the Al-Aqsa Mosque.¹ Throughout the struggles against the criminal Shah, I have always condemned Israel and one of the reasons for opposing the Shah was his support for Israel, the enemy of Islam and humanity. The great Iranian nation, who have suffered throughout history from the corrupt monarchical regimes and have been crushed under the boots of their ill-willed officials, their reserves and wealth plundered by the Shah’s criminal hands, and been kept backward by the treacherous plans of the sponge-like oil-devourers, have now, by the grace of the Almighty God, risen up and with a decisive determination across the country ask for the elimination of the monarchical system and the establishment of the Islamic Republic in its place. Indeed, their demand, that is, freedom, independence, and establishment of a just government, is an issue, which is top on the list of human rights, is confirmed

¹ Masjid al-Aqsa (Al-Aqsa Mosque): the site in Jerusalem where the Prophet ascended to heaven in the eleventh year of his mission (Quran, 17:1); also the complex of mosques and buildings erected on the site. The chief of these was extensively damaged by arson in 1969, two years after the Zionist usurpation of Jerusalem.

by human communities, and above that pleases the Glorious God. There is a great hope for their victory and it is natural for the human beings, who have still preserved their original primordial nature, to assist them.

I thank the Al-Fatah revolutionary movement and brotherly shake their hands in brotherhood for providing us with their facilities and for their attempts in the way of the liberation of our Muslim nation from the hands of the international corrupt plunderers and their associates. In an Islamic brotherly manner, I seriously request them to refrain from assisting the groups allied with the left and right who are the cause of the misery of the oppressed and do not spare any effort to render publicity assistance to their Muslim brothers. If we assume power, we will support your sacred movement. We have already stopped the export of our oil—lifeline of Israel—to this usurper. In case of the establishment of the Islamic Republic, we will invite the Iranian Jews, who have migrated to Palestine, who live under very undesirable discriminative conditions and are exploited by the European and American Jews, to come back to their motherland, conduct a free and respectable life, and remain safe from the transgressions which the oppressive governments used to commit against them.

I thank the Muslim and ShiAh people of South Lebanon—who are struggling in the way of the independence and liberation of their country as well as in defense of the oppressed Palestinian people—for the expression of their solidarity with the oppressed Iranian Muslim nation during the *TasuA*¹ demonstrations. I hope that they will decisively continue their struggle against Israel, the enemy of Islam and the Muslims, and shoulder-to-shoulder with the genuine, Islamic movement of their Muslim brothers in Iran and Palestine, throw out the usurpers and colonialists from their country and put an end to the destruction, murder and plunder.

I beseech the Almighty God to safeguard the glory of Islam and the Muslims and hope that the hands of the aliens are cut off. I send my greetings to you, the soldier of Islam. I wish you the best of success and acknowledgment.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *TasuA*: the ninth day of the month of Muharram, which, along with the following day, *Ashura* [the tenth day], is day of mourning for the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (A) and his companions in Karbala in 61 AH.

Message

Time: November 22, 1978 [Azar 1, 1357AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 21, 1398AH]

Place: Neauple-le-Château, Paris

Subject: Incumbency upon the classes of society

Addressees: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 21, 1398 AH

With the appearance of the new moon, Muharram, the month of heroism, bravery, and sacrifice has commenced. It is a month wherein the blood conquered the sword; it is a month in which the power of truth rescinded the wrong forever and stamped the forehead of tyrants and the satanic governments with its stigma. It is a month which has taught the generations throughout history the path of victory over the lances; a month that witnessed the downfall of big powers against the word of truth. Indeed, it is a month in which the Imam of the Muslims has taught us the way of campaigning against the oppressed in history—a way wherein the closed fists of freedom-wishers, independence-seekers, and the truth-tellers should overcome the tanks, machine-guns, and the array of Iblis [Satan]. Falsehood should vanish before the word of truth. The Imam of the Muslims has taught us to rise against a tyrant, in any age, who rules ruthlessly over Muslims—even though your strength happened to be inconsistent, you should display your disdain and denial. If you see the prestige of Islam in peril, do make sacrifices and ever forges your blood.

Today the regime of Shah is ruling tyrannically over the oppressed nation against the Islamic law and the nation's will—in the face of an uprising against him all over Iran. He has occupied the governmental position, violating the high interests of Muslims and the commandments of Islam to the benefit of his own devilish authority and that of his parasitical masters. It is incumbent upon the whole up-risen nation to broaden and continue their opposition with the Shah and to pull him down from his peril-inducing office.

The military government is an insurgent government which is constitutionally and religiously illegal, and it is incumbent on all of the people to oppose it and avoid assisting it. They are also to refuse to pay taxes

and to do anything that will help this oppressive and treacherous regime. The employees and workers of the oil company are to prevent this vital wealth from leaving. Are the employers and workers aware that the guns which tear open the chests of our beloved youth and cause our men, women and children to bleed and suffer are funded by this very oil which is extracted by these extreme efforts? Do they know that a significant portion of Israel's oil-Israel the great enemy of Islam and usurper of the rights of the Muslims - is provided by the Shah? If the insurgent regime by applying pressure to the oil workers intends to continue this treason, then may be the position of oil needs to be clarified once and for all.

Those who are well informed of the situation of the country are to prepare a list of the ministers of the rebellious government and traitors of the country and those holding posts around the country who are committing crimes and murders so that in due course the country's position as relates to them can be made clear. The government and those in high positions must know that if they do not discontinue their support of the Shah- the criminal and traitor to Islam and the Islamic country- in the near future they will reap the fruits of what they have sown.

Now that it is the month of Muharram, the month which is like a divine sword in the hands of the Muslim soldiers, esteemed clergy, respected orators and dignified ShiAh of the Doyen of the Martyrs (A), it must be made full use of; and by depending on divine power, they must sever the remaining roots of this oppressive and treacherous tree, because the month of Muharram is the month of destruction of Yazidi forces and satanic deceit. Meetings in commemoration of the Master of the Oppressed and header of the tree are meetings commemorating the victory of knowledge over ignorance, justice over oppression, honesty over treason and Islamic government over a satanic regime and should be undertaken in a more compact fashion and with great splendor. The bloody flag of *Ashura* should be flown high as a sign of the coming of a day of revenge for the oppressed over the oppressors.

The esteemed preachers and dear orators should act accordingly with their divine duty, which is to reveal the regime's crimes, and so maintain their dignity in the eyes of God Almighty and the Master of the Time—may God Almighty expedite his advent. Seminarians and seminary teachers, who leave for villages for enlightening the people, must inform the deprived and esteemed farmers of the misdeeds performed by the Shah and the massacre of the people, and notify them that contrary to the wicked propaganda spread by the Shah's entourage, the Islamic government is not a supporter for the

entrepreneurs and proprietors; these empty talks are just meant to bend the truth. They may be assured that Islam is a supporter of the poor, the farmers and the penniless. Shah is the one who has ruined the resources of the poor nation in support for the capitalists. You, make them assured that in the government of the just, they will be best supported.

Dear young men in seminaries, universities, schools, training colleges, the esteemed journalists, factory workers, deprived farmers, combatant and informed tradesmen and bazaar shop-owners, venerable employees, and all among other strata of people, such as valiant tribes, nomads, and the deprived slum-dwellers, everybody! With unison and support for one another, toward the sacred goal of Islam that is, bringing down the despotic Pahlavi dynasty, destroying the corrupt monarchy, and establishing an Islamic republic based on the highly developed laws of Islam! Victory belongs to the up-risen nation.

No need to mention that holding sessions of religious mourning must be performed independently and without taking permissions from the police or the evil-doing so-called Security Organization. You beloved nation, hold the gatherings without referring to the officials, and in case of any prevention, assemble in the plazas and streets, and reveal Muslim catastrophes, and the Shah's regime's treasons.

Today the Iranian history is witnessing some of the most crucial days suffered by Islam and Muslims. Today you, the great nation, are at the junction where you have to decide between everlasting dignity and pride, and perpetual disgrace and humiliation. No one from among the strata of the nation is excused today, and reticence and aloofness is nothing less than suicide and being an accomplice of the ruling regime. Today, it is a betrayal of Islam and Nation and support for their opponents, to go astray from the unmistakable course of the Nation and Islam. The betrayers, who suppose that by their silence or possibly their proclivity for the Shah's *taghuti*¹ system they can bring the movement to a halt or save the Shah, are definitely mistaken. First of all is that it is high time things are set, and Shah is destined to get away and it is not possible to save him through this kind of self-prostitution; and the next is that if he was salvaged, he would not be faithful to those who had saved him, as you and we both have witnessed.

Heartily and devotedly, I join hands with the highly esteemed nation of Iran who has dealt the Shah and his supporters a mighty blow on the mouth. Getting martyred for the sake of Truth and divine goals is an eternal pride, in

¹ That of *taghut*.

my opinion. I congratulate the parents of the youth who have proffered their blood in the way of Islam and liberty. I covet the beloved and valiant young people who have sacrificed their lives for the Divine Friend. The grand Iranian Revolution is echoing in Islamic and other countries, gaining us much pride. You noble nation have alerted the valiant youth of Islamic states. Let's hope that the glorious flag of the Islamic state will be erected in all corners of the world by your powerful hands. This is what I implore God Almighty for. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: November 23, 1978 [Azar 2, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 22, 1398 AH]

Place: Paris, Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The Iranian Revolution, the superpowers and the Zionist regime

Interviewer: A reporter of the Lebanese newspaper *as-Safir*

Question: [Washington considers the Iranian revolution an anti-modernization movement and hence it is opposing it. What is your stance on the US activities against the revolution?]

Answer: The United States had once again imposed the Shah through a military coup and in the name of modernization of the country created the American-led Shah's revolution whose result as we witnessed was in the interest of the United States and the destruction of Iran. Iran's agriculture was annihilated and Iran was turned into a market for the consumption of American foodstuff. The underground reserves from oil to copper and other resources were, and are, all plundered to the advantage of the United States and in lieu of them such weapons were given to our country that are not useful for us. Another impediment of the coup was the imposition of more than forty thousand American military advisors on our country. Besides gigantic expenditures, they have undermined the dignity of our army, have vested the destiny of the entire country in their hands and through this very Shah, Iran has become a military base for the United States and with the wealth of the very Iranian nation has turned the Shah into a gendarme of the region and the Persian Gulf. These are but some parts of the atrocities committed by the Shah against our nation. Therefore, why should not Washington launch its activities against our nation?

Q: [Do you think that the US intervention is unlikely?]

A: The present situation is not short of direct intervention.

Q: [There is an animosity against the revolution in international atmosphere. How will the revolution cope with this atmosphere? Will you try to gain the assistance of progressive and Islamic forces?]

A: The enemies of the Islamic Revolution are not limited to the imperialists, but the international developments are in the interest of the movement and gradually this revolution will attract its sympathizers and will pave the way for progress.

Q: [What is the stance of the Soviet Union as a government?]

A: Thus far the Soviet Union has treated [the movement] very badly. After all, the Soviet Union is devouring Iran's gas too. Do they have anybody better than the Shah? We will stand on our feet and will definitely conquer.

Q: [What is the stance of the retrogressive forces, at the head of them the Saudis, against the revolution?]

A: Obviously, the sacred Islamic movement, which has endangered the Shah and is going to eliminate him, is also posing a threat to the reactionary regimes in other Islamic countries. Hence it is natural for them to support the Shah.

Q: [Do you expect that some problems will be created for the Islamic Revolution of Iran in the Islamic and Arab world?]

A: The enemies of Islam will not spare any effort to destroy this movement, but by the assistance of the Almighty God, the sacred Islamic movement will quickly pave the way and go ahead.

Q: [What kind of foreign alignments will the Revolution try to create?]

A: We will never live behind closed doors, but will not keep these doors open to the colonialists as Shah has already done. Our foreign relations will be based on the preservation of our freedom, independence, and protection of the interests and exigencies of Islam and the Muslims; and on the basis of this maxim we will treat any willing country on the basis of mutual respect.

Q: [You have had several messages for the army, but it has thus far maintained its unity. Is it correct?]

A: According to the information we have received, there are some developments in the army, which is the sign of their awakening. We are certain, sooner or later they will give a brotherly response to the people's call.

Q: [Do you think that the Shah will resort to the issue of minorities and ethnic groups in Iran in order to scatter the Iranian masses?]

A: First of all more than ninety percent of the Iranian people are Muslims and the minorities cannot create any problem in the face of their solidarity. Secondly, who has escaped the Shah's oppression to respond to his call today, whether be a Muslim or non-Muslim?

Q: [There are some Western rumors that the Iranian revolution relies on Imam's spiritual power, that is, it depends on an individual. Is it correct?]

A: If the Iranian movement had relied on an individual or a group in the past, today it sprouts from among the people and stems from their primordial nature. Hence, we believe that in the absence of a particular person, this movement will not die away.

Q: [There are some misconceptions in people's minds about the plans of the revolution as an Islamic revolution. What are the intellectual, economic and international approaches of the Islamic Revolution?]

A: The Islamic Revolution is based on the principle of monotheism whose essence spread its umbrella over all aspects of the society. In Islam the only deity for man, rather for the entire universe, is Allah and all human beings must act for Him, that is, for His pleasure, and not worship anybody or any object. In a society, where the worship of man, worship of a personality, utilitarianism, hedonism, and any other kind of worship are all condemned and human beings are called upon to only worship God, the relations among human beings, either economic or non-economic, inside such a society or its relations with other countries, will undergo a change, the criteria will also change, and all the privileges will be abrogated. Virtue and purity will be the only criterion of superiority. The ruler is equal to the lowest individual of the society. Divine, humane criteria and measures will be the basis for the conventions or severance of relations.

Q: [Is the slogan of armed confrontation with the Shah a real and practical slogan?]

A: In order to achieve our Islamic demands, nothing is impossible for us.

Q: [Is there any new information about Imam Musa Sadr?¹]

A: Some measures have been taken; we hope that they will yield fruit so that he, who is liked by me and the ShiAh, rather all the Muslims, of Lebanon,

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 has been acting chairman.

will be able to go back to his homeland as soon as possible and resume his work.

Q: [What are the impacts of the Camp David Accord and Sadat's treason on the Islamic Revolution?]

A: The Camp David Accord, or any other measure that strengthens the situation of Israel, is basically not only to the detriment of the Palestinians and Arabs, but also to the detriment of all regional countries and will consequently strengthen the reactionary forces of the region.

Q: [Do you have any message for the Arab people?]

A: My message for the Arab and Muslim brothers is: let us put the differences aside and shake hands of brotherhood and shoulder-to-shoulder and unanimously with other non-Arab Muslim brothers accept Islam as the only support. Having the immeasurable material resources and more important than them, the divine, intellectual resources, that is, Islam, you can be a force that the superpowers will never think to dominate and will not attack you from the left and right flanks, plundering everything of yours.

Q: [What is your opinion about the fate of Quds?¹]

A: Quds belongs to the Muslims and must be returned to them.

¹ Quds: the Arabic word for Jerusalem and it means 'the holy'. Jerusalem is revered as the third holiest city in Islam, after Mecca and Medina.

Speech

Date: November 23, 1978 [Azar 2, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 22, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The Shah's perfidy in declaring repentance

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*

A comparison of the Shah with the Pharaoh

The talks were revolving around this first principle which the Iranian nation had demanded. The Iranian nation is making a few demands the first of which is for this man (the Shah) to bow out, for this dynasty to step down from power. They (the advocates of the regime) have resorted to many excuses which I have mentioned before. Among these excuses, one is similar to that resorted to by Pharaoh. After the chastisement descended upon him and he realized that he was drowning, Pharaoh said that he now believed in that which the Children of Israel had found faith in: “*I believe in Him in whom the Children of Israel believe.*” In response it was said to him: “*Ah now!—But a little while before, wast thou in rebellion!—And thou didst mischief (and violence)!*”¹ Now, he (the Shah) too, after twenty-odd years, twenty-seven years during which he committed so many betrayals and crimes, now that the punishment has come—a punishment which is manifested in the clenched fists and cries of the Iranian people, he is repenting. I've already mentioned that what had happened was a divine issue and not a human one. The Iranian people have stood against all the power that the regime and its supporters have and against all other powers. With bare hands, the people have clenched their fists and have been heedless of the military government and the support rendered to the regime by the US and the USSR. All the people everywhere around the country are crying out: “We do not want him. Death to this Shah! Death to this dynasty!” He stands before the nation and repents now that he sees himself drowning, now that waves of protest have risen in Iran, a wave of rejection for his rule, a wave negating the monarchy of Muhammad Rida Khan and his dynasty. Now, he is saying: “So far, what I've committed have been mistakes, but from now on these mistakes will not happen again.” He is now appealing to the grand

¹ Surah Yunus 10:90-91.

Ayatullahs and great Muslim scholars: "I've repented now! Come and save me!" The gist of his plea is: "Save me, save the country!" But his ulterior motive is to save himself alone. He has employed this trick before the nation (in the past), before people of different walks of life, the youth and others, always concluding his speech with: "Let's think of what we can do for the country. It is good if we think of our country."

This situation reminds one of the Pharaoh's stories, though with one difference: After Pharaoh realized that he was drowning, he said: "*I believe in the God in whom the Children of Israel believe.*"¹ But it was said to him: "No, everything's over. You have committed sins and rebelled. You have enslaved the Children of Israel and sowed seeds of oppression; you have transgressed. And now that you see the punishment has come and that you will be drowned, you are confessing your sins? Now that the (divine) chastisement is revealed before your eyes you are saying you have repented?" This repentance is like the repentance of one who dies and sees the punishment of hell and then repents. This cannot be called repentance. It is not the principle of repentance at all.

The Shah, too, after seeing the revealed punishment and what God has decreed through the nation's hand, and after seeing the nation's rejection of him and its resistance to machine-guns with fists, now that he realizes he is drowning and sees the punishment revealed before his eyes, now he admits he has committed mistakes and swears that he will not make mistakes from now on.

Deceitfulness of the Shah

But the difference between his repentance and that of Pharaoh's is that he (the Shah) declares his repentance, on the one hand, and installs a military government, on the other. He has resorted to both. At least, Pharaoh did not do the same thing again, he said he had repented and he did not wield a club in his hand while pronouncing his repentance. The wolf's (the Shah's) repentance is worse because when the wolf said he had repented, he sought the assistance of the great Islamic scholars and grand Ayatullahs and other classes of the nation, but at the same time he appointed someone to kill the people.

¹ "*I believe that there is no god except Him whom the Children of Israel believe in; I am of those who submit (to God in Islam).*" Surah Yunus 10:90.

Shah's order for killing

All these massacres are perpetrated upon his orders. Do not ever believe in those who say that these atrocities are committed by agents, or the prime minister, or the security organization. They are all his lackeys. All of these crimes are committed to save the Shah who is, at times, aware (of such atrocities) and at other times unaware. No one moves a finger in murdering, countering the people and shooting them unless he has orders from him. He himself directly orders (these massacres). There are also people who say they have witnessed that one of those who opened fire on the people on Black Friday was the Shah himself who did it from a helicopter. I, myself, cannot confirm it, but some of his own men who had gone to England quoted the Shah as saying that he himself had been the actual performer, not the commander (of this massacre). But what is certain is the fact that none of these incidents happened without his approval. That is, if there have been massacres—and you have to attach the term “massacre” to them—in Tabriz, Isfahan, Shiraz, whatever city you name, they all took place upon his command.

Shah guarded by hooligans

Throughout history one can never find something similar to what has happened and is happening in Iran and such savagery being perpetrated by a ruler like the Shah. Never has it happened throughout history that people are killed daily in various parts of an Islamic country through different means: at times by the armed forces, and at others by armed *kolis*, as they themselves say; and on other occasions by unleashing a killer bandit who was one of the tribal chieftains.¹ It is said that the Shah has let him loose and laid great sums of money at his disposal to gather forces and attack the people. Never has it happened in history that one, who claims to be the king and who would shout out eulogies in his own praise just the day before yesterday employing all the newspapers, radio, everything and everyone to glorify him, would now resort to *kolis* to save himself, seeking shelter under their clubs to save him from the revolting people and hiring (these bandits) to deliver him from the rage of

¹ This person was Salar Jaf, Kermanshah's Paveh representative who held multiple citizenships from different countries. His last citizenship was Iraqi. After Abd al-Karim Qasim's coup d'état of 1958-59, he, along with his family, took refuge in Iran and was able, with his brothers, to gain important positions in Iran. Salar Jaf hired 2,500 mercenaries to suppress the Paveh people, attack the people with guns and machine-guns, and after he had killed a number of them, he returned to Tehran in a helicopter provided by the regime. He was executed in the early days of the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

the nation. But they cannot save him and the nation does not take heed of such moves anymore.

Difference between Shah's and Pharaoh's repentance

The difference between him and Pharaoh is that when the latter said he had repented, he ceased drawing his sword on the people. But this man (the Shah) calls upon the *ulama* and people, announcing: "I've made mistakes. Now, I put them behind me and repent." Yet, even as he says this, he still resorts to these ploys and imposes the military government in spite of all principles and laws. He has also unleashed the armed forces as well as some tribes upon the people. Of course, the tribes do not listen so much to these men. Some tribesmen have already called on the *ulama* announcing their agreement (with the Islamic cause).

Have you (the Shah) come to repent while you are still inebriated! And with this kind of repentance!! After twenty-odd years of treason and betrayal of the nation of Islam, leaving your past treacheries un-atoned for and your crimes uncompensated, you have now come before the *ulama* saying you've repented! This is worse than Pharaoh's repentance! You should pay for these crimes. If you could compensate for all the crimes you have committed over these twenty-odd years, if you could return to the national coffers the money you have poured into the US's pocket, if you could tear down the bases you have established in our country for American interests, if you could bring back to life all those you have murdered, then you could say you have really repented. But with all the crimes you have committed, with all of them recorded in history—and we have all seen what you have done so far and what you are doing to the nation—your repentance is not accepted. It is said that that wretched man¹ has said on the radio and TV that he would kill everybody! It has been relayed that he has said such words. Well, yes, these are the kinds of men the regime's advocates are. But God willing, they will not succeed (Audience responds with "God willing").

The irreparable crimes of Shah

Once, a certain person (the Shah) abused the *ulama* calling them impure beasts that people should avoid. He spoke of the *ulama* this way: "Keep away from them as you would avoid impure animals."² Also, one day,

¹ Gen. Ghulam-Rida Azhari.

² On May 27, 1963 [Khordad 6, 1342 AHS], the Shah, in a speech delivered in Kerman, most unashamedly stated: ". . . But you must beware if certain persons approach you using such language with the intention of poisoning your minds in this way. Keep away from them and indeed do not allow them to get close to you, just as you would not allow an impure animal to do so. . ." In a speech particularly notable for its fearless words of reproach delivered at the Faydiyyah Madrasah in Qum on the afternoon of *Ashura*, June 3, 1963 [Khordad 13, 1342 AHS], Imam in reply to the Shah's comments, said: "I hope to God that you did not have in mind the *ulama* when you said "the black reactionaries are like an impure animal which the nation should shun," because if you did, it would be difficult for us to tolerate you much longer, and you would find yourself in a predicament. You won't be able to go on living; the nation will not allow you to continue this way. Heed our advice and desist from such deeds!"

he said that they (the clergy) were like worms wriggling in filth;¹ and on another day, he would come, stand and address them (by titles such as) grand Ayatullah, *marja*² so and so, or the great *ulama* while holding a baton in his other hand! Who will ever believe his words?! Well, if he wants to repent before the nation and its *ulama*, he should at least make a repentance that appears acceptable. Is he so ignorant as to believe the people will accept his repentance just like that? It will not be acceptable even to a child! Well, now that he wants to repent, he should say it and then step down. You (the Shah) can assume that you can save your body. “*This day shall We save thee in thy body...*”³ But you cannot save your own self. You can no longer save yourself. If you claim to have repented and you are truly repentant, then draw your sword no longer! While you are saying you are repentant, lift the martial law. Dissolve the military government, do not let it continue. Tell the people to appoint someone to form the government so that they would believe you have repented. But even then, it will still be unacceptable.

The repentance of him who did all sorts of ignominy and then repents at the end of his life will not be accepted! What logic is there in this? Repentance depends on certain conditions. God does not accept just anybody’s repentance, especially that of someone who had oppressed the people for twenty years or so, after which he told the people that he had repented and had pardoned political prisoners—the political prisoner who

¹ It refers to the shameless statements made by the Shah on March 14, 1963 [Esfand 23, 1341 AHS] at Dezful air base in which he spoke of those clergymen opposed to his American-inspired plans in an impudent manner. On this day he said: “Our great national revolution is going ahead at full speed, but once again we see or hear that some people like frozen snakes have come alive once more and because they wallow in their own slime it is as if these poor things think that it is time to crawl around in the filth once more. If these vile creatures, along with their reactionary sympathizers, do not wake up from the sleep of ignorance then in whatever attire they may appear the fist of justice will strike them over their heads like a bolt of lightning and may bring their shameful and dirty life to an end!” Taken from a book of the Shah’s speeches, vol. 4.

² *Marja at-taqlid*: a scholar of proven learning and piety whose authoritative rulings one follows in matters of religious practice.

³ *Surah Yunus* 10:92.

had spent ten years of his life behind bars, who went into prison while he was still young and now comes out an ageing man; whose beard was then black and now it's grey when he comes out; whose body was then healthy and fit when he entered and now he comes out of the dark dungeons an ailing man after spending his life behind bars for ten years, fifteen years, some more and others less. I know one of these young men, he is now here, and I have known him from the past. I had previously spent time with him. At the time (before his imprisonment), when he would hold my hand, it would be buried in his. He was so strong; I could feel his strength whenever he would hold my hand in his. But now, when we shake hands, (I feel that) he has become an infirm man.

You (the Shah) have imprisoned people for ten years, some for fifteen years; you have made the young old, you have sickened the healthy—shouldn't these acts be compensated for? Now, you are saying you are pardoning them? The hell you are! What right did you have to take (their freedom) away in the first place that you are now pardoning them? Pardon is for someone who has committed a crime. What crime have they committed that you have imprisoned them? You have wasted fifteen years of their lives! Now, you claim that you are pardoning them? You have pardoned them? What the hell do you think you are doing! What sense is there to your pardoning them? Why did you imprison them in the first place? Now, you want to pardon them? You made a wrong move from the very beginning. Their arrest was not right that they should be pardoned now. They were not guilty to be pardoned by you. What was their crime? Their only crime has been to utter a word (against you) when they felt you had become dangerous (for the country). It has been relayed that some of these men who suffered several years of imprisonment were charged with the crime of having attended to the needs of the families of those imprisoned by you and not letting them fall into hardships. The crime of some of these prisoners—whom you call political criminals—has been their protest at your cruelty and your all-pervasive despotism, and their questioning you as to why you have enslaved the people like this. Regarding your betrayals, they ask you why you have given all that we have to America. Those who raise such questions say: "Give us freedom, we want independence, we want our country to belong to us. We do not want our country to be owned by foreigners. We want to be free. We want a free press; we want our radio and media to be free." Is asking for such things a crime that you arrested them, imprisoned them and prevented them from leading a life of freedom? Now, that you have

destroyed their youth, destroyed their health, you release them and call it “pardoning”?

Worthlessness of Shah’s repentance

It is useless even if you repent. Repentance has certain criteria. Does God, the Almighty accept one’s repentance just like that? God will not accept repentance before the rights of the people (which you have taken away) are returned to them. Do you have the power to give the people back their rights?! Do you have the power to give that person back his ten years of youth which had been wasted in prison? Do you have that power so that you can repent now? What sense is there to your repentance? You cannot repent. Your repentance does not merit acceptance by God, the Blessed and Supreme. Yours is a repentance concerning the rights of the people. God does not forgive men for trampling upon the rights of the people. You cannot ever compensate for even one of the things you have done to those you have tortured, whose feet you have sawed off, burned, and dipped in boiling oil; those whom you have tortured with an electric current as they lay on metal sheets and whom you have broiled alive. If you can atone for even one of these, then you may say that you have been wrong and may ask the people’s forgiveness.

But will you not commit the same mistakes? Are you now honest in your claim? Assuming that we forget the past, are you sincere? Are you telling the truth? Are you not going to commit the same mistakes? Or, is it merely words and empty talk? *“Ah now—But a little while before, wast thou in rebellion!—and thou didst mischief (and violence)!”*¹ You are of the corrupters! You are corrupt; you are a vitiated creature; you are a vicious man; you have embroiled a whole country in a mess; you have destroyed a nation. These crimes are no jest. You have squandered all the potentials of this country. You have wasted its youth who are one of the country’s resources. You have laid all these to waste. And now, you come forth and say that you have made a mistake?

The logic of some people sometimes amazes me and their statements sound a bit bizarre. A man whom I don’t know composed a seven- or eight-page letter; first he introduced himself saying that he was the son of so and so and at the end, he wrote: “We will not be able to find a Shah better than this one [Laughter from the audience]! How can a human being write such statements? He asked us to: “Come and join this gentleman in one unified

¹ Surah Yunus 10:91.

cry; where can we ever find anyone better than him (the Shah)!” How dim-witted can a person be to utter such words!

To reign, not to rule!

Anyway, this repentance is one of the gimmicks they have now resorted to, but is not accepted, either. The nation will no longer fall for such words. How can that old woman and old man, how can that mother and father who used to dine with their four or five children around a table spread, and who have now lost their youth—one night all six of them were dining together and the next time, they were but two sitting down for a meal—how can they accept your repentance and apology? Will mere apology suffice? You simply come forth, apologize and then, we, the clergy, the laity, the intellectuals as well as the non-intellectuals too come and declare: “Well, let him reign but not rule; let him stay and reign as the king! Will everything be all right then? Is that all? What answer can we give to that old woman (who has lost her son)? What can we say to that father who was here a few days ago and whose sons have been killed? What can we tell them? They will accuse us of compromising with this man (the Shah) who has killed their youth and thrown away their lives. Why should he be allowed to reign, sit on top and give audience on this or that feast during which some will come and greet him and eulogize him for having made such and such great achievement, for having protected everything, for being a supporter of Islam and for being the “Shadow of God on earth,” and so on and so forth? What balderdash is this?! This is nothing but a betrayal of a nation, of a country and of Islam! (You are) a person who changed the Islamic calendar (to the imperial calendar) and showed no shame; the way you have vilified the prophet of Islam is not a petty and trivial matter! And then you immediately deny it and say: “I’ve been wrong; I have repented!” Will these words serve any purpose?

Rising for the sake of God

Praise be to God, the people have now made a determined stand. We hope that this steadfastness will not waver; and the important thing is to direct our attention toward God. All of you, all of us, all the nation should dedicate themselves to God, the Blessed and the Most High. Our uprising should be divine, with no deviation.

*“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 willing this movement will be a godly one

¹ *Surah as-Saba* 34:46.

with no deviation, for, God forbid, deviation will bring defeat. If it is divine, then it will be victorious, God willing. All of you must take note of the fact that the goal is a divine goal. Rise up for the sake of God and the deliverance of a people who are the slaves of God and you can rest assured that you will succeed in that situation.

Responding to the malicious propaganda

You who are residing abroad are duty bound, we are all duty bound, it is incumbent upon you to extend a helping hand to Iran in any capacity. Anyone who can, should propagate the cause so that the people here will understand what the Iranian nation wants and what they are crying out for and so that they will not heed the words of some journalists whose palms have been greased: shall I say, some of those propagandists who campaign against the revolution. The nation of Iran is shouting it wants freedom; it is shouting it wants independence. It is screaming for freedom and that wicked creature is saying he has granted freedom! And that it is because he has granted freedom that the people have now raised their voices in protest! One nation has risen up; all have risen up, not just one single person but everybody, even within the military, the same thing holds true. Rest assured that on the day this man goes away, the heart of the military will beat with the nation;¹ it can't be otherwise; they always send us messages.

We implore God, the Blessed and the Exalted, to grant this nation victory, so we can serve this society. We are all duty bound to perform our

¹ Despite the fact that the Shah was absolutely reliant upon the country's armed forces and the horrifying shadow of SAVAK and the army's Department Two, which dominated all aspects of the military during the years of persecution, the main body of the armed forces comprising of the deprived class of Iran have never really submitted themselves deep within their hearts to the supremacy of American military experts, top-ranking commanders and the treasonous policies of the regime. Regarding this matter, Imam Khomeini has always alluded to the soldiers and low-ranking personnel of the military on a plane different and separate from the sold-out military commanders in his messages during the course of the movement; and as we have witnessed ourselves, Imam's messages conduced success. The soldiers' desertion of their barracks and the glorious parade of Air Force officers before Imam Khomeini on February 16, 1979 [Bahman 19, 1357 AHS] and the union of a great part of the military with the people on February 18 and 19, 1979 [Bahman 21-22, 1357 AHS] are some of the remarkable constructive results of Imam's efforts.

The massacres carried out by the Shah's regime in 1977 [1356 AHS] and 1978 [1357 AHS] had aggravated the already critical situation during those days such that if it had not been for Imam Khomeini's authoritative policies, the widespread bloody confrontations between the military forces and the people in the last days of the regime could have engendered chaos that could have been followed by unimaginable consequences given the military prowess of the regime and the fury and resentment of the oppressed people of Iran.

duties before the Blessed and Exalted God and the Muslim nation and utilize the power we possess in the path of God, the Blessed and Exalted, to rescue the servants of God Almighty, the Gracious, and emancipate the oppressed. I implore God, the Blessed, the Exalted, to grant all of you success.

Message

Date: November 24, 1978 [Azar 3, 1357 AHS / 23 Dhul-Hijjah 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Occasion: Attack of the regime's agents on the holy shrine of Imam Rida (A)

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The crimes of the Shah's corrupt regime are intensifying by the day. The growth of the amount of crimes is such that words are unable to express them. The tragedies of the last few weeks have made the entire nation mournful and have deprived the Shah of any thoughtfulness. The unlawful martial regime, at the behest of the Shah, has set everything on fire, while one of the greatest blows of this criminal is the attacks on the holy shrine of Hadrat Ali ibn Musa ar-Rida (A). This holy shrine was attacked during the rule of Rida Khan, causing the massacre in the Gawhar Shad Mosque. The same crime was repeated during Muhammad Rida Khan and the mercenaries of Shah attacked the yard and sanctuary of His Holiness' shrine, massacring the people. The Iranian Muslim nation must express their deliverance from this illegitimate Shah and his rogue government, opposition to which is necessary. All the strata of the nation, particularly the inhabitants of the cities and villages, must bear in mind that the illegitimate Shah and his rogue government have decided to wipe out the sanctities of Islam and if they find an opportunity, they will wipe out the *shariAh*. It is necessary for all the strata of the society to expedite, through any possible means, the collapse of this tyrannical system. Obedience to this system is equal to obedience to the satanic governments and is unlawful. May God safeguard the Muslims from their viciousness. On the occasion of this catastrophic mourning and disrespect to the position of the Imam of the *ummah*, public mourning is announced on Sunday the 26th of November. *We are from God and to Him shall we return.*

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 23, 1398 AH

Speech

Date: November 24, 1978 [Azar 3, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 23, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: A general uprising for freedom, independence and stability of Iran

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*

Answering Carter's insults

In connection with the Shah's departure, which is one of the nation's demands, one of the things which have been said is that the Shah should not leave because if he does, Iran's and the region's stability would be shaken and would crumble. As it has been reported, Carter, in his last statement, has said that a powerful and independent Iran would contribute to and create stability. He further said that they could not bear to see a bunch of riffraff overthrow the Shah who was such and such a person.¹ Now, let us analyze these two issues that he (Carter) has brought up: firstly to see if Iran's, or the region's, stability will crumble with the Shah's departure and then we will scrutinize his (Carter's) statement saying that the people who do not want the Shah are a bunch of riffraff, a bunch of abject and ignoble people, and that he cannot bear to see this riffraff overthrow the Shah!

Carter's sympathy!

The real issue is not what he (Carter) thinks it is. He himself knows that it is not the case. But regarding Iran's stability, what point is he driving at by saying that it has to be stable and that his heart bleeds for Iran, that Iran or the region, which includes the Persian Gulf and its states, should have stability, and that he sees the absence of stability in Iran as the absence of stability in the region and that it is something he can never tolerate or bear to see? How come he has suddenly shown compassion for humanity? Is it really his philanthropic sentiment or his concern for human rights which has

¹ In an interview on November 13, 1978 [Aban 22, 1357 AHS], Carter described anti-Shah elements as a bunch of riffraff and said: "A powerful and independent Iran is a major factor in regional stability. We don't want to see this stability become a plaything in the hands of criminals and the government be toppled, a situation that may be followed by unforeseen consequences."

compelled Mr. Carter into believing that if the Shah left, Iran's and the region's stability would crumble? Does this sense emanate from his desire to protect human rights and the sorrow he feels for the Iranians who, God forbid, would be inconvenienced if an upheaval were to take place?! With this upheaval, the people's possessions may run to waste; the people's lives may be destroyed, is this why he is concerned? Is it because he is such a humanitarian and has his undivided attention glued on human rights that he cannot watch (the Shah's deposition)?! Perhaps, he is now sleepless at nights because Iranians are afflicted with such adversities! Is it indeed this way?! Or, is the real issue something else?

Well, if it were really his humanitarian feeling and love for human rights that drove him to make such statements, then how come he has kept mum during all the massacres which have taken place in Iran during this entire year, during all the killings since June 5 [Khordad 15, 1341 AHS] up until now which he, or any sane individual, knows, have been perpetrated on the command of the Shah who is the fountainhead of all other orders, and that no top official is empowered to order a massacre and that such a thing can never occur unless the Shah orders it? How can we make sense out of these two (contradictory statements)? His love for humanity has caused him to be so apprehensive about regional stability being shaken, whereas this very same humanity, some thirty to thirty-five million of them, are now having their youth dragged into bloodshed, and their schools, universities and places of worship are now scenes of bloody confrontations! How can we make sense out of these two statements?! His heart bleeds for humanity, for the Iranians, lest Iran's stability be disturbed which will lead to chaos and turmoil, and to the people's property being destroyed and people's lives being wasted. In spite of the fact that this person (the Shah) has wasted the people's lives so wantonly and plundered the nation's wealth and allowed it to be plundered, he (Carter) now defends him and cannot bear to see him go! How can we make sense out of these two utterances?! Unless the real issue is something else and he himself knows that it is not the real issue.

Stability of Iran or stability of interests?

He is roused to an absolute frenzy fearing the loss of stability in Iran and the region, because if stability crumbles, then the region will not give him (Carter) any more oil! They fear lest their shipping lines used for taking oil and other interests be severed! That is the issue!! Why don't you (Carter) make yourself clear? Express yourself clearly like a decent human being. Say that you are afraid to lose your interests in Iran, just as the British Foreign

Minister said. He stated that he (the Shah) is closely linked to them, that they (UK) had interests there and that he was the protector of the interests they had in Iran and so they were backing him up. You, too, should make yourself clear and state that you are scooping up benefits from Iran: one, you want to loot its oil; you want to have military bases in Iran which will serve as trenches in case a general war breaks out; you want to take the rest of Iran's oil reserves and it is the Shah who can guarantee you these gains, so you are supporting him. Well, this is the truth of the matter and how very right indeed! That is, if he had told the truth, this is what he could have said. But, he digressed from the real issue. On the one hand, he contends that regional stability must be safeguarded and, on the other, he denies any intervention in the country's internal affairs.¹ And that everybody knows that he, America, never, ever intervenes in Iranian affairs!! He is like an alien creature dwelling on the other side of the mountain and does not have any business with Iran at all!! He makes these asseverations. The Soviets are also making such claims, but who will believe their rhetoric?

Independent and powerful Iran

His assertions that a powerful and independent Iran means guarding its stability are correct. A powerful and independent Iran will engender stability, that is, if Iran were independent, were not controlled by outsiders and did not have its affairs interfered in by others, and if it were powerful enough with its system free from the clutches of another system, stability would be created. Iran is after such an order. The Iranians want Iran to be stable and not shaky, with no one meddling in its affairs every day, with its affairs not being carried out by their flunkies who should not interfere in the country's laws. Iran wants, the Iranian people, the great nation of Iran wants its country to be independent and powerful. At present, Iran is neither powerful nor independent. It has no power of its own because it is being run by other powers. There are 45,000 or 60,000, or even 80,000 according to one report, Americans, mostly advisers, running our system. Therefore, the powerful of

¹ Besides the US President, the heads of European governments rose in support of the Shah making similar supportive statements. On November 21, 1978 [Aban 30, 1357 AHS], *Agence France Presse* dispatched this report: "Today, French President, Giscard d'Estaing announced in a press interview that Ayatullah Khomeini had been granted residence in France as an alien subject and not as a political refugee. "We reminded him that France is not a country from which he could incite people to violence," he was quoted as saying. He further added: "France cannot interfere in Iran's internal affairs. We approve of the Shah's policy and hope that Iran will soon regain stability, peace and order." *Taqwim-e Tarikh-e Inqilab-e Islami-ye Iran* (A Historical Calendar of the Islamic Revolution of Iran), p. 189.

today have the power; these powers hold the authority in Iran and not the Shah.

We want an Iran that is independent, an Iran that is powerful. Now, Iran is not powerful because its system, which is the fulcrum of power, is tied up to other governments and their systems. They do whatever they want and in this manner they despoil Iran. Iran is now a country held captive by these powers. They have bases here which are located in the mountains of Kurdistan and at the borders.¹ They have huge underground bases. Iran is such a country where they (the foreign powers) are depredating its oil resources, on the one hand, and erecting bases for themselves, on the other! If Iran were powerful, it would not allow such despoilment to take place.

So, Iran is not powerful. You cannot say that Iran has been, or is, powerful and that if the Shah leaves, this power will dissipate. We want the man who weakened Iran and laid it to waste to depart and be replaced by the nation which is powerful. The Iranians demand this. The Iranians want independence. They want to sever the tentacles of other powers. It is right to say that Iran possesses power and independence which can sustain regional stability. This is an undisputed fact. But now, Iran, or the region, is unstable. If Iran were stable, it would not let you (foreign powers) intervene in its affairs. Iran is shaky and is in chaos. This anarchy has plagued Iran for the last thirty-five years, or shall I say fifty years.

Iran's stability depending on its independence and power

So, it is not Iran's stability that you are after. What you really want is for Iran to lose its stability, so you can take advantage of it. If Iran becomes powerful and stable, if, for instance, the Iranian government enjoys power that it uses to serve the nation and for the betterment of Iran itself, if governments were borne out of the nation's will, they would never let you despoil Iran this way and cause this chaos. Iran lacks stability that it is plunged into this mess. It is without stability because it is without power or independence.

Iran says it has to have stability and a stability that emanates from power and independence; and we want power and independence, power that can

¹ The February 22, 1979 [Esfand 3, 1357 AHS] issue of *Kayhan*, published an article on an American espionage base in Kurdistan: "A well-equipped espionage base was discovered in Kermashah. This base, whose construction started clandestinely about three years ago, is eighty percent complete and is located in the Mahdasht region. A group of observers believes that this network was built through the efforts of SAVAK and Israeli espionage experts working under the supervision of the CIA and is apparently designed for the transport and deployment of ground forces."

deliver our military from the adversities that America has encumbered it with, so we can set up a military that is reliant upon the nation, not one that is dependent on American advisers. We will safeguard our independence and we will become an independent country, not a country whose every affair is in another country's hands, so that by this means, our country will attain stability.

When it has attained stability, then you (America) will not have any right to take its oil for free, or worse than this! By "worse," I mean they take our oil and as a payment, they build their bases here! God knows what a tribulation it is for a country whose oil is being plundered and then its plunderers compel it to buy \$18 billion worth of arms, bring them to Iran and then erect military bases for Mr. Carter or America on the pretext that we want to be a powerful country! Well, the Iranian nation does not want this to be! It wants no strings attached. It wants to be independent. An independent country will not tolerate such things.

Covert US interference in the Iranian affairs

If a country has a population of 50,000 and is independent, and if this nation of 50,000 runs its own country, no power can ever impose these things on them. But the problem is they (foreign powers) are sowing seeds of corruption right in the heart of the country. That man abroad (Carter) sits pretty and claims that he does not meddle in the country's affairs! They are not meddling in the sense that they have not directly deployed an army with guns and tanks to invade Iran. This is not the case; however, you have sent military experts acting as so-called public servants to train the army and do anything they want; on the other hand, they interfere in and dominate each and every affair in the country.

A liberated Iran

We want a free Iran, an independent Iran. We want a powerful Iran. We want an Iran wherein the nation stands undeterred and runs the country. For the last fifty years, we have never had a Parliament, a government or even a king, nothing! We had nothing. Everything was run by others who were administering the country. Now, the country has risen up to get rid of this chaos which foreign governments wish to prevail (in the country). It does not want to let this anarchy prevail.

False stability

Well, his (Carter's) second statement which we will pose as a question to him is: "Does stability exist in Iran now?" Now, the Shah is there and has not gone yet. Now, that the Shah is still there, the whole country seethes with discord; the people are revolting and saying they do not want this wretched runt who is massacring and looting the people by unleashing his club-wielding hooligans and his henchmen armed with guns and tanks upon the people. Does stability exist now? A couple of days ago, as reported, his henchmen in tanks attacked the inside of a Muslim shrine in the holy city of Mashhad—the holy shrine of Imam Rida, upon whom be peace—riddling the walls and porch of the shrine with bullet holes. This is the umpteenth time that the Pahlavi dynasty has attacked places of worship, and the very same holy shrine of Imam Rida.¹

Is this stability? Does our country have any stability?! Now, the Shah is there, is the country a stable one? Is it a country where nothing is shaky? Or, you (Carter) just want to talk nonsense for yourself! There is nobody there to stand up to him and say: "Mister, what is this (nonsense) you are blabbering about? The people are being killed; it is the people who are being victimized; the whole country looks as if an earthquake has struck; everything is topsy-turvy: when one group of people cries out that it does not want the Shah, a contemptible band (of hooligans) supporting him is unleashed upon these people, killing them and coercing the nation into wanting the Shah! The people have to love the Shah by hook or by crook!! Is this the stability that he (Carter) says Iran has, a stability he cannot bear to get shaky?"

¹ On November 23, 1978 [Azar 2, 1357 AHS], subsequent to the issuance of Imam Khomeini's message on the advent of Muharram, the regime initiated moves to desecrate the holy shrine of Imam Rida (A) and killed a group (of worshippers) at the sacred precincts. In connection with this tragedy, Tehran's clergy issued a communiqué condemning these acts as criminal. On November 24 [Azar 3, AHS], Imam Khomeini sent a message addressed to the Iranian people from Paris, according to which, he said: "The usurpatory military government razed everything to the ground on the Shah's order; and one of this criminal's greatest blows on Islam is the machine-gunning of the holy precincts of Ali ibn Musa ar-Rida, the blessings of God be upon him. In this great mourning observed as a result of the effrontery done to the Imam's station, I announce Sunday, November 26 [Azar 3 AHS], Dhul-Hijjah 25, a day of public mourning." Qum's *maraji* also announced it a day of public mourning and harshly criticized the government for this abominable crime. In desecrating the shrine of the Prophet's Household (A), the Shah took after his father! During his reign, Rida Khan had also once ordered his troops to open fire on the people at Imam Rida's holy shrine.

“Riffraff” in Carter’s wisdom

Well, the next statement which he made so amicably is that they (the US) could not bear to witness the toppling of the Shah, who is such a wondrous personality, at the hands of a bunch of riffraff, of abject and ignoble people! Are the Iranian people who are saying they want freedom and independence riffraff, or those who are plundering their wealth? The Iranian nation is shouting that it wants freedom. Are those who say they want freedom the abject and ignoble ones in the eyes of the world, or those who divest people of their freedom? Is he who says he wants independence, abject and ignoble, or he who suppresses a nation’s independence? Is a nation of thirty-five million people who have risen and spoken and are sacrificing their lives and their youth in order to rescue their country from your (US) clutches, wretched and contemptible and you the honorable one? Is he who speaks of human rights, on the one hand, and then tramples upon the rights of millions of human beings on the other—that we, here in Iran, are witness to, and others witness the same in other places—the honorable one? Is he who talks of human rights on the one hand, while on the other, suppresses humans, an honorable one? Is the Iranian nation which wants to be set free from their (US) yoke, the wretched and contemptible ones in your (Carter’s) view? Your judgment is utterly wrong. You should change your view. Later on, you will be living with this nation. They will not let you live. A nation which witnesses the way you reproach them will not let you stay alive; it will not let Americans remain in Iran. This man (Carter) should do a little rethinking, this man who is saying: “We cannot bear to see the Shah who is such a bigwig be toppled by a bunch of wretched and contemptible people.” Well, if you cannot bear to witness such, then close your eyes! The Iranian nation will carry it out, God willing, it will. (Audience invokes God’s will). Of course, on the condition that God is there with them: “*Say: ‘I admonish you to do one thing: to rise up for God; it may be in pairs or it may be singly.’*”¹

Large-scale uprising

If your uprising is for God then you will be victorious be you alone or in a multitude. Rise up for God. God willing, the Iranian nation has risen for God in order to sever the hands of the tyrants and rescue the Islamic country.

We are duty bound to help this movement. Gentlemen, if, God forbid, this movement does not reap its desired end and its flames are extinguished, we will be encumbered with adversities up until the end, that is, your future

¹ *Surah as-Saba* 34:46.

generations will be afflicted with another kind of exploitation under a tyrannical hoodlum who will come and kowtow to their (the foreigners') will. Do not let this movement die without reaching its goal. Come and join this movement for truth; co-operate with all your might until it reaches its desired goal and the hands (of the exploitative powers) are severed and this dynasty is toppled and plunged down the cliff of destruction.

God willing, He will protect you. May you all be successful, God willing; may God keep you in good health, God willing.

Letter

Date: November 25, 1978 [Azar 4, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 24, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Unity of expression, the secret of victory

Addressees: Reverend *ulama* and religious scholars of Orumiyyeh (Ridaiyyeh)

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 24, 1398 AH

The reverend *ulama* and religious scholars of Ridaiyyeh, may their blessings last:

After offering my greetings and salutations, I would like to mention that I received the esteemed letter sent by the gentlemen; I pray to the Almighty God for their health and prosperity. I thank the gentlemen for their support and sympathy. I hope that we will achieve our goal through the cooperation and assistance of the *ulama* of various cities, the guidance of other Muslims, and the unity of expression, under one slogan. From this far distance, I pin my hopes on the Iranian nation, in general, and the honorable *ulama*, in particular, and seek the help of their pure supplications. I am strongly hopeful that the futile attempts of those who are opposed to the nation will not yield any fruit; and a nation who has risen up and has found its way through illumination, will achieve the final victory.

I pray to the Almighty God for the severance of the hands of the aliens, the spread of Islamic justice, and establishment of the Islamic government under the glorious banner of Islam and the Quran. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: November 25, 1978 [Azar 4, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 24, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Necessity of cooperation and sympathy with the Iranian nation

Addressees: The *ulama*, clerics and people of India

In His Most Exalted Name

Dhul-Hijjah 24, 1398 AH

The reverend *ulama* and religious scholars and other classes and citizens of India, may their existence be prolonged and may Allah support them:

I extend my greetings to you and other brethren. Perhaps, you have briefly heard about the developments in Iran and the atrocities committed by the Pahlavi dynasty against the Iranian citizens. I cannot explain the details of what is being committed against this oppressed nation. From the very beginning of Rida Khan's ominous coup, engineered by Britain, to date, the entire Iranian nation has been living under suppression, misery, and agony; its entire reserves, including its oil and other resources, have been given to the aliens in a usurpation manner, and the poor nation had been, and is, deprived of any share. Mass murders and executions have been continuing for years; the mosques, holy sites and seminaries are being closed down; and the Shah's generals are dominating the people's lives and wealth.

It does behoove your great nation to accompany and sympathize with this oppressed nation and ask your government to accompany it. I pray to the Almighty God for the improvement of the condition of all. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: November 25, 1978 [Azar 4, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 24, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Confronting America's propaganda and threat

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Gaining in scope of the enemy's propaganda

The broader the scope of this struggle becomes, the broader the scope of the propaganda against it. At first, when the struggle was less intense and things were quieter, the volume of propaganda against it both at home and abroad was less. However, now that the struggle has gained momentum those who want the Shah to remain—whether they be his agents within the country or people abroad, whether those who covet the Shah's purse or those who covet Iran's resources—are all making every effort to broaden the scope of propaganda against it.

Among these efforts are the remarks which have recently emanated from Carter and which I have mentioned before. One or two in particular I find most regrettable and have saddened me deeply. First of all he says that a powerful and independent Iran is necessary for the stability of the region—or words to this effect—and then he says that they cannot sit by and watch while “contemptible riffraff” depose the Shah and destroy this regime! Such statements are both propagandist and menacing.

Stability of Iran depends on the downfall of Shah

This idea that if the Shah goes Iran will lose its stability is one which the Shah himself has brought up in many of his comments and continues to do so. It is also one which his agents abroad, those who get their daily bread from him and those who want to secure their interests through him, have put about and still do! This is pure propaganda. Now that the Shah is in power, is Iran stable?! Don't they realize that these comments that they make will be seized upon by the media? He (Carter) is a powerful figure, the leader of one of the superpowers, his words will be reported on by the press. In Iran and in other countries it will be reported that Carter says that with the Shah in power Iran is passing its days in stability and peace! The people are all at ease, all of them sleep peacefully in their beds at night! They are all calmly

going about their daily affairs! All the universities are busy with their studies and the atmosphere is one of tranquility and happiness because the Shah is in Iran! Will it be reported by the world's media that the revolution which is taking place in Iran at present is happening in the absence of the Shah or in his presence? Is it because the Shah is not in Iran that these disturbances have engulfed the country? Or are they taking place in his presence, in the blessed presence of "His Imperial Majesty"? Is it in his presence that all the people have stood up and are shouting death to this man and death to this dynasty?

Practically every day now we receive calls from Iran telling us that in a certain place so many people have been killed, in another a strike has occurred, that such and such an office has gone on strike or such and such a factory has gone on strike. Are these killings which we hear about every day and which are taking place throughout the whole of Iran a sign of the peacefulness which the presence of the Shah has brought to the country? Is Iran an oasis of peace and stability because of him? Or is it the case that there is no peace because the Shah is in Iran? We say that if the Shah remains in Iran and wants to continue with his illegal reign and his hellish rule, then Iran will not be stable. Iran's stability is already lost and it is now on the brink of collapse.

Carter's bragging

That person (Carter) says that if the Shah remains in power he will maintain an independent Iran, a rich and powerful Iran and he will preserve both the stability of the region and the stability of Iran! He speaks of the Shah as a powerful person who has created independence in Iran and his government as one which has made the country rich! He says it is the Shah who has preserved peace in the country and has safeguarded its independence, and were he to go, this independence and peace would go too! Independence would be lost, freedom would be lost. Everything of ours depends on this munificent individual!

What kind of talk is this coming from someone who calls himself the President of a superpower and speaks in such an exaggerated and boastful manner? Why should a person say things which we in another corner of the world can point out the shortcomings of? Indeed, any right-minded person who hears this will pass criticism and ask: "What stability are you talking about sir?" Is there stability in Iran at present? Where is the independence in Iran about which you speak? Is the Iranian army independent? Is the educational system there independent? Is its industry independent? Is its economy independent? What is independent in Iran that one can say is so

because of the presence of the Shah? How can one say that stability in the region follows independence in Iran and now that Iran is independent the region is stable, but if he goes that stability will be lost?! What kind of independence do we have? You know as well as we do what you are saying; you know as well as we do that you are lying! [The audience laughs].Iran enjoys independence does it?

Iran headquarters for US's interests

You know only too well that Iran has been turned into a base for America; you have set up bases for America there. An independent country would give you a punch in the mouth for wanting to set up bases on its territory! You know that in the mountains of Iran bases have been set up for you. An independent country, an independent government, would not allow bases to be set up on its territory. You know what you have done to Iran's economy and how you have plundered Iran's resources and reserves. If we had had an honorable government, an honorable king, would it have been possible for our resources to have been given over to your consumption in the manner they have been? Because a man of nearly sixty years of age wants to stay in power a few days longer and continue with his lowly, contemptible life, he gives away all the resources of a large country with no thought either to the future of the country or to its present state. Why then, when you know all these things, do you speak so? Do you have any reason other than to deceive? Who are you trying to deceive, the people of our country? They know that there is no peace in the country; they know that they don't enjoy independence.

"Riffraff" in Carter's wisdom

One day he says that the Shah has granted the people freedom quickly and decisively and they are now up in arms over this "quick" freedom!¹ I don't know how one can reply to such remarks. If he were an ordinary person one could say he is just speaking nonsense, ignore him. But the person making such remarks is no ordinary person, he is someone who is disseminating them as official views in order to influence public opinion and

¹ In a press conference on October 14, 1978 [Mehr 22, 1357 AHS], Carter stated that he believed opposition to the Shah had arisen in Iran from "the conservatives and leftists" because the Shah had "moved aggressively to establish democratic principles in Iran and to have a progressive attitude toward social questions and social problems." *Ittilaat* newspaper, October 15, 1978 [Mehr 23, 1357 AHS], according to reporters from Reuter, United Press and Associated Press.

safeguard the Shah's rule. So one day he says this and the next he makes a remark which, when heard coming from a sane individual, would upset any human being and that is: "We cannot sit by and watch while contemptible riffraff bring down this monarchy." Thirty-odd million Muslims have stood up and are saying they want to be free, they want to be independent. Are freedom and independence the things the contemptible and the lowest of the low seek?! You tell the Iranian people that they have been made free and it is because they are free that they can say such things. Are the people of Iran free?! Is the press in Iran now free?! So, why are the newspapers all closed down? If they are free then why have the newspapers throughout Iran had to close down in order to avoid censorship?¹ Why have the telecommunications offices closed down? Everything in Iran at present is shut down. Every office one goes to is closed. Why? Why are the newspapers in Iran now closed down? Well, we must ask Mr. Carter this question. Are they closed on account of the contemptible riffraff?! The printing houses will not print any newspapers as long as censorship, repression and inhuman acts continue. This is what the people have risen up against. The people of Iran want to live like true human beings; they don't want to be under the control of some people who have no human qualities. So then in your logic do a people who have risen up, who are sacrificing their children and young people for the sake of freedom, for independence, for Islam, for a just government, constitute riffraff?!

I have said on a previous occasion that words used today are devoid of their true meaning. This age of ours is one in which words are spoken that are void of any meanings. Carter says that Iran is free, very free! And at the same time he says he is happy that the Shah has given the people freedom! You are happy! Is this what you call freedom that has been given to us?! They use a word but it has no meaning this word! They use meaningless words. Either that or the word "freedom" is used to mean repression! That is Carter talks about freedom but he really means repression, or he talks about such things and he doesn't know what on earth he is talking about! However, that cannot be. You are aware of what you are saying when you say Iran is free and that you are happy Iran is free. Yes, you are sorry that some people have been killed, but it was necessary! After you say you are sorry you say it

¹ With the installment of the military government on November 5, 1978 [Aban 15, 1357 AHS], press censorship, which had to an extent been lifted during Prime Minister Sharif Imami's term in office, was re-imposed. In response, the press went on strike, and from November 5, 1978 to January 5, 1979 [Aban 15, 1357-Dey 15, 1357 AHS] none of the reputable newspapers and magazines were published throughout the whole of Iran.

was necessary! Do you know what you are really saying? You are saying that if these people aren't killed your oil will not be saved! If these people aren't killed your bases will possibly be destroyed. These killings are necessary if the foreigners are to continue to exploit and plunder us; in order for them to take our oil and build bases for themselves—instead of paying money for their oil they build bases for themselves in the country—these killings they say are necessary. Naturally, it is regrettable! Naturally, you only wish that the people had not spoken out until you had finished taking your oil! It is somewhat regrettable that they have spoken out now! Killing people is regrettable, but in this case it is necessary! This is coming from someone who talks about human rights; who advocates human rights and then says that a people who have stood up demanding the most fundamental of human rights are “contemptible riffraff” whose killing is a necessity! These people who say we want to be free, we want to be independent, their killing is a necessity! It is unavoidable, but it is regrettable that they chose to say such things. It would be better if they didn't say such things! The people should remain under the control of this spur! “His Imperial Majesty” should remain in power until they have finished taking the oil and the way for doing this should remain open to them! They have poured into Abadan and by force of the bayonet want to take the oil again. Hitherto, the workers at the oil company have not turned up for work; I don't know what the present situation is.

Carter's double standard of human rights

This age and this environment that we find ourselves in today are such that we witness many surprising and strange things! On the one hand that wretch talks about freedom for man and safeguarding human rights, and on the other he says in the case of Iran the protection of human rights is not an issue! In one of his remarks Mr. Carter has said that in the case of Iran, where the Americans have interests to protect and the country is of strategic importance, there can be no talk of human rights! Human rights are an issue in other places, but in Iran and other countries like it (where American interests are involved) it is not necessary for them to protect human rights! Then he describes the demonstrators as a bunch of contemptible ruffians! Is that person who wants to deprive the people of their peace of mind a ruffian, or he who says I want to be free? Is he who wants to plunder the people's wealth one of the riffraff or the people who say they want to protect their own wealth? Think about this, don't speak without thinking. Think about just what it is these people want. Are their demands those of riffraff and

contemptible people, or is he who rejects these demands the contemptible one?

People's aspiration: independence and freedom

It is clear what the people of Iran are saying, all of them, from the primary school-children to the high-school students, from the university students to the old men, are crying out: "We want freedom; we want independence; we don't want a government that has deprived us of independence." Is this how one describes those who say they want to be free, they want to be independent; they don't want to be under the yoke of foreigners, as riffraff and contemptible people? Is it because they are so ignoble that they say they don't want this? If they are under your control they are noble people are they? If they scoop up handfuls of oil and give it to you, if they hand over the keys of their resources to you then they are a great and noble people are they?! But now that they tell you not to plunder them they are vile are they? They are riffraff are they? Is this your logic?! Isn't this the logic of the riffraff? These words reflect the logic of the dregs of society not that of a (true) human being. A (true) human being would not talk like this. If you had not used such expressions I would not have used them. It shames me to speak to you.

Be that as it may, the situation in Iran today has reached this stage and I hope that, by the will of the Exalted God, Iran will move forward [The audience says "God willing"] and will be victorious ["God willing" from the audience]. All of you who are here, from wherever you may have come, are duty bound to serve Iran and help this movement. You can help by propagating the Iranian people's cause over here so that these people in the propaganda business who are receiving stipends from the Shah will shut their mouths. For, indeed, he has people in foreign countries that disseminate propaganda about his rule with the aim of preserving it.

Counter-propaganda

So you too spread the word about the movement, acquaint the people over here with the demands of the Iranian people. It has been for fifteen years now or more that this nation has risen up, and for the past year the people have constantly been shedding their blood, constantly sacrificing their youth. What do they want? This freedom and independence that they seek is so important to them that they are willing to sacrifice their youth for it and still are not afraid. You must help them. You must at least tell the people over here that this is what Iran wants. Tell them not to listen to the propaganda

that is spread from some quarters that these people are riffraff, are contemptible and are barbarians! On a day when the people were marching peacefully, an American wretch described them as barbaric, to which a certain reporter—a European—replied: “But these are people who want freedom, how can you call them barbaric?! How can you describe as barbaric, people who have risen up in this manner, people who, a million-strong, march peacefully for a human demand?”¹ They recognize only those who safeguard their interests as not being barbaric! Whoever safeguards the American’s interests is not only a human being, but a noble human being at that! Such people are not riffraff! They are not rabble! They are not base! They are noble! Whoever wants to protect his own wealth so that the thief does not come and take it is a vile person, a despicable person!

Please God may He grant you all success and victory and may you return home one day in glory and honor. Today your heads are held high for you have brought alive a nation. You people of Iran, you youth, have brought Iran alive, you have resurrected those who were dead. May God keep you all. May you be successful [The audience says “Amen”].

¹ Imam has referred to this event in previous speeches. He is quoting a European reporter who was present at the massive demonstration which took place in Tehran on *Id al-Fitr*: On returning an American gave him a lift in his car. On the way the American pointed to the people saying: “See what barbarians they are!” The reporter turned to him and asked: “Where have you seen such a large crowd of people demonstrate in such a calm and peaceful manner demanding their rights? Is this how savages behave?”

Speech

Date: November 25, 1978 [Azar 4, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 24, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The extent of the Shah's crimes and the different dimensions of his treachery

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

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

Significance of suffering for a divine goal

The loftier the aim, the more patiently man must endure the hardship involved in achieving it, however great that may be, until it becomes easier. If the aim of you gentlemen is material, your suffering will all be in vain, but if your aim is for God, if it is the deliverance of God's creatures, the deliverance of a weak, oppressed nation, then no matter how great the hardships you have to bear, they will not be borne in vain. Something which is done for God is not a futile action. Do not suppose that these energies which are expended and have been expended up till now for the sake of this oppressed nation; for the deliverance of God's creatures; for the elimination of oppression; for severing the hands of foreigners from Muslim land are and have been in vain. They are all taken into account.

You all, the nation of Iran and the nation of Islam are currently confronting a satanic power which for years has determined your destiny. Gradually, the Muslim lands have begun to think about freeing themselves from this power, and this includes Iran, which for some time now has been thinking about liberating itself from the hands of foreigners and from the grasp of this satanic power. Indeed, it has suffered much hardship in the course of pursuing this goal, for the aim is a very great one. The aim is the deliverance of a nation; it is to deliver these poor people, who have suffered pain and torment under the injustice and oppression of foreigners meted out to them through unjust governments and the despotic Pahlavi dynasty, and to free the country from the hands of unbelievers, from the hands of the foreigners. The aim is to create a country which is in your hands, a country whose resources are in your hands.

Reason behind budget deficit

When you hear them harping on about how low the budget is, how there is a deficit,¹ it doesn't mean that Iran's earnings are low. Iran's income is very high; however, hands are at work to make sure that its budget is not secure. There are many devourers! At present, the income from oil provides for a great chunk of the budget, and one of the crimes currently being perpetrated by the Shah against our nation is that he is intent on pouring all of this reserve, which should last for many years to come and be safeguarded for future generations to live on, down America's throat within the space of the next twenty or thirty years and in return get nothing which is in the interests of the nation.

One of the reasons why there is a budget deficit is that the money is being stolen. As you know, they have bought weapons with eighteen billion dollars of the oil money! They have bought eighteen billion dollars worth of weapons and still they buy more. If you give them half the chance they will buy even more in the future. And what kind of weapons have they bought? Do you think we need eighteen billion dollars worth of weapons to administer our affairs? No, this is not the heart of the matter. The arms are important because of the rivalry that exists between America and Russia. With the excuse of paying for the oil, they (the Americans) bring these weapons into Iran, weapons I might add that are of no use to Iran, and create bases for themselves. In other words, they take our oil and in return build bases for themselves! In the name of paying for the oil, they build bases for themselves. If they gave us hard currency for the oil, if they actually paid us money for it, it would be more than was needed for running the government and running the country. This money would be enough for our people; but so much of it is stolen. America takes some of the oil and gives us iron in return! But the iron is not for our use, rather their own. Of the money it does pay for the oil, most of this goes down the throats of Muhammad Rida Khan, his family—those who are related to him in some way—and those who want to serve him and who kill the people in order to preserve his rule. It is said that in all there are sixty thousand people who are related to the royal family! Related in the sense that they too should banquet at the Shah's table! They

¹ Hard currency earnings from the export of oil and gas during a ten-year period, until the end of 1357 AHS [March 1978-March 1979] were constantly on the rise such that the \$1.3 billion earned in 1349 AHS [1970-71] rose to \$18.1 billion in 1357 AHS [1978-79]. However, misappropriation of these funds by the royal family and their uncontrolled squandering did not leave much money left for the government. For this reason, the government constantly complained of a budget deficit.

too should take the money and do nothing apart from satiate themselves and act wantonly. It is not that there is not enough income; rather there are too many takers.

Outcome of Shah's land reforms

This oil revenue which should be spent on the country, on the poor people of the country, has not been used on tarmacking the roads or providing electricity even in Tehran. Even Tehran today does not enjoy some of the basic amenities such as electricity, tarmacked roads and piped water! Some areas of Tehran have none of these things; there is no piped water which means that people have to go to taps that have been erected in the streets for their water. In Tehran at present there are about twenty or thirty areas, the particulars of which have been sent to me but are not with me at the moment, where people live in hovels or tents. As I have been told in the letters I have received, it is quite surprising how some of these people live. These are the peasants whom the Shah claimed to have freed from the control of the landlords when he carried out his plans to transform the rural system and everyone was supposed to become simply villagers and whatever!

These peasants are now the slum dwellers who live on the outskirts of Tehran or in the city itself. The most fortunate of them has been able to build a mud hut for himself and the rest of his family which may range from anywhere between five to fifteen people! The others build homes out of pieces of wood, reeds and such like! Some people have written to me with details about these slum areas and they name twenty or thirty areas where people live in hovels, in tents or some other makeshift shelter. They wrote that their living conditions are such that some of them have made their homes out of holes in the ground. In order to get water they have to climb fifty or a hundred steps—I can't remember the exact number but it is a lot—in order to reach the street where a water tap has been installed. The poor women have to take their pitchers and climb up those steps to the water tap in the street then climb down them again so as to take a jug of water to their children. Imagine what that must be like in the middle of a biting winter, in the snow! Is this called living?

Don't think that the Iranians now have an easy life as they (the Shah and his regime) like to trumpet over their propaganda loudspeakers. Those who do enjoy a comfortable life are a privileged group of people who are either favored by him or related to him in some way; they are the ones having an easy life; the rest of the people aren't.

Tehran itself has these twenty to thirty areas where people live in abject poverty. These people were once in the villages busy tilling their fields, but then, in the name of 'land reforms', the whole system was turned upside down and because they saw they could no longer make a living in the village, these poor, unfortunate people migrated to the cities. Many of them went to Tehran and its surrounding areas hoping to eke out a living by working, selling things or carrying things around for people; anything just to keep their children alive. This was the result of the 'land reforms' which he carried out.

This is what America wanted. This was a plan that America devised for the countries of this region, Iran being just one of them. It was a plan devised to create a market for America, because America had a surplus of wheat which at times it burned and at others it threw into the sea. A better alternative was to turn the life of the Iranians upside down, disrupt Iran's cultivation system and completely destroy farming in the country, so that a country whose needs were once met by the produce of just one of its provinces, the surplus being exported, now had to import goods from abroad. If farming were carried out in the province of Azerbaijan like it used to be, then its produce alone would be sufficient to meet the needs of the whole of Iran.¹ Indeed there would be a surplus which would have to be exported abroad. But now as you see, Iran has to import all of its needs!

Animal husbandry has been destroyed, farming has been destroyed; everything has been destroyed. Our pasturelands, our lush, verdurous pasturelands—which some experts from abroad have described as the best in the world for raising cattle—have been given to one group of people which includes the Queen of England, as I have been told in the letters I have received, and to some other people who are spongers just like the Shah and his regime. They have "rented" the land as they put it! So our animal husbandry has been destroyed and now the nation of Iran has to make do with frozen meat brought in for it from other countries and which is unclean according to religious law. The people have to eat frozen carcasses, meat

¹ Lady Mary Leonora Sheil, in her book *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia* describing her visit to the province of Azerbaijan, comments on the variation of grain cultivated in the villages and the abundance of wheat and barley fields. She describes Azerbaijan as an important province which in many aspects, among them the fertility of the region's soil, is better than the other provinces of Iran. She notes that although the region's agricultural products are the result of dry farming methods, the grain harvest is so profuse that every year a portion of it is exported to Georgia. Be that as it may, by 1969 [1347 AHS], the export of wheat from Iran had dropped to 254 thousand tons, and in 1971 [1349 AHS] not only did Iran no longer export wheat, but it had to import supplies into the country. By 1978 [1356 AHS], the amount of imported wheat had reached 1,400,000 tons!

which is bad and rotten and which they are forbidden by their religion to eat, whereas when animal husbandry thrived in Iran, the produce of just one province was sufficient to meet the needs of the whole country, the surplus being exported.¹

Shah's treason of having relationship with Israel

Now, however, he (the Shah) imports everything from abroad. And whatever is brought into the country comes either from Israel...Israel the enemy of Islam! God only knows what treason this man has committed against Islam. Israel is the enemy of Islam; it is currently at war with the Muslims. From the very beginning this regime gave it official recognition. Twenty-five or thirty years ago when it was actually at war with the Muslims,² these people officially recognized Israel!³ Then however, they did not make this known to the public. And today, as the end draws nigh, you can all see how one of Muhammad Rida Khan's strongest advocates, one of the keenest proponents for the continuation of his rule, is Israel. For the Israelis argue that if he goes they will lose their supply of oil, because this

¹ In the past, one of Iran's main exports was live sheep. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, the French traveler and Orientalist who visited Iran in the 17th century, writes in his book: "Tabriz and Hamedan were once regions from which large flocks of sheep were sent to the bazaars of Istanbul and Adhanah. The supply of meat for Rumania and Anatolia usually came from Iran and in the months April-July, the roads were full of flocks of thousands of sheep. In addition to sheep, other animals were sold, among them camels which were sold to Anatolia and Armenia." With the Shah's 'White Revolution' and 'land reforms' however, Iran's farming and animal husbandry completely lost luster until the time came when the country's supply of meat was provided by Turkey, Adhanah and Bulgaria.

² Four wars were fought between the Arabs and the Israelis, in 1948 [1327 AHS], 1956 [1335 AHS], 1967 [1346 AHS] and 1973 [1352 AHS]. Imam is referring to the 1948 war in which armed Zionists attacked the Palestinians, who had been disarmed by the British, forcing hundreds of thousands of them out of their homeland. Following this aggression, the 21,500-strong army of five Arab countries entered Palestine, but this small army was unable to do anything against the Zionists' 65,000-strong army.

³ In 1960 [1339 AHS], the Shah officially recognized the usurper Israeli government after having extended de facto recognition to the state since 1950. Following this, economic and military relations were set up between the two governments, although cooperation between Israel's MOSSAD and SAVAK began in the 1950s. After a while, Israel's power and influence in Iran were such that it was able to install its friends in the country, among them members of the misguided Bahai sect, in high positions in the governing body. In his speech of October 24, 1964 [Aban 4, 1343 AHS], Imam divulged these facts and disgraced the Iranian governing body to such an extent that the Shah, out of fear, issued the command for Imam's exile.

regime is supplying Israel with its oil.¹ In other words, they give the oil of a Muslim land to the enemy of Muslims to help it wage war against the Muslims! This is the kind of traitor this wretch is! He sends our oil to them in his tankers, he gets it to them by his own means, to the Israelis who with this oil wage war against the Muslims and who have usurped the Muslims' land destroying everything they have. Look what they have done to Palestine, look how they have usurped Jerusalem. This is just one of the treacherous acts this man has committed against Islam and the Muslims. Within Iran itself he has betrayed the Muslims for the sake of the Israelis. As I have been told, the best land of Iran has been given to the Israelis.² The best land of Iran has been handed over to these Israeli Jews for them to work on and reap the benefit of.

Frustration in villages and plundering by Shah's family

Our villagers are forced into Tehran to live the life we have been told about. Until one goes there and sees for oneself, one cannot perceive the reality of their life, one cannot fully understand just what this regime has done to these people. God only knows what state the provincial towns and villages are in when this is the state of Tehran, the capital! There is no water, there are no clinics. In their own newspapers they speak of areas where groups of twenty villages are without clinics, doctors and water.³ A few years

¹ The oil wells of Iran were the most important source of Israeli oil and in return Iran was one of the markets for Israeli goods! Common ground existed between the two governments because of their run-ins with the Arabs and their antagonism toward Islam. Consequently, Israel was greatly alarmed at the prospect of a change in the regime in Iran and the coming to power of an Islamic government, more so because it predicted that if this happened the new regime in Iran would cut the flow of oil to Israel and would support the Palestinian struggle. The Israeli government had very close relations with the Shah and always took his side. On the secret relations which existed between Iran and Israel a Western writer states: "It is generally not known that every Israeli prime minister from David Ben Gurion to Menachem Begin went to Tehran during this period, as did many other leading Israeli figures such as Moshe Dayan and Yitzhak Rabin who traveled to Tehran in complete secrecy to discuss their common interests with their Iranian counterparts. A very close co-operation existed between the two countries. Iran was for Israel the most reliable supplier of its oil, and for its part Israel responded by helping Tehran in the fields of military training and by sharing to some extent intelligence gathered by its intelligence services and even by providing technical assistance."

² The fertile, water-abundant lands of Qazvin were in the hands of the Israelis for creating modern farming corporations. All of the fertile lands of Khorasan province around the Bujnurd road to Mashhad were owned by Houjabre Yazdani who exploited those lands through his 'Houjabre Yazdani Farming and Industry Company'.

³ In the 6/9/78 [15/6/57 AHS] issue of *Kayhan* it was written: "Why has Sardarud province and its capital Damaq, which is also the most highly populated village of this region, remained in a situation reminiscent of fifty years ago. The population of Damaq twenty years ago reached seven thousand, now it has dropped to half that figure or even lower. In 1958 [1336 AHS], that is twenty years ago, this village had a high school, but no longer. Its hospital, which was operational until 1952 [1330 AHS], has been changed into a small clinic which has neither regular, round-the-clock doctors nor personnel who can truly answer the needs of the patients who come there from the surrounding villages. Throughout the whole of Sardarud, with its fifty-six villages, the clinic in Damaq is the only one which is functioning. People from more than fifteen neighboring villages visit this clinic and most of them return empty-handed and without having benefited from their visit because of the great number of sick people and others who attend the clinic and the inability of the staff. In a province of this size, there is not one registered midwife. We are always witnessing unpleasant and distressing accidents." In the *Ittilaat* newspaper issued on 6/10/78 [15/7/57 AHS], we read: "The Shah's minister of health recognizes that the villagers lack any kind of health services and said . . . from the Aras River to the banks of the Persian Gulf, from the borders in the east to those in the west, twenty million villagers lack the most basic health care."

ago, in the *Ittilaat* or *Kayhan* newspaper, they wrote that in one part of the country there is such a shortage of water that when the people wake up in the morning, the mothers have to wash the trachoma-infected eyes of their children with urine so they can open their eyes! They have to rub urine onto their eyes so they can open them! This is the life our nation has to lead because of this man, while he, his family and his friends take the money and build villas for themselves abroad.¹

I have spoken about this matter before on many occasions, but I wish to mention it again. I either read somewhere in a magazine or in a letter sent to me or it was read out to me from somewhere—I can't remember which—that a villa was purchased for one of the Shah's sisters at heaven knows what price. I can't remember how much it said it cost, but I do recall it being stated that six million dollars, that is thirty-five million tumans, was spent on the gardens alone!² Who is paying for all of this? I was around when Rida

¹ Authors have said that to determine precise statistics with regard to the land and property owned abroad by the Shah and his close relatives is by no means an easy task; and that moreover, a complete list of such possessions is not in fact available. A few examples of such possessions which were owned by the Shah are as follows: several hectares of land in Australia; several large islands in Italy owned by Farah (the Shah's wife); vast areas of the banks of Geneva Lake; four glorious places in the highly sought-after areas of Paris and Switzerland; the village of Saint Moritz; an entire ski slope and a winter palace in Switzerland; several large palaces in California, Texas and Florida. Refer to Mas'ud Ansari, *Man va Khandan-e Pahlavi*; *Pas az Suqut*; Husayn Fardust, *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*; *Kayhan* newspaper, February 25, 1979; and William Shawcross, *The Shah's Last Ride, the Fate of an Ally*, to name but a few.

² The Shah's elder sister Shams had a fabulous palace named 'Pearl' constructed on the moorland of south Karaj. This palace was built with the help of the most esteemed of British architects and the land on which it stood was bedecked with a multitude of beautiful plants and trees. To the west of this palace SAVAK built 'Qezel Hesar', one of the most modern prisons in the country.

Khan came to power and he was a man with nothing, he was a simple army colonel.

One of the gentlemen sent me a cassette tape which I listened to. A contract for tarmacking roads was discussed and it was stated that every meter of tarmac cost a few hundred dollars! But the money was stolen and the work never completed.

Correct way of administering the country

Even if the Shah leaves now it will take us many years of effort before we can repair the damage he has done. If indeed we are able to do so at all. Such talk we hear: "If he goes the whole world will fall apart! If he goes the stability of the region will be lost!" What stability is there to be lost? To be sure if he leaves there will no longer be a policeman for the Persian Gulf! With the nation's money he sends troops to this place and that in the Persian Gulf to protect American interests there. If he leaves, our country will be put right, it will be administered properly. Whoever comes to power after him will administer it better than he did.

Some say if he goes a vacuum will come into being! What vacuum? When a thief leaves and a more reliable person takes his place does that mean a vacuum is formed?! And a more reliable person will take his place. Do they think we don't have reliable people? Doesn't Iran have anyone who can take the place of Mr. Muhammad Rida Khan?! What does he do that others don't? Well for one thing, he steals, others don't! What is this talk of a vacuum? What vacuum? This is just propaganda that they put about. They spread propaganda in whatever language they can in an attempt to keep him in power, because a group within the country wants to derive profit from him and another group, which comprises mainly foreigners, wants to plunder our country's resources through him. There is nobody better than him to plunder us, for he is the best servant of them all. If they could find a servant better than him they would get rid of him immediately, but there is no one better than him. He has served them for some time, he is an old hand at it now.

Of course it is a great task, a difficult task, but its importance is also great, for a nation seeks to confront some powers and this is no small undertaking, it is a difficult task but it is being done because that nation is a prisoner of others and it wants to break the shackles of imprisonment. It is an important task and when it is important even though it may take time, even though it may be difficult, it must be done. You may get caught in a shower,

but no matter, something has to be done. You must demonstrate, you must attempt to explain matters, may God grant you success. You may get wet in the process of doing this, but no matter, for this is something you are doing for God, it is something you are doing to deliver the Iranian nation.

Dissemination a common duty

All of you are duty bound to counter this propaganda which has been and continues to be put about abroad, and to enlighten the people to the facts. Some of these foreign newspapers get their daily bread from these people and write against the Iranian nation and in favor of Muhammad Rida Khan. Enlighten the people. Tell those you meet the facts about the situation in Iran. The Iranians have not raised their voices because they have been given too much freedom! Rather they are calling for freedom because they do not have it. Who enjoys freedom in Iran? Our newspapers are now shut down and have been for a while. Why have they done this? It's because they are still subject to censorship, they have shut down in protest at the censorship.

Nowadays, every place you go to in Iran is shut down. Every place you go is on strike because the people realize that this regime is destroying the country. The various governmental departments have always known what was going on, but they could never say anything. Now, however, they go on strike. Wherever you go there are strikes. The hospitals are on strike; the doctors are on strike; in the Ministry of Justice the lawyers and judges are on strike. Everywhere is on strike, the electricity company, everything. Why? Do they strike because they are so content, because they are happy in their jobs and they are so free? Have they been given too much freedom, as Carter says, and that's why they are all on strike and are going to such great pains?! Or no, is it because they realize it is better to strike for a short while and paralyze this system, even if only temporarily, than it is not to strike at all and always be beset by these problems? They realize they have to strike so that these difficulties will be removed.

We here are duty bound like anyone else. We should follow up these strikes by giving interviews to newspaper reporters, if we can, and by speaking about the problems which afflict Iran. If we are not able to give interviews then we must acquaint the friends we have here, in America, in Britain, wherever we may be, with the facts about Iran. When you see a group of people speaking together at your schools, join them and tell them what the problems facing Iran are, tell them what it is that ails the Iranians who have risen up. Tell them about the treason that this wretch has committed against the people. These newspapers and magazines that are

sometimes printed abroad and speak against the Iranian people are not presenting the facts which are that this man has hitherto done nothing but squander Iran's self-respect and its resources and continue to do so.

All the people (in Iran) are shouting: "We want freedom; we want independence; we want a just government, an Islamic government." An Islamic government is a just government; this stealing will not take place in an Islamic government. If a correct, just government is brought into being, everything will be put right.

May God grant you His favor. May you be successful. May you be healthy and safe. Once again I ask your forgiveness for we do not have the room to offer you gentlemen, who have traveled here from a distance, proper hospitality. May God protect you all. God willing, you will be successful.

Interview

Date: November 26, 1978 [Azar 5, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 25, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran's political future, oil, and the future leader of the Islamic Republic

Addressee: A reporter of a Danish newspaper

Question: [What are your political views and demands in today's Iran?]

Answer: We believe that the hands of the traitors should be cut off from this country and its income should be disbursed for the needy, the poor and the interests of the country. We believe that the tyrannical Pahlavi regime should be eliminated and we should set up a system based on justice and true democracy that safeguards its freedom and independence.

Q: [How do you foresee the future perspective of Iran?]

A: We hope that the people's uprising leads to what they want, that is, an Islamic government; we know that in the future under the Islamic government, the interests of the nation will be safeguarded and it will bring about freedom and independence for the nation and the country.

Q: [Your Eminence, there are some discussions about your stance on the communists and Marxists; what is your stance on them?]

A: Our plan in the Islamic government will be based on monotheism; they are against this belief and ideology. Therefore we cannot move in the same direction with them.

Q: [Is Your Eminence of the view that the oil resources of the country should be kept intact for the future generations? If this is so, does it mean that you are interested in stopping the export of your oil?]

A: No. We will not stop the export of oil and the present generation needs the oil income. What we are opposed to and what we will stop are the transgressions thus far committed against us, either with regard to oil and its income, or regarding the other issues. We will stop those excessive measures; otherwise, we will sell the oil and procure foreign exchange. The management of the oil and its revenues will be ours.

Q: [Your Eminence, Ayatullah, how do you foresee the future of Iran between the Eastern bloc, that is, Soviet Union, and the West?]

A: The Iranian nation will not allow any nation to interfere in its internal affairs; it will preserve its freedom and independence and will interact with all other countries on the basis of mutual respect.

Q: [Your Eminence, Ayatullah, we always respects the elderly. How do you foresee your own role in the future government of Iran? Who should lead your future government?]

A: We have competent people to govern and will introduce them in the near future. It is said that there will be a vacuum, if the Shah leaves; it is not true. Of course, I don't aim to directly interfere in the affairs. When the government has been established, I will have the position of its guide.

Speech

Date: November 26, 1978 [Azar 5, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 25, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Consequences of the domination of Pahlavi regime

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and experts residing abroad

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

I apologize that our house is small and we cannot offer you proper hospitality because you are, praise be to God, many in number.¹ I pray to God for your success, and I hope that one day you young people will return to Iran healthy and victorious and will take the control of your resources and government in your own hands. I hope that this dynasty will soon be discontinued and the criminal hands of foreigners will be severed from our resources and you gentlemen will take the destiny of your own country into your own hands with health and happiness.

Aliens' role in founding Pahlavi dynasty

As you now see, the fate of everything in our country lies in the hands of others. It was other countries who with their criminal hands brought this dynasty to power and installed it to rule over us, and throughout the whole of its history, from fifty-odd years ago until the present, this dynasty has oppressed us and has betrayed our nation. They have given our resources to others; they have made our country a base of oppression, a base for America.

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 monies given as *sahm-e imam* [Share of the Imam (A)] for charitable disbursement, instead it was paid by those Iranians whose financial situation allowed them to do so.

I ask of God, the Blessed and Exalted, to keep you all, to grant you success and to grant the people of Iran success and victory. May God grant you all happiness and health, God willing.

Speech

Date: November 26, 1978 [Azar 5, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 25, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Shah's downfall will not end in disintegration of country or dominance of Communism

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Answering the threat of the Soviet invasion of Iran!

One of the means that they have resorted to in an attempt to keep the Shah is to use the fact that Iran shares a border with Russia, a border of a few hundred kilometers, and claim that it is the Shah who protects Iran from Russian aggression. Were the Shah to go, they say, because of this common border, Iran would fall into the hands of Russia! The Shah himself in his statements has repeatedly said that if he were not around, Iran would become the province of Russia!

Now we should assess this to see whether it is true that it is the Shah who has protected Iran from the malevolence of Russia and were he to go Iran would fall into the hands of Russia, or not. One assumption is that were the Shah to go, Russia would attack the country directly and capture Iran, or at least capture Azerbaijan. This is one assumption that we should assess the feasibility of. Another assumption is that if he goes, then due to Russian instigation, the communists inside Iran would hand the country over to the Russians. We should assess this scenario too to see if this would be the case or not.

A lesson from the period of invasion of Iran

First of all though, let's look at the assumption that the Russians have not attacked Iran so far because the power of the Shah has stopped them from doing so. Does this Shah rely upon the nation for his power, or does he have it without relying upon the nation? If he claims that he relies upon the nation and that it is the nation which gives him the power to stop someone from attacking Iran, well then we must study the actual situation in Iran at the present time to see if Iran is totally behind His Excellency and he enjoys a base of support in the country, or if his situation has become just like that of his father.

Perhaps none of you can remember the Rida Shah era, but I can. When the world war began and the Allies wanted to seize Iran in order to create a bridge between themselves and the countries with whom they were engaged in hostilities, three armies attacked Iran from three different directions. The armies were those of Britain, America and Russia. At the time, Rida Shah used to make a lot of claims, similar to those made by this Shah nowadays, such as: "Our power has reached a degree that no one can attack us", and so on! Well, it soon became clear that this was merely an empty claim, that it was just rhetoric. At that time, they called it the declaration which did not have a second!¹ The Iranian army issued its first declaration which was its declaration of war, but this was not followed by a second. For the war apparently only lasted three hours, and when Rida Shah asked his army commanders why it had only taken them three hours (to be defeated), they replied that even those three hours were too long, because we had nothing while they (the Allies) had everything. There was no resistance! It lasted for three hours because it took the Iranian army that long to get to where the confrontation was to take place! [Laughter from the audience]

Now, does this Shah have such power that were we to exclude the nation we could say that it is his power which has countered this superpower Russia, or is something else involved?

¹ 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!

Rida Shah worse than foreign enemies

When power does not stem from the nation, then it will be just like that of Rida Shah. When those three countries, those three armies, poured into Iran occupying the country, everything was placed in danger, it was a dangerous period for Iran and even though this was a matter of moral concern for us, it was clear that the people were happy because the Allies had come and got rid of Rida Khan! For indeed this is what they did, they sent him away. He had created a situation such that the people were happy when a foreign enemy, when three powerful enemies, invaded Iran placing it in danger, they perhaps even congratulated one another on this event saying how fortunate it was that they had come and got rid of that wretch! He had treated the people in such a way that they preferred their country to be invaded by three enemies who opposed their religion and everything else rather than for him to remain.

Today, the situation is the same for this man. He is so despised by the people that they would prefer to be invaded by another power (God forbid) if it meant that he left, for another power may be more prudent in its actions. Indeed, when the Allies invaded, they did not commit acts of aggression against the people without reason. Some injustices did take place, but they were not as bad as those carried out by Rida Khan. These countries were our enemies, yet neither Russia and Britain nor America committed atrocities against Iran like he did! They were not as repressive as he was, nor did they torment the people to the extent that he did! They invaded Iran, they seized the country and the situation was very bad, very ugly, but nevertheless it was better than having Rida Khan. Today, this Shah's situation is the same. His being in Iran is so unacceptable to the people that were one such power to penetrate the country again and he were to leave, the people may once again rejoice, just as they did at that time! Be that as it may, his power does not stem from the nation, indeed the nation is at odds with him.

Balance of power, not Shah's power

Let us assume that the whole of the army agrees with his rule, and remember this is only an assumption! The army itself is now hollow, its core is putrid, and it does not wholly agree with his rule. Granted, a group who has pocketed much and continue to do so approve of him, but it is not as if all of the army does. Let us suppose however that the whole of the army approves of him, it will not be able to do anything before a power like that of Russia. So it is not the case that it is the power of "His Imperial Majesty" which is presently stopping Russia from attacking Iran. No, other powers

confront it; there are other reasons why it will not attack. Neither Russia nor America can attack Iran, because as soon as America opens its mouth, Russia declares: "It is against our interests! We will not sit quietly by!" And if the other one tries to make a move, then this one announces: "It is against our interests!" This country is protected by these two great powers, not by him! The power he has is a power which does not stem from the people, and is thus a putrid power. He does not have the power to protect the country.

Azerbaijan expelled the Russians

Now let us suppose that he goes and there is no longer any reason for America or Britain to stop Russia from attacking Iran, or vice versa. If Russia made a move to attack Iran, with the presence of this Iranian nation which is so united now, it would not be able to do so. Even if we suppose that its army managed to enter the country, it would not be able to survive, for every village and hamlet that it entered would make life hell for it! We have already seen how the people threw the Russians out of Azerbaijan. During the World War when the Russians decided to remain in Azerbaijan, the people of that region threw them out,¹ and after they had done this, that man started boasting about how he had saved Azerbaijan! All the people know that he was not the one who saved Azerbaijan; it was the people of Azerbaijan who saved Azerbaijan. So too today, were the Russians to attack and he were no longer around, the nation would still be here (to defend the country), but were he to remain then the nation would not be here. For the nation does not support him, and were the Russians to attack, then those who have been made to suffer by this family may even assist the Russians! And the people may rejoice just like they did at that time. Iran may be better protected against the Russians with him not around.

The real reason why Russia will not attack Iran, and neither will America or Britain, is that these powers are themselves stopping one another from doing so. If one of them were to try to launch an attack, the others would object and a world war would begin, and they are all too aware that (another)

¹ With the arrival of the Allies in Iran, the communists within the country who considered Russia to be their patron began a rebellion in Azerbaijan with the aim of dividing Iran and placing the country at the mercy of Russia. The instigator of this revolt was a man by the name of Pishavari. Pishavari was the leader of the communist Firqah-ye Dimokrat party, who had made himself a candidate for the National Consultative Assembly but whose credentials had been rejected. Subsequently, he went to Azerbaijan where he proclaimed the Azerbaijan separatist movement and through intimidation, murder and terror tactics tried to set up a communist government under the Soviet banner. However, the vigilant people of Azerbaijan soon put paid to his plans.

world war would be equivalent to the end of the human race. It would not be the case that they embark on a world war and one prevails over the other, one destroys the other and lives to see another day, for atomic weapons would be involved which would bring about the destruction of the human race. No rational person would accept this as an expedient course of action, for a world war today would be something quite different from the First and Second World Wars. During those wars, one did not have access to such weapons as are available today. Very little weaponry was involved in the First World War, and although in the second more weapons were used, they were not like those which are available nowadays. All the rational people of the world know, as the superpowers do, that the present situation is such that were a world war to break out, it would not be like the other wars; this war would take the human race to the brink of annihilation. Russia would be destroyed, America would be destroyed; other countries would also be destroyed. So to avert this, another world war will not occur, and if by any chance it does, then our fate will be the same as that of the other people of the world; our recompense, however, will be good, I cannot say the same for theirs [The audience laughs].

Unsound logic

This talk, this logic that if “His Imperial Majesty” is not here Russia will attack from one direction and Britain and America from another, is unsound! It is his “power” which is confronting all the powers of the world indeed! It is claimed that it is his power which is countering (the threat from) these three superpowers Britain, America and Russia! Not just Russia alone, he stands in the way of all three powers! And now Carter shudders at the very thought that such a power exists in Iran! [The audience laughs]. Just imagine, when the Shah speaks, the Kremlin and Britain tremble with fear! He claims that Iran has not been divided because he is around! That if he goes Iran will be divided! This is what he says. Well, he has been in the habit of talking like this since childhood [The audience laughs], and today is no different.

Communism will never find a way into Iran

So now let us take a look at the second assumption. The claim is no longer that Iran will be attacked if he is not around, but that his presence maintains stability and that these communists within the country, who cannot do anything as long as he is in power, will, as soon as he goes, create anarchy and will hand Azerbaijan over to Russia or even give Iran to the Russians! Yes, this is what is being said; sometimes they put it this way and at other

times they say that the communists may not hand the country over to the Russians, but Iran will become a communist country! The Shah makes such claims too. If we consider this carefully, we will see that this too is nothing more than idle talk.

Let's say, for the sake of argument, that these communists in Iran are afraid of his power, does this mean that if his power is removed then the people themselves will have nothing to say (about the communists)?! Out of a population of thirty-odd million Iranians, only a few are communists, and even then they are not the kind of communists who want to bring Russia into Iran; I do not really believe that they are genuine communists, to use their terminology. Most of these communists, their leaders that is—perhaps the same cannot be said for their young followers—end up working for the court! Some of them are now servants of the court and are affiliated to it! These people are what I call American communists, not true communists.¹ Now let us suppose that a number are communists; well, we all know what kind of slogans have been given throughout the course of the Iranian revolution, and indeed, at the present time too as Iran continues in the grip of revolution, we are still hearing such slogans. Are they communist or Islamic slogans? Everyone knows that if a short slogan is given somewhere and we presume that it has been given by some (true) communists, it is still only a drop compared to an ocean. In all regions of Iran the call for an Islamic government is being raised. Let's suppose that there are a few who, in their words, are chanting communist slogans, this small number is nothing compared to this flood, this sea of people who are on the move now and who are all demanding an Islamic government.

So this is just idle talk that he uses to try to mislead others, even though he himself knows that there is no truth in it and he cannot mislead anyone. What does division mean? What does becoming communist mean? One minute he says Iran will be divided, in other words Russia will seize one part of Iran, Britain another and America another, and the next he says Iran will become a communist country! Does he mean just one bit will become communist?! The rest won't?! Will the communists take only Azerbaijan or will Russia come and seize it? This is what their talk centers around, that if the Shah is not around such and such will happen! It is all for the purpose of keeping him in power. If America says such things it is to preserve his rule; Russia too supports him and may say such things in order to make it known

¹ Concerning how SAVAK penetrated the Tudeh Party and in particular the extent of its influence in the Tehran branch of the Tudeh Party, refer to *Siyasat va Sazman-e Hizb-e Tudeh*, vol. 1; Ihsan Tabari, *Kitab-e Kaj Raheh*; and *KGB in Iran*.

that he must be kept in power. Britain may also say such things in order to preserve his rule. Of course they are all agreed that he should stay because at present they do not have anyone better than him to safeguard their interests. If they could find a better servant than him, they would not proffer him so much support. But now this servant (the Shah) is an old hand who knows the ropes and understands how to operate. Even though at present he is inefficient, still they would like him to remain so that their interests may be maintained for a little while longer.

The nation of Iran is now standing its ground in the face of these claims and is saying: "No! We want our resources to be for us; we want to be free; we want to be independent; we want a government of Islamic justice not an unjust government which gives everything we have away; we want a trustworthy government which is loyal to the people." Indeed we have reliable people in Iran and abroad who can take the place of this man and his regime.

Emphasizing the duty of Iranians abroad

I repeat again that those of us who are abroad, who are outside Iran, have a duty to help the Iranians, to help the Iranian nation which has risen up and is now sacrificing everything it has for all our sakes. It is our bounden duty to help them to the best of our ability. While we are here, we can give interviews to the press and if possible write articles for publication in newspapers and magazines. When you speak with the people, enlighten them to the facts, tell them that the people of Iran are not "despicable riffraff," as Mr. Carter describes them, who want to throw an honorable gentleman out of the country. No, they are a people who want their rights, who want the basic right to which a human being is entitled: freedom and independence. They want to throw that person who has encroached upon this right out of Iran and sever the hands of those who have encroached upon their rights. Tell this to the people over here with whom you have relations, repeat it until a wave of support is found abroad (for the Iranian cause) and, God willing, you will achieve your aim that much quicker as indeed I would like you to do, God willing [The audience replies with "God willing"]. May God grant you all success.

Interview

Date: November 27, 1978 [Azar 6, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Shah's escape from Iran, Iran's future developments

Interviewer: A reporter of the British *Time* Television

Question: [I have come from the British Time Television to France and I am very happy to interview you. We were in Iran for three weeks, interviewed various people and have got certain information. It is my feeling that the Shah should go. This program will be shown on December 7, that is, after nineteen days, in England and I hope that it will be an impartial program. Your Eminence, how do you evaluate the present situation of your county?]

Answer: The present atmosphere is increasingly against the Shah and God willing it shall shortly achieve its definite result, that is, the collapse of the Shah and the establishment of a just government.

Q: [What is your future plan for the Shah? Should he go, or can he reign?]

A: Shah will never have any position to reign and we will never allow such a position for him. But, he can leave only if he flees, otherwise the nation will arrest, try and punish him.

Q: [What are your main reasons for opposing the Shah?]

A: The Shah's excessive treacheries in all fields are our main reasons for opposing him. In contravention to all legal criteria, he has ruled for many years. His excessive massacres, his dependence on the aliens, and his destruction of the country in all its aspects condemn his usurping government. The nation does not want him; he must go.

Q: [Do you intend to declare *jihad*?]

A: Not now, but in case the aliens support him and the struggles prolong, I will review this issue.

Q: [Is it correct that you have announced to carry out sabotage in the oil installations?]

A: No, I have not allowed sabotage. But if our oil is to be taken up to the end, some measures might be taken so they will not be able to take it.

Q: [May you kindly refer to some details and elaborate on the Islamic government?]

A: The Islamic government means a government based on justice and democracy and a government based on Islamic rules and laws; I do not have time to explain more right now.

Q: [What changes do you intend to bring about in future Iran?]

A: We will reconstruct the destruction carried out by the Shah and basically will reform the shortcomings created due to the monarchical system. We will destroy all the rotten and vain frameworks that have pushed the people toward Westoxication during the past fifty years and will establish a government based on justice and fairness for all the strata of our homeland. We will ask our people to rely on their Islamic principles and turn their backs to the West and the Westoxicated people, who have destroyed their culture. Through any possible means, we will liberate ourselves from the military, economic, social, political, and cultural dependencies. Of course we are aware of the kind of problems we will face, but we should begin almost from square one.

Dialogue

Date: November 27, 1978 [Azar 6, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Disappearance of Imam Musa Sadr and emphasis on the struggle against the Zionist regime and the Shah's regime till victory

Audience: The representatives of Lebanon's *Harikat al-Mahrumin*

[In the beginning of this meeting, Imam Khomeini expressed his concern about the disappearance of Imam Musa Sadr, prayed for his return and thanked the Lebanese delegation for pursuing the case. Then, the representative of the Lebanese delegation, Mr. Sayyid Husayn Husayni, elaborated on the condition of the Lebanese ShiAh from 1860 onward and also enumerated the crimes committed by the Zionists against them. He said: The Lebanese ShiAh have pinned their hopes on the Iranian ShiAh, their movement and the Islamic Revolution. They consider themselves from Iran, the Iranian movement is that of the Lebanese ShiAh and they will support it through any possible means.]

Imam: I thank you for offering a correct view. From the very beginning, we maintained a clear-cut idea about the Zionists. One of the reasons for our opposition to the Shah was this very relationship with Israel. This very issue has caused the movement of the Iranian people. We have frequently taken the Shah to task in our statements. In the very statement, issued on the oil employees a few days ago, the issue of Israel and Iran's oil were mentioned.

[Sayyid Husayn Husayni: Our single goal is an Islamic and Shii goal. The activities of Mr. Sadr in 1968 led to the formation of the Supreme Islamic Assembly of the ShiAh. The *Harikat al-Mahrumin* and *Amal* movements, the political and military wings of the Shii movement, were created. And this happened at a time when the ShiAh had been disintegrated. They reunited and reorganized them, creating a power for them. The ShiAh constitute one-third of the Lebanese population and possess forty percent of its territory. The ShiAh also constitute the largest group in Lebanon. At a time when *Harikat al-Mahrumin*, led by Imam Musa Sadr, is continuing its activity and when we believe in Islam and Shiism and are inspired by the path of Musa Sadr, suddenly he is kidnapped, dealing a severe blow on us. It has seriously preoccupied us. It has deprived us of our concentration so that we will not be able to help the ShiAh of the world, particularly those of Iran.]

Imam: The problem of Mr. Sadr is a very crucial one and has also dealt a blow on us, but I hope that he will come back soon and continue to

undertake the tasks which are Islamic and in the interest of the ShiAh. We should encourage the ShiAh. You gentlemen should not be disappointed in his absence. God is with righteousness and supports all. You must encourage the ShiAh. Avoid disunity. God has promised His assistance. Righteousness is on your side. Inspire hope in the people. Rely on yourself in all affairs.

[Husayni: We always thank the Almighty God and are satisfied with what He wants. We request you to pray for us, advise us, admonish and guide us. Who is more competent than you to advise us—particularly at this juncture? We do not have anybody else. Our objective is to thank you for your measures, seek your advice, guidance and instruction. We believe in our Shii line, we are firm and this is our destiny.]

Imam: At the time of the raids of the aliens, Islam has always succeeded due to the fortitude, forbearance, and contemplation of the Muslims. For instance, the holy Prophet (S)¹ defeated Iran and Rome with a small force due to his faith; today too our religion and our stance are right. We rely on the Almighty God. We are not afraid of the magnitude of the enemy's power and hope that this Iranian movement and that of the Lebanese would succeed through reliance on God and lack of negligence of God's grace, although the enemy is powerful. We thank you for your visit and your coming.

[Husayni: We will not forget to express our gratitude. In Lebanon, everybody prays for you and beseech God to grant success to you and the Iranian revolution. The ShiAh Assembly members have conveyed their greetings to you and pray for you, the Political Bureau of *Amal* too have sent their greetings to you and pray for you, the Syrian officials too have conveyed their compliments and requested you to pray for them.]

Imam: Convey my regards to all the brothers and Lebanese ShiAh, convey my regards to the gentlemen who had conveyed their regards to me. I hope you will succeed, God willing.

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

Interview

Date: November 27, 1978 [Azar 6, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 26, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Joining of the army to the Revolution; oil policy of the Islamic Republic

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

Question: [About the army, do you wish the army to join the people? Are you sure that if you issue a decree for *jihad*, the army will not suppress your supporters?]

Answer: There are some commanders in the army who support the Shah and are themselves an accomplice of the Shah in his crimes, embezzlement and plunder. It is evident that they have distanced themselves from the people and will never join them. But the soldiers and officers, who are in touch with the people and are themselves suffering because of the Shah's regime, will sooner or later join the people. According to some reports, an evidence of the joining of the army to the people is the suicide of some of the soldiers and officers and sometimes they commit suicide after killing their commanders. Also there are some reports about the mass execution of the soldiers and officers by the regime. But what is certain is that the Shah cannot continue his rule through relying on the army or suppression of the people.

Q: [About oil, what will be the oil policy of the Islamic Republic? Will the ceiling of production remain at the present level? Will the agreements signed by the former regime remain valid? What is your stance on the oil prices?]

A: What can be said right now is that we will not seal the oil wells, but will not auction them either. Nor can anybody impose his will on us; the utilization of oil should be only through its sale. Why shouldn't we be able to replace the oil revenues with the oil itself in our economic system? And about the ceiling of production, its price and the agreements signed by the former regime, the future government, the real representative of the people, must decide about these issues.

Q: [About the regime, the republican system that you are going to establish will be an Islamic one. Will you accept to head the government?]

A: First of all the people should elect competent and reliable people and delegate the responsibilities to them. But I cannot personally accept any particular responsibility in this organization, but at the same time I, along

with the people, will always supervise the situation and will carry out my guidance responsibility.

Interview

Date: November 29, 1978 [Azar 8, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 28 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Return to Iran

Interviewer: A reporter of the French magazine, *al-IqtiSad al-Arabi* and the Middle East News Bulletin

Question: [In an interview with the Agence France-Presse, you had said that a revolutionary government must be set up with the collapse of the Shah in Iran and added that you will not return to Iran before the Shah's collapse. It seems that due to Shah's talks with such people Mr. Karim Sanjabi as well the US pressures on the Shah, it is possible that he leaves Iran and a transition government, consisting of the very people who are ready to compromise, will be set up. Under such circumstances, will you accept such a government as the transitional government and go back to Iran?]

Answer: The first item of our demands, which is also demanded by the people, is the dismissal of the Shah, but the problem is not the person of the Shah. We strongly reject any government which is not of the people or relies on the same power that brought the Shah to power and protected him or relies on any other power. We will treat him in the same manner that we treated the Shah. My return to Iran or my stay abroad depends on where I can render better services to my nation.

Q: [You have said that all those who oppose the Constitution and support free elections as opportunists should be dismissed from their positions. Does it mean that the present Constitution does not have any validity in your opinion? If it is so, what kind of constitution should be prepared for running the affairs of the country?]

A: The Shah and his clique, who talk of the constitution, without any doubt do not have any respect for the constitution, for during the past fifty years they have trampled on it. In fact, they say so in order to protect the monarchy and the person of the Shah through this trick. And due to this very plot, I have frequently reminded the people and the leaders of the nation not to talk of the constitution, for unknowingly they are caught in Shah's plots and in my opinion the present constitution is not valid without the necessary amendments.

Q: [In one of your statements, you have asked the workers to continue their strike irrespective of the regime's promises. One of the demands of these strikes is the establishment of free trade unions. What is your opinion about such trade unions? If you agree with their establishments, what will be their role and significance within the framework of your proposed Islamic Republic?]

A: The committed, disinherited workers of Iran, who are mainly the former poor, hungry peasants and farmers, have every right to struggle through any possible legitimate means to achieve their due rights. They will be allowed in the Islamic Republic to form any platform to resolve their problems and difficulties and consequently inform the government of their problems and defend their professional rights.

Q: [What is your opinion about the activities of the leftist parties within the framework of the government of the Islamic Republic without relying on any foreign power?]

A: Every citizen will enjoy the right to freedom of faith and expression in the Islamic Republic, but we will not allow any treachery by any individual or group who are dependent on foreign powers.

Q: [What is your idea about the struggle of the Palestinian people? Given that about half of the Israeli oil requirements are supplied by Iran, what measures should be taken in this regard?]

A: One of the reasons of the uprising of the Iranian people is the Shah's unconditional support for the usurper Israel. The Shah supplies oil to Israel. He has turned Iran into a consumption market for the Israeli goods and renders other spiritual supports to it. He condemns Israel only to deceive the world public opinion. Neither the Iranian Muslim nation, nor any other Muslim nor any freeman would recognize Israel, and we will always remain a supporter of our Palestinian and Arab brothers.

Q: [In your messages you have frequently condemned the role of the United States, Soviet Union, Britain and China in the international arena. What is your opinion about the sale of Iranian gas and oil to these countries and some of their allies such as South Africa? Overall, what is your plan for the management of the oil industry?]

A: I have always told the Iranian nation not to be deceived by the false propaganda. The United States and Britain, who speak of civilization and progress, and also the Soviet Union and China, who talk of revolution and

support for the revolutionaries, are each in one way or another cooperating with the Shah—the professional criminal; the same Shah, who supports any tyrant or criminal in any part of the world. The Iranian nation has decided to continue its struggle in order get rid of the clutches of these cannibals and regulate its relations on the basis of this independence. And about oil, who dares to command us that we should always plunder our oil generously, supply it to others and not use it ourselves? We will not supply our oil to the enemies of humanity and mankind.

Interview

Date: November 29, 1978 [Azar 8, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 28 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The present and future of the Islamic Revolution of Iran

Interviewers: A group of Norwegian reporters and reporters of the *Financial Times* (London) and *ar-Ray* (Tunisia)

Question: [What are the future plans of Your Eminence for the future of Iran?]

Answer: God willing we will establish an Islamic government in Iran after the Shah has gone. We will hold a referendum on the type of political system, that is, the Islamic Republic, and will make up for all the shortcomings that the Shah has thus far created.

Q: [In case of the Shah's collapse, will Your Eminence go back to Iran to form a new government? Some people believe that you will go back to Iran before the collapse of the Shah. What is the Ayatullah's opinion?]

A: Whenever I deem it appropriate, I will go back to Iran, either before or after the collapse of the Shah.

Q: [Is your presumed new government a hundred percent Islamic, in the sense that there will be no place for the Jews, Christians and other religious minorities in the future government?]

A: Of course there will be a place for the religious minorities in the Islamic government. Currently they have their representatives in the Parliament. We maintain this right for them in the Islamic government as well.

Q: [What will be the nature of the future government's relations with the West? Should all the foreigners who are in Iran leave the country?]

A: Not only do we not have any ill-will against the Western nations, but we are cordial with them; however, we are not in good terms with the governments that have ill-treated us. Anyway, we will treat the Westerners fairly and will never treat anybody unjustly.

Q: [What is the opinion of the Ayatullah about the Soviet Union and the communists?]

A: The Soviet Union is among the countries that have transgressed upon us and we are not satisfied with it. The social conditions of Iran are such that communism does not have any place in it.

Q: [Do you advocate the formation of a federation of the Islamic governments in the region?]

A: If the conditions are congenial, it may be possible.

Q: [Does the Ayatullah have any relations with MuAmmar Qaddafi of Libya?]

A: No, but I sent him a message with regard to an issue and he responded.¹

Q: [If the present regime of Iran collapses and an Islamic government is established, will the land reforms carried out by the Shah be set aside and will the lands confiscated from the landlords be returned to them?]

A: No, the lands will not be returned to the landlords. The landlords have not paid the Islamic taxes throughout history and all of their lands will be handed over to the government.

Q: [What are your plans, opinion and guidelines for your supporters during the month of Muharram?]

A: I have asked my friends to hold the sessions more vigorously than ever and hold the sessions of this month without seeking any permission from the government. And if the government bans the sessions, they should hold them outside the religious premises, on the streets and alleys, and thus continue the movement.

Q: [We see that a complete unity has been forged among the forces opposing the Shah, either religious or political forces inside the country and all of them say that the Shah must go. What is vague for us is the kind of system that is to replace the Shah and win the support of all the forces?]

A: We intend to replace the monarchical regime with an Islamic government in its true sense. We will hold referendum on the republican system and since the Iranians are all Muslims, they will vote for it. After their confirmation, the Islamic Republic will be established.

¹ Reference is made to a letter written to MuAmmar Qaddafi on the Imam Musa Sadr affair and the Imam's insistence to get an answer

Q: [Although some people try to label the religious movement of Iran as a reactionary one, the Tunisians and the Muslims in Tunisia are inclined toward the religious movements in Iran. Do you have any message for the Tunisian people?]

A: My message for all the nations of the world, particularly the world Muslims, is that the Iranian nation has risen up to restore the rights which had been withheld from them and the sultans have usurped and blocked their rights throughout history. Hence, I request all the world nations and the honorable Muslims to assist the genuine Islamic movement and the Iranian nation. The humanity of the world people entails that they transmit the voice of our oppressed nation to the world. Moreover, it is the duty of the Muslims to assist those who have been oppressed.

Interview

Date: November 30, 1978 [Azar 9, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 29, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran's future political relations; martial law is lying

Interviewers: Reporters of the Lebanese *al-Hadaf* daily and Austrian Radio

Question: [Your Eminence, how do you evaluate the real situation of Iran?]

Answer: Today, a revolution is going on in Iran. Strikes have encompassed all the strata. The Shah's martial law is engaged in massacre and plunder. They provoke the marauders to attack the cities and kill the people. Our universities are all closed. Our seminaries are all shut down. There is total disorder. And these are all because the Iranian nation does not want the regime that has tyrannically ruled over the people for fifty years. It has created fifty years of suffocation and killed the people. The people do not want this regime and, God willing, they will triumph.

Q: [Your Eminence, what is your stance toward the other opponents of the Shah in Iran?]

A: We agree, and we are brothers, with anybody who agrees with the demands of the Iranian nation, that is, the collapse of the Shah and the monarchical system. And if they do not agree with those demands, they are naturally betrayers and we do not agree with them.

Q: [What should be the composition of the future government to win your confirmation?]

A: A republican government based on the people's votes, Islamic votes, and based on the Islamic law. This is what we call the Islamic Republic and is acknowledged by us.

Q: [What is the opinion of Your Eminence toward the United States and Soviet Union? Do you perceive any military intervention by these powers in Iran in the future?]

A: No, we don't foresee such a probability, for currently something similar to the US military intervention in Iran is underway. The Iranian nation believes that it should gain independence and freedom. Hence, how could the problems in Iran be settled through the intervention of these two powers? Of

course the countries that do not interfere in our internal affairs and treat us justly will be treated by us justly and in a similar manner.

Q: [What will be the nature of your relations with the Arab countries? What direction will you tilt toward—toward such progressive Arab countries as Libya, Syria, and Iraq, or toward the moderate countries such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt?]

A: The government we are going to establish will be an Islamic one, the Islamic Republic. We will be of course closer to those countries that are closer to the Islamic Republic and we will be farther from those that are farther from the Islamic Republic.

Q: [The martial law (martial cabinet of Ghulam-Rida Azhari) has announced that it is determined to amend the constitution to make it compatible with the Islamic laws—this is what some Arab dailies have announced. Your Eminence, do you think that the Shah will be able to influence the opposition front and attract some of them through such plans and measures?]

A: They are lying. If they are sincere, the first things in the constitution that are against Islam are the Shah's reign and the monarchy. If this is set right, other Islamic laws are also taken into account and those who are at the top are gone, then we will clarify our position.

Interview

Date: December 1, 1978 [Azar 10, 1357 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 30, 1398 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The month of Muharram, armed struggle, relations with the US

Interviewer: A reporter of the American PBS national TV

Question: [Your Eminence, addressing the Iranian nation in one of your statements you asked them to overthrow the regime through any possible means from the first of Muharram, beginning from tomorrow. What do you mean by “any possible means?”]

Answer: I mean demonstrations and rallies as well as the lectures and statement to be made at the pulpits... The month of Muharram is when the people are ready to hear about righteous issues. Today, our righteous issues are freedom and independence. I have ordered them to discuss these issues during the month of Muharram and hold sessions on these issues. And if they are banned, they should pour into the streets and announce these issues through any possible means.

Q: [How do your orders reach millions of your supporters?]

A: The people are my supporters and the issues that I set forth are popular issues related to them, hence, everybody feels duty-bound to spread our message.

Q: [How does your message reach the people? Is there any command hierarchy to assure them that they are your genuine messages?]

A: There are people who are trusted by us and we transfer our messages through them.

Q: [If these peaceful methods and political struggles fail to achieve the goal, will you ask your followers to wage a war, that is, to actually pick up arms and fight?]

A: To the extent that it is possible, we like to settle the problem peacefully and reach our goal through the very method that the Iranian nation is engaged in, that is, strikes and demonstrations which will be augmented in the month of Muharram. But if we do not reach our goal, there may be some revisions.

Q: [Even if that entails that you send your supporters to face the Shah's bullets?]

A: Of course our supporters do not want to face the bullets. They want to vindicate their rights. And in order to restore their rights, it is a necessary task. Moreover, they are doing it peacefully. But it is the Shah who orders to kill them.

Q: [Over the past few months, the Shah has tried through various means to reach some sort of compromise with you and his opponents. In your opinion, has not the time of this promise come in order to prevent the massacre of a large number of your supporters?]

A: If he is honest and wants to compromise, he must submit to the demand of the people, that is, he should go. But he does not say the truth. He does not want to compromise. He wants to deceive the people and then he will treat them worse than the first time.

Q: [Therefore, there is no other way except struggle against the Shah.]

A: There is no solution.

Q: [The Shah's government has announced the seizure of great amounts of ammunition in two Iranian cities. Does it mean that you and your supporters are collecting weapons?]

A: Our supporters are getting ready to confront oppression. But, does the Iranian government tell the truth? I do not know that.

Q: [Your Eminence, are you aware that your followers have armed themselves?]

A: They have told us that they want to arm themselves and I have allowed them to get ready.

Q: [Which means that they should collect arms!]

A: Yes.

Q: [Where do you get these armaments from?]

A: I do not know.

Q: [I have been told that some of these weapons are supplied by the Palestine Liberation Organization. Is it correct?]

A: I do not have any information.

Q: [Would it surprise you, if these weapons are supplied by Palestine?]

A: I do not know.

Q: [Is it right that you are a supporter of the objectives of the Palestine Liberation Organization?]

A: We are supporters of the oppressed. Whosoever is oppressed anywhere, we support him. And the Palestinians are oppressed. Israel has oppressed them. Therefore, we support them.

Q: [If the Shah goes and your presumed government comes to power, what changes will occur in the relations of your government with Israel?]

A: We will reject Israel and will not have any relations with it. Israel is a usurping government and is our enemy.

Q: [No oil will be supplied to Israel from Iran?]

A: That is true.

Q: [If your proposed government comes to power, what changes will take place in the relations of your government with the United States?]

A: We do not want to commit any inequity against the United States and do not want to surrender to the US oppression. We will not tolerate what they have done to us, which had been oppressive. But we will have friendly relations with all the nations and if the governments treat us respectfully, we will treat them on the basis of mutual respect.

Q: [What blows have the Americans inflicted upon you that you are protesting against them?]

A: The greatest crime committed against us by the American governments have been the imposition of the Pahlavi dynasty on us; they took our resources away with their collaboration and in lieu of them they did not supply us with anything useful for the nation; they brought our army under their own protection so it rises against our nation... They set up bases in Iran in contravention to our independence. And with the presence of this Shah, we will not be able to live an appropriate life. It is the US that supports the Shah; even now the US president has announced, and announces, his support for the Shah. The US president terms a nation that has risen up for its freedom and independence as lowly and mean. This is Mr. Carter's logic. We call on the American nation to tell Mr. Carter that a nation that has been oppressed, a

nation that is under pressure, a nation whose freedom—all sorts of freedoms—has been taken away, a nation that has no independence, a nation whose citizens are being killed, a nation that has been dominated by the oppressors... is now trying to vindicate its own rights. They cry: we want freedom, we want independence. Is such a thing meanness and lowliness that Mr. Carter says? We would want the American nation to take their leaders into task. We do not like the American nation to be projected as an oppressive nation among the nations and lose its prestige. If the American nation accompanies us, we will even thank them.

Q: [There are some military contracts, worth 22 billion dollars, between Iran and the United States. If your government comes to power, what will happen to these agreements?]

A: These agreements have been against the interests of our country. One of the treacheries of the Shah against us, has been the very agreements that he signed to the detriment of our nation. The agreements that are against the interest of our nation will not have any value. But if there is any agreement in which fairness has been taken into account and is useful for our nation, we will correct such agreements.

Q: [What kinds of agreements are useful and what kind of agreements are not?]

A: Right now I cannot say what agreement is useful. What we know is that they have signed some agreements and taken our oil in lieu of which they have supplied us with weapons that are not useful for us at all. These agreements are detrimental to the interests of our country. A useful agreement is one that is signed to supply a useful item to Iran—useful items for our agriculture and industry. But the items that are not at all useful for Iran, are not useful agreements.

Q: [Your Eminence, you spoke about the military bases. If you come to power, will you ask for the closure and dismantling of those bases?]

A: These bases are against our interests. Of course later the experts must give their opinions in this regard.

Q: [Has there been any recent contact with you by the Americans or on behalf of the American officials?]

A: No.

Q: [Does the US government try to neglect you?]

A: I do not know.

Q: [We have been told that you have already chosen the person who will be nominated to head the Iranian government. Is it so?]

A: We are planning to choose.

Q: [Are they more than one person, or there is only one?]

A: There are several persons.

Q: [Do you say that your proposed government should come to power through great bloodshed, particularly during the next month?]

A: No, we are never willing to shed blood. We want to settle the problem peacefully.

Letter

Date: November 1978 [Azar 1357 AHS / Muharram 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The characteristics of the members of the Islamic Revolutionary Council

Addressee: Husayn Nuri Hamedani

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram al-Haram 1399 AH

After conveying my greetings and salutations, I would like to state that we need committed and trustable men who would become the members of the council—after the collapse of the regime. Besides religiosity and interest in Islam, they should have the following characteristics:

1. Lack of diversionary thoughts, rather lack of inclination toward such schools of thought; they should have only Islamic thoughts.
2. They must be competent to run a ministry, that is, they must be learned and good managers.
3. They should be famed for their patriotism and should be reputable.
4. They should not have been members of the corrupt governments or the two houses of parliament, disreputable for their corruption.
5. They should not represent the capitalists and should not be known as capitalists themselves.
6. They should not belong to the class of clerics.

Discuss the issue as soon as possible in a meeting of the learned and enlightened friends in Qum and try to find such people immediately. At least find ten persons—even with the help of the informed people of other cities—and introduce them to me, by confirming and ratification of their competence. This issue has been mentioned to Tehran as well. May peace be upon you.

Message

Date: December 2, 1978 [Azar 11, 1357 AHS / Muharram 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Massacre of the Muslim people; the necessity of the desertion of the military headquarters and the continuation of strikes

Occasion: The arrival of the month of Muharram

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Muharram 1, 1399 AH

Once again the criminal hands of the Shah came out of the treacherous sleeves of the unlawful martial government and shed the blood of the Iranian nation on the threshold of the month of Muharram, the month of the confrontation of Islam, righteousness and justice with the army of Satan and satanic government. Once again the blood-thirsty tyrants, the plundering thieves and the stateless robbers have commenced their savage attacks against the children of the Quran and Islam and the nationalist youngsters of the honorable Iranian nation, cropping the fruitful saplings of humanity with their machineguns, cannons, and tanks.

The unbearable news from Iran to date, when hardly one day of the month of Muharram has been put behind, has tormented my soul and spirit. The news of this day and night underline the aspects of the crimes committed by the Shah and the rogue government and at the same time demonstrate the unique valor and courage of the zealous nation.

Today, the enemies of Islam and Iran and the supporters of the Yazidi regime are pitted against the followers of the Quran and Islam and the ardent opponents of the satanic, Abu Sufyani regime. They want to respond—with their machineguns, cannons and tanks—to the Islamic, Husayni slogans, raised for the revival of Islam and acquisition of freedom and attainment of independence as well as the establishment of the rule of law, and a just government against the law of the jungle. They are ignorant of the fact that a nation that has risen wakefully and consciously and has recognized its movement as a divine, religious duty would make mockery of this rusted weaponry.

This nation is the follower of the greatest man of history who, with a few companions, created the great movement of *Ashura*, discarding the

Umayyad dynasty to the dustbin of history forever, hoisting the flag of Islam in this vast country—rather in all the countries. The massacre of those who honor the martyrs of the righteous path is a stigma on the forehead of the treacherous Shah and his domestic and foreign supporters and is an honor for the great Iranian nation who has firmly stood against the modern weapons, and have shaken the pillars of the palace of oppression and inequity. From this far distance, I convey my endless salutations to the great nation; I share in their grief and happiness and I remain loyal to them. I seek the assistance of all human beings for achieving the humanistic goal for which the Iranian nation has risen up. I seek the assistance of all the Muslims for the Islamic movement that has been formed to redeem Islam and the Islamic country. I advise those who, through their deadly silence or probably through their measures, support the treacherous Shah, to join the oppressed nation—who are offering their blood and make sacrifices for Islam—and avoid their whims and carnal desires. The Iranian nation will be victorious, whether or not the Shah continues his illegitimate rule through reliance on bayonet. The honors of our nation have been recorded at the magnificent threshold of the Almighty God. The resistance of my dear ones in the way of righteousness and warding off of the falsehood has shaken the nations of the world, the oppressed nations have realized their path through your movement, and you have acquired the pleasure of Allah, which is above everything.

I ask all the soldiers across the country to desert the barracks; this is a religious obligation, for one must not serve an oppressor. I request the fathers, mothers and family members of the luminaries to dissuade them from assisting the treacherous Shah and prevent them from obeying the top officials of the Shah and the aliens and also request the officers to join their own nation and acquire the honor of rendering services to the Muslims.

I must express my gratitude to the general strikes of the Islamic movement that have been organized to support the nation. Although these glorious demonstrations are troublesome, they play a significant role in furthering the humane objectives of the nation. Continue your huge strikes more than ever and paralyze the system of these treacherous outlaws. Assistance to these traitors is unlawful and is against the pleasure of Allah. Obedience to them, under any excuse, is tantamount to opposition to Islam and God of Islam. The strike of the workers of the oil industries prevents the wastage of this great wealth of the nation and is obedience to God. I acknowledge the statement of the great teachers and honorable scholars—may their blessings last—of the Qum Seminary on the day of solidarity of the

nation with the strikes in the government and non-government offices, particularly in the oil industries. As a member of this nation, I also announce my solidarity with them.

At this crucial juncture, when the destiny of our nation is being determined, anybody who shirks the responsibility toward the movement is rejected by our great leader, the Imam of the Time, may Allah hasten his advent, and the nation is duty-bound to excommunicate him and do not accept any excuse from him. Any attempt by any politician to assume power, while the Shah is in power, is rejected by Islam and is opposed to Islam and it is the duty of the nation to reject him. The opportunists must sit in their place, for they do not have any base among the nation. If the Shah is not captured by the nation, he has only one way ahead of him, that is, abdication from lawlessness and usurping reign.

Now, at this crucial juncture, the duty of the honorable religious authorities and clerics of the cities—may their blessings last—as well as that of the respectable preachers—may their emanations be perpetuated—is very significant; and we are all responsible toward God. Indolence and indifference is tantamount to the assistance to the oppressive system and wastage of the blood of the oppressed, which will lead to the destruction of the sublime exigencies of Islam and those of the Islamic country. I thank all the respectable strata of people who follow the Imam of the *ummah*, Imam Husayn (A), during this month of struggle. God is with you and the holy Quran is the refuge of the nation. May peace be upon those who follow the guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: December 2, 1978 [Azar 11, 1357 AHS / Muharram 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The destiny of Iran; Iran-US future relations

Interviewer: A reporter of the Italian national TV

Question: [You have already become the hub of unity of all the forces. Why has it happened? And why isn't the Shah able to control this situation?]

Answer: What matters in Iran is only the force of the classes and strata of the people who have more than ever got united toward overthrowing the Shah. And they consider me their servant. Over the past few years the people have properly recognized the nature of the Shah and will not be anymore deceived by his promises and measures. Therefore, the nation has risen up in unity against the Shah and the Shah is no more able to control the situation.

Q: [Where will the present situation lead to? What outlet do you propose? What is the Islamic Republic?]

A: The prime objective of the Islamic movement is to eliminate the monarchy and there is not any other way for tranquility in Iran and stability of the region. Naturally, there should be an alternative to this regime for the country's future and there should be a system agreed and liked by the entire society. And this is the Islamic Republic. The bases of an Islamic Republic are: preservation of the country's independence, safeguarding the people's freedom, campaign against corruption and licentiousness, and legislation and enactment of the laws in order to launch reforms in economic, political, social and cultural fields on the basis of the Islamic values. These reforms will be carried out with the participation of the entire nation. The main objectives of the reforms are primarily eradication of poverty and improvement of the condition of life of the majority of the people who have been oppressed in various manners.

Q: [Have the military forces expressed any support for you? Do you think that the army has become more neutral? Is there any possibility of any change in its direction? Do you think that there is a threat of a military coup to replace the Islamic Republic?]

A: In the final analysis, the army is of the very same people. Some problems have already emerged from within the army. We hope that the military

personnel themselves join the people. However, the engineering of a military coup will not change anything. The people's struggle will continue until an Islamic Republic has been established.

Q: [Do you think that a civil war will break out in Iran? Is the bloodshed in the people's interests?]

A: It is the monarchy that sheds the blood of the innocent people and all the governments of the world have extended their supports to it. Now, the people have risen up and it is their established right to struggle against the regime by any possible means in order to prevent futile bloodshed in the future. Basically, civil war breaks out when the people are divided into two groups. The Iranian people are unanimously united against the Shah and support the establishment of the Islamic Republic; therefore, there is no possibility of the outbreak of a civil war in Iran.

Q: [Do you think that the resignation of the Shah is necessary? Is there any possibility of a compromise? Have you rejected to meet his envoys?]

A: The elimination of the monarchy is necessary and there is no possibility of any compromise with the present regime. Thus far no one has contacted us as the envoy of the present regime, and if they contact, they will not be admitted.

Q: [Do you think that the Shah's attempts for turning Iran into a modern industrial society will continue, or they should be moderated? How should Iran mobilize its resources? Do you think that Iran should stop the sale of its gas to the Soviet Union and its oil to the West?]

A: What has happened during the Pahlavi reign, particularly during the rule of the present Shah, has been nothing except the destruction of the economy, industry and agriculture. Their attempts have been termed as modernization and transformation of Iran to an industrial society. What we intend to do is a real modernization based on the fundamental needs of the absolute majority and the poor people of Iran. Our resources will be utilized on the basis of the requirements of the society and in relation to other nations of the world. What we intend to do in the economic field is prevention of the looting of the resources of this nation, not severance of economic relations with other countries of the world. Exactly, within the framework of a just deal, our oil and gas will be supplied to the customers. More significantly, the foreign revenues should be earmarked for economic development and for this

purpose we will definitely have full relations with the industrialized world. But we will preserve the right to decide about the direction of our economy.

Q: [What will be the future relations of Iran with the United States? Has President Carter realized the effect of the current movement in Iran? Do you think that Iran-US relations should undergo change? If so, in which direction?]

A: Our relations with the United States and other countries of the world will be based on mutual respect. We will not allow the US to decide about our right to self-determination. What the past US governments have done and what Mr. Carter is doing right now, indicate that they resort to any means to protect this monarchy in order to preserve their interests, and this is why they have still a hostile attitude toward the Islamic movement. So long as the situation is as such, our attitude toward the US policy will remain negative. Of course we make a distinction between the American government and the American nation and call on the American nation to support the Islamic movement of Iran. The current relationship between the United States and Iran is that of a master and servant that must be definitely changed into a healthy relationship.

Q: [Do you think that the years of your exile are going to end?]

A: Place is not important for me, rather, whether I am inside or outside of Iran, my objective is the liberation of Iran from the clutches and bondage of colonialism and despotism.

Interview

Date: December 2, 1978 [Azar 11, 1357 AHS / Muharram 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The position of the Soviet Union after the victory of the Revolution

Interviewer: A reporter of *Radio Canada*

Question: [Your Eminence Ayatullah, are you not worried about the intervention of the Soviet Union in Iran in case the Shah is overthrown?]

Answer: No, there is nothing to worry about. Iran's situation is such that the Soviet Union cannot interfere in it.

Q: [If the Shah is dismissed, who will assume the leadership?]

A: It will be clear later. Due to some reasons, I cannot mention the names right now.

Q: [How many people does the Ayatullah think should be sacrificed in order to remove the Shah?]

A: It depends on how many people the Shah will kill.

Q: [The Iranian army was trained by the Americans and they are loyal to the Shah. If the Shah collapses, who will control the army?]

A: Some of the top brass officers are loyal to the Shah, but the lower ranks are not.

Q: [Why did you come to France instead of going to an Islamic country?]

A: Some of the Islamic countries banned my entry despite having a visa,¹ hence, I deemed France right for my provisional stay to study the Islamic countries. In the future I will go to an Islamic country where I will be able to continue my divine activities.

¹ Kuwait prevented Imam Khomeini's entry despite having the visa.

Speech

Date: December 2, 1978 [Azar 11, 1357 AHS / Muharram 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Any uprising for God's sake is victorious

Occasion: The arrival of the month of Muharram

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

Why we oppose the Shah's regime

We have been opposing the Shah's government for many years and still some people pretend not to understand and cover their ears! We recognized him for what he was from the start: a creature who brings disaster upon the nation of Iran daily and who spills the blood of our youth. Opposition to him has existed since the beginning (of his rule) and it has increased gradually, as his crimes increased so too did the opposition, until finally we arrived at the stage where we saw that he had destroyed everything we had: he had given our national resources away lock, stock and barrel; he had prevented all our active forces from progressing; he had kept our educational system in a retarded condition; he had ruined everything.

Now that the nation's opposition has reached its peak, and everyone (in the country) has risen up against him, he has become insane and no one can imagine what his situation and that of his government is at the present time... he has brought in a group of soldiers and has formed a government. A number of criminals have formed the government and they are all like him! He has put them to rule over our country and during the first twenty-four hours of the month of Muharram, the number of people killed is said by some to be very high. I do not have precise information as yet, but two sources have put the figure of those killed at twenty thousand! I do not know what will happen next. I cannot believe that this is really the number of people killed, but up until now information to this effect has reached here from two sources; of course lower figures have also been given.¹ What crime had been

¹ In demonstrations held on the eve of Muharram [December 2, 1978 / Azar 11, 1357 AHS] thousands of people were killed or injured throughout the country. The people of Tehran stayed awake during the first night of Muharram until morning shouting "God is the Greater" from the rooftops of their homes. On that same night, a large crowd of people who had gathered in the streets of Tehran and were shouting slogans against the Shah were suddenly attacked by soldiers who opened fire on them. The following day (the first day of Muharram), Tehran was in a state of complete closure. Even most of the private institutes had shut up shop. On this day too, the regime's agents opened fire on people who were shouting slogans. A group who had donned shrouds stood in front of the gates of Tehran University and shouted slogans as armed soldiers looked on. On the same day in the Sar Cheshmeh district of Tehran, agents martyred a number of people, collected their bodies, loaded them onto a lorry and took them away. Similar incidents took place on the first day of Muharram in the cities of Shiraz, Hamedan, Isfahan, Mahabad, to name but a few. (According to dispatches sent to the newspapers which because of the shut down were not published and are available from newspaper archives).

committed? What had this nation done other than to utter valid words saying: “We want a just government; we want a government that will use our country’s resources for the country itself”?

Islamic government means cessation of plundering and stealing

We are saying repeatedly that we want an Islamic government and the gentlemen think that an Islamic government comes from the other side of the world! It is something that no one can even imagine! We say that a thief should be removed and a righteous person put in his stead. Is this so very important? Yes, it is. Islam has laid down conditions for government: it should be just; it should be trustworthy and reassuring. A just government should be brought to power, one that abides by Islamic laws. We are calling for an Islamic government so that such things as have been happening will not happen again, so that such a creature as he will not be able to take the whole of the nation’s possessions in his own hands.

Over these past fifty years, they (the Shah and his father) have destroyed everything this country had. The Americans brought him (the Shah) to power and he is in their hands, so everything that Iran has, whether active human resources, subterranean wealth or the wealth which lies above the ground, should either be destroyed or should go into their (the Americans’) or his family’s pockets. Now that sums of money amounting to many billions have already been taken out of Iran—a list was brought to us and we have seen the names, you too have probably seen this list¹—they have recently decided that

¹ In forthcoming footnotes, reference will be made to the Shah’s dollar wealth using official Central Bank reports. During the months of August-October 1978 [Shahrivar and Mehr 1357 AHS] alone, a substantial amount of money was sent out of the country, seventeen entries having been politically-coded credit transfers which were deposited into the Shah’s private accounts in Swiss, French and American banks and which amounted to 30,750,000,000 rials (over 2,000,000,000 dollars). On November 28, 1978 [Azar 7, 1357 AHS], the Central Bank of Iran Employees’ Association published a list of those affiliated with the regime who had recently transferred huge amounts of foreign currency to their bank accounts abroad.

after all this stealing and destruction enough is enough and they should not take any more! Just what are they not to take out of the country? They have already taken everything!¹ The Shah, his courtiers and the rest of his gang, these traitors have taken what they could. Such great sums they have taken, ranging from eight hundred million dollars each to two hundred, three hundred or five hundred million dollars. A very long list was brought here, and I too saw which people have taken what. They range from military people to courtiers and from ministers to members of the security organization, all of those who form his entourage and who have plundered this nation, placed the money in the bank and who now, upon seeing that there is the possibility that they will be stopped from doing this, are transferring the money abroad.

People should stop the plunderers from escaping

The people of Iran should not let these people leave the country; they should grab them by their throats and take this money from them. This money is the property of the nation which has gone into their pockets. Even if the Shah were to step down, they should grab him by the throat and take back from him whatever he has stolen. They should make him pay the penalty for the crimes he has committed, they should retaliate. So many people have been killed, and now “His Imperial Majesty” has repented! This is his “repentance”. A few days ago he came before the nation and in order to deceive the people, he apologized to the great *ulama* and said he had made mistakes which he would not repeat. Some people pretend to have been taken in by this, but it’s not as if they don’t understand, they are either being very magnanimous about it or they have interests to protect and so they say: “Well, he has repented; what more do you want?” This man who says he won’t err again and he won’t repeat his past actions is the same man whose actions against the nation we have witnessed over the past twenty-four hours and who continues to act against this nation. I don’t have precise details at the moment, but you can be sure that they are keeping themselves busy. Now, whenever a call comes in from Iran, or the gentlemen here ring, the news is that killings are occurring in different places: in the provinces, in the cities, in the streets of Tehran, killings are rife. Many of the Iranian cities are presently in a state of chaos. These commandos and *kolis*, and others like

¹ Muhammad Rida Amili, the Minister of Information and Tourism, had announced that the flight of foreign currency would be investigated and the expenditure of hard currency in foreign countries would be looked into. Refer to the *ITilaat* newspaper of November 1, 1978 [Aban 10, 1357 AHS].

them, who are in point of fact agents of the security organization, have been brought into the cities to wreak havoc. Indeed, he has now realized that he must leave the country and so he is acting out his threat to turn Iran into a heap of rubble before he leaves!¹

Following the Doyen of the Martyrs² in fighting oppression

Be that as it may, those of us who are here now should reform and make ourselves ready. If a nation wishes to stand up for a valid cause, it should learn from history. It should make use of Islamic history and learn from what has taken place in Islamic history for there is a lesson to be learnt in this for us all. With only a small number of followers, the Doyen of the Martyrs set off and confronted Yazid.³ For Yazid's government was a tyrannical government. It was a powerful government which claimed to espouse Islam, and indeed Yazid was even of the same family as Imam Husayn.⁴ However, even though Yazid claimed to espouse Islam and he saw his government as an Islamic one and himself the successor to the Messenger of God, the point was that he was an oppressor who had taken control of the affairs of the country illegally. This is why Hadrat Abu Abdillah, upon whom be peace, rose up against him with only a small number of followers. For he knew it

¹ Following the coup d'état of August 19 [Mordad 28 AHS], the Shah in most of his interviews and speeches made it clear that he saw the independence and security of Iran as being preserved by his rule and he constantly reiterated the dangers of 'certain division,' a 'repeat of history,' civil wars, and mass killings as an inevitable consequence of disruption in the pillars of his rule or his removal. As the movement reached its climax in the years 1977 and 1978 [1356 and 1357 AHS], the Shah's continual warnings that in the event of the overthrow of his rule Iran would be divided and destroyed became the subject of many of the analyses and articles of the Western media. Refer to the collection published under the title "The Interviews and Speeches of the Shah" and also the Shah's speeches and interviews in the years 1977-1978 as published in the country's newspapers.

² Doyen of the Martyrs: a title of Imam Husayn (A), the grandson of Prophet Muhammad (S).

³ Son of MuAwiya; he was a licentious, wicked man. He declared himself the caliph of the Prophet (S).

⁴ Some historians believe that Imam Husayn (A) and Yazid were fifth generation descendants of Abd al-Manaf. The latter had three sons, one was Abd ash-Shams from whom the Bani Umayyad line is descended: Abd al-Manaf – Abd ash-Shams – Umayyah – Abu Sufyan – MuAwiya – Yazid; and the other was Hashim whose descendants were the Bani Hashim and Imam Husayn: Abd al-Manaf – Hashim – Abd al-Muttalib – Imam Ali – Imam Husayn. However, there are other historians who believe that Umayyah was not the son of Abd ash-Shams rather he was his adopted son and the Bani Umayyad are of Roman descent. Refer to Jafar Subhani, *The Message*, <http://www.al-islam.org/message/index.htm>; Sayed Ali Asgher Razwy, *Restatement of History of Islam and Muslims*, <http://www.al-islam.org/restatement/index.htm>.

was his duty to reject his rule and to bring an end to something evil. If an oppressive ruler gains dominance over the people the *ulama* of that nation and the scientists of that nation should voice their disapproval, they should prohibit evil. The Doyen of the Martyrs knew that it was logically impossible for his handful of supporters—who it is said had originally numbered four thousand but on the eve of the battle that number had dwindled to only a few, to seventy-two people—to defeat Yazid's army. Yet even though he knew this, still he saw it as his duty to stand up to this power and be killed, so that the situation could be changed, and through his sacrifice and that of his followers this power could be disgraced and held up as an example to deter. He realized that it was his duty, his divine duty, to rise up and oppose the unjust government which had taken control of the destiny of the country, to express his disagreement and his disapproval whatever may happen. Consequently, although on the basis of any calculation it was obvious that such a small number could not confront all those people, nevertheless it was a duty that had to be carried out.

This is a lesson for us all, that although few in number, we must still express our disapproval; for someone has come along and has grasped the reins of Islamic rule in Iran, and a position which should be occupied by the Commander of the Faithful, he occupies, a position which Imam Husayn should occupy, he occupies, and according to him, he is ruling legitimately and espouses Islam! Yazid did the same! So did MuAwiya. They prayed at the congregational prayer, they even led the prayers.

We should express our disapproval of someone who has usurped the throne of Islam, who has usurped the government of Islam and who wants to have absolute control over the resources of the Muslims; if he were not a traitor he would still be a usurper, for he has usurped his position. This position belongs to someone who meets the conditions which Islam has set for the person who should be in charge of the affairs of Muslims. Even if he hadn't given our oil away, ruined our pasturelands and our farming, even if he hadn't destroyed the educational system in Iran and the Iranian army, even if he hadn't disrupted the Iranian economy and the country in every respect, he would still be a usurper who needed to be censured and told that he should not rule. As it is, he has done all of these things, he has taken Iran to rack and ruin in every respect.

The Doyen of the Martyrs, upon whom be peace, acted upon his divine duty, in victory or defeat he had performed his religious duty, and this was at the heart of the matter. The point is that it is the duty of all the people to voice their disapproval of someone who is destroying the reputation of Islam

and the Muslims, who has taken control of the affairs of the Muslims, has handed over control of the Muslims' lands to the unbelievers, has handed the Iranian army over to the charge of American advisers, who puts the wealth of Iran into the pockets of this and that country and who has ruined the educational system in Iran. Iran has become a case in point. Such a person who sits on the throne upon which someone like Imam Husayn, upon whom be peace, should sit, needs to be censured. It is incumbent upon all the people to do this and tell him to step down from this throne. Everyone is duty bound to do this.

Necessity to move along with the torrent of the nation

Now that the Iranian nation has risen and is standing up to him, it is incumbent upon us all, upon all the *ulama*, the *maraji*,¹ the merchants and tradesmen, the intellectuals and the political parties to go with the flow of this flood until this rubbish has been swept away. If someone colludes with the regime in this affair, shows weakness and relaxes in his efforts, then whoever he may be, he will be a traitor who will have betrayed the Muslims and Islam. If someone utters so much as a word of co-operation with this man, he will be a traitor, he will have betrayed Islam for he (the Shah) is a person who is betraying Islam, who is destroying the dignity of Islam, who has given away our resources and has impoverished the nation.

Devastating the country in the name of “reform” and “nationalization”

You must realize that if he remains in power for a few more years, he will still be giving your oil to America in the manner that he is doing at present. What does he get in return for this oil? Nothing! He does not get anything that is of use to our country, rather he gets something which is actually harmful to the country: bases, which he builds for America! He has destroyed this resource, and the rest he has given away one after the other to this country and that. He has given the pasturelands to one group; the forests have gone to another in the name of nationalization; in one place he has drained off the waters and has put the fish into somebody else's hands; whatever we had he has handed over to others. Iran had an agrarian economy, but that too he destroyed. He destroyed it in the name of “land reforms.” We no longer have farming in Iran; proper farming now is only carried out in certain places in Iran by Israelis in whose hands he has placed all the good land. It is even said that it is the Israelis who have come to Iran

¹ *Maraji*: the plural form of *marja*.

and are perpetrating these killings.¹ It is the Israelis who are doing this to repay him for the services that he has rendered them, in other words for giving them oil. He gives the Israelis oil to help them in their war against the Muslims and Iran! Now in return they send their commandos, who are well-experienced in the art of killing people, to Iran. These people dare not tell their own soldiers to kill the people, so they have asked the Israelis to send killers for them! Wherever you look, you see the crime and treason perpetrated by this man.

It is the religious duty of us all, all Muslims, all the *ulama*, all the intellectuals, all the politicians, whoever, to oppose him. Whoever does not oppose him has gone against his religious duty and has acted dishonorably; we can no longer call him honorable; he is a vile, despicable person. Whoever helps the Shah, as Carter and his like are doing, is a traitor who is betraying a nation; for it is a nation which has stood up now and is calling for freedom, among other things, and this killing is what it gets in return. The nation is calling out that it doesn't want this criminal, so they have to use machine-guns to say: "No, you have to want him!" According to the law, the legal right to rule—and his rule is not legal—is granted by the nation, so now

¹ The Israeli press revealed that during the Revolution Israel provided the Iranian government with weapons and gas dispenser guns. The *Haaretz* newspaper in its October 23 edition, the *Davard* newspaper in its October 10 and 23 editions, a number of military magazines in their editions and the *Maariv* newspaper in its December 17, 1978 edition described how, at the behest of the Shah, the Israeli army sent soldiers to Tehran to crush the revolutionaries; these were the same Jewish criminals who had slaughtered the Muslim people of Tehran in Zhaaleh Square on Black Friday. According to the reports in the above-mentioned publications, Israel created an air bridge from Lud airport and Ramat David military airbase near Haifa in order to supply Iran with special weaponry. Among these were guns to dispense canisters of disabling gas. In addition, a team of commandos, and groups of saboteurs and agents to carry out operations in the city were sent to Tehran from Israel on an El Al flight. These groups were under the command of the intelligence office of the Israeli army. The leader of these groups was one Rahbaam Zibaki who in the 1960s was the commander of the Israeli liaison section and then became adviser to the prime minister on terrorist matters and the use of special equipment and techniques in the fight against terrorism. There were many Iranian Jews in these groups who were proficient in the Persian language. All members of these groups wore the uniform of the Iranian army. The Iranian authorities introduced these groups of Jews as soldiers who had been transferred from Baluchistan! Israeli military experts and some people from the underground Jewish organizations in Iran, which had been formed on the pretext of defending, militarily, the Jewish minority, united with these Jewish groups in Tehran; Israel also recruited a group of Iranian Jews to carry out activities against the revolutionaries. During this period, a small military base near Abadan and Bandar Abbas, which was operated by Israel, was used as the training base for activities to counter urban rioting. Refer to *Nihdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 8, pp. 49-50.

that the nation is saying “no” the bayonet has to be brought in to make the people say “yes”!

Taking religious leaders as role model in calamities and hardships

We must reform and ready ourselves, in other words we should look to what our elders, our leaders, did; what they did for Islam; what they did for the Muslims; and what they wanted to do. The Most Noble Messenger struggled for thirteen years in Mecca, he was imprisoned, persecuted, abused, bested by a thousand difficulties, yet he bore everything patiently, he persevered and invited the people (to Islam). Later, when he saw that he could no longer achieve anything by remaining there, he migrated to Medina where other people joined him and his followers. He was there for ten years, and in that time doing battle with those tyrants was his greatest concern. He confronted the powerful ones, the oppressors, those who wanted to plunder the people; those who wanted to steal the wealth of the people, until he had eliminated them to the extent that he could. He was patient and persevering.

When one looks at the history of those battles which the Muslims took part in at that time, one is amazed at how valiant they were even though small in number. An officer in one of the battles said that he needed only twenty-nine men to accompany him in an attack on the enemy’s advance guard—that numbered sixty thousand—to show them what’s what! The whole Roman army itself numbered eight hundred thousand. Those with him insisted that it couldn’t be done with only thirty men, they discussed the matter among themselves until eventually the officer was prepared to allow sixty people to go. One person for every thousand went and the enemy was defeated! They took them by surprise and defeated them, because they had strength, there was a power within them, the power of faith in God.

You must find this faith in God to become strong. If our protector is God then we need have no fear, but if our aim is worldly gain then we should be very afraid. Do I seek worldly gain? Why should I sacrifice everything I have for this world? Those who have sacrificed their youth have lost nothing if they did it for God, for they have gained God’s approval, and even more than that, they have found a superior kind of life. He who sacrifices his life, if he does it for God, if he relies on God, then he has lost nothing. If he does it for this world, however, then he has lost his life, it is over with, but not exactly, no, if he died for this world then he still has something to face in the afterlife.

There is no defeat to an uprising for the sake of God

Endeavor to act for God. Make your uprising one for God. “*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 There is one admonition. God tells the Prophet to inform the people that He admonishes them to do one thing: to rise up for Him. Your uprising must be for God, not for acquiring a title, a position, money or whatever. No, this must not be the case. If the uprising is for God, if you turn to God as your protector, then the spirit will find a confidence that cannot be broken and you will attain a spiritual state because you have united with an everlasting power. He who starts moving out of obedience to the Divine Being is like a drop of water backed by the sea, an endless sea . . . We by ourselves are nothing, a mere drop, even smaller than a drop, but if we join that sea, that endless sea, then we will become just like that sea: “*When thou threwest the spear, it was not thy act, but God’s.*”² God told the Prophet that when he threw the spear, it was not he who had thrown it, but God himself, meaning the Prophet’s hand was the hand of God. So when he threw the spear it was in actual fact God who had thrown it, because the Prophet had united with Him, he himself was no longer anything, everything was God. When everything is Him, then *thou threwest, but it was not thy act.* The Prophet threw the spear and yet he did not. Apparently he threw it, but it was God’s act, not his. And God told the Prophet: “*Those who swear fealty to you do no less than swear their fealty to God,*”³ because they have united with an everlasting power; they have united with God; and now it is with His hand that they swear their allegiance.

God, the Blessed and Exalted, says those who swear allegiance to the Prophet have sworn allegiance to God. One can swear allegiance to God with this very hand of the Prophet because this is no longer the Prophet’s hand; it is the hand of God. Of course the position that the Prophet attained is one that is not within easy reach for you and I, but to work for God is feasible for us. Sometimes one sees nothing, only God; one does not make a move other than it being for God; one is not willing to do anything unless it is for God; one does not follow a course unless it is that of God’s; the path is God’s, not one’s own; one is nothing, is insignificant; everything is God; one annihilates oneself and is replaced with an endless power. This is the case sometimes. This is the stage at which “*when thou threwest the spear, it was not thy act, but God’s.*” Sometimes a stage higher than this may also be achieved and

¹ Surah Saba’ 34:46.

² Surah al-Anfal 8:17.

³ Surah al-Fath 48:10.

sometimes this is not the case, but still the action is for God. You have risen up for God, your movement is for God; it is in order to establish God's laws. Your aim is not affluence, you are not opportunists after riches, this is not the case, rather you have seen that the religion of God is in danger, the servants of God upon whom God has bestowed His favor are in danger. God's servants are suffering under an oppressor and you have risen to save them, not to save your uncle or your cousin, but to save the servants of God.

Assisting the movement for the sake of God

The servants of God are now suffering, they are in danger; you can help them by propagating their cause here. You are able to do this. Give interviews, whichever one of you is able should give press interviews and tell the people over here about the situation in Iran. But your aim should be God; you should turn to God for support. Rise up for God. Even if you are only one person, if your uprising is for God, then it has value, it has divine value. Be it individually or in pairs —“ . . . *rise up for God; it may be in pairs or it may be singly.*” Unite yourself with that endless sea and make your actions divine actions. Pay attention to the laws of God the Blessed and Exalted. These uprisings are to bring into effect the laws of God. All these uprisings that are taking place, that have been taking place for years now, have been in order to bring God's laws into force in the world and to remove Satan's laws from this world. Satan's laws prevail in Iran and the people want the laws of God to prevail. Strive to bring the laws of God into effect within yourselves. Be devout, carry out the actions that God the Blessed and Exalted has told you to perform. Make yourself divine. A servant does not ask for the whys and wherefores, God says do it and I do it. The whys and wherefores are no concern of mine. Why is asked of some ordinary person when one does not know if he is correct or not and thus questions him. When you visit the doctor and he tells you to do something, you don't ask him why. When he prescribes medicine for you, you don't ask him why, even though he is only a doctor and a human being.

Self-training prelude to uprising

You must train yourselves so that you are able to rise up (for God). Train yourselves to obey God's laws; to obey His every command, when He says no, then let it be no; when He says yes, then let it be yes. When you can do this, then you will have reached a stage that man should reach. If when He says no, it is no, and when He says yes, it is yes, and one becomes the servant of the will of the Exalted Truth, obeying His every command, then one will

have reached this 'stage' of humanity. Many other stages also exist, but if one reaches this stage of humanity whereby one's actions are for God, then one will not suffer defeat, when the action is for God, defeat is not involved.

If, please God, the Iranians have risen for God, then they will not suffer defeat. In other words, even if this man were to continue with his oppression until the end and we were not successful in disarming him of this unjust weapon, this would still not be a source of anxiety for us, because we were obeying God, obedience was out of obedience to God, so even if we suffer defeat it will have been brought about through obedience to God. The Prophet suffered defeat in some of his battles, Hadrat Amir was defeated in his battle with MuAwiya, the Doyen of the Martyrs was killed, but it was out of obedience to God, it was for God, all of it was for Him and for this reason defeat did not come into it, they obeyed Him and that was that. MuAwiya and the others were eventually defeated and their rule destroyed, yet the path of the Prophet and the Imams has continued until the present day.

God willing, all of you will be successful and you will all help this movement for God the Exalted [The audience says "God willing"].

Interview

Date: December 4, 1978 [Azar 13, 1257 AHS / Muharram 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The necessity of overthrowing the Shah's regime; Iran's future government; no compromise with communism

Interviewer: A reporter of the Radio BBC English service

Question: [Your Eminence, you have several times asked the people to overthrow the Shah's regime. What are your reasons for such a call? Is it primarily due to political reasons, or because of degeneration of Islam and Islamic values? What are the ideological bases of your Islamic movement?]

Answer: Islam is a religion that has both political and non-political aspects. And the Shah, whom we are opposing, is both against our Islamic policies that are the policies of our country as well as against our religious affairs. And due to these two aspects we oppose the Shah. He has both transgressed and affronted the religion and committed treason against the country in his life. And due to these reasons the entire nation is against him.

Q: [If Your Eminence succeeds in overthrowing the Shah, what kind of government will replace the monarchy? Will it be a military government?]

A: An Islamic Republic. It will be republican because it is based on the votes of the majority of the people, and it will be Islamic because its constitution is derived from the Islamic laws. Islam has its laws regarding all aspects and therefore we do not need any other law. We will amend the present constitution, that is, those parts that are compatible with Islam will be retained and those parts that are incongruent with Islam will be deleted.

Q: [The Shah's intelligence service says that you are united with the international communists who are not monotheists. What is your answer to these accusations?]

A: [Our answer is that Islam is never compatible with communism and the nation of Islam has never been in agreement with the communists. It has been observed throughout history that the Muslims have been separated, and if there had been any communist in Iran, their issues have not been confirmed by the Muslims. In the ongoing movement of Iran, everybody witnesses that the entire nation has brought the issue of Islam to the fore; there is no communist issue in this process. Therefore, the Shah is only slandering. This is an attempt to protect himself.]

Q: [Is not the Ayatullah worried about war, bloodshed and massacre when you invite the people to struggle against the government?]

A: Of course making sacrifices is necessary for the acquisition of any right. The ShiAh school has been a religion of devotion and the people throughout history have always risen up and offered their lives in order to restore their lost rights. We are not worried in this regard, for we are obeying God.

Q: [Do you think that we are living in an era of Islamic revivalism? Will the movement that has begun in Iran emerge in other countries? If yes, why?]

A: What we understand is that the Muslims have witnessed some problems created by the East and West that have been against their interests. For sometime too they have been entangled in self-alienation due to the Western propaganda. The Islamic movement today has transformed them and they have realized that they should rely on themselves and turn to Islam. They have also realized that it is only Islam that safeguards their interests. I hope that the Muslims of other countries take a lesson from the experiences of the Iranian Muslims, rebuff the West, stand on their own feet, and through holding fast to Islam restore their past dignity.

Q: [The people of most parts of the world do not understand your power and ask: what is this power? Where does this power stem from?]

A: The people have felt that we are their well-wishers, that we speak out what is in their mind and invite them to those very issues. They are also religiously attached to us and our power stems from this secret.

Interview

Date: December 5, 1978 [Azar 14, 1357 AHS / Muharram 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Characteristics of the movement of the Iranian nation; Reasons for opposing the Shah

Interviewer: A reporter of *Africa Tomorrow*

Question: [What are the features of the movement of the Iranian nation against the Shah?]

Answer: The first characteristic of this movement is that it is Islamic and is accompanied with Islamic slogans and objectives that reflect the demands of the oppressed and disinherited. The second feature of this movement is that it is not dependent on foreign powers. Basically our movement is a popular movement, encompassing all the oppressed strata of the society. Today, no one, except the Shah and his supporters, is against the Islamic movement and uprising. Another feature of this movement is that it seeks fundamental changes in all aspects of the Iranian society, that is, the collapse of the Shah, elimination of the monarchical system, and establishment of an Islamic government.

Q: [Would you explain the reasons for your exile?]

A: Fifteen years ago when the Shah, at the behest of the United States, decided to approve the bill of Capitulation by the houses of the Parliament, I condemned this treachery of the Shah in a speech and issued a statement in this regard, informing the Iranian nation of this colonial policy of the United States. After a few days, they raided my house in Qum in nighttime, arrested me and then exiled me to Turkey. Under the pressure of public opinion, the Turkish government asked the Iranian government to change the country of my exile, and I was finally exiled to Iraq. Under the pressure of the Shah, after fifteen years, the Iraqi government expressed its opposition to my Islamic activities against the royal, monarchical system. Hence, I decided to go to Kuwait, an Islamic country, to decide about the place of my stay there. But despite having the visa of that country, the government of Kuwait prevented my entry to that country and inevitably I had to come to France, where my stay is temporary.

Q: [On what basis are you opposed to the constitutional monarchy and the Shah?]

A: I am opposed to the continuation of the person of Shah as monarch, because, firstly he and his father came to power through coup d'état and force of bayonet. The Shah himself has confessed that the Allied Forces deemed it necessary to keep him in power. That is, the nation's will did not play any role in bringing him to power. Therefore his reign is fundamentally illegal and is not legitimate. Secondly, the Shah throughout his reign has continuously violated the Islamic laws and trampled upon all the rights of the Iranian society. Currently the absolute majority of the Iranian nation has risen against him, demanding his ouster, and there are tens of other reasons for my opposition I have frequently explained in statements and speeches. But I am against the system of monarchy and the royal regime in Iran, for basically monarchy is a kind of government system that is not based on the people's votes, rather a person comes to power through force of bayonet and then through this very force he imposes the hereditary right to government of his dynasty as a legal right on the nation. Naturally, a ruler, who has come to power through the force of bayonet or heredity and does not rely on the people's vote, never finds himself duty-bound to pass or execute the laws which are in the interests of the people. The record of the monarchy in Iran has not been anything other than this.

Q: [You level accusations against the United States for its recent measures as well as its performance since the ouster of MuSaddiq. Would you explain the reason for this accusation?]

A: In contravention to the international, humane norms, for long years the United States has been directly interfering in Iran's internal affairs so much so that today that the Shah is on the verge of collapse and the Iranian nation has risen up to determine its own destiny, the US president directly and some other US officials officially interfere and contrary to the resolute determination of the Iranian nation announce, "We support the Shah and must support him because he is the best friend and protector of our interests in the region."

We have witnessed that over long years most of the policies, rather all the policies, of the Shah in various fields had aimed to protect the interests of the United States and its allies. He has destroyed Iran's agriculture to the advantage of the United States. He has helped the US plunder our underground resources, particularly our oil, and has turned Iran into a depot of the US-made weapons or those made by its allies with the oil income. These weapons have no use except killing the children of the nation in cities and villages. Moreover he has imposed

about forty thousand American military advisors on us. Besides the annual salaries paid to these advisors, which is a backbreaking fund imposed on the nation, the very advisors, under the supervision of the US Embassy, control the affairs of the country and direct them toward the interests of the United States, depriving the Iranian army of any freedom of action. They have mobilized the army to protect the Shah contrary to its will. With the help of the Shah, the United States has turned Iran into a military base against its rival superpower. Relying on the force of bayonet, the Shah has plundered the rights of the Iranian laborers and workers. The American capitalists consider Iran the best place for exploitation and in various ways have poured their capitals into Iran. I must say that the dimensions of US interference in Iran are so widespread that I cannot enumerate all of them in this limited time.

Q: [What solutions do you propose for the present crisis and future of Iran?]

A: We have always said that the first condition for the settlement of the present crisis is the abdication of the Shah and another solution is that the United States and other powers refrain from interfering in our internal affairs. I have said several times that there is no solution with the existence of the Shah.

Q: [Can other intellectual currents, besides what you have, contribute to the advancement of this struggle?]

A: What exists in Iran, in the form of an intellectual current, is the very genuine Islamic ideals and demands. If the Iranian nation demands the elimination of the monarchical regime, the establishment of the Islamic government, the termination of the foreign domination of the Islamic government, the punishment of those who have plundered the national wealth, and the like of these demands, all of these stem from the progressive Islamic principles and fundamentals. All the slogans and demonstrations in cities and villages of Iran bear witness to this fact. What is distinct from Islam, the Islamic ideals and the Islamic movement cannot be termed as a current, for such issues do not have any appeal among the people.

Q: [Will you preserve the National Front with all its constituting components?]

A: Any individual, group or party that can coordinate itself with the demands of the current Islamic movement in Iran—in which the entire nation is participating—can continue to discharge its duty. Otherwise, they would not

be having any place among the people and the Iranian nation is following such issues vigilantly.

Q: [Will you expand the strikes, particularly in the oil industry, in order to accelerate the collapse of the Shah?]

A: I have asked all the employees and workers of the public and private organizations, particularly those of the oil industries, to expand their strikes as soon as possible.

Q: [What measures will you take against the operating multinational corporations, particularly the oil corporations that are at the peak of their power in Iran?]

A: One of the duties of the future government is to put an end to the intrusions of these international criminals in Iran who shed the blood of the nations in order to safeguard their illegitimate interests. In fact these corporations have invested in Iran with the agreement of illegitimate Iranian governments. Hence, they do not have any right to continue their operations.

Q: [What will be the nature of Iran-France relations after the collapse of the Shah?]

A: We will treat France or any other country on the basis of mutual respect and by safeguarding our own interests, ideals and exigencies provided that they respect our freedom and independence and do not intend to encroach upon the interests of our nation or plunder our resources.

Q: [What is your opinion about the Camp David Accord? How do you evaluate the settlement of the Palestinian problem?]

A: The Camp David Accord is nothing but a political ploy and game for the perpetuation of the Israeli invasion against the Muslims. For more than fifteen years I have been condemning Israel in my statements and speeches and defended the Palestinian nation and their territory. Israel is a usurper and must evacuate Palestine as soon as possible. And the only solution is that the Palestinian brothers eradicate this corrupt entity as soon as possible and uproot colonialism in the area so that peace is returned to the region.

Interview

Date: December 5, 1978 [Azar 14 1357 AHS / Muharram 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The significance of the month of Muharram; impossibility of preserving the Shah

Interviewer: A reporter of *Radio Luxembourg*

Question: [Your Eminence, a number of your civilian followers has been killed by the army over the past few days, while they were not armed. Do you have any plan to allow them to arm themselves? Don't you think that the best way to overthrow the Shah is to absolutely paralyze the government system? Or, do think that the army will desert the Shah?]

Answer: I think that neither the army nor any other power can preserve the Shah forever. The Shah has lost all his bases in Iran, no citizen supports him, and his paid supporters are not enough to keep him. Given the paralyzed economy, do you think that the army can be effective forever? I hope that the movement eliminates this system forever. Meanwhile, if at a certain stage we require to resort to other measures, we will announce it in due time.

Q: [Your Eminence, why is the month of Muharram so important for these struggles? Do you think that the struggle will attain its goal during the month of Muharram?]

A: Muharram is a month when justice rose up against inequity and righteousness rose up against wrong and it has proven that the right always defeats the wrong throughout history. This year the position of the righteous movement will be strengthened against the wrong. I hope that the Islamic movement puts its final stages behind it during the month of Muharram.

Q: [The duration of the Ayatullah's stay in France will be expired soon. Do you have any plan for your future? Do you think that you will be able to continue your stay in the very village of Neauphle-le-Château?]

A: I have not decided yet; I will decide later.

Interview

Date: December 6, 1978 [Azar 15, 1357AHS / Muharram 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Stay in France, the necessity of the Shah's abdication

Interviewer: A British reporter of the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper

Question: [Your Eminence, in your opinion, what will happen in Iran in the next step?]

Answer: I cannot foresee. But our Islamic movement is gaining momentum. Some groups of the army and some government officials have joined the movement of the people. But I cannot predict anything for sure.

Q: [Mr. Shaykh Abu Turab Ashuri has been killed in Bushehr. What is your comment?]

A: He was one of those who have been sacrificed for the cause of Islam. We have had many such devotees and will have in the future as well. These developments will exacerbate the Shah's situation.

Q: [Does Your Eminence think that the Shah would willingly abdicate as it was reported by the press yesterday?]

A: He has no other option. If he were wise, he should have done it.

Q: [What is the reason that the Ayatullah does not go back to Iran? Don't you think that you would be able to lead the movement better from inside the country?]

A: The people realize that what I tell them is in their interests. They act according to my advice, whether I am here or in Iran. Whenever I deem it appropriate, I will go to Iran.

Q: [If Your Eminence stays in France until January 3 when your visa expires, what measures will you take to extend your stay here?]

A: I have not envisaged now.

Q: [Has there been any change in your statements about the developments and situation after your meeting with Mr. Shayets, the representative of the French Foreign Ministry a few days ago?]³

A: No. I will never change my stance even for a moment. It is a divine duty and if I keep silent I will be accountable to God.

Q: [Your Eminence, what will be your reaction to any possible limitations imposed by the French government on your activities and how will you send your messages to the Iranian nation?]

A: If they impose limitations, I will not stay in France and I will go to another place. But it will not be good for France.

Q: [Your Eminence, what is your opinion about the developments of the past few days?]

A: Do you mean the developments in Iran, that is, the demonstrations and massacres of the past two, three days? Yes, these developments occur one after another after the introduction of the martial government and military cabinet. The people utilize every opportunity to vindicate their own rights. The root-cause of the problems is the same, that is, so long as the Shah is there, such problems will be there as well.

³ The representative of the French Foreign Ministry called on Imam Khomeini to hand over the threatening messages of Giscard d'Estaing (French President) and Jimmy Carter, but Imam's firm and appropriate reaction landed the French government in a passive stance and the Imam continued his struggle regardless of those threats.

Interview

Date: December 7, 1978 [Azar 16, 1357 AHS / Muharram 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Rumors about the declaration of *Jihad* and stay in France

Interviewer: Reporter of the American *Newsweek* magazine

Question: [Your Eminence, based on the pamphlets distributed in Iran, there are rumors in France that you have declared a *Jihad* . Is it authentic?]

Answer: No, it is not right.

Q: [Aren't you worried that some fabricated messages and statements may have been distributed or may be distributed in your name in Iran?]

A: The people come to know about my statements by consulting reliable people.

Q: [There are rumors in the West saying that you are controlled by the leftist circles. Do you think that some leftists are among your associates?]

A: No, not at all. These are sheer lies.

Q: [What will be your plan after your visa expires? Will you continue to stay here, or will you go to an Arab country?]

A: I will decide later.

Q: [There are rumors here that King Husayn of Jordan is coming to Paris to reconcile you and the Shah. If he comes to Paris, will you admit him?]

A: No, I will not.

Q: [Do you trust your associates who work with you?]

A: Yes, I trust them.

Interview

Date: December 7, 1978 [Azar 16, 1357 AHS / Muharram 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The nature of the Islamic government; rejection of compromise with communism; relations with the United States

Interviewer: Mrs. Georgia Gayer of the *Los Angeles Times* daily

Question: [Your Eminence, I thank you for granting this opportunity to me. What is the form of the Islamic government you are planning for the future? Is it a form of Islamic socialism? How does your Islamic government intend to run a modern industrial country?]

Answer: With regard to the form of our government, it will be an Islamic republic. Republic means that it will be based on the people's votes and Islamic means that it will be based on the Islamic canons. Other governments do not rely on the Islamic canons. With regard to the management of the affairs, there are some experts who are isolated now and they were marginalized during the Shah's rule because they were trustworthy people, for the Shah did not want to accommodate them. They are the very experts who will accomplish the task.

Q: [Your Eminence, are you interested in cooperating with the Marxist elements, do you attach any significance to it? Is there any compatibility between the objectives of your movement and those of the Marxists? Are you concerned about the Soviet objectives in Iran?]

A: Our objectives are different from theirs. We rely on Islam and monotheism and they are opposed to both of them. Our commandments are Islamic decrees, but they do not accept them. Hence, we are not interested in them, do not cooperate with them and will not do so. With regard to the Soviet Union, we are not concerned; no one can interfere in the affairs of a nation that stands on its own feet.

Q: [Your Eminence, there are press reports indicating that the Libyan government and the Palestinian Liberation Organization extend their financial assistance to Iran. Would you please explain the degree of the assistance your movement receives from the Palestine Liberation Organization, Libya and other countries and communist parties?]

A: We do not need their financial assistance. Although we need publicity assistance, no one has rendered any. The communist parties and other

countries, like the other two, have not rendered any assistance. This is independence in its best sense.

Q: [Your Eminence, what are your expectations? When will this confrontation and war come to an end? What do you expect this war and its result to be? Do you consider this war a holy one?]

A: Yes, our war is a sacred one, for it is for the cause of Islam; it is for the sake of God. And whatever is for the sake of God is the most sacred of all things. And about the result, we will not stop our struggle until the hands of the aliens are cut off and the monarchical regime has gone. The people are not satisfied with anything except that.

Q: [In your opinion, how will your Islamic government deal with the banking issues and interest rate? How will it treat the industries? Are you closer in your thoughts to Saudi Arabia or to Libya? Do you think that your thought is different from all of them?]

A: About the banking interest, we should establish interest-free banks. We do not consider interest lawful. With regard to the industries, we will establish the industries in Iran in the best possible manner. What prevails in Iran in the name of industries is mere assemblage and is basically useless.

Q: [How about Libya?]

A: That is another issue. We agree with the Islamic issues that they implement.

Q: [What will be the nature of the relations of the Ayatullah's government with the United States? Will you continue the sale of oil to the West? What will be the nature of your relations with the Soviet Union?]

A: We will treat all the countries on the basis of the principle of mutual respect provided that they do not interfere in our internal affairs; and we will sell our oil to any willing customer. We will stop the wrong, excessive and harmful oil policies, otherwise we will sell oil.

Q: [What will be the nature of your relations with the Soviet Union?]

A: Just like our relations with the United States. Relations will be alike.

Q: [With regard to social issues, how do you envisage the presence of the women in the universities or their working in the society? Will you impose

any restriction that currently does not exist in the society, on them? What is your opinion about the family planning and coeducation in the universities?]

A: Women will be free in the Islamic society and there will be no restriction on their admission to the universities, working in the offices and being elected to the houses of the parliament. What will be restricted is moral decadence in whose regard both men and women are treated equally; it is unlawful for both. The family planning will depend on the government's decision.

Q: [Would you please explain the historical background of your historic movement and its expansion over the past fifteen years since you have been in exile? How did you organize such an effective movement and who were the organizers of the movement and what kind of relations and insurance had been there that are unbelievable for the world?]

A: The details of the genesis of the movement and its preparatory steps are very lengthy. What I can say in brief is that since the beginning of the establishment of his usurping reign, the Shah committed countless crimes and at one stage he was thrown out of the country, but unfortunately there was negligence. The fifteen-year-long struggles began when the Shah took some measures against the interests of the nation. In the beginning the *ulama* of Islam opposed him and this opposition led to my overnight arrest. It is said that some fifteen thousand people were killed on June 5, 1964. I was in jail for about one year. After my release I continued my struggles and exposed the Shah's crimes and corruption, until one of the greatest treacheries of the Shah, that is, the issue of the Capitulation Law came to the fore, through which the Shah granted immunity to the American advisors in Iran. Since the law was to the detriment of the exigencies of Islam and the country, I strongly opposed it, but I was arrested overnight and directly exiled to Turkey. I was in exile in Turkey for one year. Then I was handed over to Iraq and stayed there for about fourteen years. During this period I exposed the Shah's crimes either through my statements or my speeches. I never kept silent and mentioned every cataclysm and then I came here. With regard to the organization of the popular Islamic movement of the Iranian nation, it is a movement that encompasses the entire nation, sprouting from them and the people. They believe that this movement should continue until it bears fruit. Of course we, the clerics, guide the people and have exposed all the crimes of the regime. Thanks be to God, the illumination of the clerics has been useful and the people have awakened. An intellectual change has been created in the Iranian society so that the entire nation is unanimously

traversing one path and pursuing one goal, that is, the elimination of this dynasty, the abolishment of the monarchical system, and the establishment of the Islamic government—a goal which prevails throughout Iran. The people in the capital pursue this goal, in the north, south, east and west [of the country] too they follow the same goal. They have all raised the slogan of “independence, freedom, Islamic government” and want it. Why shouldn't they? The Shah has plundered all their extrinsic and subsoil resources. He has also destroyed their political, military, economic and cultural independence. They want, and we all want, to punish the Shah for his misdeeds and the voice of people for the punishment of the Shah has reverberated in Iran. The Shah has no way other than leaving, of course, if he is not arrested by the people. The United States and other countries that support him are offenders and commit a blunder; and this support is to their detriment and they must revise this policy.

Q: [Has there been any contact between the American officials and you?]

A: No.

Q: [Where will you go after your stay permit expires in France?]

A: I have not decided yet.

Interview

Date: December 7, 1978 [Azar 16, 1357 AHS / Muharram 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Relations of the Revolution with the Lebanese Muslims; role of women in the future government

Interviewer: A Lebanese reporter of the *Amal* daily, the organ of the youth of *Harikat al-Mahrumin* [the Movement of the Disinherited]

Question: [Millions of Iranian Muslims have currently risen up and endeavor to overthrow the Shah and thus far thousands have been killed by the army and the police in their struggle. What is the center of opposition in the movement, which is led and organized by you?]

Answer: For more than fifty years the Shah and his father have been hostile to and vengeful of Islam. They have tried to destroy Islam which is the only religion ensuring the independence and freedom of the country and they have violated the entire rights and freedoms of the nation and even violated the rights of the religious minorities. The independence of the country has been totally destroyed and they have ruined the country in their own interests and those of their masters. We, and the people, want to uproot the cause and source of the corruption and decadence. The main domestic source is the Shah and his family. Emancipation from the bond of the aliens would guarantee the independence and freedom of the country. The people's uprising aims to achieve these goals.

Q: [Some Lebanese figures argue that because other Arab governments support other Lebanese tribes, the Lebanese ShiAh should support and cooperate with the Iranian government, which is a Shii government. They propagate this issue not only with regard to the Lebanese ShiAh, but also other ShiAh in other Arab regions. What is your opinion in this regard?]

A: Those who propagate such issues are unaware of Islam and the world affairs, or they are biased and have some grudge. One who is aware of the Shah's performance would not say that he is a Shii power and must not seek help from him. Everybody knows that he is pounding Iran, which is an Islamic state and a Shii country. He has given all its resources to others and carried out a number of pogroms. One who supports the Shah is either ignorant or a traitor.

Q: [What are your expectations from the Lebanese Muslims?]

A: I expect them to remain brothers and rise together against oppression and also cooperate with the movement that is going on in Iran as much as they can; at least, they can publicize it as the Iranian people have thus far served them and have not left them alone in their difficulties.

Q: [The *Amal* [Movement] has offered a number of martyrs to defend the continuous aggressions of Israel. What recommendations do you have for South Lebanon?]

A: All should get united and unanimously stand against this aggressive people in order to take action and cut its usurping hands. Basically, it is the duty of all the Muslims to liberate the Quds and rid the Islamic countries from this corpus of corruption.

Q: [What measures have you taken with regard to Imam Musa Sadr?⁴]

A: When I was in Najaf, I sent a telegram to Mr. Yasir Arafat and another to the leader of the Samud Front [Syrian President Hafiz Asad] in Syria. When the Libyan ambassador came here I talked to him about him. I hope that he will go back to Lebanon as soon as possible and continue his struggles against Israel. This issue has upset me and I pray that it will be fairly ended.

Q: [As you are aware, for long years, the People of the Book (Jews and Christians) used to coexist with the Muslims on the basis of mutual respect. Given the Lebanese war and its result, what is your assessment?]

A: Anyone who has some information about Islam knows that Islam has never had any ill-will against the religious minorities and the followers of other religions, and has always treated them respectfully. Any propaganda indicating other than this belongs to the aliens and the enemies of Islam.

Q: [We know that the International Zionism, through establishing close ties with countries such as Iran and also full support of the Iranian regimes, has succeeded to keep Iran away from the Arabs in their struggles against Israel. What is your opinion in this regard?]

A: One reason for our opposition to the Shah is his support for Israel. I have always said that the Shah has cooperated with Israel from its very inception and when the war between Israel and the Arabs reached its peak, the Shah

⁴ Mr. Sayyid Musa Sadr (leader of the Lebanese ShiAh) went missing in one of his trips to Libya from Lebanon.

continued to usurp the oil of the Muslims and supply it to Israel. This very issue was one of the reasons for my opposition to the Shah. The Iranian Muslim nation has never supported Israel and in this regard has always been oppressed and suppressed by the Shah's regime.

Q: [There are dubious provocation and continuous attacks to tarnish the relations between the Arab and Iranian, Turkish, and Kurdish... people. What mechanism do you offer to thwart these plots and what is your opinion about it?]

A: The writers and orators must explain these problems for the people and introduce Islam to them. They must make it clear that Islam does not belong to any particular nationality; it does not belong to the Turks, Iranians, Arabs or non-Arabs. Islam belongs to all, and race, color, tribe and language do not have any weight in this system. The Quran is the book of all and the propaganda saying this is an Arab, that is a Turk or Iranian or a Kurd is launched by the aliens to divide the Muslims and plunder the resources of these countries. The Muslims must be wakeful and should not be deceived by such propaganda.

Q: [The superpowers and their dependents cannot understand the meaning of independence. In their political logic, if someone is not dependent on any one of them is immediately introduced as a dependent of the other. This issue is amply seen in Lebanon, and today we observe similar things in Iran. Given this, is there any relation between your Islamic movement and the communists?]

A: No. There are no relations. In the similar manner that we have attacked the United States, we have bashed the Soviet Union as well. There are no differences for us between the East and the West. We will attain true independence through relying on God and the courageous nation.

Q: [It is said that the collapse of the Shah is tantamount to a victory for the communists. Is it true?]

A: No. Given the bitter experiences the informed Iranian nation has about the communists, they will never allow them to interfere in their destiny.

Q: [There are some people who argue that political activities are separate from religious activities. What is your opinion?]

A: The slogan of the separation of religion from politics is a colonial propaganda aimed to stop the Muslim nations from playing a role in their

own destiny. The sacred canons of Islam discuss political and social affairs more than they elaborate on the rituals. The precept of the Prophet (S) of Islam in the domestic and foreign affairs of the Muslims indicates that one of the greatest tasks of the Holy Prophet (S) was the political struggles of his holiness. The martyrdom of the Commander of the Faith (A) as well as that of Husayn (A), and the imprisonment, torture, banishment and poisoning of the infallible Imams (A) were all directed toward the ShiAh political struggles against oppressions. And in sum, struggle and political activities are but a significant parcel of the religious obligations.

Q: [There is an increasing wave of tendency toward religion in most of the Islamic countries. What is the reason?]

A: One reason is the tendency of mankind toward religion, for today's generation that has run away from religion has a worrying sense of frustration. Hence they find religion the only base for themselves. Another reason is the tendency toward Islam, for man has become disappointed at today's prevailing schools of thought in solving his problems in various aspects of life, while the Islamic thinkers and writers have introduced Islam to the human society as a school that is capable of solving all the problems of mankind.

Q: [What will be the role of the religious minorities in your intended Islamic Republic?]

A: Islam has always been and is the protector of the legitimate rights of the religious minorities. They will be free in the Islamic Republic, will be freely practicing their rites, and like others will be free to express their ideas under the protection of the Islamic government.

Q: [Women constitute a great multitude of the Muslims. What role or what rights do you consider for women in the Islamic system?]

A: Currently the Muslim women of Iran participate in the anti-Shah political struggles and demonstrations. I have been informed that the women in Iran hold political meetings in various cities. In an Islamic system, the women enjoy the same rights that men do, that is, right to education, right to work, right to property, and right to suffrage. Women enjoy the same rights that men do in all fields. However, there are certain cases that are forbidden for men in order to prevent corruption, likewise there are certain cases that are forbidden for women because they cause corruption. Islam has tried to protect the humane status of men and women. Islam has tried to prevent the

women from becoming a plaything in the hands of men. What they have said outside about women, that is, they are treated violently, is incorrect and is false propaganda by those who have prejudice, otherwise, men and women both have their own rights in Islam. If there are differences, it is for both of them that is related to their nature.

Q: [Has any Arab government assisted your movement?]

A: No government has thus far helped.

Letter

Date: December 8, 1978 [Azar 17, 1357 AHS / Muharram 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The necessity of continuing the struggle

Addressee: *Unknown*

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 7, 1399 AH

I would like to inform you that I am grateful for your kind letter, which carried the news about your good self's health and also your kindness toward me. I pray for your health and prosperity.

What you have written in your letter and what have been narrated by respectable Mr. Saduqi are what are resorted to in order to silence the people. But the easiest way is to eliminate the person who is the mastermind behind all the revolutions; so far as he is there, nothing can be done. Please do not listen to what these people—who procrastinate to keep him—say. We have a duty that we must discharge, whether we win or not. I beseech the Almighty God for the rectification of the affairs. May God's peace and mercy be with you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: December 9, 1978 [Azar 18, 1357 AHS / Muharram 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Campaign against a tyrant king is a divine duty

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

A review of reasons for the uprising of the Doyen of the Martyrs (A)

It has been related that the Doyen of the Martyrs delivered a sermon in which he mentioned the reason for his uprising against the government of the time. In this sermon, he addressed the people saying that the Most Noble Messenger had declared that when someone sees a tyrannical ruler making lawful that which God has prescribed to be unlawful, allowing that which God has made unlawful to be freely practiced, acting contrary to the traditions [*sunnah*] of the Prophet and breaking his promise to God, that person should not remain silent. If he does however, and does not try to change the situation through his words or deeds, if he does not try to stop the digression of this tyrannical ruler, then according to that which God the Blessed and Exalted has decreed, the abode in the afterlife of this person who remains silent in the face of such a ruler will be the same as that of the tyrannical ruler himself.¹

So if a person sees that a tyrannical ruler possesses such attributes—namely he alters the traditions of the Most Noble Messenger, he breaks his promise to God, and that which God has made unlawful he makes lawful and freely allows, who is in other words a *mustahill*²—and yet remains silent, then even if this person carries out everything that he is not only obliged to do but also simply recommended to do; if he is the kind of person who recites his *namaz* every day; who goes to the mosque; who propagates all the laws of God; who acts in accordance with the will of God; whose deeds are

¹ Imam Husayn (A) in his letter to a group of the faithful in Kufah wrote: “You know that the Prophet, peace be upon him and his descendants, said: ‘Whoever sees a ruler who makes lawful that which God has decreed to be unlawful, who breaks his promise to God, opposes the traditions of the Messenger of God and oppresses the people, and yet remains silent in the face of this, God will put this person along with that ruler in one place in hell.’” *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 44, p. 382.

² *Mustahill*: one who makes lawful that which has been divinely decreed to be unlawful.

always good deeds; who shuns all evil deeds; still on the basis of this sermon which was delivered by the Doyen of the Martyrs, upon whom be peace, if he remains silent before a tyrannical ruler, his abode in the Hereafter will be the same as that of the tyrannical ruler. Indeed, in his sermon the Doyen of the Martyrs gave his reason for rising up against the government of the time, and this was that he wanted to act upon the traditions of the Messenger of God so that he would not infringe these, and his abode in the afterlife would not be the same as that of the tyrannical ruler. So in other words, wherever this tyrannical ruler finds his abode in the levels of hell, this too will be the abode of he who remains silent in the face of this ruler's actions.

Resemblance between reigns of Shah and Yazid

Now we should consider this present government of ours, or rather this present ruler of ours, to see if he has the above-mentioned attributes. If he does possess these attributes and we remain silent, then the same can be said to apply to us. The Doyen of the Martyrs spoke of this matter at a time when he had risen up against the tyrannical ruler Yazid. With only a small number of followers behind him, he confronted Yazid's huge army, he confronted this superpower—for in those days all the positions of power were in Yazid's hands—and so deprived us of the excuse of saying that because we are few in number and our power is limited we cannot carry out such an action. He spoke of this matter at the time when he declared his intent to rise up against the tyrannical ruler of his day. He delivered a sermon to the people and explained that he would rise up against this person because he (Yazid) had broken his promise to God, he had infringed the traditions of the Prophet and had violated that which God the Exalted had made inviolable, and because the Prophet had said that whoever remains silent (before such a person) and does not change the situation his abode will be the same as that of Yazid in hell. So the place that Yazid occupies, he who remains silent will also occupy.

Now let us see what it was that Yazid had done to make the Doyen of the Martyrs, upon whom be peace, rise up against him and to speak of such a matter and set such an example. The matter about which the Doyen of the Martyrs spoke concerns everyone. It is a matter of general concern: *man raa*,¹ whoever sees that a tyrannical ruler possesses such attributes and yet remains silent before him, does not speak or act against him, then the abode of this person will be the same as that of the tyrannical ruler (in the

¹ *Man raa* (whoever sees. . .) refers to the tradition of the Most Noble Messenger (s) as related by Imam Husayn (A) in his letter to a group of the faithful in Kufah.

Hereafter). Yazid was someone who on the surface seemed to adhere to Islam and who considered himself to be the Prophet's successor. He performed his *namaz* and did all the things that we do. But what else did he do? He was also a rebellious sinner. He acted contrary to the traditions of the Messenger of God; traditions which made clear how one should act toward the people, he acted in a manner contrary to these. He should have protected the lives of the Muslims, but instead he spilt their blood; the wealth of the Muslims should not be squandered, but he squandered it. He acted just like his father MuAwiyah had done and against whom Amir al-Muminin had risen up, the only difference being that whereas Amir al-Muminin had had an army; the Doyen of the Martyrs faced a superpower with only a small number of followers.

So we should see if the same can be said to apply to our present ruler, and we should ask ourselves if he too does such deeds. Does this matter about which the Messenger of God spoke, also apply to him? Is he a ruler? Is he tyrannical? It is obvious that he has sovereign power. To be a 'ruler' means to have sovereign power. He holds the reins of power and he is tyrannical as well. He himself may even accept the fact that he is a tyrant. Everyone else knows that he is. Has he not acted against the traditions of the Messenger of God? Has he done everything the Messenger of God has said he must do? Or has he (and his regime) not even considered the words of the Messenger of God? These people have never even taken account of his traditions. Granted, during his lifetime, and in order to deceive you and me, he once went to the shrine of Hadrat Rida where he recited a very short prayer. I don't know what his sentiments were when he did this! He recited the prayer and said a few words, but this was only to deceive you and me. Does he act upon the traditions of the Messenger of God? Is he an observer of these traditions? According to the traditions of the Messenger of God the lives of the Muslims should be protected; has he protected the lives of the Muslims? During these past few days,¹ we have received information to the effect that over the past two or three days fifty people have been killed in Isfahan, I don't know how many in another place and yet some more somewhere else. Are these carried out without his knowledge? No, he knows about them alright. Are they carried out without the knowledge of the government? No, it is aware of what is going on. Could they be carried out

¹ On May 28, 1978 [Khordad 7, 1357 AHS] the Shah in Mashhad said: "If, God forbid, the independence of the country is shaken, then I am afraid that our religion will also suffer a blow. We can protect our religion and those things that we hold sacred by preserving the independence of the county!"

without the Shah's knowledge?! They can't do anything without the Shah's knowledge.¹

It has been announced that tomorrow and the day after, the people will be free to hold mourning ceremonies and shout out religious slogans.² But I am worried about what will happen on these days because we have also heard, and God willing it is a lie—in fact I think that it is probably just a propaganda move but it could possibly happen—that they are planning something, they are planning to send a number of criminals into the arena to mix with the people pretending to be at one with them. The regime is going to send a number of their own criminals to accompany the people in these marches which the *ulama* and other sections of society intend to hold tomorrow in all cities and towns of Iran, and to create trouble so that they can say that this is not a peaceful demonstration and thus open fire on the people with machine-guns. Well, I think it is very possible that this is a rumor that the regime itself has started to try to persuade the people not to embark on the action they intend to take tomorrow. In other words, they (the Shah and his regime) hope to achieve their aim of stopping the people from taking part in this march so they can say they allowed it but the people themselves did not take part. It is possible that a devilish plot is involved here, and it is of course a cause of concern for me as to what may happen tomorrow.

¹ Imam Khomeini's repeated insistence that the Shah was fully aware of the crimes being committed by agents of the military government was the reply he gave to those who, either wittingly or unwittingly, adopted the view that the responsibility for the killings lay with the government and the various organs of the regime, not the person of the Shah. On December 6, 1979 [Azar 15, 1357 AHS], Mr. Ali Asghar Haj Sayyid Jawadi in a letter addressed to Azhari (the military prime minister) wrote: "I declare to you and I inform all the freedom-loving people of the world that the person responsible for all the killings, the machinations and the suffering which is brought upon the afflicted people of this country every hour of every day, is you!" *Du Sal-e Akhar* [The Last Two Years], p. 234.

² The military government in one of its proclamations had announced that the gathering of more than two people was forbidden. However, upon realizing that the people were determined to hold marches on *TasuA* and *Ashura* (December 10 & 11, 1978 / Azar 19 & 20, 1357 AHS) and because it did not see itself as being in a strong position enough to stop them from doing so, it announced that marches could be held freely on these two days providing that they were confined to mourning processions. On *TasuA*, at the invitation of Ayatullah Taleqani and other clergymen of Tehran, four million inhabitants of Tehran from all parts of the city marched toward Azadi Square. At the same time, marches and demonstrations were held by huge numbers of people in all the towns and cities throughout Iran. *Du Sal-e Akhar* [The Last Two Years], pp. 235-236.

Shah is a tyrant and one against God's decrees

However, to get back to the main point which is that a tyrannical ruler now holds sway over the people. He has an army and the support of superpowers; he is a despot who possesses all the attributes about which the Prophet spoke. God, the Blessed and Exalted, has forbidden anyone to seize the lives of the Muslims, to kill them; this is something that God has prohibited. Yet he (the Shah) gives permission, he even orders for them to be killed. The wealth of the Muslims should be preserved; the wealth of the Iranian nation should be preserved for the Iranian nation itself. The oil of Iran belongs to Iran; the pasturelands of Iran belong to Iran, they should be used for the benefit of Iran; the fisheries of Iran should benefit Iran, after all they belong to Iran. These forests belong to Iran, whatever subterranean reserves exist belong to Iran, the Iranians themselves should extract them and use them for their own benefit, for the benefit of the nation. But the Shah has destroyed all of these. It is forbidden to destroy the wealth of the Muslims, the wealth that belongs to a nation, or to sell it to the enemies of Islam such as Israel, which is presently at war with the Muslims. Yet it is said that most of Israel's oil is provided by Iran, and I have been told that many of our dead were killed by Israeli soldiers in lieu of payment for this oil.

The Shah is someone who permits that which God has decreed to be prohibited. He destroys both the lives of the Muslims and their wealth. He has given our pasturelands away to others; our forests he has given to foreign companies; it is said that thousands of people were killed before he could take the fisheries off the poor people and turn them over to foreigners!¹ And everyone knows what he is doing with our oil, such that in a few years time Iran will have nothing left. Everything Iran had has been plundered and taken (out of the country).

Plundering currency and jewelry by the Shah and his men

You have seen the list—I think they have made it available over here too—which shows how much of the wealth of Iran these plunderers have

¹ In order to have exclusive fishing rights in the waters of Iran and to safeguard the interests of foreign companies in the production of caviar, the regime created a special guard called the Fisheries Coastguard which had its own intelligence unit and had the right to kill anyone caught poaching. Occasionally, clashes would take place between these guards and local fishermen who had no choice but to turn to poaching in order to eke out a living. One night, when a great number of northern fishermen along with their wives and children went out to sea and cast their nets into the water, these coast guards opened fire on them killing thousands. On the orders of SAVAK the relatives of those killed were not allowed to hold mourning ceremonies for them. *Az Sayyid Dia ta Bakhtiyar*, p. 561.

sent abroad. After they had done this and had taken all this wealth abroad, then the regime decided to announce that nobody should take anything out of the country! Just who else shouldn't take anything? They have taken this wealth and it is finished. He himself had just recently taken three thousand million (dollars), even more, three thousand and a few hundred million (dollars) abroad. God knows how much was taken previously. They (the Pahlavis) were stealing from us from the beginning (of their rule). Just before his expulsion from Iran by the Allies, Rida Shah filled his suitcases with the country's crown jewels. I was told this by someone who had heard it from an officer who had accompanied him on his journey into exile, and according to him, halfway through their journey, the ship carrying them stopped somewhere out at sea and a small ship, which, according to this person, was used for transporting cattle, drew up alongside them, and Rida Shah was told to board this ship. There and then his suitcases were taken off him, the British took them and that was an end to that! This is what he did during his time, in addition to the other things he stole and took out of the country. Once after returning from a journey, which had contained an element of danger, the late Mudarris, may God have mercy upon him, who in those days opposed Rida Shah and indeed gave his life for his opposition, told him: "I prayed for your safe return." Rida Shah was extremely pleased to hear this and asked him: "Did you really pray for me?" Mudarris replied that indeed he had as there was good reason for doing so which was that all the country's wealth would have been lost had Rida Shah died on this journey: "I wanted you to remain alive so that we could retrieve our wealth!"

This is what Rida Shah did in his time. Today, from when he (Muhammad Rida) first assumed the throne—and he had already gained much experience for he had learnt from the experiences of his father—he laid the groundwork for the transfer of the (country's) wealth into foreign banks. He has stored the wealth of this nation in the banks of America and other places, so that if anything happens, he can go there and get it.

Nation's duty to prevent Shah from escaping

The nation should not let him flee the country. He is planning something now. It is said that he has gone to the island of Kish. At first I was afraid that his leaving Iran or Tehran rather, at such a time meant that he had planned for heinous acts to be perpetrated, that he had ordered his army to kill the people while he was away. I thought, God forbid that he should have made such plans for tomorrow and the following day, but this is probably not the case, God willing. Some people say he has gone there to carry out his final

act. He is certainly planning to flee the country and the nation of Iran must prevent him from doing so. To the extent that one is able . . .

Granted this man cannot be punished for all the deeds that he has done. Someone who has held sway over this nation for thirty-odd years, who has destroyed everything it had and who has plunged the mothers of this country into mourning for their children, cannot be punished for everything he has done. Only today someone told me about a woman who had lost all three of her children. How can one exact retribution for the mother and father who now are only two people instead of five when they sit down to eat? Is it possible for us to punish him in this world for this? When a person kills another we can only punish him to the extent that we take his life for the life he has taken, we can do nothing more than this. His blood is only that of one human being—if, of course, he can be said to be a human being—so is it possible for mankind to give him his due after he has ruled over this nation for thirty-odd years and has perpetrated such killings as he has, such killings and thieving, thieving and treachery, treachery and other crimes as he has committed? He has only one life which can be taken from him in punishment for his taking the life of one person.

Logic of those who compromise

The understanding of some people surprises me at times. Those people who say: "Well, he has come forward and has apologized, so we should accept this. He has come forward and has admitted that he made a mistake, so let's accept this."! What should we accept? Do you really think that God will accept this apology from him? God will not overlook what is man's right. If anyone it is man himself who should overlook it. The people themselves should overlook their right for God to overlook it. Do you think that God will overlook the people's right? Come; let's make our peace with him! Come, let's forgive him! One old gentleman with a white beard wrote me a long letter—he himself is a scholar, however, as far as his mental powers are concerned, he is somewhat deficient in intelligence!—in which he recalled that the Most Noble Messenger in such and such a place forgave so-and-so; somewhere else he forgave a certain infidel; and in such and such a place he forgave such and such a person. He wrote the history for me! As if I have the right to forgive him (the Shah)! What does it have to do with me? The children of that old lady were killed, am I the one who should forgive him for this? How can I forgive him for taking the lives of the youth of this nation?

In all probability tonight a number of people will be killed. Only today we received information to the effect that people have been killed, so now should we just sit back and agree to him remaining "His Imperial Majesty"?! To him no longer ruling but remaining "His Imperial Majesty"?! What kind of logic is this? How could any right-minded person suggest such a thing? Come; let us abide by the constitutional law! Abiding by the constitutional law, which we have at present, means that he remains 'king' but not 'ruler'! Is this possible now? Could a right-minded person accept such a thing? Not even an animal would think of forgiving him! Who can forgive him? Who has the right to forgive him? Has he done something to me personally that I enjoy the right to forgive him for it? He has deprived the nation of its right; this man has spilt the blood of a nation. He is a violator of his promise to God.¹ God has taken a promise from all people that they will obey Him, and the Shah has broken this promise. He himself swore an oath in Parliament when he first usurped the throne. He went to the Parliament and swore that he would be loyal to the Shii faith; that he would promote this faith and he would not betray the nation. He has broken these promises too. He laid his hand on the Quran and swore an oath, calling on God as a witness. He made a solemn promise that he would not betray the nation, that he would propagate the Shii faith. You can all see how he has propagated it and how he has kept his promise! He opposes the traditions of the Messenger of God in every way imaginable.

Silence not consented

If someone remains quiet after seeing that Muhammad Rida Khan has these attributes, then his place in hell is the same as that of Muhammad Rida Khan. He may pray during the night, he may be an *Alim* or have spent the whole of his life in obedience to God, but if he remains silent in the face of such a person, then according to this tradition of the Messenger of God which the Doyen of the Martyrs related, his place in hell will be the same as that of Muhammad Rida Khan. How can a nation remain silent? No one has an excuse; there are no excuses. Even if there were only four of us, we would still have had to rise up, for this is the rule. Today, however, no one can say that he is alone, for the whole nation has risen. Today, the entire nation of Iran has stood up to this tyrannical king, this tyrannical ruler. The entire nation of Islam, the entire nation of Iran, has risen up. Even in the villages they have risen. The day before yesterday someone came to me who had

¹ It refers to part of the Most Noble Messenger's speech in which he spoke about tyrannical rulers.

been to visit some remote villages, and he said that even there demonstrations were held on a daily basis. He said that in these villages in the morning and afternoon the learned ones would lead the peasants and other people in demonstrations. At such a time when all the people have risen, no one is able to say that he cannot. No, you can rise up. Just as you have seen what you can do, you have seen that neither martial law nor a military government can do anything to stop you. The heads of this very same military government who made such a hullabaloo now see that when the people want to march, when people from all corners want to come together for a march, they cannot do anything about it, so they have given in and have announced that they are allowed to do so! They assume that if they don't give the people permission to march, they won't do so! What do they mean by saying they are "allowed" to march? Are they crazy or what?! The people are allowed to march! They have the permission to march! It was also said that "His Imperial Majesty" had given his permission. This is just ridiculous.

[One from the audience: They have even given their permission for congregational prayers to be held.]

[Imam:] Yes.

It is just ridiculous for him to say that he allows it, or for the government to say that it allows this march to take place! Who are you to do the allowing?! You have pointed your bayonets at the people, yet they have come forward and have turned their chests into a shield against your bayonets! Children have come forward, women have come forward; women with babes in arms have joined the ranks of the people. This is a divine act, God has done this. God has lit this fire and this is its brightness, which, like the sun, will remain until the conclusion of this affair, God willing. [The audience replies with God willing].

No one can make the excuse now that he is unable to act or that he is ignorant of the situation. Is there anyone in the whole of Iran who can say that he doesn't know that this man is a tyrannical ruler? Is there anyone who can say he doesn't know that this man has acted against the traditions of the Messenger of God? Is there anyone who doesn't know that this man has broken his promise to God, that he is a rebellious sinner who is oppressing the people and who has squandered their wealth?! No one can say that he didn't know this. I ask you, can any of us say now that we cannot do anything about it? All the power is on our side, so how is it not possible to do something? Everyone should voice their disapproval; they should mention the Shah by name and reveal his true character. How come some of the

ulama in some of the cities are able to write about the Shah and say what kind of a man he really is, naming him explicitly, and no one does anything to them for this? Everyone should speak out and reveal the true nature of the Shah, the government and the regime. It is a mistake not to do this. Names should be mentioned, it should be said that it is the Shah who is doing these things. Disapproval should be voiced. You cannot make the excuse that you are unable to do anything. No, you can do something. If someone utters a word which encourages acceptance of this oppressor, which aids this oppressor, or which helps to retain this oppressor, then this is committing treason against Islam and the Muslims. This should not happen. There should be no talk of 'constitutional law'. . . even if it is said that the article which Rida Khan included by force of the bayonet will be removed, the other articles are wrong too, so they are not worth committing such an outrage for.

Our duty to continue dissemination and struggle

There is no excuse for us today; none of us has an excuse, we who are over here, you gentlemen who are in these countries, are not without a duty to perform. Those who stand in the ranks of the people stand in the line of battle. Perhaps even at this moment the sound of gunfire, the sound of machine-gun fire, is ringing out in Tehran, Qum, Ahwaz and other places. For the people will not remain quiet, they have stood up to them (the regime). Those who stand against the people are waging war against them. However, the people are discharging their duty; they are acting upon the sayings of the Messenger of God; they are following the example of the Doyen of the Martyrs, upon whom be peace, and are performing their duty.

You who are over here must reveal the crimes that this man has committed in whatever way you can; you may be able to give interviews to the press or hold gatherings in which these matters are discussed. Wherever possible you must stand up and speak out on these matters to these friends and acquaintances that you have here abroad and who are of a different denomination or nationality than you, so that the people here will realize that the Iranians who have risen up against him are not just a gang of trouble-makers, but they are people who are speaking the truth and are seeking their rights. Freedom is the right of the people; it is the right of the inhabitants of a country to seek independence. It is a noble people who have risen up and who have spilt their blood in order to stop their wealth, the wealth of their country, from being dissipated, in order to stop the laws of Islam from being swept away or trampled underfoot. You must make the people over here understand this. In whatever language and through whatever means possible

tell them that the people of Iran who have risen up against this man and this regime have done so because for the past fifty years this man and his father have betrayed them; for fifty years he and his father have committed outrages against them, have massacred them. His father perpetrated a massacre in the Goharshad¹ mosque, and as for this Shah, well; wherever you look he has carried out massacres! He is a true son of his father! Tell the people over here that this is the state of affairs, and those who have risen up are not merely a group of ruffians or hooligans, or are not just a few in number—recently that wretch² has been saying that only a “few” people have been making the rest unhappy and that now all the people want the Shah!! I don’t know what is going on in his mind or for whom he is making such comments.

Tell the people over here that the Iranians who have risen up have done so for something that is obvious, for something that all of mankind agrees with and that is that they must be free, they must not be thrown into his jails or prevented from speaking out! They are seized by their throats and prevented from speaking out! Their pens are broken to stop them from writing! During these past fifty years, they (the Pahlavis) broke the people’s pens, they shackled them. Over these past fifty years, the prisons have been full of those who sought freedom. Now the people have arisen and are seeking their national rights, rights which are clearly theirs to have, rights which constitute human rights and are considered to be the most basic of human rights that is freedom, independence and a just government. It is said that he spends one hundred million dollars every year on propaganda for

¹ In late 1935 [1314 AHS], Rida Khan gave orders for strict enforcement of his newly promulgated decree requiring men to wear Western headgear and the Islamic veils of women to be removed. This move angered the people and prompted opposition from the clergy. Ayatullah Haj Aqa Husayn Qummi, a religious leader of Mashhad, traveled to Tehran in protest. He set up residence in the vicinity of the shrine of Abd al-Azim and when the people heard of his arrival, they rushed from all areas of Tehran to the shrine to see him. The gathering of people there worried Rida Khan, and he gave orders that the residence of Ayatullah Qummi and the shrine be surrounded and no one be allowed to enter. When news of this occurrence reached Mashhad, the people held a large gathering in the new courtyard of the shrine of Imam Rida (A) and immediately orders were given to shoot those gathered there. After this event, Buhlul, a famous preacher of Khorasan province, called the mourners of those murdered in the incident to come together at the mosque of Goharshad, part of the shrine complex in that city. Upon hearing of this second large gathering, Rida Khan ordered that machine-gun fire be used to disperse the crowd and that mercy be shown to no one. Police in Mashhad, along with the infantry, entered the mosque and massacred several hundred people. The bodies of the martyrs and even the wounded were then mercilessly loaded onto trucks and taken out of the city where they were buried in a mass grave. The site of this grave is known as the ‘seat of carnage.’

² It refers to the Shah. Carter repeated the same claim.

himself; he pays them (the media) to glorify him and enhance his stature, and to accuse his opponents of whatever they want. You should thwart these actions. Tell the people whom you meet over here about the (true) state of affairs. This man (the Shah) takes the wealth of the nation and uses it against the nation, uses it against the interests of the nation.

May God assist you all. May you be successful, please God [The audience recites a *Salawat*].

Interview

Date: December 11, 1978 [Azar 20, 1357 AHS / Muharram 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The effects of demonstrations in Iran

Interviewer: A reporter of Canada Radio-Television

Question: [What will be the result of these demonstrations?]¹

Answer: The entire nation has voted that the Shah must not be there and the world must recognize that he has no longer any legitimacy. He did not have earlier either, but yesterday and today the people have announced the issue; they have announced publicly that the Shah must go, they do not want him.

Q: [Therefore, there cannot be any compromise with the Shah in your opinion even if he remains in the monarchy symbolically?]

A: No compromise is possible with the Shah. The Shah is a criminal, must be tried and punished for his misdeeds.

Q: You have announced a number of times that you will not be a member of the future government. If it is so, who will be the political leaders and groups that assume power after the change of government? I ask this question because the supporters of the Shah claim that there will be no one to run the country and if the Shah leaves, there will be instability and chaos in the country.

A: The Shah has created chaos in the country; if he goes, there are a number of efficient people who are aware of the world's affairs and will run the country in the best possible manner.

¹ People's demonstrations during the *TasuA* and *Ashura* (Muharram 9 and 10).

Interview

Date: December 11, 1978 [Azar 20, 1357 AHS / Muharram 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Release of political prisoners

Interviewer: An American reporter of the *UP*

Question: [What do you think has happened in Iran today, particularly after the peaceful demonstrations¹ and the release of the political prisoners?]

Answer: The Iranian nation in their widespread demonstrations announced that they do not want the Shah. They announced officially and also issued resolutions and in these resolutions emphasized that they do not want the monarchical regime. Therefore, the Shah has not any legal status.

Q: [You have always said that the Shah must resign and you will continue your struggle until his resignation. What will you do after his resignation?]

A: Resignation does not make sense. He must abdicate, for he has not come to power on the basis of the people's vote to resign. He must abdicate. After his abdication, we will establish an Islamic Republic based on the people's vote and the Islamic law.

Q: [What will be the orientation of the government you intend to set up? Will complete return to Shii Islamic traditions be compatible with our century; for instance, with international relations and trade?]

A: I do not know what impact the propaganda of the foreign agents and those of the Shah have left on you that you call Islam, in its today's prevailing sense, traditional. Islam has the most advanced of governments and the Islamic government has no opposition to civilization at all. Islam has been among the founders of great civilizations of the world. Any country implementing Islamic laws will be undoubtedly among the most progressive countries of the world. I hope that we will be able to prove this issue to the world by our victory. We will have friendly relations with all the countries while we preserve our independence.

Q: [Thousands of people demonstrated in the streets of Tehran, carrying your photos and raising slogans against the reign of the Shah. Have these demonstrations been successful, in your opinion?]

¹ People's demonstrations during the *TasuA* and *Ashura*.

A: They have been very successful. Because through these demonstrations, they proved to the world, particularly to the United States, that the Shah's regime is illegal and he cannot be acknowledged at all. The Shah must go and has no other option.

Q: [There was no violence or rebellion in yesterday's demonstrations. Some people argue that the Shah has thus escaped from a storm. Do you agree with this idea?]

A: The greatest storm was yesterday's peaceful demonstration, for the Iranian people proved through these calculated demonstrations that they can control everything and at the same they do not want the Shah and demand his abdication. All should know that the Shah has no option, but to leave.

Q: [What kind of government will be established after the Shah has resigned? A great number of the American people think that the next government will be anti-American.]

A: The government will be an Islamic republic and it will not be against any government or country. If the United States treats this government in a humane manner and respects it, this government too will maintain mutual respect with it, like with other governments.

Q: [What guarantee can you give that Iran will sell oil to the United States after the Shah has gone?]

A: We won't give any guarantee, but the decision is ours and we want to sell our oil. If the US is a customer, we will sell our oil to it.

Interview

Date: December 11, 1978 [Azar 20, 1357 AHS / Muharram 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: *TasuA* and *Ashura* demonstrations; the foreign policy of an Islamic Republic

Interviewer: A reporter of the American CBS Television

Question: [What do you think about the Tehran's yesterday demonstrations,⁷ how do you assess their result?]

Answer: Yesterday's demonstrations were held widely and as a result it was announced that they do not want the Shah. Although the valorous nation had already announced the issue several times, the Shah has no legitimacy at all and the entire nation has time and again announced across Iran that they do not want the Shah.

Q: [What is your feeling about yesterday's demonstrations; are you satisfied?]

A: I am absolutely satisfied. I believe that they have been successful. They have peacefully announced that they do not want the Shah. That is, the slogans were Islamic and were anti-Shah. Except the Muslims, no one else participated in the demonstrations.

Q: [Observers believe that if the Shah resigns, one of the two possibilities may occur: either an Islamic government in the true sense of the word will come to power; or, the army will take the government in its hands; finally both of these options will be in the interests of the Soviet Union. What will happen in your opinion?]

A: If the army comes to power the situation will remain as it is; the problem will not be solved and the people will not remain silent. If the Islamic government is formed—it will definitely be formed—the Soviet Union will not at all gain power in Iran and the Islamic government will not allow the Soviet Union to interfere in its affair, as it will not allow any other country to do so.

Q: [If your supporters come to power, what will happen to the foreigners? What will be your policy toward the Soviet Union and Israel?]

⁷ The great demonstrations of the Iranian people on *TasuA*.

A: With regard to the foreigners who are in our country, if they do not interfere in our country, our government will treat them on the basis of its laws and will not create any problem for them. But Israel is rejected and we will never supply oil to it and will never recognize it under any circumstances. But the Soviet Union is like other countries. If it maintains the mutual respect, we will treat it on the principle of good neighborliness and will not allow it to interfere in our country.

Q: [How long do you predict that the Shah will remain in power?]

A: I cannot predict, but God willing he will go soon.

Q: [In your opinion, how long is left for the Shah to resign?]

A: I cannot predict. But I hope that he comes to his senses to resign. We hope that we arrest, try and punish him.

Dialogue

Date: December 11, 1978 [Azar 20, 1357 AHS / Muharram 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Answer to the representatives of the French government about freedom of expression and the way of activity in France

Addressees: The representatives of the French government⁸

[**Claude Shayets:** My government has sent me to meet you. My government has utmost respect for you. I am extremely happy that I got the opportunity to meet you. The Minister and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pay great attention to your presence in France. France is a refuge for all those who have some problem... I do not have any political question. My responsibility in my ministry is related to the affairs of all the French nationals who live abroad, all the foreigners who live in France or transit France, or take asylum [...]. The reason for my presence here is that I am among the few people who know the condition of the foreigners in France and the rules and criteria for their stay in France. As you probably know, the French government system is a democratic one and the people can freely express their ideas. The foreigners who come to France too can follow those rules and regulations. The French government has a problem with regard to your activities on the French soil, the least of which is the statements made by you. Our government has read your yesterday remarks with great care; this is why I am here today. There are three issues in your yesterday remarks: calling to demonstrations, calling the soldiers to desert their military service and...calling to disobedience and riot. Your remarks in this regard have gone beyond the freedom of expression. The law for foreigners—anybody in any manner—from any place that he has come...is one. Any foreigner residing in France can criticize the political system of his country and we understand that... but it is difficult for us to accept a call to disobedience and creation of problem and riot in the country... One who has been exiled from a country and comes to us, may be our friend or otherwise, it does not make any difference; at any time and under any condition, our laws are similar for all. The objective of my meeting with you is to convey the annoyance and

⁸ It refers to the second meeting and official talks between the representatives of the French government and Imam Khomeini.

dissatisfaction of the French government with regard to the statement you issued yesterday.]

Imam: I appreciate the French government for leaving us free—after the earlier restrictions. Of course, we expect the French government—that respects the freedom of religion and human beings—to provide this freedom of expression and feel free.

As for the three or two issues that you mentioned: first about the desertion of the soldiers; I should say that when the issue of conscription is legal and the government too is legal and is based on the people's votes, the government itself should announce the conscription and the recruits should render their services. Unfortunately, Iran has neither a legal parliament, nor a legal king nor a legal government. Nevertheless, they forcefully take the soldiers to the barracks. We believe that the Shah and his government are usurpers and believe that we should determine our fate, and that they are ruling by brandishing their guns. The root of our differences with you is about the expression of idea. A soldier is not a soldier in a usurping government. In a country where the Shah is a usurper and has risen against all the interests of the nation, he is an outlaw; nay the government is usurping; hence, even an armed uprising is not a riot; rather it is anti-riot... If the French government does not like us to announce our right words—our words that all are free to express their right words—we will go to somewhere else annoyingly.

[**CS:** We are not in a position to judge whether the Shah is right or the Ayatullah; we do not want to enter this issue.]

IK: Have you ever consulted your embassy in Iran to find out the reasons for the massacres that occur? They kill, capture, imprison and banish the people. Here the French government says that we should not talk; should not announce the oppressions. Is it freedom? Is it called freedom?

[**CS:** We do not want to be inferred from our remarks that we are indifferent toward what is happening in Iran; but the very fact that we have allowed you to work here means that we are taking side. We make distinction between criticism—of any degree and any level—and the mobilization of the people and inviting them to uprising and riot.]

IK: In my opinion, the French government is committing a mistake in this regard: “the issue is to call to riot, it is to be a riot,” it is a call to armed uprising against riot; in order to paralyze the riot. The French government is supporting the Shah and it is a mistake. It should support the nation; the Shah will have to go, he will not stay. The nation will remain; they are the base. The Shah is a criminal and it is to the detriment of the prestige of France to

support a criminal. France, though a freedom-loving country, says that the oppressed and freedom-fighters should not cry against so that they commit their crime; it is against the interests of France and France must take its future interests into consideration.

CS: It might be presumptuous if I try in my position to convince him in what he says about the problems; what I mean is not only talking about the interests of the country; rather we observe the law in order to ensure maximum freedom of expression. We understand the impression of your speech and influence of your leadership and take them into consideration. On the basis of all these, I will, in utmost sincerity, convey your remarks to our government.]

IK: You observe how the entire Iranian nation, including the army personnel, respects the French nationals who go to Iran and they know why; for I am here and cry the exclamation of the oppressed people. I do not like this situation to be changed; if the news about the issues you bring to the fore reaches Iran, they will change their ideas and I do not like that to happen. I am your guest. The French government had better review it. I like your friendship with the Iranian nation to continue.

[**CS:** The fact is that I have not come here to discuss political matters. Our problem is that of the French government. I thank you for the time you spared and admitted me. We have great respect for you; but anyway, in order to remove any ambiguity I shall submit that we will not compromise our law. These laws are above the individuals. With full trust, I will convey your remarks to the higher authorities and will contact again.]

Speech

Date: December 11, 1978 [Azar 20, 1357 AHS / Muharram 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Great referendum of *TasuA* and *Ashura*; necessity for the return of the army to the nation's embrace

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

***TasuA and Ashura* referendum: proof for Shah's downfall**

The demonstrations which have taken place yesterday and today in Iran have deprived every person and every government of excuses.¹ No longer can governments claim that the Shah is legitimate and is staying in the country legally or because the people want him to. The referendum that took place yesterday and today and the declaration that was issued proved to the world that the Shah is illegal.² I said that his rule was null and void from day one; my claim has been that from the beginning Rida Shah and this Shah

¹ Referring to the marches which took place on *TasuA* and *Ashura*, December 10-11 [Azar 19-20 AHS]. From the crack of dawn the people of Tehran began to march from different areas of the city toward Inqilab-e Islami Street (the former Rida Shah Street) and Azadi Street (formerly Eisenhower Street) which would take them to Azadi (Shahyad) Square where the processions were to culminate. The slogans shouted during the marches on these two days were: 'This is the national slogan, God, the Quran and Khomeini'; 'Independence, Freedom, Islamic Republic'; 'The only party is the Party of Allah, the only leader Ruhullah'; 'The Pahlavi dynasty must be destroyed, an Islamic government must be established'. Jeffrey Robertson, a correspondent for the BBC, described the scene as a swelling, roaring sea of people, and "a great gathering that with one voice calls out: 'The Shah must go!'"

² In the demonstrations of *TasuA* and *Ashura*, December 10-11 [Azar 19-20 AHS], a seventeen-point declaration was issued by the people in support of the leadership of Imam Khomeini. The other main points of this declaration called for the overthrow of the Shah; the renunciation of foreign imperialism and the attainment of independence and self-sufficiency; the establishment of a government of Islamic justice; the protection of the political and civil rights of all citizens, including those of the minority religions; the granting of true freedom, dignity, respect and nobility to women; the implementation of social justice; the repudiation of discrimination and exploitation in all forms; the revival of the country's agriculture; industrial advancement; the continuation of the strikes until the fall of the regime; refraining from hoarding goods and selling goods at inflated prices; cautioning the army and inviting the soldiers to unite with the people; repudiating the accusation of the influence of international communism in the Islamic Revolution; the release of political prisoners; the continuation of the struggle until victory; and honoring the martyrs and continuing their path.

gained sovereignty in Iran through illegal and usurpatory means. Now, even if Carter and others like him deny that this is the case, events of yesterday and today have proved that the Shah enjoys no legality, because according to the text of our constitutional law, the Shah is a Shah only by the vote of the nation. This is only natural. Now all the people in Tehran, Mashhad, Qum and Tabriz, everywhere in Iran—and there can be no excuses made that another group of people were involved who came from the other side of the border!—have calmly announced that they don't want the Shah.¹

Therefore, I have a message for the world governments, for those within Iran, for the Iranian army. My message for the governments of the world is this: we declare from today that our referendum is well and truly over and it is perfectly clear for you all that the Shah enjoys no legitimacy, consequently, we will annul all agreements which have been made between Iran and governments which continue to support the Iranian regime, and we will not give them a drop of oil, at least not while these governments remain in power.

American parliament should impeach Carter

The American parliament should reprimand Carter and ask him to explain why he is backing a government which does not enjoy the support of the nation and which no one in Iran approves of. Carter himself, along with his administration, should be formally questioned as to why they are acting against the interests of America by supporting the Shah who took over the reins of power in Iran illegally and whose reign was made null and void by the referendum in Iran yesterday and today—if it were not considered as being so from the beginning. This is against the interests of America, for if you (addressing Carter) continue to support him, then there will be no oil for America for the duration that you and your administration are in power. This applies to other countries too, be they America, Britain, Russia or other

¹ Concerning the slogans shouted by the people on *TasuA* and *Ashura*, the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini writes in his memoirs: "Slogans against the Shah were not shouted out through the loudspeakers during the march on *TasuA* due to the efforts by political figures within the country who used 'prevention of killings' as the excuse to justify their stance, and much to the displeasure of the revolutionary clergy and people. The matter was referred to Paris where Imam Khomeini stressed, as he had done on previous occasions, that the main slogans to be given during the march on *Ashura*, as indeed on any other day, must, without fail, voice opposition to the Shah and his rule and must call for the establishment of an Islamic government. Consequently, in the march on *Ashura*, the slogans 'Death to the Shah' and 'the American hireling Shah must be banished, an Islamic government must be established' were the most common and universal."

countries that wish to buy oil from Iran. We will not give our oil to those countries which support the Shah today, even through an equitable sale. In other words, so long as the governments of these countries are in power, we will not give them oil. It is true that we do not bear any animosity toward the people of these countries, and if the parliaments of these countries force these governments to sever their support for the Shah and announce that they do not back him, then we will give them oil. However, if these governments do not do this, then so long as they are in power, there will be no oil for their nations.

So now it is up to the parliaments of these countries and the governments, they must decide what to do. This is simply a message for the foreigners and the heads of state calling on them to open their eyes and follow the right path. They should support a people who have stood up and who are calling for their rights, who are saying they want freedom, they want the right to determine their own destiny and they do not want the Shah. If these heads of state do not do so and they support the Shah instead, then there will be no oil for their countries for the duration that they are in power.

A warning and alarm to the army

I would like also to say something to the army, the Iranian army, and I hope that my words reach them. I would like to address the young officers in the army, for I feel that the older officers, who have been in the army for a long time, are excluded here, especially those who served Rida Shah and who may still be serving this Shah, for they most surely support him because he has given them their fill of riches, and these killings which have occurred either at the time of martial law or the military government have done so at their hands! I hold out no hope for these old men. We have asked that a record be made of their names and, God willing, they will be given their just deserts under the Islamic government [The audience replies with God willing]. I would, however, like to awaken the young officers, those who have not got their ranks, or more to the point have not been given them so as to keep them in a subordinate position to these older officers who are the official servants of America or Russia and who serve them first of all and the Shah second, and who have been filled to overflowing with our oil money. I hold out no hope for them because the Shah has given them their fill of the riches of this nation and they now view the Shah and America as their providers.

I would, however, like to arouse the younger generation in the army who form an important group, and give them a word of advice which is that you

are young, you still have a life ahead of you, your working days are not over yet, there is still time to serve the nation, so return to the nation and serve the people, abandon this regime that you now know to be illegal and un-Islamic. Forsake this regime and join the people, then the Islamic government will welcome you with open arms. This system will be better for you than that of the Shah, because in an Islamic system there will be no giving of money in order to strengthen a ruler, this will not happen. In this system the government will be just, it will be a national government, a government based on the divine laws and on the consensus of the nation; a ruler will not be able to bully his way to power and then protect his rule by the same means. No, he will come to power through the nation's vote, and it will be the nation who will protect him. And if at any time he acts against the wishes of the nation or against the law, the codified law, then his rule will, as a matter of course, become null and void and the government of Iran and the Iranian nation will sweep him aside.

Need for an army in future

You young army officers have not lost yourselves to the dollar like the older officers have! Return to the nation's embrace and the people will welcome you, the Islamic government too will take care of you. Do not think that if an Islamic government were to come to power it would not need officers; this is just what they (the regime and its supporters) are putting about. An Islamic government requires all the apparatuses that other governments have, minus the stealing [The audience laughs]. We want to stop the stealing and capture the thieves. Those who serve their country are held in high esteem by all of us, and they are dear to God too. Everything will be prepared for them. But of course those who are thieves, who have stolen the wealth of this nation and have taken it abroad, will be punished. Do not suppose that if they have left Iran then that is an end to the affair! If they come here, these young people are here to deal with them [The audience laughs]. If they go to America or Britain it will be the same there too. They should not think that they can stay in Iran until the last moment, steal as much as they can and then fly off to America! Wherever they go, there will be zealous Iranian youth to deal with them [The audience says God willing].

Be that as it may, I ask these young men in the army . . . and I know that they have not lost their Islamic character or their human nature and that at heart they side with the nation, but at present they see themselves as being under the command of these elder, higher-ranking officers, these generals and so on, who have frightened them by putting the idea into their heads that

were an Islamic government to come to power, the army officers would no longer have a role to play. On the contrary, at the time of Hadrat Amir, officers existed, but in another form. Malik Ashtar was one of Hadrat Amir's leading officers, as was Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr. A country always needs an army, it always needs officers and it always needs the different sections of an administration. What it doesn't need are people who are a burden to the country, people who want to steal the nation's wealth and who are of no benefit to the nation. Those who are doing this now have to realize what they are doing, the less they steal the better it will be for them, the less they take out of the country the better it will be for them, because they will be found wherever they go.

Islamic government defender of the deprived's rights

In any case, this is false propaganda that is put about whether among the soldiers or the farmers. They tell the farmers that if an Islamic government were to come to power they would once again fall on hard times. As if the farmers don't know it was those 'land reforms' implemented by this man that blackened their days in the first place. These helpless people are now living a very inferior kind of life and these co-operative banks and corporations that they have created have deprived them completely of their existence.¹ There would be no talk of such things taking place were an Islamic government to come to power. Do not think that an Islamic government will come and

¹ The Agricultural Bank of Credit with two hundred branches throughout the country, and other corporations and organizations such as: rural cooperative corporations and unions; the Agricultural Joint Stock Company; the Rural Production Cooperative Company; and the Rural Cultural House, were established ostensibly to help farmers. The Agricultural Bank was in theory supposed to make available to the rural cooperatives and unions, and consequently to the farmers themselves, credit equivalent to ten times its subscribed capital, however, in practice, and because of government failure to provide sufficient capital resources to meet the demand for cooperative credit, it rarely extended to any society credit which exceeded more than four times the value of all its paid-up shares. As a result, the amount of money cooperatives could borrow to re-lend to members was inadequate relative to the credit needs of most peasants. In addition to restricting the total amount of credit, the Agricultural Bank also adopted policies which tended to inhibit the flow of available credit. For more information on this, refer to *Land and Revolution in Iran 1960-1980* by Eric J. Hooglund, in particular chapters 3 and 4. For all the regime's propaganda that these organizations were set up to help in the equal distribution of farmland; to improve water and land exploitation methods; to assist the peasants in obtaining credit for agricultural machinery, tools, fertilizers, pesticides and other items; and to arrange facilities for the storage, transport and marketing of their members' crops, the farmers were no better off after their establishment than they were before. For further information refer also to Fred Halliday's *Iran, Dictatorship and Development*, Chapter 5.

demand that you give back to those property magnates the holdings which had been taken off them. No, it will sit each one of them down in turn and ask them to settle their accounts. Yes, they will have to pay tax to the Islamic government. For the past seventy or one hundred years neither they nor their fathers or forefathers have paid anything. If we work it out, the amount will be more than these lands of theirs and we shall have to take their jewels off them and their money from the bank because they are in debt to the government. Once the land is nationalized, that is when it is taken over by the Islamic government, then of course farmers will be needed, cultivators will be needed. An Islamic government does not want the agrarian economy to be in the state it is in today whereby the country has to beg Israel and America to give it eggs, chickens, wheat, barley and goodness knows what else.¹ It wants the country to be self-sufficient. Our country has everything, it is not the case that it doesn't have anything; on the contrary it has everything it needs. The agricultural produce of one of our country's provinces was once enough to meet the needs of the whole country, but these people destroyed our agriculture. They have brought our animal husbandry to ruin in order to give our pasturelands to others. They have destroyed everything we had.

We want a country that belongs to us. They think that if they spread this propaganda around . . . Islam did not come to oppress the weak; Islam came to take care of them and tend to their needs. Islam sprang up among the ranks of the weak, not the wealthy. It appeared among the beggars of Medina and Mecca, among those poor, weak people. None of the prophets was an aristocrat to side with their cause. They were all from the weak class, from the masses, and it was the masses with whom they sympathized. They did not allow acts of oppression to be carried out against them, or indeed against anyone, including those in positions of authority, for acts of oppression should not be carried out against anyone.

Islam defender of civilization and guardian of men and women's rights

This regime has disseminated propaganda to the effect that were Islam to come to power, women, for example, would have to remain at home with the doors locked to prevent them from getting out! [The audience laughs]. Such

¹ During the Shah's 'land reform' program, the country's agriculture and animal husbandry were gradually ruined, and what remained of the oil revenues was spent on the purchase of wheat from America, oranges from South Africa, chickens from Holland, eggs from Israel and other needs from various other countries. The cost of importing eggs from Israel in the years 1976-78 amounted to 212, 254 and 1,022 million rials respectively, figures which were continually on the rise. Refer to *Iran, Taswir-e Amari-ye Bazargani-ye Khariji*, p. 264 and *Inqilab-e Jumhuri-ye Islami-ye Iran*, p. 152.

falsehoods they spread about Islam. In the earliest age of Islam, women formed part of the army and entered the field of battle together with the men. Islam does not oppose universities, it is opposed to the corruption of the universities, it is opposed to universities being kept in a retarded state, it is opposed to imperialist universities, not the universities themselves. Islam does not oppose any of the manifestations of civilisation and is not against any one particular group of you. When it first appeared, Islam took women by the hand and made them equal with men. Even though women were regarded as nothing at the time the Prophet of Islam began his teachings. Islam gave women strength. Islam put women on a par with men and made them equal with men. Of course, there are certain rules which apply only to men and others which apply only to women, but this does not mean that Islam discriminates against women. Both women and men are free to attend university, both are free to vote and stand as parliamentary representatives, that which Islam objects to is the way that these people (the Shah and his regime) want women to be: a plaything in the hands of men. To quote the Shah "a woman should be flirtatious."¹ We want to get rid of this mistaken idea. We want a woman to be a person like other people, a human being like any other human being, to be free as others are free. Do not listen to this propaganda the Shah puts about—on which it is said he spends one hundred million dollars annually. Nobody really pays attention to it any more anyway. He should pack up his things and leave now [Laughter from the audience].

I hope that you will be successful and an Islamic government will succeed in taking the place of the oppressive government, God willing. [The audience replies with "God willing"]. May God assist those in Iran who are aiding Islam and grant them success ["Amen" from the audience]. And may He grant you young people abroad, those of you who are outside of Iran, success, so that together we may sever the hands of foreigners from our land. ["Amen" from the audience]. May God keep you all ["Amen" from the audience].

¹ Interview with Oriyana Falachi; it appears in her book, *Interview with History*.

Speech

Date: December 11, 1978 [Azar 20, 1357 AHS / Muharram 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Need for observation of the law by Iranians and Muslims abroad

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

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

Comprehensiveness of Islam

May God make everyone successful. I have a request to put to the gentlemen, and that is that wherever they may be they take certain points into consideration: one is that Islam, as you well know, does not solely comprise rules for the outwardly apparent acts of worship individuals must perform, just as it does not consist wholly of uprising and movement and the like. Islam has many aspects and someone who wants to understand Islam must recognize all the aspects which exist in Islam. That which concerns the development of the individual; that which concerns the development of society; that which concerns the policies of an Islamic government toward other countries; that which concerns the economy, education and culture, these are all to be found in Islam. Unfortunately, I have been told that some individuals—some of these young people who are living in Europe or America—take into account only one aspect of Islam that is the aspect concerned with struggle, demonstrations and the like. Clearly, struggling against the enemy, struggling against corruption and struggling against corrupt governments form part of a government's, that is an Islamic government's, program and are included in the rules of Islam. However, Islam is not confined solely to such things. Just as the gentlemen take action and are active in this regard, so too they must go to great pains to carry out those duties which are for developing their personality, duties which God the Blessed and Exalted has asked the people to perform, for indeed all of these are to man's advantage, and through this means they must develop themselves.

Iranians abroad must preserve Iran's reputation

One matter which grieves me deeply and which is spoken of frequently over here, many questions being raised about it, is that occasionally some of our youth living abroad violate the law in shops, government offices, banks

or on trains and buses, arguing that because these countries have stolen our wealth, then we may as well steal theirs. This is not right. The position of those of you who are presently living abroad is such that if you are seen to commit a crime, the nation of Iran will be judged by your action. The Iranians will be called a nation of thieves or it will be said that the Muslims in general are thieves! For this reason, you must be very careful about such things. Even if you believe such actions to be permissible—and indeed I say to you that they are not—but even if you believe it is permissible to take money from these organizations, you must not do so. Guard yourselves against doing such things because it is necessary to preserve your own reputation and that of Islam and the nation.

If, for example, when our young people in one of these countries want to travel on a bus or take a plane or train journey they cheat or carry out a fraud when buying the ticket, this constitutes playing with the human dignity of a nation. You should advise your friends against doing such things, tell them that this excuse that because they have stolen our wealth we can steal theirs, is not a justifiable one, it is not right. You should safeguard the dignity of your nation and preserve the high standing of Islam, for suppose that you are arrested by a policeman at the scene of your crime, the onlookers will not say that this man is whatever, they will say that the nation of Iran is like this or Islam is like this. Thus, this is a very important responsibility that you must shoulder.

All Muslims, whether from Iran or other Muslim countries, who are living in Europe or America should preserve their dignity and safeguard their religion and their reputation in these countries; they should never commit crimes which bring dishonor to a nation. Even if you believe this to be permissible, even if someone exploits you, you must not do anything which is classed as a fraud and which the police class as a fraud.

Advise your friends against doing such things. I am repeatedly asked about this matter by people who come here and I have said over and over that they should not do such things, now you too pass this message on. Such actions are damaging to our reputation.

Now as for the problems facing Iran, wherever you may be tell your friends, your American and European friends, about these. Tell them how the Shah has treated the people and that all the people are saying that they don't want him. Make these things known to those over here, so that these foreigners will have no doubts in their minds and they will not think that the people of Iran are barbarians who are acting against a government! No, this is not the case; rather, they want to get rid of a barbaric government. You

must speak out about these matters. May you always be successful, victorious and healthy, God willing.

Message

Date: December 12, 1978 [Azar 21, 1357 AHS / Muharram 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Nationwide demonstrations in Tehran and other cities on *TasuA* and *Ashura*

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Muharram 11, 1399 AH

My sincere greetings to the courageous, devoted Iranian nation; You, the honorable nation, with your steel-like determination and live slogans proved to the world that you do not want the Shah and hence he must be dismissed from his usurping power. Through this great referendum, you announced once more that he has no base among the nation. You also once more exposed those who made nonsensical statements, saying that they [the opponents] are merely a handful of saboteurs, but the nation wants the Shah—even when the public slogan of “death to the Shah” permeated the entire country. This time too by crying “death to the Shah,” you bounced your fist on their month. The Almighty God is satisfied with you and the Imam of Time—May God expedite his advent—lauds you. Islam too admires you for your support and hoisting the flag of monotheism through devotion and sacrificing the blood of your youth.

Pinning hopes on you and with a heart full of compassion of the support of you, dear nation, I am proud of the great goals you pursue, that is, the overthrow of the Shah’s regime, elimination of the monarchical system, and establishment of the Islamic republican system. You renewed your allegiance to the Imam (A) of the devotees through your great demonstrations across Iran on the *TasuA* and *Ashura*.

Simultaneous with your great demonstrations, in a message to the heads of states, I announced that the referendum of these two days has left no ambiguity that the people do not want the Shah and have announced his illegality with an absolute majority. Therefore, I warned that any head of government that henceforth supports the Shah will be deprived of the Iranian oil and Iran’s contracts with them will be declared unofficial; and so long as those heads of state who support the Shah are in power, the supply of oil to

them will be stopped and the contracts nullified. It is the duty of the nations to question their governments, and the duty of the US Congress to impeach the Carter Administration.

I also sent a message to the young army officers to join the nation, for we emancipate them from the yoke of the military advisors and embrace them wholeheartedly. The respected young army officers should seriously avoid hostile confrontation with their brothers and sisters and join their united rank, which is an Islamic goal. I request the honorable nation to protect and assist the soldiers and officers who join them in the best possible manner and take the security issue into consideration.

The Iranian nation must bear in mind that we are passing through a very crucial juncture. Many a persons may unknowingly or treacherously keep silent or remain negligent. They should not be heeded and protests against the Shah must be expanded more than ever. Since the media are on strike, contacts with the cities must be established through any possible means and the daily news and reports of the street demonstrations should be exchanged.

I extend my heartfelt gratitude to the dear nation and beseech the Almighty Allah to assist them, which is assistance to the Holy Quran and Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: December 12, 1978 [Azar 21, 1357 AHS / Muharram 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Cooperation with the Marxists; our government is an Islamic Republic

Interviewer: A reporter of the *Voice of Luxemburg* and *Radio Luxemburg*

Question: [Your Eminence, Ayatullah Khomeini, you have said frequently that the Islamic movement does not have any relations with the Marxists. How do you foresee your relations with the Marxists in the aftermath of the victory of the movement? Will the communists cooperate with you in the future government, or will you cooperate with them?]

Answer: We will not cooperate with them in any form.

Q: [Some political scientists argue that there are some common aspects between the Muslims and the Marxists. They also believe that there are conservative and progressive factions in the Islamic movement. Do you have any problem within your movement with the conservative factions?]

A: There are no different factions in Islam. When the Islamic government is formed, all will obey the law of Islam and Islam is a united, uniform front.

Q: [Your Eminence, in case of the victory of your movement, what type of government will you establish? What will be the nature of the participation of political groups in the Islamic government?]

A: Our government is an Islamic republic, which is based on the Quranic verses, its laws are the law of Islam, and the political groups are free to express their ideas in it.

Q: [As you know the Shah has introduced a martial government [Ghulam-Rida Azhari's government]. Isn't struggle against the army officers more difficult? How do you want to remove the martial government?]

A: Of course it is difficult, but when the nation wants something, even the military officers cannot stand against it. The massacres they are committing are not a remedy and the martial government too will inevitably collapse.

Q: [Mr. Shapur Bakhtiyar, a spokesman of the National Front, has told a reporter of the DPA News Agency that he was not opposed to the

constitutional monarchy. Will you go back to Iran, if the National Front comes to power?]

A: It depends on the assessment of the exigencies. If it is exigent, I may go.

Q: [How do you foresee social development and progress, particularly the progress of the women, in case your movement attains victory and an Islamic government is established? Will polygamy be allowed, will you permit it?]

A: Women are free, as men are. We will act in accordance to the law of Islam.

Q: [In case of the establishment of the Islamic Republic, will the Kurds be granted autonomy, will local freedoms be granted?]

A: All constitute a united nation in Iran and we and they both consider ourselves a united nation.

Q: [What are the plans and programs of your future activities?]

A: There were some shortcomings during the Shah's time; they will be mended as much as possible. We will restore independence and freedom to the motherland. We will purge the offices in accordance to the exigencies of the nation and the country. We will sever the hands of the aliens from Iran.

Interview

Date: December 12, 1978 [Azar 21, 1357 AHS / Muharram 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The results of the *TasuA* and *Ashura* demonstrations; oil embargo against the West

Interviewer: A reporter of the Swedish Television and the French *Le Monde* newspaper

Question: [Your Eminence, what will be the result of today's great demonstrations in your opinion?]

Answer: The demonstrations held in Iran across the country were a live referendum for the dismissal of the Shah. The result is that according to all viewpoints, the Shah should not have any legitimacy and henceforth he will be treated as illegal.

Q: [You have said recently that henceforth you will not sell oil to the countries that support the Shah. This is a threat to the Western countries and the United States. What will happen in your opinion?]

A: The issue is that today the illegality of the Shah has been announced and if someone supports the Shah henceforth, so long as his government is in power, no oil will be sold to his country.

Q: [Have you personally, or any of your friends, had any contact with the Americans thus far to tell the issue to the Americans?]

A: There are no contacts; neither between the Americans and me nor between my friends and the Americans.

Interview

Date: December 12, 1978 [Azar 21, 1357 AHS / Muharram 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The results of the *TasuA* and *Ashura* demonstrations

Interviewer: A reporter of the Rome-based Italian newspaper, "*Movement will Continue*" and *Radio Popular*, Milan, Italy

Question: [The demonstrations of Sunday and Monday received the government permission. Does it mean that the Shah has been able to take the control of the situation in his hands?]

Answer: The Shah has not been able to control the situation at all. The reason for allowing the demonstrations was his fear of a revolution.

Q: [You have said that the revolution must be accomplished peacefully. If the army shoots at the people again, what will be your order to the people?]

A: I will revise [my policy] in due time.

Q: [How do you think that you can preserve the unity of various forces that participate in the movement?]

A: They are currently all united and all agree with the abdication of the Shah.

Message

Date: December 14, 1978 [Azar 23, 1357 AHS / Muharram 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The *TasuA* and *Ashura* demonstrations; referendum on the illegality of the Shah's government

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The crimes committed by the Shah in many cities, particularly in Isfahan and Najafabad where his agents committed unprecedented savagery, and which is said to be a plan to be repeated in other cities through which no one, small and big, will be spared, and all the houses, shops and religious centers will be set on fire, are a sign of the instability and weakness of the martial government and the Shah's disappointment at continuing his diabolic power. And now that he is definitely on the verge of collapse, he wants to complete his crimes and as he has said he wants to reduce Iran to a pile of earth.

The wakeful nation must know that this is the last attack, stemming from the madness and mental breakdown of the Shah and such foolish and savage attacks must not demoralize the nation. The Shah finds himself isolated and separated from the nation and has helplessly taken refuge in the bosom of the hooligans and mercenaries in order to remove his mental complexes. The Shah finds himself dismissed from his perceived monarchy and in the light of the *TusuA* and *Ashura* referendum considers the continuation of his rule impossible. Therefore, he will not spare any inhumane crime and is trying to fire the final shot with the help of the hooligans and some commanders of the Army who are an accomplice to his crimes. The Shah has to go! But the commanders of the Army who commit crimes with him and at his behest must revise their policies and be fearful of the consequences. The young officers should not tarnish themselves with these terrible crimes. Don't they want to live in this country honorably after the [collapse of the] Shah?

The crimes committed in Isfahan, Najafabad and some other cities are so distanced from human dignity that terribly torture any human conscience. According to some reports, the agents of the Shah have entered the houses of the defenseless, disinherited people and attacked them with their machineguns, set the mosques ablaze, harassed the women, immediately

killed anyone who would not say “long live the King” and fairly and quickly enforced freedom as defined in Carter’s logic.

Now, taking into account the *TasuA* and *Ashura*’s referendum—that proved the illegality of the Shah and his government to the world—and according to the commandment of Islam and the law, it is the duty of the nation to disobey the Shah and his government: they should not pay taxes and should continue their strikes in all government offices, organizations and firms, particularly in the oil industries until the Shah and the government have gone, and it is the duty of the nation to support them through expanding their strikes.

I condole all brothers and sisters across the country on the tragedy inflicted upon them and beseech the Almighty God to grant them fortitude and reward and also grant His extensive blessings to the martyrs of the Way of Allah and announce Monday, the 17th of Muharram al-Haram [December 18, 1978], marking the seventh day of the martyrdom of the martyrs, a day of public mourning.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: December 14, 1978 [Azar 23, 1357 AHS / Muharram 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Message of thanks

Addressee: Jafar Saburi

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 13, 1399 AH

Greetings and salutations to you; I thank you for your kind letter, conveying the news of your health and also expressing your sympathy with me. I pray for your health and success and hope that you will pray that the things come to an end fairly. May God's peace and mercy be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

I allow the earmarking of the religious taxes (Holy Imam's Share) for any assistance to the victims of the recent events.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ It refers to the people who were injured or whose properties were damaged during the demonstrations and strikes.

Interview

Date: December 14, 1978 [Azar 23, 1357 AHS / Muharram 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Islam and modernization of Iran; rejection of any compromise with the regime

Interviewer: A reporter of the *Onita* (?), the organ of the Italian Communist Party

Question: [Our country, Italy, is following with keen interest the attempts of the Iranian nation against the dictatorship of the Pahlavi dynasty. At the same time some press reports indicate that the Islamic government is one step behind the modernization of Iran by the Shah. What is your opinion?]

Answer: According to your confirmation, it is more than fifty years that the Pahlavi dynasty, that is, the Shah and his father, have been ruling over Iran with their dictatorship; they have not spared any crimes, with the help of the colonial powers, against the Iranian nation. They have given the control of Iranian resources, particularly oil, to the aliens. They have muffled any cry for freedom and any protest against dictatorship with the help of the bayonet. This dynasty has committed frequent massacres during these fifty years. Freedom in all its aspects has been taken from the people. The people have never had any right to elect. The orators and writers have either been killed or imprisoned or they have been banned from writing and lecturing. The press has been banned from writing the truth and in sum, they have destroyed all the fundamental institutions of democracy. The Shah and his associates have confessed to all of these during the current year. Now my question is: what is the meaning of modernization for such an oppressed nation with such a dictatorial sultan? Does modernization mean the plunder of our black gold and in lieu of that stockpiling of weapons worth billions of dollars? Does modernization mean the establishment of assemblage factories with foreign investment and the investment of their domestic allies including the Shah who is turning the country into a full-fledge colony, providing them with the services of the Iranian workers on low wages? They have destroyed the agriculture and instead they have imported about ninety percent of the wheat, rice and other foodstuff requirements of the country. Does that mean the modernization of the country? They have filled the prisons with our educated people, from students, to doctors, to engineers and other experts and intellectuals and have imported doctors and engineers from abroad. In the Shah's logic and in that of the press that are paid by him, these measures mean modernization of the country. Is our argument, that is, the

establishment of the Islamic government—in the light of which we want to put an end to all those crimes and treacheries—tantamount to being one step behind? No. It is putting an end to the 2,500-year-old rotten reactionary monarchy.

Q: [Do you think that you are linked to all the liberation movements in various Arab countries that on the basis of various methods and under peculiar conditions are struggling for independence—like the Palestinian nation—autonomy, political, economic, and ideological freedom?]

A: The current sacred Islamic movement in Iran does not have any organized ties with any group outside the country. However, since the Iranian nation has always supported the struggle of all the freedom-fighters, particularly that of the Palestinian brothers against the aggression of Israel and since for the past fifteen years we have always acknowledged their struggles in our statements and lectures and supported them as much as we have been able to do, we hope that they—and other freedom-fighters—of the world support the righteous struggles of the Iranian nation. We hope that they do so as much as and as soon as possible.

Q: [In the struggle against the Shah, the religious force is a source of unity among different layers of the political forces. What is your opinion about the participation of the united popular combatants of the revolutionary movement, some of whom are Marxists, but do not confess?]

A: Yes, today, Islam, as a progressive school of thought, capable of fulfilling all the demands of man and solving his problems, has drawn the attention of the Muslims of the world, particularly that of the Iranian Muslim nation. More than ninety-five percent of the Iranian people are Muslims and seek the establishment of an Islamic government and the execution of the progressive Islamic laws. All the strata across the country are unanimous and united in seeking these demands. If a group of people, whose number is very limited, raised a slogan other than Islam, they are either biased or take orders from foreign powers, if they are not the agents of the Iranian regime, or it may be because they do not know Islam and what they have heard about Islam they have got it from wrong diversionary propaganda. Hence they have taken refuge in other schools of thought and we believe that with the implementation of Islamic law, they will return to the bosom of Islam.

Q: [Most of the newspapers in Italy and France speak of the danger of a civil war and believe that the only optimistic solution is compromise, election of

the constitutional Parliament and referendum in order to prevent confrontation between the people who listen to you and the army. Is the gap between the army and the people really wide? Here we are talking of the top brass army officers who are in the service of the Shah?]

A: First of all compromise with the Shah means compromise with an oppressor and traitor. And this compromise is itself the biggest treason, which does not fit in the culture of Islam and that of a real Muslim. Secondly, throughout the reign of this dynasty, compromises have always been accompanied with bitter experiences and the Iranian nation is wakeful today and will never be deceived by this ploy. The press that talk about civil war should know that a long time back the Shah had launched such propaganda in order to ward off the movement of the Iranian nation, frightening the people of Iran's disintegration into several small states.¹⁰ He used to say that his opponents wanted to disintegrate Iran. This is only a hollow threat and the nation will not be deceived by it. As for the army, the Shah knows well that he cannot pin his hopes on this army. Nowadays we receive the news of the mutiny of the army personnel. The soldiers desert the barracks; the young officers disobey their commanders. The army personnel, except a few personnel who are the relatives and mercenaries of the Shah, are Muslim and sooner or later will join the nation and the Shah will not be able to continue his rule.

Q: [All the observers believe that the great demonstrations on last Sunday and Monday [people's massive demonstrations on *TasuA* and *Ashura*, 1978] were a referendum against the Shah and in favor of the Islamic government. They have also accepted to recognize the great maturity of the Iranian nation who listen to you, but the domination and power still continue, for the Shah does not intend to step down and therefore under what other form can the popular struggles against the Shah continue?]

A: The combatant nation has undermined the foundations of the Shah's house of cards, which was built by himself and due to this very reason his power cannot continue anymore. It was the very same Shah who said a few years ago, when he established his absurd party [the *Rastakhiz* (Resurrection) Party, established in February 1976] that anybody who does not cast his vote for him will be either placed in jail or will be allowed to leave the country.

¹⁰ In an interview with Amir Tahiri, entitled, "Exceptional Interview with Exceptional Leader," published in the *Kayhan* daily, the Shah said: "So long as I, the army and the nationalists are there, Iran will not become Iranistan (i.e., it will not be disintegrated)."

Today, you see that the Iranian nation has forced him to accept the fiasco of the failure of his nominal party. It was the very same Shah who believed that the political prisoners should stay in the prison until they languish and die, but we see that the pressure of the nation has forced him to release some of them and accept tens of other failures caused by the pressure of the nation and by the grace of the Almighty God they will remove him from power forever. They use any possible means in this way. If the Shah does not leave through peaceful means, he and his supporters will have to pay a heavy price.

Q: [You are informed about the fact-finding group demanded by Carter. Your Islamic government can sever its relations with the powers that have economically or politically exploited it or have undermined its interests. Have you envisaged bilateral talks with the United States, of course, on completely equal footings?]

A: We will not accept any negotiations so long as the Shah is in power and has not abdicated. In case an independent Islamic government based on the people's votes comes to power, then we can negotiate with any willing government in various fields. In our relations with other countries, we will neither allow oppression against ourselves nor will we commit any inequity against others. And if a country follows such a policy and does not depend on any of the colonial powers and maintains its total independence, it will definitely face economic, political sanctions in today's world. The Shah and his illegal government do not have any ties with the people and are doomed to be overthrown by the nation. Therefore, he inevitably accepts whatever the foreign powers impose on him in order to preserve his power.

Q: [The Italian workers are on the side of the Iranian nation in their struggle. This feeling exists in other places as well. The governments think differently and it can be said that your holy struggle has traversed the Islamic borders and is recognized by the nations. What is your opinion?]

A: As the diabolic powers have got united in plundering the weak nations today, the nations too must support each other in their struggles to vindicate their own rights. We hope that at this crucial juncture, all the freedom-loving people of the world support the courageous, heroic Muslim nation of Iran. The Iranian nation intends to stand on its own legs without relying on the East or West and rely on its own religious and national assets. Contrary to the trend of the governments, the nations of the world support this approach and will support it.

Interview

Date: December 14, 1978 [Azar 24, 1357 AHS / Muharram 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The Iranian movement, one hundred percent Islamic; the establishment of Israel and a painful tragedy

Interviewer: A reporter of the Palestinian *Wafa* News Agency

Question: [Our leader, Imam, without any doubt, your long life has been replete with various experiences and has had its ups and downs, causing you to deal with the problems from a strong position and express your demands and opinions very clearly. Moreover, millions of the Iranian people enjoy your leadership in their struggle. May I request you to explain various stages of these historic experiences and their impacts, which have become embodied in your present line of struggle?]

Answer: Before I explain the experiences of the era I have personally put behind, it is necessary to explain one point, that is, the current movement of the Iranian nation as I have frequently said is a hundred percent Islamic and its strategy, objectives and paths stem from Islam. If the Iranian nation is not ready to compromise with the Shah, an oppressor criminal, it is because Islam does not allow an oppressor to rule over the people. The Iranian nation is opposed to the monarchical system, for it is an imposed regime that has never been based on the people's votes and in this regard it is basically opposed to the determination and will of the nation. It does not consider itself duty-bound to comply with the objectives and demands of the people and such a regime is wrong (illegitimate) and Islam considers obedience to such a regime unlawful, making struggle against it obligatory. This struggle started from the lowest level of "prohibiting the evil," that is, expression of hatred of oppression and inequity, and will continue through war and armed struggle until oppression and oppressors are eliminated and the just Islamic government is established. If the people of Iran are fighting against the aliens, they are taking orders from Islam, for the Muslims are not allowed to permit the non-Muslims to interfere in their affairs to dominate their destiny. It is obligatory to launch Islamic struggle against the dominator to gain the independence of their society. Regarding my personal experiences, we observed that Rida Khan, who was not at all competent to rule, was forcefully imposed on the Iranian nation by the aliens quite contrary to the people's will. With the ascension of Rida Khan to power, the three following principles were trampled upon: first, the principle of justice of the Islamic

ruler; second, the principle of the freedom of the Muslims in voting for their ruler and right to self-determination; and third, the principle of the independence of the Islamic country from any interference by the aliens and from their domination over the fate of the Muslims. If in those days attempts had been made to revive these three principles, the situation would not have been as such today. We have observed what crimes Rida Khan committed against the Islamic country and the Muslim nation. After Rida Khan, his son came to power and contrary to the above-said three principles, took the helm. He did not have any power at that time either. Therefore, he complied with the little demands of the people his father had neglected, but after he established himself, he committed such crimes that almost equaled those committed by his father. When he was weakened twenty five years ago and fled the country,¹ if the opponents had abided by these three principles and put an end to the Shah's rule, the situation would have been different today. We observed that when the Shah established himself and brought the situation under his control, throughout the past twenty-five years and particularly during the past fifteen years, he has committed such crimes that has surpassed those of the Mongols and Genghis; words fail to express the dimensions of his crimes. Therefore, at this juncture, the Iranian nation has decided to forward its movement with reliance on Islam and with the inspiration of the progressive Islamic principles and rebuild its society on the basis of the Islamic rules and regulations. The Iranian nation has also decided not to compromise and not to accept any middle way and other such figments.

Q: [Palestine was usurped in 1948 and with the cooperation of the great colonial governments, the Zionist dream was realized. What was the impact of this tragedy on the Iranian nation at that time? What was the reaction?]

A: Truly, it should be said that the usurpation of Palestine by Israel and with the cooperation of great colonial governments was a tragedy for the entire Muslims and it was a painful tragedy for the Iranian Muslims. It should be said that the real aggressors were the colonial powers of the time that hatched this plot against the Muslims in the region. The superpowers have inflicted numerous blows on the Islamic countries and this too was one of the great cataclysms, but created by the hands of the Zionists.

¹ American-British coup on Mordad 28, 1332 AHS, which ended in the fall of nationalist administration of Dr. Muhammad MuSaddiq and coming to power of Zahedi (prime minister at the time) and continuation of Shah's dictatorship.

The Iranian nation—not the Shah and his government—considered the loss of Palestine tantamount to the dismemberment of a part of their body. This is why, despite the cooperation of the Shah, and his stooge governments, with Israel, the Iranian nation has always offered their deepest, purest sympathies with the Palestinian combatants. For more than fifteen years I have been frequently protesting against the Shah and his government's cooperation with Israel. A great number of the Iranians, clergy and non-clergy, have been imprisoned and tortured due to their protest against the Israeli aggressions. As a religious duty, we have always defended the Palestinians—to the extent possible—and God willing will always discharge this divine duty.

Q: [We should bear in mind that the experience of MuSaddiq proved that we should all study the reasons for his defeat to show various political groups that they must change their method of struggle. May I request you to explain the lessons you have taken from this experience, the lessons that have assisted you to build confidence and establish strong ties with the nation?]

A: I have always opposed peaceful means; under no circumstance can and should the Shah reign.

Q: [As you know, the Palestinian revolution began in January 1965 and after the 1967 defeat, it gained power and also it spread further. Does the news of the revolution reach the Iranian nation? How?]

A: Yes, its news reaches the Iranian nation and through the same means that they reach other countries. Of course, the Iranian regime was trying—and has always tried—to report the news of war of the Muslims against the infidels in favor of the latter and has always introduced the Arabs as a handful of people who do not properly understand the problems. The regime is one of the greatest supporters of Israel. The Iranian radio and other mass media, either the state-run ones or those working under the pressure of the regime, used to report in favor of Israel, but from the very beginning we opposed all those plans and oppose them now as well.

Q: [The Shah announced in the 1960s what came to be known as “the White Revolution”¹ for the land reforms and social changes. May you kindly

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. Muhammad 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.

explain the truth of this show? Particularly, given the fact that nowadays some mass media like *Paris Match* claim that one of the reasons for the revolution of the religious figures is their prejudice against the Shah for confiscating their lands and for the implementation of the principles of the White Revolution?]

A: After years of contemplation and consultation with foreign supporters, the Shah prepared a plan to plunder Iran in his own and his master's interests and also in his immature imagination, he thought that he could eliminate the domestic grounds of a revolution against himself. In order to justify his anti-national plans, first he forwarded the issue of the land reforms with the hope of deceiving the disinherited, poor Iranian peasants by promising them to become landlords and hence mobilizing them against his opponents. Of course the peak of the Shah's tragic plans for the Iranian nation was the Land Reforms. But they added the freedom of women to this peak of the so-called revolution and each component of the so-called revolution played a part in this absurd show. But what was the result? The result was that the Iranian peasant, who was poor, deprived and caught in the clutch of the great landlords, who belonged to the ruling system, had to migrate to the cities for a loaf of bread. The Shah immediately took advantage of this cheap labor market and under the pretext of industrializing the country, paved the way for the investment of foreign and domestic investors in industrial companies. Also we observe today that the very great landlords, who are all associates and mercenaries of the regime, have appeared as great owners of the factories. If yesterday the Iranian peasant was flogged for violating the orders of the landlords, today, the Iranian worker, under the pressure of the factory owners is shot by the mercenaries of the regime for seeking his rights. In some villages, where the rural people declined to migrate, since they had quality farmlands, they were displaced from their homes and their lands were confiscated by the Shah's court and the agents of the court. The Shah did not launch the Land Reforms for the sake of the Iranian nation, rather the so-called Land Reforms were launched by the United States and other colonial governments, for the result of the Shah's Land Reforms was that today more than ninety percent of the Iranian foodstuff is imported from abroad, particularly from the United States. However, the destructive results of the Shah's Land Reforms are not confined to this problem. The mercenaries of the Shah have said that the religious *ulama* have risen up against the Shah's

Land Reforms because he had confiscated their lands. Which lands? Which one of the Iranian religious scholars has been an Iranian landlord? The lifestyle of the religious scholars is simple and at the level of the ordinary people. Do they need land ownership? All the lies of the Shah and his supporters have been exposed for the people. The aspects of the Shah's treacheries in the economic fields are not confined to these issues. The Shah speaks of the women's emancipation; the emancipation of which women? Today in Iran, the honorable women, who demand their humane rights and constitute the majority of the Iranian women, want the collapse of the Shah and all of them know that in Shah's logic the emancipation of woman means her decline from her humane position and reducing her to the level of a tool. Freedom of women in the Shah's logic means filling the prisons with the women who are not ready to surrender to the royal moral decadence.

Q: [Nowadays one of the slogans the Iranian people raise in the streets of the Iranian cities, and you also raise is that those who try to compromise are traitors. Would you please explain the meaning of this slogan and the consequences of a compromise?]

A: Compromise with the Shah means compromise with a treacherous oppressor and clearly compromise with such a person is betrayal of the Iranian nation and Iran. I have already explained why I do not accept the middle way solutions.

Q: [Is it possible to talk about the nature of your relations with the Palestinian resistance? It is known that there are open relations between the Shah and Israel in various fields, particularly the Shah assists Israel by supplying large amounts of oil to it. I request you to explain the nature of Iran-Israel relations after the Shah.]

A: As I mentioned earlier, on the basis of our abilities and available facilities, we support the Palestinian brothers in their attempts to put an end to the Israeli aggression and to liberate their Islamic territories from the clutches of the usurper Israel. We will never extend the slightest support to Israel.

Q: [Would you please explain the broad outlines of the Islamic Republic and its relations with the two great powers?]

A: The Islamic Republic means that the Islamic law would constitute the laws of the country, but the form of the government will be a republic, that is, it will be based on the people's votes. Our relations with all the countries

will be on the basis of mutual respect, that is, neither we will oppress them nor will we allow them to oppress us.

Interview

Date: December 1978 [Azar 1357 AHS / Muharram 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The stance of the Revolution vis-à-vis the supporters of the Shah

Interviewer: A reporter of the German Channel 1 Television

Question: [Do you think that the army will support the Shah for a long time?]

Answer: Never! For, the army belongs to the nation and cannot shoot at them forever. Currently the soldiers and young officers desert the army. The army cannot continue to commit fratricide forever. This is why God willing it will stop its support for the Shah and join the nation.

Q: [Do you intend to impose economic sanctions on those who support the Shah, like France?]

A: After the referendum of *TasuA* and *Ashura*, no doubt has remained for anybody that the Shah has received his greatest political defeat. Millions of people throughout the country proved through their peaceful demonstrations that they do want the Shah. Simultaneously, I wrote a letter to the governments across the world, announcing that there is no doubt for you that the Shah has been dismissed. Henceforth, not only we will not supply oil to any government that supports the Shah, but also will abrogate all the contracts concluded unless that government collapses. There will be no difference between France and other countries. I hope that France will not support the Iranian government and the Shah anymore.

Speech

Date: December 16, 1978 [Azar 25, 1357 AHS / Muharram 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Carter's perception of human rights; cover-up for Shah's crimes; need for the strike of the oil company personnel

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*

Carter's logic the same as MuAwiya's

When Ammar Yasir, who rode with the Commander of the Faithful, was killed fighting in the battle of Siffin against MuAwiya, word spread among MuAwiya's troops that the Prophet had once told Ammar he would be martyred by a rebellious, traitorous group,¹ and now, because he had been martyred by MuAwiya's army, it meant that the rebellious, refractory group must be MuAwiya and his army. MuAwiya disagreed saying it was the Commander of the Faithful who had actually killed him because he was the one who had sent him into battle, thus the traitorous group comprised the Commander of the Faithful and his followers.

Carter's reasoning is the same as MuAwiya's, for he has said that it is the *ulama* of Islam who are killing the people.² Now we must put his reasoning to the test using the criteria that MuAwiya used to see whether his logic is the same as MuAwiya's, or even maybe a bit worse, or whether it is a correct logic.

From the beginning of Muharram in Iran, the people began to express their revulsion for the Shah's government while at the same time holding their mourning ceremonies. On *TasuA* and *Ashura*,³ the people marched in a perfectly peaceful manner and negated the rule of Muhammad Rida Shah. He (Carter) says that the people had no authority to do this, and so the following day the Shah had no option but to give the command to kill the people! Are these peaceful demonstrations which the people held and in which they

¹ The Prophet (s) told Ammar Yasir: "A mutinous group will kill you." Ammar was martyred in the battle of Siffin by MuAwiya's army. *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 22, pp. 326, 354.

² On December 20, 1978 [Azar 30, 1357 AHS], Carter, who had sent hundreds of CIA agents to Iran to help the Shah's security forces suppress the people, unashamedly stated: "It is these clergymen who are killing the people."

³ December 9 and 10, 1978 [Azar 19 and 20, 1357 AHS].

determined their destiny not conformable to Mr. Carter's logic? Does he see something wrong in this? Does he believe that the people of a country, all the people of a country, have no rights where their destiny is concerned?! Does the "declaration of human rights" in Carter's logic mean that man does not have the right to determine his own destiny? Is this what he understands by man's right to be free as stipulated in the declaration of human rights to which he is a signatory? The most basic right of man is that he should enjoy freedom of expression, freedom in determining his own destiny. Does he (Carter) understand from the Declaration of Human Rights that no one is free in these matters? Or is it only with regard to Iran that he has this opinion, and as far as other people are concerned, they can be free, it is only the Iranians who cannot?! Indeed, they say that in some of his statements he has said that there should be no talk of freedom and human rights in those countries where they have interests. They (the Americans) should not speak about human rights in such countries. Iran is seen by them as being a strategically-important country, consequently, they should not speak about human freedom and human rights there! Does the world view this as being a sound logic? Are the right-minded people of the world of the opinion that because a country is beneficial to America, because America profits from a country, then the people of that country should not be free? They should just sit by with their arms folded until all their interests, all their resources, are taken by America and its like?!

Carter, a defender of massacre and plundering

He says that it is the *ulama* of Islam who are getting the people killed; but were the peaceful demonstrations held by the people on these two days, demonstrations which passed off without incident and through which the people proved to the world that Iran can take control of its own affairs and can determine its destiny in a rational, correct manner, were they the reason behind the killings that were started the following night, on the evening of the eleventh?¹ What caused the slaughter of the people on this occasion?

¹ The nightly shooting of people by military government agents during the month of Muharram, which led to the martyrdom of a large number of people, was reflected in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of January 5, 1979 [Dey 16, 1357 AHS] thus: "The figures for the number of those killed as given by the people, families, clergy and national leaders differ considerably from those given by the authorities. Our reporters have been able to obtain the names of those killed which from the beginning of the holy month of Muharram until the collapse of Azhari's military government had been recorded in the offices of the coroner, Behesht-e Zahra and the Public Prosecutor." This report also carried the names of many of those martyred during the nights of Muharram. According to an Associated Press report, on December 15, 1978 [Azar 24, 1357 AHS] alone forty people were killed in Shiraz. *Taqwim-e Tarikh-e Inqilab-e Islam-i-ye Iran*, p. 202.

Well, at Siffin at least this matter was brought up during a battle when one side was fighting the other and both were killing one another. Under such circumstances, MuAwiyah can use such a sophism saying that he who sent Ammar Yasir to battle is the one who killed him. This is MuAwiyah's logic! This is the sophism that MuAwiyah employed. But under the circumstances today, the argument being used is much worse, for today the people have not gone to war! The people merely marched in the streets of Tehran and other cities shouting that they didn't want the Shah; does this constitute war? If someone says: "My country's destiny lies in my hands, we want human rights to apply to us too," then wouldn't everyone in the world accept this? Don't they accept that every human being is free to determine his own destiny, to vote freely, to determine if his country should be ruled by a king, a president or by whatever system he chooses? And on the basis of human rights, shouldn't his choice be carried into effect and all governments sanction it?

Well, this is precisely what happened in Iran, nothing more than this. On the ninth and tenth, on *TasuA* and *Ashura*, nothing other than this took place, as all the press correspondents witnessed; those who went to Iran and watched the events taking place there all saw a country whose inhabitants throughout the land set off walking peacefully in their millions. Men and women, old and young alike took to the streets saying: "We don't want this Shah." Even if we suppose that the Shah is truly a righteous man and a faultless person who serves the people well, when the people do not want his services he should step down. Let us suppose that he has the interests of the country at heart, that he wants to grant freedom, he wants to make the country independent, he wants to take the country to a new civilization; let's suppose that all these things are true of him, still don't the people of the country have the right to say they don't want him to rule over them, that they want the destiny of the country to be in their own hands, that they do not want him to serve them, and if he steps down, they will put someone else in his place to serve them, if they so wish? Let's suppose that all these things are true of him and that like other human beings he possesses some human decency, still the people of the country have the right to say that they don't want this servant, this very righteous and good person who wants to make their country a heaven here on earth! They don't want him to make their country a heaven on earth! Don't they have the right to say so? Don't human rights mean that every person, every human being, has the right to determine

his own destiny? The Iranian people want to determine their own destiny and they do not want this Mr. Servant.

The argument so far has been based on him being a servant of the country; however, this is not the case, and he is in fact the servant of foreigners! For the sake of foreigners, he has destroyed this country of his, he has taken it to rack and ruin. He is someone who has given away whatever we had, who has destroyed everything we had. Everything which was of benefit to the country, and which the people, the nation, could profit from, he has either given to others to steal or he has stolen himself and put the money in bank accounts abroad.¹ Just like his father before him, who took the crown jewels of Iran only to have them taken off him by the British during his journey into exile. He has taken the money of Iran himself and has given some of it to these sixty thousand people—whom it is said are connected to him in some way, who are either his friends or relatives—to steal, and to his masters, to Carter and others like him, and to America and other countries.

He has devastated everything of value in Iran. If he leaves now, it will take ten to fifteen years before this country, through the efforts of righteous people, can be returned to its former state, that is to how it was before he and his father came along. It will take this period of toil and effort. Do not suppose that as soon as he goes this country that he has laid to waste will become a heaven on earth. He has destroyed everything; he has devastated this country and has given it the appearance of a wasteland. Today, our country can boast no agriculture, its pasturelands and forests do not lie in the hands of the people, the waters of this land have been misused, these dams that they have built have all been to the advantage of others.² There will have

¹ Precise figures concerning the Shah's wealth in foreign banks are not known because of the secretive nature of these kinds of accounts. However, after the Shah fled Iran, the *New York Times* on December 28, 1978 [Dey 7, 1357 AHS] wrote: "The wealth of the Shah can only be compared with that of Rockefeller, Fahd (the king of Arabia) and the As-Sabah family (the Emir of Kuwait)." In another place the Shah's monetary wealth in American banks was estimated at one billion dollars. American bankers stated that the larger part of the two-four thousand million dollars which was transferred to America during the last two years of the Revolution belonged to the Shah and the royal family! The value of the Shah's real estate abroad (in Australia, Italy, Switzerland, France, and America) exceeds more than 20 billion dollars! For more information, refer to *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, the memoirs of the former general Husayn Fardust, vol. 1, p. 216 and the *Ittilaat* newspaper of January 18, 1980 [Dey 28, 1358 AHS].

² Foreign companies invested in both the industrial and agricultural sectors in Iran. Fertile lands around dams were handed over to foreign investment companies or joint companies having foreign and Iranian investment so that with the establishment of cultivation and industrial companies they could carry out agricultural and industrial projects. For example, as soon as the Dez dam was completed, all the land beneath it was given to a large American agricultural company in California, and the irrigation system, exploitation and cultivation of the land was placed at the disposal of the Americans. These dams were built by foreigners with funds from the Iranian government. *Dawlat va Hukumat dar Iran*, pp. 175-177.

to be a period of toil and effort before the country can be returned to the state it was prior to this man's arrival. The people will have to endure hardship for a time, our youth will have to take pains, our experts will have to take pains before this country can be retrieved from this shambles which he has created and before reconstruction can begin.

Carter's excuse for killing the people

So is Carter saying that these peaceful demonstrations, upon which the people embarked and during which they stated that they didn't want the Shah, are the reason behind the people being killed?! Is he saying that the people have to say they want the Shah so they won't be killed?! He claims that the people's words are unreasonable and accuses them of lacking control. Well, we will repeat our words, and his too, at public gatherings around the world, and we will see whose words are deemed to lack balance.

This is what we are saying: this man and his father, this dynasty in fact, has betrayed us, has perpetrated crimes against us and is presently doing so every day. At this very moment as we sit here, the Shah and his regime are busy perpetrating crimes. Just yesterday they set Qum alight. Two days ago in Khorasan, Tabriz, Yazd, indeed in any city that you may care to name, they brought in a gang of people and wreaked havoc there. These were the deeds of the same person who came forward and repented, this is the meaning of his repentance! These actions that you are all witnessing are being carried out by someone who came before the people telling them to stop what they were doing for he had realized that he had made mistakes which he would make up for and not repeat. Does Mr. Carter not know about these actions, or does he know only too well but he pretends not to? Well, he (the Shah) is indeed carrying out such acts. We here, who are citizens of that country, along with the other people of the country, are saying that we don't want him. He has betrayed us, he has perpetrated crimes against us, he has given our resources to you (Carter) and others like you, and now we want to be free, we want to be independent, we want to administer our country ourselves. Is there any ambiguity about the fact that we want to administer our country ourselves, we don't want it to be run by you all or by your servants?! There is nothing obscure in this. Do the people of a country not have the right to state peacefully that they do not want him?! As witnessed

by the world on *TasuA* and *Ashura*, nearly everybody, all the bazaars in Iran, the whole of Iran, the provincial cities and the villages of Iran stated in a peaceful manner that they did not want the Shah. If, following this action taken by the people, this referendum that they held, he had said: "Alright, if you don't want me I'll go and you can bring someone else in my place," would there have been such conflict and contention as there has been? Did this warrant such trouble? He has acted against international law: after the people had stated in a peaceful manner that they didn't want him, he brought in his club-wielders, his army and his security forces to hit the people, and disguised as club-wielding thugs his men entered the cities shouting: "Long Live the Shah!"¹

So this is what happened, the people said "no" in a very peaceful manner, and in return he lashed out at them, he killed them, attacked their homes with automatic weapons and set the mosques aflame. He carried out all these acts of savagery, yet even after all these appalling atrocities you (Carter) say that you still support him and maintain that those who ask why such deeds were perpetrated, those who held peaceful demonstrations are the ones who are speaking irrationally! That their words lack reason! This is what we are saying and that is what you are saying, now tell us whose words lack reason? Whose words would a right-minded person judge to be irrational? The criteria are taken from the principles of human rights which state that all the people of a nation are free to express their opinions and to determine their own destiny. Well, this is what the people of Iran are saying, but you are saying something to the contrary. Whose statements are balanced? Which one of us is speaking irrationally? You say that it is us who have killed the people! MuAwyah used a similar argument, but his was more plausible than yours. MuAwyah said that because Hadrat Amir had sent Ammar Yasir to do battle, even though it was his forces who had killed him, in reality it was Hadrat Amir's doing, because he had sent him there in the first place. This is the same as saying that were an oppressed person to come along and cry out at the injustice he suffers at the hands of another and is killed by that oppressor as a result, then he has in fact killed himself, for

¹ Examples of the vicious acts carried out by this group appeared in the newspapers at that time: "The night before last, a number of club-wielding thugs entered the city of Kermanshah from the outskirts and attacked cars bearing a picture of Imam Khomeini" (*Ittilaat* 1/20/79 [10/30/57 AHS]). "Club-wielders attacked the bazaar during the curfew" (Same source). "Club-wielders set fire to a flock of sheep (500 head) belonging to local people" (*Ittilaat* 2/6/79 [11/17/57 AHS]). "Ahwaz and Dezful attacked by tanks and club-wielders" (*Kayhan* 1/18/79 [10/28/57 AHS]). "Club-wielders attack travelers on the roads" (*Kayhan* 1/21/79 [1/11/57 AHS]).

why did he cry out? Why do the people of Iran cry out?! They can be hit over the head as much as possible, but they should not cry out! This is what Mr. Carter is saying, he is telling you to keep quiet no matter how much they hit you over your head, no matter what they do to you, because if you don't, you will be killed! So in other words, you are getting yourselves killed! Is it right that a nation of thirty million, of thirty-odd million, should suffer blows, witness treachery and crimes against them, be deprived of freedom and suffer suppression, then be killed for crying out: "Why do you beat us around the head so?!" Is it then their own fault for asking why?! This is Mr. Carter's logic!

Logic and balance is ours not Carter's!

If we tell the oil workers to go on strike and not let this oil leave the country because the profits from the oil that they are sending out of the country do not reach the people—in actual fact they were the ones who went on strike and we supported them and continue to do so now—if we support the oil company and the oil workers in their action, telling them not to let this oil be given away for nothing without good cause for it is a reserve for future generations and is a source of this country's wealth for the present and future, are we speaking illogically? For how many years do you want to continue to devour Iran's oil and give nothing in return? Haven't you had enough yet? If we tell the people to go on strike, the oil company and the oil workers to go on strike, to continue with their strike so that this God-given wealth of the nation is not taken off the nation for nothing in return, is this unreasonable?! Because it is going to you does this mean that human rights do not apply in this case? If we say that these strikes are right, are holy, are obligatory, are we speaking illogically simply because it is you who are getting the oil and are giving nothing in return, indeed are building bases for yourself in our country to use against Russia? Or are you the one who is speaking illogically, you who tell us not to say such things? You who tell us not to utter such words lest the oil ceases to flow into your pockets?! Are our statements balanced, or yours? What we say is valid and it is something which any right-minded person would accept; you are taking our wealth free of charge, you don't give us money in return, you give us weapons, weapons which you use to create your own bases in our country! You have installed your servant there to accomplish this task for you. Is this talk then unreasonable?!

Calling the oil workers to go on strike

Apparently, some of the *ulama* from Qum went to Abadan to study the situation there; and it was said that these 600,000 barrels of oil which are being exported are being sent to Israel. Some of the workers did not go on strike, and now 600,000 barrels are being sent abroad out of a total of some ten million barrels that were exported previously. The regime deceived these workers by telling them that this oil was to be used for the running of the country! They said it was for us! And so the poor workers carried on working. However, now it is clear from what is being said that this oil is going to Israel. It is illegal, it is sinful [*haram*], for this group of people who have disregarded the strike by others and have been deceived by the government into believing the oil is for domestic consumption, if they know that this oil is destined for Israel, the enemy of the Quran and Islam, and yet they do not join in the strike. They will have to answer to God and the nation. All of them (the oil workers) should go on strike, so that not even one drop of oil leaves the country. The nation of Iran is ready to suffer from the cold if it means that Israel, which is harming Islam so, which is killing the Muslims so, or America, which is the instigator of all crimes being carried out against us, or other countries, does not take its oil.

I now address the workers of the oil company and tell them that it is their religious duty; it is their divine obligation to make their strikes universal and stop the export of oil. And I tell them not to let "His Imperial Majesty" frighten them as he did yesterday when he said that they should be arraigned. You wretch, who do you think you are, saying that they should be put on trial? You are no longer the Shah, you are a usurper. Who can put them on trial? You are not the Shah to give such a command, and even if you were the Shah, this would not mean that you could give such an order for you would be a constitutional Shah and thus you would not be able to give the command for their trial and punishment! Do not be afraid of him, of a man who turns to a book on the interpretation of dreams for help. [The audience laughs]. Do not be afraid of him, he is on his way out. Do not be afraid of him nor of the ballyhoo that his agents create. Pay no heed to their entreaties nor let their words unnerve you. Have no fear at all. Continue your strikes.

It is necessary that the Iranian nation help these people in the oil company who have gone on strike and are in straitened circumstances. The nation should pay them something just as the government did. Indeed it is incumbent on them to do so. I have given permission for monies from the

sahm-e Imam to be used for this purpose. As a *sayyid*,¹ I also give permission for monies from the *sahm-e Sadat* to be used also. Both the descendants of the Prophet and those who are not will consent to this. The poor people too will be happy to see this money go to these workers, who are performing a service to Islam and their country, so they can fill their stomachs. Give the *sahm-e Imam* monies to these people. And the people themselves are charged with the duty to help them. Do not let these words intimidate you, do not be afraid of the threats he makes saying that he will do such and such to you. Tomorrow he will be gone and you will be dealing with a just government which will assist you in every way. For now we will help you. Do not listen to their words. Are we speaking irrationally when we tell the workers to strike, when we tell them that it is their religious duty to strike, that it is for the good of the country and the good of the nation? And are you (Carter) in the right by telling them not to strike? What else can we do if we don't strike? Should we just give the oil away? What Carter is really saying by telling the workers not to strike is: "Extract all the oil from the reserves you have and give it to us! The hell with the next generation and the hell with how poor you become!"

Warning Israel and reassuring the Jews and other minorities

Whose statements are balanced, yours or ours? Are we speaking irrationally when we say that if Israel . . . they have frightened the workers by saying that they will bring in experts from Israel, and sometimes they say they will bring them from the Hijaz. The Emir of Hijaz has said he will send experts to Iran.² How can he say such things? Is he not a Muslim? He says he is, but is it a Muslim who wants to plunder the wealth of the people and give it to foreigners? He will not do such a thing. He is seriously mistaken if he thinks we will let him do so.

On occasion, the Shah and his regime say they will bring in experts from Israel; we know what to do with these experts if they do bring them in. Not one Israeli . . . I'm not talking about the Jews here, no one has the right to lay a finger on the Jews in Iran, they are under the aegis of Islam and the

¹ *Sayyid*: a descendant of the Holy Prophet of Islam (s).

² Saudi Arabia opposed the Revolution from the very beginning. Newspapers on August 26, 1979 [Shahrivar 4, 1357 AHS] wrote: "Sultan Abdul-Aziz, the Saudi defense minister, has requested all Arab countries to assist the Shah of Iran in his battle with the rioters." And on November 4 [Aban 13] they wrote: "In the event of the workers' strikes in Iran continuing, Saudi Arabia will produce an extra four million barrels of oil a day." After this it was announced that Saudi Arabia was ready to send its specialists to Iran to get the oil industry back into operation.

Muslims; no one has the right to attack the Jews or the Christians who adhere to a religion revealed by one of God's prophets. Recently the government attacked the Bahais, this was spurred by devilish motives and the Muslims should pay no heed to this devilry of theirs. Their aim is to make other groups rise up against the Muslims. Pay no attention to these things; oppose anything that the governmental organizations become in any way involved with, because they harbor ill intent toward you. If the Israelis come to Iran in order to export the oil, it will be the duty of all Muslims to throw them out or kill them all. They are at war with Islam, they are at war with the Muslims, they are in a state of war and if we are able, we will cut them all down. If they set foot in Iran, if even one Israeli sets foot in Iran, it will be the duty of the people to destroy them. The Israelis will come! The hell they will! They are trying to frighten you with this talk. Continue with your strikes, and you people assist them, it is incumbent upon you to do so. I have given permission for monies from the *sahm-e Imam* to be used to help the strikers and administer to their needs in a manner better than the time when the government administered to them. Let the government not pay them their wages, to hell with the government!

Forbidding pillage and anarchy

Have we said something wrong by telling the workers to continue with their strike and not to give the oil of a nation away to foreigners in such a prodigal manner?! Yet you who say that the people should take the beatings, should give their resources away and not utter a word . . . you who are saying that they should not say anything about all these killings that are taking place, you are speaking rationally, are you?!

Strikes are taking place in many places in Iran. And in Mashhad, where the Shah's forces entered a hospital and carried out iniquitous acts, the *ulama* entrenched themselves in the hospital, and, as it is said, about one hundred thousand people joined them, establishing themselves around the hospital in protest at the wickedness that had been perpetrated there.¹ Are the people speaking irrationally if they cry out asking: "Why do you hit us? Why do you kill our children? Why do you attack our homes? Why do you

¹ On December 14, 1978 [Azar 23, 1357 AHS] agents of the military command in Mashhad, along with a number of club-wielding thugs, burst into the Imam Rida (formerly Shah Rida) hospital and murdered a few doctors and nurses. As a result of this attack, a few patients at the hospital suffered fatal heart attacks. Following this incident, the *ulama* of Mashhad entrenched themselves in the hospital in protest and demanded that the government prosecute those responsible for the crime. Doctors in Shiraz and Ahwaz protested against this crime in demonstrations held on December 19, 1978 [Azar 28, 1357 AHS].

plunder the bazaars?—Do the “disciplinary” forces plunder the bazaar? Do the “security” forces kill the people? Well, these are your forces that you have named “disciplinary” and “security”! These “security” and “disciplinary” forces are killing the people, are destroying everything they have, are plundering the bazaars... Are these gentlemen in Mashhad and other places who go on strike or hold a sit-in saying that they will not leave until the wickedness is brought to an end, speaking irrationally? You tell the people to go back to where they came from and just sit silently by watching while the club-wielders beat up people and kill them! All those who went on strike should...these club-wielders deserve to be killed. They should all be killed. Whoever encounters one of these club-wielders, who are the depraved of the earth and who create corruption on the earth, should kill him. We say we want to defend our country, defend ourselves, yet our words are not rational, while you who tell us to say nothing while the club-wielders do whatever they like are speaking rationally are you?

Synchrony between Carter’s support and Shah’s massacre

Some of the gentlemen have looked into this matter and have discovered that each time Carter announces his support, the following day beatings occur or killings take place! They have written to me about this citing a date when support was announced and subsequent killings took place somewhere. On a certain date following *Ashura*, support was announced and, subsequently, Muhammad Rida’s massacre took place! You who through your support bring about mass killings, who give encouragement to a congenital murderer, who support a killer, your behavior is not unreasonable, but we who ask why, are acting contrary to reason are we?! Come to your senses.

In any case, our problems are not limited to one or two. At present, our country is plagued by this man and by the support he gets from these governments, but you can be sure, please God, that we will be hearing the last of such comments [“God willing” from the audience]. I hope that God, the Blessed and Exalted, will grant you all success [“Amen” from those present]. And may He grant the nation of Iran health and success [“Amen” from the audience]. May He assist Islam and the Muslims [“Amen” from the audience].

Interview

Date: December 21, 1978 [Azar 30, 1357 AHS / Muharram 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Possibility of the compromise between the nationalists and the Shah; message to the Christians

Interviewer: A reporter of the Luxemburg Radio

Question: [The Shah intends to form a non-military government with the help of the moderate opponents. A representative of these opponents, Mr. Siddiqi¹ has said that he will respond within two weeks. Without doubt, it seems that some of the opponents are ready to compromise with the Shah. What will you do?]

Answer: They do not represent the nation to compromise with the Shah and the Shah has no base among the nation. Also there is no place for compromise at all.

Q: [Many political analysts, who return from Iran, like me, feel that the National Front is ready to compromise with the Shah. But they are afraid of you, Ayatullah Khomeini. What is your feeling about it?]

A: I do not have any information.

Q: [Many religious opponents, whom I met in my recent trip to Tehran, told me that after the *TasuA* and *Ashura* massive demonstrations, the next and final step will be your armed struggle. Does it mean that you, Ayatullah Khomeini, intend to launch a civil war in the country?]

A: I have not decided about it yet.

Q: [Cardinal Marni, a participant in the Pope elections, has raised a question: will there be any hope for peace in Iran after all these labors and sacrifices of the past weeks?]

A: So long as the Shah is there, the people will not keep quiet.

¹ Mr. Siddiqi, (the Interior Minister of the MuSaddiq cabinet), was one of the Shah's nominees for premiership. The conditions forwarded by Siddiqi were not accepted by Muhammad Rida and hence the idea was given up.

Q: [Do you have any message for the Christians during these days of December?¹]

A: My message to the Christians of the world and the Church is that Islam has great respect for the Holy Christ (A) and considers him the great messenger of God; also the Quran defends him and defends the Holy Mary. We, Muslims, consider Christ the great messenger of God; the Quran has called him the great messenger of God. With regard to the service Islam has rendered to the Holy Christ and Christianity, I request the Christian people to stand against the Shah and the Iranian government and defend the oppressed people of Iran and ask the Church fathers to pray for the Muslims. Since the Iranian government does not do anything except suppressing the oppressed Iranian nation, they may pray that the Iranian nation gets rid of the Shah and his government. We also pray that you may succeed against the infidels.

Q: [Your visa will expire on January 5. Is there any hope or news about its renewal?]

A: It is possible.

¹ In the original Persian text, “January” is written which is seemingly incorrect.

Interview

Date: December 1978 [Azar 1357 AHS / Muharram 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Reasons for opposing the Shah; foreign policy and the role of the army in the Islamic Republic

Interviewer: A reporter of the American *Time* magazine

Question: [Your Eminence, some people say that because of your personal animosity with the Shah, you are not ready to negotiate with him to reach an agreement. Is it correct?]

Answer: This is what the Shah has said and has no base. I have no personal animosity with anybody.

Q: [Your Eminence, politics means exploring the possible solutions. As I understand, your stance is that no negotiation is possible with the current regime, for this regime is illegal. In your opinion, what is the reason for your unwillingness and that of your followers to negotiate with the Shah to find a political solution to the current crisis to avoid chaos?]

A: The reason is that we consider the Shah responsible for the chaos. Therefore, the Shah does not want to find a solution. The Shah wants to find an outlet to this impasse to gain power. Hence, negotiation with the Shah does not make sense.

Q: [Your Eminence, you have said that you are not interested in political power or in participating in the new government. Therefore, in case the Shah leaves, what kind of government do you think will be established in Iran? Will it be a parliamentary government with a prime minister, or will it have some other form? Would you please give more explanation?]

A: The government, that is, the Islamic Republic, will be based on the people's votes. In the republican system, the Parliament will be formed and then the Parliament will determine the kind of republic and its related details.

Q: [Who are the people of your choice to run the Islamic republic?]

A: They are the people whom I should not introduce now.

Q: [What will be the role of the army in your intended republic? What role will the army play?]

A: There will be an army in the Islamic Republic, but it will not be dependent and its size will be in accordance to the requirements of the country. Those who are not competent and only abuse the army uniform will be purged, they are redundant, but the army will be there.

Q: [What will be your general foreign policy in the Islamic Republic?]

A: Our Islamic Republic will have good relations with all the countries and believes in the principle of mutual respect, if others too abide by this principle.

Q: [Do you foresee a neutral role for the Islamic Republic, or will it be inclined toward the Western camp?]

A: No. It will not join any camp and will preserve its neutrality.

Q: [The fear that exists in most of the Western countries is that in case of the establishment of the Islamic Republic, Iran will fall to the Soviet Union and will be dominated by Soviets. Is this concern irrelevant in your opinion?]

A: Iran will never fall to the Soviets. The same people, who have expelled the Americans with their Islamic force and zeal, will also never allow the Soviet Union or any other alien to establish its influence in Iran. These are Shah's propaganda.

Letter

Date: December 22, 1978 [Dey 1, 1357AHS / Muharram 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Religious funds

Addressee: *Unknown*

In His Most Exalted Name

Muharram 21, 1399 AH

Please accept my greetings and salutations. I received your kind letter and pray for your health and success. We do not need the existing funds here; give them to Qum. If you decided to send any fund, it should be in the form of foreign exchange, like German mark or French currency. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: December 22, 1978 [Dey 1, 1357AHS / Muharram 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Helping those on strike and giving shelter to deserter soldiers an incumbency upon the nation; colonial culture of 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*

Recommendation for the people concerning the deserting soldiers

I was asked to make an exception tonight and say a few words, but in future I will be at your service on Sundays.¹ We proclaimed that the government of Iran is unofficial, it contradicts the law, it is contrary to both the *ShariAh* and the constitutional law, consequently the people should shun everything concerned with the government and should avoid doing anything which assists the government. We told the soldiers, we ordered them in fact, to desert the army,² for service to this regime means service to oppression. Many of them did indeed run away, but some of them have found themselves in difficulties. Many of these soldiers are poor and have no place to stay, for if they go to their own homes, they face attack and capture by the government. For this reason, they cannot go to their own homes. Thus the people, wherever they are, are duty bound to give these soldiers shelter, to see to their expenses and find simple accommodation for them, somewhere where they won't be found. The people are duty bound to do this for them. We agree to allow religious funds to be used to help them. This is a very important matter, one which necessitates action by the people. These poor men have fled from their barracks and now have nowhere to stay; this action must be taken for them.

¹ After Imam took up residence in Paris and as the Islamic movement in Iran reached its zenith, Imam's schedule became tighter. On average his daily activities comprised delivering two-three speeches, issuing messages, giving interviews, holding numerous meetings, studying newspaper reports and radio news broadcasts, answering letters and giving legal opinions etc. By the middle of January 1979 and because of his tight schedule, Sunday, being a national holiday in Europe, was set aside as the day for meeting the public and delivering speeches.

² In an earlier statement dated December 2, 1978.

Need for popular support for oil industry workers' strike

Another matter concerns the oil company workers. They too have stopped work, many of them have resigned, and they are now in need of assistance. Housing is just one of the problems they are facing. The government, the usurping government, has either taken their houses from them or has threatened to do so simply because they have not extracted the oil to give to the overlords. The government has threatened to take their homes off them if they do not return to work. Consequently, they too are in need of help, both with accommodation and with acquiring their daily needs. Once again it is the people and the well-to-do of the country who must see to these things for them. They must give them shelter, offer them their hospitality and see to their expenses. In this case too, we agree to allow religious funds to be used to help them.

The people are not permitted to do anything which would help the government, for this government is usurping and tyrannical. Paying taxes constitutes helping the government; therefore the people are not permitted to pay the state taxes. To the extent that they are able, they should refrain from paying taxes. The people should refrain from doing anything that assists this government.

Denying propaganda against religious minorities

There has been much propaganda circulated about the different sects, and I have given my response to this in my speeches. Yet still their propaganda remains the same, and in the newspapers, whether in some of them over here, in other places or those in Iran, in the government-run newspapers, they still propagate such ideas as: were an Islamic government to come to power, it would do I don't know what, it would massacre the religious minorities, the Jews, Christians and the Zoroastrians! Such talk is utterly incorrect. If, God willing, an Islamic government does come to power, then those groups of Jews who left Iran because of some fanciful notions they had, who were deceived into going to Israel and were taken there by Jews and Israelis from America or other countries and who it is said are facing severe difficulties there, will be invited to return.¹ If, God willing, a just government is established, we will invite those Jews whose mother country is Iran to return

¹ According to the *Maarev* newspaper in Tel Aviv, from the beginning of the Iranian revolution over a period of time 8,000 Jews left Iran for Israel. About a quarter of them intended to remain there while the rest sought only temporary residence there. (A report in *Kayhan*, January 31, 1979 / Bahman 16, 1357 AHS)

to their homeland, and the conduct of the Islamic government toward them will be of the best kind.

Islam did not come to cause man distress. Islam comprises a set of laws which respect all classes of people. There are exceptions of course, no one should show trouble-makers and reprobates any tolerance. But as far as the Jews, who are people of the book, are concerned, and indeed all those who are believers in a revealed religion: the Christians and the Zoroastrians, they can all live in an Islamic country and enjoy comfort and respect there. And when it is said that such and such will happen if an Islamic government is established, this is all propaganda that is put about in order to preserve the Shah's rule and disrupt this movement. This propaganda is wrong.

Islamic government is not against modernity

There has also been much said to the effect that were an Islamic government to be established, then all these institutions that have a whiff of modernity about them would be swept aside. Even at the beginning of this affair, the Shah on one occasion said: "These clergymen say they will never fly on an airplane nor ride in a car for they prefer to ride around on donkeys! They want to ride around on donkeys as they did in the old days!"¹ And now today more or less the same thing is being said with such comments as: the clergy want to take the country back to the age of whatever.² No, this is a mistaken notion. The clergy want to turn the country into a free, independent and civilized country, but they do not want the kind of civilization that the Shah talks about, nor the kind of freedom that one finds mentioned in his book or about which he speaks, for that involves crowds of people being killed for speaking out even though the name the Shah puts on it is freedom!

All the manifestations of modernity and civilization are permitted in Islam, apart from those that corrupt man's morals and his virtues. Islam has

¹ On June 8, 1963 [Khordad 18, 1342 AHS], while presenting title deeds to farmers in the province of Hamedan, the Shah made an address in which he said: "Just what did the Black Reaction do on Wednesday, Khordad 15, 1963 AHS? It set fire to the library in Shahr Park because it has no use for anything based on knowledge and learning which answers today's needs. It set fire to the sports arena, to vehicles, and to bus ticket booths; and it did this in all likelihood because it believes that in this century, when the world is conquering space, we ought to be riding on donkeys or mules!"

² In a meeting with the heads of the parliamentary executive committee on October 15, 1977 [Mehr 23, 1356 AHS], the Shah referred to the recent events at Tehran University and said: "The perpetrators of the recent incidents want to drive the country back. Black Reaction wants to take the nation back 2,000 years." And on May 6, 1978 [Ordibehesht 16, 1357 AHS] in Bushehr the Shah said: "We should be watchful and ready for anything, the enemies of Iran want to keep us in the age of antiquity."

rejected those things which go against the good of a nation, and those which conform to the good of a nation it has recognized. These manifestations of civilization which in other places, in advanced countries, are put to proper use, are used to corrupt when they arrive in our country or countries like ours. Take the cinema for example, no one has prohibited the showing of edifying, instructive films in cinemas, but the cinema which serves to morally corrupt our youth, the cinema as we know it in this day and age, in this era of the Shah, which corrupts our youth after only a few visits, is of no use... And indeed this is what they (the imperialists and the regime) want. All of their cultural and arts programs, all of their programs in fact, are imperialistic, and through these they want to train our youth so that they become only of use to them, not to their own country. Or they want to corrupt them, to turn them into a group of corrupt people. If at some time these young people in these centers of corruption that they have created and have placed at the disposal of the youth...

Conspiracy aiming to waste youth potential

There are so many centers of corruption in Tehran now, more than there are libraries, more than the centers for learning and education, and their aim is, through various means, to make these young people good-for-nothing and profligate, to make them incapable of doing anything in the face of these foreign exploiters, in other words, to make them indifferent toward them. These young people who have been turned into opium and heroin addicts, into alcoholics and gamblers, who frequent the centers of corruption and vice, live only for their pleasure and are indifferent to whatever befalls the world. And they (the imperialists, the Shah and his regime) want this young generation, who could be of great value to the country and the advancement of the country, to regress; in other words, to become useless, a useless asset to this country. This is just one of the things that they are doing.

Shah's colonial education

Take for example these centers for learning and education that they have set up, they are all imperialistic, from the universities down. They do not train our children properly; first of all they have a set level above which they do not let the students progress, secondly, they create numerous obstacles in order to keep them in a state of backwardness; for if these universities were the proper independent ones that we want, they would produce great men, men who would stand up to those who wish to raid our country and take all of our resources. This, however, is not what they (the imperialists and the

Shah's regime) want, thus the universities train our youth in a way that suits them, and if they can, they Westernize them, that is they present the West in such a light, they place them under the influence of the West to such a degree that they lose themselves completely and become totally bound to the Western countries. To put it another way, they become agents for the West. Just suppose that this is the method of teaching—as indeed this has been the case until now—then after a while even if the universities did produce great men who wanted to do something for the country, these men would end up doing it for the benefit of the West, not for their own people, because these universities have become so immersed in the foreigners' way of education and training and have created such an overestimated impression of foreigners in the minds of our youth, that they forget all the illustrious deeds carried out by their own people and whatever else concerns their own people. They forget all of these things; pay no attention to themselves and concentrate only on the West and the things related to the West.

Islam, against foreign influence

Islam does not want one person in this Islamic country to be bound to foreigners, to be under the authority of foreigners. If an Islamic government is set up, it will not wish to see the symbols of civilization destroyed. Islamic government does not oppose universities, it does not oppose science. The Quran is replete with commentaries on science and so many of our *hadiths* speak highly of science and scientists. This being the case, how can we oppose such things?

No, we do not oppose these things; we oppose this scientific method that you have adopted, this method of education and instruction through which you seek to educate us. These are what we oppose. We oppose those manifestations of civilization which corrupt our children, which keep them in a state of backwardness; we do not oppose the principle of civilization nor wish to take the people back to the age of whatever. It is them who do not want to allow the people to progress. Their plan is to execute such methods so that our children do not progress. Proof of this lies in the fact that after seventy years of having schools and more than thirty years of having universities, when someone falls ill he is taken to Europe or America for treatment! If we had even one independent university, then after thirty years our universities should be producing good doctors and we should be able to treat our own sick people. This is proof enough that we do not have proper, independent universities.

During his (the Shah's) rule we have lost everything. If they want to tarmac a road, they go and bring a foreign company in to do it. If they want to build a dam, they bring in a foreign company to do it. If our educational system were independent we would have no need to do this, but now we have to simply because they cannot even tarmac a road or build a dam themselves. They have no proper program for an irrigation system, no proper electricity system, no proper water system, they have nothing. If the Shah were to go now, he would leave us a country which would need thirty years of effort before it could be returned to what it used to be, until its agrarian economy is rectified.

He has destroyed our agriculture, he has destroyed everything we had, and we will have to start again from square one. They have created corruption in all of our offices and we will have to rectify this, but not in the sense that the employees will have to go, no, the employees are not the problem. It is the Shah and his regime who do not let them work properly, who prevent our offices from working properly. The people who work there are of this country, apart from a group of opportunists who are connected to the government or to foreign powers, the rest are people of our nation and they should be treated with the utmost kindness and in the pleasantest of manners. They will all retain their posts (in the event of an Islamic government coming to power) and will be treated better than they are at the present time when they have lost everything.

The aim of this malicious propaganda which appears in the newspapers over here and in other countries, or that which is put about in Iran by various means, is to keep the Shah. For the view of all the foreigners is that he must stay to continue to take all the country's resources. They realize that they could never find anyone who would serve them better than he does, and thus, for this reason, they want him to be kept in power. The Iranians should strive to uproot this system and replace it with a sound, correct one and administer their own country themselves. Please God, may He assist you, may you be successful [The audience says "Amen"].

Interview

Date: Friday, December 23, 1978 [Dey 2, 1357 AHS / Muharram 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Enumerating the features and reasons for the formation of the Islamic Revolution; the necessity for the elucidation of the Islamic Revolution by the thinkers

Interviewer: Egyptian writer and journalist, Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal

Question: [How do you assess Islamic movement in comparison with the time of the Prophet?]

Answer: The current movement in Iran is an example of the movement in the beginning of the advent of Islam, which will leave a deep and long lasting effect in a short period of time.

Q: [Despite the frustration and disappointment of the people, what was the reason behind the development of such a new movement?]

A: This frustration was almost discernible in all the Islamic countries, because the propaganda of the West and the aliens had become so vigorous that all the Muslim nations had been overpowered by this propaganda; and in this regard there was no hope to rescue the people. Now, with the movement that has emerged, it is probable that other nations also join us to save Muslims from this dominance; not only is it probable, but it is almost sure that the Muslims will be rescued from this domination. And I here beseech the Almighty God to save Muslims and to realize and fulfill their wishes.

Q: [Do you predict that the Islamic movement of Iran will continue and will spill over to other countries?]

A: The continuation of this movement on the part of Iranian Muslims will be definite, but Iran needs the support of others from outside—publicity support. Great writers should discharge their duties in this regard and through their able writings convey the current problems to both the Iranians and other peoples in the world. Doing this will encourage the Iranians and boost their spirits to remain firm in continuing [their Islamic movement].

Q: [During the years 1950 and 1951 (in the climax of the Iranians' struggle against Britain) I was in Iran and wrote my first book about Iran.¹ What is the

¹ *Iran at the Summit of the Volcano* (written after the 1953 coup).

difference between the struggles in those years and the current fighting in your opinion? And why did imperialism defeat that movement in those years?]

A: I think that the current movement is more profound than that during the late Dr. MuSaddiq's. That movement was merely a political one, but in the current movement the religious aspect has preeminence over other aspects. The people of Iran are all Muslims. Many strata of the people are ignorant of politics, but they are fond of religion. All the people raise the same slogans in all the villages—you had better go and see yourself—that are raised in the cities and have the same demands. From minor child—school children—to the dying old men, all pronounce the same thing unanimously. These slogans and demands have become national in a way that no one can question them. This movement has an Islamic-political meaning, but the previous movement was merely political. The current movement is profounder than the previous one and the hope for its victory is much more, and we hope that no one can ever silence the movement.

Q: [We also hope that the movement will achieve victory. I am really proud that you have granted me the opportunity for such a discussion, but we all wonder whether the movement will achieve its objectives. Many of us are concerned that the movement may fail to achieve its goals, because our enemies are much more experienced than before. It is not just about Shah; Iran is a great oil-exporting country; Iran is the gendarme of the region and the watchdog of the interests of the imperialists; and a party to a military pact. When I was in Iran, the agents of the political leadership were active and also the agents of the religious leadership. Now the entire leadership of the movement is Islamic. In those days the religious and political leaderships were separate (it means Ayatullah Kashani and MuSaddiq); but now the leadership (politico-religious) is single and there is just one leader. But the enemies are also united and have the entire region under their dominance. Now that the movement has occurred in Iran the West is surprised.

A few years ago, I met the Shah in Iran. Everybody thought that the situation had been stabilized. My question is: why did such an incident happen? How did it happen? And what has been the origin of such a great development in the movement?]

A: This movement stems from Islam. At the time of Ayatullah Kashani and MuSaddiq, politics was the main issue. I wrote letters to Ayatullah Kashani and told him that he should also pay attention to the religious aspects. He either couldn't do it or did not want to. Instead of strengthening the religious

aspects and instead of bringing the political aspects under the dominance of religious aspects, Ayatullah Kashani became a political figure himself. He became the Parliament speaker; that was a mistake. I told him that he should work for religion, and not to become involved in politics. But now the movement is religious in all its aspects, it is Islamic; and politics is inherent in it. Islam is political religion; politics is inherent in the movement. You had better go to Iran now to closely watch what is going on in Iran now and what was going on in those days. There are lots of problems; we are faced with the superpowers and they are all concerned about our movement. But they cannot do anything, unless they resort to force and dispatch military forces to Iran. We are weak and cannot militarily confront them; otherwise, even through the alliance of other governments, military coup, or martial government—and even by a military coup and annihilating the Shah—they cannot gain victory. The current movement is such a profound one that such problems are solvable, no attention is paid to military coup or martial government, and people ignore all of them. Today, the people are scrambling for Islam, but in those days they were calling for oil. There is a difference between the time when the people are fighting for their interests and when they are fighting in the way of God. That movement was a materialistic one and this movement is spiritual. Therefore, the current situation is almost the same as the situation at the beginning of the Islamic era, and we all hope that our movement will win.

It does not mean that we are not concerned. Of course there are matters of concern in such struggles and movements. Now all the political centers in the world have focused on Iran and intend to crush Iran's movement. It is not that we are not aware or are not concerned; in fact we feel that we are religiously duty-bound, a divine duty. This is the same logic of the early stages of the development of Islam. The very same logic according to which if we are killed we will go to heaven, if we kill, we will go to heaven and if we are defeated, we will go to heaven and if we defeat, we will go to heaven. Therefore, we are not afraid of being defeated; we are not afraid at all. Our movement is not merely a political one; we make progress on the basis of the logic of Islam; we are not afraid of being defeated. Prophet Muhammad (S) was also defeated in some of his battles against the infidels. We launch our war by relying on the sword of God and we are not frightened. The movement will continue.

Q: [How did it happen? The political observers of Iranian developments and those who analyze the situation in Iran cannot believe that such a great

movement has happened in Iran. This movement is the first of its kind throughout history; it is particularly the first movement that is led and controlled from a remote distance. What is the origin of the magnificence of the movement?]

A: Iran's island of tranquility and stability has always been accompanied by suppression. Any kind of suppression is followed by an explosion. Total suppression is followed by an entire explosion. The people of Iran were under pressure from all sides; all expected an explosion and all hoped that the Shah would leave Iran. If you are aware and if you remember, during Rida Khan's era and after all those pressures, when the Allies attacked from three directions and invaded Iran, the life of the people was in danger, but when Rida Khan left Iran, everybody became happy. In fact pressure and suppression had caused great sufferings; therefore, the people were ready to endure other pains to get rid of that great suffering. These suppressions and public sufferings became even greater during the Shah's era. Various cases created great pains for the people. Those working in the State Organization for Information and Security (SAVAK) and other governmental agents treated the people in a manner that created a complex for them, a complex that affected the entire nation adversely. A mere lance was enough to blow up the complex and relieve the people. The clergy did it. I understand the language of the people and am acquainted with the social institutions. I speak with the people in their own language and talk on behalf of their inner being. I pinpoint all those 50-year-old weak points that I have observed and was aware of and was present in each of them. The entire nation was going to explode; all of them were waiting. The dictatorship prepared the ground for the materialization of the potential explosion and the clergy-led uprising caused the explosion.

Q: [It is said that the US does not intend to militarily interfere in Iranian affairs. If the Iranian army fails to stand against the people and if they see their interests in danger, don't you think that they will resort to military measures?]

A: They have learned lessons from previous attacks against Iran and are well aware of the fact that even if they achieve victory through military attacks, their victory will not last for a long time. In a country where all the people are opposed to an invader, the invader may gain victory, but its victory will not last for a long time. The entire nation in the country will crush and destroy them. They have some experts in these affairs and have investigated and discussed the situation in Iran and are aware of all these facts... They will

not resort to military measures in Iran, and if they do, they will be certainly defeated.

Q: [I am so sorry to take your time. Whenever you wish, you may end the discussion.]

A: I wish to draw your attention to two points:

Firstly, in this movement, that is an Islamic movement, a suppressed nation has stood against the oppressors who intend to destroy the people. How did it come that the clerics of the Al-Azhar University agreed with the Shah and disagreed with the people? What should be done about those clerics who stand against the oppressed people and agree with the cruelty and oppression?

Secondly, I want to ask you—as a capable writer—to go to Iran if possible and observe the situation. Observe the oppressions and the injustices. I want you to choose some people from all the strata in the society from the politicians to bazaar traders, to villagers, military personnel—particularly the younger and low-brass officers—to the government employees, or whoever you want, and ask them about the situation in the past, about the reasons for the current developments and the situation at present. And then when you have garnered the necessary information, write a book about Iran—similar to that of your previous visit to Iran—and publish it. Doing such a thing in your part will in fact show your support for the Iranian nation and will be indeed the discharging of your duty.

Q: [I met the Shah in 1975. I had a long, caustic and biting discussion with him. When I told him that I had a large number of questions to ask him, he also said the same thing. He knew that I have been a friend of Abdul-Nasir and asked me a lot of questions about him. When the Shah was speaking about himself, the Shah-People Revolution and also about his dreams, I asked him: Why are you always faced with the disagreement of the youth wherever you go and why are you always confronted with oppositions and objections against the Shah's regime? The youth are the future of the country; why are they against you? I do not need to go to Iran to know what is going on in Iran; I am well aware of the situation. I was a close friend of Abdul-Nasir and we were against the Shah's regime. But as for the clerics; this is the first movement in Islam that has openly stood against the regime. What has made this movement so important is the very fact that this is the first anti-governmental movement.

The clerics of Al-Azhar University are unfortunately obedient to the government orders; it has always been so, not only since the Ottoman Empire, but from the beginning of the caliphate. The government controls everything. For this very reason some of the communists attack us and say that religion has been an instrument in the hands of government to reach its objectives.]

A: One of the characteristics of the Shii religion is that it has never been obedient to the governments, has always stood against the governments and has sacrificed its leaders. Such a religion can be the representative of Islam, can present Islam, and can stand against the doctrines of the communists and show that religion is not the opium of the society and the clerics are not obedient to the government's orders.

Q: [I agree that this movement is a religious movement. What is your plan after the Shah leaves Iran? How is the transition from a purely religious movement to a political, or a religious-political, one, possible?]

A: Our religion is a political religion. Our clerics are aware of politics. We do not lack statesmen; we do have learned Muslim managers in all fields. After the departure of the Shah, a bunch of thieves will leave Iran and a group of honest and skillful statesmen will take their place.

Q: [Here I intend to ask a somehow personal question. Which personality or personalities,—throughout the Islamic or non-Islamic history—except Prophet Muhammad (S) and Imam Ali (A) have left the most impression on you? And which books, in addition to the Quran, have influenced you?]

A: I cannot answer this question of yours right now. It requires pondering for a while. We have lots of books; in the field of philosophy, we may mention Mulla Sadra's;¹ in the field of tradition, *al-Kafi*;² and in the field of

¹ Mulla Sadra (d. 1050 AH/1640), also called Sadruddin Shirazi and Sadr al-Mutaalihin, was a philosopher who led the Iranian cultural renaissance in the 17th century. The foremost representative of Ishraqi [Illuminationist] School of philosopher-mystics, he is commonly regarded by Iranians as the greatest philosopher of Iran. A scion of a notable Shirazi family, Mulla Sadra completed his education in Isfahan, then the leading cultural and intellectual center of Iran. After his studies with scholars there, he produced several works, the most famous of which was his *Asfar* (Journeys). *Asfar* contains the bulk of his philosophy, which was influenced by a personal mysticism bordering on asceticism that he experienced during a 15-year retreat at Kahak, a village near Qum in Iran. Toward the end of his life, Mulla Sadra returned to Shiraz to teach. His teachings, however, were considered heretical by the orthodox ShiAh theologians, who persecuted him, though his powerful family connections permitted him to continue to write. He died on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

² *Al-Kafi*: one of the most important collections of ShiAh *hadith* compiled by Shaykh Abu Jafar Muhammad ibn Yaqub ibn Ishaq Kulayni (d. 941 CE). *Al-Kafi* includes 16,199 traditions that can be traced back to the Prophet and his family by an unbroken chain of transmission. The traditions in this book cover ideological, ethical and jurisprudential matters to name but a few. Kulayni lived relatively close in time to the period of the Prophet and the twelve Imams, this, along with the method of gathering, classifying and specifying the chain of transmission, has given *al-Kafi* a special importance among the collections of traditions and puts it alongside three other books as the most important collections of ShiAh traditions collectively famous as the *Kutub al-Arbaah* [The Four Books]. It is not claimed, however, that all the traditions contained therein are authentic [*sahih*]. *Al-Kafi* is divided into three sections: *Usul al-Kafi*; *Furu al-Kafi* and *Rawdah al-Kafi*. *Usul al-Kafi* covers ideological and ethical matters and consists of the books of: Reason and Ignorance; the Excellence of Knowledge; Divine Unity; Divine Proof; Belief; Unbelief; Quran and Supplicatory Prayer. *Furu al-Kafi*, on the other hand, consists of books and sections on jurisprudence and is one of the authoritative reference books for deduction and independent reasoning [*ijtihad*] from Islamic law for the ShiAh jurists. *Rawdah al-Kafi* comprises different traditions on numerous matters. This book, also known as *Sharif al-Kafi*, has for centuries been used by the ShiAh *ulama* and jurists as a reference book. Muslim scholars have written extensive expositions on *al-Kafi*, among them Mulla Sadra Shirazi and Muhammad Baqir al-Majlisi.

jurisprudence, *al-Jawahir*.¹ Our Islamic sciences are very profound; we have lots of books. I cannot count them for you.

¹ *Jawahir*: it refers to *Jawahir al-Kalam*, a book written on various subjects of *fiqh* [jurisprudence] written by Shaykh Muhammad Hasan ibn Baqir an-Najafi (d. Shaban 1266 AH), a great *faqih* (jurisprudent) as well as a prominent *marja*.

Message

Date: December 23, 1978 [Dey 2, 1357 AHS / Muharram 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Felicitations and best wishes to the Christians of the world

Occasion: Christmas

Addressees: The Christians of the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Almighty God's greetings and salutations to the Holy Christ, son of Mary, the Spirit of God, and the honorable prophet who resuscitated the dead and awakened the drowsy! Greetings and salutations of the Great God to his dignified mother, Virgin Mary and virtuous saintly woman, who, through the divine breath, offered such a great son to those who were thirsty for divine mercy! Greetings to the clerics, priests and monks who, through the teachings of Jesus Christ call the rebellious souls to peace! Greetings to the free nation of Christ, who enjoy the divine teachings of Christ, the Spirit of God!

In the name of the oppressed nation of Iran, I request you, the nation of Christ, to pray during your holy days for our nation who are a captive of an oppressive sultan and beseech their emancipation from the Almighty God. I request you the great nation to warn the heads of some Christian countries who support the oppressive Shah through their diabolic powers and crush a nation under the pressure of their oppression and acquaint them with the teachings of Holy Christ.

I request the Christian clerics to advise some of the heads of powerful countries and denounce their support for a person who has turned his back to the divine teachings. The Holy Quran has mentioned the name of Holy Christ with magnificence and has purified Holy Mary. It is the duty of the Christian nation to pay their debt to the Muslim nation. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: December 24, 1978 [Dey 3, 1357 AHS / Muharram 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Appointment of a representative

Addressee: Mr. Abu Jihad (A leader of the Palestinian al-Fatah movement)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Mr. Abu Jihad,¹ may God assist him:

Please accept my greetings. Reference to your kind letter dated December 10, 1978, I have appointed honorable Mr. Jalaluddin Farsi, may God assist him, for this purpose. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ This letter is a reply to the letter written by the al-Fatah to Imam Khomeini, announcing their support and asking for more coordination and cooperation.

Speech

Date: December 24, 1978 [Dey 3, 1357 AHS / Muharram 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Need to preserve unity and to avoid disunity

Addressees: A group of Iranian students and residents abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Expressing regret about Islamic governments' support for the Shah

Two things cause me sorrow: one is that even with all this bloodshed which is taking place in Iran, such as that which took place in Mashhad and many other places where people have been killed and a great number injured—indeed only today there were clashes in some cities—even with all this, once again these governments, these exploitative governments, declare their support (for the Shah), and hitherto other governments, such as the Islamic governments, have not announced their support for the Iranian nation. Their people have done so, but up until the present time, none of these governments has expressed support for the people of Iran. It is truly a cause for regret that these governments introduce themselves as Islamic governments, yet throughout the one year or more that Iran has been dragged into bloodshed by the Shah's agents, they have not announced support for the nation, rather some of them have declared support for the government while others have announced support for the Shah! This is a source of great sorrow for us.

Giving an alarm on differences and factionalism

Something else which is regrettable, more so than that mentioned above, is that as the Shah and his supporters give many excuses and are willing to resort to anything in order to save themselves, unfortunately we see that some differences are created within the opposition, that is between the secular and the Islamic factions. I must point out that the origin of these parties which have appeared in Iran since the beginning of the constitutional revolution, as one understands it, is that they were, without knowing it themselves, founded by foreigners, and some of them have served the foreigners. I think it probable that in their own countries—and Britain was at that time the dominant power—they created parties in order to trap the backward countries and those countries which they wanted to exploit. The

parties there were not two parties that truly opposed one another's views, one of them speaking for the government or the state while the other expressed a different view. But the parties were apparently created so that other countries would follow their example and adopt a similar system.

Purposes behind founding the political parties in the East

In our countries, and especially in Iran, from the time that parties came into being, it was the foreigners who turned any grouping of people into a party and made it the enemy of other parties. They created a battlefield between the parties. This they did because they wanted to capitalize on the nation's differences, on the differences which existed among the masses, and one of the ways to manifest these differences and stop the people from uniting together on a matter was to create parties. So they created parties, parties such as the 'Democratic Party,' the 'Masses [Tudeh] Party,' the 'Justice [Idalat] Party' and goodness knows what else.¹ Originally, they were known by different names, but gradually they were given European names! The foreigners have created a similar show of party rivalry in their own countries, but this is literally just a show, it has no basis in reality; however, in this way they ensnare other countries, so that when they create parties, they truly are parties which are hostile to one another. This party against that party, each the enemy of the other, their whole lives being wasted in animosity toward one another. When the foreigners see that there are people who are useful (for the country), people who, it is hoped, will be able to reform the country, they use all their energies to set them against each other; consequently, these people quarrel with one another, each one's writings oppose the other's, and they reject one another's ideas. Some of them have done such things knowingly and were the primary agents of the foreigners, while others were not aware of what was happening, were not aware that they were being dragged down a road which went against the interests of their own country.

Essentially, this party affair, from when it first came about, and this fighting and quarrelling with one another, appears to have been started by foreigners who wanted to stop the people from coming together. They are

¹ During the Shah's 'land reform' program, the country's agriculture and animal husbandry were gradually ruined, and what remained of the oil revenues was spent on the purchase of wheat from America, oranges from South Africa, chickens from Holland, eggs from Israel and other needs from various other countries. The cost of importing eggs from Israel in the years 1976-78 amounted to 212, 254 and 1,022 million rials respectively, figures which were continually on the rise. Refer to *Iran, Taswir-e Amari-ye Bazargani-ye Khariji*, p. 264; *Inqilab-e Jumhuri-ye Islami-ye Iran*, p. 152.

afraid of the masses coming together, and so in order to stop them from uniting and making common cause, they brought about this affair. In their own countries too, the foreigners put on a show of party rivalry so that, upon seeing that in the British parliament there is, for example, the Labor Party and whatever else, people in our countries would come to think it a good idea if they too had such things! However, these people think differently, these people who imitate the foreigners think differently, when they establish two parties, they in fact establish two opposing fronts, two enemy fronts! This one is the enemy of that one, that one of the other, while in the meantime, the foreigners capitalize on the situation! They deceive these countries of ours with the idea that a civilized country should necessarily have parties, so that we think we too should have parties. However, the parties that we create do nothing but spend their whole lives lambasting one another.

In my opinion, this is why parties were brought into being in the first place in Iran. Nowadays, these parties have adopted different forms, yet one sees that they are still hostile toward and oppose one another. I think it probable that a foreign hand is involved in this business. Only last night, a few people, who had come from somewhere to see me, complained that where there are groupings, all oppose one another; this one speaking badly of that one and vice versa. It is regrettable that you who are a community abroad, who are one of our country's sources of wealth abroad which Islam and your country should be able to use to their advantage, are here today quarrelling with one another when tomorrow, on your return to your country, you should be of use to it and make it flourish. Moreover, according to one of these people who came to see me, every person who comes from Iran is met by a group at the airport as soon as he lands, so that they can take him with them and indoctrinate him with their own ideas while turning him against those of other groups.

Evading disunity

Do you know what you are doing? Do you know what harm this kind of thing is doing to yourselves and your country? Don't you see how today in Iran when unity of purpose has come about it has shaken every throne, crown and superpower, how they are all at a loss as to what they should do? Do you see this? Do you not see how, now that the different groups in Iran have come closer together, now that the universities have come closer to the clerical establishment, the clerical establishment to the universities, and the bazaars have become at one with the universities and the clerical establishment—even though differences in some things still exist, which I

will speak about later—now that unity of purpose has come about in Iran, it has shaken America and Russia and has made these ruffians within Iran itself flounce. These killings that this man perpetrates and the recourses that he resorts to all stem from the fact that he sees that the people have come together, and he is at a loss as to how to put an end to this union!

Consequences of disunity and disarray

You must realize that these things you are doing you have got from the foreigners, you are being subservient to the foreigners and they are making you do such things so that this unity which has been found in Iran and which is possible between these groups abroad will be put to an end. For these groups abroad boast influential people and unity between them would be to the detriment of the foreigners. So they fell to making the groups based in Iran, and likewise those abroad, oppose one another in some way, and to creating some sort of opposition between those groups within Iran and those abroad. Don't you know that you are working to the advantage of others? Don't you realize this? Do you not know what kind of blow this opposition of yours today delivers to the Islamic movement in Iran, coming as it does when the country is in such a sensitive, life-or-death situation? If you merge these different fronts that you have, where ten of you, a hundred of you have joined together and have given yourself a name, if you put aside these names and come together under one name, being unanimous in your aims, then just as you see that Iran has shaken these superpowers, so too this power of yours will add to that in Iran and you will ruffle them even more.

They want to take advantage of you now, and that means setting you against one another. Who is he? He is from the National Front! Who's he? He's from the Freedom Movement! Who's he? He's from such and such a youth association! Who's he? He's from such and such group! Different groups; numerous groups! Whoever you go to will refute the others. Each group is the enemy of the other. What is the meaning of such things among a people who together share a great, common aim which is to extirpate the roots of this oppression and foreshorten the hands of the superpowers from our land?

This present opposition of yours is getting stronger every day. In these past three months that I have been here, I have not been able to solve this problem, and I have become truly disappointed in you all. Do you not realize what a blow you are dealing Islam, what a blow you are dealing your country and the service you are doing to America, Russia or Britain? You do not have to carry their flags around on your shoulders to serve them; you are serving

them by belittling yourselves so, by keeping yourselves from your activities so. All your energy is spent on disagreeing with one another, you are arguing with one another from morning till night. You should unite together against others, there will be plenty of time later on for you to go after your personal goals, if indeed, God forbid, you should have any. Why do you bring your personal goals into this affair? Why, in this an Islamic movement, do you have so many selfish desires which stop you from coming together? Put aside these carnal desires a little. This is something that I find very regrettable about you young people abroad, about all of you, not anyone in particular.

An evil whisper: “Islam minus the clergy”

Something else that I find regrettable concerns affairs within the country. For many years now, we have gone to great pains to bring the universities closer to the mullahs, to the schools of the old sciences, and to the students of the old sciences, and to bring the bazaars closer to both of these. Indeed, the bazaars were already close to the clerical establishment in some aspects, but we brought them closer to the universities. We brought these different fronts closer together and always advised them to have unity of purpose so that they could achieve something. For were they each to become factions, one taking one side and the other another, this would first and foremost be of advantage to the foreigners. They see now that a union has come about in Iran and unity of all factions is probable, but the day that all factions become one will be the day the death knell is sounded for Russia, America and any country that hopes to interfere in your affairs, and it will also bring an end to this oppression and tyranny. Once they saw that this was happening, they again set to putting a wedge between these factions and between these fronts. Once again activities were started by the regime, the foreigners and their agents against the *akhunds* so that some of these groups began to say: “No, we only accept that person, he is the exception! The other *ulama* we don’t accept.”¹ This is the tune that they sometimes play. I have said from the beginning that if you exclude the *akhund* from your groups, you will not achieve anything, for the masses are with the *akhunds*, they are the objects in which Islam manifests itself, they are the expositors of the Quran; they are the objects in which the Most Noble Prophet manifests himself. This is how the people see them. The people are attached to their religion, they are attached to Islam, and the affection they have for Islam they also have for the *ulama* of Islam. If you want to separate yourselves from the clerics and exclude them from

¹ During the course of the Revolution, a number of young people were saying that from among all the clergymen they only accepted Imam, that he was the exception.

your groups, then you will not achieve anything. The first tidal wave will knock you down and sweep you away.

Just as we have seen, the time when the clerics were not involved in such matters, you (different groups) were isolated from the people, you could not do anything. But when they entered the arena, the people followed them. The merchants in the bazaars are with them, the farmers, the artisans, the workers, all are with them. These people are all Muslims, and as such they love God, they love the Prophet of God, they love the Commander of the Faithful, and they see them as being personified in the clergy, for the clergy are the ones who propagate their words. The clergy spend their whole lives getting the commands of God, as well as the words and precepts of the Prophet of Islam and the Imams, across to the people. The people are going to follow someone who has spent seventy years of his life in this pursuit and whom they recognize for this reason. "We accept Mr. X but not the others" are words which they have put into your mouths. Foreign agents want to alienate you from your *ulama*, and if they succeed, you will be one separate brigade and they another, and both will be destroyed. You oppose them, but you are only one group, and you must realize that without the *akhunds* you will get nowhere. Every city that you go to in the country you see that the person who has it in his hands, the one who can close it down or open it up is a mullah. You can put it to the test by looking at the period of these shutdowns. Could any of these groups close down the bazaar? It was the mullahs who closed it down, this happened on their command, it is on their command that bazaars closed up shop. And the mullah's success lies in the fact that they speak for God, they work for Islam and the people are attached to Islam. Drop this idea that you can exclude the *akhunds*, you cannot do without them. You want to reform your country, but you will not be able to do this without the help of the *akhunds*.

By the same token, if you *akhunds* think that you can reform the country without the help of the universities and the political fronts, then you are mistaken, for reform requires experts and you are Islamic experts, you know the rules of Islam but even you are not able to solve some of the political problems. So you need the other fronts too. You yourselves don't intend to govern, you have another occupation. You need a government, you need office workers, you need offices, a government, an army; all of these will be acquired through these fronts. It is through these universities, through these students at home and abroad that our country should be governed. If you are truly attached to Islam, if those other fronts are truly attached to Islam, then you are not showing it by fighting with one another today! To fight with one

another today is the same as committing suicide. At the present time, it is suicidal to disagree. Perhaps you do not agree with what so-and-so is saying, but you should not create differences over it now.

We are all Muslims and we all wish to fight under the banner of Islam, we all want to take part in this struggle. God knows that if this union is created and all of you, along with all the fronts, come together under this banner and stop creating disunity, then after only a few days this affair will be over and done with. The regime and its supporters are presently taking advantage of such talk. On the day that, for example, a demonstration is held and two of their agents, or even two numskulls, come out shouting a different slogan, one which opposes that which twenty-odd million people are saying, this is wrong, this is a deviation, an aberration, it stems from ignorance and constitutes serving the foreigners, serving Carter.

Can't you see this? They want nothing more than for dissent to come between you and a tug-of-war to develop over membership in the different parties, one tugging people one way while the other tugs them the other. Stop this kind of talk. All of you enter the arena under one banner: the banner of Islam. We are nothing without Islam. The words of Islam have brought us together. Gather under the banner of monotheism. When everyone has gathered under the banner of monotheism, everything will be rectified.

Need for unity among all strata in fighting the Shah

It is regrettable that after the long years that we have struggled, that we have spoken out, preached and written on this matter, still a few uninformed people can be found, a few uninformed youth can be found who create misgivings by saying: "We accept that certain *akhund*, that certain *sayyid*, but we reject the others!" This is wrong. I accept them all; I am devoted to them; all of us must accept them. Or someone may say we don't accept the universities! Again this is wrong. We accept the universities; we accept the doctors; we accept the physicians; we accept the political factions. We should all come together today beneath one banner, the banner of "*La ilaha illa'llah*."

The message that I would like to give you, one which, please God, will reach Iran and the other countries where our young people are, is this: gentlemen, stop this self-worship and this selfishness. "*Say I do admonish you to do one thing, to rise up for God.*"¹ Your uprising should be for God. If it is not, He will not assist you. Your uprising must be for God, not for

¹ *Surah Saba* ' 34:46.

satisfying your selfish desires by tugging people onto your side. All of you should come together. Come together for God and stop creating differences and distancing yourselves from one another with this idea that I belong to this party, he belongs to that one, or I am with this or that front. If you cannot stop doing this permanently, then for God's sake do it temporarily, for the sake of the nation, for the sake of the country, for the sake of anything that you hold sacred, so that this regime will be uprooted, so that this bullying, murderous regime which tramples all our rights underfoot will be removed, so that this criminal who is massacring the people will be removed.¹ There will be plenty of opportunities later to sit down and argue among yourselves, but for today desist from doing this. Not that I am saying it is alright for you to fight among yourselves later, of course you should not do this at any time. But now the situation is very sensitive, it is one of life or death for the nation. You are responsible before God the Blessed and Exalted; you are responsible before the nation of Islam.

I ask God the Blessed and Exalted to grant everyone awareness. [The audience says Amen]. May Lord guide all of us [Amen]; may Lord guide us onto the straight, divine path ["Amen"]. May God keep you from harm ["Amen"].

¹ Due to an absence of governmental pressure, political differences outside the country were far greater than those within. Disagreements existed between the various groups such as the National Front—to which Bani Sadr paid allegiance—the European branch of the Freedom Movement Abroad, the American branch of the Freedom Movement Abroad, and other religious and non-religious groups. The most serious disagreements, however, existed in Europe between Messrs Qutbzadeh, Bani Sadr and Dr. Yazdi. It is to these disagreements that Imam refers here.

Message

Date: December 27, 1978 [Dey 3, 1357 AHS / Muharram 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Six-point recommendation to the public

Addressees: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The month of Muharram for the ShiAh school of thought marks an occasion when victory has been gained through devotion and bloody sacrifices. In the early stages of the development of Islam, after the departure of the Seal of Prophets—the founder of justice and freedom—due to the diversionary measures of the Umayyad, Islam was going to be swallowed by the oppressors and justice trampled upon by the corrupt people, but the Lord of Martyrs launched the great movement of *Ashura* and rescued Islam through his devotion and sacrificing his own blood and that of his dear ones, condemning the Umayyad system and shattering its pillars. In our time, through the diversionary measures of the Pahlavi dynasty, the large mouth of this dynasty and that of its associated clique and masters was going to swallow Islam and its interests and justice, independence and freedom were going to be destroyed under the booths of dictatorship, the veil of hypocrisy and deception.

The movement of the great nation of Iran, blossoming on Muharram 12, Khordad 15 [June 5, 1963], tore apart the veils of hypocrisy and demagoguery of the Shah, and the royal massacre and nation's devotion became a watershed in Iranian history. The key to the redemption of Islam and justice was found, the inception of national resistance was conceived and through the raising and illumination of the illuminators, grew and began to evolve; and during all this while, devotions continued against crimes, massacres, plunders, imprisonment, and banishment. On Muharram 29, 1398 AH [December 30, 1977], when growth and evolution was maturing, the source of explosion appeared and the Shah and his mercenaries were caught surprise and attacked the people, killing and injuring them with full forces. During the past one year, their endless crimes have faced the great resistance of the nation and confrontations and crimes have been pitted against devotions. During this process, the resistance of the nation has been growing and the weapons of the enemies of humanity and nation have been losing

their power. The power of the nation at the end of 1398 and on the threshold of 1999 has so defeated the satanic army of the Shah, shaken the pillars of the dictatorship and repelled the great powers that has astonished and bewildered the thinkers and observers of the world.

Despite his Pharaonic majesty, the Shah had to bow and express his helplessness and repent before the nation, replacing his moderate men with harsh figures, but the nation, relying on their Islamic and national pride, neither accepted his repentance nor were they deceived by his flexibility, nor did they heed his harshness. On *TasuA* and *Ashura* of 1399 AH [December 1978], the nation through their unique referendum—which was unprecedented in the history according to the domestic and foreign observers—demonstrated their controlled power and once again announced the collapse and dismissal of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi. After the Shah realized that he must go, he brought his criminal hands out of his sleeves and began the frequent massacres of the Black Friday, exposing his nature for all the societies. Recently, his crimes went to the extreme in Mashhad and we had to announce the 30th of December a day of public mourning to mark the anniversary of the merciless massacres in Qum, the fortieth day of the massacre in the holy shrine of Mashhad and also the seventh day of the massacre in holy Mashhad and other cities.

Unfortunately, our entire time was spent during this year for the commemoration and holding of national mourning, and if the Shah continues in his usurped position, the situation will remain as it is. I deem it necessary to mention a few points:

1. Thanking the respected people of Khorasan, particularly the honorable *ulama*, the clerics, the respected physicians, and other groups and strata, I announce my support for this dignified strike; I condemn the savage acts of the illegal military government and usurping martial law, and warn against the continuation of the dictatorship.

2. I thank all the strikers across the country and announce my support for them; I particularly thank the striking oil workers. I condemn the acts of the usurping martial government and the military tribunals for exerting pressure on the strikers to end their strikes and hold them responsible for trying to waste the national wealth; I also warn them to stop such measures which are against the interests of the country.

3. It is the duty of the honorable Iranian nation to support the striking oil workers and assist them in preparing their means of livelihood and housing. They should also arrange some relief funds in the cities and hand it to them

through their trustees. They should not allow their brothers, who have risen up and endure hardship to render service to Islam and the country.

4. The honorable Iranian nation is duty-bound to provide accommodation and means of livelihood to the soldiers who have deserted the barracks, have not yielded to the usurping government and do not allow their brothers, who have given up assistance to the oppressor in order to assist Islam, to suffer.

5. The Iranian nation must be informed that enough amounts of oil and gas for domestic consumption are available in the reservoirs, but the criminal government has created artificial famine in order to create terror and dissatisfaction. The staff of the oil company have extracted the required amount of oil for domestic consumption, but they [the regime] are using it for other purposes (for instance, exporting it to Israel, according to reports) to pressure the nation. The Shah and his usurping government are at war with the nation; this is why they commit such criminal acts. It is even said that they force the workers, who are working to prepare oil for domestic consumption, to go on strike to put the blame of the shortage on the nation.

6. It is necessary for the honorable nation to continue its Islamic movement until the achievement of the goal and remain patient in this way where the pleasure of God lies, and do not spare any effort to assist their own brothers. They must seriously avoid hoarding, excessive prices and unfairness, for such acts will cause the wrath of the Almighty God, and they should do not listen to the satanic temptations the diabolic agents of the Shah disseminate in order to create disappointment and indolence in the nation. They should rely on God in this path which is the attainment of independence, freedom and establishment of the Islamic Republic. I beseech the Almighty God for the elimination of the foundations of oppression and establishment of the pillars of justice.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Dialogue

Date: December 28, 1978 [Dey 7, 1357 AHS / Muharram 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Characteristics of the Islamic movement of the Iranian nation; the crimes of the Shah's regime and the US support for him

Occasion: Discussion of an American researcher with Imam Khomeini about the Iranian issues

Addressee: Richard Kathum¹ (A professor of the Department of Political Science, Petersburg University, Pennsylvania, United States)

[In the meeting between Imam and Kathum, he first explained about his previous works about Iran and his books and said that in order to complete his studies about the Islamic Revolution, he was going to Tehran and was interested to be informed about Imam's viewpoints before going to Tehran. He said that in his book "Nationalism in Iran", he had demonstrated the significance of the historical role of *ulama* during the popular movement of Tobacco and the Constitutional Revolution. He added that neither the *ulama* were aware of such a power, nor the Qajar court nor the British, but after the Tobacco uprising, the abrogation of the tobacco concession, and the withdrawal of NaSiruddin Shah, they all realized this great power and capability. Kathum also gave some explanations about his previous trips to Iran and his studies about Iran. After Kathum's explanations, the Imam, addressing him, made the following statement.]

Imam: Iran's situation has changed tremendously during the past fifteen years, particularly during the current year. As you have also realized that the *ulama* and the governments were unaware of the national power, likewise, we, the contemporary *ulama*, the Shah and his government have been totally unaware of the national-Islamic power and did not know that such a power is capable of creating a movement which permeates all the strata, that is, encompassing the farthest villages to the center, influencing human forces from young to old and even the children, women and girls; we could not even imagine it. We probably imagined that the Shah's power, which is based on military and backed by the superpowers—the United States, Soviet Union and China—is [unshakable]. We could not imagine that this power could be

¹ Richard Kathum has written a number of books about Iran. On the way of his trip to Iran, he stopped in Paris to meet the Imam. The present discussion is the text of his Dialogue (Twenty-Five-Year History of Iran, vol. 2, pp. 330-335).

shaken. We have observed that during the past one year, such a shock has been created that all the pillars of his power are collapsing one after another; he has lost everything. And despite the supports extended to him, particularly by Carter, these supports have not left the slightest effect on the nation; they heed neither the martial law, nor the Shah's martial government, nor are they afraid of the threats of Carter and other people like him.

Such an uprising and movement has been unprecedented in Iranian history and it seems to us that it is guided by a divine blessing and a supernatural power. It is good to go and visit Iran now to primarily see the result of the treacheries; there are daily massacres in every spot of Tehran and Iran without any excuse. Just today in a funeral procession, permitted by the regime,¹ an officer... ordered attack, while there was no demonstration. Massacre began in a city square and a number of people were killed and injured; again another funeral procession may follow another. It is very good that you have studied and know the history. Just investigate if a person, who claims to be the sultan of Iran or somewhere else, encourages the marauders to plunder the people. Or does he pay and hire mercenaries to attack the defenseless people so that the Shah continues his life under the protection of club-wielders? Or do the very centers that should maintain law and order, pay the marauders, hire them and direct them to attack the people's shops or mosques and plunder them? Can you find a situation similar to what is going on in Iran, to those who control power in Iran? Likewise, you cannot find a nation who resist against the tanks and cannons empty-handedly; they kill and these people demonstrate against the Shah.

You should go and observe; like you, we are too observing from a far distance. Anyway, your study is valuable; after your study, a voluminous book should be written. The tragedy is lengthy. In your studies, you should write about the stance of the president of the United States and his support for a person who does not observe the human rights at all and behaves against human rights, while no citizen wants him; neither the clerics, nor the bazaar traders; no strata of the people want him. But Carter supports him; it is to the detriment of the American nation. Carter will go, but what matters is the American nation. We want humanity to live in peace and have goodwill for the people. Carter's measures cause the pessimism of our nation toward the American nation. You should find a remedy; should somehow warn the government. A person, who does not have any base, has plundered Iran; its

¹ It refers to the funeral procession held for Kamran Nijatollahi, during which the Army attacked the people.

documents are available in the US State Department; but they support him in such a manner.

[Kathum: The points and issues are that, there is a general belief that if the Shah goes, there will be intermittent coups. There are two major theories: one is the Brzezinski's theory which enjoys the support and affirmation of General Brown—US Defense Secretary—and Senator Jackson. These people think that the Soviet Union is behind all these issues; it does not mean that the Soviets have relations with you, no, but it means that the Soviets too want the Islamic movement to achieve victory in Iran, for the military coup will not be more tolerable than the victory of the Islamic movement for the Soviets. A coup with the backing of the Soviets similar to that of Afghanistan is likely. The second theory belongs to other American government officials, including the CIA, who due to two reasons know Iran well and understand the situation. The idea of General Turner, the Director of the CIA, is opposed to that of Brzezinski. They believe that the movement [in Iran] is genuine; it is not dependent on the Soviets; but they believe that the movement lacks integration and will not continue; it does not have the bolstering institutions; hence, it will disappear and if it succeeds, there will be a coup before it comes to power. This perception, that is the lack of integrity of the movement, is wrong and the Soviets will not win. There is a third group—which is very important—who believe that the US must allow the consolidation and success of the movement so that [the system] will be changed. The advocates of this theory are in the minority.]

Imam: The last theory is correct. We have information about Iran, throughout Iran, and when you go to Iran, study about the entire country. The slogans and demands, expressed in the demonstrations, which have become national slogans and demands across Iran, are all similar in all parts of the country; they want the Islamic Republic. Therefore if there are a few or a group among the people who are supporters of the Soviet Union, they constitute a percentage of the nation which will be dissolved in them. A nation, who wants Islam, is not logical to be a supporter of the Soviet Union or communism; neither is it rational that the Soviets have a role in this regard. The Soviet Union is afraid of the voice of Islam in Caucasus and is afraid of the strengthening of this voice. You know that any coup or any anti-Islamic move against this Islamic voice will not bear fruit and will remain futile. Therefore, the theory of a Soviet hand is baseless, wrong and without any foundation.

As for the second theory that says the movement is superficial and formal and will evaporate like bubbles, it stems from the fact that it does not

pay attention to the origin of the problem. They imagine that the issue is a political fasting or is like a politics that every day takes a different form. They do not know that its base is Islam and the depth of Islam is too clear to be explained by us. It is a belief and the nature of belief is as such. Islam is a religion that cannot be compared to a bubble that shatters. What they have said is baseless.

What is well-founded is the third theory. The movement is profound, well-established and without the interference of any power; it relies on the nation. It is necessary for the US to pay attention to this issue and give up its supports; it should realize that its supports wouldn't work and will be harmful. I guess that if you go to Iran and study the situation closely, your viewpoint will be that of the third group, who are in the minority.

[Kathum: Are you aware of your power and popularity? In my book, I have analyzed that MuSaddiq was not aware of his power and his popularity; and since he was not aware of these, he undervalued himself and thought that the US is very strong which led to the coup. But through studying your interviews, I have realized that you believe that the US is not that much powerful to influence every development in the world; but in Iran, many think that the US has got a great power. Knowing this will strengthen you to a great extent.]

Imam: The difference between the era of Dr. MuSaddiq and the current time is that that movement was a political one and the people were concerned with its political aspects, but there were some mistakes which led to its failure. But the current movement is a religious-political movement. And we think that the power of Islam is greater than any other materialistic power of the superpowers. You observe that this is such a power that enables the fists to stand against the tanks and machineguns, encourages the old women to rush to the streets and activates the little children. This is the power of religion and spirituality. We rely on God and spirituality and no power in the world can resist it. As a nation who depends on such a power, we stand against all these powers. But about the myth of powers, we should say that in fact, myths are created among the people who have been tortured for a long time. What exists in reality is projected many-folds. We intend to break these superpowers through the divine power, and to save a nation who has been under the tortures of the Shah and his father. We want to show the superpowers that if a nation does not want something, no one can impose it through force. This is no more a bayonet of an army officer to be broken by them; this is the spiritual power and the military power cannot stand against it.

[Kathum: My last question is about the personality of Sayyid Jamaluddin Asadabadi. Do you consider him a great and distinguished personality?]

Imam: Jamaluddin was a competent person, but had some weak points also, and since he did not have any national-religious base among the people, despite having made many efforts, his labor did not bear fruit. He did not have any religious base among the people, because when the king of the time exiled him in a tragic manner, the people did not protest and his efforts failed to yield any result. [At the end of the discussions, Imam Khomeini encouraged Kathum once again to continue his studies on Iran's Islamic movement and to disseminate the truth.]

Interview

Date: December 28, 1978 [Dey 7, 1357 AHS / Muharram 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Expressing the viewpoint of Islam on various issues

Interviewer: Kirk Croft (?) (A professor of Rutkerz (?) University, US)

Question: [How is the progress of the current movement in Iran in your opinion?]

Answer: The struggle of the Iranian nation has reached its climax, and I hope that in the near future we will throw the Shah out of Iran. Today, the Iranian people are well aware of their struggle and know that they have a gigantic task ahead, but relying on their faith in God, they will surely achieve victory.

Q: [What do you think about a coalition government? What would be the first measure of the Islamic government?]

A: I have said many times that neither I nor the Iranian nation will accept a government in which the Shah is present. Any government, that comes to power in the country, if comes to terms with the Shah, has betrayed the people, the country and Islam. We are determined to eliminate the root of all these miseries, that is, to expel the Shah from Iran.

Q: [Does the Islamic government recognize private property? Does the Islamic government respect the ownership of the people and the management of the farmlands and industries by the people? What would be the role of government in the above-mentioned issues? Will the Islamic government issue the order to nationalize the mentioned cases? What would be the government's relations to the people's ownership? How will these relations be managed?]

A: Ownership in the manner that is usual in the United States does not exist in Islam. Islam recognizes and accepts private property, but there are some rules in Islam to regulate it. If these Islamic rules are observed, no one will have great land properties. Ownership in Islam is in a manner that all the people will be at the same level and if it is so, why should we involve the government in these affairs and why shouldn't we let the people be in charge of lands and industries? About the nationalization, the situation in Iran has been such that great capitalists and proprietors have always seized the rights

and shares of the laborers and peasants and they are still doing so. For the same reason they are not the owners of their lands and factories. We will fairly try all those capitalists and proprietors, investigate their properties, and then we will return to the deprived people the rights that had been seized by the capitalists for years. In this manner, neither we have deprived them of their rights nor is any one able to seize the rights of others any longer and no one will face financial problems in his life.

Q: [How would the Islamic government treat religious minorities, including the Sunnis, Sufis, Assyrians, Christians, Armenians, Jews and the Bahai? Is it possible for a non-Muslim Marxist—for instance a member of the Tudeh Party—or a woman to hold a military or a non-military position?]

A: First of all the Sunni brothers are not at all religious minorities. And then we have said several times that we will treat the religious minorities properly. Islam respects them. We will grant them all their rights. They have the right to have a representative in the Parliament and perform their politico-religious activities and practice their religious rites and rituals freely. They are Iranians and will live under the shadow of the Islamic government in security. In military affairs, like other affairs, women can hold positions. At the beginning of the advent of Islam women were in the war fronts to take care of those injured in battles.

Q: [If Islam is against corruption and the ever-increasing price of the goods and disproportionate profit, and if it deems taking advantages from the products of worker's labor, how would the Islamic government treat the merchants of the bazaar?]

A: I have always said that in the Islamic government, there will be no such merchants as they are currently in the bazaar. The current Iranian merchants have become capitalists due to their non-Islamic economic relations, otherwise in an Islamic government all will live in almost the same level and there will be no class gap.

Q: [We all know that there are some traditions within the scope of Islamic laws. Many of these traditions are progressive and cause development in the framework of the current modern society. But there are also some traditions that are no longer of any use in the society and should be omitted, because they will add to the problems of the people, like having more than one wife. What is your opinion in this regard?]

A: Some issues that are spread in the West and East under the name of Islam are actually fabricated by the colonizers and reactionaries in order to divert the public opinion and do whatever they want. The Islamic laws are always adjustable to the conditions of time and space. It is not true to say that an Islamic law is useful in a specific period of time and harmful during another. Of course, some of the Islamic laws may have no opportunity to be implemented and therefore are abandoned.

Q: [It is said that the former head of Iran's Society of Female Lawyers, Mahvash Safiniya has said that the religious movement in Iran has obliged the Parliament to ratify bills, which limit the women's rights. For example, reducing the marriage age to 15 years, prohibiting women from joining the army and announcing abortion as a crime (Quoted in the *New York Times*, December 17). Do you acknowledge such laws?]

A: With regards to marriage, Islam has granted the women the right to choose their husbands. Women can choose their favored husbands, of course in the framework of the Islamic laws. Islam is against abortion and considers it an unlawful act and prohibits it. As I said before, women can join the army. What Islam is against, and prohibits, is corruption, no matter if this corruption is on woman's part or the man's. The people whom you are introducing as lawyers have always misled our women. Today, the prisons are filled with our noble women and these lawyers have always undersigned and confirmed the Shah's crimes. Which one of these two groups is free and noble?

Q: [Which changes, in your opinion, are necessary to be made in the current status of women in the Iranian society? How do you think the Islamic government will change the status and situation of women? For example, the employment of women in governmental jobs or in different occupations such as medical practices, engineering, etc. and also some occasions including divorce, abortion, the right to travel and the compulsory observance of veil (*chador*).]

A: The disinformation campaign of the Shah and those who are employed by him have distorted the issue of freedom of women in a way that people think that Islam has come to merely confine the women to the four walls of their houses. Why should we be against women's education? Why should we be against women's employment? Why shouldn't women hold governmental positions? Why should we be against women's traveling? Women are free in all these affairs as men are. There is no difference between men and women.

That is right, women should have *hijab* [Islamic dress code], but their *hijab* should not necessarily be a veil [*chador*]. They can choose any kind of clothes that covers them. We cannot and Islam does not want us to make dolls of women. Islam intends to preserve the dignity of the women and make them efficient and serious human beings. We will never let the men to use women as a doll for their caprices and whims. Islam prohibits abortion and women can procure the right to take divorce in their marriage contract. No law or school has given as much freedom and respect to women as Islam has.

Q: [What would be the programs of the Islamic government to industrialize and reconstruct Iran? How would the Islamic government procure its required technology? How would it train its experts and scientists?]

A: In our programs for industrializing Iran we will no longer turn to assembly lines. We will create mother industries and reconstruct Iran in the best possible manner. Of course, one should not expect us to do all these as soon as the Shah has left Iran. Because the Shah has thoroughly ruined Iran and Iran has turned it into a war-stricken country, in order to repair all these and create industries we need more time. We will procure our technological needs from whatever sources that is better for our country. We are not short of professional specialists. Thousands of Iranian specialists in different fields of science are now living in foreign countries. They have left Iran due to the Shah's atrocities and oppressions and also due to the lack of scientific-industrial programs and are working for foreign institutes. As soon as the Shah has left Iran, most of them will come back to Iran.

Q: [If the Islamic government of Iran severs its relations with Israel as a country that oppresses the people, don't you think that you should be then obliged to end your relations with some Arab countries for the same reason?]

A: We are against any country that oppresses the people, no matter if this country is in the East or in the West. Israel has seized the people's rights and we are against it. Moreover, Israel is the greatest supporter of the Shah and is in charge of the SAVAK propaganda. So, Israel is an accomplice of the Shah and SAVAK in their crimes.

Q: [What is your opinion about the armed guerrilla groups such as Mujahidin Organization or other organizations such as the Organization of the People's Devotee Guerrillas [Fadai-e Khalq]? Is the time ripe to wage an armed struggle against the Shah, SAVAK and the Army?]

A: We hope that we would defeat the Shah without using weapons. But if the Shah continues his crimes, we will consider an armed struggle against him.

Q: You have threatened to stop the sale of oil to the countries that continue their support for the Shah. Is this threat limited to the time that Shah holds power in Iran?]

A: The referendum of *TasuA* and *Ashura* proved once again that the Shah is virtually dethroned. The Islamic government will stop the sale of oil to any country that has supported the Shah from that day onwards and will abrogate all other contracts that have been signed after the Shah's departure. But regarding the contracts that are signed with the regime before the Shah's departure, we will study them and if they were not detrimental to the interests of our country, we will accept them, otherwise they will be rejected.

Q: [It is said that the Shah's land reforms have caused a loss to the clerics who are the second greatest landowners (quoted by the *New York Times*, December 11). And this is one of the reasons of your opposition to the Shah. Do you confirm this? Before 1963, what percentage of farmlands was owned by the clergymen? Will the clergymen take charge of these lands after the Shah's departure? What system of governmental agriculture do you confirm? Will mechanized agriculture take the place of manual farming? If it is so, how would you procure your required farming machines?]

A: Overall, none of the clerics who were against Shah were among the great landlords to have been affected by the land reforms. And I have announced that since the great landlords have not paid their Islamic taxes, we will not take back the lands that have been given to the farmers. Other clerics and I are not against the Shah for this reason. This is also propaganda of the Shah that has lost its effect. We will mechanize our farming and agriculture and the Islamic government should provide the farmers with whatever they need in its best quality. If a proper cultivation system is created in Iran, in the near future we will become one of the exporters of foodstuff. We were one of the exporters of foodstuff before the US-sponsored land reforms, which brought Iran under the control of the United States. If proper principles of farming are implemented in Iran, one or two provinces of Iran can provide the required foodstuff of all the country and the rest can be exported. But, today Iran imports most of its foodstuff. In order to mechanize our farming, we will import the farming machines from those countries whose farming machines are cheaper and better in quality and durability. In the Islamic government, Iran will maintain its economic independence.

Q: [Is the United States at war with Iran? Do you expect the military forces of the US and Soviet Union to interfere in Iran's affairs?]

A: We are almost fighting with the US in Iran. The United States does not want to understand the fact that a nation has risen and does not want the Shah any longer. Why does the United States increase the venom of the Iranians against itself by trying to preserve the Shah? We never agree with the interference of US and Soviet forces. Just as the United States, the Soviet Union too has always supported the Shah and we never let it interfere. The military interference of foreign countries in Iranian affairs is almost impossible.

Q: [Both the US and French governments have warned you not to talk about the domestic affairs of Iran and have accused you of calling Iran to violence. And have threatened you that they will banish you from their country, if you continue your activities. How would you assess these threats?]

A: The United States and France have no right to warn us or to interfere in the domestic affairs of Iran. I intend to fight the Shah's dictatorship to my last gasp, and I will not stop to do so even for a moment.

Q: [You and Mr. Carter made harsh and biting statements against each other. You have called him the most sinful and violator of human rights (*Le Monde*, October 13, 1978), and he has accused you of making uncontrolled remarks from a foreign country and encouraging violence and bloodshed in Iran. This very matter requires pondering and he hopes that you will stop making such remarks after the month of Muharram (Carter's press conference, December 13, 1978). How would you assess your relations with President Carter? How would you assess your relations with the American nation?]

A: Is the US really a supporter of human rights? Or, the issue is capitalized upon as a slogan so that he is elected as the US president? Or, it is a slogan against a few Soviet Union's prisoners? Is Carter a supporter of human rights, while the Shah, his traitor quisling in Iran, is causing bloodbath in Iran and the US supports him? Does he not know or see the Shah's unlimited massacre in Iran? Probably, Mr. Carter considers the defense of these criminals who acquit the criminals throughout history a defense of human rights. Prior to this too Carter had said that the US interests have priority to human rights. Now are we—who say that these massacres should be stopped and the Shah must leave Iran so that the Iranians can take charge of their own fate—shedding blood? The world should judge. Has not the time come for

Carter to give up supporting the Shah and staining his hands with the blood of the innocent, defenseless people of Iran? I have no relations with Mr. Carter and in fact I have no relations with any president or head of state. I want the American nation to take measures in support of the oppressed Iranian people as soon as possible and to ask Mr. Carter and the US administration to cease supporting the Shah which provokes the world public opinion against the American nation. The US support for the Shah's regime is not in the interest of the American nation.

Q: [Have you had any kind of experience in your life, on whose basis you have accepted the leadership and undertaken an active role in the political arena? Do you not think that being the symbol of the Iranian people is a heavy load on your shoulders?]

A: Since you consider religion and politics two separate issues, you think that when a cleric gets involved in politics, he has quitted his previous job and has undertaken a new occupation, while Islam contains both political and devotional issues and its political issues are even more than the devotional ones. I have been following the Shah's crimes during his reign until the time came to rise and fight against him. I started my campaign against the Shah over 15 years ago and always reflected the will of the people that is to overthrow the Pahlavi dynasty, the monarchical system of the Shah and definitely to establish an Islamic government. And that is natural, for when the people saw that I was reflecting their will, they turned to me.

Q: [What is your opinion about the National Front?]

A: We have no positive opinion toward it, but at the same time I have not rejected it.

Q: [What is your opinion about Bakhtiyar's endeavors to form a cabinet?]

A: I think that he will not succeed.

Q: [Won't you acknowledge his cabinet, even if it is a provisional cabinet?]

A: No.

Q: [Do you think it probable that an alliance will be formed between the clerics and the army to overthrow the Shah?]

A: It is probable, but I don't know whether it has been formed or not. But the army will join us at last.

Q: [Are those who are to be elected in an Islamic government all religious leaders? Or others, regardless of their political and religious affiliations, will be elected as well?]

A: These people should be religious and honest, or national figures who are religious at the same time. But about the non-Muslims or religious minorities, they have their own votes and will elect their representatives on the basis of these votes.

Q: [Will the future government grant religious and political freedoms to the Bahais?]

A: Freedom will not be granted to those who are harmful to the country's interests.

Q: [Won't they be granted religious freedom?]

A: No.

Interview

Date: December 28, 1978 [Dey 7, 1357 AHS / Muharram 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Some aspects of private life

Interviewer: A reporter of the French newspaper *Friday, Saturday, Sunday*

Q: [Would you please elaborate on some aspects of your private life since 1963?]

A: My private life is similar to that of the other people. I am a seminarian like the other students of theological schools.

Q: [How did you spend the years when you were not in Iran?]

A: I was living in exile in Turkey for a period of one year, and then was exiled to Najaf. I was in Iraq for 14 years and now I am here for the time being. During this time, besides teaching religious lessons, from time to time I informed the people of the Shah's crimes through delivering speeches or sending messages. I was not silent even for one second during this period of time.

Q: [How did you choose France as a place to stay in? And how did you choose this particular place (house) to reside in?]

A: I intended to go to Syria from Kuwait in the beginning. However, despite having a visa, the government did not allow me to enter the country and announced that they felt they were endangered. They even said that it was dangerous to allow me to go to the airport. Therefore, I came here, to a country that did not have such problems. And if I can continue my divine activities in another Islamic country, I will go there. There was no particular reason for coming to France.

Q: [What were the conditions of the French government for your residence here?]

A: The French government has set no conditions for me to stay in France and I will accept no condition to the detriment of the Iranian nation. Of course, in the beginning, they prevented me from holding interviews, but this problem was solved later.

Q: [What is and how is your daily program?]

A: I work over 16 hours a day. The nature of my work is quite different from what I was doing in Najaf. Interviews, discussions, occasional speeches, reading the reports that are compiled by some people, and reading the letters and telegraphs that are received and answering some of them, are my daily tasks.

Q: [How do you send your messages to Iran?]

A: Through telephone or through the people for the time being.

Q: [How do the reporters receive these messages?]

A: The situation in Iran is such that it has attracted not only the reporters, but also the common people. How is it possible for a reporter to follow the developments in Iran, while he does not receive the messages?

Q: [Do you answer all your letters every day?]

A: I answer them if necessary.

Q: [Do you have contacts with the people in Neauphle-le-Château to know what is going on in this little town?]

A: Some of them have come here.

Q: [Do you think that you will ever go back to Iran?]

A: I will go to Iran whenever I deem it appropriate. I do not care about the place. What is important is to fight against cruelty. Where it is more appropriate for this struggle, I will be there.

Decree

Date: December 29, 1978 [Dey 8, 1357 AHS / Muharram 28, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Appointment of a five-member committee for the oil regions

Addressee: Mahdi Bazargan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Muharram 28, 1399 AH

Honorable Dr. Mahdi Bazargan:

Greetings and salutations; as you are informed, in order to cooperate and assist the struggles of the Muslim nation of Iran and to prevent the export of Iranian oil, the respected workers and employees of the oil company have gone on strike, but the usurping and illegal military government is out to break the strikes through its savage attack, force and intimidation to continue the plunder of oil. Also despite the fact that oil and oil products are being produced for domestic consumption, their distribution inside the country are prevented and attempts are made to put more pressure on the people to create more hardship for them. In order to confront such plans of the usurping government and also to meet the people's needs, the materialization of the following conditions is necessary:

1. The security and military forces should evacuate the oil regions and centers, not interfere in such affairs and refrain from intimidating the employees.

2. Oil and oil products should be produced only as much as they are needed for domestic consumption and their exports be completely stopped until the collapse of the illegal regime.

3. The army and the military personnel do not have any right to hoard the oil products, which are produced for domestic consumption and such acts must be prevented.

Given the above issues, it is exigent that you—having great experience and a good record in the management of the gigantic oil industries—appoint a five-member committee, consisting of His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani, Honorable Engineer Mustafa Katirai and

¹ In the *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date has been given as November 29 and December 29, 1978 [Azar 8 and Dey 8, 1957 AHS]. The latter is correct.

two other persons of your choice in consultation with the gentlemen. The committee, under your supervision, should visit the oil regions and supervise the production of oil in the light of the materialization of the abovementioned conditions. While imparting the gratitude of the Iranian nation to the laborious workers and respected employees to them, invite some of them to resume their work and resume the oil production for the domestic consumption. Mention the above conditions to the employees and workers and if the usurping government violates any of the said conditions, the flow of oil should be completely stopped and they should join the other strikers. And thus the usurping, illegal government will be held responsible for the consequences of the severance of the flow of oil. The management of the oil industry is expected to render its sincere and all-out cooperation with the committee in this vital and significant task.

I beseech the Almighty God for the independence and glory of the country and success of the nation in attaining freedom and independence. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: December 31, 1978 [Dey 10, 1357 AHS / Safar 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran's situation in 1979; foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Interviewer: A reporter of the Beirut-based Lebanese English-language weekly

Q: [How do you predict Iran's situation in 1979?]

A: What is quite certain is the fact that the situation in Iran will not become quiet, except by the overthrow of the Shah's government, elimination of the monarchical regime and the establishment of an Islamic government. Today, despite the hellish military power of the Shah, it is the Iranian nation who has the power in their hands, and for the same reason, they have always made the Iranian ruling regime and its supporters withdraw step by step. And by the grace of the Almighty God, they will witness more glorious victories during the next months.

Q: [In your opinion, under what circumstances a compromise with the Shah will become probable? For example, would you accept that through an amendment to the Constitution, Shah remains the head of the state as a symbol, like the kind in the United Kingdom?]

A: First of all, compromising with a criminal figure like Shah is a betrayal to Islam and the Iranian nation. Secondly, in the *TasuA* and *Ashura* referendum, the Iranians almost unanimously condemned the Shah and his monarchical system and called for the establishment of an Islamic Republic. Therefore, no one has any right to compromise with the ousted Shah, or to accept the principles of monarchy, no matter if Muhammad Rida Pahlavi holds the position or someone else. And for the same reason, since the Constitution recognizes monarchy as the political system of Iran and the Iranian nation is against monarchical system, therefore, the Constitution is invalid and a new constitution should be written.

Q: [Would you accept Shah's abdication in favor of his son?]

A: No one from the Pahlavi dynasty is accepted by the nation. They cannot interfere in Iran's affairs, neither as a king, nor in any other governmental position.

Q: [Do you think that these incidents in Iran will spill over to Turkey?]

A: Iran's holy movement is an Islamic movement, and therefore, there is no wonder if all the Muslims in the world are influenced by it.

Q: [Which country, in your opinion, will help you in your struggle to overthrow the Shah?]

A: The Iranian nation, with its strong will, has risen just relying on God, and is not dependent on any government; and will overthrow the Shah and maintain its independence, God willing. But the duty of the Islamic governments in the first place, and the other countries that intend to have friendly relations with Iran, is to help the oppressed and heroic Iranian nation in attaining their objectives. But no country has yet defended the Iranian nation.

Q: [How would you, as the leader of the opposition, describe your current relations with the following figures and governments: (1) Carter administration; (2) Russian government; (3) Chinese government; (4) Iraqi government; (5) Oil-producing Arab countries; (6) Sadat; (7) Israel; and (8) Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian movement?]

A: The US president with his all-out supports for the Shah and his many insulting remarks when referring to the Iranian nation is now among the enemies of Iran. The Soviet Union, although not as much as the US, has not only refrained from condemning the Shah to date, but has supported him and has not refrained from distorting Iran's holy Islamic movement. The Chinese head of state shamelessly passed through the dead bodies of our people and praised the Shah for his progressive measures at his palace.¹ Under the pressure of the Shah, the Iraqi government will prohibit any kind of activity in its territory that is in the interests of the Iranian nation. And about Sadat, I should say that he is ostracized by the Islamic and Arab world for many measures he has taken against the interests of the Muslims, the Arab countries and the Palestinians. According to Islam, the Muslims and all international norms Israel is considered an invader and occupier and we will not spare any effort and will miss no opportunity to put an end to its invasions. And in different appropriate opportunities, I have supported the measures taken by Yasir Arafat in restoring the rights and territories of the Palestinians.

¹ Hua Kuo-feng (the then Premier of the People's Republic of China) came to Tehran a few days after the massacre of hundreds of people on the Bloody Friday (September 8) and in a meeting with Muhammad Rida praised him for his measures.

Q: [Would you support a non-military government headed by Karim Sanjabi,¹ as the premier, in order to solve the current crisis in Iran?]

A: No solution is acceptable as long as the Shah is in power.

Q: [Is your invitation to strike in the oil industry indefinite or is it until the Shah leaves Iran?]

A: Till the Shah relinquishes power. Shah gave our oil to the US without any license in order to strengthen his position and bought US-made weapons that were of no use to the Iranian nation. Actually, thus far oil has been the mainstay of the Shah's government. I have ordered to stop the export of oil and this strike will continue till the Shah leaves Iran. Then we will sell our oil to any country we wish.

Q: [Under which circumstances—if this proposition is logical in your opinion—will the Shah's army fight against him?]

A: Currently, according to the reports, the opposition of the soldiers and officers with the Shah and their disobedience of the commands of the commanders are increasing every day. Many of them have killed their commanders and those who have remained in the army do not at all agree with the Shah's massacre. And naturally the Shah will lose the hopes he had pinned on the army.

¹ Mr. Karim Sanjabi (leader of the National Front) held a meeting with the Shah at the peak of the Revolution. They could not reach an agreement on the premiership of Sanjabi.

Dialogue

Date: December 1978 [Dey 1357 AHS / Safar 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Possibility of attaining freedom and the future of the movement

Addressee: A French writer

[French writer: I am a combatant French writer and have fought against Fascism, colonialism and imperialism for several years. I have always been with the oppressed people, and have supported them. I have studied all the revolutions in the world, particularly the French Revolution. I have come to the conclusion that any revolution that goes half of the way and fails to continue its way is doomed to death. I respect you very much, and the reason for my deep respect for you is your persistence in your struggle against the Shah. I believe that this struggle should be continued without any compromise. This is the reason for my respect for you. But I have two questions to ask you. Considering the fact that the US, China and the Soviet Union that support the Shah, have all besieged Iran, do you think that there is any hope for Iran's freedom from all these superpowers?]

Imam: We rely on the nation and its power. No one can misguide a nation who has started a movement. And no power can suppress a nation. Of course these powers can attack and massacre the people, but they cannot mislead or divert a nation from its will. And our nation has reached a point in which all the people have risen against the oppression and against this regime. The superpowers cannot suppress this uprising. Moreover, the Iranian nation is calling for something, about which all the peoples in the world are unanimous; that is, freedom and independence. The superpowers cannot impose their own wills on the emotions of all the peoples in the world. We hope that as we are right and as the entire nation has risen against the regime, we will overcome all the superpowers.

[French writer: Ayatullah, you are a religious power. While you and we are hoping that the Shah's regime will be overthrown, how would it be possible for you, as a religious leader, or your followers to succeed the Shah's regime with a political power?]

Imam: I and my cleric associates do not intend to succeed the current regime, but we do have some people in Iran and foreign countries who are efficient thinkers and scientists in all fields and we intend to make them the

successors of the regime. Those who are in Iran or abroad can rule over the country provided that they are on the side of the nation. Therefore, there would be no problem in this regard.

[French writer: Thank you so much for granting me the permission for such a meeting and dialogue.]

Imam: I do also thank you. And I hope that a writer such as you, having studied the revolutions of the world, particularly the French Revolution, through using your pen and writing ability will help the oppressed nation of Iran, who are after the vindication of their rights by their revolution. Please pray to God for the victory of the Iranian nation.

Interview

Date: December 31, 1978 [Dey 10, 1357 AHS / Safar 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Characteristics of the Islamic Republic

Addressees: Claude Chaiye (?) (Special envoy of the Elysee Palace) and Jacques Robert (political director and in charge of the Middle Eastern and Iranian affairs of the French Foreign Ministry and head of its consular affairs)¹

[**Claude Chaiye:** In the early days of Your Eminence's stay in France, we called on you and have already told you that there is no problem for your further stay in France.]

Imam: Thank you.

[**Claude Chaiye:** Your Eminence has not forgotten that in the previous session you explained the outlines of the ongoing movement in Iran and in a meeting with the authorities, I informed them of the objectives of the movement. However, although we notice the fact that these issues presented by your Eminence are related to the domestic affairs of Iran, we have come to bring to your notice the very point that we have always paid attention to these issues and pay attention to them now. The previous conditions are changing so fast and move forward and we do not believe that much attention should be paid to these issues. My colleague, who is much more efficient than I, has come with me this time to inform your Eminence of these very points. I here intend to attract your attention to the point that the French foreign minister pays particular attention to this case and that he has sent this person to meet you.]

Jacques Robert: I thank you for admitting us and intend to draw your attention to the point that as Monsieur Chaiye said, we do not intend to interfere in Iran's domestic affairs, but that the objective behind this conversation and talks is to get more information. The French government is interested to know what is going on in the world, and naturally to act independently on its policy. We deem this information necessary for our independent policy. We have longstanding love for the Iranian people. In the Foreign Ministry, I am in charge of the Middle Eastern and Iranian affairs.

¹ The meeting took place a few days after some of the French parliament members had questions about the continuation of Imam's stay in France. Meanwhile Imam's three-month visa was going to expire and he had to renew his three-month tourist visa.

The serious problems of the past few months in Iran have attracted our attention. Your unquestionable influence in Iran has caused us to call on you and ask a few questions in this regard. The first question is regarding your general analysis of the Iranian affairs, particularly regarding the Bakhtiyar government and the possibility of the formation of a Royal Council.]

Imam: We have frequently said that we, and the nation, will not tolerate the Royal Council and the Shah. All our miseries stem from the Shah and the monarchical regime. Bakhtiyar, like his predecessors, will be in power for a few days and will have to go.

[**Jacques Robert:** Do you mean that even the Shah's travel abroad is not the solution?]

Imam: No.

[**Jacques Robert:** Do you mean [the Shah's] complete resignation?]

Imam: Complete resignation! Even now he is dismissed. Resignation is not the issue. We did not consider him legal from the very beginning and now the entire nation has voted for his dismissal. The people do not want the monarchical regime; all have rejected it; monarchy is against our law.

[**Jacques Robert:** What we have understood from the beginning of this crisis is that the monarchical regime is based on the Constitution of 1906 and is the continuation of the former regime. The main problem is the lack of the implementation of the law, which puts the religious power at the top. Has this been changed?]

Imam: According to an article of the constitution the monarchy and all other regimes should be approved by the people. The regime without the approval of the people does not have any base. Currently, the entire nation neither wants the Shah nor the monarchical system; rather, they want the republic (Islamic Republic).

[**Jacques Robert:** Therefore the issue is not the reign of this or that dynasty; what will replace the monarchy in this constitution will be the republic—the Islamic Republic. Would you please give some explanation about this “Republic” and “Islamic”?]

Imam: The principle of republican system is what exists in your country as well, that is determined by the people's votes. We say Islamic because our constitution will be based on it [Islam]. We will review the current constitution and will accept what is in congruence with Islam and reject what

is in contradiction with it. It is republican, that is, it is democratic; it is Islamic, that is, its law is Islamic.

[Jacques Robert: Except the president, do you intend to have a parliament, parties and interaction of the parties?]

Imam: Yes, all of them will be there.

[Jacques Robert: Will the change be like in France?]

Imam: Yes, it is so, but our law will be Islam.

[Jacques Robert: Suppose the Shah has gone; under such circumstances, will the power be in the hands of the religious figures or those who are acknowledged by the religious figures during the transitional period until the elections are held?]

Imam: In the hands of those, who will be appointed by us, and they are the ones to be appointed by a council.

[Jacques Robert: I am sorry for the current situation in Iran. Our last question is about the role of the army. What is your opinion? Will you preserve it? Is religious power compatible with the army?]

Imam: Basically, we are not against the army. Every country needs an army. The army should be purged. Some people are utilitarian and are treacherous. But others are serving the motherland and must be preserved. Of course, the army with its extensive size which swallows the lion's share of the country's budget will not be tolerable.

[Jacques Robert: In this trip (the trip of the French Foreign Minister to the neighboring countries of Iran), we had gone to the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf. They are extremely concerned about the situation in Iran and think that Iran's instability will disturb the entire region. When King Hussein came to France, he was concerned about this problem, perhaps even Hafiz Asad is concerned about the future events. It is interesting to know what will happen to the stability of the region in the future in the Ayatullah's viewpoint. Given its importance for the world and Iran's weight in the region and in the world, how will you preserve Iran's stability?]

Imam: Iran's stability will be preserved better in the absence of the Shah. The Shah's presence has caused instability and has ruined Iran's national, political, and social aspects. All these must be mended. With regard to the regional stability, Iran will not be the gendarme of the region to maintain the

security of the region for the sake of others' interests. However, Iran will cooperate with other countries of the region to maintain peace and security.

[Jacques Robert: One of the countries in its talks with us expressed its concern that the recent developments may lead to the disintegration of Iran. Is such a thing possible?]

Imam: These are Shah's propaganda and futile attempts. It is a lie. The fact is that such a development is never possible and it is not true.

[Jacques Robert: The question is that the Soviet Union, the great world power, is your northern neighbor and has signed the 1921 Treaty with you on the basis of which they can send their forces to Iran, if another country dispatches its forces to Iran or if some forces approach the Iranian borders and pose a threat to the Soviet Union. Given that the Soviets are speaking of this treaty and the Americans have brought their warships to the Persian Gulf, these questions come to the fore.]

Imam: The basis of this treaty with the Soviet Union is illegal; the issue itself will not be materialized either. It is not that one of these would allow the other to enter. When the movement is created, you must accept all its aspects.

[Jacques Robert: The French government is against the war of the superpowers.]

Imam: We are also opposed to it.

[Jacques Robert: Some measures are being taken by the developing and developed countries. Some measures are being taken—in the UN and other levels—and we are also among them. All the foreigners residing in Tehran are worried about the future; that is, whether these relations will continue? What will happen? Some religious minorities, particularly the Jews, have expressed their concern. What is your opinion?]

Imam: After the establishment of the Islamic Republic, these treaties will be studied. What will be acceptable and in our interests will be accepted. The foreigners and minorities are all respectable. The religious minorities are respected in Islam, they enjoy freedom. Bear in mind that they will continue their lives better. The representative of the Jews came here and I assured him that they will be treated respectfully.

Speech

Date: December 31, 1978 [Dey 10, 1357 AHS / Safar 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Unrighteous Pahlavi government; righteous nation needs a righteous ruler

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*

Well-being of nations dependent on suitability of the governing body

The wretchedness or well being of nations depends on certain factors, one of the most important of which is the suitability of the governing body. If the governing body, if those people in whose hands the destiny of a country lies, are corrupt, they will drag the country into corruption and turn it, in all its dimensions, toward putridity and destruction.

You will note that throughout these fifty years—and I myself have actually lived through this period and am witness to what went on at this time—when the person who headed the country, albeit illegally, was a corrupt person, it followed that most of those who formed the parliaments in Iran were unrighteous, unsuitable people. At the beginning, a number were righteous and suitable (for their role), but they were in the minority.

After the parliaments came the governments whose role it was to take the destiny of a country in their hands, but in this case the governments were unsuitable (for such a role). Following them came those who headed the departments and offices, who held control of the destiny of a department in their hands, most of them were unbecoming for such a position. A sound, healthy country cannot be created by people who are unrighteous and unworthy of their position.

Orchestrated arrests!

There have been people who have held sensitive posts, such as those of prime minister or head of the security organization, throughout the whole of these past fifteen years of the movement. After doing whatever they wanted for fifteen years, they have now been arrested. The head of the security organization has also been arrested for offences committed during these

fifteen years!¹ He (the Shah) has also had the man who was the prime minister for these fifteen years arrested for thievery and committing other offences!² After all this time, even the Shah himself has now come forward and confessed that he broke the law! The people of this regime are now confessing. Even the Shah himself has come forward and said he made mistakes. They themselves have had the head of the security organization, who has committed acts of aggression against the people of this country for the past fifteen years, arrested for embezzling money and breaking the law. They themselves have had the prime minister, who for nearly fifteen years governed this country, arrested on one charge or another. If they are given a reprieve, then in another fifteen years' time they will be having those presently occupying posts arrested.

An incompetent governing body

Rectitude in a governing body and in the people who hold sensitive posts will create righteousness in the society. If the governing body, and, likewise, those in whose hands the destiny of the country lies—such as those who are in charge of the army, those who are the heads of the army—were virtuous people worthy of their positions, then we would not be in the mess we are in today and I wouldn't be sitting here speaking for you and you wouldn't be spending your time here. The reason why I stopped doing what I normally do, which is carrying out religious studies, and came here, is that we did not have a righteous government, a righteous force was not in control, and they (the Shah and his regime) dragged the country to the brink of non-existence, destroying everything that was found to hold hope (for the country). They did away with Islamic laws; they destroyed our agrarian economy; most of the country's banks were guilty of malfeasance; the ministries were in the hands of unrighteous people; the parliaments were all false; rubber-stamp parliaments whose MPs were not the representatives of the people.

We came here—of course in the beginning it was not my intention to come here (to France), however, because of the perverseness of those in the government, who later realized that this had not been a wise move on their part and regretted it, this was the way things turned out—to spread our message abroad, to make those here understand what has been troubling us (the people of Iran) and what kind of people form these governments who are presently supporting the Shah. We want to make them see what kind of

¹ It refers to Gen. Nimatullah Nasiri, the head of the National Information and Security Organization (SAVAK) from 1965-1978.

² It refers to Amir Abbas Hoveyda, the Shah's Prime Minister.

perverse-minded people they are, just what kind of people they are when they don't give a thought to how a population of thirty-odd million are being destroyed at the hands of this Shah and his regime. Now that everything has fallen apart and nothing is left for the Shah, now that everyone has left him alone in his state of fear, these superpowers are still supporting him. Some of these superpowers still continue to support him, but it is as if they are supporting a dead man! He is beyond support.

Lack of legitimate laws and parliaments in Pahlavi period

Not one of the laws which have been passed during these past fifty years, nor one of the parliaments which have been formed during this period, has conformed to constitutional laws. Up until the present time, we have not had one parliament that was formed according to the law. Only in the beginning of Rida Khan's reign, when his power was not so great, and only in Tehran, which was the capital, were the people given freedom, a limited freedom, to choose their parliamentary representatives. Consequently, it was the representatives from Tehran, such as the late Mudarris and a number of others who were his followers, who put up opposition. In the other cities, the regime itself selected the representatives, prepared the votes for the people and put them in the ballot boxes! Everything was in the hands of the regime, in the hands of the governors of these areas, the army men or police there, all of whom were agents of the regime. At night, they created votes for the people of their choice and filled the ballot boxes with them. From the very beginning, we have never had a parliament all members of which were the nation's choice and wanted to do something about the destiny of our country or could tell the difference between the interests of the state and corruption. My memory stretches back to the early days of Pahlavi rule, whereas you only have recollections of what has gone on in this more recent period. Indeed, you only need to know what went on during this period to know what went on in the former, it's the same story! You will find the same things are being said about the Senate, the Consultative Assembly and the government today, all of the people in them are usurpers; all of them should be put on trial.

Deputies appointed by embassies!

The first objection which must be raised against the parliamentary deputies is we must ask them why, when they knew that the nation played no role in the elections, did they enter parliament? Why, when they knew that those appointed were the choice of America or Russia or other powers like

them, did they enter parliament? The Shah himself admits that a list of candidates used to be sent (from some foreign embassies), but now he has the fanciful notion that this is no longer the case! [The audience laughs]. He now admits that in his father's time, and in the early days of his own rule, embassies would send a list determining who were to be our representatives! He now confirms this, he confesses that this took place, but he now tries to give himself some prestige by claiming that this is not the case nowadays!¹ Very well, let us suppose that this is so, nevertheless a little earlier on in his rule this was the case! What he is saying then, in actual fact, is that at one time, that is before he carried out what he calls his "White Revolution" and became a power to beat all powers (!), a list was sent from the foreign embassies and he gave in to their wishes! So he is confessing that he was in actual fact a traitor to this country from the beginning! He was someone who wanted to keep his position while at the same time acting treacherously. For does it not constitute betraying the nation when he accepts a list from the American, British or Russian embassies, imposes it on his government and forces it to accept those named therein as representatives? Is this not a betrayal of the country? Is this not a betrayal of the constitutional law? The first objection we have to your (the Shah's) rule is that you came and sat on the throne calling yourself "Imperial Majesty" and proclaiming that you must do everything yourself, yet, as you yourself have confessed, you took these lists and acted in accordance with the orders of foreigners. Does this not constitute treachery? Do you have any justification for this treason? You could have stepped down; you could have stepped down saying that you would not perpetrate such a treacherous act. When they got rid of Ahmad Shah, it was because he refused to sign an agreement that they put before him on the table during a social gathering while he was on a trip abroad.² From that moment on, the basis for the plan to get rid of him and put Rida Shah in his place was laid, for they deemed Ahmad Shah to be no longer of any use to them because he would not sign their agreement. You too could have refused to sign the agreement. Would it have cost you more than your position? Someone who betrays a nation for the sake of preserving his position is not fit to reign and was not so from the beginning. He deposed himself at the start. If we ever agreed to a monarchical system we most certainly did not agree that he should be the monarch.

So now he has become powerful and is standing up to Russia, Britain, America and the others. They no longer bring the list from the embassies, rather you yourself prepare it and you yourself supply the names of those who are to be made parliamentary representatives. Does this make them the nation's representatives?! Does not this action of yours constitute a betrayal of the country? Is it not a betrayal of the constitutional law? If this is how the parliament is going to be formed, either on the orders of the embassies or the orders of the Shah and his regime, it makes no difference which, then it will not be a true parliament; it will not be a national parliament; it will not be a national consultative assembly. The meaning of national consultative assembly is that the nation freely appoints its representatives who then sit in

¹ 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."

² It refers to the infamous agreement negotiated by the British Foreign Secretary at the time, Lord Curzon; Sir Percy Cox, then in charge of the British Legation in Iran; and three Iranian ministers: Wusuq ad-Dawlah, the Prime Minister; and Nusrat ad-Dawlah and Sarim ad-Dawlah the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Finance, respectively. The agreement was signed on August 9, 1919 and provided for the reorganization of the Iranian army and finances under British control and the construction of railways. In return, Britain was to lend Iran two million pounds. This agreement, which had never been ratified by Parliament because Parliament had never been summoned to consider it, met with strong opposition from Ahmad Shah who refused to sign it. In 1921, it was formally denounced by the government of Sayyid Diaud-Din Tabatabai established after the coup d'état led by Rida Khan earlier that year.

parliament conferring with one another about the affairs of the country. In our case though, the nation has had no part in the appointment of its representatives, thus this parliament is not a parliament of the nation, it is a rubber-stamp one, an illegal one. Whatever has come to pass in this parliament is illegal and any government which this parliament has supported in the past or will do in the future is illegal.

A corrupt Shah, government and parliament

When the people's destiny is not in their own hands, it is the Shah and his regime who appoint whomever they want. Such an unworthy person it is who has appointed them. One of the political personalities quoted a military figure as saying that this Shah is an expert in selecting the bad eggs! [The audience laughs]. He said that if only five corrupt people were to be found in the country, he (the Shah) would put his finger on every one of them and would choose them! This is because he himself is a corrupt person. A corrupt person cannot introduce a virtuous prime minister. A corrupt person cannot endorse a virtuous parliament. For if the parliament were a virtuous one, it would prevent corruption, as it is the Shah himself is the origin of all corruption. If a virtuous prime minister or a virtuous government were in power, they would not listen to the words of a Shah who wanted to act

against the country's interests. When the head of the country is corrupt, he creates a corrupt government and a corrupt parliament. Consequently, the culture and education become corrupt, the army becomes corrupt, the economy becomes corrupt—all of this stems from the badness of that one man, it begins there. If that man, that person who believes himself to be in the top position, were a virtuous person, if he were someone who thought about the nation, someone who saw dependence on foreigners as shameful for himself, someone who was a Muslim, a Muslim who obeyed God's commands—for such a person should not subject himself to the will of foreigners or take commands from foreigners—if such a person were the head of state, he would ameliorate the whole country.

The whole of our country, however, has been plunged into corruption, because he who, according to their laws, should appoint the prime minister, is a corrupt person. He appoints someone who thinks like he does. He cannot install a suitable person in this position, because he would oppose his ideas. He would put an end to his thieving!

Such a person cannot create and support a correct educational system; for this would be in opposition to the designs he has in mind. If we had a correct educational system, we wouldn't be in the state we are in today. They do not allow our country to be reformed in any area. And everything stems from the man at the top. America gave a mission to a person, a "mission for his country"! What an apt name the Shah chose for his book "Mission for my Country"; how true! America gave him a mission for his country: to get it into the state you see it in at present.

Massacres a consequence of the rule of the unrighteous

Today, they informed me that this man has killed people once again in Tehran, in Khorasan and goodness knows where else. The Shah and his regime have fallen upon the people and are slaughtering them. This wretch, even at the end as he breathes his last breath, as he is set to leave, will not be satisfied until he has perpetrated other massacres. This is what happens when those in whose hands the destiny of a country lies are people who are not worthy of their position, when the parliamentary representatives are not fit to have such a position. Indeed, representatives whom the Shah appoints cannot be people full of the milk of human kindness! They cannot be virtuous people. If the choice were up to the people, they would choose righteous people to represent them in parliament, for this is what they want. If the people were free to choose, they would appoint someone whom they knew to be a good, virtuous man. They wouldn't go for bad people; he who does is

himself a bad person. Bad after bad, that is to say a bad ruler's ability to exploit depends on his having bad agents working for him, for were his agents good people, he would not be able to carry out his plans. Without bad agents, orders which stem from his own desires and are for his own gain or that of foreigners would not be carried out. Consequently, a bad ruler chooses bad people, unrighteous people, to work for him. He selects unrighteous people and puts them in the parliament, and naturally an unrighteous parliament will vote for an unrighteous government. Small wonder then that a parliament and a government are formed which do not work for the interests of our country; it can be no other way.

Nothing can be bettered until the basis, until that top position is reformed, or, in other words, until this dynasty is removed. These people have to go. Let them go and take their booty with them to that island they have recently bought! They have bought eight hectares of land there and have been provided with everything. All the family is there.¹ The Shah himself is now preparing to go there to continue to live what many see as his aristocratic life, but what in reality is his deathlike existence.²

¹ Here Imam may be referring to the Seychelles. As William Shawcross in his book *The Shah's Last Ride, the Fate of an Ally* on p. 17 notes: "The Shah had actually asked his twin sister, Ashraf, to leave the country—she was too much the symbol of the royal family's excesses. . . perhaps to Juan-les-Pins, perhaps to one of her two places in Manhattan, perhaps to her house on the Avenue Montaigne in Paris, perhaps to the house of her fabulously rich businessman son in London, or perhaps to his island in the Seychelles." The *Ittalaat* newspaper of January 16, 1978 [Dey 26, 1357 AHS] also wrote: "Yesterday, Faridah Diba, the mother of Farah, along with two of the Shah's young children, Ali Rida and Layla, and two prominent court officials left Iran for America on a military plane. . . Rumors are circulating in Los Angeles that negotiations are presently underway for the purchase in Acapulco (Mexico) of a villa for the Shah." Or perhaps the intention here is St. Moritz and the island of villas and palaces situated on the hills of this Swiss town which came into being when in 1967 the Shah bought a villa there and gradually bought adjacent dwellings and land. The Shah used to spend his annual winter holidays there while at the same time economic contracts, which were very profitable for foreign capitalists, were signed through the efforts of Hushang Ansari. In the period of troubled relations between the Shah and the Swiss authorities after a courier from the Iranian court was arrested in the international airport of this country on charges of drug smuggling, the Shah ordered the creation of facilities similar to those at St. Moritz to be established on the island of Kish along the Persian Gulf. Refer to *Az Sayyid Dia ta Bakhtiyar*, p. 607.

² Perhaps it is appropriate here to take a look at the last days of the Shah's life: The Shah left Iran on January 16, 1978 [Dey 26, 1357 AHS]. Initially, he wanted to go to America, but later he decided to reside temporarily in one of the regional countries. The Shah chose Jordan, but King Husayn, his old friend, did not accept him and he ended up going to Egypt on the invitation of Anwar Sadat to stay in Aswan, Egypt. The Shah's stay in Egypt was only short, five days in all, and on January 22 at the invitation of King Hasan of Morocco he flew to Morocco. During his stay there, the revolution in Iran achieved victory and King Hasan, upon seeing that the Shah no longer had a throne, began to act differently toward him and made it clear that he no longer wanted him in Morocco. The Shah had assumed that he would be in Morocco only a short time before moving on to the United States, but he was soon informed that the authorities there had changed their minds about letting him into the country and he would no longer be welcome. Consequently, he turned to his two influential friends Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller for help, but they too were unable to persuade the White House to stick to their previous promise that the Shah would be granted entry. They did, however, manage to arrange a sanctuary for him in Mexico. The Shah left Morocco and headed for the Bahamas, from where he later went on to Mexico. The trip to Mexico met with an unexpected complication and was only made possible through the intervention of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The light-blue imperial passports on which the Shah and his family had hitherto traveled had been made invalid by the government of the Islamic Republic, thus leaving the Shah and his family with no official passports! The Mexican authorities wanted to know what passports they would be traveling on. The Moroccans were unwilling to provide passports for the Shah and his family, because then the whole of his entourage would expect them too and all might use them to return to Morocco, which was something King Hasan most certainly did not wish. So there was an impasse. Farah thus turned to the UNHCR out of necessity, and it was with its help that they were able to go to Mexico. It was there that the Shah's illness began to flare up dangerously. His influential American friends finally managed to persuade the American authorities to allow him into the country for medical treatment. However, the Shah's presence in America caused a worsening of relations between Washington and Tehran. The revolutionaries within Iran seized the American embassy taking the diplomats, or in truth, the spies there hostage. Carter

The people are righteous and they want a righteous government

As long as the foundations of this regime remain and you are kept from taking the destiny of your country into your own hands and freely electing a leader for yourselves, nothing will change, for naturally, if the nation wants to find itself a president, it will not seek one out from the likes of Rida Khan or Muhammad Rida. The people will look for a righteous person, one who is of use to the country and will attend to their needs, as a matter of course.

immediately ordered the Shah to leave America; mortified, the Shah left and headed for Panama. It is written that the Shah spent some anxious days in Panama, added to by his illness which caused him great suffering. It is said that he was constantly in fear of being arrested and handed over to the new Iranian government. After spending only a short time in Panama, Anwar Sadat invited the Shah to return to Egypt. The Shah accepted his invitation, and, on his return there, Sadat placed the Kubbeh Palace, the most splendid of the palaces in Cairo, at his disposal in an attempt to lift his spirits. The Kubbeh Palace had once been home to King Faruk, the last of the Egyptian kings, and it was to this palace that the Shah in his youth had traveled to ask for the hand of Princess Fawziyyah, King Faruk's sister. And so it was that after eighteen months of fear and anxiety and of moving from one country to another in search of asylum, the Shah succumbed to his illness in Cairo. Fate had decreed that the Pharaoh of the Age should die and have his final resting place in the land of the Pharaohs. For more information on the Shah's last days, see William Shawcross, *The Shah's Last Ride, the Fate of an Ally*.

Again, naturally, when the president of a country is a righteous person, it follows that he will steer the country toward righteousness and virtue too. When he decides to form a governing body, he will naturally want righteous people for it. He will not seek the collaboration of thieves, for his aim will be to reform the country. He will seek out virtuous people to work with him to reform the country. When a virtuous government is in place, it follows that the people will be allowed to vote freely, and when that happens, they will select righteous people for the parliament. For not all the people are bad, the majority of them are good, virtuous individuals who want the good of the country. They want it to thrive, to enjoy a sound economy, and they pray for good, honest men to govern. It is only natural that when elections are free and safe from the interference of these unrighteous individuals, righteous people will enter parliament. And when this happens, a virtuous government will be formed, a virtuous president will take control, one who will not act against the interests of the country.

Things have to change at the top, one should begin there. Control of the country should be in the hands of someone who wants to serve the country, not someone who wants to serve his own pocket. The Shah and his regime have been serving their own pockets. You have seen the list that Melli Bank and some other banks published, but this does not tell the full story; this is only the half of it. There is much more that the banks do not know about. The sum of money which the Shah himself is said to have taken is apparently three billion! Three billion, seven hundred million and odd dollars!¹ And this

¹ Toward the end of 1978, notable sums of hard currency were transferred abroad in non-mercantile transactions from different banks in Iran. Employees of the Central Bank issued a list of the names of important figures attached to the court who were transferring money to banks outside Iran, along with the amount of money transferred. On this list, figures exceeding thirty million and reaching eight hundred million dollars stand out, and the names of ministers, senators, members of parliament, security forces personnel, governor-generals, army commanders, courtiers and people close to the Pahlavi family, among others, appear. In addition to this list, a handout was published in which the amount of money transferred abroad by people associated with the court was included. At the bottom of this handout it was written that seventeen credit transfers with diplomatic codes had been made to special accounts in banks in Switzerland, France and America to the sum of thirty billion, seven-hundred-and-fifty million rials belonging to the Shah. Here a few of those published figures which were over one hundred million dollars are mentioned. The people who had these exorbitant sums of money in their personal accounts also took a large number of expensive carpets, gold, antiques and other pricy goods which were part of their personal belongings, out of the country: Murad Ariyeh (merchant) 750 million dollars; Rahmani Kia (managing director) 530 million dollars; Rida Amini (minister of industry) 500 million dollars; Shafii Namazi (merchant) 500 million dollars; Husayn Namazi (merchant) 450 million dollars; Mahdi Shaybani (former governor-general) 450 million dollars; Misbah Zadeh (manager of *Kayhan* newspaper) 450 million dollars; Muhammad Ali MasUdi (senator) 450 million dollars; Admiral Ardalan (military industries) 400 million dollars; Amir Salih (owner of Qoo vegetable oil company) 350 million dollars; Qadimi Navai (contractor) 350 million dollars; Muzaffarian (merchant) 350 million dollars; Muhammad Ali Mahdawi (senator) 350 million dollars; Izzatullah Amili (ambassador in Belgium) 350 million dollars; Asadi 350 million dollars; Abd ar-Rida Ansari (imperial services) 350 million dollars; Jundaqi (MP) 300 million dollars; Ghiyathi (contractor) 250 million dollars; Sharif Imami (former PM) 250 million dollars; Esmali Nia (adviser to Hoveyda) 200 million dollars; Riyahi (the son of the Sheelat [fisheries] managing director) 160 million dollars; Dr. Kazimi (imperial services) 160 million dollars; Hasan Ali Mehran (minister of the economy) 155 million dollars; Hasan Hashimi (contractor) 150 million dollars; Partow Azam (imperial services) 150 million dollars; Bakhtiyar (contractor) 150 million dollars; Admiral Habibullahi (head of the navy forces) 150 million dollars; Amuzegar (ex-minister) 150 million dollars; Furuqi (minister of art and culture) 150 million dollars; General Azhari (PM) 170 million dollars.

is just the amount that he has sent out of the country recently! We do not know how much he has sent out in the past! You and I will probably never know.

We are asked what we want to do. This is our reply. We want the people of the country to have the authority to designate a president; we want the people of the country to give the authorization. What will be the outcome of this? Well, the citizens of a country are not the enemies of one another, so the result will be that the foreigners will not be able to bring all the people under their influence. The modus operandi of the foreigners is to put a thieving king to rule over the people, who then places a corrupt government over them and creates a corrupt parliament which puts corrupt people in charge of the departments and offices. Of course, there are many very virtuous people in the offices and departments, but some of them line their pockets, and when this happens, corruption sets in. We want none of this.

Consulting opinion polls

Our plan is to get the people's opinion through their votes. We will take control of elections out of the hands of the disciplinary forces and place it in the hands of the youth. In each city, when the disciplinary forces, the town and city police and the municipality have been pushed to one side, the youth will take over. It is the nation itself that should guard the polling boxes and take charge of other electoral matters. In each city, and according to the requirements of that city, some of the trustworthy people there, the knowledgeable and those who care for their country, should appoint a number of people to supervise the elections, to guard the polling boxes and oversee the voting. The people should be the ones who appoint someone as their president, and I too will make my choice known to the people so that, if

they wish, they may vote for the same person, if not they are free to choose someone else. When the people are free to choose, they will, inevitably, choose a righteous person; the vote of the people will not be erroneous. People do make mistakes, but thirty million do not. It may be that the wrong person is put in power, but if this is the case, then when he makes his first wrong move, this nation will depose him.¹ He will be finished. We say that we, the people, should appoint the country's head. Naturally, when a nation wants to appoint someone to determine the destiny of the country it will appoint an honest person, not a corrupt person. And, naturally, a population of thirty million people will not make the wrong choice.

When the time for the elections arrives, we will announce our choice for presidential candidate. We will search everywhere until we find a person suitable for the job, that is someone who is not a thief, someone who does not want to line his own pockets, someone who has proven himself and whom we know. We will put him forward (as a candidate), even if he is from the class of porters. As long as he is a sincere and a knowledgeable person, it does not matter if he is from the working class or if he is a third-class citizen. We will not go for an aristocrat, we seek a suitable person. When this suitable person takes up his position as leader of the country, he will bring a suitable government into being. He will not bring in the wrong government, a corrupt government. Parliamentary elections will be free, the people themselves will oversee them, and a national parliament will be brought into being which will have nothing to do with the Russian embassy, nothing to do with the British embassy and nothing to do with the American embassy, it will be one that will support the interests of neither the one nor the other. We will create such a parliament, God willing [The audience says God willing].

Once such a parliament has been created, then naturally when a matter is discussed there, discussed by two hundred people, for example, two hundred people who are suitable for their posts, who care about our country, who are not thieves, who do not want to line their pockets, who want to serve this nation and are not simply after a title, they will take into account the interests of the country when making their decisions. If an agreement between our country and another is brought to the parliament for approval, of course it should first be scrutinized by the righteous government itself which will throw it out if it is found to be immoral, but if by any chance the government fails to see its faults and it is sent to parliament, the MPs there will study it

¹ Which is just what happened after the victory of the Revolution and the establishment of an Islamic republic when the nation's elected representatives deposed President Bani Sadr at the request of the people.

and decide whether, on the whole, it is in the nation's interests or to its detriment. This is the kind of system we want, and it is not something which is too far removed from reality.

Laws in accordance with *Shar*

Our constitution consists of laws which God has told us are basic laws. In this present constitution of ours, there is also a supplementary law—which has not yet been put into practice—stating that any law which contradicts the Islamic law is not valid. What we want to do is to put this law into practice, we want to act upon it. We will create a country in which virtuous people (rule) . . . Plato says it is the philosophers who should run governments; philosophers in his sense of the word. Of course, philosophers may also be virtuous people, but the qualification of a ruler in our eyes lies in his virtuousness. We say that the person who should run a country, the person in whose hands we want to place our destiny should be someone whom the people have selected and who has come to the fore through the votes of the people. When this person acquires leadership through the votes of the people, he will, inevitably, be a virtuous man. Consequently, just as you have witnessed how one mangy goat has been able to infect the whole nation, [Laughter from the audience], so too when a virtuous person, a true human being is head of state, he will create a sound, healthy country. The universities will become proper universities, not like those we have today. Even after fifty years or so of having universities, a doctor still has to be brought in from abroad to perform a tonsillectomy. This is shameful for us; we have had universities for fifty years, or maybe less, yet as they themselves admit, these universities have until now not been able to present us with one proper doctor. People are even sent abroad to be treated; when someone falls ill, he is told to go to England for treatment. Why? Because the education is not right.

Sun of the Orient

They do not give us a proper education. It's not that the people in the East do not have the aptitude, no, this is a mistaken notion. And it's not because the East has a sun, or the Eastern countries enjoy a sunny climate, whereas the West has no sun, as you see here, that the West is more advanced. No, it's because these leaders here¹ have had a modicum of suitability, they went after their country's interests. However, their suitability

¹ It refers to the leaders in the West and Russia.

was only good for themselves, they trained their own people properly, but, for us, many of them were harmful. If we had one proper university, abilities would blossom beneath the sun of the East, skills would blossom. This is what we want.

Shah's departure and rule of the nation

There are those who say the Shah must go, but then ask: what will happen when he does go? What do you think will happen? Will the world come to an end? What does the Shah do for us apart from killing people? What service is he presently doing for our country that will be lost if he goes? What void would be created? Yes, there would be a void for the killings would stop! We want a country whose destiny is in the hands of the people. If the people install a president whom they at first believe to be suitable but who misuses his power once he attains it, we want them to be able to put a stop to this, for we want the authority of the president to lie with the people. Whenever they say no, then it means no. We don't want a set-up like that in Iran today where the bayonet prevails. For one year now cries of "no" have rung out in the streets, yet still there is someone who proclaims that this is not what the people are saying! What do you want the people to say? What else are the people doing other than spending their nights shouting that they don't want the Shah? Still one perverse individual continues to say that this is not what the people are saying! How can someone deny this? To whom should the people air their grievances? Where should they air them for them to be heard? They go into the streets shouting "no," they go onto the rooftops at night, in the middle of the night, and during the day shouting "no." For a year now they have been shouting that they don't want the Shah; what else do they have to say? To whom should they say it? We want this man to leave and these governments to leave us to see to our own affairs. We will select a suitable person...and the West need not be afraid that we will fall under Russian influence nor should Russia fear that we will show the West special favor. No, we will neither be on one side nor the other.

Russian interference out of the question

The idea is being propagated that Russia has a hand in this movement! Who is Russia to interfere (in our movement)? [The audience laughs]. What does Russia have to do with us? Russia cannot have someone interfere in our movement. Is it Russia who is telling everyone to call for Islam? Russia is opposed to Islam, so how could it do such a thing? Such talk is nonsense. When a nation has stood up saying: "We want an Islamic government, we

want nothing other than an Islamic government"; then should it be said that unbelievers have told them to say this?! Neither Russia nor the West has a hand in our movement. This is something of our own doing. The people are now saying they want to administer their affairs themselves.

Improvement of the youth and paying attention to Islam

The nation needs you young people, but first there is one thing which you must do, you must reform yourselves. You must strive to reform yourselves to prevent yourselves from turning into traitors. He who goes into a shop or department store here abroad and is crooked, (God forbid), and steals something using the logic that they have been stealing from us so we can steal from them, is a traitor. Such a person is of no use to us. Reform yourselves. He who does not put his affairs right with God cannot handle the affairs of the people. You must put your affairs right with God first. We need young people who can be trained in human education—that is, Islamic education—who can become true human beings. We are not indifferent, we do not want just anyone and whatever he turns out to be like, dissolute and I don't know what else, it won't matter. We want a country which is an Islamic country. Islamic means like a human being. The Quran is a book designed to produce (true) human beings. Islam is an ideology intended to create (true) human beings—a human being in all the dimensions that he possesses. If a person were to practice the ideology of true Islam within himself, then it would be impossible for him to intentionally do something wrong, and of course it would be impossible for him to betray his brother.

We want such an ideology, one that when it first starts to train the people directs them toward the development of the excellence of the human being. You look around yourselves in the world; can you find an ideology like Islam which has laws aimed at making man a true human being even before he has been born, before his parents have married? All of the world's ideologies deal with people who have reached puberty and who are active members of society. Islam, however, aims to perfect man even before he is born, before his parents marry, by stating what kind of spouse a man and a woman should choose. Why does it do this? Because the husband and wife are the origin of an individual or individuals and Islam wants these individuals, who are to be handed over to society, to be righteous individuals. So before a couple marry, Islam stipulates what kind of a woman the man's prospective wife should be and what kind of a man the woman's prospective husband should be, what kind of personalities they should have, how they should behave and in what kind of family they should have been brought up. After marriage too, Islam

stipulates how the husband and wife should treat each other. Islam has laid down rules that pertain to the period when the woman is with child, and to the delivery of the child. It also specifies how a child should be reared. Islam provides laws and instructions for all of these matters so that this child that is produced from these two people will be a virtuous individual in the society and righteousness will reign throughout the world.

This is Islam. Islam seeks to create true human beings and it sets out to do this even before the child is born, before its parents have even married. It begins there and has laid down laws that cover this period and the period after the child has come into the world: it stipulates the duties that are incumbent upon the parents while the child is being suckled; it specifies how the child should be reared by the parents, how he should be treated later in the elementary and high schools and what the teachers there should be like. Then when the child reaches the age of independence, the age at which he must make his own decisions, Islam tells him what kind of a person he should be, what he should and shouldn't do. Islam does this because it wants the people in society to be righteous, sound individuals. If that which Islam wants were to come to pass—some of it has and some of it hasn't, most of it hasn't—there would be no stealing and no treason. None of these things that we see today would happen. No one would act unjustly toward other people. This is how we want things to be.

Islamic government, defender of women's and religious minorities' rights

We say we want an Islamic government, but don't think that this means once we have established it we will pick up the sword and behead everyone! Or we will push all the women aside, wrap them in a shroud or lock them up in the house! This is not what Islam is all about; such things have nothing to do with Islam. When we say we want to establish an Islamic government some people assert that if they do this they will kill all the Jews and Christians, this is all talk that the Shah makes his agents say in his attempt to keep his corrupt throne! He will resort to anything. The law of Islam demands that we treat all Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and people from other nations who are residing in our country well and in a just manner. We are the followers of he who, upon hearing that an anklet had been stolen from the foot of a Jewish woman (in his realm), exclaimed: "If a person were to

die in circumstances such as mine, no one would reproach him.”¹ We want to be under the leadership of such a man.

We have a program

We have plans. We are not sitting here doing nothing, waiting for everything to finish, no; we have a program, a logical, temporal program. Of course Mr. Carter will not like this program of ours. The American world too will not like it, just as those who want to plunder our country will not, but the rest of the world will. The American leaders say one thing but at the same time their philosophers, their religious men, write thanking me and expressing their support for the Iranian nation. It is not as if the American people themselves are opposed to our interests, they agree with us and they regret the actions of their government. It is these governments which are corrupt. It is like someone thinking that because this is the way Muhammad Rida Khan is, this is the way the nation of Iran is too! No, the nation of Iran is separate from this regime, they are not connected.

That which I would like to emphasize to you gentlemen, and it is something I should constantly repeat, is that you must reform yourselves. Strive to purify yourselves. Make your actions conform with the laws of Islam, your behavior conform with the laws of Islam, with the laws that God has given us. God knows how things should be done, how man should be trained. When His order is acted upon, a righteous person enters the world, and should this person become a minister, he will be a righteous one; should he become a lawyer, he will be a righteous one; should he become a prime minister, he will be a righteous one; and should he become a shop keeper, he will be a righteous one. Wherever he goes he will be a good, righteous person and he will make those around him good too.

May God grant you all success [The audience says “Amen”]. May you all succeed in reforming yourselves [“Amen” from the audience] and your country [“Amen” from the audience].

¹ It refers to the attack of Sufyan ibn Awf on the city of Anbar that took place at the time of Imam Ali’s rule. One of the soldiers stopped two women, one a Muslim and the other a *dhimmi* [non-Muslim living under the protection of the Islamic state] and robbed them of their anklets, bracelets and earrings.

Message

Date: January 2, 1979 [Dey 12, 1357 AHS / Safar 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Payment of taxes and water, electricity, telephone, and other bills to the Shah's government is unlawful

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings to the oppressed people of Iran; may the Almighty God bless the courageous and informed people of Iran who have risen up to vindicate their rights and are ready to sacrifice their lives and wealth. Salutations to the respected people of holy Mashhad, Qazvin, Kermanshah and the people throughout Iran who nowadays face various tragedies and savageries committed by the Shah's mercenaries and the rogue martial government, but are still valorously resisting despite the fact that thousands of them have been killed or injured!

The frequent terrible, savage massacres are but by the order of the treacherous Shah, who finds himself dying, and is disappointed at the introduction of war and peace governments and has not gained anything from the inhuman supports of the international bullies. These few days of the final stages of the life of this criminal are the most dangerous moments of the history of our country. The honorable and oppressed nation of Iran must resist the remaining crimes of the Shah so that, God willing, it attains the final victory.

The accusations Radio Iran has shamelessly leveled against the nation—such as the barbaric crimes in Rex Cinema—can only be committed by the Shah's professional criminal hands. They do not spare any crime to use for their propaganda usage. The kind of the crimes and the way of propaganda bear testimony that the criminal hands of the oppressive regime that have got used to such savageries, are behind them.

The world nations, one after another, become aware of the nature of the regime of our country and that of the monarchical system—which has been condemned in frequent referendums by our nation, particularly that of the *TasuA* and *Ashura*—and have realized what will happen if God forbid it continues its rule. Except the Shah's agents and the supporters of oppression, all the freedom-loving peoples of the world have accepted our referendum and the foreign reporters and newspapers have recorded it. Various strata of

the people, from the respectable *ulama* to the academicians, to workers and peasants, to the staff of government offices and ministries, to the members of various guilds and other honorable strata have announced the illegality of the usurping governments and the illegal parliaments, formed by the order of the Shah.

Therefore, any assistance to the outlawed government and payment of taxes and charges of water, electricity, and telephone and any other assistance to the government, formed by the Shah, are betrayal of the nation and opposition to the commandment of the Exalted God. It is the duty of the respectable, combatant workers and staff of the offices of water, electricity and telephone to strengthen their ties with their courageous, defenseless compatriots and not to follow the orders of the outlawed government to cut the water, electricity and telephone of the people, but repay their debts to Islam and the Muslims through their cooperation with their oppressed brothers and sisters.

Now, I deem it necessary to mention a few points:

1. In order to prevent the propaganda of the usurping government, I have sent a delegation to take care of oil affairs and allowed its conditional extraction for the domestic consumption. However, it is said by the informed sources that there are a number of oil reserves for domestic consumption in the country; it is also said that the government has created artificial shortage and the military forces empty the reserves overnight while it is not known what they do with them. I thank the employees of the oil industries who cooperate with the people in this good deed.

2. It is necessary for the honorable *ulama* and preachers to remind the dear peasants to endeavor in cultivating foodstuff, particularly wheat, this year and refrain from cultivating what the government supplies to the aliens. These traitors may create artificial famine. I request the Iranian nation to assist the peasants in these affairs.

3. I request the honorable shopkeepers, traders, and various guilds not to increase the prices of foodstuff and other goods and do not overburden the oppressed people who are engaged in a struggle, for exaction is rejected in all its forms. Moreover at this particular stage, exaction will be in the interests of the oppressive system and is against the pleasure of the Exalted God. Therefore, I necessarily ask them not to charge above the fair prices and if possible give concessions to the needy people, which is an effective assistance to Islamic their movement and is in congruence with justice and the pleasure of the Almighty God. I beseech the Almighty God to grant

success to the Iranian nation in their struggle to achieve their humane-Islamic goals. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: January 3, 1979 [Dey 13, 1357 AHS / Safar 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The plan of the government of the Islamic Republic

Interviewer: A reporter of the *Express* English daily

Q: [What are the plans of your government?]

A: We will announce our plans in the first most appropriate opportunity. But the most prominent duty of the future government is to prepare the conditions for a free election as soon as possible. Also we will make arrangements for the freedom of the press in its real term, reveal all the truths and inform the people of all the issues and of the hidden crimes of the Pahlavi regime and all their accomplices and try and punish them so that they would never again deceive the people in disguise. During the same time other plans will include giving back the assets that have been transferred to foreign countries to their real owners, freeing the political prisoners, encouraging the people to devote themselves to renovating and reconstructing the country that has been destroyed by the former regime, and making sincere attempts to build a new society and government in Iran. Preventing the wastage of the natural resources of the country, particularly the oil, selling it at a fair price and spending the money to revitalize the economy and fulfill the urgent needs of the people and tens of other heavy and significant tasks that are upon the shoulders of the future government would not be possible to carry out except through sincere efforts, devotion and cooperation of the people. The most sensitive task of the future government, however, is to raise the standards of living of the disinherited classes of the society, particularly those who have suffered great losses in the course of the current struggle against the Shah's regime. Also other plans will include preparing all the scientific, cultural centers, including the schools and universities to start their academic and educational activities, purging the traitors from the army and restoring its independence, preventing the import of luxurious goods, and encouraging the development of agriculture and animal husbandry.

Q: [Which Islamic countries possesses the best form of government in your opinion and why?]

A: The form of the government is not that significant in the preservation of democracy and protection of the people's ideals, although some forms of the

government have priority over the other forms. But what is important in this regard is the qualification of the people who are elected to take charge, and also the principles, the observance of which should be considered unavoidable for the governments. If these principles and norms, that are specified and stressed upon in Islam, are observed correctly, a progressive and developed society is seriously expected to emerge. This is the most important point that is ignored by the world today and we want to introduce an astonishing truth to the world through relying on Islam and by the assistance of the Almighty God.

Q: [Do you not fear that the people will get tired due to the daily problems?]

A: The brave and patient Iranian nation has showed during the years of struggle, particularly during the recent years, that its power and resistance against the difficulties are augmented as the problems increase, because the Iranian nation becomes more certain of the correctness and truthfulness of the way it has chosen, that is, the way of God.

Q: [Have you ordered your followers to shun violence and be tolerant?]

A: I have not thus far ordered the use of violence and our nation has fought against machine-guns and tanks with their bare hands and fists. But if the hellish colonizing powers in the world do not stop their support for the criminals in Iran, at the head of who is the Shah, we shall think of other ways to counter them.

Q: [Is it possible to make peace with the Shah?]

A: No, it is never possible.

Q: [What is your opinion about US behavior in this regard?]

A: The president and the government of the United States have treated the Iranian nation like an enemy so far, including years of plunder of Iran's resources by the US, the heavy expenses incurred by the US military advisors and their military sites, the heavy investments through which the US has abused Iran's facilities and the US current encouragement of, and support for, the Shah's merciless killing of the innocent people of Iran. It is now upon the American nation to urge their president to change his policy.

Q: [What do you think about France?]

A: According to the news reaching from some French nationals residing in Iran or those French nationals who have gone to Iran, the Iranians have a

friendly behavior toward the French nationals. And no doubt such a behavior on the part of the Iranians is because of the stance and policy France has adopted toward them.¹

Q: [The *New York Times* daily reported on January 2 that Libya has assisted you. If this story is right, what was the form and size of the assistance? Have other countries too helped you?]

A: We have not thus far received any help from any government and this is a sheer lie.

¹ After the arrival of Imam Khomeini in France and his stay in Neauphle-le-Château hundreds of telegrams of thanks addressing the French people and government were dispatched to France. Some of these telegrams were dispatched through the French Embassy in Tehran and some of them were addressed to the then French president Giscard d'Estaing which were also published in the Iranian press.

Letter

Date: January 4, 1979 [Dey 14, 1357 AHS / Safar 5, 1399]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Reply to a letter

Addressee: Abbas-Ali Sabil Ardestani

[His Eminence, Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, may his blessings last long:

O, the Spirit of God! May I sacrifice my life, those of my six children and that of my wife for you! I swear by God that if it was possible I would have poured my soul into a vessel and given it to the carrier of this letter to open it at your presence, so that I could meet you. May I sacrifice my life and that of my family for you.

Abbas-Ali Ardestani]¹

In His Most Exalted Name

I received your kind letter and thank the noble men like you who have served Islam and the Muslim nation through their sacrifices and the devotion of their children. I pray to God for your health and dignity. May peace be upon you.

Khomeini

¹ The letter of Abbas-Ali Ardestani was handed over to Imam in Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, by one of his relatives who had gone to Paris to visit the Imam and the Imam wrote his reply at the bottom of the letter.

Interview

Date: January 4, 1979 [Dey 14, 1357 AHS / Safar 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Opposition to the US; necessity for the collapse of the Pahlavi dynasty

Interviewer: A reporter of the American CBS Television

Q: [Your Eminence! Bakhtiyar, who is a candidate for premiership, has said that you can return to Iran whenever you wish. Have you made up your mind about returning to Iran in the near future?]

A: I have not decided yet.

Q: [Your Eminence, would you accept a government in which the Shah too will have a position?]

A: No.

Q: [Your Eminence, you are accused of being an anti-American figure by some of the US circles. Do you believe that the collapse of the Shah should be a cause of concern for the United States?]

A: If opposition to the US means that we do not want to be dependent on the United States, yes we are anti-America! And if the US is afraid of this, it should be concerned!

Q: [Is there any reason for the US to be concerned about the Shah's collapse, because it has supported the Shah's government?]

A: Yes, because with the existence of the Shah, the US could plunder Iran, but when the Shah is overthrown, it is not possible for the United States to do so any longer. However, what the US will do after the Shah's overthrow is none of our business. We will do business with any country that pays better. Of course, we will also consider the spiritual and humane issues.

Q: [It is said that the Shah intends to leave the country for a short vacation. Does this very point satisfy you to put an end to all the strikes and demonstrations?]

A: No, the Shah's departure is not enough. The regime should be overthrown and everything related to the monarchical system should be destroyed to satisfy us—that is, the nation.

Q: [Therefore, you will not accept a constitutional monarchy or something like that?]

A: No, a constitutional monarchy is not what we want.

Q: [Thank you for the interview.]

Interview

Date: January 4, 1979 [Dey 14, 1357 AHS / Safar 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Elections in the Islamic Republic; relations with the United States; the nation's indefatigability

Interviewers: Reporters of the Associated Press News Agency, *Le Figaro*, *Miami Herald*, and the Greek ATE newspaper

Q: [Your Eminence! When do you think that a free election will be held after the Shah's departure and after the announcement of a new government in Iran? And, will the Islamic government put any kind of limitations on the leftist political parties and the communists?]

A: The elections will be held when the future government is established. But the election of the constituent assembly will be held immediately. All, except the saboteurs, enjoy the right to vote.

Q: [What is your opinion about the US? You have said that Iran's relations with all the countries that have supported the Shah will not be friendly any longer and that Iran will cut off its relations with these countries as far as their supporting governments hold power. Does it mean that you will be hostile to the US as long as Carter is in power in the US?]

A: We are against him as long as he supports the Shah and so long as he is against the Iranian nation, but we are not against the American nation.

Q: [The US administration has so far supported the Shah. Will your relations with the US become friendly after the Shah's departure?]

A: We will decide about it after the Shah's departure and the establishment of the new government.

Q: [In case the Shah leaves Iran, will the future government of Iran consider him the enemy of the Iranian nation forever, or will allow him and his family to come back to Iran and live there like ordinary citizens?]

A: Shah is a criminal and should be tried according to the Islamic principles. They are criminals and should be tried.

Q: [So, what you want is his trial, not his departure?]

A: Yes, whether he leaves or stays in Iran, he should be tried.

Q: [Do you recognize the Royal Council?]

A: No, the Iranian nation does not recognize it.

Q: [Will you and the new government change the policy toward Israel and South Africa? However, will the sale of Iran's oil in the past or present, be based on the political stance of the purchasing country toward Iran?]

A: Israel is a usurper and there will be no relations between Iran and a bunch of usurpers. Who is ready to sell oil to a racist criminal country?

Q: [What would be the Shah's punishment in the Islamic government?]

A: The Iranian nation knows exactly what the crime of the Shah is and what his punishment should be.

Q: [You have said earlier that the Shah must leave Iran and now you say that he should be tried; which one?]

A: I have always said that the Shah should be tried and his departure from the country or his stay in Iran will not change anything.

Q: After the great demonstrations in Iran,¹ the Army is still loyal to the Shah. There are also some figures in the Army who are very violent; there is even the danger or possibility of a coup. Don't you feel any kind of danger for your religious solution? Don't you feel the danger of a coup against the Islamic movement?]

A: Even if a coup takes place, the Iranian nation is against it. The military coup will be defeated thereafter as the martial government was.

Q: [For several months the people have been taking into the streets in a way that the country has been paralyzed. Isn't there the danger of the tiredness of the majority of the people? Isn't there the possibility of their uprising against you and creating a new revolutionary wave against you?]

A: That is very implausible.

Q: [Such slogans as "God is the greatest" and "Long live Khomeini" are heard in the streets. But these are not your political program. You have always talked about an Islamic Republic, that is, a very general issue. Would

¹ It refers to the great demonstrations of the Iranian nation on *TasuA* and *Ashura* of 1978.

you please outline the main points of this system and elaborate on the fate of the world's third great oil exporting country?]

A: Our law is Islam, which has been codified and there is nothing to be determined by us.

Letter

Date: January 4, 1979 [Dey 14, 1357 AHS / Safar 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Condolences

Addressees: Family members of Martyr Ashuri

In His Most Exalted Name

To the respectable family members of the late Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Ashuri,¹ may God have mercy on him:

I am shocked, and I condole with you on the great loss inflicted on you, which I share with you. I hope that the Almighty God blesses his soul and grants fortitude and rewards you and protects you in His refuge. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Martyrdom of Mr. Ashuri during the people's demonstrations in Bushehr

Interview

Date: January 5, 1979 [Dey 15, 1357 AHS / Safar 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Shah's fleeing Iran; future of the OPEC

Interviewer: A reporter of the American CBS Television

Q: [Your Eminence, we have received continuous reports, suggesting that the Shah will either leave Iran in the near future or he has already left the country. Would you recognize the government that Bakhtiyar is going to form? And would you put an end to the demonstrations?]

A: We will not recognize any government with the existence of a monarchical regime.

Q: [Your Eminence, you have earlier said that the Shah should leave the country, but now you say that he should be tried and punished according to the Islamic law and that if he is convicted, his least sentence would be life imprisonment. Does it mean that the Shah will be considered a fugitive, if he leaves Iran?]

A: Yes, the Shah should be tried. And if he flees, he should be tried wherever he is found. And the least punishment, besides compensating for his crimes, is life imprisonment. But it is clear to everybody that he has massacred the people and should be executed.

Q: [Your Eminence, if you do not acknowledge Bakhtiyar, whom do you acknowledge? Do you have a list of those who will hold positions in the future government?]

A: I have chosen some people, but cannot introduce them until the end of the task.

Q: [Your Eminence, if your intended government is formed, would Iran's oil policy be within the framework of OPEC? Will you consider the US a good oil customer of Iran just like during the Shah's time?]

A: We will study about the OPEC after the formation of the new government, and the experts will decide about it. But the US has not been a good customer so far, because it has not been paying for the oil.

: [Your Eminence, when will you return to Iran?]

A: Whenever I deem it appropriate.

Q: [Do you deem it appropriate to return to Iran now?]

A: Not today.

Interview

Date: January 5, 1979 [Dey 15, 1357 AHS / Safar 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Military coup; Tudeh Party; oil

Interviewer: A reporter of the Channel 2 of the German Radio-Television

Q: [Your Eminence, would you accept any solution or government within the framework of monarchy?]

A: No solution will be acceptable with the existence of the monarchical regime.

Q: [Your Eminence, you have been invited to return to Iran. Would you go to Iran in the current situation?]

A: Whether I am invited or not, I will go to Iran whenever I deem it appropriate.

Q: [If the Shah refuses to leave Iran and you refrain from returning to Iran, it seems that just one solution will remain, that is, military coup, whose results will be more destruction, suppression and bloodshed. What is your opinion?]

A: Military coup is the very martial government. Whether the coup takes place or not, we intend to continue our struggle and we will bear the difficulties to attain freedom and independence.

Q: [Aren't you afraid of an international confrontation if the violence in Iran goes on? And don't you think that this confrontation will be between the United States and the Soviet Union?]

A: If a conflict occurs, it will engulf the entire world, but these two superpowers will not wage a world war for such a reason.

Q: [You have announced that in the future you will not sell any oil to the countries that have supported the Shah and that the sale of oil to Israel and South Africa and all the industrialized countries that have had trade relations with the Shah should be stopped. Have these countries been so far the enemies of Iran?]

A: We are not against the countries. We are the enemies of those countries that have either oppressed our Muslim brothers or have suppressed us.

Q: [You are planning to set up a socialist Islamic government; what kind of socialism do you envisage? Would you allow the Tudeh Party to be a partner in your government? Will the Holy Quran be the Constitution of Iran?]

A: We will form an Islamic government whose establishment and the government itself rely on the votes of the nation. The laws of such a republic are obviously the Islamic rules. We will not allow a party, which has been rejected by the Islamic society, to join our Islamic government.

Interview

Date: January 5, 1979 [Dey 15, 1357 AHS / Safar 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: General problems of Iran

Interviewer: A reporter of the BBC Radio-Television

Q: [Now that the Shah has agreed to leave Iran—although for an unspecified period of time—would you accept Bakhtiyar’s invitation to return to Iran?]

A: I will go to Iran whenever I deem it appropriate and my return to Iran—whether I am invited or not—does not depend on the invitation of anybody.

Q: [Is there an acceptable role for the Shah in the future government in your opinion?]

A: He will never have any role.

Q: [What would be your future role in the future affairs of the country?]

A: I will be what I have already been. I will guide the people and the government.

Q: [You have talked about reconstructing Iran and establishing an Islamic Republic. It is quite hard for us to understand what you mean. How would you achieve this goal in practice? How will the life of the Iranian people change?]

A: The issue is not to change of lives. Rather the fact that the people have been oppressed by the Shah and their country has not been independent. We intend to make the country independent and grant freedom to the people. And, the Islamic Republic government will be a republican system similar to other republics, but its laws are Islamic laws.

Q: [Some critics claim that you cannot clearly understand the modern, complicated issues of the future Iranian industrialized society—that is going toward industrialization. They also criticize you for having been away from Iran for a long period of time. How would you comment on these?]

A: Of course we do have experts for the complicated issues. But what we understand is the fact that the Shah is an oppressor and a traitor who has betrayed Iran and the Iranian nation—this is an obvious fact that everybody is aware of. We know that our country is not independent and that some

foreign countries interfere in all its affairs—it is also a clear issue. We are struggling for independence and freedom.

Q: [Non-Muslims portray the Islamic society as a society full of cruelties with severe punishments, such as amputation of hands, for relatively minor offenses, which is carried out in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. It is said that these laws are barbaric, what is your opinion?]

A: Those, who misconceive Islam, have not understood it. There has been no Islamic government thus far. There was an Islamic government at the beginning the advent of Islam, there was no fear during the government of Imam Ali (A), and people were living in security. The current governments have frightened the people and the people do not have any security under them. They massacre the people group by group. The hatred that you are talking about is because of these governments, not because of the Islamic government, which treats its people fairly and justly.

Q: [Many of the women who have attained a level of freedom and accomplished their high education are afraid of being returned to a reactionary religious government. What would you say to reassure them?]

A: Islam has given total freedom to women. It is the Shah and his government that has deprived them of their freedom and has shackled them in all respects.

Q: [The question that I am obliged to ask is that some of your Western critics say that you are a religious leader whose hands are stained by the blood of many people. Do not you feel remorseful that thousands of people have lost their lives in the streets due to your orders to fight against the Shah? Or you still think that there was no other solution?]

A: It is the Shah whose hands are stained with the blood of the people. We are defending our rights, and every person has the right to defend his own rights. Therefore, we seek freedom and independence and this is the Shah who is killing our people savagely.

Q: [When you return to Iran, what would be your opinion about supplying oil to Israel and South Africa?]

A: Israel is fighting against the Muslims and is the occupier of the country of our Muslim brothers. We will not supply oil to it. We will supply oil to other countries that treat us fairly.

Message

Date: January 6, 1979 [Dey 16, 1357 AHS / Safar 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Announcing Safar 9 a day of public mourning; obedience to the Shah is an offense

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I warn the entire courageous, wakeful Iranian nation—may God assist them; once again a dangerous plot is underway by the treacherous agents of the Shah and the supporters of the international plunderers to preserve the corrupt monarchical regime bring the Shah to diabolic power, allow the oil-devourers to continue their plunder and restore the domination of the aliens. Through trampling upon the blood of the martyrs of the way of God and motherland and through various tricks, they want to keep our country under the yoke of colonialism and the Pahlavi dictatorship. From the collapsing, dying Shah, they want to make a bloodsucking dictator with his previous power and impose him on us. Through such minor deceiving measures as freedom of the press, promise to dissolve the State Organization for Security and Information (SAVAK), and pretension of commitment to the religion of Islam, they want to restore the criminal Shah's power so that through serving the aliens, they plunder the assets of the country and without sparing the people and their home, suppress Islam and religion forever. I warn the Iranian nation that they are well aware of the power of Islam, that of the courageous Iranian nation and the wakeful clergy, and hence, a plot is underway to suppress these divine powers.

O, the wakeful nation of Iran! Continue your struggle courageously, for if you neglect a moment, all the blood you have sacrificed in the way of Islam and freedom thus far will be wasted and such a blow will be dealt on you that your breaths will be cut and your rightful cries muffled in your throats. I announce to the entire courageous nation that the monarchical regime is illegal, the two houses of parliament are anti-national and illegal and the government is usurping, illegitimate and outlawed. Obedience to this system is equal to the obedience to satanic governments and is unlawful. Obedience to the defunct Shah and the outlawed government is an offense and is religiously unlawful. Do the nation and the security forces know that according to the foreign press the Shah, on the verge of his exit alone, has

transferred one billion sterling pounds from Iran, while only God knows the figure of his other accounts? Now I deem it necessary to mention a few points:

1. The staff of the ministries should reject the corrupt, illegal ministers and not obey them; if possible, they should not allow them to enter the ministries; it is their religious duty and a service to the country and the nation, while obedience to them is opposition to the nation and Islam.

2. The nation should refrain from paying taxes and the charges of water, electricity and telephone and should avoid whatever measure that is considered assistance to the government, for assistance to the government is unlawful and will cause God's wrath.

3. The respectable *ulama* of the cities, the honorable preachers and zealous seminary students, the judges and the respectable lawyers, the honorable university professors and seminarians, the bazaar merchants, members of various guilds, the workers, the peasants, the respected politicians and other strata of the people should announce the dismissal of the Shah and the illegality of the two houses of Parliament and that of the government, for in case of their indolence, the plot hatched against the nation and the country may bear fruit and then all of us will be responsible. All should know that at this crucial juncture all of us are accountable to God.

4. The traders of foodstuff must refrain from overcharging which is against the pleasure of the Almighty God and such an act at this sensitive juncture is a blow on the body of the Islamic movement.

5. Don't neglect rendering assistance to the workers and traders of various guilds who have been the losers due to the strikes; it is allowed to allocate some part of religious taxes to them.

I announce Monday, Safar 9, 1399 AH, a day of public mourning to commemorate the martyrs of Mashhad, Qazvin, Kermanshah and other cities. I beseech the Almighty to make it the last day of mourning of the honorable nation. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: January 6, 1979 [Dey 16, 1357 AHS / Safar 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Ending the press strikes

Addressees: Pressmen-in-strike

In His Most Exalted Name

I thank the striking journalists who did not surrender to the dictatorial censorship. Now that the new illegal government claims the removal of the censorship, the gentlemen should continue their works and end their strikes until the nation settles the accounts with the illegal government.¹ It is appropriate that the other respectable strikers continue their strikes; for hopefully the victory is approaching, God willing.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The cabinet of Shapur Bakhtiyar.

Interview

Date: January 6, 1979 [Dey 16, 1357 AHS / Safar 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Islam, a progressive religion; we will not tolerate the American advisers

Addressees: Reporters of the German Television

Question: [Your Eminence, you have often said that there should be no compromise with the Shah's regime and that after the abdication of the Shah, an Islamic Republic should be established. What do you mean by this? Does it mean a conservative government based on the religious ideals? Does it mean a progressive regime, open to the world and the world influence? Or, is it a communist or capitalist system? And what is your opinion about social efforts made during the Shah's rule?]

Answer: Islam is a progressive religion enshrining democracy in its true sense. The system that we intend to establish is such a system, which is different from the current regimes. The Islamic commandments are very progressive, ensuring freedoms, independence and progress. But what the Shah has done has mostly been against the interests of the nation. The Shah has not taken any step, and whatever he has done, or most of what he has done, caused the deterioration and bankruptcy of the nation.

Q: [Will you be able to materialize the establishment of the Islamic Republic in the attempts of Shapur Bakhtiyar to establish a new government in Iran and begin your task? Or, is there any other politician you prefer? Of course, all these choices will be possible with the understanding that the Shah leaves the country?]

A: We have trustable figures in Iran who are politicians and our government will be formed by the trustees of the nation and experts. Of course, we are aware that we will face numerous economic, political, and military problems, but we have pinned our hopes on the nation's great unity to solve all of these problems.

Q: [Your Eminence, what is the sphere of your influence, particularly among the mullahs, other Ayatullahs and other religious leaders? Do you not fear that the current unity and solidarity that exist among the opponents of the Shah will be broken after capturing the power? Do you intend to go back to

Iran to be directly involved in the movement? Do you or did you intend to call the people to launch an armed struggle?]

A: I am a brother of the Iranian nation and consider myself their servant and soldier, for I want their good and what I ask for is the demand of the Iranian nation, hence, in this regard they accept my advice. But the differences among the political groups after the victory are inevitable, but the differences among the groups are negligible vis-à-vis the nation—whose absolute majority is united.

Q: [What is the opinion of the Ayatullah about the foreigners living in Iran, particularly the Americans? Also what is your opinion about the influence of the Soviets in Iran? What is your opinion about the export of oil to the European countries and West Germany? After your people assume power, what will happen to the participation of Germany in Iranian industries?]

A: With regard to the foreigners, those engaged in ordinary jobs will continue their jobs, but those who intend to interfere in our country—like the American advisors, we cannot tolerate them.

Q: [Have the Palestinians had any contact with you? If so, what has been the kind of this contact? What kind of assistance has been rendered?]

A: There has been no political contact and no assistance has been rendered to us.

Interview

Date: January 6, 1979 [Dey 16, 1357 AHS / Safar 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Objective, establishment of the Islamic Republic; United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union as number one enemies

Addressee: A reporter of the German Channel 1 Television

Question: [If a government, headed by Bakhtiyar is formed and the Shah agrees to leave Iran even temporarily, will you support such a government?]

Answer: I will not accept any government with the existence of the monarchical regime. Our objective is to form an Islamic Republic and given the present situation, it is clearer than the sun for me that we will attain it in the near future.

Q: [Foreign observers have witnessed some flexibility in your policy last week. Do you think that the economic problems will be enough to overthrow the Shah's regime? Or, do you think that other violent measures should be pursued?]

A: It seems that these struggles are enough to dethrone the Shah.

Q: [Some American experts in Iran feel that the reports given to the American officials about Iran had been wrong and these mistakes stem from the lack of contact with the opponents of the Shah. Does this issue stem from the US overemphasis on the strategic and political situation of Iran or from the deep cultural differences between the two countries?]

A: In any case, it surprises me that the US administration claims that a mistake has occurred or claims that it did not have any contact! A powerful government like the US Administration has probably had comprehensive contacts with the American figures in Iran and has watched all the aspects. Perhaps this mistake of Carter is like that of the Shah's claim of having committed a mistake.

Q: [The foreign newspapers have reported here that the Iranians hate the Americans and the British; is it right or wrong? What is the reason for this hatred?]

A: It is exactly correct! The American and British governments have so pressured our nation and acknowledged criminal figures that gradually this hatred has developed among our nation. Of course the Soviet Union is not

less than them. I have frequently recommended them to give up their support for the government and the Shah and that they should not do something that causes the pessimism of the Iranian nation about the American and British nations who have kept silent against the policies of their governments. For the time being we consider the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union our number one enemy; of course, the United States is worse than others.

Dialogue

Date: January 6, 1979 [Dey 16, 1357 AHS / Safar 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Future of the Armenians in the Islamic Republic

Addressees: A number of Armenian youth residing in France

Question: [The representative of the Group: Two of us are from Lebanon and the rest from France. First of all we wanted to announce our support for the Iranian people and express our gratitude to you for accepting us.]

Answer: May you succeed, God Willing. There are a number of Armenians in our Iran. There, they are engaged in trade and farming.

Q: [For the past one-and-a-half years, the France-based Armenians have been publishing a newspaper, since the very beginning of its establishment have been following the developments in Iran and studied your leadership in the recent movement. With your permission, we will ask some questions:

You have said in your remarks that you will establish an Islamic Republic. Taking into account that the Armenians are Christian, would you please tell us what would be the situation of the Armenians in the future Islamic government?]

A: Yes, the Armenians who live in Iran have an old history and their condition has always been like that of other communities who have been engaged in trading, farming and other jobs. In the future too, they will enjoy freedoms and will be treated in full fairness.

Q: [I beg your pardon for asking you the same question again: the Armenians ask themselves whether in the future Islamic government of Iran, the Armenians will be allowed to practice their religion and their religious rituals, have their own schools and speak in their language, that is, in Armenian language?]

A: They will be allowed; they will be allowed.

Message

Date: January 7, 1979 [Dey 17, 1357 AHS / Safar 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The crimes of the Shah's agents in Qum and Mashhad

Addressees: The *ulama*, clerics and people of Pakistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safar 8, 1399 AH

The Honorable *ulama*, reverend preachers and the respectable people of Pakistan, may God assist them:

After offering my greetings and salutations, I would like to thank the honorable gentlemen for paying particular attention to the tragic issues and piteous calamities of Iran. You, the dignified people, cannot imagine our problems as they are. No one can imagine what the ill-tempered agents of the Shah do at the behest of this diabolic person against the honorable nation, whose fault is nothing except seeking freedom and independence.

The tanks, cannons and machineguns, purchased with the assets of this nation, have been deployed in the streets of the cities, even in those of the religious city of Mashhad in the vicinity of the holy shrine of Imam Rida (A), and in those of Qum in the vicinity of Hadrat MaSumah's (A) Shrine and the site of the seminaries. And there is no day when the honorable people are not killed.

The massacres committed during the current year are neither expressible nor tolerable. Introducing himself as a Muslim and a committed Shii, and contrary to what he has claimed, the Shah's propaganda outside Iran has caused the diversion of the public opinion. Many copies of the Quran have been set ablaze, many descendants of the holy Prophet (S) and *ulama* have been tortured to death in the jails, the holy Shrine of the Eighth infallible Imam pounded by machineguns and the houses of the *ulama* affronted. If you, the honorable people of Pakistan, had witnessed one aspect of the crimes of this person, and had observed the condition of your religious brethren, you would have undoubtedly echoed our voice, cooperated with us and shared our idea of overthrowing this regime. Of course, I thank the respected people and the reverend *ulama* and preachers who pay attention to the developments in Iran. I beseech the Almighty God for the dignity of

Islam and the Muslims and for subversion of the oppressors. May God's peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: January 7, 1979 [Dey 17, 1357 AHS / Safar 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Deceitful propaganda of the Western press; description of the spiritual universe; signs of Shah's betrayal

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*

Shah must leave

The issues that the people of Iran have raised during this period are issues about which there is no ambiguity. From the outset, I too have raised these same basic issues and there is nothing obscure about our demands. We do not ask that the Shah simply leave the country for a holiday, we demand his overthrow. When we say the Shah must go, we mean he must go from power, not for a rest! Secondly, the imperial regime is one which is not accepted by the people; indeed it has been illegal since its inception. Thirdly, we want a just government based on the laws of Islam to hold sway over Iran. None of these demands are ambiguous so as to warrant someone's explanation or for someone to proclaim that it is still not clear what the nation is saying. Unless that person is deaf! Otherwise, for some time now, for over a year, the nation has been shouting in the streets: "We don't want this imperial regime; we don't want this Pahlavi regime; we want an Islamic government." There is nothing ambiguous about this.

Do not think something has been achieved because the Shah is now preparing to leave. Hitherto, none of the goals that we and the nation of Iran set out after have been achieved.

The Shah has been quoted as saying that if he does decide to leave the country, he will go only for three months because of the problems he has!¹ Adding that if he goes (for good), oil will not reach the West. But he is only saying this to equip the West with ammunition to use against the movement. The same can be said to be true about his statements claiming that if he goes,

¹ On January 6, 1979 [Dey 16, 1357 AHS], it was announced that the Shah would go abroad for medical treatment and for a rest, and that in his absence, and in accordance with the Constitution, a Regency Council would be formed which would take over the affairs of the country. This was the Shah's last declaration.

the red flag will be raised over the rooftops of the houses in Iran or the red flag will fly from the heights in Iran! Or, in other words, everyone throughout the whole of Iran will thereafter become communists and Iran will incline toward Russia!¹ He makes such remarks then later says there are only a limited number of people who oppose him! That they are inconsequential! That they haven't understood him! That if they had they would not oppose him! Well now, we must look at these three points he has raised to see whether he is correct, and this indeed would happen, or whether this is just another one of his devilish propaganda stunts.

Yes to oil sales, no to American bases

The point he makes that there would no longer be any oil for the West were he to go is, however, perfectly true, if by this he means we would not give it abroad on the same terms he did. For he gave our oil to foreign countries, and that which he got from America supposedly in return for the oil—but which in fact was received simply to hide the fact that in reality he was not getting anything—was very advanced weaponry which no Iranian had the expertise to operate and whose sole purpose was to create bases for America in Iran. In other words, America took the oil and in return built bases for itself in the country! If a country wants to build bases for itself in another country, it first needs to pay billions of dollars, for example, to get the permission to do so. Iran, however, gave America this permission in return for the oil that we gave it! These people gave America our oil; if they had bought weapons for Iran in return, this would still have been wrong, but it would not have been as bad. However, this they did not do. Instead, they purchased arms and equipment from the Americans in exchange for the oil and built up bases for them in Iran—bases which the Americans used against Russia—under the pretext that in this way America was paying for the oil!

The Americans argue that paying for the oil is no crime, and they say they want to pay for that they have purchased. Now, however, they say the sum Iran has to pay them (for the arms) is much more because Iran means to

¹ The Shah and his agents called the revolutionary people of Iran communists! During an interview to mark Mordad 28 [August 19], in reply to a question as to whether a bunch of hooligans and the Islamic Marxist group had been responsible for recent events, the Shah said: "Without question! Islamic Marxists are undoubtedly to blame." (!) Eight days after the bloody event of September 8, Sharif Imami announced, "Undeniable facts and incontestable circumstantial evidence testify to the fact that the Marxists were the central cause of the violence." Moreover, Dr. Amili, the regime's Minister of Information and Tourism, said: "We are in no doubt that a communist campaign is directing this movement, since the slogans used and procedure followed by those concerned are communist."

become an advanced country! They say the eighteen billion or twenty-two billion dollars the Shah has spent on these arms has not gone to create bases for the Americans, no; they claim these arms are for Iran itself! Even if we accept their argument we still have to ask why Iran needs so many? Iran doesn't need this many. Are these arms purchased because Iran intends to become one of the superpowers, to stand up to Russia and America and step through the gates of civilisation?! Is this why the Shah has bought so many arms? We know this is not the case and we say these arms are not for Iran, they are for America! America gets both the product and the money given for it. It gets the oil and the money it paid for it. The Shah used the oil money he received from the Americans to buy weapons from them and build bases for them in the country.

Presently, in Iran, there are many places where these American bases are situated. So the Shah is correct if by saying the West will no longer get oil he means it will not get it on the same terms that he gave it to them. If the West expects us to give it our oil and in return allow it to build bases for itself in Iran, or to build something that is of no use to Iran or that is indeed detrimental to Iran, it is sadly mistaken. We will pour the oil into the desert or burn it before we will give it to the West under such conditions.

However, if the Shah is saying that we will not give the West oil even through proper, logical and fair business transactions, then this is a lie. Whatever kind of government takes over in Iran will need money to administer the affairs of the country, and the main portion of our income comes from the oil revenues. Oil will be given to any country that will pay a good price for it in cash. We will give oil to America, but we don't want to create bases for it in return as the Shah did. Instead, we will get money in exchange and use it to deliver this weak, deprived nation from its present circumstances, from this ruined agrarian economy and this assembly-plant industry which has been created for the interests of others.

Oil sales for eradication of poverty

If a proper, correct government comes to power, it will sell the oil for money which it will spend to the benefit of this nation. It will save these indigent people, these weak people, those who, because of the failure of the agriculture, have flooded into the cities in the middle of this cold winter and lack shelter. They are living in tents, not the kind you have put up here,¹ no;

¹ This is in reference to the simple tent which had been set up for people visiting Imam in Neauphle-le-Château. At this time, Imam ordered that the heating system in his residence be turned off so that he could experience the hardships the people in Iran were suffering that winter through lack of fuel.

they live in inadequate tents which they themselves have made. They have to spend the biting cold of winter either beneath these tents or in single rooms built out of mud. Those who have been there and have witnessed their living conditions know what life is like for these people. They have nothing, no piped water, no electricity, the roads are not asphalted. Some of them live in holes in the ground from which, as I have been told in letters I have received, the poor women have to climb many steps—I can't remember the exact number they wrote whether it was a hundred or a little less, certainly it was a lot—simply to get a pitcher of water from a tap installed in a nearby street. Once they have filled their pitchers, they have to return to these holes and once again climb down these numerous steps. Picture these women in the middle of a biting winter climbing up and down these slippery steps. Just look at the troubles this nation has to endure. The people want to eliminate these troubles, they want to make the country one in which the poor people are taken care of in whatever way possible. So in one sense the Shah is speaking the truth when he says oil will no longer go to the West, but in another he is not.

Resistance of Iranian nation against US and USSR

The other point he made was that if he went, the red flag would be raised! This is not correct either. We have repeatedly said, as have others, that such claims are not true. He asserts that it is he who is stopping the red flag from being raised!! If this nation were one whose people would raise the red flag above their heads as soon as he left, if our nation were such a nation, then how is it that throughout the whole of Iran the people are standing up to America and Russia with clenched fists and have made America back down? From the outset, the Americans have been saying they will keep the Shah in power, they have always insisted that the Shah must remain. They are still saying this! Only now they say it a little quieter! [The audience laughs]. Initially, they proclaimed in such a pompous manner that they would keep the Shah in power, that he had to remain, that the stability of the region depended on him! If he went, they said, the region would lose its stability! Later they realized that with him in power there is no stability! For as you see today in Iran all these disputes and the unrest stem from the fact that he is in power. Were he to leave, leave in the sense of him being removed from power and leaving [God willing from the audience], then they would see the

stability the country would enjoy. In what way does the country lack stability?

If by saying the red flag would be raised he means that Russia would interfere directly in Iran and the Red Army would pour in and take the country, he is lying. Russia cannot do such a thing, for another thug like itself is standing, watching and waiting, and were Russia to make such a move, war would immediately break out. Today, all the world powers know that were another world war to break out, it would mean the elimination of the human race. For with the weapons that exist today, such a war would not be confined to a region, it would not be a case of there being war in one country but not in another. All of the regions of the world, all the countries of the world would be destroyed. No one in his right mind would take steps to provoke such a war. Even if we suppose that a foreign army does indeed invade our country, we have all had enough historical experience to know that they may successfully invade and prevail over the nation, but they would not be able to remain in the country. This nation would destroy each and every one of them; it would finish them off. They cannot bring two people in for every person in this country; they would want to derive some benefit and they wouldn't be able to do so if they had to watch their backs all the time. Thus, there is no reason to fear that Russia will act irrationally and attack the country. This is just idle talk, spoken to incite America. America knows this, and if it could do something to save the Shah, it would have done so by now, it would have needed no provocation, for the Shah is to its benefit.

So these words of his that if he goes such and such will happen...and it is clear that it is fear of him which is stopping Russia from invading Iran! If he is no longer around, then God only knows what will happen! [The audience laughs]. We all know that such talk contains no element of truth.

Shah's claim of having no opponent

As for the third point he made that there are only a few people who oppose him, a limited number of people, he has made two remarks here: one is that those who oppose him are limited in number, that in reality all the nation wants him and it is only a few, a small number of people, who do not! And the other is that those who do oppose him do not understand him, if they did they would not oppose him. So let us take a look at both points to see if this is the case or not.

If those who oppose you are only a limited number of people then why did you repent?! If the rest of the nation is with you and there are only a few people, a limited number of dissenters, then you would have simply got rid of

them, there would have been no need for you to repent! So what made you say: "I stand before the nation and make a pledge"? When the nation is in agreement with you it means that your deeds have been so good that all the nation approves of you. When this is the case, there is no need for pledges, for you have fulfilled your promises, you have worked well for the people. So if the nation is with you and there are only a limited number who oppose you, then instead of saying: "I make a solemn vow"; "I have made mistakes which I won't make again"; and "I won't repeat these mistakes", you should be saying: "Oh nation, come yourselves and get rid of these few people who are opposing me". If the nation is in agreement with you, then it will be sufficient for you to make a call over the radio saying: "Oh nation of Iran that agrees with me, oh nation of Iran whom I have served and have benefited and whom I mean to take to the 'gateway of civilization', come, destroy this small number of people, these seditious elements". If you really did enjoy the people's consent, they would rise up for you and eliminate this small group of people about whom you speak.

Iran being on strike all over

Well now we must ask why these bazaars are presently closed down in Iran. We put this question to him. Have they closed down because they are afraid you will be deposed?! Are they in this way showing their opposition to those who oppose you?! Is this why they have closed down? When the people shout "Death to the Shah" in these demonstrations they embark on, do they really mean death to someone else, and when they say "the Shah", they don't mean you?! Iran is in a state of turmoil, strikes engulf the country and many of them are held by governmental organizations. Has this come about because the people agree with you? Have they gone on strike because they approve of you? Are they on strike because they approve of your government? Is it true then what you say about them only being a limited number of people?! Previously, you used to describe your opponents as a few people from over the border! As you put it, they came into Iran from over the border using false birth certificates and set on creating this kind of trouble. This means that those who work in all these bazaars of Iran are people who have come into the country from over the border, and are limited in number to boot! The whole of Iran has risen up against you, yet still you speak of limited numbers! Even now that you concede it is Iranians who are opposing you, you nevertheless maintain that they are only few in number!

Shah's real countenance

As for the other point he made that these people do not understand him, in one sense he is right and in another he is not. He is right in the sense that as long as man is in this world, he cannot perceive the true nature of other human beings, for this is not something which is apparent, although some of it may be. As long as we are in this world, we see all faces as the faces of human beings and all deeds as commonplace. However, when this page is turned and the page showing man's inner nature is revealed "*the day that all things secret will be tested*",¹ man's secrets, his inner disposition, will be revealed in a place suited to this purpose: the kingdom of heaven, the hidden world. When he enters there everything will be revealed. So at present we cannot really understand him, we do not know what his inner nature is like, just as we cannot see that of anybody else, whether those who have an abundance of good qualities or those who abound in evil. We cannot recognize them for what they truly are in this world. All of us are eating and moving around² in this environment, we are all living in this environment. We are all like one another with two ears and a head and the other things we have in common. But in this world, no one can come to understand the full truth about another person. In this sense then he is correct when he says that he has not been understood. We cannot fully know him or his father, nor can we comprehend him, because the secrets have not yet been revealed.

Spiritual universe and '*the day secrets are revealed*'

Those who seek to divine a hidden, secret meaning in the revealed text, who speak on matters beyond the superficial understanding that we have and who have understood something of the celestial world, say that a human being's true nature, which is not apparent here, will be depicted in suitable forms on that following page which is the page revealing man's inner nature. In other words, someone whose appearance is now one of a human being whose nature, whose natural disposition, is so bad it resembles not that of a human being but of a fierce animal will take this form when he leaves this world. For the time being he resembles a human being, but when he passes on and appearances are pushed into the background and his true nature is made manifest, he will look like a savage beast. His face will become that of a ferocious animal. But we have to wait and see which one of these savage beasts he will resemble most. Is he a leopard, so will he resemble a leopard?

¹ Surah at-Tariq 86:9.

² Surah al-Furqan 25:20.

Is he a wolf, so will he resemble a wolf? Or is he worse than these and will consequently resemble something much worse?

The ferocity of animals has a limit. Their savagery has its limits. Wolves are a case in point. A wolf attacks another animal, feeds on it then rests. It is not the nature of a wolf to devour just any animal! One may find an exception, but generally there is a limit. Other animals too are limited in their ferociousness. Man, however, differs from other animals because he has no limits. That is to say the side of man's nature which pertains to blessedness and moral excellence knows no bounds: he can reach the stage where all his attributes are God-like. In other words, when he looks at something he will look with God-like eyes; when he stretches out his hand it will be God's hand: "*When thou threwest the spear, it was not thy act, but God's.*"¹ You threw it but it was God's act, not yours. Those who swear fealty to him "*Do no less than plight their fealty to God.*"² Man can attain such perfection that his hand is the hand of God, he becomes the eyes and ears of God.³ Man is unlimited in the perfection he can attain. At the same time that defective side of his nature, the side that pertains to nastiness, also knows no bounds.

"*God is the Protector of those who have faith, from the depths of darkness He will lead them forth into light. Of those who reject faith the patrons are the evil ones, from light they will lead them forth into the depths of darkness.*"⁴ "*Into the depths of darkness;*" not simply into darkness, but into all the degrees of darkness. Conversely, God speaks of 'light' in the singular, because light is singular and the most perfect light is the singular light. So on the one side there are different depths of darkness, and those who reject faith will be led from light into darkness, whereas those who have faith will put all the degrees of darkness behind them and will go toward the light.

As long as we are in this world, none of this is obvious to us. Neither the brilliance nor the realm of light for the believers is evident, nor is the

¹ *Surah al-Anfal* 8:17.

² *Surah al-Fath* 48:10.

³ It refers to a famous *hadith al-qudsi* [Statement of God as narrated by the Holy Prophet (s)]: None of my servants will get closer to me than he who performs the deed dearer to me than that which I have obliged him to do. That which is dearer to me is *nafileh*.* The servant who performs *nafileh* will become so close to me that he will become endeared to me, consequently, I will become his ear with which he hears, his eyes through which he sees, his tongue with which he speaks and his hand with which he grasps. If he calls me I will answer, and whatever he wants from me, I will grant him. *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 4, p. 53. * *Nafilah* = a voluntary act of religion, the observance of which is not positively enjoined; a work of supererogation; supererogatory prayers.

⁴ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:257.

darkness or the degrees of darkness for those who reject faith. These things will be evident when this page is turned and the following page is made manifest. You will see some people who have ten personality traits which are made manifest in ten faces. He's only one person, but his animal nature is so dominant, his carnal appetite so strong, that his face resembles that of a greedy animal like a pig. His ferociousness too predominates—as it does in animals like leopards—and devilishness and deceitfulness fill his face. In the hereafter, when this page is turned, he will be the devil of all devils. And at the same time as he has a devilish face he will also have a ferocious face, the last level of ferocity; he will have the face of a lustful animal too, the last level of sensuality. He will appear with these different faces.

So from this aspect of the matter, we have indeed not only failed to understand him, but none of us have understood ourselves either. We have not understood other people in the same way as we have not understood him. At the time when secrets become apparent and the page is turned, then he will understand himself, and the people too will understand him. We too have not understood what we really are, we won't know until we see our true inner nature. I seek refuge in God from the corrupt nature that exists in us.

The worldly face of Shah and his father

You are not entirely correct when you state that we have not understood you, understood you in the sense that you mean—for you are not one of those who can comprehend understanding in the sense that I have just spoken about. We have indeed come to understand something about you, as we did your father before you, from your deeds. Today is Dey 17 [January 7],¹ I can remember, as perhaps this man (the Shah) does, indeed anyone of our age may recall what wickedness this man (Rida Khan) perpetrated around this time. Such pressure he put this nation under, such repression; what disgraceful acts were carried out against so many honorable women because of him; so many miscarriages occurred around the time of Dey 17. Such acts of aggression this man's agents and executioners perpetrated against the men,

¹ After the Constitutional Revolution from the middle of 1927, some circles close to Rida Khan began talking about the forced removal of the women's Islamic veil [*kashf-e hijab*] and by the New Year of 1928 [1307 AHS], Rida Khan's wife and daughters appeared in public without the Islamic covering. The law calling for the removal of *hijab* was implemented after Rida Khan's return from Turkey (in 1934) on January 7, 1935 [Dey 17, 1341 AHS]. On this day, Rida Khan, accompanied by his wife and two daughters, attended the opening ceremonies for a college along with his ministers and their wives who had removed their Islamic covering. At this ceremony, Rida Khan addressed the women saying: "We have broken the prison bars! Now the freed prisoners can make beautiful homes instead of cages."

how outrageously they violated the rights of the women and dragged them from their homes. These are the deeds your father perpetrated, they are beyond description. His true character will be evident in the next world; we could not understand him properly while he was in this world, we could not understand what kind of an animal he truly was. As far as the deeds you have done are concerned, let's take stock to see what we have understood of you. What deeds have you carried out that the nation has not found out about?

Crimes of Pahlavis are indescribable

Of course, these people have done many things behind closed doors! While I have been here, I have been sent lists of the amount of money which these people have sent abroad—indeed while I was in Iraq I was sent such lists—in addition to documents from companies whose creation these people ordered.¹ But this much that we know is still only the half of it. There is money that has been spirited out of the country about which we have no knowledge; acts of treason have been perpetrated about which we know nothing. Perhaps, at some later date, if the historians find out about them, they will be recorded in the annals of history. With the passing of time, further acts of treason that he has committed against our nation and some more of the crimes that he has perpetrated will be told. For the moment though we do not know the full extent of his crimes. We do not know everything that happened to the believers in these prisons, what they did to our youth in these prisons and the *Comite*.² What they had to endure cannot

¹ There was not a major economic organization in Iran—whether in the department of trade or in the areas of agriculture and industry—in which the Shah and his family were not shareholders. Through 'The Pahlavi Foundation', 'The Imperial Organization' and 'The Social Services', the Shah was one of the major shareholders of Umran Bank, Iranshahr Bank, Dariush Bank, The Development and Investment Bank of Iran, and Shahryar Bank, while he also held major shares in the Kurush Savings and Mortgage Bank and the Ekbatan Savings and Mortgage Bank. The Shah had substantial investments in companies and organizations such as General Motors of Iran, Persian Metal Forms Co., and in various aluminum factories. In addition, he was a major shareholder in companies which were involved in trade, production, industry, and distribution. The Shah did not even overlook investments in hotels and restaurants! This unchallenged sovereign pocketed a huge share of the returns made from dozens of restaurants, casinos and night-clubs and from the following hotels: Babulsar; Vanak; Ramsar; Arya Sheraton; Chalus; Gamrun; Bandar Abbas; Nowshahr; The Hayt in Khazar; The Hayt in Mashhad; and The Tehran Hilton! Furthermore, each member of the Pahlavi family was also involved more or less to the same extent as the Shah in commercial-business enterprises. For further information refer to *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, p. 216.

² This is in reference to the notorious *Comite* building in Tehran where political detainees were usually first taken to be tortured and which was the headquarters of the Joint Committee of the National Police Force and SAVAK. The two forces had joined together to cooperate with one another in seeking out and annihilating secret centers of activity against the Shah's regime, and indeed in destroying anyone who in any way opposed the Shah's dictatorship. Prominent members of governmental organizations were members of the *Comite* and all important sections of the government, along with the armed forces, had representatives there. For more information on the intelligence organizations during the Shah's regime and their workings, refer to *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, pp. 379-488.

be described, it cannot be spoken about. A few of the tortures they suffered and which have been divulged include the sawing off of feet, immersion in boiling oil and roasting prisoners by tying them to an iron frame covered with wire mesh and electrically heating it like a toaster. These are just some of the methods of torture that you and I have heard about. As for the other things they do, we have to question NaSiri about these.¹ We have to interrogate him about these matters, for the Shah says torture no longer takes place in the prisons! This is what he asserts, that the torment that was said to take place in the prisons no longer occurs! He concedes that a little bit of psychological torture is still carried out, but he denies that the physical torture that went on previously, with people having their hands hurt a little, still occurs!² He was informed of what was going on and those things that he is aware of are recorded in his brain, in his soul. If one had the ability to reach inside him and read the secrets recorded there, if one possessed the ability to read those things that the angels of God have written down and are meant for the next world, then one would realize just what deeds this man has done, what orders he has given. Those people who carried out his orders later reported to him what they had done. He knows what has happened at his command, he just won't tell the people he knows.

Evidence of Shah's betrayals and crimes

Such acts of treason you (the Shah) perpetrated against this nation. You spoke of wanting to take it to the gateway of a great civilization, yet in action you whittled away the power of its youth. Come, ask these young people of ours whom you sent abroad to learn about atomic energy and so on, what they are doing here. They come and tell me how they are being treated over

¹ NaSiri, the then head of the National Information and Security Organization (SAVAK) and one of the Shah's main advisers. An interesting point appears in the memoirs of the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, we read: "After NaSiri was arrested and taken into custody (following the victory of the Islamic Revolution), I asked him: 'Why did you torture the political prisoners in Iran so?' He replied: 'I am not aware that torture was carried out! No one told me what was going on!'"

² After Carter came to office, the Shah, in an attempt to gain the new President's approval for his regime, announced that torture was no longer carried out in Iranian prisons.

here. You won't let our youth progress. You have kept our universities at an inferior level not allowing them to become independent; you do not let the lecturers at the universities get on with their jobs. You have put our education in a state of backwardness. It is an imperialist educational system, one that has been dictated to us by others. We are lacking a proper educational system, and even if you were to go now and this government were overthrown, we would be left with a ruined, chaotic country... Its economy has been destroyed; its education has been destroyed; its army is corrupt. Such a country is this regime's legacy to us. We are the inheritors of a country in disarray. With the help of our young people, our educated people and the enlightened classes of our country and nation who are living in seclusion or are languishing in prison, it will take us many long years before we can return Iran to the level it was at thirty odd years ago before his rule began. So much time is needed to return the country's farming to its original state. So much time is needed to turn this educational system of ours into a proper system, to turn our economy into a true economy.

You say we have not understood you! This is what we have understood of you, if you are any different, speak out. If you are other than this, then why do you say you have made a mistake!? If you acted any differently from our understanding, then why do you say you have erred?! What you would really like to say is: "I did the right thing. You are the ones who are mistaken, these few people are mistaken. The nation is with me. My actions were right, all of them, it is these few people who have come here from over the border who have made the mistake"! How nice it would be if you spoke honestly and then left. Why don't you do this? Why are you constantly saying that if you were to leave this and that would happen and "they have not understood me, there are a few people who would agree with me if they understood me"! If these people had understood you, what events you would have witnessed then! Now that they haven't understood you, indeed now that none of us have understood you, we are opposing you to this extent, what, then, would it be like if we perceived your true nature?! Anyone who perceived your true nature would oppose you.

Now that he is getting ready to leave, he has apparently installed a few 'butchers', as one of the gentlemen called them, to continue killing the people. He means to flee, but he has delegated a group of people to continue massacring the people! So we are still facing the same problems. We have repeatedly stated that as long as the monarchy exists, this government is illegal, for the people have voted that this monarchy is illegal. The people have said they don't want a monarchy. All of the people have said this. If the

Shah and his regime think otherwise, then they should find us one person—apart from those who are in his employ and whom he pays—who wants this regime to remain in power. Let them go through the bazaar asking people: “Which one of you wants this regime?” If they can find one person who says he does, then they can claim that all the bazaars in Iran are under their control, all the peasants are with them.

No matter how often you have told the peasants their situation would become lamentable if the *akhunds* came to power, they didn't listen to you. For they know the *akhunds* do not want to destroy their livelihood rather they want to rescue them from their adversity and deliver these poor people from the deception they have been exposed to. I have said time and again that if we gain control, those who once owned ten or a hundred villages will not be given them back. They have an account to settle, they have to settle years of accounts. This regime sends people to the farmers or peasants, as they call them, proclaiming how if the *akhunds* gained power such and such a thing would happen. But the peasants know you for what you are! What have you ever done for them? The only thing you have done is to plunge them into a slough of despond. Why have they come to settle around Tehran and are living in these huts? We want to take them out of these huts; we mean to change this parasitic state Iran is presently in, we mean to deliver it from its dependence on foreigners. There is nothing ambiguous about what we mean to do.

Need for army in an Islamic state

Spurious ideas are presently propagated about what will happen if an Islamic government comes to power. Among the army men, they propagate the notion that the army will be dismantled! We need an army, how could we then completely dismantle it? We will rid it of a few thieves, but the rest we accept. Army commanders, however, take note, we will accept only pure-hearted commanders, the impure at heart will have to go. Those who have taken the wealth of the people, those who have stored the wealth of the people in foreign banks, they will have to go, but go not in the sense of just getting up and going with the money, no, this has to be taken off them. If I were able, I would not let this wretch (the Shah) leave just like that. He has to stay and settle his account. Where do you think you are going? Don't think you can just take the money and leave.

We need the army, we respect the army. We hold the young army men, the young army officers in the highest esteem. If in the higher ranks too there are found some genuine commanders, then they also enjoy our respect. We

oppose those who have stolen from this nation. We respect people in all levels of the government. If there are one or two among them who happen to be corrupt, then they have to go. There has to be a purge. Otherwise, the country needs the army, the country needs an administration, it needs ministries—it needs all of these things, but not as they are in their present form.

Basic illegitimacy of the Shah's regime

We are now opposing this government because it is illegal, for the Shah introduced it and he is illegal. Likewise, since it is the Shah who introduces the parliaments, we deem them too to be illegal. The parliament is not a parliament of the nation; it is the Shah's parliament, or, more precisely, America's. We deem this government to be a treacherous one, for the highest form of treason is to take a vote of confidence from a parliament it knows to be corrupt! This constitutes treason against the nation. The government gets a vote of confidence from people whose proxy the nation has no knowledge of—no one can deny this—and the command to form a cabinet from someone with reference to whom the nation has for the past year been shouting: "Death to this man" and who is treating the people in such a draconian manner. Such a government is an illegal one. Whoever co-operates in the slightest with this government, whatever his position may be, is a traitor to our nation, and according to divine law is a sinner who has committed a forbidden [*haram*] act, whoever that person may be.¹

¹ If Imam Khomeini had not taken a decisive stance on the new government of Bakhtiyar and had not given serious warnings against accepting it, most certainly in view of the fact that Bakhtiyar was a member of the National Front who had once worked with Dr. Musaddiq and also considering the relations the nationalists had with the political groups and personalities such as Mr. ShariAtmadari, particularly throughout 1978, Bakhtiyar's government would have been officially recognized by the nationalist groups and some of the religious figures in Iran. In the book *Inqilab-e Iran dar Du Harikat* (p. 74) Mr. Bazargan writes: "There is a tacit agreement between Bakhtiyar and the religious leaders." While expressing regret that efforts to set up a meeting between Bakhtiyar and Imam had failed, the author continues: "If this had happened, God alone knows what savings could have been made and what subsequent retaliation, bloodshed and destruction could have been avoided." Also in a secret document obtained from the American spy den (*Documents from the US Espionage Den*, vol. 27, p. 22, The moderates (3)) we read: "Amir Intizam, Liberation Movement of Iran (LMI) central committee member, asked for an urgent meeting with Poloff Stempel morning Jan. 10. Purpose of meeting was to indicate that LMI had agreed to put forward name of Gen. Khalil Bakhshi-Azar to replace Gen. Jam as defense minister in Bakhtiyar's cabinet. . . . Bakhshi-Azar was acceptable to LMI and National Front, both of which were helping Bakhtiyar get his cabinet together at this point."

You gentlemen who are abroad must make all people everywhere realize that this is what the whole nation of Iran is saying, it is not simply what I am saying. You are part of the nation, you too agree that this government which the Shah has imposed on us, which wants to keep the Shah in power and makes it clear that he must return to Iran, is a government which has betrayed our nation and must go. (Those present voice their agreement). God willing, may you all be successful.

Statements

Date: January 8, 1979 [Dey 18, 1357AHS / Safar 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Opposing the Bakhtiyar government and the consequences of a military coup

Addressees: Two envoys of the French President¹

[Giscard d'Estaing's Envoy: The reason for our meeting is to convey a message we have for the Ayatullah. This message is from President Carter for the Imam. In a telephone conversation with President Giscard d'Estaing, he requested that the message be conveyed to you.

In his message, President Carter has demanded that the Ayatullah use all his forces to prevent opposition to Bakhtiyar. Attacking Bakhtiyar will have many dangers and is a gamble, which will lead to great casualties. In President Carter's viewpoint, avoidance of any explosion in Iran will be in the interest of all. The exit of the Shah is definite and will take place in the near future. In Carter's view it will be appropriate to bring the entire situation under your control to bring about peace. What is necessary to say is that the danger of the army's intervention is there and the materialization of this threat will exacerbate the situation. Won't it be better to create a period of silence and tranquility? President Carter hopes that this message remains absolutely secret and confidential. A means of direct contact with the Ayatullah should be arranged in order to be regularly informed about the developments; and this will be in the interest of your country, particularly the Ayatullah. The (French) Foreign Minister conveyed that keeping Carter's message unveiled will be in the interest of the Imam, for it will make the continuation of this relation possible. I have been asked to say that the message and its content are very logical, and the transfer of power in Iran

¹ On January 8, 1979, two envoys of the French President Giscard d'Estaing came to see Imam in Neauphle-le-Château. It was the first time the official representatives of the president came to meet Imam and clearly an important issue was to be discussed. Their entry to the residence took place when tens of reporters were roaming around. They came to know about their arrival and were keen to know what was happening.

In the meeting, where I was present as well, after exchanging the usual compliments, one of them (the envoy of Giscard d'Estaing) started speaking and after the Imam's remarks, he thanked the Imam for making the meeting possible and reminded the Imam that the message remain confidential, and the Imam stressed that it would definitely remain confidential.

must be controlled and accompanied with feeling of serious political responsibilities.]

Imam: The message of Mr. Carter had two points: One, agreeing with the current government, that is, the Bakhtiyar government, or at least keeping silent under the present circumstances and maintaining tranquility in this recession; and the second point was about the probability of a military coup or the prediction of a military coup, and the extensive massacre of the people that you are frightening us of happening. With regard to the Bakhtiyar government, you are recommending us to act against our law. Suppose I commit such a mistake, the nation will not be ready to do so. Our nation has endured such great difficulties and made such great sacrifices in order to emancipate itself from the burden of the monarchial regime and the Pahlavi dynasty. Our nation is not ready to waste all those sacrifices and allow the Shah to remain in power, or leave and once again come back worse than before; it is not ready to accept the Royal Council either, for that too is against the constitution that I have frequently explained. With regard to maintaining the tranquility, we have always wanted the country to be tranquil and the people live in peace; but it is not possible to maintain peace with the existence of the Shah; and we cannot restore peace with the existence of the Shah.

If Mr. Carter has got goodwill and wants peace and wants to prevent the bloodshed, it will be appropriate to remove the Shah, not support the government [of Bakhtiyar], and not block the materialization of the people's will, which is a legitimate will and demand.

And about the coup, just now I was informed that a military coup is underway and they intend to commit massive massacres; and they have asked me to boycott the American goods and warn the US that if such a coup happens they will hold you responsible; and if you have goodwill, you must stop it. They have told me and sent messages to me that if the coup takes place; the decree for holy war should be issued. I do not consider the coup in the interest of the nation nor in that of the US; if it (the coup) happens, will we hold you responsible. I don't know what the American nation will do in the future? Given that I am a cleric and always take the exigency of mankind and that of my nation into consideration, I advise you to prevent the bloodshed and not allow the bloodshed go on; leave Iran to itself, and if you do so, it will neither have a communist inclination nor will it lean toward other diversionary schools of thought; it will neither surrender to the East nor to the West.

I emphasize that if you want to maintain peace in Iran, there is no other way than removing the monarchical system, which is illegal and leave the nation to themselves so that I set up a revolutionary council, consisting of pious persons, for the transfer of power to prepare the necessary grounds for the establishment of the government that is to be elected by the people. Otherwise, there will be no hope for peace; and I fear that if a military coup is engineered in Iran; such an explosion will break out that no one will be able to control. The Iranian nation is not afraid of a military coup, for it has already been several months that the military power has been vigorously dealing with the people, but they have not been able to maintain peace. Today, the system and the army have become weaker and shakier, for differences have surfaced within the army and many of them are joining us and will muffle the coup, but with a massacre that I do not like to happen. I recommend you to prevent a coup, for if it happens, the people will hold you responsible for it, and it will be detrimental to you. This is my entire message to Carter.

But with regard to the French government, I thank the president who has questioned Carter's support for the Shah in this conference and I would like him to advise Carter to stop his support for the Shah and the current regime and government—that are all illegal—and to prevent the military coup so that tranquility is returned to Iran and the economic wheels start moving. Then it will be possible to export oil to the West and anywhere else that there is a customer.

Interview

Date: January 8, 1979 [Dey 18, 1357 AHS / Safar 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Illegality of Bakhtiyar's government; impossibility of a military coup

Interviewer: A reporter of the French-language magazine, *Young Africa*

Question: [Why don't you go back to Iran? Do you think that the Shah's presence is a hurdle in the way of your return to Iran? Do you think that the abdication of the Shah will make your return definite?]

Answer: Unless I feel that my presence in Iran is more useful for the movement than my presence in here, I will stay here.

Q: [You have said that the United States must change its Iran policy. Would you please explain what you mean by this change of policy? What are the conditions?]

A: I mean that it must stop the interferences in Iran's affairs it has been doing thus far; it must withdraw its advisors and leave Iran to itself to decide about its fate itself.

Q: [What is your opinion about South Africa, a country that receives about ninety percent of its oil from Iran?]

A: So long as South Africa has not put an end to this situation, we cannot have any relations with it and will not supply oil to it.

Q: [Don't you fear that the defeat of the Bakhtiyar government would lead to a military coup? How do you explain the decline of the army to join the ranks of the revolution in the present conditions?]

A: Under any circumstances, the Bakhtiyar government is against the law and the Iranian nation cannot accept his government. A military coup is nothing short of what the situation has been thus far; they have treated the people with the martial governments and curfews. We will continue our efforts in the way of Islam and our country to the extent we can. Military coup will not solve any problem in Iran, for the government before Bakhtiyar was nothing short of a military coup and did not solve the problem of Iran.

We will continue our efforts in the way of Islam and our country. You won't believe that the army is with the people and will turn back to the Shah

in the near future. Our victory is certain and the establishment of the Islamic Republic is very clear for me.

Interview

Date: January 8, 1979 [Dey 18, 1357 AHS / Safar 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Illegality of the Bakhtiyar government

Interviewer: A reporter of the French Channel 2 Television

Question: [It seems that your victory is close; Do you think that the Shah will leave soon? When will he leave? If you catch hold of him within the jurisdiction of you power, what will you do with him?]

Answer: God willing, it will be close. Although his leaving is definite, I do not know when he will leave. If we arrest him, we will try him for the crimes he has committed.

Q: [Who will rule, after the Shah has left? You? Or, will you participate in any government?]

A: No. I will not be there. We will appoint a council by which the Parliament will be established and then the Parliament through reliance on the nation will make arrangements for the rest of the tasks to be accomplished.

Q: [You are determined to set up an Islamic Republic. Will this republic be enough for the government?]

A: The Islamic Republic is like other republics, but its content is the Islamic law. We will establish a government and it will be enough for all the affairs.

Q: [In the field of foreign policy, what will be your stance vis-à-vis such countries as the United States, Soviet Union, and Israel?]

A: We will not have any relations with Israel because it is a usurper and is at war with the Muslims. But if the United States and Soviet Union do not interfere in our internal affairs, and establish good ties with us, we will have relations with them.

Q: [By good relations, do you mean that you will also sell oil?]

A: We will also sell oil and receive money, foreign exchange.

Q: [You have not accepted the Bakhtiyar government at all. What was the reason?]

A: The Bakhtiyar government is illegal, for the Shah and the two houses of the Parliament are illegal. The Shah is illegal because of the referendum of the nation on *TasuA* and *Ashura*; the two houses of Parliament are illegal because they do not rely on the nation and it was a parliament whose members were appointed by the Shah.

Q: [Will you return to Iran soon?]

A: It depends on where I can render more services to the Iranian nation. If I realize that I can render best of services in the worst spot of the world, I will not hesitate a moment.

Interview

Date: January 8, 1979 [Dey 18, 1357 AHS / Safar 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Shah's private assets; policies of the Islamic government of Iran

Interviewer: A British reporter of the *Economist* newspaper

Question: [Which person or which party will be acceptable to you to be at the top of the Iranian government?]

Answer: What is important is that the head of the government and those who take the helm must be accepted by the nation and should be deeply committed to Islam and enforcement of its law and like any individual; I will cast my vote for the trusted persons.

Q: [Do you expect the holding of a general election after the collapse or exit of the Shah?]

A: One of the most significant duties of the first group who assume power after the collapse of the Shah is to prepare the grounds for free elections so that no group or class can influence the elections.

Q: [What will you do about the Land Reforms and the Shah's personal assets? Will you continue the policy of distribution of lands? Are you an advocate of private property?]

A: As it was clear from the very beginning and became clearer later, the Shah's Land Reforms Plan did not have any objective other than destroying the country's agriculture, as a result of which a considerable chunk of Iran's oil income was spent to import foodstuff from abroad, particularly from the United States. But we will never return the lands to the landlords, for they have neither observed the Islamic law in owning the lands nor have they observed the law with regard to their income. We will not keep these lands uncultivated either. Through the best of agricultural means and with arranging other necessary funds, we will support the agriculture. With regard to the private property, it is sure that it is confirmed by Islam, but the entire Islamic laws in the field of economy, when seen as an integrated school in the entire body of Islam, and implemented comprehensively, will be the best possible form. It will eradicate the problem of poverty and will prevent the corruption of a group through accumulating wealth. As a result, it will sustain the society against corruption and will not prevent the growth of the

talents and blossoming of man's power of invention and creation. The comprehensiveness and integrity of the Islamic law is such that if someone recognized it, he would confess that it is beyond the limit and ability of man's thought and that it is not the creation of the scientific, intellectual power of man.

Q: [Will you insure or preserve the treaties signed with foreign countries—the defense agreements and the agreements regarding the power plants, roads and railways?]

A: First of all, we do not have any information about the contents of these agreements. That is, the Shah's regime never informed the people about the content of these agreements and concealed them from the Iranian nation, but the future government will study them again and those found against the interests of the nation will be abrogated. But for the modernization of the country, we will use all the facilities the foreign governments will be willing to supply to us, while preserving our freedom and the independence of the country on the basis of mutual respect; we will sign some agreements to this effect.

Q: [Do you want to see the technicians and advisors stay in Iran—the American advisors (45,000), the West German (13,000), British (1,000) French (7,500) and Japanese advisors (7,000)?]

A: The future government will study and decide about each of these groups, their role and the degree of the country's need for them. The future government will have no commitment to anybody except to the nation and the preservation of their interests and exigencies.

Q: [You have said recently (early December 1978) that all the agreements that are against the interests of the nation will be rejected. What agreements do you mean? How do you define the "national interests"?)]

A: I think that there isn't any ambiguity when it is said the interests of the nation. For example, no Iranian ever doubts that the billion-dollars-worth agreements for the purchase of armaments and construction of military bases for the United States by the Iranian oil income and the presence of thousands of American military advisors in Iran, who are paid mind-boggling salaries, are not in the interest of the Iranian nation and such agreements, that have been signed by the Shah or his agents, are not few.

Q: [Will you continue the arrangements or trade and commercial agreements and current transactions with the West? What will be your trade policy?]

A: As we will sell and export our domestic products to any country that is a customer, we will purchase whatever we need inside the country from abroad. But we will act in all these transactions on the basis of equal footing of the two sides and will not allow any government to impose economic trade as a leverage to exert political influence and impose its colonial objectives.

Q: [Why do you criticize the Shah's relations with the United States and the West?]

A: We are opposed to the mission delegated to the Shah by the colonial powers to preserve their interests and destroy the country in order to preserve his crown, his shaky throne and his government, which does not rely on the nation. We oppose the Shah's foreign policy, for it has been at the cost of the independence of our country and the freedom of the nation.

Q: [How do you foresee the role of the Army in the Islamic Republic?]

A: The country is not needless of the military force and the army, but the army must be the protector of the independence and security of the country not the supporter of a despotic dictator who has been rejected by the entire nation and is an agent to massacre the sons of the country.

Q: [What is your opinion about the leadership of the army at present?]

A: Today the army has no independence. The leadership of the army today is in the hands of a few top officials and agents of the Shah under the supervision of foreign advisors.

Q: [What is your opinion about Mr. Shapur Bakhtiyar?]

A: His cabinet, like the earlier Shah's governments, is illegal and has been condemned by the nation.

Q: [Do you intend to legalize the Tudeh Party before or after the establishment of the Islamic Republic?]

A: Today, no group is as hated as the Tudeh Party, due to its very bad record in Iran.

Q: [How do you intend to establish the republic through referendum?]

A: The principle of the establishment of the Islamic Republic has been announced by the nation during the referendum of *Tasua* and *Ashura* across

the country. After the collapse of the Shah, the representatives of the nation will take the legal measures for its implementation and also will prepare and complete the constitution of this republic.

Q: [Do you intend to ensure the freedoms of speech, assembly, press and rituals?]

A: God willing, we will announce our plans in the earliest possible time. But it does not mean that I will take the helm and like the Shah's dictatorship announce a principle every day and impose it on the people contrary to their will. It will be the duty of the government and the representatives of the nation to decide in these affairs, but I will always perform my duty of guiding and directing.

Q: [Are you prepared to see a communist or a minister with communist leanings in one of the national or defense positions or in the domestic or foreign offices?]

A: If the people vote for the Islamic Republic, they will not accept a non-Muslim minister.

Q: [Do you intend to slap oil sanctions against the United States and its allies?]

If this is the case, where will you export your oil to?]

A: We will stop the export of oil until the Shah has gone. After his departure, we will sell oil to any country we will decide to sell and will receive money, not arms, for the sale of our oil.

Q: [How do you see the role of the clergy and the religious leaders in the future government? What will be the nature of your relations with non-military powers?]

A: The clerics will perform the role of guidance and direction of the government in the future political system.

Q: [Is there anybody among your associates who are sympathizers of and interested in communism and Marxian socialism?]

A: No, not at all; never.

Q: [What is your opinion about the Soviet Union and the Muslim minorities in Central Asia?]

A: The Soviet Union too is among the countries that plunder the resources of our country; it takes away the Iranian gas, and has always supported the Shah. We respect all the religious minorities wherever they are.

Q: [What are your feelings about the establishment of a revolutionary government in Afghanistan, as well as its relations with Iran?]

A: Afghanistan is a country situated in our neighborhood and is a Muslim country. We have friendly relations with the Afghan nation. They are our brothers.

Q: [Do you find Islam and atheist Marxism compatible with each other?]

A: No, Not at all.

Q: [Are you interested in a position for yourself in the future government?]

A: No.

Interview

Date: January 8, 1979 [Dey 18, 1357 AHS / Safar 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Elucidating the stands of Islam and the future policies of Iran

Interviewer: A reporter of the English-language *Times* newspaper

Question: [I would like to know a little bit about your childhood and your profession during that time and perhaps a brief allusion to your childhood and the way through which you got to your current conviction. What qualities and values were and are important for your? As a Christian, I do not know much about your culture. Hence, my first question is: what are your beliefs? How and where did you learn these beliefs? How do you practice them? And as the concluding question, would you please explain a little bit about your job?]

Answer: My personal life, like all other individuals, is an incident which is a part of all the incidents that are going on in the world and I do not see any need to explain and illustrate it. But my beliefs and those of all the Muslims are what have come in the holy Quran or the Prophet of Islam (S) and have been said by other righteous leaders after him. The root and base of all those beliefs—which is the most significant and valuable of our beliefs—is the principle of monotheism [*tawhid*]. According to this principle, we believe that the Creator and the Lord of the world and all the universes of existence and man is only the sacred essence of the Almighty God who is Omnipotent and Omniscient and is the Lord of everything. This principle teaches us that man should surrender only to the sacred essence of the Absolute Truth and must not obey any human being unless his obedience is tantamount to obedience to God. Therefore, no man has ever any right to force other human beings to surrender to him. And we learn the principle of freedom of man from this principle, that is, no one has any right to deprive a society or a human being of any right, or legislate laws for him, or regulate his behavior or his relations on the basis of his own reasoning and cognition which is very incomplete or on the basis of his own will and aspiration. On the basis of this principle, we also believe that legislation for man is solely within the power of the Almighty God, as He has also ordained the laws of existence and creation. The salvation and perfection of man and human societies is subject to the obedience to the divine laws that have been imparted to man by the prophets. The deterioration and collapse of man is due to negation of his

freedom and his surrender to other human beings and therefore on the basis of this formula, man must rise against bondage and the chains of slavery and against those who call to slavery and captivity in order to liberate himself and his society so that all submit to God and become his bondmen. It is from this viewpoint that our social struggles against the despotic and colonial powers begin. Also we are inspired by this monotheistic principle that all human beings are equal before God. He is the Creator of all and all the creatures are His bondmen. The principle of equality of human beings indicates that the only privilege of one individual over another is the criterion of virtue and cleanliness from diversion and lapses. Therefore, one should struggle against anything that disturbs equality in the society and imposes hollow and vain privileges in the society. Of course, it is the beginning and the explanation of a limited aspect of this principle of our belief—the Islamic scholars throughout the history of Islam have written a number of lengthy books and treatises to explain and prove each of these Islamic issues.

Q: [I would like to know the clear contradiction between your role as a religious leader and the role you play as the leader of the opposition. How did the policy of the Shah's regime lead to your exile? What have the governments of this regime done that have impelled you to oppose them? I see you as a rock, firmly standing in the midst of the pounding events; you are a base in the midst of transient events. Hence, I do not think it is correct to describe you as a revolutionary personality. What is the degree of the importance of your person in the current events and what has been the degree of your personal influence on these events?]

A: If you can understand the concept of religion in our Islamic culture, you will see clearly that there is no contradiction between the religious and political leadership, but as political struggle is a part of the religious duties and obligations, the leadership and conduct of the political struggles too is a part of the duties and responsibilities of a religious leader. It will be enough to cast a glimpse at the life of the great Prophet (S) of Islam and also that of Imam Ali (A), who are both religious as well as political leaders. This issue is among the clear issues in the culture of Shiism and every ShiAh Muslim considers it the duty of a religious and political leader to directly intervene in the political and social fates of the society and play his guidance and determining role. The concept of religion and religious leadership in the Islamic culture is different from that in your culture in which religion deals merely with personal and spiritual relations between man and God. But, since its advent, Islam has always protested against the ruling systems in the

society and it has had its own particular social, economic, and cultural system, having its legislation for all aspects of individual and social life and does not accept anything other than that which is for the welfare and salvation of the society. While telling man to worship God and showing him the way of worship, Islam teaches man how to live and how to regulate his relations with other human beings; it also teaches him how to regulate the relations of the Islamic society with other societies. There is no movement or practice of the individual or the society that Islam has not ordained a decree for. Therefore, it is but natural that the concept of religious leadership refers to the leadership of the religious scholars in all aspects of the society, for Islam has assumed the guidance of the society in all its aspects and features. As for the uprising of all the religious scholars against the Shah's regime and his governments today, the reasons are clear. Imam Ali (A) says: "God has taken a pledge from the scholars that they should not keep silent against the affluence of oppressor and hunger of the oppressed."¹ And it is the oppressive Shah and his clique who have allocated billions of dollars of the country's wealth to themselves, despite the fact that the people are living in an intolerable poverty. Also Imam Ali (A) says: "If heretical practices appear in the religion, it is the duty of the *ulama* to reveal their knowledge and not allow the deception, tricks and lies of the heretics to influence and falsify the religion and misguide the people." It is the Shah who through his lies and tricks has falsified the religion of God and also imposes his diabolic desires and those of his masters as Islamic laws on the oppressed Iranian nation and also distorts the facts and realities. It is the duty of the religious *ulama* to expose his real face for the nation. For instance, the Shah destroyed our economy and made the country dependent on foreign countries for its foodstuff, but still is proud of his Land Reform Program. Isn't it a distortion? Or, he is extracting as much oil of the country as he can and with its income establishes military bases for the foreigners. Or, under the pretext of modernizing the country—assemblage industries—mainly with the foreign investment without any coordination with the indigenous economic conditions, he has turned Iran into a consumption market for the imported luxury goods and thus is plundering the country's wealth and then claims to modernize the country. And hundreds of other distortions and treacheries which make it obligatory for every Muslim, and in the first place for the religious *ulama*, to rise up and rescue themselves and their nation from these oppressions.

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah* Sermon 3.

Q: [As for the current situation, I must confess that it has moved very fast before I could even observe it. The new prime minister¹ has invited you to go back to Iran; under which circumstances will this happen?]

A: The prime minister and any other government that come to power with the presence of the Shah are illegal and will have no legitimacy in the people's viewpoint. My return to Iran is subject to the fact that I will be able to render my services to Islam and the Islamic movement of the Iranian nation better; their invitation or lack of invitation do not play any role in my decision.

Q: [You have asked the workers of the oil industries to stop their production. Has your demand received a satisfactory response?]

A: Yes. According to reports not even a single drop of oil is extracted, but we dispatched a delegation to supervise production for the domestic consumption and invited a group of workers to resume their work.

Q: [Are not you concerned about some people who have certain political objectives but have hidden themselves behind what you have risen up for and utilize your situation to attain their goals?]

A: Today, if one studies the Islamic movement a little bit, he would realize that it's a hundred percent Islamic and anybody who is interested to participate in it, must adjust himself with it, otherwise he will be rejected by the people. Of course there are some people who are struggling against the Shah and are not Muslim, but they are few in number.

Q: [Is there any condition according to which you accept the presence of the Shah or his successors to the throne?]

A: There is no solution to the crisis in Iran with the presence of the Shah and the Shah has no other option other than abdication.

Q: [What kind of government are you interested to see in Iran? Are you demanding a government similar to what has now come to power in Iran, or are you willing to participate in it?]

A: We have announced the Islamic Republic and the nation has frequently voted for it through its frequent demonstrations. It is a government based on the people's vote and the Islamic rules and laws.

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar.

Q: [And finally, what do you think will happen in the future? Will the civil war be a solution with lesser loss? Is peace really probable? When life returns to normal, how do you envisage the life of an average citizen will be? What is your aspiration and what do you want to attain? Will you be able to attain it outside Iran?]

A: God willing, Iran has found its path and is marching ahead. We believe that after the victory of the nation, through the execution of Islamic laws, a society will be established which will be an example and model for the world nations and for their own redemption and welfare. There will be no civil war and sooner or later the army will join the nation. Basically, except a few army personnel, others believe in the way of the nation and I know their mentality. The Iranian politicians have several times warned me against the army, but they are mistaken; a misconception has been created for them.

Q: [If the leftists capitalize on the public dissatisfaction and capture the power, do you think that you will be able to influence them to observe what is valuable for you? Given the tasks you will have to accomplish, did not you wish to be a younger man?]

A: Such a thing is not possible in Iran. In a Muslim country, where the people sacrifice their blood in the name of Quran and God, it is impossible for a government that from the very beginning hoists the flag of atheism and anti-Islam, to come to power. Despite his hypocrisy and pretension to Islam, the Shah's real face was finally exposed and the nation repelled him. The Iranian nation does not need to take refuge in atheistic schools of thought for its belief and faith. The Iranian people want justice, freedom and independence and believe that they cannot achieve them except in the light of Islam and Islamic law. Sparing a few boys who have turned to communism due to their lack of experience, leftism does not exist in its real sense among the Iranian intellectuals who have a deep knowledge of the Iranian society. Islam, nothing else, prevails in Iran.

Q: [How do you see your present role and duty?]

A: Our role is guidance. It has always been so. We explain what we consider useful for the nation, reject what is harmful and try to forward Islamic goals.

Q: [Are you ready to issue a decree for the holy war, if all the ways are closed?]

A: If all the ways are closed, we will study it. But given my knowledge of the army, it would not reach that stage.

Q: [You have personally suffered a lot due to the Shah's regime, have been exiled, imprisoned, and your son [Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini] has been killed mysteriously. Given all these, do you feel any personal animosity against the Shah?]

A: Not at all! I do not have any personal animosity against the Shah. In the struggle, neither my person matters nor my son; I have never felt any personal annoyance against him. I oppose the Shah because of the treacheries he has committed during the past fifty years and the crimes he has committed against my nation.

Q: [You are talking of "my nation" and the fact is that you have become the leader of this great movement. Aren't you worried that the politicians may capitalize on this situation, hide themselves behind this veil, abuse your position, and at the end of the task surface and utilize it?]

A: We try to solve the problems ourselves as much as possible; we act on the basis of what is at our disposal and the nation too supports us. I hope that those who have become fighters today or over the past few days are really committed to struggle and are not opportunists. Of course, in every struggle, particularly in Iran where the expanse of struggle is wide, the opportunists will do something that they cannot do today, but the nation after the victory will, God willing, set them right. God willing!

Interview

Date: January 8, 1979 [Dey 18, 1357 AHS / Safar 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Reasons for opposing the Shah's regime; US policy

Interviewer: A reporter of the American *Baltimore Sun* newspaper

Question: [What are the main reasons for your opposition to the Shah? Is it because the Shah has been slow in reforms, has gone too far in reforms, or has carried out inappropriate reforms, or basically there are other reasons?]

Answer: Firstly, because of the reason which was inherent in your question, that is, the Shah has officially interfered in various aspects of the country and in the regulation of outlines of the Iranian politics in the field of reforms; and it is itself an offense, for in the constitutional monarchy the Shah is a nominal power and does not have any right to interfere in these affairs. Rather it is the two houses of the parliament and the government that should decide about the fate of the country—if they were elected by the people. While the Shah has always said that he is the only sovereign power in the country and all the governments have confessed during these years that they have carried out his orders. Hence the governments have been offenders and must be tried; likewise the parliament members who have witnessed all these but have not protested and due to this very reason their election to the parliament has been an offense. Their silence is another offense for which they should be tried regardless of the fact that they have approved all the orders and commandments of the Shah that have been against the constitution. Since the Shah has been mainly responsible in all these offenses, therefore our protest is in the first place directed against him. A result of this illegal government, which did not rely on the nation and was imposed on the nation by sword, was the imposition of complete suppression and oppression on the people. And during all these years thousands were killed, imprisoned, and exiled and these atrocities are still going on. The result of the Shah's reforms in the field of agriculture was the destruction of Iran's rich agriculture to the extent that more than ninety percent of Iran's foodstuff is imported from abroad in lieu of the plundering of oil. In the field of industry, it created assemblage industries which are not compatible with the domestic requirements and have made the country so dependent on the foreign countries that emancipation from this problem will cost dearly. His crimes need extensive explanations in the fields of armament, subsoil resources such as oil, copper and other

minerals, fisheries, forests, pastures, and water resources. In the field of cultural affairs and degeneration of the level of public morality of the society and in other affairs, it should be said that Iran has been reduced to a ruined land that we observe today.

Q: [What changes should be carried out in Iran in your opinion?]

A: Everything should be changed in Iran. From the Constitution to the form of government to the economic issues to cultural, social and military issues, all should be changed.

Q: [A great number of political forces are religious and nationalist forces, who are opposed to the Shah. Do you deem it possible that these forces settle their differences among themselves and form an effective government? If it is so, why and when have these differences been so deep?]

A: We have always recommended all the classes and strata of the people to put their differences aside and all unanimously endeavor to rescue the nation and the country. As we observe the unanimity and unity of the nation at this stage of their struggles, I hope that this unity will be consolidated day by day and all the leaders of the nation endeavor in a manner that the entire Islamic society attains its goals.

Q: [If the Shah resigns or accepts to give up all his political powers would you be willing to participate in a new government? If you are not willing, what is the reason?]

A: Currently the differences between the nation and the Shah will not be settled through his abdication from power, for he has committed numerous crimes and hence must be tried and punished and also all those who have cooperated with the Shah in his crimes must be tried and punished. Secondly, today the Iranian nation wants the elimination of the monarchical regime and the referendums of *Tasua* and *Ashura* demonstrated this fact to the world in an unprecedented manner. Also all announced together that they want the establishment of an Islamic Republic that is based on the people's votes, is formulated in accordance to the Islamic rules and criteria and functions according to these laws. Such a government is not possible except by granting maximum degree of constructive and creative freedoms.

Q: [Do you think that the Carter Administration is changing or modifying its policy toward Iran? What is your understanding of the US and Soviet

policies toward Iran? If you could, would you not change Iran's policy more toward the West?]

A: It is the duty of the American nation to impeach Carter and his administration and ask him not to tarnish the dignity of the American nation in the eyes of the Iranian people through his support of the man-slaughtering Shah any more. The Iranian people have decided to emancipate themselves from the clutches of colonialism and dictatorship, to become free and independent and formulate their policies on the basis of these two pillars; it is not important for them whether others like this policy or not.

Q: [Have you received any assistance or promise of assistance from Libya or from the Palestine Liberation Organization?]

A: No, never; not at all.

Q: [You have been quoted as saying that the foreign leaders who continue to support the Shah will not receive any oil from Iran under a government without the Shah. Did you not mainly mean the US? Do you think that this threat will be effective in the long run? If you could choose, do you think that you would stop the flow of oil to Israel, South Africa, Japan, France, the US, etc. or to any other specific country?]

A: We have said that since the *Tasua* and *Ashura* referendum held across Iran has negated any legality and legitimacy of the government and the Shah for yet another time, the Shah and his government are not representatives of the nation—even if they had been before, which they never were—therefore, any government supporting him, has taken a measure against the Iranian nation and the Iranian nation has every right not to sell oil to such a government which is the supporter of their enemy. Of course, we have said that so long as the heads of the governments that support the Shah are in power in these countries, we will not sell oil, whether it is the United States or any other country. With regard to Israel, it is certain that we will not extend any help to an illegal, usurping government which has encroached upon the rights of the Muslims and is an enemy of Islam. The issue is clear with regard to South Africa; it is a racist regime, which does not at all respect any human values and is basically a savage and criminal regime. But with regard to others, we are a seller and will export [our oil]; of course in accordance with the interests and political and economic situation of the country.

Q: [The French President Giscard d'Estaing once suggested that your order for protest and demonstrations in Iran was going beyond the limits of your stay in France and recently you have been allowed to extend your stay in France. Have you received any warning from the French government to moderate your statements? Do you basically intend to do so—moderating your statements?]

A: As ever, God willing, I will continue to discharge my duties in rendering service to Islam and the Muslims and wherever I feel any limitation, I will leave that place.

Interview

Date: January 8, 1979 [Dey 18, 1357 AHS / Safar 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The West's lack of knowledge of the Islamic government; future policies of the Revolution

Interviewer: A reporter of the British *Financial Times*

Question: [The Western world does not have a proper knowledge of the Islamic government. Would you please briefly explain the outlines of an Islamic government?]

Answer: The Islamic government is a system based on the Islamic laws. Complete independence is observed in an Islamic government. We want an Islamic Republic. The republican aspect constitutes the form and type of the government and the Islamic aspect means its content, that is, the divine laws.

Q: [You had said that you would go back to Iran when you deem it appropriate. Will you go back if the Shah abdicates and a royal council is formed?]

A: I will go back to Iran whenever I feel it appropriate. The presence or absence of the Shah in Iran, the formation of a royal council or the lack of its formation, does not have any effect on my decision.

Q: [Should all the people, who have collaborated with the Shah, be tried in addition to him? To what extent cooperation is pardonable, and who, with what offenses, should be tried?]

A: We will try and punish the Shah and those who have committed treason during his reign. Their punishments depend on their offenses, but there is a group who joined him helplessly, we have nothing to do with them.

Q: [Bakhtiyar has said that the *ulama* must concentrate on religious affairs and leave politics for the politicians; what is your reaction?]

A: Bakhtiyar does not have any legitimacy. He is a traitor, for the two Houses of the Parliament that have voted for him are not legal. The people of Iran have not elected even a single representative freely. No government is acceptable to us while the Shah is there.

Q: [The Ayatullah's influence among the people is great, but it is no so in the army. What is the reason and is this issue basically right?]

A: Due to the fifty years of poisonous propaganda, the Iranian army has lost its thoughtfulness. We never expect the army to join the people immediately, but it will happen sooner or later.

Q: [What will be the ceiling of your oil production in the future?]

A: I have ordered the extraction of oil for domestic consumption, but I will never allow the foreigners to plunder our oil. Hence I have said that it should not be exported. The production of oil in the future will depend on the requirements of our country.

Q: [What major changes do you intend to bring about in your foreign trade?]

A: We will strongly stop all the items that are to the detriment of our country. We will never allow other countries to turn Iran into a consumption market of their goods. We will eliminate commercial dependence.

Q: [It is said that you have prepared the list of the cabinet members; without mentioning the names of the people, would you explain the type of people and their records?]

A: I have envisaged my plan for the transfer of power after the abdication of the Shah that I will enforce in due time. The people that I have appointed are those who have not betrayed the nation during the thirty-odd years of the Shah's reign.

Q: [In my interview with Ayatullah Shirazi and Ayatullah ShariAtmadari, the former said that he has identical views with you, but Ayatullah ShariAtmadari has said several times that he wants the Constitution and the Shah's reign is within the framework of the Constitution. Therefore, he supports the constitutional monarchy. What is the reason for this contradiction?]

A: I will hold a referendum on the issue of the Islamic Republic.

Q: [What happened that the Iraqi government expelled you?]

A: Under the pressures of Iran, Iraq tried to stop my political, divine activities. Since place was not important for me, in order to serve my country I had to leave Iraq.

Q: [Given some Islamic laws like interest..., what will happened to the banks—domestic and foreign? How could the banks work in the Islamic Republic?]

A: Interest is unlawful. Another system must be introduced.

Q: [I have seen that the agriculture has been paralyzed during the past fifteen years; is it possible to develop it again?]

A: The Iranian experts and the Iranian people must make lots of efforts in this regard in order to reconstruct the destruction. Of course it requires a long time. The reconstruction of the country is necessary, but it would not materialize in the near future.

Q: [Is it possible?]

A: Everything is possible through hard work.

Q: [The approval of the constitution—seventy years ago—has been recognized as a victory for the people, although it has never been implemented. Is it possible to amend the same constitution, or a new constitution must be written?]

A: The constitution must be studied. The articles that are against Islam must be discarded. Of course it should be compatible with the current situation. Basically we should prepare a new constitution.

Q: [Some of the other laws that have been executed during the past fifty years might be good and some might not.]

A: They will be studied. If they are not against Islam, they will be approved, otherwise if they are against Islam, they will be put aside; and this will be in the case we do not introduce a new constitution. However, now we are preparing a new constitution.

Interview

Date: January 8, 1979 [Dey 18, 1357 AHS / Safar 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Bakhtiyar's government; religious minorities

Interviewer: A reporter of the Swiss Television

Question: [The Shah has announced that he will soon leave the country and a royal council will be formed. In this case, will you go back to the country?]

Answer: My return to Iran depends on my assurance that my presence in Iran is more useful for the movement than here. Whenever I become sure, I will go. But the leaving of the Shah alone will not materialize our goal; we consider the monarchical regime illegal and the people have dismissed the Shah through their referendum. Therefore the regime must give up its usurped place so that the people set up the Islamic government, God willing.

Q: [According to some reports we have received, you have had some contacts with the Americans—with an American delegation—and probably given them a list of the people who may rule in Iran in the future. Is it correct?]

A: No. We have never contacted the Americans.

Q: [How do you see the Bakhtiyar government that you have said is usurper and illegitimate?]

A: The Bakhtiyar government depends on the Shah whose reign is illegitimate and the people have dismissed him through their referendum. On the other hand it is dependent on the two Houses of the Parliament, which are not legitimate, for they do not sprout from the people's determination.

Q: [What will be your future policy towards the religious minorities?]

A: The religious minorities will be free in the future; will live in prosperity in Iran, and we will treat them in full fairness and in accordance to the law. They are our Iranian brothers. They are also upset with the Shah and his clique.

Message

Date: January 9, 1979 [Dey 19, 1357 AHS / Safar 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Plots to attack the people on the bogus accusation of being a member of the SAVAK¹

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful

Greetings and salutations to the Iranian nation, may the Almighty Allah assist them:

Some reports received from Iran indicate that a dangerous plot is underway. It is said that some unsigned statements are being circulated in Tehran and other cities, threatening many people to death on the charge of being a member of the SAVAK (secret police) or being an agent of the Shah; they have also set many houses ablaze under the same pretext and affronted and harassed the wives and children of the owners. As I have been informed by some sources in Iran, some measures are taken which are against Islam and justice and are in contravention with the religious laws, indicating that some dirty hands are at work in order to level charges against the sacred Islamic movement through chaos and anarchy or by the creation of horror and terror and God forbid defeat the movement. The honorable nation of Iran must bear in mind that the sacred religion of Islam respects the lives and properties of human beings and considers any encroachment upon them a great sin. And those who commit such crimes and terrify the people seemingly belong to the pervert factions that are trying to preserve the Shah under anarchy or want to destroy the country by a military coup.

The Muslim people of Iran do not resort to such inhumane measures in their righteous struggle and are religiously duty-bound not to pay any attention to the unsigned statements that call for murder and plunder and should stop those who want to attack the people's houses or set them ablaze, for it seems that a plot is underway that must be stopped.

The honorable Iranian people in Tehran and other cities and villages should continue their demonstrations, rallies and strikes to thwart this plot with the ouster of the Shah.

¹ State Organization for Information and Security (SAVAK), Shah's secret police.

The honorable *ulama* of Iran are requested to illuminate the people with their statements and inform them of their religious duties. The trial of the criminals and offenders, after they are proved guilty, will be the duty of the qualified tribunals, not the ordinary people. I beseech the Almighty God to cut off the hands of the criminals. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: January 9, 1979 [Dey 19, 1357 AHS / Safar 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Method of returning to Iran; type of future government; uprising of the Islamic nations

Interviewer: A reporter of the BBC Television

Question: [If the Shah leaves Iran, do you think that it will be an appropriate time for your return to Iran?]

Answer: We should undertake some studies. Whenever the time is appropriate, we will return.

Q: [What type of government or system does the Ayatullah expect to come to power up to the end of the current Gregorian year (December 1979)?]

A: We hope that the very government that we have suggested, that is, the Islamic Republic, comes to power in the current year.

Q: [And this will be the government that you will personally appoint?]

A: As we have already said, we will refer to the people's vote; but in reality the people through their frequent referendums have approved this system of government.

Q: [The British government is still continuing to send its weapons, such as tanks, rockets and other military weaponry, to the Shah. What is the meaning of the dispatch of these weapons in the Ayatullah's viewpoint?]

A: For several years we have been entangled in such issues; the British government has been assisting our tyrannical government. From the very beginning, the British government imposed the father of this Shah on us, and later when he betrayed them, they forced him to abdicate. The Allied Forces—one of which was Britain—imposed Muhammad Rida Shah on us. The oppressions and impositions of the British government against the weak nations—one of which is our nation—have a long history. And the reason that they now continue to send arms and support the Shah is that they want to prolong his reign and this will be the continuation of the offenses and crimes that he has committed and is committing. They want to keep the Shah's government in power for a longer time and everyday that he remains in power is the day of calamity of our nation.

Q: [It has been said that the Ayatullah is receiving some help from Libya and the Palestinians; also it has been said that some of your close relatives (those who assist you here) are connected to the former Tudeh Party or have communist ideas. Are these accusations correct?]

A: No. These are the propaganda of the Shah's clique. We have not sought the assistance of any government and we will not seek it; we rely on the people's power and do not need the governments. And those who are my close associates or are remotely connected are pure Muslims without any attachment to any party. These are the propaganda launched by the Shah and his clique in order to tarnish our movement.

Q: [We observe today that a new Islamic movement is growing among such Muslim nations as Turkey and Pakistan; and these are Islamic uprisings. What is the reason of these uprisings in your opinion?]

A: The widespread propaganda of the Western and Eastern governments over the years has deceived these Muslim nations and they think that the progress of the weak governments lies in their inclination towards one of the two superpowers. But when they tilted towards any one of them, they realized after some time that they do not do anything other than captivating them, taking their reserves and plundering their resources. In our time, our nation has realized that the Shah, due to his ties with the West, particularly the United States, as well as with the Soviet Union, has squandered our resources; he has also wasted our human resources. The Iranian nation has also realized that the widespread crimes the Shah commits are due to his ties with the superpowers. Hence our nation rose up and other countries, including the Islamic countries, have realized this bitter truth and by studying their history, they have discerned that all the problems the nations face have been created by the superpowers. Hence, they have inevitably turned their back to the superpowers. But Islam fulfils all the aspirations of man in a suitable manner and the Islamic rules—economic, political, cultural and spiritual rules—are profound and anybody who pays attention to them becomes inclined towards them. After years of ignorance, the Muslims have now awakened to some extent and pay some attention to Islam. It is hoped that their attention to Islam is enhanced and they recognize Islam as it is. If they know Islam properly, they will absolutely give up their inclinations towards the East and the West and would sacrifice their lives for the implementation of the Islamic laws.

Interview

Date: January 9, 1979 [Dey 19, 1357 AHS / Safar 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Features of the Islamic government and relations between the leader and the people

Interviewer: A reporter of the Italian newspaper, *Lota Continua* (?)

Question: [In the West, lots of questions have been raised among the supporters of the Iranian nation's struggles. Many of these questions stem from the lack of knowledge about the history and development of your remote past and recent ideas. For me also, and due to my more activities in supporting your Islamic Revolution, your answer to these questions would be useful. I guess that what is going on in the life of the popular movement in Iran has its roots in a kind of Shii renaissance—Shii revivalism. Would you please explain what kind of activities; discussions and struggles have constituted your activities during the recent thirty years?]

Answer: One of the innate characteristics of Shiism, since the beginning up to now, which is seen throughout the Shii history is the uprising and resistance against dictatorships and oppression, although the climax of these struggles have been manifested in certain stages of history. During the recent 100 years, some incidents have happened, each of which has had an effect on the current movement of the Iranian nation. The Constitutional Revolution,¹ the Tobacco Movement,² etc... are of great importance. The establishment of the religious seminary more than 50 years ago in the city of Qum³ and its effect inside and outside the country and also the endeavors made by the religious intellectuals in the academic centers and the 1962-63 uprising, led by the Islamic *ulama*, who are still leading the people are among the factors which have introduced the Shii Islam to the world.

Q: [How did these activities and discussions, this modernization of Shiism—adaptation to the time—develop? Has this development been limited to the ShiAh clerics or has it developed in other areas as well? What has been the role of seminaries in this development?]

¹ Led by such honorable clerics as Behbahani and Tabatabai in 1905.

² An all-out movement in the rejection of foreign concessions during the rule of NaSiruddin Shah, led by the grand religious authority Mr. Mirza Hasan Shirazi.

³ By the grand religious authority, Mr. Abdul-Karim Hairi Yazdi in 1340 AH.

A: Principally Islam—Shiism is nothing but genuine Islam—not only does not prevent the intellectual and scientific development of human beings, but also paves the way for this development and gives to it a humane and divine direction. And, the scientific and cultural perfection of human beings after the advent of Islam has astonished the scholars of history. Yes, what I should add here is that moral corruption, conversion of man to mere consuming creature, hedonism, and assessing all the values with money have all a different meaning from that of modernization of a country; and Shiism is against those phenomena not against the modernization of the country. With regard to the role of the clerics I should say that research and study in the Islamic discussions and acquaintance with the Shii jurisprudence have become very specialized due to the expansion of its various fields inevitably requires that always some people prepare themselves to understand and then impart them to the people. And those who have undertaken this responsibility are the clerics who have been forerunners in all social movements and political struggles according to their Islamic understandings.

Q: [Would you please describe the meaning of the concept ‘Hizbullah’?]

A: Any Muslim who has accepted the values and principles of Islam and practices exact Shii discipline in his rites and behaviors is a member of the Hizbullah, and all the directions and policies of this party have been ordained by Islam and the holy Quran. This party is different from other parties in the world. Today, all the Iranians—of any age—either man or woman, who are struggling through chanting Islamic slogans, are members of the Hizbullah.

Q: [Would you please comment on the exact meaning of ‘Imam’? In its general sense and in your current position, what is the title of the Imam that has been entitled to you during the demonstrations of millions of people in the Islamic month of Muharram? What is the relationship between the Imam and the Hizbullah?]

A: Imam means the leader and is someone who leads and guides a group of the people in a special direction. And Imam is the one who determines the policy of the ShiAh and the Hizbullah and is the leading figure of this broad-based organization, who realizes and infers all the duties of the members of the organization from the holy Quran and the *sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad (S) in different times and conditions.

Q: [How can a modern government exist in an Islamic society?]

A: How could it be possible for Islam, which has focused most of its emphasis on thoughts and intellectuality, and invites the human being to get free of all the superstitions, and all from the captivity of all the inhumane and reactionary governments, to be inharmonious with man's urbanity, developments and the suitable innovations that are the results of his experiences?

Q: [With regards to the fact that every government gathers the maximum power in itself, how can an Islamic government be created without the relation of the dominant and those under dominance?]

A: Islam has appointed rules and limits in the relations of the government, governor and the nation, and has also appointed some rights for each of these three organs of the country, the observance of which is on the shoulders of the two others. If these rights and laws are observed no relation such as the one between the dominant and those under dominance will ever be created. Basically, to govern is a divine duty, and the governor shoulders some other heavy duties other than those that are binding for all the other Muslims. The government and dominance is not a means of honor and superiority over the others, through which the governor can trample the rights of the nation to save his own interests. Every single individual of the nation has the right to impeach the governor of the Muslims, or criticize him directly, and the governor should give a satisfactory answer. Otherwise, if the governor has failed to perform his Islamic duties, he will be automatically removed from his position. There are also some other rules in such a situation to solve the problem.

Q: [Which public, social organisms in the Islamic society should guarantee the political decision making and the equality between the people and prevent the creation of the dominant-under dominance relation, and also to control the performance of the decision makers in the government? The experience of history teaches us the fact that the power and the will of the nation are enforced by the Parliament, even if the Parliament members are elected freely is too limited and increases respectively.]

A: In today's world, that is said to be the world of industry, the intellectual leaders intend to manage the human society like a great industrial factory; while the societies are made up of people who enjoy an intellectual aspect and a mystical soul; and, besides all social, economic laws, etc. Islam underlines the training of human beings on the basis of belief in God, and in guiding the society; Islam uses this aspect to guide the man toward prosperity

and moral elevation. If belief in God, and doing what satisfies God, enter all social, political, economic activities and other affairs of human life, the World's most complicated problems will be solved easily. Today, the world has encountered a deadlock and at the same time refuses to submit itself to the directions of the prophets, but it will finally be obliged to give up.

Q: [Through which ways, do you think, the concentration of economic power can be wiped out, not only between the rich and the poor, but also among different types of manufacturing processes, i.e. worker and employer?]

A: The godless society in which the people have no faith in God and do not work for His satisfaction, have got involved in the employer-worker problem in a way that even when it tries to solve the problem, greater problems are created. So, the society sees itself in a deadlock! But in an Islamic society in which all the affairs are done and assessed according to Islamic principles and criterions, no problem will ever be created.

Q: [Is it possible in your opinion to establish an Islamic government immediately after the overthrow of the Pahlavi Regime, or an interim government should be established in order to reach the Islamic government?]

A: Naturally, if a government and a nation work according to the Islamic principles and for God's satisfaction, they will be able to solve their problems gradually, and they will be morally elevated more than before. Then the society will get closer to the divine values, and that is an endless way.

Q: [As a definite example, which principles should be undertaken by an Islamic government, in order to wipe out Shah's oil-dependant economy and also in order to use this material differently?]

A: Iran enjoys different and abundant facilities and capacities for economic development, that even if there is no oil, the country can overcome poverty and get developed, including various mines, that are of great importance in industry, and also husbandry and agricultural facilities and the most important of all, the existence of abundant and innovative human talents. Besides, selling the oil to the customers fairly, we will try to use the oil in our own industry.

Interview

Date: January 9, 1979 [Dey 19, 1357 AHS / Safar 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran after the Shah's abdication

Interviewer: A reporter of the Spanish Television

Question: [How would you assess the US move to ask the Shah to go on a vacation?]

Answer: People's struggles will be finished when the Shah's regime is overthrown and the foreigners do not interfere in our domestic affairs.

Q: [How can you save the recent status of the general policy that has come to a deadlock? How do you think that the created deadlock will be destroyed?]

A: When the current monarchy regime is overthrown, the deadlock will also be destroyed and the nation will decide about everything.

Q: [Would you accept a responsibility in Iran's general policy? Are you going to have direct participation in political affairs, after returning to Iran?]

A: I would not be one of the governmental figures; however, I should interfere in domestic affairs and guide the governments.

Q: [What is Your Eminence's policy about the underground sources in its best form?]

A: The underground sources are dependent on the economic policy. In the current situation, we have no choice but to sell our sources, of course in the framework of an independent policy.

Interview

Date: January 9, 1979 [Dey 19, 1357 AHS / Safar 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Illegality of Bakhtiyar's government; foreign policy of the Islamic Republic

Interviewer: French reporter of the *Le Monde* newspaper

Question: [Why have you announced Bakhtiyar's government illegal?]

Answer: For two reasons. Firstly, because this government is appointed by the Shah; this regime was illegal before the *TasuA*, and *Ashura* demonstrations and the mentioned demonstrations were almost a kind of referendum to determine the illegality of Shah's regime. Secondly, neither the Majlis, nor the Senate, have any stance among the nation, and the deputies of these two assemblies, who should give vote of confidence to the cabinet members, are elected by the nation.

Q: [In case of Bakhtiyar's failure, do you consider possible the occurrence of a military coup, to oust the Shah and be dependent on the exemplary units of the Army, such as the commandos and the Air Forces and Gendarmerie?]

A: The occurrence of such a coup is plausible. In this case, this would be the last stone the regime is hurling on the nation. And the nation is determined to continue its struggle through establishing an Islamic government, and any other kind of government will be encountered with the nation's disagreement.

Q: [In case of becoming victorious, what would be your idea, and what would you do about fundamental foundations?]

A: We will appoint a committee to make necessary consultations on the formation of a Majlis. The nation has for once, announced its determination for establishing an Islamic government, but if a referendum is legally necessary, we will not disagree. This committee would include real believers and the *ulama* may also attend the committee as permanent members or supervisors.

Q: [You are known as the undeniable leader of the opponents. You have said that you are not going to take the reins of the government. So what would be the form of your Islamic government?]

A: We will find a candidate for presidency, who should be elected by the nation. When he is elected, we will back and support him. The laws in the Islamic government would be the Islamic laws. Personally, I will not become the president, and will refuse to accept any governmental responsibility. I will merely guide the nation, just as before.

Q: [Many of the Iranians, particularly among the intellectuals, either do not perform their religious duties, although they believe in their religion, or do not at all believe in religion. How would the Islamic government treat them?]

A: We will try to show these people the correct path to prosperity. If they do not want to come to this path, they will be free in their daily life, unless they intend to plot against the nation and the country.

Q: [You have recently said that you will reexamine your relations with the United States, if the US changes its dominance-seeking policy toward Iran. What do you mean by this?]

A: If the US behaves correctly and if it stops to interfere in our domestic affairs and recalls its advisors who interfere in our affairs, to go back to the US, we will also respect them.

Q: [Do you consider that the US will leave Iran so easily, regarding the significance of the issue and the consequences the movement of Iranian nation will have in the region's Arab and Muslim countries?]

A: Of course the US intends to have all countries under its dominance. But we cannot accept such a thing and our nation is tired of that. Following our nation, the other nations will also free themselves of their dominance.

Q: [Oil is a controversial and difficult issue. What is your policy in this case?]

A: We will sell our oil to any one who is willing to buy, provided that the price is fair and the two sides consent. We will then spend the money to develop and renovate our country.

Q: [Would you sell oil to the Israel and South Africa?]

A: No, because as I have said before, these countries have undertaken a way that is against justice.

Q: [Since a few days ago, Moscow has changed its policy toward Iran and now is supporting the national movement. What is your opinion about their change of mind?]

A: The propaganda of the Soviet Union's press is not considered interference in the domestic affairs. In fact all the newspapers in the world should support us against Shah's regime. The Soviet Union is one of the countries that have realized the situation of the Iranian nation, and has adapted its behavior according to the same fact. We will maintain our friendly relations with the Soviet Union, as well as all the other countries as long as they do not interfere in our domestic affairs. Amicable bilateral relations should be based on mutual respect.

Interview

Date: January 10, 1979 [Dey 20, 1357 AHS / Safar 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Freedom of the press in the Islamic Republic

Interviewer: An American reporter of the *Time* magazine

Question: [Would Your Eminence take any kind of permanent or temporary legal measure, such as cutting oil, and etc., against a country who accepts Shah in its territories?]

Answer: No, we are not the enemies of the country that accepts him, but he will be legally prosecuted.

Q: [What is Your Eminence's opinion about the press freedom in an Islamic government? Will the press enjoy their freedom of expression after the Shah's departure?]

A: All the press is free, unless their essays are against the country.

Q: [Would you, permanently or temporarily, return to Iran after the Shah's departure? And on the whole what is Your Eminence's opinion in this regard?]

A: I will return to Iran whenever I deem fit and proper; it depends on my own decision.

Interview

Date: January 10, 1979 [Dey 20, 1357 AHS / Safar 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran after the Shah; nature of the Islamic Republic

Interviewer: A reporter of Luxembourg Radio-Television

Question: [Your Eminence, the Shah is leaving Iran without resigning; do you think that the conditions have changed?]

Answer: No, the Shah's departure changes nothing. This domination should be destroyed in every part of Iran, because it is illegal. The government, the two Majlises, and the monarchy council are all illegal. As long as they are not reformed, peace will not appear in Iran.

Q: [Do you think that the movement and struggle you have created, will lead to the formation of a Jihad in Iran and other countries such as Turkey?]

A: That is none of our business. Our nation affected all the Islamic countries and make the other nation think of becoming free from East and West.

Q: [Is not the Islamic government a retrogressive government? The Shah intends to create a modern country, all Arab countries are after making developments, but Islam is against reform and social developments, such as women's freedom. What is your opinion?]

A: It was the Shah's government who was against our social development, and had lost all the freedoms and independence of the country. The Islamic government is not retrogressive and is in favor of all the manifestations of modernization, unless what is against the prosperity of the nation and also incompatible with the national moral norms. Islam does not only agree with the freedom of women, but is also the founder of women's freedom in all their aspects of life.

Q: [Do you have any relations with the Iranian Tudeh Party and as a result with Moscow?]

A: I have never had any relations with them, I don't have and I will never have.

Q: [Your Eminence, Iran is a far critical region in the world. Are you not afraid that your movement may lead to a war as you have endangered the balance of the region?]

A: We hope that the balance of the world would not be endangered, because we do not have any particular tendency toward either East or West. And we have appropriate relations with every government and our relations are based on justice, of course, provided that their relations with us are also fair and just. We hope that no instability is created in the region. Of course you, i.e. the West, consider instability in the region when your interests are in danger or are destroyed. If it is so, be sure that the greatest instability will be created in the region.

Interview

Date: January 10, 1979 [Dey 20, 1357 AHS / Safar 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Illegality of the regime; features of the Islamic Republic

Interviewer: An English reporter of the *Express* magazine

Question: [You have announced in your book, as quoted by its translation by the US daily of *Herald Tribune*, that there would be no place for emotions and ideas in the future government. Do you think that your government would be different from the current government in respect to freedom? Do you not think that your regime would be a religious dictatorship?]

Answer: Our intended regime is the 'Islamic Republic' regime. In Islam, freedom is all out and complete unless it is against the interests of the country and nation and may lead to a corruption.

Q: [The Shah's departure is definite during the coming few days. Do you think that you are going to achieve your objectives? Do you consider possible and acceptable the Procedural Monarchy Council or not?]

A: Our objective in these struggles was not the Shah's departure, but was to overthrow the monarchy regime. Iranians proved once again in the *TasuA* and *Ashura* referendum that this regime is not legal and that it should be overthrown. And now, there is not law for the Shah or any one else who is going to take his place and we do not accept him. When they put an end to their illegal dominance, we will establish a government that is based on justice and is elected by the vote of the nation. Therefore, neither the monarchy system, nor the monarchy council has any basis and is considered null and void by the nation.

Q: [Do you think that the establishment of an Islamic government in the region will violate the balance of West and East in the region?]

A: The Islamic government is a liberal, independent government whose relations with the West and the East are equal, and if they maintain an amicable relation with our Islamic government, the Islamic government will also keep friendly relations with them. We do not let any one interfere in our domestic affairs.

Interview

Date: January 10, 1979 [Dey 20, 1357 AHS / Safar 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran-US relations

Interviewer: A reporter of the *New York Times* newspaper

Question: [How will Iran's future relations with the United States of America be?]

Answer: Our relations will remain friendly, as long as their relations are amicable. If the US stops supporting Shah and interfering in our domestic affairs, we will maintain our friendly relations with them.

Q: [Would the future government of Iran be a government with some tendencies toward the West, like Saudi Arabia, or will it be a government that is suspicious of the West like Libya?]

A: No, our government is an independent one and if the other countries do not interfere in our domestic affairs we will keep our friendly relations with them.]

Q: [Would you return to Iran after the Shah's departure?]

A: I have not decided yet. The Shah's staying or leaving has nothing to do with my returning to Iran! I will return to Iran whenever I deem it fit and proper.

Interview

Date: January 10, 1979 [Dey 20, 1357 AHS / Safar 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Role and nature of the bazaar

Interviewer: A reporter of the *Sigma* News Agency

Question: [Do your follower-groups that are in the bazaar, support you just because of their religious beliefs? Or because you have provided them with the opportunity to stage rallies against the Shah?]

Answer: Yes, that is because of their religious beliefs. It is their religious beliefs that makes them rise against dictatorship and oppression. And principally Islam is a religion that teaches them how to establish a progressive, sound and developing society. And they support us, as they see that we reflect their ideas and demands.

Q: [Who are the people of the bazaar?]

A: They are Muslims who are the intermediaries for transporting other people's demanded goods to them. Of course there are many cases in which due to the corrupted and anti-Islamic system, the regime has destroyed the Islamic limitations of these transactions in all fields including the field of economy. But any way, they have proved their loyalty to Islam and their Islamic country through their endless sacrifices.

Q: [Where is the status of the bazaar men in the Iranian society?]

A: The bazaar and those working in the bazaar have always enjoyed a special respect among the Iranian nation and their decisions have always had a great and determining impact on the political struggles. They have also been the sources of many social services and have been among the best relief workers to the deprived people at the time of incidents and disasters.

Q: [Has the bazaar been always against the Shah?]

A: The bazaar has never supported the Shah and if something is said about the bazaar's support for the Shah, it is merely an accusation.

Q: [Don't you think that your constant orders for strikes will just deteriorate the economic situation in Iran and create financial problems for the poor?]

A: Definitely, the Shah's atrocities have served fatal blows to the Iranians, both when he held the rein of government and now that the nation is going to oust him. But the Iranian nation has proved its resistance against problems. Those working in the bazaar, traders and merchants are well aware of the fact that the damages incurred by the strikes are far better than being under the dominance of colonialism and the current regime.

Q: [Do you have a specific political program to be implemented after your return to Iran?]

A: It is definite that we continue to guide the nation just as before, and we do have a program for the future, that will be submitted to the future liberal and Islamic government, and then it is up to them to decide and the nation will always supervise its work.

Interview

Date: January 11, 1979 [Dey 21, 1357 AHS / Safar 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran's general issues

Interviewer: Asian, European and American reporters

Question: [American reporter: How is Bakhtiyar government's chance of success? Would you accept his invitation to return to Iran?]

Answer: Bakhtiyar's government is illegal and it does not have any chance for success. My return to Iran has nothing to do with any one's invitation. I will return to Iran whenever I deem fit and proper.

Q: [Is the religious power in Iran stronger than military and political power? Would Akbar Sanjabi be your candidate?]

A: No power can equalize with the power of religion. Politicians and military-men are mostly under the influence of religion. And, the case of Mr. Sanjabi will be studied later.

Q: [Will the new Iran, be a impartial government? How would Iran's relations with France be? Aren't you worried about foreign interference in case the tensions continue?]

A: The future government will be impartial toward all the governments and it will have a fair and just relation with all of the countries. Iran will maintain its amicable relations with France as long as the friendly relations are mutual, providing the same conditions. We are not afraid of foreign countries' direct interference, and will prevent any indirect interference.

Q: [What would be the policy of the Islamic Republic about the freedom of women, illiteracy campaign and cinemas?]

A: The Shah has done nothing positive in Iran. Reconstructing and renovating the Shah's destruction will take a lot of time. Shah has granted freedom neither to the women nor to the men. We will grant freedom to everybody. In the Shah regime, the cinemas were in the service of corruption, while in the future republic they will serve to the nation's benevolence. We will also fight illiteracy in its best way.

Q: [Would in the Islamic Republic, the other religions, particularly the Jews, enjoy freedom, or, are you against the Jews and the Semitic races?]

A: All the religious minorities are respectable in Islam. They enjoy all kinds of freedom to perform their religious duties. We are not against any human being. They are Iranians and enjoy the same rights just as the other Iranians.

Q: [Japanese reporter: I read in the reports of one of the dailies that you have said Japan is the enemy of Iranians. Is that right? And if you have said such a thing, what are your reasons for that?]

A: That's a lie and is not at all correct.

Q: [Does Your Eminence predict having relations with the Japanese government? Of what kind?]

A: Our relations can be amicable based on mutual respect.

Q: [Japan's oil is to a great extent dependent on Iran's oil exports. And as you know, Iran's oil export to Japan is cut, due to stopping oil extraction in Iran. What future would you predict for Iran oil exports to Japan?]

A: As soon as the Shah regime is overthrown in the near future and nation's intended government is established, the oil production will be resumed and we will sell oil to all customers of ours at a fair price.

Q: [Reporter of Singapore *Strait Times* daily: If the Islamic government is established, would it help other Islamic countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia and etc. or not; particularly Iran that enjoys abundant sources of oil?]

A: The very case requires some studies and it will be examined at its proper time.

Q: [Reporter of Swiss Media: Your Eminence, what is your opinion about France's policy toward yourself? Aren't you astonished at this policy that has let you stay in this country? And would these relations have any effect on the future relations between Iran and France?]

A: No! It is not astonishing. France enforces its own rules, and does not behave against them. Of course, it is probable that the current relations have some effects on Iran-France future relations. Our relations will be probably friendly in the future. Iranians will thank the French nation for the same reason.

Q: [Reporter of London-based *Economist*: Are you going to invite Iraj Eskandari¹ in the formation of the council or committee for your intended transitional phase?]

A: No.

Q: [Would the 'Tudeh Party' attend the future transitional government?]

A: No.

Q: [Are the 'Tudeh Party' and its agents in connection with you? Do you have any relation with Iraj Eskandari?]

A: No.

Q: [Would the future government announce legal the illegal Tudeh Party?]

A: No.

Q: [Considering the status of the Soviet Union, and its interference, and the ongoing incidents in Afghanistan, Southern Yemen and Ethiopia in African Horn, are you not worried about the interference of the Soviet Union in Iran?]

A: No. We are against any kind of foreign interference in the fate of other nations and will fight against it.

¹ The then secretary of the Tudeh Party.

Message

Date: January 12, 1979 [Dey 22, 1357 AHS / Safar 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The establishment of the Revolutionary Council, the Bakhtiyar government and the possibility of a military coup

Addressees: The Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings and salutations to the heroic and honorable nation of Iran!
Greetings to the martyrs in the path of truth!

Now that the day of the victory of the valorous nation is approaching, now that the pure blood of the innocent dear ones, which were shed by the blood-thirsty executors of the Shah, are bearing fruit, I deem it necessary to inform the Iranian nation and the peoples of the world of the following points:

1. In accordance to the religious rights and on the basis of the confidence vote of the absolute majority of the Iranian people – to me – in line with the materialization of the Islamic goals of the nation, a council, called, “The Council of the Islamic Revolution”, consisting of competent, Muslim, committed, trustable people is temporarily set up and will start its work. The members of this council will be introduced in the first appropriate opportunity. The council is duty-bound to perform specific tasks, including the review of the conditions for the establishment of the transitional government and preparing its preliminary grounds. In the first appropriate opportunity, the interim government will be introduced to the nation and will start its work. The interim government will be duty-bound to undertake the following tasks: a) Election of the Constituent Assembly of the people’s representatives to approve the new Constitution of the Islamic Republic; b) Holding elections in accordance to the enactments of the Constituent Assembly and the Constitution; c) Transfer of power to the people’s representatives.

2. The current government [Shapur Bakhtiyar’s government], which was appointed by the dethroned Shah and the illegal houses of the parliament is never accepted by the people. Cooperation with this usurping government in any form and any kind is religiously unlawful and is an offence legally. As the honorable, combatant employees of some of the government offices and ministries have done, the usurping ministers must be disobeyed and if

possible they must not be allowed to enter the ministerial offices. The demand of the oppressed Iranian nation is not merely the ouster of the Shah and the elimination of the monarchical system, rather the struggles of the Iranian nation will continue until the establishment of the Islamic Republic which guarantees the freedom of the nation, independence of the country and social justice. It is only with the ouster of the Shah and transfer of power to the nation that tranquility will return to our dear country. It is only with the establishment of the just Islamic government, supported by the people, and the active participation of the nation that the gigantic cultural, economic and agricultural destructions, wrought by the corrupt regime of the Shah, can be removed and the modernization of the country in the interest of the dispossessed, laborious classes be launched.

3. It is possible that the outgoing treacherous Shah will commit a greater crime, that is, engineering a military coup, against which I have frequently warned, which will be his last blow. But the valorous nation knows that except for a few blood-thirsty mercenaries, who have been appointed to the top positions and have been also introduced to me, the honorable factions of the Army will not allow these mercenaries to commit such a crime which is against nationality and religion. In accordance with my divine, national duty, I warn the Army of Iran and ask the luminaries and the army personnel to stop such a plot if it is underway and not allow a handful of blood-thirsty people to shed the blood of the honorable nation of Iran. This is the divine duty of you, the honorable army and in case you obey the inborn criminals, you will be held responsible before the Almighty God, condemned by the human societies and cursed by the future generations.

It is the duty of the Iranian nation to equip itself with any possible means against such a plot, and by reliance on God not fear those who do not care for anything than their own interests, for the existing struggles of the Iranian nation have proven that they are not frightened. They also know that these people like those traitors who have escaped and now live abroad with the people's wealth, have lost their resistance. The Iranian nation is duty-bound to respect the army personnel and officers as well as the honorable officials. They should bear in mind that a handful of treacherous officers cannot tarnish the image of the majority of the army personnel; the fate of these few blood-thirsty army officers is clear and is distinct from that of the Iranian army.

4. The honorable nation must not give up the existing struggles until the attainment of the final result—and they will not. They should continue the strikes and demonstrations and if the club-wielders or the corrupt elements

attack them, they can defend themselves even if it leads to their murder. I beseech the Almighty Allah to grant His assistance to Islam and the Muslims and destroy the opponents of the honorable nation of Iran. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: January 12, 1979 [Dey 22, 1357 AHS / Safar 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Illegality of the Iranian government; role of religion; probability of coup

Interviewers: Reporters of the RAI TV of Italy

Question: [Why are you against Bakhtiyar's government? What is your intended government?]

Answer: Bakhtiyar's government is illegal. Shah has appointed him and the Shah is against law. The Shah is not there and the two Majlises have approved him. The two Majlises are not national. Therefore, we are against him. The government that we are going to establish is a republic that is dependent on public vote and its Constitution is Islam.

Q: [How is the form of your Islamic government in Iran, and what would be your role there?]

A: Our government is a republic like the other republics in the world. And the Islamic rules are democratic, progressive and modern rules that are pro all the manifestations of modernization. I will not have any role in the government and will just guide the nation.

Q: [What is the role of non-religious people in the future government? Would you have a government composed of non-religious men?]

A: Our government is an Islamic one, and the non-religious men will have no role in the future government, because they won't have public vote, because the society is Islamic.

Q: [Do you think there is a chance for the military coup in the current situation in Iran?]

A: A military coup is probable, but there is no chance for the military coup to calm the nation. But I think that a great explosion is possible, and preventing that is too hard. I suggest those who intend to launch this coup—either Iranian or foreign agents—avoid doing this, which is of no use for them. And I know those Iranians who are going to do this, and they are introduced to me. They should ponder again, because that would be dangerous for them. And if the US is involved in that, it should avoid doing so, because if such a

thing happens, the Iranian nation will consider the US responsible for that, and that would be harmful for them.

Q: [Would you be against the country that lets the Shah reside in its territory?]

A: No, we would not be against them. But the Shah should be tried. It is probable that we ask that country (to submit the Shah), and if that country refuses to do so, we will think of another way.

Q: [You have recently accepted to your presence the representative of Libya. It is said that they have financially supported you. Is that correct? If not, what are your reasons?]

A: The Libyan representative has come here, but has conferred with me on other subjects. We have not at all talked about financial issues. Neither Libya nor any other country has financially supported me, and I do not need any financial support. I fight against the Shah with a pen and some paper sheets. If I am someday in need of financial help, the Iranian nation will help me.

Q: [When will you return to Iran?]

A: I think the proper time is approaching.

Interview

Date: January 12, 1979 [Dey 22, 1357 AHS / Safar 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran's general issues

Interviewers: Reporters from the American ABC Television

Question: [Your Eminence, Shapur Bakhtiyar is against the Shah. Why are you against him?]

Answer: Firstly, Bakhtiyar is not against the Shah. He intends to keep the Shah in power. He has connections with the United States. And secondly, let us assume that Bakhtiyar is against the Shah Bakhtiyar, himself is against law. The two Majlises are against law, and the Shah is also against law. Therefore, we are against him.

Q: [It seems that the US policy in Iran has changed to a great extent and today they believe that the Shah should leave. Considering this considerable change in the US policy toward Iran, how do you predict the future of Iran-US relations, and what is your opinion?]

A: As long as the current regime is not thoroughly destroyed, and we have not established our Islamic government, we cannot surely talk about relations with the United States. But it would be probable that Iran will have a good relation with the US if the United States' relations with Iran are friendly.

Q: [Do you also feel that the current policy of the US is in a way that satisfies you?]

A: I have not felt it so far.

Q: [Do you think that Iran can again sell oil to the US under an Islamic government?]

A: Should the US leave Iran and stops interfering in Iran's domestic affairs, and also in the nation's future, then the US will be one of those customers that Iran sells oil to.

Q: [Please comment on the Islamic government more specifically.]

A: Our intended Islamic government is a republic that is established on the nation's vote, and the Islamic rules are enforced and implemented in that. The Constitution is the Islamic law and the Islamic law is the cause of all

freedoms and real democracy, and guarantees the independence of the country as well.

Q: [Some remarks discovered, suggesting that you are against other religions particularly the Jews and Christians. Would you please express your opinion about the other religions both in Islam and other non-Islamic religions?]

A: We have repeatedly said that Islam respects the religious minorities and they are free in our country, and they can even vote and have the right to appoint deputies for themselves. And what is said that we are against, the Shah's propagation. Islam has always treated them peacefully. Their life in an Islamic government will be definitely better than their current life.

Q: [In this movement, Your Eminence who has been outside Iran, has acquired an enormous power. This power is so great, and we want to know whether you could attain the same power if you were in Iran?]

A: This power is a religious power, and if I were in Iran, the nation would again know me as a religious man who serves the people, and there is no difference between inside the country and outside of it.

Q: [You are popular mostly among those who have not been so much interested in religion, but they were mostly interested in social development and changes. Don't you think that your exile to a foreign country has created a secret situation that has attracted them?]

A: They are also concerned; concerned with the nation, for we are in common in having concern for the national interests and in being against those who have betrayed their country and forfeited their independence. These issues are in the nature of all the Iranians and for the same reason even the non-religious classes are with us.

Q: [There are some vague points about your role in the future. Would you please comment on your future role?]

A: I will maintain the same position in the future that I have now. I will take the role of guiding the people and if there is something to the interest of the nation, I will announce it and if there is a betrayer, I will fight against him. But I will have no role in the future government.

Q: [Would there be a council of religious *ulama*, that you take the top position in that?]

A: I should see what will happen next.

Q: [Do you think that you will stay for a long time abroad?]

A: I will return to Iran whenever I see fit and proper.

Q: [Your Eminence, when did you come to the conclusion that you can defeat the Shah?]

A: That is something I cannot say exactly. But it is a long time that I have known the time has arrived for the Shah's departure. But I cannot say it exactly.

Q: [Many people in the world thought that the Shah was the code of stability. What would be your greatest problem in the future of Iran after the Shah's departure?]

A: Our greatest problem would be to reconstruct the destruction of the Shah and also these instabilities that he has left for us, such as unemployment, housing, agriculture, assembly industries, and the factories. We should first of all renovate the destruction made during 50 years, so that the wheel of Iran starts rotating. Then another new basis should be founded in Iran.

Message

Date: January 13, 1979 [Dey 23, 1357 AHS / Safar 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Plot for attacking the security and military forces in the name of the nation

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My dear brothers and friends! Dear Iranian nation!

Right now I received news from a reliable source and it is necessary to inform you about it. A plot is underway from abroad by the utilitarian that the Iranian nation must neutralize through awareness and courage. As soon as the Shah has gone, they are out to mobilize a bunch of marauders and mercenaries in the name of the Muslim nation to attack the army, barracks, the soldiers, police stations and other governmental and military establishments and under the excuse of defending these forces, they want to impel them to massacre the defenseless nation.

The malicious elements who want to keep and restore the treacherous Shah to plunder the nation's wealth, on the one hand spread rumors among the soldiers and the military personnel and other security forces claiming that the nation wants to destroy them, and on the other hire the mercenaries and marauders to—in the name of the nation—attack the military and security establishments to pit the nation against the army and the security forces and achieve their desired goals.

In accordance to my religious, national duty, I warn the entire honorable nation and all the military and security forces to thwart yet another last plot through moral courage and wakefulness. The people are duty-bound to treat the army and the security forces with fraternity and kindness and if some marauders decide to attack them, they must defend their brothers.

The army and other security forces are duty-bound to treat the nation with fraternity and if the marauders attack them, they must know that it is not the nation, rather the agents of the aliens and utilitarians who want to create disorder.

My dear, valorous brothers must know that with the ouster of the Shah the final victory has not yet been achieved. They should not lose their patience and observe the problems and plots consciously. I beseech the

Almighty God to make the nation successful and destroy the basis of oppression. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: January 13, 1979 [Dey 23, 1357 AHS / Safar 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Features of the Islamic Republic

Interviewer: A reporter of the Indonesian *Tempu* newspaper

Question: [Indonesia is the largest Muslim country. Eighty percent of its 135 million people are Muslims. For this reason, the Islamic Republic that you are going to establish in Iran is of much interest to the Indonesian people. How will this republic be? Where is the position of the non-Muslims and the pagans in this republic?]

Answer: What is of great importance, are those rules that should be enforced and implemented in this government, the most significant of which is firstly that the republic government should be formed by the people's vote; in a way that every single person in the country has a role in electing the person or persons who are going to hold reins of government. And secondly, about these people also the political and economic policy as well as other social positions and all the Islamic rules should be observed. In this government the authorities should always consult with the nation's deputies in all matters of decision making, and if the deputies disagree they cannot decide on their own. Those people who are elected as the deputies or other ranking officials in the Islamic Republic government, have some characteristics, through observing which the real deputies of the nation are elected and not the deputies of a certain class of the society who act against the interests of the nation. The main directives in the Constitution of this government are the definite Islamic rules that are mentioned in the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

Q: [What would be your economic principles in the Islamic regime? Would 'interest' [*riba*], for instance, be omitted from your banking system? What is your opinion about possession right with regards to land reform?]

A: 'Interest' is forbidden in Islam and it should not enter the Islamic economy in any way. Possession right is approved in Islam, but Islam has some rules clarifying which objects can be liable to possession right and also the conditions under which this right comes into existence. These rules separate the Islamic economic system and also the economic relations in an Islamic society from the capitalistic economic system and relations that exist in today's world. If these rules and principles are observed and implemented the

society will never face the problems and inequalities of today's capitalistic system, and then the Islamic government will not deprive the people from their freedoms on various excuses. Here, one should consider the Islamic economic system in the Islamic rules and principles about all social and individual fields and positions. That is definite that as Islamic rules are concerned, the problems of the people are not solved, and will not be solved only through adjusting economic relations in particular, but these problems should be solved by the whole Islamic system and we should not forget intellectuality that is the key to all problems. We believe that the only school that can guide and promote the society is Islam. And if the world intends to get rid of the thousands of problems it is involved in nowadays, and if the world intends to live a humane life, it should rely on Islam.

Q: [Is it true, that there is difference between you and Ayatullah ShariAtmadari on the concept of government? What is this difference about? Is it necessary, perhaps, to form a council of *ulama*, including Ayatullahs to maintain the old form of the government?]

A: It is over one year that the Iranian nation is constantly repeating its demands before the machineguns, tanks and cannons. In the *TasuA* and *Ashura* referendum, they called for the overthrow of the Pahlavi regime and Monarchy system and also for the establishment of Islamic Republic with a majority of vote that was rare in the history of elections in the world. Therefore, whoever doubts about these demands has isolated himself from the nation. And it is definite that if a council of *ulamas* and Islamic scientists, who are well aware of Islamic rules and principles, do not supervise the Islamic Republic government, the Islamic rules and criteria may not be observed, even if due to unawareness and negligence.

Q: [Would the Islamic rules you are going to implement in Iran, be similar to that of Saudi Arabia and Libya?]

A: What we want under the name of Islamic Republic, is not yet established in any part of the world.

Q: [Which of your opposing wings are closer to you, in your opinion?]

A: The Iranian nation is unanimous in demands and slogans of Iran's Islamic Movement, in a way that the wing that says something against their will, has no place among the nation. The Iranian nation's movement has broken all partial frameworks and limits, and has turned to a party itself. And that is the party of Iran's Muslim nation that is Islam's Party and 'Hizbullah'. In Iran's

struggles no one can dare to go far of the nation; and I am a member of the nation.

Q: [According to the Article 5 of the Iran-Russia treaty, the Russian government can dispatch its army to Iran, in case of a threat from Iran. What is your opinion? For the same sake of this insecurity, can the Shah oppress his opponents on this excuse that they are agents of the Soviet Union? What is your opinion about this article, considering Iran's independence?]

A: The Islamic Republic will reconsider all its treaties, because these treaties have been made with a government that has not been based on public vote, and a government that has not been bound to preserving the interests of the Iranian nation. It was the Shah who was talking about independent national politics till yesterday and used to say that we are so powerful that no foreign country can interfere in our domestic affairs! And now he claims that the Russians have penetrated into Iran, and even his foolish servants claim that those hundreds of thousands of people who were chanting "down with the Shah" in Tabriz, East Azerbaijan, were some foreigners who had come to Iran illegally! Now, all the nations have come to the fact that it has not been the nation, who was supporting the Shah, but it has been the superpowers that were supporting the Shah, for their own interests, and the meaning of the Shah's independent national politics was that he has adopted an independent politics toward the Iranian nation. But these excuses would be of no use for the Shah any longer. The Shah and his supporters have now come to this conclusion that they cannot oppress their opponents, i.e. Iranian nation, through these excuses.

Q: [What would be your stance toward Carter who supports you? And what is your opinion about Russia's penetration into Iran?]

A: Carter and his other allies, thinking alike him, are Iranians' number one enemy, and they are well aware of the fact that the Shah is with them and cannot survive without their support. But it is the duty of the American nation to impeach its president for his supporting a murderer, and also for destroying US national respect and for making Iranians furious about themselves. And about the Russians; the condition of Iran does not let anybody or power to penetrate into Iran, may God want so.

Q: [According to reports carried by *Le Monde* daily on December 3-4, 1978, Iranian authorities have announced that Ayatullah Khomeini has been given some \$25 million, and that this money will be spent to repair and renovate

the mosques, shrines of Imams' relatives, schools and orphanages. Do you approve it? Is that right, isn't it ridiculous that it is in fact the Iranian government who has caused these violations in the country through giving you financial aid. And if you deny the reports, what have been your facilities to continue your activities during your 16 years in exile?]

A: These are all sheer lies. And basically, forgery, calumnies, distorting and changing the facts are among the most significant bases of the policy of the Shah and his accomplices.

Q: [What happened in Iraq that you left there? And why did you choose France? What would be your stance toward the French president, after his November 21 notification to warn that France cannot be a place to invite people to violence? And if the French government refuses to allow you reside in France, where would be your next destination?]

A: Under pressures from Shah, the Iraqi government could not tolerate my activities to serve Islam and Muslims, and so I was obliged to leave that country. I then went to Kuwait and despite having a visa, they refused to allow me to enter their country. So I came to France, so that here I can decide about residing in an Islamic country. And, during my temporary residence in France, whenever I feel some limitations in performing my duties, I will leave the country. It is not important where I am, God's land is so vast.

Q: [What has been the result of your meeting with the Jordanian king?]

A: No such meeting has taken place.

Q: [If the Shah resigns and you are chosen as the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, will you accept the duty? Is the occurrence of a war possible among the followers of Shari'atmadari, Sanjabi and the Army, due to disagreements on objectives and their greed for honors?]

A: I will not personally accept such a position. And I do believe in the nation's unity and awareness that no civil war will occur, God willing.

Q: [How are your relations with Ayatullah Muntiziri? Will he join you in France as one of the opponents of the current regime?]

A: I have known him for many years. He is one of the great *ulama* of Iran and the Muslims respect him.

Q: [Your activities in exile, has revealed the fact that you are more a political leader than a religious leader.]

A: These remarks suggesting religion is separated from politics and other remarks like it are not in the logic of Islam. Political activities are among Muslims' religious duties.

Q: [What is your best wish for Iran?]

A: My best wish is that the Iranian nation may be saved from the oppression and that they may have a free and independent country; I wish they may have a country with an Islamic system in which people's rights are observed and is a model for all the other nations in the field of development and humane prosperity.

Q: [What is your best memory during your exile?]

A: [Imam remained silent on this question.]

Dialogue

Date: January 13, 1979 [Dey 23, 1357 AHS / Safar 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The problems of the current Islamic movement in Iran and the stance of the government and people of Pakistan

Addressee: Khurshid Ahmad¹

[Khurshid Ahmad: We have faced great crises in Pakistan in the recent past, including the partition of Pakistan, the Bhutto's Movement and the 1977 Movement. Due to these situations, we too like Iran decided to capture the political power. But due to some reasons we joined the government of Zia al-Haqq. We have always followed the developments in Iran with interest. We have published the news of the Islamic movement of Iran in our press. We have frequently faced the protest of the Iranian officials and that of the government of Pakistan and due to this reason we and our press have been frequently pressured.

Our participation in the government aims to exert our influence. We used our influence with regard to the visit of Zia al-Haqq to Iran. We have been committed to the people and Islam. The strengthening of any movement and any move will be for the nation and Islam. We will not approve what is not in agreement with Islam and is not for the people.

The Jamaat-e Islami of Pakistan is on the side of the Iranian people who want Islam. The relations of the Pakistani government and Iran are in a very bad situation. The figures belonging to the ruling group become concerned as soon as they observe any change. Our support for the Islamic movement of Iran at the level of public opinion is expressed through our statements, speeches, media, and demonstrations of the Muslims students. We have also extended our support privately as much as we could; given the situation in Pakistan, what really can be expected? In some cases we have openly supported Iran without any fear. We do not support the Pakistan's government. But have supported the Iranian government as much as we have been able to do so. But you must take into account the situation of the government of Pakistan as well as the offices and the ministry of foreign affairs that follow particular traditions. The third issue is that we have taken some measures privately on behalf of Pakistan—officially and unofficially—

¹ Khurshid Ahmad, a member of the central council of Pakistan's Jamaat-e Islami

to better understand the Islamic current and reach a better understanding between the government of Pakistan and the Islamic movement.]

Imam: The nations, if not under the influence of the governments—minus the governments—have correct inclinations. If it were not for the governments, the Muslim nations had and have inclination towards Islam, and what degenerate the nations are the governments. If the government does not enjoy a correct environment, it would gradually change the environment to a similar one to that of itself. If the governments are just, they gradually change the people like themselves. We know that the Pakistani nation agrees with the objectives of the Iranian nation, which are humane and Islamic. What is regretful is that the president of Pakistan has supported a criminal who has spoiled the entire Islamic, Iranian prestige of the nation.

I know that those who are really human and are truly Muslims are not happy. Those who have Islamic activities, like Mawdudi,¹ are not satisfied with the support of your government for the Shah, while the Shah is a notorious figure in the world and is hated by the people. What we want from the nation, after praying for Iran which is under pressure, is to expose the Shah and the crimes he has committed in the public platforms. The European press is replete with such issues about Iran, while such news are very little over there [in Pakistan]. Despite the control of the government, the Iranian press covers some issues of Pakistan.

Receive the news of Iran from Iran to see what inequity is committed against us. For the past fifty years the Iranians have been dying under the pressure of this father and son,² but the great powers have support and do support. They have exerted pressures from all sides. We have neither free press, nor a national parliament, nor a government that supports the nation. During the past fifty years, except in rare cases, they have tried—the Shah has tried—to keep the nation backward and spoil our human resources. He tried to make the aliens dominant over us and to give our resources to the aliens, to the enemies of Islam, and gives our oil to Israel that has risen against Islam and the Muslims. He has tried to undermine our national prestige and has tried to trample on the Islamic principles one after another. If he gets an opportunity—he will not get though—he will deal such a blow on Islam that only its name will survive. He had changed the prestigious Islamic calendar to that of the Zoroastrians, but the nation's pressure made him change it.

¹ Abul-Ala Mawdudi (1903-1979), a Muslim thinker and founder of Jamaat-e Islami.

² Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida Pahlavi

The cataclysms of Islam are not one or two to be enumerated. They will be recorded by the historians; the future generations will realize our cataclysms. But today the nation has awakened and in all the cities, towns and villages hold demonstrations and unanimously ask for the elimination and condemnation of the Pahlavi regime and demand a just Islamic government. Following the nation, we too had and have the same objectives and want you to help us – to render publicity assistance and if possible hold demonstrations there, to narrate the tragedies of Iran in the mosques there and to mention the offences of the Iranian government in the circles. The number of killings is so great that we cannot ascertain the accurate figure to reflect it. The graveyards have been developed and our houses destroyed.

We beseech God to bless this nation and all the Islamic nations and take us all out of oppression, inequity and colonialism.

[Khurshid Ahmad: We the Pakistanis are with you. We are ready to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with you. I assure you that we will exert the necessary pressure on the government through mobilizing and making the public opinion and through political movement so that the past support for the Shah's regime will not be repeated anymore.

Is there any other particular thing to propose to do so that we do it to expand our operations? Over the past two months the majority in the ruling group has mainly strengthened the revolution of Iran and do not have any feeling towards the Shah. Zia himself is not a bad man; he has been under the influence. If we perform well, there will be no problem in the government.

Imam: After thanking you, I would like to say that the duty of the Muslims is to assist each other—it is a divine duty. It is our mission to adopt a single voice; and if the Muslims were united the aliens would not have been able to dominate them. All these stem from the discord among the Muslims.

May God awaken the Muslims so that they perform their religious duty to preserve unity in order to stand and rise against the aliens and cut their hands from their resources and reserves. May God make you successful.

Message

Date: January 14, 1979 [Dey 24, 1357 AHS / Safar 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Unity and defense of the country

Addressees: The *ulama*, preachers and people of Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safar 15, 1399 AH

The respected *ulama* and honorable preachers and the people of Kurdistan, may Allah assist them all:

Greetings and Salutations; At this juncture when our motherland is passing through one of the most sensitive stages of its history and the Muslim nation of Iran is facing the most savage mercenaries of the Shah, it is the duty of all the honorable classes of the country to defend the motherland and the dear Islam through unity of expression and sever the hands of the traitors and criminals, for any negligence of this duty would weaken the Islamic movement and God forbid would lead to its defeat.

I am extremely grateful to the people of that region who have nicely paid their debts to Islam and the Muslims and have played a great role in this movement. May the Almighty God reward them. On my behalf, tell the peasants and farmers of that region that they must not be deceived by the baseless propaganda of the Shah and his accomplice. Islam and the Islamic government accord high respects to you and will treat you in the best possible manner. Bear in mind that the condition of all the classes will not be like that during the evil rule, when everybody's being was destroyed. I beseech the Almighty God to grant victory to the Muslims and the oppressed nation. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: January 14, 1979 [Dey 24, 1357 AHS / Safar 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: General conditions of Iran; incompatibility of Islam and Marxism

Interviewer: A reporter of the AFP

[Washington, AFP: Ayatullah Khomeini announced that he will establish a new government to take the position of the Bakhtiyar government and the emergence of an Islamic government in Iran is near. Answering the question, whether he will become "Iran's powerful man," Ayatullah Khomeini said that he will neither have the same scope of powers of the Shah, nor will become the premier, but that he will maintain his role of guiding people.

Ayatullah Khomeini also stated that he has predicted those who will be future Cabinet members, and that they are all in Iran and have accepted to be part of the new government. Anyway, Ayatullah Khomeini refused to reveal their names. The Leader of the ShiAh refrained from explaining how a new government would take the position of Bakhtiyar's government with his ideas, after Shah's departure. Whether they would overthrow the current cabinet or a new government would be established besides Bakhtiyar government?

Ayatullah Khomeini sufficed to say that like the other governments that were established during Shah's reign, Bakhtiyar government was also illegal and the nation does not support it.

Ayatullah Khomeini added:]

Being a prime minister is not my duty. My duty is to guide and lead the people.

[Some other points that the leader of the ShiAh referred to are as follows:]

The Islamic Iran will have a Majlis whose members will be chosen by the vote of the people, and the only parties and groups that are permitted to attend the elections are those who respect national interest.

[Ayatullah Khomeini added here:]

Those who are still supporting the Shah, have continued their support due to the presence of foreigners in the country and whenever they leave the country, the military men would stop to support betrayers. A powerful army

would be kept for the country and the current army will be refined from corrupt agents.

And about the United States; whenever Washington puts an end to its support for the Shah and Bakhtiyar's government, all hostilities toward the US would be vanished.

About Marxism, no kind of relations exists among the Islamic movement and the impious Marxism. It is impossible to be both a Muslim and a Marxist at the same time. We would have friendly relations with the Soviet Union provided that this country and other countries avoid interfering in Iran's domestic affairs. All kinds of relations with Israel will be cut, but Jews are free to stay in Iran and live in an environment that is freer than that of the Shah's government, because Islam respects all the other religions.

Interview

Date: January 14, 1979 [Dey 24, 1357 AHS / Safar 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Features of the Islamic Republic; foreign policy of the Islamic system

Interviewer: A reporter of the *Liberal* newspaper published in Tokyo and Osaka

Question: [You are going to establish an Islamic government in Iran. The image of such a government is not clear; please explain how the future government will be? Is there any other sample of such a government to mention as an example?]

Answer: At the time, when a nation is crying out, protesting against the strangulation and dictatorship in the country and calls for freedom, or when economic poverty has dominated the country, and besides the legendary wealth of a few people, most of the thirty and something million population of the country is struggling with poverty and the nation calls for the end of poverty and fair distribution of wealth among the people and when the nation sees the development of moral corruption and extinction of all Islamic intellectual values and calls for the establishment of a society in which the criteria of privileges is honesty and faith in God, or when the nation sees its country is dependent on the foreigners and due to its dependence, it cannot decide about its own fate, then the nation cries out that we do not want the Shah, but then the US president explicitly supports him. And the US advisors in Iran oblige the army to keep the Shah in power and to massacre the people, because the nation protests the interference of foreigners in its country's inner affairs and because the foreigners are robbing its country, and because the nation asks for independence for its country and recites the slogan of Islamic government to reach its objectives. I don't guess that there is some vague point in the nation's demands. An Islamic government is a government that is a hundred percent dependent on public vote; in a way that every Iranian individual feels that he is determining and making the fate of himself and his country through his vote. And as the majority of the nation is Muslims, it is almost definite that the Islamic rules and principles should be well observed in all fields. Those who have betrayed the country and have collected wealth violating Islamic criteria, those who have violated other's rights, have no right to interfere in the government's affairs. And we hope that Iran will be the first country to achieve such a government; a government in which every Iranian individual can criticize the highest

ranking governmental official, and impeach him, freely, and without fearing any danger; a government in which money and other empty values that are made by money have no role in determining the fate of the government, but there are the Islamic high values that have dominance in the government.

Q: [How would your foreign relations be? Do you think that oil can be an effective weapon in this regard? How would you use it?]

A: We will show for the first time that not only in our foreign relation we will refrain from signing any treaty that is against our nation, but that we will not establish any relations with other countries at the price of violating their rights, even if that relation is to the interest of the Iranian nation. While we try to preserve our natural sources from the plunder of foreigners, we will not capture the wealth of the others, although it is to the interest of the Iranian nation. Islamic law does not permit the violation of a single person's rights, no matter if he is an Iranian or a foreigner. We will never make a weapon out of our oil to oppress the others, but we will at the same time protect it from being wasted. And those who are supporting the Iranian nation's movement today, will have priority over others tomorrow.

Q: [Who will lead Iran in your opinion? Under what conditions will you accept to reconcile with the current regime? Under which conditions will your return to Iran?]

A: People should lead Iran who are efficient and honest, and those on whom the nation can rely and those who are elected by the nation's vote and those whose efficiencies are approved by the nation according to Islamic rules. But reconciling with the regime means betraying Islam and Muslims, and for the same reason, reconciliation with the regime would be impossible under any condition. And about my return to Iran, I will return to Iran immediately, whenever I feel that I can serve my nation more.

Q: [I guess some reforms should be made in Iran. What are the priorities?]

A: No, if with superficial changes every thing was supposed to become alright, the situation would not lead to this. Principle changes should be made.

Q: [Public strike has paralyzed the daily life, no fuel is found inside the country, the electricity is cut, the price of foodstuff is rising rapidly; on the other hand, due to the banishment of foreigners from Iran, the country may be hindered from development due to lack of experienced and professional

technicians. Do not you think that your daily increasing call for Iranians may increase the sufferings of the Iranians?]

A: Yes, our nation should have taken measures before the penetration of betrayers in the country and should have uprooted this evil tree. But as it is fifty years that with the support of its foreign masters, the Pahlavi regime has inserted its claws in the body of the oppressed Iranian nation, cutting the roots of this 50-year-old tree will be followed by many sufferings, which all reveals the vast amount of the atrocities made by the Shah and his masters. And today, the horrendous face of the regime is unveiled and the world sees the savage nature of these enemies of humanity. If at a time, one has doubted the necessity of struggling against them, he is no longer doubtful today, and the Iranian nation should destroy these savage criminals at any price, so that the way is paved for the nation's prosperity.

Q: [How long would you continue prohibition of oil exports?]

A: We have asked the respectable religious, deprived workers and employees of the Oil Industry to continue their strike till the overthrow of the Shah.

Q: [How would your relations with Japan be?]

A: In case our most significant principles, which we are not going to lost at any price, are observed, we will not refrain from any kind of relation. Particularly sound economic relation, through which, we can save our country from the assembly industry, and make an appropriated industry in the country through making use of Japan's developed industry.

Q: [What would you do, if France refuses to extend your residence in this country?]

A: The lands of God are so vast.

Q: [Industrialized countries including Japan, will sooner or later suffer from the decrease in Iran's oil export. Do you predict any changes in oil export in the future?]

A: It is for many years that the Iranian nation is suffering from the export of its oil to other countries, on their interest and on its own loss. And today, the Iranian nation has violated no right, it just does not let the other violate its rights, and if the very point offends the others, it does not matter. They were and still are, the heads of these industrialized countries that plundered the natural sources of the Iranian nation and many other poor countries in the world, and at the same time supported and encouraged the puppet and

betrayer governments of these countries, before the eyes of these oppressed nations. The Iranian nation has not yet forgotten the 2500-year-old anti-national and anti-Islamic festivals. When have the Industrialized countries sympathized with the oppressed Iranian nation, that now they expect Iranians to sympathize with them?

Letter

Date: January 14, 1979 [Dey 24, 1357 AHS / Safar 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Unity

Addressee: Abdul-Jalil Jalili

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

I would like to acknowledge the receipt your kind letter, indicating your health and inquiring about my health, for which I am grateful. At this crucial juncture that struggle of the oppressed Iranian nation is passing through a very sensitive stage which determines its death or life, nothing is more destructive than discord. I expect you and all the honorable *ulama* of Kermanshah to maintain unity of word and cooperate all together in this sacred movement, for if God forbid this is defeated, our Muslim nation will eternally remain in misery, torture, oppression and inequity.

Another issue is that, since the people of that region have played a crucial role in the movement, convey my regards to them and thank them on my behalf; also thank the members of the respected tribes of Ahl Haqq, Suleh, Sanjabi, Javanrud, Paveh, and Valadbeigi and other tribal families. Please pray for me. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: January 14, 1979 [Dey 24, 1357 AHS / Safar 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sadiq Khalkhali

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

After praising (God) and extending salutations (to the Prophet (s) and his pure progeny (A)), it is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Imam al-alam al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Shaykh Sadiq Khalkhali, may his blessings last long, is permitted on my behalf to take charge of the financial and religious law affairs which is among the duties of a jurisprudent in the absence of the Imam (A); and is also allowed to receive the blessed Shares and spend the *Sadat's* Share and half of the blessed Share of the Imam (A) in the prescribed areas and send the other half to me or to my proxy in Qum.

“I advise him, may God assist him, as I have been advised by the pious predecessors, to keep company of piety and to evade carnal desires; and pin my hopes on his prayers and advice.” May peace be upon him and upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar 15, 1399 AH

Permission

Date: January 14, 1979 [Dey 24, 1357 AHS / Safar 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Bujnurdi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

After praising (God) and extending salutations (to the Prophet (s) and his pure progeny (A)), His Eminence Sayyid al-*ulama* al-*Alam* wa Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Bujnurdi, may his blessings last long, is allowed to take charge of the financial and religious law affairs in receiving religious funds such as the blessed Shares and other funds related to the fully qualified jurist; and is also allowed to spend the *Sadat's* Share in the religiously prescribed areas and to spend one-third of the blessed Share of the Imam (A) in the prescribed areas and to send the two-thirds to me or to my proxy in Qum and return the receipt to the owner of the fund.

“I advise him, may God assist him, to keep company of piety and turn away from the lowly world; and pin my hopes on his prayers and advice.” May peace be upon him and upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: January 14, 1979 [Dey 24, 1357 AHS / Safar 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: US's support for Bakhtiyar; army's role; need for nation's preparedness

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*

US's support for the government to hold the regime

Now that America has realized the Shah's putridity—and as the saying goes it has become so strong that even the Khan himself has realized it—it has adopted another course of action. Until recently, America supported the Shah and announced its backing for him. Now, however, the Americans proclaim their backing for this government,¹ and it is through backing this government that they hope to keep the regime. They think they can bring back this old servant to calm the people, take the Shah out of the country and then, after a while, bring him back a more powerful and savage ruler than before.

Illegitimate government

So, one of their strategies is to back this government. As I have said before, and will according to the referendum which was held,² this government is illegal; consequently repeat again, this government has been appointed by the Shah, who he is not the Shah; rather he is a usurper and a rebel. Thus, any governing body appointed by him is illegal.

This government has come to power with the backing of the members of parliament also; however, they too are illegal because they were not chosen by the people. Indeed, the people do not know any of them and have not appointed them to be their representatives. Thus, a government selected by these members of parliament cannot be a legal one.

So this plan of theirs, whereby they want to give this government the air of legitimacy, will not pass muster with the Iranian nation. The nation of Iran must demonstrate against it. It is incumbent on the people to rise up in opposition to this government, just as they did against previous ones, to

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar's government.

² It refers to the million-strong demonstrations by the Iranian people on *TasuA* and *Ashura*.

demonstrate against it and bring it down. Indeed, it is already in a state of collapse, this government is not one that can calm the people. These people have stood up to martial law and military rule, they will not sit quietly before this kind of government waiting for it to make its next move.

The promises that this government has given are no different from those of the previous governments. The former government, I mean the last but one, gave many promises. It promised peace and then tried to implement it through tanks and machine-guns! This government has promised to bring to justice those guilty of misappropriation. If this is the case, then we must ask him (Bakhtiyar): What about the Shah? This wealth that the Shah now possesses, this wealth that he has transferred abroad, did he come by it legally or through illegal means? If you think that he obtained it legally, then you yourself are the worst criminal of them all—indeed, you didn't object to any of this yesterday, all this talk started today. On the other hand, if you see him as having obtained it illegally, then you are in fact recognizing his guilt and admitting that the Shah is a criminal, that he is someone who has misappropriated the wealth of the nation, has stolen from the nation, plundered and betrayed it. Consequently, as stipulated in the law, if the Shah is a traitor, he cannot be the Shah.

Thus, you (Bakhtiyar) are acknowledging that you were appointed by a Shah who is a traitor to the country and has plundered its wealth! Seeing as you are promising to arraign those who have acted treacherously, then arrest the Shah. It is within your power to do this, do not let him flee, put him on trial, take the wealth of the people away from him. Not one of these thieves, whose names were recorded in that document, details of which were divulged by the bank, has stolen as much as he has! You promise to catch these traitors; well he is the leader of them all.

The whole nation knows you (addressing Bakhtiyar and the government) are in the wrong if you do not agree that he is a traitor. And if you do recognize him as a traitor, then you yourselves know, as well as the whole nation, that you have been appointed by a traitor and those appointed by a traitor must either step down—indeed the people will eventually bring them down if they themselves do not come to their senses quickly and step down—or be seen to be traitors.

American plot

This, therefore, was all part of a plan, to bring a government to power and have it promise the people that it would bring these people to justice! That it would give back control of the religious endowments to the *ulama*!

What need do the *ulama* have for religious endowments that you are trying to bribe them with?! Do they have any need for them? If the *ulama* gain control of the religious endowments, they will give them to those they have been bequeathed to, to those they are meant for. You are trying to deceive the *ulama* with such statements as: “We will put control of the religious endowments back into the hands of the *ulama*!” And “We will dismantle SAVAK and create an “intelligence office”! This simply means you will get rid of the name SAVAK and give it another name instead! Things will be just the same! I really do not believe that they are even going to imprison these thieves, these accomplices of the Shah they have arrested. According to them, these thieves are in confinement, but for all we know they may have been taken somewhere very pleasant. It is not improbable for the Shah to do such a thing.¹

I cannot believe that they are truly going to convict these people. These are men who have been the Shah’s accomplices for the past fifteen years, such as the former prime minister and the former head of SAVAK who were the Shah’s friends as well as his accomplices.² This is just like the time he said he would carry out ‘reforms’! One cannot believe that these people really intend to take any steps. Even if they did, it would not be acceptable to us. Let us assume that the Shah or his government want to create a heaven of a country for us, we do not want the heaven that is created by the Shah’s hand; we do not want the heaven that is created by the hands of the Shah’s servants. Of course, such a thing will never happen, but were it to happen, we

¹ It refers to the arrests by Azhari’s military government on November 7, 1978 [Aban 16, 1357 AHS] of former government officials including Amir Abbas Hoveyda, the Shah’s former prime minister; Manuchehr Azmun; Mansur Ruhani; Ghulam-Rida Nikpay; Dariush Humayun; Iraj Vahdi; and General Nasiri. The former British Ambassador to Iran, Anthony Parsons, remarked at the time that he felt the Shah would never put Hoveyda on trial for to do so would be to put the regime on trial. And in his book *The Pride and the Fall* (p. 100), Parsons says of Hoveyda: “To arrest him would be to arrest the Shah, to try Hoveyda would be to try the Shah, and to condemn Hoveyda would be to condemn the Shah.” The BBC on November 8 [Aban 17 AHS] reported that Hoveyda had been made a scapegoat.

² The Shah became acquainted with Hoveyda when he was a director of the National Iranian Oil Company. He got to know him better when Hoveyda was appointed Finance Minister in Mansur’s cabinet and saw him as a *persona grata* for his regime. Consequently, following the assassination of Mansur, he gave him the premiership. Mansur obediently served the Shah and was able to retain the post of prime minister for more than twelve years. His term in office is the longest on record in the contemporary history of Iran. NiAmatullah Nasiri had been a classmate of the Shah’s in the Tehran Officers’ Training College. During the Musaddiq era, he was the commander of the Imperial Guard and was the man sent by the Shah in August 1953 to arrest Musaddiq. He was one of the leaders of the Mordad 28 [August 19] coup and in 1965 [1344 AHS] was appointed head of SAVAK.

would not want it, because according to the law, according to the holy *shariAh*, he is illegal and therefore has no dominion; the same applies to the government. Consequently, everything they do, whether they turn this country into a heaven or a hell, will not be accepted by the nation, as indeed it is not accepted by us either.

Army not to support the Shah

We have heard, from various quarters, that they wish to adopt another course of action—although this too I find hard to believe will come to pass—and that is they wish to carry out a military coup.¹ So far, a number of ways have been suggested by which this will be carried out. Some say that a number of these bloodthirsty butchers have been given sensitive posts,² and as soon as the Shah leaves the country, they will carry out a brutal coup d'état and such and such will happen. I do not believe that this will be the case, for the Shah now lacks substance, he is too insubstantial for the army to support him. He is only in place now because these army commanders, who are his accomplices, deem that were he to go, it could possibly be bad for them. So they are clinging onto him with both hands, but it is as if they are holding onto a dead man in a coffin. The Shah is no longer of any account; he is unable to bring this about.

Supposed coup

And does the army want to do this without America's permission? For the top brass in the army are servants too. These few people who are guilty of stealing, of plundering the wealth of the people, and who now want to flee, cannot perform such a deed on their own. So it remains for America to give it them to perform, and in my opinion it is very doubtful that America will do

¹ In the last months of the Shah's reign, four ways of confronting the Islamic Revolution were suggested. The fourth option, which was favored by the CIA and the American military, was a military coup and the installment of a military government similar to that in Pakistan. After the Shah had left Iran, Brzezinski, Carter's security adviser, told Bakhtiyar to frighten the people with talk of a coup d'état, and advised General Huyser and Major General Philip Gast, Chief of the US Military Mission in Iran, to protect Bakhtiyar with the complete backing of the Iranian army. Refer to *Az Sayyid Zia ta Bakhtiyar*, p. 878.

² General Ghulam-Ali Badrihi, one of the Shah's executioners, and General Mahdi Rahimi were appointed Commander of the Ground Forces and Military Commander of Tehran, respectively, at the time of Bakhtiyar's government. General Khusrowdad, one of the cruelest and most ruthless of the Shah's military men, retained his post as commander of the helicopter forces and airborne troops. Refer to *Gam beh Gam ba Inqilab*, p. 162.

such a thing, for its experts have already studied that possibility, even though their understanding was very little!

They (the Americans) have taken one step at a time and every time they have met with defeat. In the beginning, their tactics were to strengthen the Shah following this up by propagating him to be this, that and the other. Then they established martial law and saw that although it was implemented with the utmost severity, still the people paid no heed to it. It was announced; indeed this was the law, that if more than two people came out together onto the streets there would be dire consequences, as a result one million people poured into the streets! This is something that our nation should take note of: If one day they threaten to take action if the preachers speak out about a certain topic or against Israel, yet, in order to paralyze the regime and stop these kinds of threats, every preacher ascends the pulpit and speaks out on that subject all the same, they will not be able to do anything about it. They always take advantage of disunity. They frighten one group out of going to the pulpit and speaking out so that when another group, who are in the minority, ascend the pulpit, they will not say anything because they see that no one else is saying anything. If two or three do speak out they are quickly arrested. If they threaten you with all kinds of consequences if you close the universities, and still all the universities remain closed, they will not be able to do anything. Yes, if they can create disunity they will do so and will exploit it. They announced that martial law was in effect and that if two or more people came out together onto the streets they would do such and such and woe betide anyone who came out during curfew, nevertheless, our nation poured into the streets a million strong! And the regime couldn't do a damn thing about it. The people blocked the roads so they could remain on the streets during curfew hours. When the people are many, the regime cannot do anything. Supposing they were to do something, it would be nothing other than some minor ignominious act; they couldn't do something rational which would produce results. They did not achieve anything by the martial law which they imposed on twelve cities.¹ A revolution took place in each one of these cities and is continuing.

Now this government is saying, albeit falsely, that it will lift martial law, whether it does or not is all the same, for the people no longer pay heed to martial law or to the military. When the Americans realized that martial law was having no effect and the people were still of the same mind, they established a military government. So martial law had to remain in place, but now the government too had to be run by the military. For a while, they were intent on crushing the people through the military government, however, once again the people resisted, they stood up to the military government,

¹ Isfahan was the first city in which martial law was declared. On Thursday and Friday, August 10 and 11, 1978 [Mordad 19-20, 1357 AHS], huge demonstrations and marches were staged in this city, which, due to the intervention of government troops, resulted in a vast number of demonstrators being killed and wounded and a number being held in custody. It was following this that on August 11, 1978, martial law was declared in Isfahan. The first statement to be made by the military governor of Isfahan (Major General Rida Naji), announced the imposition of a curfew which prohibited the circulation of people between 8 pm and 6 am, and declared the formation of any kind of social grouping in excess of three people categorically forbidden. The following day, Saturday, August 12, 1978, martial law was also declared in Najafabad. Due to the movement's expansion and the continued demonstrations, on September 8, 1978 [Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS], an official statement was issued which announced that in addition to Isfahan, martial law was also to be declared in Tehran, Qum, Tabriz, Mashhad, Shiraz, Kazerun, Abadan, Ahwaz, Karaj, Qazvin and Jahram. Between 2 pm on Saturday, February 9, 1978, and the morning of Sunday, February 10, the military governor of Tehran issued four different statements numbered 40, 41, 42, and 43. Statement number 40 specified that the hours of curfew were to be from 4.30 pm until 5 am. However, word immediately spread throughout the city that Imam Khomeini had proclaimed the military governor to be without legitimate authority, and thus people were not to obey these regulations. On hearing this, people began to collect sand and sacks and by building barricades across the streets they in effect broke the imposed curfew. Some of these people carried sidearms and were covered by a group of youngsters who were equipped with firearms, and who turned the streets into fields of combat during the hours of the curfew.

shouting the same slogans as they had done before; doing the same things as they had done before; sacrificing their lives as they had done before. A military government had no effect either.

People recognize the criminals

The people have been facing the military for a few months now. They faced out martial law, but at that time their ideas had not blossomed as they have now. At that time, SAVAK was something of consequence to them and the Shah was the Shah! But these notions are routed now, the nation has routed them, this nation has destroyed this idol. The Shah no longer enjoys any standing, neither he himself, those associated with him nor his army commanders have any standing now. If anyone enjoys standing in the eyes of the nation at present it is those army commanders whose hands are not imbrued with the blood of the people, and that means most of them. Those who thirsted for blood and whose hands were elbow deep in the blood of our nation are but a few, whom the people know about and whom they have made known to us! God willing, we will deal with them later.

The nation's army

It's not that our nation opposes the army; we view those in the army, the commanders, officers and those with rank, as our brothers; it is the murderous elements in the army that we oppose. The country has to have security forces, and we welcome them with open arms, we embrace them as our brothers. The army should not suppose that if "His Imperial Majesty" goes, it too will go or Iran will cease to exist. No, this will not be the case. As you see, "His Imperial Majesty" now lacks substance, yet Iran is where it should be, as are you. These few thieves who are now giving you your orders will, in a few days' time, grab the money and flee, that is if the nation is so careless as to let them. Yet your position will remain the same; the nation wants you and you in turn want the nation. You are not the Shah's army; you are the nation's army. They are lying when they say you are the Shah's army! Who is the Shah to need an army? It is the nation that needs an army. The Shah himself must be from the nation, but he has acted foolishly and has separated himself from the nation. If this regime had aligned itself with the nation, there would have been none of this. I would not be here today and neither would you gentlemen. These people have driven a wedge between themselves and the people. They thought they could crush the nation until the end; they distanced themselves from the people and found themselves in the situation you see them in today. All the world powers rallied to his support, they stood by him, but because the nation did not want this regime, it has not survived. All the powers joined together, from the north to the south, the east to the west; they came together saying he must remain in power. But the nation said "no", and when these powers saw that the nation was adamant, they realized that they too had to say "no", and this they did.

So now they say "no" to the Shah remaining, but their second step is to say "yes" to this government! They say "yes", this government has to be, this government is a moderate one and whatever, but the nation says "no", and even if all the powers in the world support it, when the nation says "no", then it will not be.

It is said that the ministers are not allowed into the ministries, this nation itself, these governmental institutions themselves oppose the government, it is not only the merchants of the bazaar, the university people, the villagers and the farmers who are opposing it, the governmental offices too have had enough. The people there know better than most what corruption has gone on. It is said that they did not let the ministers into the ministry buildings; they apologized and told them that they did not accept them for they were not true ministers! Can a government whose ministers are not allowed into their

ministries discharge its duties? This is just a farce. This parliament is not a true parliament. If these artificial representatives they have created and have sat down in the parliament were judicious, they would not sit there. At a time when the people will not let them into their ministries, these ministers take their posts saying: "I'm a minister! I want to carry out reforms"! What reforms do you want to carry out? They won't let you into your ministries, so where do you want to discharge your duties, where do you want to govern?! America has come to realize that this army is of no use, that it cannot control the nation for it does not oppose the nation. It is these few individuals whom this regime has installed to head the armed forces who oppose the nation, the rest of the honorable military personnel suffer greatly because of their actions. But they are unable to do anything.

Rumors about participation of Israeli forces in killing Iranian nation

I have been told that these massacres which have taken place were carried out by soldiers from Israel, but I do not have concrete proof of this. A few days ago someone—I can't remember his name—came here and told me that when he and a few others were traveling to Abadan , they stopped along the way to ask for directions and saw a soldier standing nearby. They called him over to them and realized that he didn't understand Persian, so one of the group spoke to him in Arabic and they learned that he was an Arab from Israel! The man himself admitted that he had been brought to Iran from Israel. A truck stood nearby full of his colleagues.

These people have used Israeli soldiers to kill the people of our nation, nevertheless, our nation resisted, it gave lives, it gave its youth and it stood up to them saying it did not want this regime. This is the "no" of the nation. Sometimes it is only a city, a district or a province which voices protest, and when this is the case, it is right for one to assume that such protests will be squashed. However, at times a whole country stands up, and this is what has happened today. Today, a whole country is saying "no" to the monarchical regime and "yes" to Islam. It is the whole country, and no power can quarrel with a whole country. Consequently, as you have witnessed, they have had to bring pawn after pawn into play in the hope of achieving something, but they have failed every time.

Identification of agents for a likely coup

The American experts saw that martial law only made matters worse and a military government even worse still. Now it is rumored that they are planning a military coup d'état! Is a military coup any different from a

military government? The meaning of a military coup is that once again a military man takes over the reins of power and once again the people are killed, only this time in slightly greater numbers. The people have already shown that they will resist such measures.

It is possible that a group of people have plans to carry out a coup d'état, but I doubt that such a thing will come to pass. We know who they are; they have no place to hide. If they do such a thing they will not be able to flee from us. Wherever they go we will find them and take revenge. They must realize this, they must come to their senses and not dirty their hands with such a vile deed. Whatever vile deeds they may have perpetrated hitherto are done, they should refrain from perpetrating any more. They shouldn't suppose that we don't know who they are, we know them, and the nation too will soon know them. I doubt that America would be so foolish, that its experts would be so foolish, as to undertake such a useless task, to make one blunder after another in this way. This will not happen. This is just another stratagem that I don't believe they will execute. I do not believe they will carry out a coup d'état.

Plot for attack on the army and killing the people

There is a third plan which is even more satanic than the others and which has a greater chance of being executed. It is said that in the event of the Shah leaving the country, America is planning to bring a group of its insurrectionists into play to attack the soldiers in the name of the nation, and lead them to believe that the people want to kill them. In this way, they want to make the army confront the people. This group is from the Americans, and they intend to come onto the streets, fool the people into following them then leave them to be gunned down and massacred. This is their ultimate plan. In this way they hope to bring about a massacre and make it appear that if the Shah leaves, the nation will destroy the army and massacre all the commanders! These are people, insurrectionists that the Americans themselves have supplied. They comprise commandos, *kolis* and mercenaries in their pay, and they are bent on inciting trouble. They will encourage some groups to attack the police headquarters, the barracks and the military headquarters and tell those who know no better: "When His Imperial Majesty goes, the nation will massacre you all!" As it is only natural for those being attacked, to defend themselves, their defensive actions will be made to appear just in the eyes of the world. It will be said they were only defending themselves against people who wanted to kill them. A great massacre will take place in the name of defending themselves against people intent on

murdering them. Therefore, I warn the nation, the soldiers, the commanders, young officers and others to get wise to this plot, for it will most probably be carried out, and they should be vigilant and not allow themselves to be tricked.

The commanders, officers and soldiers, the town and city police and the Gendarmerie should not entertain the idea that the nation is their enemy. The nation is at enmity with that wretch who will soon be leaving, God willing. The nation opposes neither the Gendarmerie nor the town and city police, it opposes neither of these, nor does it oppose the army or the members of the armed forces, they belong to the people and the people belong to them. Everybody should be aware of this plot hatched by fiends to try to turn two sections of the nation against one another and to incite fratricide. In the event of this plan being executed, they hope to trick the army commanders, the officers and the soldiers into thinking that it is the nation which has attacked them, whereas in actual fact those doing the attacking are their agents. If such a thing should come to pass, these commanders and officers should turn their guns on their superiors who are ordering them to kill the people. They should kill them instead. They must realize that the nation bears no animosity towards them. The nation is their friend, the people are their brothers. Their positions are secure, they will carry on with the same job as they are doing today, with the exception that the transgressions the American experts carried out against them, the burdens that they imposed upon them will be no more, and the army will be an independent one, an army of the nation, not an American army. It will be a national army belonging to the nation; the nation wants the army and the army wants the nation. So this is another course of action they may adopt to try to achieve what they want.

A non-violent military coup!

Another course of action also exists, and that is they may carry out a bloodless coup and then resort to hypocrisy in order to deceive the people and preserve America's control over us. If the Shah is still around, they may kill him to be rid of him, they may proclaim that they will give his wealth to the nation, the call to prayer may ring out from the minarets, and they may even establish prayer gatherings! This is one way by which they may try to fool the people, through hypocrisy, so that America continues to have control over us. And if the Shah is retained, they may bring him back after the flames have died down, or, alternatively, they may put another pawn in his place to continue his work, in other words to be America's servant. Then once again

we will be back to the same old set-up, with them taking our oil, building bases for themselves and destroying the nation's resources.

Nation's readiness to neutralize plots

The people must be wary of these plots that are likely to come to pass, the people must ready themselves to deal with them and to neutralize these devilish actions, and they should not fear anything. The nation has reached the stage now where all the eyes of the world are on it; the Iranian nation has acquired a reputation in the world. I am aware, through the messages that have been sent to me, that from every corner of the world people are singing the praises of the Iranian nation. Wherever you look, from America to the Arab and other governments, they all view what has happened in Iran as nothing short of a miracle. I too view this as a divine affair; it is not man's doing. The hand of God is with you. Nation of Iran, do not fear anything!

Without the involvement of the hand of God, it would have been impossible for a human being to take children of such a young age and elderly men, eighty years of age, along the same path; the hand of man could not have achieved this. God is with you, so what do you fear? All the power in the world is nothing before God the Blessed and Exalted. Trust in God the Blessed and Exalted and persevere with your movement; fear nothing and continue your demonstrations and strikes. Victory is close at hand, God willing. Do not be afraid, be strong and patient. The Most Noble Messenger spent his whole life suffering, his whole life. You cannot find even one month in his life when he relaxed. All his suffering was for you. Today, the religion of the Prophet lies in your hands, they want to do away with it and it is up to us to preserve it. They are taking Islam's resources and it is up to us to safeguard them. Do not be afraid, be strong and patient. Learn from the example of the Messenger of Islam. He suffered hardships for thirteen years in Mecca, and the rest of his life was spent in battle, dispute and repulsing oppressors. We have only been doing this for a short while; what are we afraid of? If we are killed then, God willing, we will go to heaven, if we kill then still we will go to heaven. This is the logic of Islam, because Islam works for righteousness. We do not want to own the world; we want to establish righteousness and justice, not this "social justice" that Mr. Shah talks about, by which they take all the people's wealth and then say this is Islamic social justice!!

May God protect you all. May you be successful ["Amen" from the audience]. May God grant victory to the Iranian nation ["Amen" from the audience].

Interview

Date: January 15, 1979 [Dey 25, 1357 AHS / Safar 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Objectives of the Revolutionary Council; expectations from the army; trial of the Shah

Interviewer: Some reporters of the French TV, Channel 1

Question: [Honorable Ayatullah, what are the objectives of the Revolutionary Council?]

Answer: Its objective is to set up a provisional government which will in turn set up the constituent assembly for the approval of the constitution and performance of other tasks.

Q: [Honorable Ayatullah! What will be Iran's foreign policy after the departure of the Shah?]

A: Iran's foreign policy will be based on mutual respect with all the states and there will be no differences between the states in this regard.

Q: [Honorable Ayatullah, do you want to cut off Iran's relations with all the foreign powers, or will you continue these relations? In case of severance of relations, will your policy be violent and radical?]

A: No. We do not want to cut off the relations. We want to cut off Iran's dependence on foreign governments, for the Shah has made Iran dependent on the United States and other governments.

Q: [Honorable Ayatullah! What are your expectations from the army?]

A: I expect them to join the nation and assist the Islamic government; and the army personnel will do so in the near future.

Q: [There are reports that you have condemned the Shah. Do you want to condemn him or to try him?]

A: On the basis of the nation's ruling, the Shah is condemned, but whenever the people find him, they will try him and will take back their own properties from him. The Shah must be tried in front of the nation and be punished for the crimes he has committed.

Q: [I have a very personal request, that is, to be allowed to accompany you to Iran.]

A: I cannot say anything at this stage.

Interview

Date: January 15, 1979 [Dey 25, 1357 AHS / Safar 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Democracy in Islam

Interviewer: A reporter of *Le Echo*, a French local magazine

Question: [Honorable Ayatullah, in your previous messages, you had said that the Islamic Republic will be a democratic system and everybody will enjoy freedom. Is it possible to speak of democracy in a regime which is based only on one school and religion, that is, Islam? What will be the fate of non-Muslims and believers of other religions in such a regime?]

Answer: Democracy is inherent in Islam; the people are free in Islam, both in expressing their ideas and in practicing them so far as there is no plot and so long as they do not propose issues that may misguide the Iranian generation.

Q: Will the Ayatullah revise the relations with foreign countries, particularly with France?

A: Our relations will be based on mutual respect and will be preserved. We will treat France like other countries.

Interview

Date: January 15, 1979 [Dey 25, 1357 AHS / Safar 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Victory is close; women and oil in the Islamic Republic

Interviewer: Some reporters of the *European* (?) and *Al-Ahram* papers and some Japanese reporters

Question: [European: Prime Minister Bakhtiyar said in an interview yesterday that the religionists must pay attention to religion and leave politics to the politicians. He also said that you would not be able to overthrow his government. What is your opinion?]

Answer: The first point that he has made is the thesis that the aliens have always been saying, that is, separation of religion from politics, in order to plunder our resources and he is the mouthpiece of the same people. As to whether we can overthrow his government, it will become clear in the future. His government is doomed to annihilation and victory belongs to the oppressed nation.

Q: [You have sent a message to the army. Yesterday the army established ties with the people.¹ Do you still believe that the army will join the nation? Or do you fear that a military coup may be engineered?]

A: I hope that the army—of course those who have not embezzled the nation's wealth and those who have remained committed to their military dignity—will join the nation and the negligible minority who have betrayed the nation will not be able to do anything.

Q: [What is the latest situation of the Revolutionary Council? Are its members mainly the religionists or the laymen?]

A: It will be announced later.

Q: [When and under what circumstances will you go back to Iran?]

A: It must be studied.

¹ During the demonstrations held on January 15, the people and the army personnel exchanged flowers.

Q: [Brzezinski¹ has sent a message asking the army not to engineer a military coup. Do you consider it a sign of the US's favorable policy towards Bakhtiyar's cabinet?]

A: The US may be willing to support the current government, but the latter will not be able to solve the problems either. Moreover, it is illegal and the nation has rejected it. Victory definitely belongs to us.

Q: [*Al-Ahram*: Do you have any plan to change the Constitution?]

A: Yes.

Q: [Do you have any plan to change the internal situation and the ministries?]

A: It will be clear later.

Q: [What will be the role of the women in the future Islamic government?]

A: The women will be free to participate in many affairs; freedom in its true sense not in the manner the Shah wanted. Our women are in the prisons and the absolute majority of those who are outside the jails participate in the demonstrations and struggles. But a small group is free—of course not in the manner the Shah wants. We will be definitely opposed to that kind of freedom.

Q: [The Japanese reporter: What will be the policy of oil exploration and production under the new regime to be set up in the future after the Shah has gone? Japan has made large investments in the development of Iran's oil production. Are you ready to continue these plans in the future regime and will you agree with the continuation of these joint ventures?]

A: These issues must be studied by the future government that should take decision in accordance to the country's interests.

Q: [There are some reports indicating that the US officials have contacted the Ayatullah. Would you please explain the form and kind of contacts? Will there be independent cooperation between your government and the US government in the future?]

A: Thus far they have not contacted me personally. God willing the relations will be based on mutual respect. But we will be absolutely independent and will not surrender to any country.

¹ Zbigniew Brzezinski, the then national security adviser of the White House.

Interview

Date: January 15, 1979 [Dey 25, 1357 AHS / Safar 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Public conditions before and after the victory of the Revolution

Interviewer: A reporter of the Singapore's *Strait Times* newspaper

Question: [Would you please explain your ideas and feelings about the recent political developments in Iran? What is your opinion about the newly-appointed Bakhtiyar government?]

Answer: The resistance of the Iranian nation is matchless in the world. In order to remove the hellish dictatorship, the Iranian nation has struggled so courageously that it has astonished the East and the West—the bloody struggles will definitely lead to independence and freedom. The Iranian nation wants the elimination of the Pahlavi dynasty and the monarchical system and the establishment of an Islamic republic. The recent government is not legitimate at all, for it has been approved by the votes of a parliament in which the Iranian nation has no representative. I have said several times that any government with the existence of the Shah is condemned.

Q: [There are reports that the Bakhtiyar government has kept its distance with you and has not sought your backing for his government. His statements have thus far promised the religious leaders that Iran will not sell oil to Israel anymore. How do you assess his situation or that of his government in relation to yourself and to those religious leaders who may take your opinion into consideration?]

A: I and the entire Iranian nation condemn the Bakhtiyar government. Superficial freedoms and stoppage of oil supply to Israel are measures to divert the public opinion from the core of corruption, that is, the Shah and the monarchical system. This government [Bakhtiyar's government] cannot last long because the people do not support it.

Q: [If I have understood correctly, you and your followers want the ouster of the Shah and see the future of Iran only under a complete divine government, which means an Islamic government which is run by a religious leader. Do you say that ideally you should replace the Shah at the apex of the power structure, that Iran be run in a more humanistic manner and directed by the Islamic principles?]

A: I and the other clerics will not occupy any position in the government. The duty of the clerics is to guide the governments. But we want the ouster of the Shah and want to replace this corrupt regime with the judicious Islamic government and victory will be ours.

Q: [Even if you have accepted the principles of such a government, it cannot be said that no problem will surface with the present opposition who do not agree with such an approach to the government. It is an established fact that, contrary to you, Ayatullah ShariAtmadari follows the idea that the Shah must conditionally remain in power in accordance to the Constitution and the Constitutional monarchy, and has said several times that the Shah must remain in power and reign. It shows that you do not want the Shah, but he supports him.]

A: In order to retain his position, the Shah has launched a campaign in the East and West, but it is futile. The courageous Iranian nation will defeat him and his clique. The people do not want the Shah and consider him a criminal and a traitor and no one can oppose this demand. The future history will show that the demand of the nation and the will of God shall prevail over all other wills.

Q: [Suppose that you succeed to defeat the Shah and also unite the current opposition forces, what will be your immediate principal economic and political plans and policies?]

A: We want a healthy and non-dependent economy. The Shah has paralyzed the Iranian economy and put our resources in the service of the East and the West—particularly the United States. We will struggle against this policy and will not allow others to plunder our assets. We will launch a real revolution in all economic fields. The issue of agriculture has a special priority in our government, for through his American-led land reforms the Shah has destroyed our agriculture. In the field of industry, through the establishment of mother industries, the assemblage industries will be prevented. Iran is an independent country with an independent policy. We will cut off the hands of the East and the West from our country. We will eliminate all political dependencies and will make the people rule over their fate and will liberate the people who have been deprived of all their rights in Iran over the past fifty years so that they attain all their legitimate demands in full freedom. But we cannot deny the fact that after victory we will face serious economic crises. But God willing, we will compensate for the economic failures of the Pahlavi era.

Q: [Will you make major changes in the direction of recent economic growth of Iran? Will you make any change in the position of the big foreign oil companies?]

A: The changes regarding the oil companies must be undertaken by the experts. What I can say is that all the contracts that are to the detriment of the nation will be rejected by us because they have been signed by the defunct Shah and the usurping, illegal government.

Q: [Will there be more inclination toward the market economy? One of the current crises in Iran is the rejection of the present dependent economy—dependent on the Western capitalism—which is opposed to the Iranian traditional merchants.]

A: Our economy will be an independent, healthy and national economy, based on the fulfillment of the most basic needs of the deprived, oppressed people, not a merely consumer economy.

Q: [Do you envisage an immediate economic chaos in the country? What do you think now that the oil pumps have been shut down and there is scarcity of bread—because of the shortage of fuel for the bakeries? What should be the first measure in Iran?]

A: So long as the Shah is there, no oil will be exported. I have sent a delegation to take care of the oil supply for the domestic consumption.¹ But the strike of the oil industry will continue until the Shah has gone. The problem of the oil shortage for the domestic consumption will be solved shortly.

Q: [Do you offer an opposition which will be like a socialist government for Iran or a government based on humanity and religious principles?]

A: Our government will be an Islamic one, which will implement the Islamic laws. The Islamic laws are constructive for man and uplift man in his human position and also fulfill his material demands.

Q: [Suppose you are placed at the apex of the government. How do you foresee your relations with the West?]

¹ In a decree addressed to Mr. Mahdi Bazargan, Imam Khomeini had earlier appointed a delegation to regulate the oil supply for the domestic consumption and prevent its export to foreign countries.

A: I will have a conducting role in the future government. The East and the West would not make any difference to us. The interests of the nation will be the tally that should be protected in the best possible manner. If the East and the West respect our nation, we too will treat them in the similar manner.

Q: [Will there be any change in your alliance with the United States?]

A: We have friendly relations with the American nation and will establish relations with the US government in a manner that would be in the interests of our nation.

Q: [Will there be any change in the military policies? Will Iran stop the purchase of sophisticated weapons? What it has been thus far buying by the petrodollars?]

A: Never! The Iranian army will never need such weapons as the present ones. The US army advisors have full control over the Iranian army. We will form an independent army and will eliminate the redundant parts, which are not useful for the army, for our country and for our nation. We will sell oil to any country we deem it exigent and in turn will receive money, not weapons—which is not at all useful for the army and puts the army totally in the service of the aliens.

Q: [Do you think that these changes will have their effects on your relations with the OPEC member states?]

A: The competent experts will study the issues related to the OPEC and will take the necessary decision in this regard. We will not be deceived by the names and titles; whatever will be in the interests of the nation will be followed.

Q: [Is there any possibility that Iran under your leadership would look at the Soviet Union in order to counterbalance the United States?]

A: Never! We will establish an independent Iran to liberate it from the yoke of the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is now taking away the gas of Iran and the United States takes away our oil. We will never allow these two superpowers to dominate over Iran.

Q: [Do you have any idea about the US's unconditional support for the Shah? Will you reject US interference in Iran altogether? Will you succeed to change the Shah as the head of the state?]

A: The United States has thus far supported the Shah and this is why it is the number one enemy of the Iranian nation. We condemn US interference in Iran. The US does not have any person other than the Shah to maintain its base in Iran and plunder our resources and do whatever it wants. This is why it supports the Shah. God willing, we will make Iran independent. Through their selfless struggle and numerous sacrifices, the Iranian nation will finally expel the Shah from Iran, eliminate the monarchical system and establish an Islamic government in its place.

Q: [How will your government deal with the army officers who have always supported the Shah?]

A: Those army personnel who have supported the Shah and killed the defenseless Iranian people will be tried and punished for their misdeeds.

Q: [Suppose your government or a government with your support comes to power, will there be any political repression? What will happen to the SAVAK?]

A: Freedom will never be granted to anybody if it is to the detriment of the nation, but there will not be any repression of the nation. We will dissolve the SAVAK.

Q: [What do you and your followers want to do; a military coup in Iran? Do you think that people such as colonel Khosrowdad can engineer a military coup, as rumors have been spread about it?]

A: I have said and written several times that after the ouster of the Shah—if he is caught by the people, he will be tried in an open court and punished for his misdeeds—we will hold a referendum for the establishment of an Islamic Republic. Through this government, Iran will be liberated and will gain its true independence—political, military, economic, social and cultural independence. Everybody will be free to express his or her opinion in this government. The Iranian people are fed up with the dependence on foreign powers and domestic tyranny and in order to attain true independence, they courageously throw themselves before the bullets. Where in the world can you find a people like that of Iran who empty-handedly fight against the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and other supporters of the Shah in order to restore their rights? Now you have realized well what I want to say. Of course it is difficult for the entire peoples of the world and for the Iranian politicians to understand how we can attain victory without relying on the East or West. All of them used to say and tell me that if we oust the Shah we

cannot oppose the regime and all of them without any exception tell me that I should firstly stop opposition to the monarchical regime, for opposition to the regime is impossible. I tell them what I am telling you, that is, by the grace of God, victory is close; I will oust the Shah, will uproot the monarchical regime, and replace it with the Islamic Republic. As for the military coup against this nation, my answer is no. This issue does not come to the fore at all. If a military coup is engineered in favor of the Shah, it will not solve any problem, for the people are already living under such a coup, but are resisting in such a way. Once again I would repeat that there is no other way than the ouster of the Shah and the elimination of the monarchical regime.

Message

Date: January 15, 1979 [Dey 25, 1357 AHS / Safar 16, 1399 AH¹

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Nine-point recommendations

Occasion: Advent of *Arbain* of Imam Husayn²

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The *Arbain* [the fortieth day marking the martyrdom anniversary] of the Doyen of the Martyrs and Master of the Oppressed—Allah's salutations and greetings be to him—has arrived. Our wakeful and courageous nation has had many useful *Arbains*. What tragedies and destructive cultural shortcomings we have faced during these years, that is, during more than fifty years of the usurping reign of the Pahlavi dynasty. The bitter and miserable years during these fifty years and more bitterer and more miserable over the past one or two years which have moved our brave nation against the dictatorship and colonialism.

This year the *Arbain* of the Imam of *ummah* has coincided with the *Arbains* of the followers and ShiAh of that great man of Islam and as if the blood of our martyrs is the extension of the pure blood of the martyrs of Karbala, and the recent *Arbain* of our brothers is the reflection of the *Arbain* of those courageous men. Their pure blood put an end to the rule of Yazid and the pure blood of these people has terminated the illegal monarchy. This year's *Arbain* is exceptional and typical; participation in the exiting demonstrations and rallies marking this *Arbain* is our religious, national duty.

The great Iranian nation, through its rallies and demonstrations across Iran, will bury this regime, will announce its opposition to the illegitimate Royal Council, and for yet another time announce its support for the Islamic Republic. It is necessary to attract the attention of the valorous nation of Iran to a few issues:

1. According to some reports the government officials take away the wheat of the silos and stores by trucks overnight and want to create an artificial famine. It is the definite duty of the people of Tehran and other

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date is Dey 26, 1357 AHS [January 16, 1979].

² Forty days after *Ashura*.

cities to prevent this measure and appoint some of the trustable people to supervise and thwart this inhumane act. Negligence of this point involves religious liability.

2. According to reports the United States wants to steal away or explode the weapons and equipment, which have been imposed on Iran in lieu of petrodollars (if they have not taken them away by now as some news agencies have disclosed). It is the duty of the officers and other ranking officers of the three services of the army to prevent this act and it is the duty of the nation to cooperate with the army in this regard and not allow them to destroy or plunder the wealth of the nation anymore.

3. The honorable farmers must make efforts and not ignore cultivation, particularly cultivation of dry farming. The malicious elements may create artificial famine and pressure the country.

4. The Islamic banks should grant interest-free loans to the farmers and the Muslims cooperate with the banks in this regard to stop diabolic plots.

5. It is announced to all the foreign banks that the deposits of the Shah and his relatives and other thieves of the wealth of the dispossessed nation—the list of whose names has been prepared—belong to the nation, embezzled and taken out of the country by them. These banks must not give the deposited funds to them and very soon the competent officials will lodge complaint against them.

6. The members of the illegal houses of the parliament are warned to avoid going to the parliament and in case of violation, will be taken to the book by the honorable nation.

7. Now that the universities, these firm bastions of the struggles of the students, have been reopened, I expect the honorable academicians to continue their slogans against the corrupt regime and their struggles against the usurping government, against the Shah and against the illegal royal council and not accept the professors who are related to the system of oppression and repression or are supporters of the corrupt regime.

8. I warn those who have joined the illegal Royal Council as its members that this action is illegal and their interference in the fate of the country is an offense; they must immediately resign from this council, and in case of violation, will be responsible for its consequences.

9. The members of the Revolutionary Council are in Iran and will be introduced soon.

I beseech the Almighty God to rid the nation from the domestic and foreign vice by His extensive blessings. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar 16, 1399 AH
Dey 25, 1357 AHS

Reply to Queries

Date: January 1979 [Dey 1357 AHS / Safar 16, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Answering a few questions

Addressee: Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh²

Question: [1) Some of the seminary scholars believe that I should personally meet Mr. Golpaygani and Mr. ShariAtmadari and while thanking them, inquire about their ideas on the return of His Eminence Imam Khomeini.]

Answer: It is not right for him to go to the houses of these gentlemen.

Q: [2) Mr. Abdul-Khan, a cousin of Shapur Bakhtiyar along with Mr. Haj Amanullah Khan Mustawfi came to my house today and expressed their sympathy and humbleness and those of Bakhtiyar, saying that we are at your service; Abdul-Khan said whatever order you give we will be at your service. But the interview of Bakhtiyar is against the remarks of Abdul-Khan. Do you allow me to send any message or not? Of course in my opinion it would not be useful.]

A: It is not necessary.

Q: [3) It is likely that your plane in the sky between Iran and France will be hijacked by another plane and forced to land in another country like Israel. Necessary preemptive measures must be taken in this regard.

A: [Imam did not answer this question.]

¹ The following questions were written by someone else on behalf of Mr. Pasandideh.

² In the text written of the person who asked the questions, it has appeared as such.

Message

Date: January 16, 1979 [Dey 26, 1357 AHS / Safar 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Shah's escape from Iran

Addressees: Foreign news agencies

A) The escape of the Shah from Iran is the first stage of the end to the fifty-year criminal domination of the Pahlavi dynasty which happens as a result of the heroic struggles of the Iranian nation. I congratulate this phase of the victory to the nation and will issue a statement addressed to the nation.

B) We will soon introduce the transitional provisional government for holding an election for the constituent assembly and the approval of the new constitution.

C) My return to Iran will take place in the first appropriate opportunity.¹

¹ The English translation of this statement was read for about five hundred reporters in the afternoon of January 16, 1979 at 2:30 pm.

Interview

Date: January 16, 1979 [Dey 26, 1357 AHS / Safar 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Freedom of political parties in the Islamic Republic

Interviewer: A reporter of the German magazine, *Stern* (?)

Question: [Honorable Ayatullah, you have announced the establishment of an Islamic government in Iran which you will head. Will this Islamic government be based on a parliamentary regime similar to the parliamentary regimes of the Western world or will it be a theocratic government? And are you intending to approve your own role through election or referendum? Will the political parties, newspapers and those who do not believe in religion be allowed to—probably—freely announce their opposition to the Ayatullah and your policies?]

Answer: I do not want to head the government. The form of the government will be a republican one, based on the people's votes, law, and the Islamic principles. The parties will be allowed to oppose us or other things so long as their measures are not harmful for the country.

Q: [What organization or political forces will constitute your base? Will you rely, for instance, on the National Front or on the clerics? Earlier you had announced that the jurists and other people would be taking charge of the government affairs. Will this principle be implemented as you had earlier announced?]

A: I have not said that the clerics should take charge of the government. The clerics have another occupation. Of course, the supervision over the law is the responsibility of the clerics and the clerics rely on the people not on a political party. I too rely on the people and I am not affiliated to any political party.

Q: [Therefore, the remarks attributed to you in the American newspaper, Herald Tribune, are not your remarks and message?]

A: Many newspapers write matters which are contrary to the reality. I am surprised how the newspapers allow themselves to write what is contrary to the reality and what I have not said or done.

Q: [When, and under which circumstances, did you feel the responsibility for this political mission? Why did you not mobilize the Iranian masses right after the 1963 events, when you were a popular leader?]

A: From the very beginning we were determined to oppose the regime because we did not consider it legal, but the nation woke up gradually. It was not possible to accomplish this task in the beginning. During this period the nation gradually woke up and this awareness reached its peak during the past one-and-a-half years, leading to the current developments.

Interview

Date: January 16, 1979 [Dey 26, 1357 AHS / Safar 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Shah's flight from Iran

Interviewer: Foreign reporters

Question: [What will be the first political step of the Ayatullah after the Shah's exit?]

Answer: The exit of the Shah is the first stage of our victory, but we have numerous problems ahead and the nation must know that the mere exit of the Shah is not the victory, but it is the dawn of the victory. Of course, I congratulate this dawn to the people. They must also bear in mind that the dawn of victory is the dawn of the elimination of the foreign domination as well, and the congratulation for this issue is more important than that for the Shah's ouster. Now we have very complicated problems ahead and are the inheritors of a disorderly country. The ruination wrought during the past fifty years of the Pahlavi reign and during the thirty-plus years of the reign of Muhammad Rida Khan should be reconstructed through the efforts of all the strata of the nation. The first step that we should take is the reconstruction of the ruination wrought by the Shah and the foreign agents; and it is not possible to accomplish this task except through the assistance of all the strata. I humbly request the entire strata of the nation to cooperate in this Islamic and national legitimate task; they should join hands, put the party and ideological differences aside and rise up with a single voice as a single body. They should rise up for an issue in which lies the salvation of this wrecked ship. And I beseech the Almighty God to make our nation more aware and wakeful. I ask the nation to take care of the law and order in the country and the zealous youth to take charge of the security of the cities, towns and villages and not allow the riot-mongers in these cities, towns and villages to—God forbid—commit acts of sabotage. I warn those who make ballyhoo and launch a disinformation campaign in these fields that a vigorous fate will await them if they try through opportunism to create riots against the nation or propagate in favor of figures who are abroad or in favor of a superpower. If they do so they will be punished, but if they repent, the Almighty God would accept everybody's repentance. They must return to the bosom of the nation and the nation in turn will accept them.

Q: [Does His Eminence Ayatullah not think that if he did not cooperate with the Bakhtiyar government, a military dictatorship and new round of bloodshed would occur?]

A: The time for a military coup has expired. If someone engineered a military coup or established a dictatorship, he would realize that he would not succeed to do anything and would only bring contempt for himself and those who are related to him. All those who want to take anti-people measures for utilitarian causes should know that the time for such steps has already expired. The Iranian nation is not the previous one anymore and the disinformation has lost its effect. The nation must continue its way until it achieves what it wants, that is, the elimination of the dictatorship, the establishment of an independent country in which all the classes and strata are free and an independent country in which no other country can interfere. God willing, this aspiration will be materialized in the very near future and we will soon introduce the government.

Q: [What will be the role and position of women in the future government?]

A: It will be the condition of a genuine human being and a free personality contrary to the time that we have put behind, when neither our women nor our men were free. A nation whose men and women were not free and were living under repression has been liberated from this situation and henceforth its men and women will be free. But if they decide to commit any act in contravention to the principles of chastity or take measures contrary to the exigencies of the country, they will be of course stopped.

Message

Date: January 17, 1979 [Dey 27, 1357 AHS / Safar 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Congratulations on the occasion of the Shah's escape and explanation of the duties of the citizens

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To the honorable and courageous Iranian nation, may Allah raise their fame and grant them success:

I congratulate the devout nation on the occasion of the escape of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, which is the dawn of the victory of the nation and the threshold of salvation and attainment of freedom and independence. You, the courageous, steadfast nation proved to the oppressed nations that it is possible to overcome the difficulties, whatever they might be, through devotion and resistance and achieve the objective—whatever it might be. Although this tyrant has escaped from our hands with his hands are stained with the blood of our youth and his pockets are full of the nation's wealth, by the grace of God he will be tried soon and the revenge of the dispossessed will be taken on him, but the severance of the hands of the oppressors by the oppressed to prevent the continuation of oppression is imminent. He has left and joined Israel, the sworn enemy of Islam and the Muslims, but left such crimes and disorderliness whose compensation will not be possible except through the affirmation of the Almighty God and the efforts of all strata of the nation and the sacrifices of the efficient and intellectual classes. Now on the dawn of salvation and victory, I draw the attention of the people to certain issues:

1. In order to maintain law and order, it is the duty of the zealous youth across the country to cooperate with those sections of the security forces who have returned to the bosom of the nation and with their full force and strength they should not allow the mischievous elements and the pervert to create riot and insecurity.

2. The demonstrations and chanting slogans against the monarchical regime and the usurping government should continue, and if the misguided people and the opponents of Islam tried to create any problem or any disorderliness, they must seriously stop them. The nation should bear in mind that any diversion and any slogan against the path of the nation is created by

the agents of the defunct Shah and the tools of the aliens. I request all of those who have had some inclination towards the pervert schools of thought to return to the bosom of Islam, for it would guarantee their salvation and we will admit them with brotherliness. At this sensitive juncture when our war-stricken country more than any other time needs unity and unanimity, attempts must be made to avoid any differences.

3. The provisional government will be introduced soon to take charge and prepare the grounds for the election of the constituent assembly. The ministries are duty-bound to accept them and sincerely cooperate with them. I deem it in the interest of the illegal ministers to step down and not put themselves in the way of the nation.

4. I recommend all the security forces and the personnel, top brass officers and commanders of the ground, air and naval forces as well as those of the gendarmerie and the rest to give up their support for Muhammad Rida Pahlavi—who is now dismissed, will not return to the country and has faced the hatred of the people abroad—and join the nation which is in their religious and worldly interests.

I thank all the strata, particularly the honorable *ulama*, at this sensitive juncture and beseech the Almighty God to grant health and salvation to all and hope for the unity of word forever, particularly for overthrowing the monarchical regime and the establishment of the Islamic Republic. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: January 17, 1979 [Dey 27, 1357 AHS / Safar 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Elaborating on the Revolution's stance vis-à-vis Israel and the United States and the limits of freedom

Interviewer: A reporter of the *Express* magazine

Question: [What will be your stance vis-à-vis the Western and Eastern camps?]

Answer: Our Islamic government will be free and independent and the balance of power in this region of the world must not be disturbed at all. We will neither tilt towards the West nor lean towards the East; we want to be a neutral and non-aligned republic. We want to have friendly relations with all the countries so long as they do not interfere in our internal affairs.

Q: [Despite this, your intention to cut your oil supply to Israel and South Africa shows that you have already chosen a political option.]

A: No, we react to the countries that have trampled upon right and justice. With regard to Israel, we are not taking stance in its dispute with the Arab governments through our measures; we only punish a country whose advisors assisted the police and the Shah's army to torture and harass our nation. The sale of our oil to other countries will be normal. We will spend the oil income for the exigency of the country, not for the destructive military equipment.

Q: [What is your judgment about the US policy?]

A: During the recent events, the US government and president have acted as the enemy of the Iranian nation. The presence of the American military bases and advisors has rendered our country poorer. The US has supported the Shah's regime in the tragic massacre of the nation and is recognized as an accomplice in the crime. Now it is the duty of the American nation to pressure its administration.

Q: [Have you received any help from Libya?]

A: It is absolutely absurd! We have not received any assistance from any country. Our nation has encountered the tanks and machineguns with bare hands. If the colonial powers continue to support the criminal figures of Iran, spearheaded by the Shah, we will choose another way.

Q: [In a collection of your ideas published in English in 1970 entitled, *Islamic Government*,¹ you have explained an idea about the establishment of a rigid and strict regime based on the observance of the Quranic rules and you have added that in this system there will be no place for beliefs and feelings and the Quranic teachings will be the only criteria for action and the people will only obey God and His law. Will the people be ready for the limitation of their freedoms to that extent?]

A: In an Islamic regime, the freedoms will be clear and complete. Only those freedoms which are harmful for the nation or damage the dignity of the individuals will not be granted. The great support of the people for us expressed since several months ago indicates that they have adequately understood our thought and have realized the future. Meanwhile the same support proves that despite the attempts made to separate the nation from religion through materialistic temptations, this nation is happy to once again tread in the divine path and regain its real spirit. We will struggle against squandering, will return the wealth that a limited number of utilitarian people have stolen, will improve the life condition of the dispossessed, and will lead the nation towards the path of dignity and devotion and the construction of a modern free society.

¹ See Imam Khomeini, *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist*, trans. Hamid Algar (Tehran: Institute for the Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, Autumn 2002), <http://www.geocities.com/icpikw/wilayat.zip>.

Dialogue

Date: January 18, 1979 [Dey 28, 1357 AHS / Safar 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The future policy of the Islamic system in Iran towards India and other governments and nations

Audience: A delegation representing the Indian government

In His Most Exalted Name

[Mr. Mahta Ashok, a member of the Janata Party of India and member of the central committee of the ruling party of India, accompanied by two staff members of the Indian Embassy in Paris, went to Paris as representatives of the Indian prime minister and foreign minister to meet Imam Khomeini:... First of all on behalf of the Indian people we extend our congratulation and admiration of the struggles of the Iranian nation for eliminating the dictatorship and establishment of democracy in Iran, for our struggles in India like those in Iran were peaceful and accompanied by public disobedience which is the best method for establishing the people's power. Recently our prime minister too tried to establish a dictatorship, but many people landed in prison until we put an end to it. We are also happy to hear that the democratic Iran has adopted a non-aligned policy. India's policy from the very beginning was based on neutrality. Hence it is important that Iran too is joining the Non-aligned Movement. Iran and India have been close to each other for centuries. There are very few examples of such close relations between two nations in the world. It is important that we are close to each other. We should join forces for the construction of our countries and the establishment of democracy and maintenance of neutrality and peace; we can cooperate with each other to materialize these objectives.]

Imam: I reciprocally thank the Indian citizens and government for their sympathy with and attention to the humane efforts which are going on in Iran.

The Iranian nation has had many problems during the monarchical history. During the fifty-year role of the Pahlavi dynasty many calamities were inflicted on the nation who did not enjoy any freedom and faced all sorts of crimes and betrayals. This father and son have committed so many treacheries against our nation and the country that their compensation is not possible in the near future; attempts to compensate must continue forever.

The compensation of the ruinations and crimes needs a long time. And we expect the freedom-loving countries and nations to assist us and pay attention to the government which is to be established shortly. I hope that the great government of India be among the first to recognize our government, for the problems of our country had been similar to those of the Indian people and the way we have walked is the same as that of Gandhi and the great men of India who cut the criminal hand of the aliens off their country. We hope to establish an Islamic estate which maintains fine relations with all of the free and democratic countries and hope that our nation will be at brotherly terms with all the other nations. Of course, we will continue with our neutral stance and will not let any of the superpowers interfere in our country. I ask the Great God for the well-being of all nations.

[Indian government representative: We are most obliged. I wish to assure your honor that you and your people, who seek democracy, enjoy all our support. Our policy is active neutrality and staying clear of other countries' affairs; but that does not mean that we would not express our support. We do support Iran. There are thousands of Iranian students studying in India; we extend them our assistance. We assure you that we will cooperate with you to realize your good aspirations—collaboration for setting up friendship and familiarity between the two nations, towards the interests of the regional states and global peace.]

Imam: I am grateful for all your good intentions. Since what we have articulated and Iranian nation has risen up for is humanistic, any one who has essentially maintained his humanness will approve of it. It is regret that the Pakistani government has imprisoned some of its citizens because of their support for Iranian nation; I denounce this action by the Pakistani government and expect the governments who respect the freedom of nations to condemn it too. I am grateful for the support of Indian government for the Iranian students and its care for their well-being. I wish happiness for all nations.

[Indian government representative: I would like to remind Your Highness that Indian relations with the monarchial regime have been within the framework of economical cooperation. Political relations have been generally limited to mutual respect, but we did not have any policies in common. I hope that in the new Iran, which is being born, it will be possible to continue with and to expand the economical cooperation. On political grounds, we are happy that India and Iran follow the same agenda. The international circumstances are much complicated. Many new states have been found, causing many changes—some favorable and some not. For all

this, as far as India is concerned, my country welcomes a democratic Iran and extends its hands for cooperation, friendship and unity for joint efforts.]

Imam: Thank you for all the compassion. By the same token, we extend our hand towards the Indian nation and government. We shake their hands and set up strong political relations. Economical relations will hold according to the expedience of the two nations. I ask the Great God for the success of all nations.

Message

Date : January 18, 1979 [Dey 28, 1357 AHS / Safar 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The plot of the Shah's agents to affront the religious authorities

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safar 19, 1399 AH

To the Iranian nation:

With humbleness and respect I warn that according to the information I have received, in order to create discord among the ranks of the Muslims, the Shah's defeated regime has decided to launch a plot on the day of *Arbain* to rescue itself. I announce that it is unlawful and against the pleasure of Allah to create tension or confront any disrespect to me or my photo or any cursing or affront to me or my photo. I announce that any affront to the honorable religious authorities and their holy images is unlawful and against the pleasure of God. I also announce that if anybody commits such an ugly act, he does not belong to the nation, is an agent of the aliens and the tyrannical regime. The entire nation must be wakeful. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: January 18, 1979 [Dey 28, 1357 AHS / Safar 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Setting up a committee to strengthen and organize the strikes

Addressee: Yadullah Sahabi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safar 19, 1399 AH

Honorable Dr. Yadullah Sahabi:

As you are already informed, the zealous Muslim nation of Iran and a great number of the government employees and workers have gone on strike since four months ago, have endured various kinds of deprivations and made great sacrifices to defeat the adamant resistance of the despotic regime and have gradually undermined the maneuverability of the dethroned Shah and that of the governments under his command. We are sure that by the grace of Allah and with the efforts of the wakeful combatants, the disgraceful system of corruption and the royal oppression will be soon eliminated from our land and will give its place to the government of Islamic justice and mercy.

Since some of the strikes and the stoppage of the transportation of the required foodstuff of the people, particularly wheat, or the suspension of plans meant for the maintenance and repair of the industrial machines may cause some harsh, paralyzing deprivation for the oppressed people or lead to economic stagnation, causing irreparable damages and giving a propaganda excuse and a war leverage to the rival, attempts must be made to reduce the damages caused by the strikes to the courageous nation and wakeful people who are the soldiers of this struggle, while expressing hatred against the regime and bringing it to its knees.

Hereby you are deputed to set up a committee along with Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Jawad Bahonar and honorable Engineer Ali Akbar Muinfar and two other persons appointed after consultation with the gentlemen to strengthen and regulate the strikes. Through the consultation and cooperation with the honorable striking groups, arrangements should be made to continue the strikes as much as necessary until the final collapse of the current despotic regime. At the same time while these strikes should exert maximum pressure on the usurping regime, minimum damage must be

inflicted on the nation and the country, the necessary requirements must be supplied and the economic wheels, the human resources and industrial resources should be preserved on the basis of priority. I thank all the respectable strikers. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: January 18, 1979 [Dey 28, 1357 AHS / Safar 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Taking charge of the Iranian embassy and consulates in the United States

Addressee: Jalil Darrabi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safar 19, 1399 AH

Honorable Dr. Jalil Darrabi:

As you are already informed, the corrupt illegal ambassador, a supporter of the treacherous Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, who is usurping in charge of the Iranian Embassy in the United States,¹ is not ready to give up his mischievous attempts even after the dethroning of the Shah and his escape from Iran. But the honorable employees of the Iranian Embassy in Washington and Iran's consulates in various cities of the United States in accordance to their legal, religious duty have not accepted him. Hence, you, Messieurs Dr. Tabatabai, Rida Sadr, Ahmad Azizi, and Shahriyar Ruhani, with the cooperation of the clean employees who are interested in Islamic, national dignity and honor, are deputed to take charge of the Iranian embassies and consulates and preserve the documents and papers which belong to the Iranian nation in an appropriate manner. Of course the respectable employees will cooperate with you and the delegation under your supervision.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Ardeshir Zahedi, the Shah's last ambassador to the United States.

Letter

Date: January 18, 1979 [Dey 28, 1357 AHS / Safar 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Requesting return to Zanzan and conducting the struggle against the Shah

Addressee: Sayyid Izzuddin Husayni [Imam]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Sayyid Izzuddin Imam, may his blessings last long:

I would like to inform you that I am grateful for your kind letter indicating your health and inquiring about my health. I beseech the Exalted God to grant you health. For sometimes I have been thinking to request you not to leave Zanzan which is a very sensitive place void of your honorable presence. Now that the struggle of the honorable *ulama* and people of Zanzan, may God assist them, has become a turning point and striking Islamic activities are going on there, this idea has become stronger. Of course the excuse you have mentioned was justifiable and under the circumstance it was not appropriate, but now that the tyrannical regime is tending towards its annihilation and foundation of that order has been destroyed, it seems that your presence there is more useful for Islamic activities.

The war-ravaged Iran of today needs reconstruction which in turn depends on the cooperation of all the strata of the nation which should be arranged with the efforts of the luminaries and the honorable *ulama*. The negligence of the *ulama* and trustable people in supervising the affairs of the cities by the support of the people will cause irreparable damages. Hence, you are requested to go to Zanzan if you do not have serious excuses and improve the affairs through your guidance and solve the problems through cooperation with the honorable *ulama* and other respected people. I beseech the Exalted God to rectify the affairs of the Muslims. I hope you pray for me. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Safar 19, 1399 AH

Interview

Date: January 19, 1979 [Dey 29, 1357 AHS / Safar 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Iran's situation after the exile of the Shah

Interviewer: A reporter of the French Television

Question: [I would like to thank you for accepting us and the French Television to interview you. Our correspondent has reported from Tehran that millions of people hold demonstrations in the streets of Tehran. Are you aware of this issue? What is your opinion about these great demonstrations in Tehran?]

Answer: The demonstrations are not held in Tehran alone; they are held in other cities as well. I believe that it is a referendum being held by the nation for several times on the rejection of the Shah—the former Shah—his government and the Royal Council. The Iranian nation wants an Islamic government and it is a public referendum in favor of the Islamic Republic and nothing else; the nation does not accept anything else.

Q: [You talked of the Royal Council; Mr. Tehrani came here and announced that he wants to meet you and talk to you. Do you want to meet him and have a connection with the Royal council?]

A: I cannot have any connection with the Royal Council. He requested to meet me. I asked [my colleagues] to remind him that unless he does not resign from the illegal Royal Council, and does not announce that his resignation was due to the illegality of the council, I would not meet him.¹

Q: [As you mentioned, a public referendum is underway in Iran and the huge population there want you to go back. You have said so far that you would go back when the time was appropriate. If so, what will you decide?]

A: I repeat again that whenever I deem it exigent and my going is the most appropriate, I will go.

Q: [We have some information that there are hunger strikes in some of the barracks and military units. Do you think that it is the sign of the beginning of the Army's turn to you?]

¹ On the demand of Imam Khomeini, Mr. Sayyid Jalal Tehrani submitted his resignation and called on him.

A: We hope that the Army returns to all the strata. Of course, some of the army personnel have returned back to the nation. But it is in the interest of the Army that all its personnel return to the bosom of the nation and not have any contact with the Shah who has gone and will never return. They should not imagine that they must be loyal to the Shah. The Shah who has betrayed the nation, made our army dependent, committed such crimes against their brothers, paralyzed our economy, and destroyed our agriculture does not deserve to be heeded. The army should be the army of the nation. We think that the Army is ours and if there are some traitors among them, their account is separate from others. We hope that all of them return to the bosom of the nation and we will welcome them.

Q: [For a long time you have been demanding the exit of the Shah. Now that he has gone, do you want your friends in Iran to assume power? How? Legally or through the pressure of the public opinion; that is, through the demonstrations they hold?]

A: The pressure of the public opinion is the same as the law. They imagine that the monarchy in Iran came through the people's vote in the beginning, whereas it was not so in the beginning either. Our law is that the monarchy must be established through the general elections, but now the public votes have dethroned him, rather frequently have dethroned him. Thus we should assume the power through the pressure of the public opinion—which is really the law—and establish the government.

Q: [Naturally, then, many questions will come to the fore, including one saying that the Ayatullahs have as much wealth as the Shah has and probably receive assistance from various countries. Where does this support from various countries come from? And there are others who say that your coming to power is tantamount to a return to the past?]

A: As for the wealth of the clergy in Iran, it is a sheer lie whose falsehood is clear. I also deny receiving any assistance from other places; no assistance is rendered to the Iranian clerics from anywhere; no financial assistance is given to them either. But the people are interested in the clergy, they are religiously interested in the clerics and whatever assistance they want, the Iranians would render to them and they do not need foreign assistance.

Q: [How about the second part of my question, that is, returning to the past...?]

A: What has been said about returning the country to the past is what the Shah has spread, for he is clutching at every straw to rescue himself from this entanglement. We agree with all manifestations of civilization and would like our country to be equipped with all the achievements of civilization, but not the way the Shah did it. The Shah turned all the civilizational manifestations into corrupt and corrupting centers: the cinemas were the centers for corruption; he spoiled the morality of our youth; increased the centers for licentiousness; and increased the centers that increase the addiction of our youth to things such as heroin; and we are opposed to all of these issues. We are not at all opposed to the effects of civilization and progress. We are against the Shah's intrusions that have taken us backward and now Iran must work hard for several years to make for the destruction and corruption the Shah has created in Iran.

Q: [Let me thank you on behalf of the French Television for accepting us here. Do you think that you will regret the day you will leave here; leave this place?]

A: Place is not important for me. Wherever I can serve humanity and my nation, that place will be good for me. So long as I can serve here, I am interested to stay here; the moment I cannot serve here, I will not be interested in this place; I will be interested in the place where I can serve.

Message

Date: January 20, 1979 [Dey 30, 1357 AHS / Safar 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Imminent return to Iran; warning to the illegal institutions

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safar 21, 1399 AH

Dey 30, 1357 AHS

Endless salutations and infinite greetings to all the zealous citizens of Iran; the honorable and courageous nation, who for yet another time expressed its demand for the elimination of the monarchical regime and establishment of the Islamic Republic on the fortieth day of the Imam of the *Ummah* [Imam Husayn] (A). Although your sacred Islamic movement was accompanied with the shedding of the pure blood of the martyrs and heartrending tragedies, your freedom-seeking has been recorded in history. You ousted your main enemy and that of the country and buried the greatest traitor and criminal of the country in the dustbin of history. Through your uprising and your resistance you proved to the dispossessed nations that the modern weapons and satanic powers are not able to withstand the demand of a nation who has courageously risen up to defend its faith and rights. Also you have proved that the power of a wakeful nation overpowers all the weapons of the superpowers.

The Shah has gone and the monarchical regime has collapsed. The squanderers of the national purse have sucked out the capitals to overseas and run away one after another. The courageous nation will take them to book in the first opportunity. They have gone, but left the ruination and disorderliness behind, which must be mended by the grace of God and the determination of the nation—although it will take several years. Offering my sincere gratitude to the dear nation, I deem it necessary to mention few points:

1. God willing, I will join you soon to be at your service, try to remove the problems through your valorous efforts and hand-in-hand with you and unanimously eradicate the corruption. My dear friends prepare yourselves to serve Islam and the dispossessed nation. Fasten your belts to serve the

bondmen of God, which is a service to God. By the grace of God I will be at your service within a few days and will continue my soldierhood behind you.

2. Warn the representatives of Muhammad Rida who have unrightfully occupied the two houses of the Parliament to evacuate the house of the nation so that the representatives of the nation who have been deprived of their rights for fifty years go to their own houses. And God willing you will all see what free elections and healthy parliament are. I warn them that they will be responsible for any consequences if they go to the Parliament again.

3. Once again I warn the members of the Royal Council, which is a branch of the illegal root, to quit the council and not oppose the nation anymore.

4. Once again the ground, air, and naval forces and the security forces are recommended to maintain law and order and the honorable, wakeful nation is recommended to cooperate with them.

The wakeful Iranian nation at this juncture must seriously stop the pervert persons or groups who want to create riot and betray the country in the advantage of the aliens. They must warn the rioters to give up their inhumane, anti-Islamic and anti-national acts and join the nation. I beseech the Almighty God to grant success to the nation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: January 21, 1979 [Bahman 1, 1357 AHS / Safar 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-Le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Keeping unity and solidarity and rising up for God, the secret behind the victory 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*

The nation's unity of purpose, source of vigor and victory

Before saying a few words to the gentlemen, I must thank all the young people, the brothers and sisters who are outside the country and whom during this period I have put to much trouble, and also ask their forgiveness. I pray to Almighty God for your health, greatness and happiness. I hope that a suitable environment will be brought into being in Iran so that you can all return and serve your own people and your own country.

You all saw how, as a result of the Iranian nation's unity of purpose, the pillars of the palace of a power that liked to see itself as a superpower and was supported by all the superpowers—even unfortunately almost all the Islamic governments gave it their backing too—crumbled one after the other. You all saw what became of that Rastakhiz Party that they once praised to the skies. Both the Shah and his wicked agents once sang its praises loudly, blowing it all out of proportion, indeed the Shah himself went so far as to say that anyone who did not become a member was to leave the country; he was this uncompromising about it. But the nation of Iran stood up to this party-maker and to tanks, cannons and machine guns, and made this dictator think again about his party and decree it to be null and void.

Such treason he committed when he changed the Islamic calendar,¹ the calendar that recalled the most noble of histories, the most creative of histories: the history of Islam which awakened man and awakened the

¹ Toward the end of 1975, on the anniversary of Rida Khan's birthday, both the Consultative Assembly and the Senate agreed in a joint meeting that the official calendar of Iran was to be changed. Until then, time had been reckoned from the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina (in 622 CE). The new calendar however (known as the Imperial calendar), took as its point of departure the founding of the Iranian monarchy by the Achaemenid emperor Cyrus, fixed somewhat arbitrarily at 529 BCE. Following this change, it wasn't long before the self-absorbed monarchical regime in Iran was uprooted.

oppressed, which humbled the tyrants of those days and created human beings in the true sense of the word, developing all dimensions of man, that which pertains to the spiritual as well as that pertaining to his material life. And this man wanted to deprive Iran of this honor. He wanted to trample the roots of Islam underfoot and replace the Islamic calendar with the pagan imperial calendar. But you saw how all the sections of Iranian society rose up against it, and, through the efforts of the people of Iran, he was once again forced to back down. You saw that through your unity of purpose, this man, who eulogized himself so much and whom others eulogized, was forced to come before the nation to repent and ask the people's forgiveness. Granted he was trying to trick the people, but all the same he was forced to ask forgiveness.

People of Iran, you saw how your unity of purpose forced all the superpowers to retreat. In the beginning they supported him, each one having something to say, such as, "We will interfere militarily"; "Iran will be divided", and other such myths which they are always putting about. Yet you saw that even though all the superpowers were behind him and were supporting him he was forced to leave Iran and is now outside the country. It is unfortunate that he was able to escape the grasp of the Muslims and our youth. Nevertheless, in the near future he will be called on to return to Iran, God willing [The audience says "God willing"], and the treasure and money that he took from our nation, and which was transported out of Iran in his final days, will, please God, be taken from him ["God willing" from the audience], and he will receive the punishment he deserves for the deeds he has done and the oppression he has carried out, God willing.

Massacre, plundering, prison

However, as I have said before, we do not have the ability, that is, it is beyond man's ability to punish him properly for the crimes he has perpetrated. It is only within man's power to punish him for killing one person by taking his life. We cannot punish someone who, as you are witness, has killed on the scale he has.

He has committed mass murder on a grand scale and has thrown people into prison for long stretches of time. He took our youth into his prisons and gave old men back to us. Some of those whom I had met before they went into prison and with whom I had shaken hands, I found to be as strong as Hercules; today, however, after having spent fifteen years in his prisons, when I shake their hands it is the hands of ordinary men that grasp mine.

Such suffering was brought upon our youth, our intelligentsia, our *ulama*, our university people and merchants, such torment they were made to endure.

We cannot punish him sufficiently for all of this. He only has one life. If you attacked him together you could only take his one life. He has taken the lives of hundreds of the best sons and daughters of Islam, and now if you take the one life of a person who is connected more to foreigners than he is our nation, this cannot be adequate retribution. Suppose that he fell into your hands and you cut off his arms and feet and plucked out his eyes too, just suppose you did this, this would not compensate for what he has done either. That is why there is another world, so that adequate punishment can be meted out for such things. In the next life, it is possible that for every person he has murdered, he will be put to death only to be resurrected and then killed once more for the death of another of his victims. In return for the suffering he has put our youth through, he may have to spend an eternity in torment.

Gentlemen, someone cannot just come along and rule over these people for thirty-odd years in such an unjust and cruel manner, having his agents in every region of the land treat our women, children, our young and old people, our clergy and laymen in the way they did without being punished for it. God, the Blessed and Exalted, will not allow anyone to do such deeds and get away with being punished simply by having his money taken off him and being killed. There are those among our youth who were thrown into jail in their prime and lost fifteen years of their life as a result. If they were of the class of *ulama*, they could have spent those years writing books and guiding people; if they were from the intelligentsia, they could have spent that time writing books and enlightening people; if they were from the medical profession they could have saved many people from death. All of these people whom they threw into prison consequently lost a big chunk of their lives, they could do nothing while in prison, they were stopped from doing anything. What is the nemesis for this? Will this be made right by killing Muhammad Rida? Will this compensate? He is nearly at the end of his life now, he has lived his high life and done his oppressing, so can we say that it is retribution enough for us to take his money away from him, from this person who has committed all these crimes? That is, of course, if we can lay our hands on his money.

We cannot possibly find all his wealth, for he is keeping it in a safe country, in one of these places which is safe for him and its own people but which we deem to be a traitor. Neither do we know in the treasury of which country the jewels that his father took with him when he left are presently

being kept. At that time they were taken to England, we don't know where they are today. Be that as it may, even if you suppose that you can get back the jewels of this nation that it is said he filled his suitcases with and transported out of the country, along with the vast amounts of money which he transferred to banks abroad—the particulars of some of which have been divulged—will this compensate for these losses, for the nation's power which has been squandered the way it has?¹

He made our universities such that they dissipated our human resources; would that were all they did, but they turned our human resources into inhuman resources. The purpose of these cinemas that were active during his reign and the centers of corruption that they brought into being was to draw our youth there and make them oblivious to vital issues that should have concerned them. These centers kept idle this human resource that should have been used in the service of our country, turning it into an inhuman resource. How can we punish him for these crimes? These are crimes for which man cannot mete out punishment. Recompense for these must come in the Hereafter. And you can be sure that recompense will be given [The audience says "God willing"]. It is written in the Quran that in the Hereafter, man will see the results of his deeds, however small: "*Then anyone who has done an atom's weight of good, shall see it; and anyone who has done an atom's weight of evil, shall see it.*"² This is what the verse says and this is what will happen. In that world, these actions will be reflected in a suitable form and man will see them there. He will be punished for these deeds of his there. Do not be disheartened if you do not catch him, for even if you did, you could not punish him adequately. There will be requital for his crimes in the next life.

¹ In addition to the large amounts of gold, jewelry and antiques which were sent abroad by courtiers at this time, and which, according to reports, were later sold off in Europe and America, many of the crown jewels were also stolen from the country by the Pahlavi family, especially by the Shah and his sister, Ashraf. Eyewitnesses have stated that valuables belonging to Ashraf were transported out of the country aboard several C-130 air force planes. In addition to openly transferring millions of dollars abroad in September and October 1978 [Shahrivar and Mehr 1357 AHS], the Shah also sent numerous articles of value out of the country on military planes before he himself fled. It was reported that the Boeing which carried him to Egypt was filled with costly objects. For more information refer to Parviz C. Radji, *In the Service of the Peacock Throne: The Diaries of the Shah's Last Ambassador to London*; William Shawcross, *The Shah's Last Ride, the Fate of an Ally*; and General Fardust's memoirs *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*.

² *Surah az-Zalzalah* 99:7-8.

Monarchy contrary to the laws of reason

Everything that has happened hitherto and we are still only halfway, or even less, to our goals, has come about because of the nation's unity of purpose. Unity of purpose, the coming together of a nation for a purpose caused these pillars, which in their words reached the empyrean, to fall one by one; like melting ice, they loosened and disintegrated. Yet still we have a long way to go, this is just the beginning. Our aim is not simply his leaving; this is just one of our aims. The monarchical regime is one that we deem to be illegal. It was illegal from its inception, and went against the rational laws of humanity. Even if we suppose it was a proper national parliament—which we have never had in Iran—which conferred power to rule on one man and his descendants, one that was wholly representative of the people, we still have the right to say to this national parliament and the people of that era: "Very well, in your own time you had the right to determine your own destiny; but grandfather, what gave you the right to determine the destiny of us who were born two hundred years later? With what right and according to which law did you do this?" This is something any rational person would agree with—indeed, it is so sensible that even the Khan himself would agree with it—however, so many delusions are created among the people and so much misleading propaganda is put about that people come to accept such things.

It is said, and it is a correct assertion, that in any country, according to the law and rationale and based on human rights, the destiny of any person should lie in his own hands, the destiny of the nation should lie in its hands. Accordingly, at present, the nation of Iran should be able to determine its own destiny. Today, if the people of Iran want to appoint someone as their parliamentary representative or as their president, they have the right to do so. Now, let us suppose that we have decided unanimously to appoint a certain person to be president and that each district has chosen a parliamentary representative for itself, this is perfectly acceptable. Let's further assume that we have unanimously agreed to create a Constituent Assembly, once again this is acceptable; it follows then that this Constituent Assembly has the right to determine the destiny of the nation which exists at that time. It does not, however, have the right to determine the destiny of an Iranian nation that does not yet exist; the nation of Iran today does not comprise those people who have not yet been born and will be your descendants in a hundred years' time, they are at present inconsequential, I cannot determine their destiny for them. What right do any of us have to do such a thing? They are of another generation. Just because we are all Iranian

and all Muslim, we cannot determine the destiny of a community that does not yet even exist! We cannot compel our descendants to recognize this man as 'His Imperial Majesty'! What gives us the right to do such a thing? What business is it of ours? Monarchy is an irrational institution, it goes against human intelligence.

So even if the Constituent Assembly is a properly-elected, one-hundred-percent national assembly, it should have no influence on the lives of our descendants. Now if we look back in history—and I myself was witness to what happened, although you young people were not yet born—we see that the Constituent Assembly (which gave Rida Khan the power to rule) was formed at bayonet point! Votes were cast at the point of a bayonet! Nobody dared not to vote, they didn't even dare utter a word in protest. Of course, some did put their lives on the line and voiced their opposition, but the rest agreed either because of the bayonet that was hanging over their heads or because of their own greed, for some were offered much to give their consent.

So a Constituent Assembly was created at bayonet point through which that creature was imposed on us. Even if it was a correct procedure, it was still wrong. If it was right for the people of that time, it is not right for you who are not of that era. The referendum and the Constituent Assembly of that period should not have any say in your destiny.

Shah's order for coup d'état and massacre

Indeed, today we went a step further. We not only rejected the decision of that period, we actually threw the Shah out of our country. He wanted to throw us out, he announced that whoever did not join his Rastakhiz Party had to leave the country. But praise be to God, you united and your unity of purpose meant that you did to him what he wanted to do to you: you threw him out. No one can bring him back now. If such a thing were possible, they would have kept him in power in the first place. [The audience laughs]. Keeping him in power is much easier than him leaving and then trying to bring him back. Of course, they are considering this. From what has been said, this scoundrel gave the command for a coup d'état to be carried out while on board the plane that was taking him out of the country. [The audience laughs]. The plane was in the air and still he could not control his passion [The audience laughs], and from there—as was said—he ordered a coup d'état, and his coup means beatings and killings! Nobody listened to him. Indeed, word has it that only recently an order was given to a garrison to carry out a coup in Hamedan, to bomb the city and create disturbances there.

Just today I received a letter telling me the same thing. Nobody listened however, and instead a hunger strike was staged.¹ At the moment, the garrison is completely in the hands of the people.

Self-sacrificing for spiritual cause

How did such a thing come about? It came about for two reasons, one because of the unity of purpose that has appeared in Iran, and the other because of that buttress which comprised Truth and rightness, that is God. You cried out for God and Islam shouting "We want Islam, we want freedom and independence." Of course, an Islamic government per se will give you the freedom and independence you seek, but you expressed your demands more fully, otherwise an Islamic government means freedom and independence. Because your coming together had this support, by the will of Almighty God you have been victorious up to now, and you will remain victorious if you safeguard these two aspects of your movement. Make sure that your uprising is for Truth: "*I do admonish you to do one thing and that is to rise up for God*"² not for your own carnal desires. If man rises up for his own personal desires and not for God, he will get nowhere, his uprising will eventually fail; something that is not for God will not endure. Strive to keep this movement of yours a divine one, one that is for God.

I do not believe that someone who struggles for the people does not have spiritual convictions. Those who believe in God, those who believe in punishment and reward reason that if they give their life, they will attain a higher form of life, if they give everything they have, God will give them even more back, so much more that no eye can see and no ear can hear. It is a logical fact that we give our *Aba* and receive a hundred in return, we sacrifice one life which is imprisoned in this body, and will be freed and in return we will be given a divine life, a life of freedom, a life which is comprehensive, which encompasses everything. We will be given a life in which everything is at our command, we need only say "be" and it will be, whatever we want to happen will happen, this is what we will get.

¹ Two thousand eight hundred *homafars* at Shahrokhi garrison near Hamedan went on hunger strike and were joined by air force officers and NCOs. This group along with their families held a march and demonstrated in the grounds of the air force base. Severe clashes took place when security police at the base attempted to disperse the demonstrators and eleven of the wives at the base were arrested. Subsequently, the strikers and their families held another demonstration in which they once again fervently voiced their support for the Iranian nation's movement and demanded the release of their friends. *Kayhan* newspaper, 1/21/79 [11/1/59 AHS].

² *Surah Saba* 34:46.

This is the reasoning of those who sacrifice their lives. As for those who do not have such convictions and struggle for the people, they are either extremely stupid or the whole thing is put on. I believe it is all put on and they are simply blinding others to the truth. They may say they are struggling for the people, for the masses, but one should ask them: "What will you gain if they kill you? Are you a person who would give his life for the masses without gaining anything?" Whatever man wants, he wants for himself, only a few can be found out of the whole human race that is not like this, you won't find an army of people like this. If there is no religious conviction involved, if the movement is not one for God, it will not last. God, the Blessed and Exalted, says that He admonishes us to do one thing, out of all admonitions, he says he has only one for us: to rise up for God. The admonisher is God the Blessed and Exalted, the conveyer of the admonition is the Messenger of God, may God's peace be upon him and his descendants, and the book in which it is recorded is the Quran, the scripture of God. He tells us to both rise up and to make our uprising for God. If you want your uprising to bear fruit, to be effective, and not to end in disunion and division, all of your endeavors must be directed at one point, a point beyond the natural realm, a point which is everlasting in everything, all of you must focus your attention on Him. When this is the case, then your uprising and your movement will be a secure and lasting Islamic movement, for its buttress is everlasting, and something whose buttress is permanent is itself permanent.

Emphasizing God's admonition

I have this admonition of God the Blessed and Exalted in the language of the Quran the meaning of which I will convey to you. This admonition communicates to us the importance of having unity of purpose and of our aims being one: God. "*Rise up for God.*" It won't work if one person is on one side and someone else on another. If in an uprising you see groups, parties and fronts being formed, know that it is not an uprising for God. If we all focus our attention on one point...the call is for unity of purpose, for unity of belief. Unity of belief will bring about unity of purpose and unity of action. "*I do admonish you to do one thing.*" It is just one admonition, but it contains everything. Listen to this admonition and act upon it, your success lies in this admonition. It is God's admonition and it is only one. Whatever you imagine is in this one word. This is why the Quran is a miracle, for three or four words can administer all of man's affairs. "*I admonish you to do one thing and that is to rise up for God, it may be in pairs or it may be*

singly.” If the uprising is for God, then everything gravitates to that divine power.

It is because your uprising has a divine nature that it has reached this stage where it has trampled all human forces under foot. That is to say, the fist has triumphed over tanks and guns, these tanks and guns which the Shah’s regime brought into the country and filled Iran with. Our youth, our old people and our women stood up to these with clenched fists shouting that they no longer had any effect. And why do they no longer have any effect? Because the uprising is for God; is it possible to fight with God? This is a divine uprising, it is for God, and all those claims that the regime made have been thrown out.

Repairing devastations and ruins

Yet we are still only at the beginning. Do not think that we have achieved something, so now we can relax. No, the arising for God is now just the beginning. According to what those knowledgeable in divine matters say, rising up is the first stage on the path to God, it is the awakening.¹ We still have a long way to go. Gentlemen, we are the inheritors of a country everything of which this man has destroyed. You see ruination everywhere; he has destroyed all the manifestations of civilization and still he proclaimed that he had brought us a “great civilization”. He destroyed our universities; he destroyed our agriculture; he has exhausted almost all of our oil reserves. He says we will have oil only for another twenty years or so, and at the rate he is giving it away, this will be the case! He has destroyed everything we had. He has destroyed our youth; indeed, the worst of all abominations, the worst crime of them all is his destruction of our human resources. It is the human being who can work and who is valuable. Without man, water and land are of no value. It is the human being who is valuable. He deprived Iran of this humanity; he destroyed that resource of ours which comprises the youth. Ask those young people who are presently in Germany receiving training in the field of atomic energy, they have told me that they are being kept at a certain low level beyond which they are not allowed to progress. You can ask them yourselves. They say their work is useless. These capable forces of ours are prevented from progressing; they are being suppressed and kept at a low level. He has laid waste to this country. Even if we are successful in getting rid of this corpse and the rest of them, it will still take us another ten to twenty years with the active help of all sectors of society to

¹ Khwajah Abdullah AnSari, *Manazil as-Sairin (SharH-e Talmasani)*, p.53
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eliminate these shortcomings. It will take another ten to twenty years of effort if we want our agriculture to be returned to the state it was in before these acts of land sabotage [*jocular*: Land Reforms] were carried out. All the people must join hands together, the peasants, villagers and farmers must set to work, others must help them, one group of people or the government alone cannot do it.

The ideal government

What we want from a government today is for it to allow the whole nation to play an active role in it, not to be distant from it. The people and the government should assist one another, help one another. The government should not be like a stranger that the people are afraid of or that they can't communicate with. We want a ruler like Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali), upon whom be peace. Of course, we can never find anyone like him, but we want someone who is remotely like him. During his reign, God forgive me for calling it a reign, I mean at the time of his caliphate, when the area of his authority was so vast that it included the Hijaz, Egypt, Iraq and Iran, he would leave his home to check up on this woman and that woman. According to historians, he once went to one woman's home and comforted her children...he did things to make them laugh. This is something that no ordinary ruler would do; only an extraordinary one would do this. He made noises to make the children laugh and later explained that when he first arrived they were crying and he wanted them to be laughing when he left. This is the kind of ruler we want, not someone whose shadow we are afraid of. We want a ruler around whom people gather when he enters the mosque and takes his seat, one to whom they speak and air their grievances. We want a ruler who, when a Jew makes a claim against him in court and the judge sends for him, he attends court, the court of a judge he himself has appointed, and when the judge rules against him, he accepts that ruling graciously.¹ Could any of these governments summon this man to court for all the money he has stolen from the Pahlavi Foundation?² Could they even make this wretch render the Foundation's accounts? One has taken fifteen million

¹ *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 4, p. 6.

² Some of the Shah's economic activities were carried out through an organization called the Pahlavi Foundation. One section of this organization was independent and another was run in association with domestic and foreign capitalists and owned most of the private banks; the industrial factories; the production, construction and food companies; the agricultural and animal husbandry units; and the trading companies in Iran, as well as dozens of hotels, restaurants, casinos and night-clubs. The administration of this foundation was for a time in the hands of Sharif Imami the President of the Senate.

dollars, another ten million, another five million, someone else thirty million, and they are all his relatives!

We want a government that is just, and the very least we expect of it is that it does not steal! We are not saying that we want our ruler to be someone, whom we follow in religious matters, although this should be the case, we simply want him to be someone who will not steal the nation's wealth, who will not take it then run.

Plunderers and remitters of foreign currency

If you study this list which covers a one to two month period—probably you have already done so—you will not be able to find the name of one religious person on it. Study it for yourselves; can you find the name of one of these sponging *akhunds*, as they call them, on it? Can you find the name of a mullah there at all? This that they say about the *akhunds* being spongers is just propaganda; they put it about because they wish to defame the *akhunds*, for it is the *akhund* who can give them a punch in the mouth. It is the *akhund* who through his pulpit and his prayer niche [*mihrab*] in the mosque can confront the cannons and tanks. They want to take this power away from you; they want to take Islam and the Quran away from you. They want to take it all away from you so you become a people far removed from God. They want to disarm you, so you will have neither God, the Imam, the Quran, nor the admonisher, and you have no pulpit, no prayer niche and no *akhund*. You will be left with nothing. And what is it they should do to take these things away from you? They need only continue doing the things they have been doing up until now. The propaganda that was put about against the clergymen at the time of that godless man was such that taxi drivers wouldn't even let clergymen into their cabs. One wretch of a driver said that he had made a pledge to God that he wouldn't let two groups of people into his cab, one the *akhunds* and the other prostitutes! This is the image that he (Rida Khan) created of the *akhund*. Why? Because he was afraid of the *akhunds*; there was one *akhund* in the Parliament who really gave Rida Khan hell. There was one Mudarris who repeatedly defeated him, and in the end he was taken away and murdered.

Unity of expression

Unity of expression and rising for God, are what have given you victory so far. Preserve this unity of purpose, stop dividing yourselves into this party and that front and drawing a distinction between the *akhunds* and the university people. God knows that this is to your detriment; it is a blow to

each one of you. One comes abroad and sees different political fronts that argue among themselves, ignore such things, gentlemen. If you are Muslims, then as such you are required to ignore such things; if you are nationalists then nationalism demands that you ignore such matters; if you are wise, then wisdom too demands this. It is my belief that this is something created by foreigners to divide us. Don't become involved in such matters. Remain together: *The hand of God is with the group.*¹ Work together; you have brought your movement this far, now, take it to the end of the line. The end of the line is when the hands of foreigners have been severed from your land, and your country becomes yours, yours to administer, yours to do with as you please, if you want to sell oil you sell it, if not then you don't. Of course, we mean to sell our oil, but not on the same basis as this man did; he gave our oil to the Americans then built bases for them in return. With the money he received in exchange for the oil, he built bases for them! This is not a practice that will be continued.

Letting go of unity cause of defeat

Have unity of purpose, for if this stronghold is taken from you, you will face defeat. If these people in Iran who are all shouting together for freedom, who are all shouting for God, become divided and a group of them start shouting slogans other than for God, then know they will be defeated.

Such things will occur for he and his regime have been defeated and they will do whatever they can now to suppress the movement. They will create one group with one name and another with another name to delude the people and make this nation lose its spirit. I tell you to be strong, don't lose heart. When the superpowers cannot do a damn thing, these few children certainly can't do anything.² Be strong and firm in your stance. The power of the nation is one that no power on earth can confront. You have witnessed how you were able to throw out someone who enjoyed the support of all the superpowers. Our movement will continue as long as the hands of foreigners,

¹ Prophetic *hadith*, *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316.

² This includes the small number of people who took part in the marches held on *Arbain* [fortieth day death commemoration] January 19, 1978 [Dey 29, 1357 AHS] and shouted party slogans in the vicinity of Inqilab Square (formerly Esfand 24 Square). Their calls, however, were drowned out by the shouts from the flood of people who, accompanied by clergymen from the different districts of Tehran, swept toward Azadi Square (formerly Shahyad Square). Due to the people's protests, from Inqilab Square thence, this group was forced to shout out in unison with the people. Meanwhile, on January 17 [Dey 27 AHS], a group organized under the leadership of Ali Asghar Haj Sayyid Jawadi and also an Islamic Society of Universities announced their existence.

whether of the left or right, remain in our country, and as long as there is life in our bodies we will shout out [The audience says "That's right"]. Gentlemen, push aside these divisions and disunity. I ask you all here and all the sections of society in Iran, I beseech you all to make common cause if you want to free your country from the clutches of foreigners. One person beats the drum for America, one for Russia, and one for China, this is all wrong. One is worse than the other! Why don't you do it for your own sake, you poor person? The country is yours, should you give it to someone else?! And in so doing can you still claim to be a nationalist or a Tudehi?¹ A Tudehi is someone who struggles for his own nation, not for China or some other country. Put a stop to this dissent; come together under the banner of Islam. If you want to get rid of all the powers, and you yourselves, through moral excellence, create an exemplary country whose morals are of the highest caliber, an exemplary country which oppresses no one, which does not covet the wealth of others, which does not put up with oppression nor gives its wealth away to others—for indeed our plan is neither to oppress nor to allow ourselves to suffer oppression, we mean neither to impose anything on the people nor to have anything imposed on us—then you should all be united and keep your movement for God. Make your aims sincerely for God and close ranks. I hope that God will assist you; He will, God willing ["God willing" from the audience].

¹ Tudehi: a member of the Masses (Tudeh) Party, which was in practice the orthodox pro-Russian Iranian communist party.

Message

Date: January 22, 1979 [Bahman 2, 1357 AHS / Safar 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Asking the Buyer Ahmad tribes to preserve regional security

Addressees: Buyer Ahmad tribes and ethnic groups

In His Most Exalted Name

Through His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Karamatullah Malik Husayni, may his blessings last:

The valorous and brave tribes and ethnic groups of Buyer Ahmad, may God Almighty assist them:

I thank you, the Muslim chivalries and advocates of the Islamic Republic for your Islamic sympathies. It is hoped that in the light of the judicious government and hoisting of the flag of Islam, freedom, security and independence are granted to the respectable Iranian nation. I request the Buyer Ahmad tribes and other courageous tribes of Iran to pay utmost attention to the maintenance of law and order in their concerned regions and not allow the adventurous person to provide a pretext for the malicious people at this sensitive juncture of the history of our country. I beseech the Almighty God to grant magnificence to Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessing be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: January 23, 1979 [Bahman 3, 1357 AHS / Safar 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Current issues of the Islamic Revolution

Interviewer: Reporters of the *Kayhan* and *Ittilaat* dailies

Question: [What will be your first measure upon your return to Iran, envisaged for the next Friday? Will the members of the Revolutionary Committee of the Islamic government be announced beforehand?]

Answer: My first measure will be giving advice to the dear Iranian nation. If possible, we will, God willing, announce our path at Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery and will announce the preliminary steps that we must take.

Q: [In its configuration, will the council encompass the working class, revolutionary-Islamic intelligentsia, and the peasants, or will most of its members be the clerics?]

A: Most of them will not be the clerics; rather, the clergy like other classes will have their representatives.

Q: [Would you please briefly delineate the general economic, social, and cultural outlines of the Islamic government?]

A: These are not the issues to be explained in brief right now. Islam will grant freedom and pay attention to the economy and will take care of other aspects of the state regarding which the experts will take action in due time.

Q: [Do you mean that the nationalization of the industries will be taken for granted in the Islamic government?]

A: This issue too must be studied.

Q: [Would you please explain the condition of the religious minorities who are living in Iran?]

A: The religious minorities are respected in Islam; like other strata of the nation will live in prosperity and there will be no problem for them.

Q: [What will be the limits of the freedom of expression and faith? Do you think that there should be some limitations or not?]

A: Freedom of expression is allowed, if it is not to the detriment of the nation. What is to the detriment of the nation will not be allowed.

Q: [Do you think that the Marxist and leftist groups that are in Iran will enjoy free activities?]

A: If it is to the detriment of the nation, it will be stopped, if not and if it is only expression of idea, there will be no restriction.

Q: [Do you mean that the political parties will be allowed?]

A: All the people are free except a political party that is against the exigencies of the country.

Q: [What will be the role of the women in the Islamic government? Will they, for instance, participate in the state affairs? For example, will they become minister or members of the parliament, if they demonstrate their competence?]

A: The Islamic government will decide about these issues. It is not an appropriate time to express ideas about these issues now. Like men, women too will play a role in the construction of the Islamic society of tomorrow. They will enjoy the right to elect and the right to be elected. In current the struggles in Iran, women's contribution is similar to that of the men. We will grant all sorts of freedoms to the women. Of course, we will stop corruption and in this regard there will be no differences between men and women.

Q: [A woman reporter: Since you have accepted me as a woman, it indicates that our movement is a progressive one; although others try to project it as retrogressive movement. Do you think that the women should necessarily wear the Islamic dress code? For instance, something like headscarf?]

A: As for your remark saying that I have accepted you, I have not accepted you! You came here and I did not know that you want to come here! And this is not a reason to prove the progressiveness of Islam or to conclude that as soon as you came here, Islam is progressive. Progressiveness is not what some of our women or men imagine. Progress is based on the humane and spiritual perfections as well as on the effectiveness of the individuals in the society and country, not, for example, on going to cinema or to dance. These are the kinds of progressiveness that have been forged for you and pushed you backward and we must compensate for them later. You are free in proper affairs, to go to the university and undertake any proper task; the entire nation is free in these affairs. But if they want to do something in

contravention to chastity or to the detriment of the nation—against nationality—it will be stopped. And it is a reason for being progressive.

Q: [What will be the shape of private property, particularly land ownership, in the Islamic government?]

A: These issues will be determined later.

Q: [What should be the condition of the newspapers in your opinion?]

A: The newspapers that are not to the detriment of the nation and whose writings are not misleading will be free.

Q: [Will you continue your relations with the countries that have openly supported the Shah during the course of the revolution, if they express their repentance?]

A: Yes, except Israel; Israel is an exception; likewise [we will not have relations with] South Africa and the countries that support apartheid.

Q: [In your remarks, you have said that Israel is an enemy of Islam. Is it possible that the Islamic government proclaims a war against this country?]

A: It depends on the expediencies of the time.

Q: [Shall the countries in the Islamic world that want to follow Iran and set up an Islamic republic, necessarily embrace Shiism?]

A: No. There is no compulsion with regard to religion.

Q: [Some small groups tell us through their telephone calls and letters that from the dictatorship of boot, they are going under the dictatorship of the clergy.]

A: They are the agents of the Shah. Those who make such statements have been making them for several years. The Shah has dictated these points to them and they tell them to you in order to reinstall the Shah. Tell them that the Shah will never come back. And if you see the Islamic government you will realize that dictatorship does not at all exist in Islam.

Q: [What will you do, if you probably face a military coup in your return to Iran?]

A: Nothing, I will struggle.

Interview

Date: January 23, 1979 [Bahman 3, 1357 AHS / Safar 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The condition of the army; rumors about the wealth of the clerics

Interviewer: A reporter of the French Television

Question: [You have said in one your lectures that you will capture the power through legal means. What do you mean?]

Answer: The pressure of public opinion to change the regime means law. On the basis of this very law, we will assume power and set up the government.

Q: [What is the degree of the army's loyalty to the people in your opinion?]

A: We hope that the army, with all its generals, joins the nation. Of course, there are some layers in the army who are tilting towards the nation, but I deem it in the exigency of the army to entirely turn towards the people and refrain from any relations with the Shah who has gone and will not come back; they should not imagine that they should have any contact with him. The army should be the army of the people. We think that the army belongs to us. If there are a few criminals, they are exceptions. I hope that the entire army returns to the bosom of the nation, and we will welcome them.

Q: [In order to change the regime and transfer power to your friends, will you hold fast to legal methods or resort to public opinion?]

A: The pressure of public opinion is the very law. When the monarchical regime was in power in Iran, they thought that the monarchy was established through the vote of the people, while it had not been so from the very beginning. Now the public votes have dismissed the Shah. On the basis of the very pressure of public opinion, which is in effect the law, we must assume the power and establish the government.

Q: [What is your reaction to the rumors that the clergy are rich; also to the rumors about receiving assistance from other countries and possibility of returning to a medieval system?]

A: The rumors that the clerics are rich are a sheer lie. We also deny the receipt of any assistance from others. The Iranian clerics do not receive any assistance or financial support from anywhere. The Iranian people have Islamic affiliation to the clerics and render to them any assistance they seek;

hence they do not need foreign assistance. As for the rumors about moving the country backwards, it is what the Shah has spread in order to rescue himself by clutching at every straw. We agree with the effects of the civilization. We are willing to equip our country with all effects of the civilization, but not in the manner the Shah has done. The Shah has turned all the outcomes of civilization into corrupt effects. Cinema has become a means to spread licentiousness. He has spoiled the morality of the youth, increased the centers for licentiousness, and prepared the grounds for the addiction of the youth; he afflicted our youth with addiction to heroin. We are opposed to these issues. We are not opposed to the effects of civilization and progress. We are against the Shah's intrusions that have taken us backward. Now the Iranian nation must make efforts for several years to reconstruct Iran and compensate for the ruination and the destruction created by the Shah in Iran.

Speech

Date: January 24, 1979 [Bahman 4, 1357 AHS / Safar 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The need for the people to control the country's current affairs

Addressees: A group of Imam's friends and assistants who have been with him during his stay in Neauphle-le-Château

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

Repairing the ruins through cooperation and patience

I thank all the gentlemen who have given their assistance and have performed tasks throughout this period that I have been entangled with these problems. I must say that the tasks they did were their own tasks and this home was their own throughout.

I would like to point out that when we are together in a small, humble house, we have to work together, each person has a job to do, it is not feasible for one or two people to do all the work. The same goes for the work which has to be carried out in a country which has almost been destroyed and has witnessed many tragic events, it cannot be done unless all sections of that country and all the people of that country pull together. If the Iranian people, every one of them, wherever they may be, do not take steps towards the reconstruction of this country, it will remain in its ruined or semi-ruined state and it will be the fault of us all. Everyone must do whatever he/she can and, for a while, must endure hardships patiently and stoically. If this happens, a pleasant, flourishing, sound country will be established, which will be right in all aspects.

All sections of the country should also keep watch over the country's affairs to prevent devils from once again penetrating. People coming and going into government offices should be inspected, they should be checked and searched, so that anyone purposely planning some kind of offence or act of treason can be stopped and referred to the judicial system to face prosecution.

Lack of restriction cause of corruption and lawlessness

All the disasters that have occurred in these years have done so because the institutions in the country from the top one down, from that man who ruled this country calling himself the Shah, have been free to do what they liked. The Shah ruled without constraint, he was not restricted by the law,

and consequently when he acted with license, others learnt from him and followed his example. When the parliament is formed with no regard for the law, then it only follows that the representatives therein are going to do whatever they like, heedless of the law.

Such things should be brought to an end if one wants Iran to be a progressive country in the true sense of the word, not merely by someone just saying that it is. It must be one's intent to change the country intrinsically; that is, the hand of treason should be severed; the hand of crime should be severed. The people are duty bound to watch over all those places that are affiliated to the government. Those with problems who go to the police station or attend court should keep a careful watch over the proceedings; if they wish to see the country reformed, they are duty bound to report any wrongdoings they witness there to the establishments which will be set up to look into such matters, so that the people involved can be prosecuted. If for a period of time some righteous tribunals are set up to look into affairs, that is to see to the people's problems, things will be very different from what they are today with the courts having nothing to do with the rights of the people, or not being able to have anything to do with them, and with the police robbing people rather than serving them. If such practices continue, then even if the biggest thief of them all does go, the lesser thieves will simply take his place and carry on doing the same things. All of you, all of us, should observe matters closely, we should follow up wrongdoings and be prepared to make sacrifices so that, God willing, a sound country will be created.

I pray to Almighty God for your well-being. I apologize for all the troubles you have gone through during this period. May God protect you all and keep you healthy. I am now going to return to this country and we will see what happens. I am bound to go whatever happens. We may have to turn back mid-way and consequently I will once again be at your service, or we may reach there, in which case we will accept whatever lies in store for us.

[One of those present: We will be honored, sir, to be in your service.]

Imam: May God keep you all.

Anxiousness about companions

Gentlemen, I must say something to you that I have already said to Mr. Yazdi¹ and some of the others, and that is that I release you from your oath of allegiance to me, for it is possible that due to the preparations they have

¹ Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the transitional government.

made, this journey will be a dangerous one. I have no desire to see you put in danger, God forbid, because of me.¹ I have lived for many years now, but you are all still young.

[One of those present: I sign these words with my blood.]

[One of those present: I have told the ladies that you do not wish them to be on the airplane. It has upset them and I put it to you that didn't Imam Husayn take Hadrat Zaynab and his sisters along with him?]

Imam: Well, Imam Husayn was Imam Husayn. My circumstances are different. No, I do not wish the women to accompany me, the gentlemen likewise. I feel it would be better if I went alone and the gentlemen followed later . . .

May God prolong your life. May you be successful, God willing. It is unacceptable to me that someone should be put out for my sake. I have no concern for myself, but I cannot see one of my brothers embroiled in difficulties because of me. May God protect you all and may you be successful, God willing.

¹ *Monte Carlo* radio in its Arabic service said: "Shapur Bakhtiyar has information to the effect that certain groups are plotting against the life of Imam Khomeini and have hired a few foreign terrorists, who are presently in Iran, for the task. Bakhtiyar has sent a message to Imam Khomeini warning him of the danger that threatens him in Iran. Meanwhile, Imam's words created a commotion in the gathering and unsettled members." *Ittilaat* newspaper 12/26/78 [10/5/57 AHS].

Message

Date: January 25, 1979 [Bahman 5, 1357 AHS / Safar 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Reason for the postponement of return to Iran and the news of return to the motherland

Occasion: The closure of the airports by the order of Shapur Bakhtiyar

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I thank the Iranian nation, particularly the residents of the cities and villages of the country, who have come to Tehran from far away and near distances by enduring lots of trouble. I hope that they cooperate with their host, the honorable and wakeful residents of Tehran, participate in the demonstrations and expose the oppressions of the illegal and deceitful government. Since the agents of the aliens have closed the airports of the country to me, I inevitably decided to return to the country on Sunday, Safar 29 [January 29] and like a soldier on your side continue the struggle against colonialism and dictatorship until the final victory.

The valorous Iranian nation knows that such mischievous, inhumane moves of the usurping government, which pretends to be based on the Constitution, cannot divert the path of the nation—the government that contrary to all Islamic and humane norms has frequently ascribed some false statements to me which I strongly deny. I have never negotiated with the illegal governments and will never do so [reference to the government of Bakhtiyar]. They are the agents of the aliens who hide their treason under the veneer of the constitution. If they respected the constitution and the public votes, they should have stepped down as soon as possible. The honorable and wakeful nation must know that the current government shamelessly intends to reinstall the defunct and fugitive Shah—like in the past—tries to once again impose the tyrannical rule of this stigmatic dynasty on us, to keep us suppressed and put us under the domination of the foreigners forever. But it is too late now and the iron wills of the nation shall, God willing, thwart this final plot as well. I beseech the Almighty to assist Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview

Date: January 25, 1979 [Bahman 5, 1357 AHS / Safar 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Ultimatum to the illegal government of Bakhtiyar; calling on the Iranian nation to continue the revolution; announcement of readiness to return to Iran

Interviewers: A group of reporters and Iranians residing abroad

I am grateful to the Iranians who accompanied me. I had planned to be among the nation tomorrow and share in their sufferings. But the treacherous government has prevented it and closed all the airports of Iran. And after the opening of the airports I will immediately return and make him¹ understand that he is a usurper and a betrayer of the nation; our nation will no more tolerate you—the servants of the foreigners. They must realize that the time of bullying has expired.

I call on the Iranian nation to continue the movement and to make these bullies retreat, but should not give up their peace. I thank the entire nation and in the first opportunity will go back to Iran to join the people to either be killed with them or restore the rights of the nation and return their rights to them. May you all be blessed by God.

The Iranian nation should realize that this person who has assumed power is betraying his tribe,² the tribe which was a backing for the nation but was overpowered by Rida Shah. This person is betraying his tribe and his nation. The Bakhtiyari tribe must remove those who betray them from the path of the nation. The army must know that they are traitors; they should not assist them. The entire Iran must bear in mind that a plot is underway;³ they must stop this plot. This is the last step that these traitors take; and God willing we will ward off this step as well, will join you and will make them retreat.

Question: [When do you think that you will be able to go back to Iran?]

Answer: Whenever the ban is lifted and the airports are opened, I will return to Iran so that if my blood is to be shed, it is shed alongside my comrades

¹ Bakhtiyar.

² The Bakhtiyari tribe in the central and southwestern regions of Iran

³ Reference to the plan of Robert Haizer (?) (American general) to preserve the Shah's regime and support Bakhtiyar

and along with the Iranian youth. We are not afraid of this and only want the dignity of Islam and Iran.

Q: [Does His Eminence Ayatullah recommend the people to pick up arms and open the airports for your return?]

A: For the time being I do not intend to order the people to pick up arms; whenever I deem it appropriate, I will order and will make them understand what to do.

Q: [Honorable Ayatullah, do you perceive going to the airport of a country near Iran, for example Kuwait, and go to Iran from there?]

A: It should be studied.

Q: [Given that the return of the Ayatullah may cause shedding of more blood, do you still insist on going back?]

A: I must be alongside my brothers.

Q: [Is it the beginning of a new *jihad*?]

A: Maybe.

Dialogue

Date: January 26, 1979 [Bahman 6, 1357 AHS / Safar 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Occasion: Meeting between the American political personalities and Imam Khomeini

Interviewers: Ramsey Clark (former US attorney-general), Richard Folk (a professor of the Princeton University), Dan Louise (?) (the representative of the American religious organizations)

[Ramsey Clark, former US prosecutor general and Richard Folk, a professor of the Princeton University, New Jersey, and chairman of the Department of International Studies, and Dan Louise (?), the representative of the American religious organizations traveled to Iran in January 1979 to conduct a close study of the situation. They were the leaders of anti-war movement during the US war with Vietnam. After visiting Tehran, they stopped in Paris in their return and met Imam Khomeini on January 26, 1979 where they held talks with him. The meeting of the three American nationals coincided with the submission of the resignation of the head of the Royal Council, Sayyid Jalal Tehrani, to Imam Khomeini in Paris. The following is the details of the discussions between Clark and Folk with Imam Khomeini, translated by Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi.]

Question: [Folk: The Iranian revolution has not been predictable. Over the centuries politics and religion have intermingled in a beautiful manner. How will this be reflected in Iran's foreign relations with other countries of the world in the viewpoint of the Ayatullah? The resistant role of Shiism has inspired a great hope in the hearts; but we want to know how Shiism will function when it comes to power?]

Answer: From the early years of the development of Islam, Shiism throughout centuries has been a symbol of resistance and defense of righteousness, but has never committed inequity and oppression. The governments established on the basis of Shiism, as recorded in history, have neither tolerated oppression nor imposed oppression. If a government is formed on the basis of Islamic laws and is led by Shiism, it is supposed to pursue such a trend. It will not pressure any human being on the basis of their religious affiliation and will not deprive them of their freedom. All human beings are free and independent in the ShiAh school of thought. In accordance to the ShiAh school of thought, when Shiism conquers a place,

all the nations and governments that treat the Bakhtiyar government fairly and on the basis of mutual respect will be treated by the ShiAh school of thought in a manner that they have never had such behavior. They are ignorant of that justice. History bears testimony that when Islam conquers a place, the people amazingly embrace Islam and turn their backs to the previous governments; like Iran where the people full-heartedly embraced Islam and the ShiAh school of thought. The Islamic commandments are based on justice. The lifestyle of the rulers is similar to that of the people in the lowest level. The lifestyle of the head of our religion¹ whose state was very vast—many folds of Iran, Hijaz, and Egypt—and all of which was under his domination—was lower than that of all the citizens of the nation. He used to administer justice better than any conceivable person. If there were any case against him, he would attend the court trial and would accept the wrong ruling [of the judge]. While Shiism is resistant, it is at the same time just; and justice means “neither commit inequity nor surrender to oppression”. The program of Shiism was summarized in these few words by our Imam: neither tolerate inequity nor be an oppressor. This is the outline of the Shii program; that is it. Shiism stems from the Quran.

Q: [In our observations of the current movement in Iran, what we are worried about is the degree of the toleration of non-religious leftists in Iran under the Islamic government. In Iran, we realized that there is a fear and concern among the students and others whose life is difficult in Islam and in the Islamic Republic. What assurances are there regarding these concerns?]

A: The origin of their inclination towards diversionary schools of thought is their lack of proper information about Islam. They imagine that Islam is an advocate... of the ruling system, capitalists, and the factory owners! From the viewpoint of the freedom of faith, basically the misguided persons have always been allowed to express their ideas; if they were aware of the origin of Islam, they would not express such ideas. If they become acquainted with all of the subjects, the differences will vanish. However, we have not prevented the expression of ideas and will not prevent it. Today, the ongoing movement in Iran aims to uproot oppression and destroy the corrupt regime. But a few people are engaged in sabotage activities; they have launched a disinformation campaign, want to preserve this regime or prevent the formation of an Islamic regime or may be pervert and not pay attention to the problems or despite their knowledge of the problems, they follow corrupt

¹ It refers to Imam Ali (A). See *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 4, p.6.
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objectives. We grant freedom to all schools and faiths, but if they decide to rebel and change the course of the nation's struggle and preserve the oppressors, they will not be allowed. Every nation has the right to preserve its national interests and its religion against the intrusions. If they do not invade us, we will not invade them.

Q: [One question about cultural imperialism: Islam lays great emphasis on the cultural and fundamental values. During the last fifty, sixty years, the Pahlavi rule was a kind of strong cultural imperialism, leading to the disturbance of Islamic-Iranian values and replacing them with the Western values. What steps will the Ayatullah take to mend the social, cultural ruination?]

A: These very issues led to our opposition to the Shah. You take only one aspect into account, but there are a number of aspects. During these fifty years, they did not only keep our culture back, but also took our nations back for several years and destroyed our economy. Iran has become a poor country. Iran has a number of resources, but they have been plundered. Instead of oil, they have built bases for the United States. They have pushed our human resources back. And if we decide to reconstruct, it will take a long time. They have trained our army in a corrupt manner—I mean the top brass commanders of the army. Following the corrupt ideas of the father and his son, they have corrupt thoughts. They have trained our army as a parasitic entity. The reforms require a long program, but since the entire nation has risen up and pursue one goal, that is, “freedom, independence, and Islamic government”, we hope that we will be able to rescue this culture—that has become parasitic and colonial—with the assistance of all strata who have expressed their willingness to cooperate and transform it into an independent culture and reform it with the help of all the strata. We hope that we will be able to prevent the plunder of our resources, sell them rationally and use them for the nation in a rational manner—either in the field of culture or in other fields. What catastrophic blows they have dealt on our nation during the past fifty years! We are facing a distressed nation that is wretched in all respects. We rise up with the help of all the citizens of the nation who all agree with us and will of course rebuild the destruction during the long years to come. It will take several years to reconstruct an independent Islamic culture, an independent army, a healthy economy, and reform a totally destroyed agriculture. We have numerous catastrophic problems most of which are due to the superpowers and created by the superpowers. God willing we will liberate ourselves from their yoke until we reach total independence in all respects.

Q: [We are very thankful. We have three hopes and aspirations: first, peaceful and quiet transfer of power to the new government; second, materialization of the promises of justice for all the people; and third, that the Iranian and the American nations love, respect and understand each other. We want to help you in any possible form to assist the materialization of these three aspirations]

A: We are also hopeful. As for the first aspiration, its key lies in the hands of the aliens and their realization of the fact that they should stop pressure, intimidation, provocation and threats. If they allow the nation, you will see that the Iranian nation will assume power peacefully and without any tension. The power thus attained will be used for the materialization of justice. If the powers that rule over the nations step down or if they are reformed, understanding between the nations will be easy to reach. But so long as they are there, attainment of understanding is not definite.

Message

Date: January 27, 1979 [Bahman 7, 1357 AHS / Safar 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Denying the rumors regarding the acceptance of Bakhtiyar

Addressees: The *ulama* and clerics of Tehran and other cities

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Hujaj al-Islam¹ of Tehran and other cities, may their blessings last:

What has been said about the acceptance of Bakhtiyar as prime minister by me is a sheer lie; rather I will not accept him until he resigns, for I do not consider him legal. The honorable gentlemen are requested to inform the nation that a plot is underway and they should not be deceived. I have not compromised with him and what he had said earlier that there had been talks between him and me is a sheer lie. The nation must preserve its stance and be watchful of the plots. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar 28, 1399 AH

¹ Plural form of "Hujjat al-Islam".

Message

Date: January 27, 1979 [Bahman 7, 1357 AHS / Safar 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Warning to the US government and delineation of the general objectives of the Islamic Republic

Addressee: The US government

The measures and actions of Bakhtiyar and the current commanders of the army are not only detrimental to the Iranian nation, but also to the US government, particularly to the future of US position in Iran, and I may be impelled to issue a new order about the new situation in Iran. You had better advise the Army not to obey Bakhtiyar and stop such measures. The continuation of such measures by Bakhtiyar and the commanders of the Army may create a gigantic tragedy in Iran. If he and the army do not interfere in the affairs and we silence the people, it would not be harmful for the United States. Such measures and moves will not lead to tranquility in the region. The nation listens to me and stability and tranquility will be created by my order and the execution of my plan.

When I introduce the provisional government, you will see that a number of ambiguities are removed, you will realize that we do not have any particular animosity against the American nation, and you will see that the Islamic Republic, which is based on the Islamic commandments and jurisprudence, is nothing but philanthropy and advocacy of peace and tranquility for the entire mankind.

The closure of the airport and preventing me from going to Iran will destabilize Iran more than ever—it will not stabilize the situation. My followers have demanded my permission to open the airport by force, but I have not yet issued such permission. Also the armed forces—the military and other forces—including the nomads, want my permission to put an end to the present situation, but I have not yet allowed them. I prefer to accomplish the task through peace and delegate the fate of the country to the hands of the nation.

Interview

Date: January 27, 1979 [Bahman 7, 1357 AHS / Safar 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Developments in Iran; Future of Iran after the victory of the Revolution; Imam's stance towards the West

Interviewer: A French reporter

Question: [Your return to Iran has been postponed. Yesterday's demonstrations were violently crushed and it seems that the Shah's departure is not a determining factor. Have you developed any doubt regarding the establishment of the Islamic law?]

Answer: As we envisage the Shah, the monarchical regime and the government appointed by the Shah should all go and with the establishment of the Islamic government the situation will be stabilized. What destabilizes the situation is the government and some of its lackey army officers. I have said several times that the army is with us. The violence is all caused by a few commanders who have helplessly faced defeat.

Q: [What will happen to the army in an Islamic Republic? Will it continue to procure the most sophisticated equipment?]

A: Of course we will need the army. And with the establishment of the Islamic Republic, the army must be strong, but for the sake of the people's interests. The army should be at the service of the people not the aliens and not for the suppression of the people. Thus far the army had been established in a manner that its mission was to suppress the people. A few number of the commanders were rendering services to the aliens; when they are removed, the army will be at the service of the nation and will enjoy the most sophisticated equipment. Of course the modern equipment that are useful for the army not the present ones which are merely good for the American advisors.

Q: [How will you treat the French investments and the treaties signed with France?]

A: These issues shall be decided by the future government. Of course the treaties which are in the interest of the nation will be respected and those to the detriment of the nation will be nullified. Do not think that since I am in France, I will take a single step in the interests of France if it is to the detriment of the nation. France is like other countries. I will continue my

struggle wherever possible; France or any other place does not make any difference. Of course, for the time being I am personally grateful to France.

Q: [Can Mr. Tehrani¹ who has resigned from the Royal Council play a useful mediation role between you, the army and Bakhtiyar?]

A: The Bakhtiyar government is illegal; hence mediation with him does not make any sense and the army is not in a position to enter negotiations and reach an understanding with it.

Q: [Why don't you accept Bakhtiyar's proposal for providing an opportunity for the people to choose between the Islamic Republic and another regime?]

A: Bakhtiyar is illegal and the people are opposed to him. In my opinion he is a traitor.

Q: [You are opposed to Israel and support Yasir Arafat. What will be your stance regarding the Middle East crisis?]

A: These issues are the concerns of the future government and I cannot opine on them now. Of course as soon as a popular government is established, we will cut our relations with Israel, for it is a usurper.

Q: [Have you considered the option of personally assuming the responsibility of the Islamic Republic? What will be the limits and under what circumstances?]

A: No, I will not become the president. My task will be their guidance.

Q: [Last Thursday, you foresaw the probability of bloody events at the time of your arrival in Iran. Do the events of the past few hours acknowledge this fear?]

A: So long as this regime and this government are in power, such probabilities are there. When this government has gone, there will be peace. My person is not the issue. I beseech God to be martyred in front of my nation and be killed on their side. I have said several times that I am equal with an ordinary citizen.

Q: [How many parties will constitute the foundations of the Islamic Republic as you envisage it? Will other religious leanings and non-Muslims be respected?]

A: All the parties will be free in Iran, unless they are against the exigencies of the nation. In that case their activities will be banned. But the expression

of ideas will be allowed. The religious minorities too will be respected and their rights will be preserved in the Islamic Republic.

Q: [No one denies the role of the CIA in the establishment of the Shah's regime, its maintenance and the preservation of the Bakhtiyar government. Under the circumstances, how can a violent military action under the leadership of the United States be prevented?]

A: In the same way that the Shah was destroyed, the will of the nation shall overcome all the difficulties. The army, except for a few commanders, is with the people and with us.

Q: [Do you enjoy foreign support?]

A: No support has been extended to us. Sometimes verbal support has been expressed, but practically there has been no support; and we do not need any support. The Iranian nation has decided to achieve victory; it will definitely achieve it.

Q: [What immediate economic measures should be taken after the Bakhtiyar government has gone?]

A: We have certain economists who will be engaged to set the priorities in order to rescue the country's economy. We know that the economy of the country is in shambles and we will face great economic crises after the victory, for the Shah has left no money in the banks and the traitors have sent gigantic amounts of money abroad. But we have certain experts who can find the solutions. Since the nation unanimously supports the Islamic Republic, we hope that we will be able to overcome the problems and set our home spiritually and materially in order and God willing construct Iran anew. Once again I have to confess that great economic problems are ahead.

Q: [Will you go tonight? If the airport is closed, what will you do? It has been said that you will go through another route. What route?]

A: I will not go so long as the airport is closed; as soon as it is open, I will join my compatriots in order to either achieve victory or be killed on their side.

Q: [Some people say that you have shaken the West. Do we, the Westerners, have the right to be afraid of you?]

A: As for the shaking of the West, if this shaking is due to the fact that we have announced a truth and due to this truth the hearts of the Western people have been shaken, it is not a cause of fear; it is a source of hope for the West. The West must be hopeful that a nation has risen up in such a manner to vindicate its rights. Yes, the Western governments that think their interests might be in danger might have been frightened, but if they treat [us] justly, their fear is baseless. Iran too will treat them justly.

Q: [Some of the Islamic customs, such as the Islamic dress code [*hijab*], have been given up. Will it become compulsory in the Islamic Republic again?]

A: Islamic dress code [*hijab*] in its general sense which prevails among us and is known as Islamic *hijab* has no contradiction with freedom. Islam opposes what is opposed to chastity. We will invite them to observe the Islamic dress code. Our courageous women are fed up with the calamities inflicted upon them by the West in the name of civilization and have taken refuge in Islam.

Q: [What is meant by a fair price for oil? On what criteria is it determined? Is it the same price as determined by the OPEC?]

A: It is a price which is set on the basis of mutual understanding between our government and another government so that there will be no inequity against them or against us. We will never allow our interests to be plundered under the title of OPEC.

Q: [What are the reasons for considering the Bakhtiyar government illegal?]

A: Due to the opposition of the entire nation. Bakhtiyar has been appointed by the Shah and the entire nation is opposed to the Shah and has dismissed him. They have demonstrated this issue in frequent rallies and demonstrations. The legal government should be from the people and for the people, not opposed to them.

Q: [We, the Westerners, are materialistic; finally how will you treat us on this basis?]

A: I am sorry that you Westerners have sacrificed spirituality for the material issues and prefer material gains to spirituality. This very issue is the cause of these misfortunes. What promotes man is spirituality. Spirituality can grant salvation to man and create tranquility for him. It is materialism that has pitted man against man. I advise you the Westerners to pay attention to

spirituality. You claim to be a Christian; just see what the precept of the Holy Christ had been. Follow the precept of the Holy Christ to attain salvation. We want to establish a system in which attention has been paid to the precept of the Holy Christ.

Speech

Date: January 28, 1979 [Bahman 8, 1357 AHS / Safar 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The wish to be with the nation; negligence of the army and government; advise and final notice

Addressees: A group of students and Iranians resident abroad

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

Along with the nation

Whatever disaster befalls the Iranian brothers, whatever trouble they are forced to go through, is like a heavy weight which bears down upon my shoulders, one that I can hardly bear. Over the past two or three days, killings have once again been perpetrated in Iran, which grieve me deeply.¹ From different parts of Iran the people swarmed into Tehran enduring great difficulties in the cold of the winter.² This too is a cause of sadness for me.

¹ On January 26, 1979 [Bahman 6, 1357 AHS], as the people impatiently awaited the arrival of Imam Khomeini, Bakhtiyar's government announced that it had closed the airport to prevent Imam's return. The news angered the people greatly and in most cities of Iran, in particular Tehran, Tabriz, Rasht, Gorgan, Abadan and Sanandaj, clashes took place with troops and agents of the regime in which dozens of people were killed or injured. On January 28 [Bahman 8], a bus carrying Gendarmerie workers ploughed into a group of demonstrators killing or injuring a number of people. Clashes ensued between the people and military agents and acting on the orders of their commander, the soldiers took refuge on the rooftops from where they opened fire on the unarmed people. Reinforcements were sent and the battle between the people and armed soldiers carried on well into the night leaving 150 people martyred and 600 injured. In this incident, the people, out of extreme anger and despair, set a few buses aflame.

² Toward the end of January 1979, Iran was preparing the biggest, most historic welcome for the Leader of the Revolution. A flood of people flowed into Tehran from the provinces and the most remote areas of Iran to take part in the ceremonies. From the theological school in Qum alone, 5,000 people set off for Tehran to welcome Imam. A committee was set up called the 'Welcoming Committee for Imam Khomeini' with the specific task of maintaining order and keeping the peace during the ceremonies as well as preserving their dignity. Despite these preparations, Bakhtiyar's government ordered the airports to close down to prevent Imam's return on the appointed day (January 26 / Bahman 6). On this day, millions of the citizens of Tehran, along with people from all over Iran who had traveled to Tehran, gathered in the streets and moved along Azadi St. toward the airport in expectation of Imam's arrival. Among the most popular slogans chanted on this day were: "Woe betide you Bakhtiyar if Khomeini comes late; If Khomeini comes late, the machine-guns will come out." And "Oh leaders, oh leaders, arm us."

All of these things are like a great load weighing heavily on my shoulders. I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant the nation of Iran, the people of Iran, success. I pray to Almighty God for their well-being.

I had intended to join my Iranian friends (in Iran) and serve alongside them, I want to share in any sadness that may, God forbid, befall them and if, God forbid, their blood is shed, I want mine to be shed along with theirs. However, fearing that my return to Iran would prove detrimental to them or their overlords, that it would not be in the interests of their overlords, the hands of traitors once again emerged from their sleeves and closed the airports, thus preventing my return. But I still have the same plan for going, and, God willing, I will leave at the first opportunity.¹

Iranian Revolution, continuation of the prophets' movement

It says in one of the traditions, that when the eyes of the Most Noble Messenger, may the peace of God be upon him and his descendants, fell upon a group of unbelievers who had been taken prisoner and were passing by him, he remarked, in words to this effect: "We want to take man to heaven and these people are being dragged there by their chains!"² All the prophets, upon whom be peace, were appointed to ensure man's happiness in all aspects, in his worldly life and in his other life. They wanted to take man to the level of perfection befitting a true human being. Many a man though did not endure such a burden and does not. We too as followers of the Most Noble Prophet, may the peace of God be upon him and his descendants, rose up to take this deprived nation to this level of perfection, this nation, which throughout the rule of the monarchical regime from its inception, during

¹ In the memoirs of Imam's late son, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, an interesting incident is recalled concerning Imam's departure for Iran: "After the decision to leave Paris and return to Iran became definite, Imam told me to go to the homes of our neighbors in Neauphle-le-Château and apologize to them for any inconvenience his stay there had caused them and for depriving them of the peace and quiet of their hamlet. So along with Mr. Ishraqi and one or two others, I went to visit all our neighbors in the hamlet, gave them Imam's message and apologized to them. On arriving at one particular house, the owner excitedly grabbed a stepladder and climbing up it reached to the top of a cupboard and brought out a large, cherry-colored bottle. Turning to us, he enthused how this old wine of his was the very best! Before I could explain to him that in Islam wine is considered unclean and we are not permitted to drink it, his wife said: 'Muslims don't drink wine dear.' Still holding the bottle in his hand he looked at us and rather dejectedly asked: 'So what do you live for?' Everyone burst out laughing except him!"

² *Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal*, vol. 5, p. 249.

these past fifty years—and we can all bring to mind what has gone on in more recent years—has been deprived and bedeviled in all aspects. This nation lost everything, all its wealth was taken from it and continues to be done so, and all its resources are being thrown away. Iran embarked on a movement, and I, as an Iranian subject, am following the rest of the people. I too speak a few words and take a few steps to save this nation. We want to save these people who are governing Iran. We want to deliver the army from its parasitic state. When the American military advisers first came to Iran and took control of our army we voiced our opposition. We abhorred the granting of privileges to American citizens and expressed our abhorrence. We want to make these governments independent, but they will not accept this. We tell the people in government they should be independent in determining the destiny of their country, but their reply is that they want to remain servants! They do not actually say this, of course, but this is what their actions show. We want to deliver the army from the control of these American advisers and these masters, but the top brass in the army will not accept this, they want to remain the underdogs.

This relates back to what the Most Noble Messenger said about having to drag those prisoners to heaven, to happiness, by their chains. This is what we have to do, we have to drag this top brass to happiness with chains. We want you to be the master, but you say you want to be the servant!! We say you should control the affairs of your own country, you should be in charge of your own army, the country's resources should be yours, they should benefit these poor wretched people who live in hovels, but you will not accept this. You are not willing either to become true human beings!! This is what we want to make you, but you do not want it.

Shah's regime, a bag of claims!

From the beginning we have been beset by assertions. At the time of Muhammad Rida Khan, we heard claim after claim. The radio would blare them out, the television would give us pictures to accompany them and the newspapers would write about them. Every time one opened a newspaper the first thing one would see was His Imperial Majesty Aryamehr said this, His Royal Highness (the Crown Prince) said that, the Queen said this and the Shahbanu said that. Every time we turned the radio on it was the same thing. Whoever wanted to speak had to repeat these claims. He himself would constantly voice them, claiming to have brought the country to such and such a state, to be taking it to a 'great civilization' and so on. But when we dealt

with him and he left, then it became obvious for everyone that he had done nothing, he hadn't done a damn thing!

Whichever manifestation of civilization you care to name is ruined and he is the one who has ruined it. Do not forget Muhammad Rida, for all your misfortunes were brought about by this wicked man. Do not forget him; remember him. Do not think that now that he has left Iran, whatever he did is in the past and is best not talked about. No, he must be kept alive in your memories until the time that he himself, his overlords and the others are all gone. When they are all dead and buried, then we will have nothing more to do with them.

Downfall of Shah, permanency of Iran

Up until this point, all the talk has been about His Imperial Majesty and the assertion that the people of Iran are a Shah-loving people; that they have always been Shah-lovers; that they can't even live without a Shah! Now the Iranians are without a Shah, but they are still carrying on with their lives. This man himself¹ said that if the Shah went, the country would become communist. Well, the Shah is no longer in the country, has it become communist? Is it the Shah who has prevented this? Is he still around? He's gone. Was it the imperial regime that stopped the communists? The regime no longer exists. Neither the imperial regime exists nor the Shah. Muhammad Rida Khan used to say that if he were not around, the country would be divided! Britain would take one part, Russia another and America another. And I would reply: "Sir, with you around this is the case. If you go there will be none of this!" Now that he has gone, has the country become divided? Has one of these countries invaded from one direction and the other from another?! No, he has gone and all this talk has finished.

Monarchy and nationalism two sides of one coin

Hitherto, we have had to put up with the boasting and bragging of Muhammad Rida Khan, about how he is the King of kings, His Imperial Majesty and the Aryamehr! Now it is this talk of 'nationality' and 'freedom' that we have to suffer. They go and stand at the grave side of Dr. MuSaddiq and say such things!²

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar.

² In late January 1979, Shapur Bakhtiyar and a group of nationalists, among them Mahdi Bazargan and Dr. Siyasi, discussed the idea of exhuming Dr. Musaddiq's body from its grave in Ahmadabad and re-burying it in the graveyard of the 30th of Tir martyrs.

We neither accepted what he said nor do we accept what they are saying now! What can we do, we are not so easily taken in. We can see that the same things that went on at the time of Muhammad Rida Khan, the former Shah, are still going on. Nothing has changed. At that time they killed people and now they are killing people; at that time they plundered and today they are plundering; they stopped gatherings then and they are doing so again today. He didn't allow more than two people to gather and neither does Bakhtiyar, but not one of them could enforce this! The people no longer pay any attention to such things. Nothing has changed except the name, the plan is the same, the set-up the same. One day it was called an 'imperial' regime and the next they are talking about nationalism and a democratic republic.¹ These people are bad with Islam but good with its republic! They speak of a democratic Islamic republic, but they are opposed to the second term which is 'Islamic'. They are the enemies of Islam. Otherwise, why when they set out their plans do they speak of a 'democratic' Islamic republic? What has Islam done wrong? What has Islam done to them? They are not good with Islam because it is Islam that prevents personal interests from being realized, it is Islam that will not allow these heavyweights to live an aristocratic life or to live just anyhow they like! Islam sets matters right. It is Islam that does not let foreigners govern over Muslims; it is Islam that gets in the way of oppression and dictatorship. But they have the nerve to say that now we have rid ourselves of Muhammad Rida Khan's dictatorship, we are faced with the prospect of the *akhund's* dictatorship!² Really, what have the *akhunds* done? What kind of dictatorship do they have to offer? Are we telling you to be dictators? We are telling you not to govern in a dictatorial manner. Apart from corruption, we will not prevent anything, the people will be free, it is you who don't allow them to be free.

Islam's confrontation with the oppressor and blood-thirsty

Nowadays, those who once supported Muhammad Rida Khan support this regime under other names. It is only the name that has changed. Muhammad Rida has found another name, but the problem remains the same.

¹ 'Democratic Islamic Republic' was the name proposed by some for the future Iranian government. The leftists (apart from the Tudeh Party) were in favor of the formation of a 'Democratic Republic.'

² In one of his speeches, Bakhtiyar had stated that he could not allow the government to take a form that no one accepts, and exclaimed how much more oppressive the new dictatorship may be from the old one! He also averred: "I have fought against the repression of the Shah and I will fight against this repression too. (!) We will not replace a worn out dictatorship with a new, more powerful one." *Ittilaat*, Bahman 1357 [January-February 1979].

The Iranians must be on their guard, they must be attentive; they must not suppose that because we have prevailed it is an end to the matter. We have thrown Muhammad Rida out; very well, the scene has changed; now we are faced with scene two. At one time they use the weapon of force, brutality and dictatorship, then another time the weapon of reconciliation and, in their words, moderation is drawn, and yet at another, both reconciliation and brutality are tried. Now we have talked of a democratic Islamic republic on the one hand and “the true religion of Islam” on the other! This is the same tactic that was used by that wretch. The true religion of Islam indeed! He doesn't even know what the true religion of Islam is! From one side we hear talk of the true religion of Islam while on the other its very foundations are being destroyed!

According to Islam you must step down, Islam does not accept the rule of a tyrant and you are all tyrants. Islam is opposed to oppression. The prophet of Islam fought for twenty-three years against oppression. At one time, in Mecca, he did battle using sermons, and at another, in Medina, he used the sword. You however are propagating oppression. Only the day before yesterday you killed our youth, you are bloodthirsty murderers. We want to rescue you from these trammels of imperialism, but you say you want to remain where you are. You don't have the sense to save yourselves, so we will have to knock some sense into your heads until you free yourselves from this burden. We will have to clap you in chains and drag you out from under this burden, for you do not have the wit to save yourselves. Members of the armed forces, we want to make you independent, but these two or three people who have been put in command over you won't allow this, they have to be stopped, they have to be thrown out. Members of the government, we want to create an independent government, but these servants will not allow us. Throw them out, persuade them to step down.

On the way of establishing an Islamic state

At the first opportunity I get, I will go to Iran, God willing [“God willing” from the audience]. And the first action I will take once there will be to establish an Islamic government based on the laws of Islam and in accordance with the votes of the people. [“God willing” from the audience]. I will put forward my suggestion to the people and let them vote on it, if they agree then I will set up an Islamic government. The people of Iran are Muslims, so, apart from a few who see Islam as a threat to their continuing their injustice, I do not think they will oppose it.

We all saw yesterday in Tehran what magnificent gatherings the people of Iran held! The same thing happened again today.¹ These people want Islam. They do not want to endure the burden of tyrannical governments any longer. They want a just government. Nobody should suppose that we don't understand what an Islamic republic is.² It is them who pretend not to understand! Why don't you understand? Everyone knows what a republic means; it means the public vote must be acquired. The Islamic part means it will be based on the laws of Islam. Are you opposed to Islam? Is it the Islamic laws to which you are opposed? Islam has laws for the political aspects of life and the social, indeed for all aspects of man's life. An Islamic republic then does not involve itself with the constitutional law, rather with the laws of Islam. You are not opposed to the republic part, so is it the Islamic bit you are against? If this is the case, then you intrinsically lack faith, you do not believe in Islam, you are not Muslim.

Inviting the army back to the nation

We want this army of ours to be an independent one, not one in which a colonel from America can overrule a general (in Iran). Generals, we want to save you; are you saying you don't want to be saved? You don't have the wit to save yourselves. We will have to save you by force. Our youth have retained their human nature, not like some of their elders who, because they have killed so many people and perpetrated so much oppression, have lost theirs and are now like ferocious animals. Our youth are not like this. Oh young people, rescue your country, rescue your army. Do not permit these four old men, who have hoarded our money and then sent it abroad, to restore the former situation. You must make sure once and for all that such a thing can never happen.

¹ On January 28 & 29 [Bahman 8 & 9 AHS], Iran was the scene of massive demonstrations and clashes between the people and agents of the regime. On January 28 [Bahman 8] *Kayhan* wrote: "In demonstrations and bloody clashes in Tehran and the provinces dozens of people were martyred. In a huge march in Tehran the people called for the return to Iran of His Excellency Imam Khomeini. At the end of the march an eight-point declaration was read out." The final point in the declaration read thus: "We condemn the vicious attack carried out yesterday by the regime's executioners in which a number of brave, self-sacrificing Muslims were martyred or injured, and we denounce the deceptive slogan 'support for constitutional law' which is chanted by a few hired army men dressed in civilian clothes."

² It refers to Bakhtiyar's speech in which he said: "One must first understand what an Islamic republic is, then agree to it . . . for me the term Islamic republic is completely unknown and hitherto I have not come across anything in any book on it." (!) *Ittilaat*, February 3, 1979 [Bahman 14, 1357 AHS].

As I have said previously, if the government, that is, if the head of the government, as he likes to call himself, comes here, he will not be able to meet with me unless he first writes his resignation and makes it public.¹ When I speak of resignation here, I do not use the term in its true sense, for he is not truly the prime minister to have a resignation to hand in, but I use it merely for want of a better term. Otherwise, what does resignation mean in this case? You are not the prime minister! If he does this then I will receive him, for he has not reached the stage that some of the others had. There have been some people who committed such gross crimes that I could never have agreed to meet them, not with resignations or anything else they may have offered. If he is wise, he will hand in his resignation and come here and repent, then he will be the same as everybody else. However, if he too has lost his humanity, then that is his affair. As far as I am concerned, if he comes here and repents I will receive him. But if he remains obstinate then nothing changes. He will be the one who is sorry, I can tell him now that he will be sorry. He saw how his master lived to regret what he had done and had to come before the people and plead with them, but they were going to have none of it. Don't let it come to the point where you have to plead with the people and they reject your pleas. Do not dishonor your own tribe; do not sully your reputation, if you carry on like this you will get yourself a bad name, even in your own tribe.

A piece of advice and an ultimatum

We want the good of society, we are the followers of the prophets who came to reform society; they came to assure society's happiness. We want to take those who are blind and do not understand to well-being and happiness, by force if necessary. Those who can see will go after these things of their own volition. As followers of the prophets we mean to make our society a happy and prosperous one. We are saddened and sorry about these troubles that Iran and our people have to endure. The clerical community wants to free you. I exhort you to follow Islam and observe its laws; if you accept this, those whose crimes are not many will, if they repent, be counted as one of us.

¹ On January 28, 1979 [Bahman 8, 1357 AHS], *Kayhan* carried a huge headline: "Imam Khomeini: 'I will not receive Bakhtiyar until he resigns.'" On the second page it went into more detail: "The following declaration was received 2 am in the morning Tehran time from Paris by phone: In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, their excellencies the Hujjat al-Islams of Tehran and the provinces, may God prolong their blessings, it has been said that I have agreed to meet Shapur Bakhtiyar in his role as prime minister; this is a lie. I will not meet him until he resigns from his post for I do not accept him as holding that post legally. Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini."

But if you do not, we will force you to accept the truth and stop perpetrating crimes. We will do this through coercion and through the pressure that the nation, that the cries of the nation, will bring to bear on you. Just as the cries of the nation got rid of that parasite, so too they will pluck you out by your roots, which have of course not yet taken. Be sensible, the sooner you repent the better. This is the best thing for you to do and I want what is best for you.

At this sensitive time, it is necessary for the nation of Iran to stand firm and not relinquish their movement for their victory is nigh, God willing. [The audience says "God willing"]. I ask your well-being from God, the Blessed and Exalted. May God protect you all. May you be successful. May God give you strength, God willing.