



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

SAHIFEH-YE IMAM

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

**Volume 6
January 29 – April 12, 1979
[Bahman 9, 1357 – Farvardin 23, 1358
AHS]**

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

Transliteration Symbols

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

پ	p
چ	ch
ژ	zh
گ	g

Long Vowels

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
آ, ا	ā, A
ای	ī, I
او	ū, U

Short Vowels

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

Persian Letters

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
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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.

Table of Contents

1/29/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: The struggle against the government of Bakhtiyar	1
1/29/1979	Interview by world's media, radio and television broadcasting network's reporters: Behind-the-scene conspiracies; Bakhtiyar's illegitimate government; necessity of resisting and continuing the struggle; reports from the world's media and the radio-television networks	3
Circa 1978-9	Letter to Pridsee Coopissa (?): Moral counsel and advice	5
1/31/1979	Message to the French nation and government: Gratitude to the French nation and government	6
1/31/1979	Commendation to Ibrahim Yazdi: Appreciation of Mr. Yazdi for the efforts he had taken during (the Imam's) residence in France	7
2/1/1979	Speech to millions of people: Imam Khomeini's historic speech outlining the state of affairs of the course of the Revolution <i>Gratitude to all strata of the people</i> <i>The first step toward victory</i> <i>Hoping for the ultimate victory</i>	8
2/1/1979	Speech to millions of people from Tehran and various cities of Iran: The illegal nature of the Parliament, the government appointed by the Shah, and the regime's seditious elements <i>Gratitude and condolences</i> <i>The monarchial regime contradicts wisdom and the law</i> <i>The Pahlavi regime is imposed and illegal</i> <i>Protégé governments and rubber-stamp Parliaments</i> <i>Corruption and destruction in the name of reforms and progress</i> <i>An outcry because of the Shah and America</i> <i>Appointment of a government with the people's support</i> <i>A warning to the nation of Iran</i> <i>A piece of advice and a final word with the army</i> <i>In appreciation of those military men who joined the nation</i>	10
2/1/1979	Message to army officers, enlisted men and soldiers: The army's incorporation with Bakhtiyar's government	19
2/1/1979	Speech to members of the Welcoming Committee: The achievements of the Revolution; conspiracies under the name of nationalistic slogans <i>The secret of victory</i> <i>Theology school-university solidarity: the greatest victory</i>	20

	<i>Nationalistic ploys</i>	
2/1/1979	Statements to a group of theology students of the Qum Seminary: Glad tidings of returning to Qum	22
2/2/1979	Speech to clergymen: The depravity of the illegitimate monarchy and the expediency of continuing the struggle until the regime is toppled	23
	<i>The Shah's big crimes</i>	
	<i>The issue of the Shah's "repentance"</i>	
	<i>The Shah's inextinguishable crimes</i>	
	<i>The thesis that the Shah should reign but not rule</i>	
	<i>A kaleidoscope of chicanery</i>	
	<i>Divine grace upon oppressors and traitors?!</i>	
	<i>The punishment meted out of an illegitimate government</i>	
	<i>Turmoil and unrest caused by the agents of the illegitimate government</i>	
	<i>The monarchial regime is against the law and wisdom</i>	
	<i>The gravity of the current situation of Iran</i>	
	<i>Upholding justice is one of the important responsibilities</i>	
	<i>A message to the army</i>	
	<i>Dependent economy</i>	
	<i>A colonialistic and subservient culture</i>	
	<i>Continuation of the struggle: a religious and logical necessity</i>	
	<i>Advice to the army and the government</i>	
2/2/1979	Statements to Air Force personnel: A warning to Bakhtiyar's government regarding the safety of lives of warrant officers	37
2/3/1979	Statements to the columnists and personnel of the <i>Ittilaat</i> daily: The grave responsibility of men of letters and press	38
2/3/1979	Speech to the clergymen: Enmity of power-mongers toward Islam; the expediency of the coalition of the <i>ulama</i> and all the strata of the people	39
	<i>The distortion of Islam</i>	
	<i>Colonial thesis: Segregation of religion and politics</i>	
	<i>The distinction between Islamic precepts and human laws</i>	
	<i>The political and social aspects of Islam</i>	
	<i>Studies made by the colonizers in Islamic countries</i>	
	<i>The colonial conspiracy against the clergy</i>	
	<i>Nation's solidarity: origin of the Shah's downfall</i>	
	<i>The thievery of the Pahlavi family</i>	
	<i>An example of the corruption and crime of the regime</i>	
	<i>The ostracism of the clergy from politics and its repercussions</i>	
	<i>The nation's leader is the nation's servant</i>	
2/3/1979	Speech to the members of the Committee of Welcoming Ceremonies: The deceit of American agents in the guise of nationalism; Islamic rule	47
	<i>Safeguarding American interests with slogans of "nationalism"</i>	
	<i>In the pathway of reaching an Islamic rule</i>	
	<i>Unity of expression: the key to victory</i>	
2/4/1979	Letter to Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari: Expressing gratitude in answer to dispatched letter	49
2/4/1979	Appointment of Mahdi Bazargan: The formation of the provisional government	50

2/5/1979	Speech to more than four hundred domestic and foreign reporters: The ideals of the Iranian nation; public opposition against the monarchy; imposed regime <i>Iran in chaos</i> <i>Wishing for the establishment of Ali's (a) just government</i> <i>The illegitimate Pahlavi regime</i> <i>Introduction of the provisional government based on the rule of jurists</i> <i>Expediency of obeisance to the provisional government</i> <i>Replies to reporters' questions</i>	52
2/5/1979	Speech to the <i>ulama</i> of Khuzestan and a group of the people: Unity of expression, the key to victory <i>Safeguarding the unity of expression is everyone's duty</i> <i>The Shah's inexpressible crimes</i>	57
2/5/1979	Speech to the members of the National Legislative Assembly who left their posts: The Pahlavi rule, the rule of the bayonet; illegal contracts <i>The Shah did not heed advice</i> <i>An American-installed or a monarchy-oriented parliament</i> <i>Illegal contracts and a warning to Bakhtiyyar</i>	59
2/5/1979	Speech to the clergy, a group of military personnel, eleven parliament members who have resigned from the national legislative assembly: A warning to the army and the usurping government; the necessity of obeying the provisional government <i>A piece of advice to the army and the usurping government</i> <i>The decimation of the country in the name of civilization and progress</i> <i>A government based on religious law and compulsory obeisance to it</i>	62
2/6/1979	Message: Expressing gratitude for telegrams and letters of congratulations for the return of Imam Khomeini to Tehran	65
2/6/1979	Letter to Sayyid Jalaluddin Tahiri Isfahani: Acknowledging the receipt of a letter and telegram	66
2/6/1979	Letter to Sayyid Sajjad Hujaj Miyanei: Expressing gratitude	67
2/6/1979	Speech to the personnel of the Navy: The role of virtuous people in the country's reconstruction <i>Plundering of the fruit of the labor of the masses</i> <i>Resistance of the barefooted people against tanks and cannons</i> <i>Reconstruction by means of the chaste people</i> <i>Dialogue between Imam and some navy personnel</i>	68
2/6/1979	Speech to the exporters of agricultural dried fruits and grains: The record of the Pahlavi's rule <i>The plunder of spiritual and material resources</i> <i>They left Iran with full pockets</i> <i>The ideal Islamic rule</i> <i>Support for the provisional government</i>	71
2/6/1979	Speech to the teachers and theology students of Qum's theological center, and national airline and oil company employees: Unity of expression; Shiah-Sunni fraternity; the position of the religious minorities; supporting the military	74

	<i>The country of the Imam of the Time</i>	
	<i>The key to victory</i>	
	<i>A message to the military</i>	
	<i>Announcement of unity and solidarity</i>	
	<i>Sunnis and Shiah are brothers</i>	
	<i>Responsibility to enlighten and propagate</i>	
2/6/1979	Speech to various classes of people, physicians and pharmacists: Damage done by the Shah's regime in Iran; everybody's participation in reconstruction	78
	<i>Destruction and backwardness</i>	
	<i>All together on the road to reconstruction</i>	
2/6/1979	<i>The retreat of superpowers before closed fists of the masses</i>	80
2/7/1979	Letter to MaHmudi: Expressing gratitude	
	Speech to three hundred judges and lawyers from the Justice Ministry: Connivance of the discord-mongers and the colonialists	81
	<i>The conspiracy of the colonialists, discord among all strata of the nation</i>	
	<i>Studies me by experts of colonialism</i>	
	<i>The plot to separate the people from the clergy</i>	
	<i>An account of half a century of treachery</i>	
	<i>The Iranian nation's wishes</i>	
	<i>General mobilization to buttress the movement</i>	
2/7/1979	Statements to the public:	
	The corrupt regime's illegitimate use of the mass media	85
2/7/1979	Speech to Ahmad Muftizadeh and a group from Kurdistan:	
	Differences between Shiahs and Sunnis	86
	<i>The root of discord between Shiah and Sunni brothers</i>	
	<i>The satanic plots of the colonial powers</i>	
	<i>The unity and brotherhood of Shiah and Sunnis</i>	
2/8/1979	Message to Muhammad Saduqi Yazdi:	
	Thanking the people of Yazd Province	88
2/8/1979	Speech to merchants and people of the Tehran bazaar: The Pahlavi dynasty was the lackey of the foreign powers; the nation's resistance against the superpowers; unity of expression	89
	<i>The Pahlavi dynasty: a puppet of foreign powers</i>	
	<i>The nation's resistance against superpowers</i>	
	<i>The absence of a popular government in Iran</i>	
	<i>The key to victory and advancement</i>	
	<i>The most sensitive phase in history</i>	
	<i>Hoping for a progressive Iran</i>	
2/8/1979	Speech to a group of the Air Force and Army personnel:	
	The soldiers of the <i>taghuti</i> regime at the service of Islam, efforts taken toward the establishment of an Islamic rule	93
	<i>The soldiers of Imam of the Time (may God expedite his advent) at the service of the Quran</i>	
	<i>The obliteration the taghut and the establishment of Islamic rule</i>	
2/8/1979	Speech to the members of the Islamic Society of Physicians, Engineers and Teachers: Excellent attributes of the Islamic movement	95

	<i>The crimes of the Pahlavi family during fifty years of rule</i>	
	<i>Reconstruction through unity</i>	
2/8/1979	Speech to a group of teachers: An uprising for God	97
	<i>The invincibility of the divine movement</i>	
	<i>The world is the lowest level of the universe</i>	
	<i>Divine education and spiritual unity</i>	
2/8/1979	Statements to a group of Air Force officers and warrant officers from ISfahan: Expressing gratitude and appreciation of the armed forces personnel who have joined the nation	99
2/8/1979	Speech to various classes of the people: Massive gathering in support of the provisional government; an ultimatum	100
	<i>Public and nationwide support for the provisional government</i>	
	<i>An ultimatum to the last remnants of the Shah's government</i>	
	<i>The perpetuation of the Revolution and support for the provisional government</i>	
	<i>Observance of religious law and legal standards</i>	
2/9/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Emphasis on not having a spokesperson	102
2/9/1979	Letter to (Grand Religious Reference Authority) Sayyid Muhammad Rida Golpaygani: Expressing gratitude	103
2/9/1979	Speech to the representatives of the council for coordinating strikes: Ways of reconstruction and continuation of the Islamic Revolution	104
	<i>The long path of reconstruction</i>	
	<i>Slum dwellers in Tehran</i>	
	<i>Avoiding discord</i>	
2/9/1979	Speech to the physicians and employees of Sevvum-e Shaban Hospital: Victory can be gained only through the collaboration of all strata of the people	106
	<i>Eyewitnesses to crimes</i>	
	<i>Foreign agents in the guise of nationalism</i>	
	<i>Thieves and looters</i>	
	<i>The need for perseverance and collaboration</i>	
2/9/1979	Letter to the people of Zanjan: The return of Sayyid Izzuddin Husayni Zanjani to Zanjan	108
2/10/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Guard Corps' attack against Air Force personnel in Tehran	109
2/10/1979	Letter to the people of Malavi district, Lorestan: Expression of gratitude	110
2/11/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Maintaining peace and vigilance subsequent to the army's retreat	111
2/11/1979	Message to the Muslim nation of Iran: Averting sedition and anarchy; necessity of collaborating with the provisional government	112
2/11/1979	Reply to a query of the Army men, and military and police forces: Invalidity of military oath taken during the time of the <i>taghut</i>	114
2/12/1979	Message to the Iranian nation, and citizens of Tehran: The religious responsibility and national commitment of the people	115
2/12/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Rising for the reconstruction of Iran	117
2/12/1979	Letter to the inhabitants of Gundareh village: Expressing thanks	121

2/12/1979	Letter to Sayyid Kiramatullah Malik Husayni: Expression of gratitude and the need to eliminate discord and prevent unrest	122
2/12/1979	Letter to Husayn Anzabi: Expression of gratitude	123
2/13/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Public disarmament	124
2/14/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Suppression of the saboteurs of peace in Tabriz	126
2/14/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: End of strikes and resumption of activities and work	127
2/14/1979	Decree to Abbas Waiz Tabasi: Appointment of superintendent for Imam Rida's holy shrine	129
2/15/1979	Speech to a group of businesspersons, guild members and tradesmen on strike: Gratitude to the revolutionary nation; support for military and military and police forces; announcement of the end of strikes	130
	<i>Praise and gratitude</i>	
	<i>The military and police forces under the shelter of Islam</i>	
	<i>Duty to confront anarchy</i>	
	<i>Order to end the strikes</i>	
2/16/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Forbidding entry into private individuals' homes without the government's consent	133
2/16/1979	Message to the <i>ulama</i> and the clergy: The presence of the clergy in the inaugural ceremony of police and military centers and government offices	134
2/16/1979	Message to the workers of Iran's national Oil Company: End of strike in the Oil Industry	135
2/16/1979	Decree to Sayyid Muhammad Jawad Pishvai: Establishing order in social and political affairs	136
2/16/1979	Dialogue with 150 people from university professors and Islamic society of academicians: Confronting plots made by small groups to dissolve the army	137
2/16/1979	Speech to Abu Rayhan University professors and a group of Air Force personnel: Foreign conspiracies and propaganda	143
	<i>An ancient colonial conspiracy</i>	
	<i>Islam and the barefooted people</i>	
	<i>Clergymen: the vanguard of the movement</i>	
	<i>Conspiracy against the theology schools and universities</i>	
	<i>Iran's destruction</i>	
	<i>Confronting agitators and conspirators</i>	
	<i>A dialogue with Imam</i>	
	<i>A glance at the ways and attitudes of Islamic leaders</i>	
	<i>The lifestyle of communist leaders and claimants of brotherhood</i>	
	<i>American agents under the guise of Marxism</i>	
2/16/1979	Interview by an <i>ItTilaat</i> newspaper reporter: Setting up the revolutionary courts and the punishment of the first group of criminals	150
2/17/1979	Letter to Muhammad Ali Araqi (Araki), one of the great <i>ulama</i> of Qum: The fruits of the Islamic Revolution	151
2/17/1979	Message to the strikers (such as academicians, workers, employees, traders, farmers, etc.): Necessity of refraining from unjust dealings and overpricing	152

2/17/1979	Letter to MaHmud Lulachiyan and Mir-MuHammd Sadiqi: Setting up a committee on looking into worker's demands	153
2/17/1979	Speech to socio-national research group: Factors leading to victory: God's will and nation's unity <i>Divine graces on Iran's Revolution</i> <i>The bloodthirstiness of the kings and the tyranny of the Pahlavi dynasty</i> <i>General mobilization for Iran's reconstruction</i> <i>Blossoming of uprising for God</i> <i>Indescribable treacheries and crimes</i> <i>Extraditing the fugitive Shah to Iran</i>	154
2/17/1979	Dialogue with the Vatican ambassador and a group of the Pope's emissaries: Triumph of the power of faith and Islam over oppression and colonialism	158
2/17/1979	Dialogue with Yasir Arafat, Hani al-Hasan, some Palestinian officials, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, and Ibrahim Yazd: Triumph of faith over satanic powers	159
2/17/1979	Letter to the people of Miyaneh and its suburbs: Safeguarding the unity and solidarity	164
2/18/1979	Message to the people of Kurdistan: Dispatch of Mr. Hussayn Nuri to Kurdistan	165
2/18/1979	Decree to Muhammad Imami Kashani: Appointment of a superintendent for Sepahsalar Theology School and Mosque	166
2/18/1979	Speech to the representatives of Iran's Writers Association: Sowing seeds of discord between the clergymen and intellectuals <i>Colonial plot to create a rift in the nation</i> <i>Unity: the greatest fruit of the Islamic Revolution</i> <i>The writers' heavy responsibility</i> <i>The perils of a step-by step policy and left or right leanings</i> <i>Unity, a prerogative of freedom and independence</i> <i>Reconciliation with Islam: solidarity with the nation</i>	167
2/18/1979	Speech to the delegates of Iran's Zoroastrian Community: Islam's treatment of minorities	171
2/19/1979	Radio-television message to the Education Ministry officials and school students: Class attendance and the necessity of changes in the educational system	172
2/19/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Seditionists' plots, and the police forces' need to return to security centers	174
2/19/1979	Letter to Ahmad Muftizadeh: Dispatch of Mr. Nuri to Kurdistan	175
2/19/1979	Speech to the Alawi School's officials, teachers and workers: Illegitimacy of the monarchical regime; the need to educate children on all dimensions of Islam; the peril of one-dimensional Islam <i>The monarchical regime is opposed to human rights</i> <i>The Pahlavi dynasty: an illegitimate regime</i> <i>A comprehensive education and training of school students</i> <i>The Islamic society</i> <i>Method of human development in Islam</i> <i>Colonial thesis: segregation of politics and religion</i>	176

	<i>Prophets were from the deprived class of the society</i>	
	<i>The struggle of the Prophet of Islam against capitalists</i>	
	<i>The necessity of educating pupils on devotional and political issues</i>	
	<i>Farewell and thanks</i>	
2/1979	Message to the <i>ulama</i> and the clergy:	
	Return of the <i>ulama</i> and clergy to their own cities	182
2/1979	Letter to Muhammad Baqir Gharawi:	
	Safeguarding unity and solidarity and avoiding discord	183
2//1979	Decree to Mahdi Bazargan, Prime Minister of the provisional government: Dismissal of Riyahi from the Defense Ministry	184
2/1979	Memorandum to Surur Yazdi:	
	Handwritten manuscript in the margins of the Glorious Quran	185
2/20/1979	Message to Fadlullah Mahallati:	
	Taking charge of Guilds Cooperative fund	186
2/20/1979	Decree to Muhammad-Tahir Al-i Shubayr Khaqani:	
	Formation of a committee in Khuzestan's Arab-speaking districts	187
2/21/1979	Message to Salvador J.D. (?) (Vice President of the National Arab Union in Santiago, Chile): Expression of gratitude for the congratulations sent on the victory of the Islamic Revolution	188
2/21/1979	Decree to Tehran's Islamic Revolutionary Court:	
	Investigation of Mr. Pakravan's request	189
2/22/1979	Letter to Mahdi Bazargan: Confirmation of the proposed ministers of the Provisional Government	190
2/23/1979	Letter to Ridai: Formation of Islamic Revolutionary Committee in Turbat Haydariyyah	191
2/24/1979	Decree to Sadiq Khalkhali:	
	Formation of the Islamic Revolutionary Court	193
2/24/1979	Decree to Sharif: Protecting palaces and sequestration of the Pahlavi family's property in Mardabad, Karaj	194
2/24/1979	Dialogue with Asadullah Mubashiri (then Justice Minister) and Ali Shaygan: Replies to questions about government properties and religious law funds	195
2/24/1979	Speech to Mr. Vladimir Winogradoff (?), Ambassador of the former USSR and others with him: Ties with neighboring powers and governments	197
	<i>Religious uprising</i>	
2/25/1979	Decree to Sayyid Asghar Nazimzadeh: Dispatching representatives to the cities of Qazvin, Rasht, Bandar Anzali, etc.	199
2/25/1979	Speech to the Sistan and Baluchistan's clergy:	
	The reconstruction of Iran through cooperation and unity	200
	<i>Difference: a lethal poison</i>	
	<i>The Shah's mission: destruction of Iran</i>	
2/25/1979	Speech to Sayyid Abbas Muhri accompanied by 270 supporters of the Islamic Revolution from Kuwait: Revolution's triumph through divine assistance	202
	<i>Reason of migration to Iraq</i>	
	<i>Residence in France: a divine predestination</i>	
	<i>Neutralizing the regime's propaganda</i>	

	<i>The divine nature of the Islamic Revolution</i>	
	<i>Transformation in the cleansed souls and divine spirit</i>	
	<i>Triumph of faith over all powers</i>	
	<i>A plot to prevent (Imam's) movement toward Iran</i>	
	<i>Calling on the world to extradite the criminal Shah</i>	
	<i>The necessity of recording the crimes and treacheries of Pahlavi dynasty</i>	
	<i>Establishment of a great Islamic government in the world</i>	
2/26/1979	Speech to members of the Bar Association and lawyers of the judiciary: Colonialists' designs to separate the various strata of the nation	210
	<i>Colonial conspiracies in Islamic lands</i>	
	<i>Creating a negative atmosphere against Islam</i>	
	<i>Prophets were from the deprived walks of life</i>	
	<i>Propaganda against clergymen</i>	
	<i>Causing differences among the ranks of the people</i>	
	<i>Divine graces on Iran's Revolution</i>	
	<i>Public mobilization for reconstruction</i>	
	<i>A picture of the justice administration during the taghut regime</i>	
2/26/1979	Speech to Kurdistan's clergymen: Reconstruction of the devastated Iran	217
	<i>Reconstruction period</i>	
	<i>A warning against a foreign tune of (deception) being played in Kurdistan</i>	
2/26/1979	Speech to the members of the Iran's Community of Disabled People: Criterion of humanity	218
	<i>Humanity depends on the soul and not the body</i>	
2/26/1979	Speech to the Western Tehran's clergymen: Building backward Iran and reviving the agriculture	219
	<i>The clergy's explanations, source of people's awakening</i>	
	<i>The nation, inheritor of ruins</i>	
	<i>People's participation in reconstruction</i>	
	<i>Necessity of reviving agriculture</i>	
	<i>Calling on people to be patient</i>	
	<i>Strengthening the government and averting the disruption of activities</i>	
	<i>Necessity of confronting the creation of negative atmosphere in factories</i>	
	<i>Islam is for the progress and advancement of human beings</i>	
2/26/1979	Decree to Sayyid Muhammad Khwansari: Confirmation of the Congregational Prayer Leader of Tehran Bazaar Mosque	224
2/26/1979	Speech to a group of people: Reconstruction of the country and its problems	225
	<i>Iran's critical situation</i>	
	<i>Unity of all strata of the people in reconstruction affairs</i>	
2/26/1979	Statements to Abdus-Salam Jalud (Muammar Qadhdhafi's deputy) and three other members of the Libyan delegation:	
	Concern for Imam Musa Sadr's fate	227
2/26/1979	Statements to the Emissaries of the Armenian Diocese:	

	Islam and religious minorities	228
2/26/1979	Statements to Muhammad Derakhshesh: Necessity of maintaining unity of expression in the struggle against the foreigners and the reconstruction of Iran	229
2/28/1979	Decree to Ali Muqaddam: Making an inventory of the Shah's and his family's property on Kish Island and their maintenance	230
2/28/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Fourteen recommendations about the Revolution and the country's domestic issues	231
2/28/1979	Decree to Islamic Revolutionary Council: Sequestration order of the property of the Pahlavi dynasty and affiliates	236
2/28/1979	Decree to Mahdi Hadawi: Appointment of the Revolution's General Prosecutor	237
3/1/1979	Speech to the people of Qum and other towns: Analyzing the results of the Iranian nation's struggles; spiritual and material welfare programs; emphasis on an Islamic republic and self-edification	238
	<i>The Pahlavi dynasty's crimes</i>	
	<i>Insuring Islam with martyrdom</i>	
	<i>The destruction of the country and the expansion of graveyards</i>	
	<i>Necessity of the nation's vigilance and awareness</i>	
	<i>Islam at the service of the oppressed</i>	
	<i>The Pahlavi dynasty's assets</i>	
	<i>Prosperity in this world and the hereafter through Islam</i>	
	<i>Sovereignty of divine laws and forms</i>	
	<i>Combating corruption and eradicating the traces of the taghuti regime</i>	
	<i>Undermining the government and the army will be undermining Islam</i>	
	<i>The nation's ideal: An "Islamic Republic"</i>	
	<i>A warning to newspapers</i>	
	<i>Freedom to vote in Islam</i>	
	<i>Qum's being an ideal</i>	
	<i>The clergymen are the revivers of Islam</i>	
	<i>Islam: human-building school</i>	
3/2/1979	Decree to Mahdi Bazargan: Abstaining from the consumption of frozen imported meat	247
3/2/1979	Speech to the representatives of the <i>ulama</i> , theology students and the various strata of the people: The root of internal discord	248
	<i>Arrogance: cause of defeat</i>	
	<i>All-embracing nature of the movement: a special blessing from God</i>	
	<i>The enemies' fear of the Imam's return to Iran</i>	
	<i>The enemies are lurking</i>	
	<i>Differences the root of Islam's defeat</i>	
	<i>The need for the clergy to be united</i>	
	<i>Islamic jurisprudence, edification and struggle</i>	
	<i>The distortion of the true Islam</i>	
	<i>The army of God or the army of Satan?</i>	
	<i>The Zil-Allah (shadow of God): criterion to distinguish between the truth and falsehood</i>	

	<i>Jurisprudents are the sentinels of Islam</i>	
3/2/1979	Speech to a group of clergy; a group of Iranian residents and selected members of the Red Crescent Society in the United Arab Emirates:	
	Fifty years of Pahlavi family's crimes	255
	<i>Torturers: Israel's protégés</i>	
	<i>Effects of the Aryamehr culture and civilization</i>	
	<i>The plunder of the Iranian nation's wealth</i>	
	<i>A dead-end for the Shah</i>	
	<i>We are indebted to the deprived class for victory</i>	
3/2/1979	Speech to Abul-Ala Mawdudi and company:	
	Foreign conspiracy to undermine Islam and Islamic leaders	258
	<i>Foreign propaganda against Islam</i>	
	<i>We should all be of the Party of God</i>	
3/2/1979	Statements to an <i>Ittilaat</i> newspaper reporter:	
	Housing problems of the people	260
3/3/1979	Decree to Qudratullah Alikhani: Dispatch of a representative to look into the affairs of committees of Takistan, Abgarm, Avaj, and Buyin Zahra	261
3/4/1979	Speech to thousands of women from Qum:	
	Women from the Islamic point of view	262
	<i>The women shoulder to shoulder with men in the Revolution</i>	
	<i>Islam's favor upon women</i>	
	<i>Women's right to be involved in all matters from the Islamic point of view</i>	
	<i>Women, the trainers of human beings</i>	
	<i>Necessity of the participation of women and men in reconstruction</i>	
	<i>Women's right to procure agency for divorce</i>	
3/4/1979	Decree to Bahauddin Allamal-Huda: Travel assignment to Ardebil, Dasht-e Muqan, Mishkinshahr and setting up revolutionary committees in those areas	265
3/4/1979	Message to the people of Iqlid, Fars: Mission for the return to Iqlid of Sayyid Muhammad Baqir AbtaHi	266
3/4/1979	Message to the people of Minudasht:	
	Dispatch of Sayyid Abul-Hasan Husayni to Minudasht	267
3/5/1979	Message to the Iranian students residing abroad: Appointment of ambassadors and embassy staff by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	268
3/5/1979	Letter to Abul-Ala Mawdudi: Message conveying gratitude	269
3/5/1979	Speech to a group of Islamic revolutionary guards: Continuing the crusade till the complete establishment of the Islamic Republic	270
	<i>The role of the youth in the Revolution's victory</i>	
	<i>Endeavoring to establish an Islamic republic</i>	
	<i>The secret of victory</i>	
	<i>Divine destination</i>	
	<i>The extirpation of the 2,500-year-old regime by the nation</i>	
	<i>The divine favor in the light of the nation's solidarity</i>	
	<i>Piety: secret of victory and superiority</i>	
	<i>Defeat means nothing in logic of Islam</i>	
	<i>The cost of uprising against God</i>	

3/5/1979	Statements to Pakistan's minister plenipotentiary and Pakistani reporters: Muslims' responsibilities during contemporary times	277
3/6/1979	Speech to the personnel of the regiment and battalion stationed in Manžariyeh, Qum: America's role in separating the military from the nation	278
	<i>America's wish to occupy Iran</i>	
	<i>The colonialists sense danger</i>	
	<i>Claimants for human rights and defenders of criminals</i>	
	<i>Striving to obtain independence and freedom</i>	
3/6/1979	Decree to Ali Hajtarkhani: Hujabr Yazdani's property	281
3/6/1979	Speech to the <i>ulama</i> and the clergy of Qum's theology schools: The clergy's duties in various situations, the referendum issue and the scourge of westernization and being afflicted with a feeling of self-alienation	282
	<i>Motivation to migrate from Najaf to Paris</i>	
	<i>Determining the country's destiny through a referendum</i>	
	<i>"Islamic Republic" only</i>	
	<i>Divine predestination</i>	
	<i>The victory of clenched fists over fully-equipped powers</i>	
	<i>A look into divine and the taghuti governments</i>	
	<i>The urgency of introducing an Islamic government</i>	
	<i>Objection to the taghuti situation in ministries</i>	
	<i>Spiritual power in the light of abstaining from worldly allurements</i>	
	<i>Miraculous transformation of the masses by Islam</i>	
	<i>Caring for slum dwellers</i>	
	<i>Nationalization of the Pahlavi regime's property</i>	
	<i>Step-by-step policy</i>	
3/6/1979	Telegram to Sayyid Abul-Qasim Khui: A message of thanks	291
3/7/1979	Decree to Sayyid Husayn MuTahhari Yazdi: Formation of Islamic Revolutionary committee and maintenance of the Pahlavi family's property in Fasham and environs	292
3/7/1979	Speech to the seventy representatives of Qatar's Islamic Religious Law Assembly and Abd al-Hamid Khaqani (head of the group): The role of the foreigners in sowing seeds of discord and preventing Muslims from resorting to the Glorious Quran	293
	<i>Colonialists' policy in separating nations from Islam and the Quran</i>	
	<i>A complaint against regional governments</i>	
	<i>Discord is the cause of Muslims' abjectness</i>	
	<i>The world's Muslims look up to Iran</i>	
3/7/1979	Speech to a group of doctors and nurses: Iran's situation during the Shah's regime; efforts to engender a proper civilization	297
	<i>Expressing gratitude to doctors and nurses</i>	
	<i>The Shah's mission for Iran</i>	
	<i>People's power of faith: starting point of disintegration of palaces</i>	
	<i>Divine vengeance awaiting the Shah</i>	
	<i>Together toward a right, divine civilization</i>	
3/7/1979	Speech to a group of Qum's physicians and nurses: A look into the achievements of the Islamic Revolution	300

	<i>The unity of body and soul</i>	
	<i>Foreign conspiracy led to the separation of nations</i>	
	<i>Harm arises from negligence</i>	
	<i>Effacing the Pahlavi regime's culture</i>	
	<i>The victory of the power of faith over material powers</i>	
	<i>Fruits reaped from having faith and unity of expression</i>	
	<i>Only "Islamic Republic"</i>	
3/7/1979	Message to the Muslims of Turkey:	
	Reliance on God and unity of expression	305
3/7/1979	Speech to the schoolteachers and school students of Qum:	
	Guidelines for the youth	306
	<i>The agony of separation and the glory of solidarity</i>	
	<i>The youth are the manifestations of hope and the harbingers of glad tidings</i>	
	<i>Reconstruction era</i>	
	<i>The necessity of following the provisional government</i>	
	<i>Vote for an Islamic republic</i>	
	<i>Islam is what the Iranian nation wants</i>	
	<i>The tidings of victory</i>	
3/8/1979	Speech to the women in Qum:	
	The role of women in the Islamic Revolution	311
	<i>Condolences to the bereaved residents of Qum</i>	
	<i>The great crimes and treacheries of the Pahlavi regime</i>	
	<i>Women in the forefront of the Revolution</i>	
3/9/1979	Speech to various strata of people: Quranic and Islamic uprising	314
	<i>The nation's role in the movement's victory</i>	
	<i>Islam and the Shiah's epic</i>	
	<i>The nature of the uprising</i>	
	<i>Islamic slogans</i>	
	<i>Delivering blows to the nation in the name of "people" and "nationality"</i>	
	<i>Voting is free, but conspiracy is forbidden</i>	
	<i>I am the servant of the Iranian nation</i>	
3/10/1979	Letter to Mahdi Bazargan:	
	Banning the intervention of the (Imam's) relatives in state affairs	320
3/10/1979	Telegram to Sayyid MaHmud Taleqani:	
	Condolences on spouse's demise	321
3/10/1979	Decree to Mahdi Karrubi: Formation of the relief committees	322
3/11/1979	Decree to Muhammad Faqihi Marandi: Dispatch of representatives to the cities of Marand, Maku and their suburbs	323
3/12/1979	Decree to Muhammad Fayd: Appointment of representatives to the cities of Maragheh, Miyanduab, Bunab, and Malik Kandi	324
3/13/1979	Letter to Fars provincial governor: Order to cooperate with individuals dispatched to the tribal districts of Iqlid	325
3/13/1979	Speech to the representatives of the Telecommunications Company employees of the cities of Arak, Qum, Kashan, Mahallat, Khomein, Savih, Tafrish, Ashtiyan and Delijan: Conspiracies by foreign lackeys	326
	<i>Faith in God, the cause of victory</i>	

3/14/1979	Decree to Ibrahim Amini: Appointment of a representative for the south coast provinces and harbors	328
3/14/1979	Decree MuHiddin Anwari: Appointment of a congregational prayer leader for the Narmak grand mosque	329
3/15/1979	Letter to Muhammad Saduqi Yazdi: Expressing thanks for the scrolls sent by the residents of Pushtkuh	330
3/15/1979	Speech to 2000 representatives of the scouts of Tehran and the towns of the Markazi Province accompanied by supervisors and instructors: Continuing the movement until the establishment of an Islamic government	331
	<i>Efforts to sever colonial hands</i>	
	<i>Necessity of supporting the government in untangling snags</i>	
	<i>Augmenting Islam by voting for Islamic republic</i>	
3/16/1979	Decree to revolutionary courts in Tehran and provincial towns: Suspension of prosecution until the ratification of new regulations of the revolutionary court	334
3/17/1979	Decree to Daryush Furuhar (Minister of Labor): Investigation of the condition of workers	335
3/18/1979	Speech to a group of the Air Force and Army personnel: Colonialists' efforts to sow the seeds of discord	337
	<i>Colonialism: agent of separation</i>	
	<i>Causing discord and returning to oppression and dictatorship</i>	
3/19/1979	Message to the Muslim people of Kurdistan: Turmoil in Kurdistan	339
3/19/1979	Letter to Khatun Rahmanpur: Condolence	340
3/19/1979	Statements to a group of orphaned children and youngsters: Diligence in education and learning the divine sciences	341
3/19/1979	Speech to a group of revolutionary guards and various groups of people: Voting for the Islamic Republic	342
	<i>Initial victory</i>	
	<i>I will vote for an Islamic republic</i>	
	<i>The necessity of making efforts by people from all the strata of the people</i>	
3/19/1979	Speech to the representatives of Lorestan tribes: The factors of victory	344
	<i>Refraining from discord</i>	
	<i>The demons are lurking</i>	
	<i>The importance of the working class and peasants in Islam</i>	
	<i>Vote for an Islamic republic</i>	
3/20/1979	Speech to the provisional government's cabinet: Causes of victory; endeavor to reach the final victory; advice to the nation and government	346
	<i>A year of great efforts and benefits for the nation</i>	
	<i>Failure to achieve ultimate victory</i>	
	<i>Reconstructing the ruins with the cooperation of all the strata of the people</i>	
	<i>A warning to profiteers and hoarders</i>	
	<i>Expediency of educational change</i>	
	<i>The government and army's responsibility</i>	

	<i>Correcting the workers' affairs and solving their problems</i>	
	<i>The government pays more attention to workers</i>	
	<i>The radio-television network is a state university</i>	
	<i>The great Islamic university</i>	
	<i>The necessity of equipping theology centers in various dimensions</i>	
	<i>A record of martyrdom in religion and Islam</i>	
3/22/1979	Letter to Muhammad Tahir ash-Shubayr Khaqani:	
	Sedition of foreign agents in Arabic speaking regions of Khuzestan	355
3/22/1979	Speech to a group of Qum's Islamic revolutionary guards:	
	A warning to the nation	356
	<i>Enemies of Islam and the country are in the lurk</i>	
	<i>Vote for the Islamic Republic</i>	
3/23/1979	Message to the soldiers and guards of Islam:	
	Preserving unity and brotherhood	358
3/24/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Active participation in the elections	359
3/24/1979	Speech to a group of Islamic revolutionary guards: Refraining	
	from lethargy in perpetuating the movement	360
3/25/1979	Message to the Muslims of the world:	
	Peace between Egypt and Israel (Camp David Accord)	361
3/25/1979	Speech to the propagation group of Qum:	
	Referendum on Islamic Republic	362
	<i>Qum: center of all blessings</i>	
	<i>Necessity of participation in the referendum</i>	
	<i>The expediency of properly controlling audio-visual equipment</i>	
	<i>Safeguarding the movement with all our might</i>	
3/25/1979	Speech to the representatives of Lorestan tribes:	
	The treacheries of the Shah's regime; necessity of being united	364
	<i>Treacheries of the Shah's regime and the devastation it wrought</i>	
	<i>Preserving the unity of expression</i>	
	<i>Vote for an Islamic republic</i>	
3/27/1979	Letter to Muslim Ughur (of Turkey):	
	Acknowledgment of a letter received	366
3/27/1979	Speech to a group of people from Tabriz: The key of Islamic	
	Revolution's victory; necessity of the government and nation's unity	367
	<i>Azerbaijan has always led uprisings</i>	
	<i>Protecting borders and frontiers</i>	
3/27/1979	Speech to a group of revolutionary guards, soldiers and women	
	of Qum: The necessity of continuing the struggle and movement	369
	<i>The roots of colonialism</i>	
	<i>Malevolent elements and disturbances in the referendum</i>	
3/28/1979	Speech to physicians in Qum: Necessity of the unity of all classes	
	of people, and thwarting the conspiracies against the referendum	371
	<i>Achievements of the Islamic Revolution</i>	
	<i>Instances of the repressive measures undertaken by Rida Khan's</i>	
	<i>regime</i>	
	<i>Iranian subjects in America</i>	
	<i>An example of the blessings of the movement</i>	

	<i>Colonialism not uprooted</i>	
	<i>Conspiracy against the referendum on the Islamic Republic</i>	
	<i>The consequences of lethargy and apathy</i>	
3/28/1979	Statements to a group of tribes from Lorestan: Preventing infiltrators in the referendum	376
3/27 or 28/1979	Speech to a group from various strata of people: Islamic Republic referendum	377
	<i>The mission of the young generation</i>	
	<i>Recommendation to vote for Islamic republic</i>	
3/28/1979	Decree to Sayyid Ali Khamenei: Attending to needs of the people of Sistan and Baluchistan	379
3/29/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Deviationists' conspiracies just before holding the referendum	380
3/29/1979	Speech to the various strata of the people: Destiny-shaping referendum	381
	<i>Perpetuation of the movement</i>	
	<i>An affirmative vote for the Islamic republic</i>	
3/28/1979	Speech to the various strata of the people: A call to the masses to participate in the referendum	383
	<i>Referendum: the determinant of nation's fate</i>	
	<i>Vote for an Islamic republic</i>	
	<i>Rights of the religious minorities in Islam</i>	
	<i>American agents donning leftist masks</i>	
	<i>General participation in the referendum</i>	
	<i>The fulfillment of the nation's rights in an Islamic government</i>	
3/28/1979	Speech to a group of people from Qum: Necessity of voting for Islamic republic	387
	<i>Consolidating the Islamic republic is at the top of the agenda</i>	
	<i>Qum: the fountainhead of knowledge and courage</i>	
	<i>General participation in reconstruction</i>	
3/28/1979	Speech to a group of the Islamic Republic Armed Forces personnel: How to behave toward friends and enemies	389
	<i>Being kind to friends and uncompromising toward enemies</i>	
	<i>A look at Imam Ali's (a) government</i>	
	<i>Security of the Ahl adh-Dhimmi during the rule of Ali (a)</i>	
	<i>Absence of fear in an Islamic system</i>	
	<i>Spiritual tranquility through Islamic training</i>	
	<i>Iran: an environment of compassion</i>	
	<i>The necessity of maintaining discipline and hierarchy in the armed forces</i>	
3/29/1979	Speech to officers and agents of the Tehran Police Department: The government forces are at the service of the nation	395
	<i>The government is at the service of the people</i>	
3/29/1979	Speech to the officers, enlisted men and technicians of the ground forces' computer center: The <i>taghut</i> regime's goal in causing discord between the nation and the clergy	396
	<i>Conspiracies of the Shah's regime</i>	
	<i>The necessity of purging the country</i>	

	<i>Voting for the Islamic Republic</i>	
3/30/1979	Speech to various groups of people: Voting for Islamic republic <i>Freedom and independence, the gifts of the Islamic Republic</i> <i>Freedom in voting</i>	398
4/1/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Declaration of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and thanking the people for their extensive participation in the referendum	400
4/1/1979	Decree to Ali Mishkini: Appointing a representative to look into Ardibil's situation	403
4/1/1979	Permission to Sayyid Ali Akbar Qurayshi: Permission in financial and religious law affairs	404
4/1/1979	Radio-television message to the Iranian nation: The nation's decisive vote for the Islamic Republic <i>The Exalted God's promise is nigh</i> <i>An analysis of the referendum's results</i> <i>Doubts raised by the so-called human rights defenders</i> <i>Those executed were offenders and criminals, not merely accused</i> <i>Necessity of radical transformation in the Islamic Republic</i> <i>Strengthening the oppressed people</i> <i>The Islamic Republic and the protection of the rights of all</i> <i>strata of the people and the minorities</i> <i>April 1: the nation's day of celebration</i> <i>Western democracy, Islamic democracy</i> <i>Criteria of virtue in an Islamic society</i>	405
4/2/1979	Speech to Bishop Hilarian Cappuchi (honorary member of the Al-FataH Organization) and Hani al-Hasan: Iran's situation during the Shah's regime; the way to Palestine's freedom <i>A look into Iran's situation during the taghut era</i> <i>Islam: a religion of politics and spirituality</i> <i>The secret of victory</i>	412
4/3/1979	Letter to Muhammad Karami: Thanking the tribes for their support for the provisional government and the Islamic Republic	415
4/3/1979	Speech to various strata of people from provincial cities: The nation's vote for the Islamic Republic; necessity of preparing for the Constituent Assembly elections <i>Establishment of the Islamic Republic through the people's</i> <i>consensus</i> <i>Constituents Assembly elections</i>	416
4/4/1979	Speech to Principals and deputy principals of Qum's high schools: The discord-sowing danger of colonialism; extraordinary and unique votes of the people for the Islamic Republic; lack of a committed workforce <i>Sabotage by the hirelings of colonialism</i> <i>The referendum from the qualitative and quantitative points</i> <i>of view</i> <i>Keeping the Revolution's flame burning</i> <i>Our responsibility and yours</i> <i>Training a committed and solid workforce</i>	418

4/5/1979	Speech to a group of people in charge of carrying out the referendum in Qum: The nation's warm reception of the Islamic Republic referendum <i>People's sacrifice for the sake of Islam</i> <i>Constituents Assembly and Consultative Assembly</i>	422
4/5/1979	Speech to a group of employees of banks all over the country and the Social Security and Health Organization: The expediency of electing committed representatives to the parliament; building up Iran and the young generation <i>A unique referendum</i> <i>Electing committed representatives</i> <i>On the road to build Iran and the young generation</i>	424
4/5/1979	Decree to Jafar Saburi: Appointment of a religious law judge for Kashan's Islamic revolutionary court	427
4/6/1979	Reply to a religious inquiry of businessmen: Decree on dealing in smuggled commodities	428
4/6/1979	Speech to a group of Air Force personnel: The need to combat the corrupt roots of the Shah's regime <i>Not achieving ultimate victory</i> <i>Efforts by Iranians for Iran</i>	429
4/6/1979	Speech to pupils of Kashan's Imam al-Zaman Elementary School; a group of pupils from Aligudarz and Khuzestan's Islamic Youth Association <i>Giving no opportunity to traitors</i> <i>Participating cheerfully in various stages of the Revolution</i>	431
4/6/1979	Speech to Tehran's military industry personnel; thousands of Qum's citizens: Sabotage done by the so-called supporters of the nation <i>Divine Hand in the Islamic Revolution</i> <i>Spiritual transformation of the Iranian nation</i> <i>Source of victory: spiritual transformation and desire for martyrdom</i> <i>Maintaining the Islamic morale</i> <i>The (foreign) powers are lurking</i> <i>Dictatorship under the guise of democracy</i> <i>Opposition of the so-called Fadaiyan-e Khalq with the nation</i> <i>An example of an Islamic ruler's behavior</i> <i>Aryamehr's futile propaganda</i> <i>The danger in tending toward apathy</i>	433
4/6/1979	Statements to the representatives of the Saharan (Polisario Liberation Movement): Guidelines for the Polisario Saharan Liberation Movement	441
4/6/1979	Speech to a group of women from Kermanshah and Dezful: Women's role in Iran's Islamic Revolution	443
4/6/1979	Speech group of political leaders of Palestine, Muslims from Libya, Iraq and Egypt, Iran's combatant Arab-speaking people: Secret of victory: the desire for martyrdom <i>The secret of the victory of the Islamic Revolution</i> <i>The path to the nation's freedom</i> <i>Martyrdom: the key to victory</i>	444

	<i>Emulating Muslims of the early days of Islam</i>	
4/6/1979	Speech to a group of students from the southern part of Tehran: The share of children and youngsters in the movement	447
	<i>Taking pride in the young generation of Muslims</i>	
4/7/1979	<i>The role of children and young adults in the Islamic Revolution</i> Decree to Mr. Muhammad Yazdi: Attending to the affairs of the cities of Saqqez, Qahramanshahr, Islamabad, Ilam, etc.	449
4/7/1979	Speech to a group of the workers of Isfahan's Steel Mill: Necessity of electing discerning and committed individuals, to the Parliament	450
	<i>Reconstruction through unity and reliance on God</i>	
4/8/1979	<i>Poisonous propaganda of American agents</i> Message to guilds and shopkeepers: Warning against over-charging and profiteering	452
4/8/1979	Letter to Muhammad Tahir Al-i Shabir Khaqani: Appointment and introduction of religious law judges for the Islamic Revolutionary Court in Khorramshahr	453
4/8/1979	Speech to a group of tribesmen of Chaharlang Bakhtiyari: Tribes in the former regime; parliamentary elections	454
	<i>Pahlavi dynasty's treachery against the tribes</i> <i>Severing the hands of traitors</i> <i>Electing righteous representatives</i>	
4/8/1979	Speech to the telecommunications' employees: The nation's power; devastation in Iran; on the road to reconstruction	456
	<i>Role of telecommunications employees in the Islamic Revolution's victory</i> <i>Superiority of the nation's power</i> <i>The ruination of the economy and educational system</i> <i>On the road to reconstruction</i>	
4/10/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Opening of Bank Account Number 100 for building homes for the deprived people	459
4/10/1979	Speech to the women and female students from Kashan: Women's great share in the furtherance of the Islamic Revolution	461
4/10/1979	Speech to the representatives of the Bakhtiyari tribes from Izeh (township): Iran's condition during the Pahlavi dynasty	462
	<i>Tribes and clans during the Pahlavi era</i> <i>A glance at the performance of the Pahlavi dynasty in Iran</i> <i>Freedom and independence under the aegis of Islam</i>	
4/10/1979	Speech to a group of Lorestan's tribal members: Achievements of the Islamic Republic; expediency of confronting satanic propaganda	464
4/10/1979	Speech to the personnel of Infantry Division 1: Supporting the armed forces	465
	<i>Necessity of supporting the army</i> <i>Islam: a religion of freedom and independence</i>	
4/11/1979	Speech to a group of people from Bandar-e Lengeh (port) accompanied by Sayyid Jawad Rukni: Necessity of confronting conspiracies; cooperation with the government	467
	<i>Iran's situation during the Pahlavi era</i> <i>Hand in hand with the government in confronting conspiracies</i>	

4/11/1979	Speech to the Air Force personnel of Qaleh Morghi Base: The greatness of Islam; the Prophet's household; the army and the nation <i>The great lady of Islam: a paradigm for all human beings</i> <i>Quran: A book that builds man</i> <i>The army: guarantor of the country's independence</i>	469
4/11/1979	Statement to Czechoslovakian Ambassador in Tehran: Contracts signed during the defunct Shah's regime	471
4/11/1979	Speech to a group of members of the IRGC (Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps) from East Tehran: The country's need for young forces	472
4/11/1979	Speech to a group of representatives of the employees of Iran's Saderat Bank: Necessity of a transformation in the society <i>Colonialism's role in the discord among the masses of people</i> <i>Islamic banks concurrent with Islamic transformation</i>	473
4/11/1979	Speech to a group of Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps of East Tehran: The role of the guards in the Islamic Revolution <i>The guards and the Islamic Revolution</i>	474

Message

Date: January 29, 1979 [Bahman 9, 1357 AHS / Safar 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: The struggle against the government of Bakhtiyar

Occasion: The crimes perpetrated by Bakhtiyar's government in Tehran and provincial towns

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Once again, they (Bakhtiyar's government agents) have started mass murders and slaughters in Tehran and provincial towns. Once again, the henchmen of Muhammad Rida have brutally assaulted the defenseless people by arming themselves with legal pretensions and the claims of protecting the country's independence under the cover of nationalism. Once again, the unclean hands of the treacherous foreign agents are protruding out of the sleeves of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi's lackeys and have made the nation mourn for their "crime" of fighting for freedom and independence.

Until recently, the treacherous Muhammad Rida had disgraced the army by ordering them to open fire on the nation and killing their own brothers and sisters. Now, his minions have taken the responsibility of rendering this service to the colonial masters. Every day we are faced with a clique of connivers who want to serve the interests of the foreigners even though this will lead to the killings of thousands of the brave people of the suffering nation of Iran. The fearless nation has pushed Muhammad Rida out of the scene but the foreign powers have brought another pawn¹ into the scene under the guise of nationalism. They (foreign powers) have so many of these lackeys wearing the masks of deception at their service, and whenever one puppet (regime) is overthrown, they appoint another pawn and I do not know what else they will do after this. Nevertheless, they should realize that the vigilant nation is not ignorant of these nefarious stratagems, and the nation will thwart them one after another.

My beloved nation (of Iran)! My friends! Do not listen to the hollow promises of this illegal government, nor be afraid of the hubbub created by the (government) executioners. Take the sacred movement forward and bring it to fruition. Sever the hands (influence) of these foreigners and their

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar.

Godless servants from our beloved country. You have flung the master traitor out in ignominy. Make an effort and remove this remnant, which is no more than a mere blade of hay, from the scene. God is with you.

It is now incumbent upon all the national and governmental organs to condemn this illegal government as they had done in the past, and to turn away from them because obeisance to satanic rule is unlawful and against God's pleasure. I want that stratum of the army whose hands have not yet been tainted with the blood of our youth not to give in to the indignity of obeying these criminals, and to stop them from opposing the nation with decisiveness. The nation is on your side. Do not commit fratricide for the interests of the foreigners. By supporting Islam and the nation, immortalize your name in history.

I want the employees of the ministries not to submit to the ignominy of obeying those who trample upon the rights of the nation; aiding these tyrants and obeisance to them is unlawful and discordant with reason and religious law.

I sincerely thank the Iranian nation that has endured, and is enduring, all these privations and hardships, and I ask God the Almighty to grant the people health. I will be by your side at the first opportunity that comes my way so that I can share your joys and sorrow, and together, in one united stand, we will put an end to all the activities of these foreigner's agents. I hope that I will be able to achieve "one of the two glorious things" (victory or martyrdom):¹ either advancing the goal (to victory) and upholding justice and truth, or achieving martyrdom in the path of that which is the truth. I implore God the Almighty to grant the truth's victory over the falsehood, and bestow victory upon the honorable nation of Iran. May God's peace be upon those who follow the guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Surah at-Tawbah* 9:52. "One of the two glorious things: martyrdom or victory."

Interview

Date: January 29, 1979 [Bahman 9, 1357 AHS / Safar 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris

Subject: Behind-the-scene conspiracies; Bakhtiyar's illegitimate government; necessity of resisting and continuing the struggle; reports from the world's media and the radio-television networks

Interviewers: World's media, radio and television broadcasting networks' reporters

Question: [Will you grant audience to Bakhtiyar prior to his resignation?]

Answer: I have repeatedly said that, in principle, the former Shah was illegitimate; the parliaments were illegal and Bakhtiyar was illegitimate, too. Hence, I will never meet with anyone who is illegally installed. I advise the Iranian nation to be very vigilant at this sensitive time; it should be aware that a conspiracy is at work. I have observed that those who were supporting the Shah are now endorsing Bakhtiyar. Both the British and the American governments are supporting him. If this person is a true nationalist, as he claims he is, then why are they supporting him? If he is a nationalist, why has he occupied the post of a prime minister against the will of the nation and without legal consent? If he honors the votes of the people, then why would he not step aside?

The Iranian nation must know that I will stay by their side up until the end to uphold and protect the laws of Islam and will continue my struggle for the well-being of the country. It is incumbent upon the entire nation to remain steadfast in this affair and to refrain from any kind of lethargy and lassitude in this regard. Rest assured that we will emerge victorious, and our struggle is a struggle for the truth and the truth will prevail over the falsehood.

Q: [What will you do if a coup d'état is staged and if Bakhtiyar resigns or in case he does not?]

A: We are not afraid of a military coup d'état. The Iranian nation has become accustomed to military coup d'états. We have had coup d'états for the last fifty years: Rida Khan's¹ coup d'état² and Muhammad Rida's coup d'état.³

¹ Rida Khan, the father of the former Iranian monarch, Muḥammad Rida, came to power in Iran in the aftermath of a British sponsored coup d'état in 1920 and crowned himself as king in 1925. On September 11, 1941, when Iran was occupied by the Allied Forces during the height of World War II, Rida Khan was deposed by the British and sent into exile to Mauritius Island, east of Africa. He finally died in July 1944 in exile.

² The British coup d'état of February 22, 1921 [Esfand 3, 1299 AHS].

³ The American coup d'état of August 19, 1953 [Mordad 28, 1332 AHS].

We have become used to the coercive measures they employ. We fear no coup detats. I am surprised that while we wish to rescue the armed forces from the evil of colonialism, some high-ranking officers want to remain as its servants. In principle, the armed forces are with us. In brief, we are not afraid of any coup detats because the Iranian nation will continue the uprising and the movement until the end. The Iranian nation will not desist from carrying on the movement until the ultimate victory is achieved.

Q: [Why did you delay your decision to return to Iran?]

A: My decision (to return) has not changed, but in its desire to preserve the interest of the foreign powers, the illegitimate government has prevented my return to Iran. However, I will go back to Iran at the first chance I get and will retrieve the rights of the Iranian nation. Those who are committing treacheries against the Iranian nation should step aside. In addition, I have remained determined in my decision, and the Iranian nation, should be the same, too. It is not right for any individual among the nation to sit idle and quiet at this crucial juncture where everything is a matter of life and death.

O nation of Iran! Persist in continuing the movement, as power is yours. Do not fear the powers. You can set your country free through your national power and hold your destiny in your own hands. Heed not the hue and cry being raised. Be wary of the behind-the-scene conspiracies being hatched. May God, the Exalted, protect you.

Letter

Date: Circa late 1978-early 1979 [1357 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Moral counsel and advice

Addressee: Pridsee Coopissa (?)

[Dear Mr. Khomeini:

I do not want to inconvenience you with my request; however, until yesterday, I was in a predicament which left me groping for a solution (and which I want to solve with your help). As you are a kind person, I hope that you will extend your assistance. Soon my fiancée will be receiving a birthday gift—a gift that will be presented from the bottom of my heart. She collects great men's handwritings with enthusiasm. Her birthday is on February 4 and she will be so delighted to receive greetings from you. I would like to ask you to do me a favor. Would you kindly write a few nice words on the postcard that I have enclosed with this letter, and send it to her? If, in principle, you are not in the habit of sending your handwriting to anyone, please let us know. Thanks and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Pridsee Coopissa
Number 57 Axelle Nilkenne,
Bebelz Dorf,
5810 Vieten, West Germany]

In His Most Exalted Name

Try to be a useful individual to your community. Try not to be influenced by satanic powers. Try to be a committed human being. May you always be healthy, God willing.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: January 31, 1979 [Bahman 11, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 2, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauphle-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Gratitude to the French nation and government

Occasion: Imam Khomeini's departure from Paris to go to Tehran

Addressees: The French nation and government

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

At this moment in time, after four eventful months of residence in France, I am leaving this place to serve my country. I feel it necessary to thank the French government, which has provided me with the security measures and the means for freedom of speech, and also the respectable local people who, with their humanitarian sense, have expressed their enthusiasm for the freedom and independence of Iran. I hope I will never forget the hospitality of the French nation and government and their freedom-loving sense. I would like to extend my apology to the neighbors and the local people of Neauphle-le-Château for all the inconvenience I have caused them. I hope they will approve of the esteem in which I hold them.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 2, 1399 AH

Commendation

Date: January 31, 1979 [Bahman 11, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 2, 1399 AH]

Place: Neauph-le-Château, Paris, France

Subject: Appreciation of Mr. Yazdi for the efforts he had taken during (the Imam's) residence in France

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

During my journey that was fated to end in Paris, Dr. Yazdi had kept me company from the very start and, for a period of four months or so, he had meritoriously borne all the inconveniences, and by which he has so worthily served the sacred movement. During these months, he had taken upon his shoulders the responsibility of certain affairs with absolute sincerity and trustworthiness. I hope that God the Almighty will reward him and grant him success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 2, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: February 1, 1979 [Bahman 12, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Mehrabad Airport, Tehran, Iran

Subject: Imam Khomeini's historic speech outlining the state of affairs of the course of the Revolution

Occasion: The return of Imam Khomeini to Tehran after fifteen years in exile

Addressees: Millions of people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Gratitude to all strata of the people

I would like to express my gratitude to the various strata of the nation for their devotion. The devotion of the Iranian nation is a heavy burden upon my shoulders for which I cannot compensate. I also would like to thank the clergy for their self-sacrificing devotion and endurance in facing all the difficulties during the past course of events. I also would like to thank the university students who have undergone hardships, the merchants and traders who have been subjected to inconveniences, the young people of the bazaar and universities and science schools, who have shed their blood in these affairs, the university professors, the Justice Ministry, its judges and lawyers, all the classes of the people, the employees, the workers, the farmers and all the ranks of the nation.

The first step toward victory

You have gained victory through your exceptional efforts and unity of expression; of course, as the first step, your victory is now in the initial stage in as much as you have swept aside from the scene the main traitor named Muhammad Rida; although, it is said that he is making frantic efforts abroad. Even now that his own masters have spurned him, and are not allowing him entry, he is seeking help from some of his likes in order to find a way out of his predicament. But he is thinking in vain to be able to hold the reins of power once again, after this dynasty's fifty years of treachery, and after thirty or so years of crimes and treason committed by this treacherous man against this country pushing it backward. He has transformed our country's culture into a culture of colonialism. He has thrown the agriculture to the wind; he has exhausted the Treasury; he has devastated the country and has made his army and the military dependent upon the foreign military and advisers; this is a cause of regret for us and the nation.

Hoping for the ultimate victory

Our victory will dawn when the hands of the foreigners are severed from our country and all the roots of the monarchical regime are pulled out of our native land, and all (their forces) are driven out. The foreign agents who have been making all these attempts and frenzied efforts recently to bring back the Shah—that is, the former Shah—or install another regime, or safeguard the monarchy and all such issues, should realize that all this is now past history. Such issues that you (foreign agents) are bringing up are nothing but hollow words; and if you do not succumb to the nation's will, the nation will dump you where you rightfully belong.

We should thank all the strata of the society for bringing this victory up to this stage by means of their unanimity. We should all understand that the secret of this victory is the unanimity among Muslims—all of them-, the unanimity of religious minorities with the Muslims, the solidarity of universities and educational schools, the solidarity of the clergy and the political factions. We should not lose this victory, lest Satan, God forbid, sow the seeds of discord within your ranks. I thank all of you. I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant all of you health and honor and to sever the hands of the foreigners and those dependent on them.

Speech

Date: February 1, 1979 [Bahman 12, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery, Tehran

Subject: The illegal nature of the Parliament, the government appointed by the Shah, and the regime's seditious elements

Occasion: The return of Imam Khomeini after 15 years in exile

Addressees: Millions of people from Tehran and various cities of Iran

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

Gratitude and condolences

We have undergone difficulties—great difficulties—during this period. However, the partial victories that have resulted are, of course, also great. (I mean) difficulties borne by women who have lost their young sons, men who have lost their children, children who have lost their fathers. Whenever I lay my eyes upon those who have lost their children, I feel a heavy burden weighing down upon my shoulders which is unbearable for me. I am helpless in face of all the damage inflicted on the nation. I can never thank this nation enough for sacrificing everything in the way of God. God, the Blessed and Exalted, will reward them. I extend my condolences to those mothers who have lost their children and I share their grief. I offer my condolences to those fathers who have lost their young sons. I give my condolences to the young people who have lost their fathers during this period.

The monarchical regime contradicts wisdom and the law

Well, let us consider for what reasons have all these miseries been inflicted on the nation. What has this nation said, and is saying that since its voice (of discontent) rang out, killing, oppression, plundering, and such things have continued until now? What has the nation said that it should deserve such a punishment? One issue raised by this nation was that the Pahlavi monarchy had been founded against the law at its inception. All the people of my age know and had seen that the Parliament was established at bayonet point. The people never had any discretion in its establishment. It was set up through the coercive force of the bayonet and its representatives were coerced into voting for Rida Shah's monarchy. Therefore, this monarchy has always been null and void from its inception because the principle of the monarchy is against the law, the rule of wisdom, and human

rights from the very start. Well, assuming that one nation unanimously voted for a person to be the king, thinking that it would have control over its fate and have the freedom to determine its own destiny; its vote applies only to itself during its own time. However, if one nation voted, say unanimously, even for a king to succeed the present one, what right does that nation of fifty years ago has to determine the fate of a nation of fifty years later? The fate of each nation must be in its own hands. We did not live in the previous era—say during the early period of the Qajar dynasty.¹ If we assume that the Qajar monarchy came into being through a referendum and that the whole nation unanimously voted positively for it, it did so for Aqa Muhammad Khan Qajar, not for the succeeding monarchs. However, our time was the time coincident with the monarchy of Ahmad Shah;² none of us ever lived during the time of Aqa Muhammad Khan. It was our ancestors who gave their vote to the Qajar monarchy, what right did they have to designate Ahmad Shah to be the king during our time? The fate of each nation is in its own hands.

The Pahlavi regime is imposed and illegal

One hundred years ago, or perhaps one hundred and fifty years ago, there existed a nation which was the master of its own destiny and could use its own discretion. However, it did not have any authority to determine a king that should govern over us. Let us assume that the Pahlavi monarchy had been established based upon the people's discretion and that the Parliament was established by the people's vote, too; this means that—assuming that this invalid premise is correct—only Rida Khan should be king and only over those who were living during that time. As for Muhammad Rida being king over today's populace, most of whom, except some or a handful, do not have an understanding of those times, what right did the people of that time have to decide on the fate of us living at the present time? It follows then that

¹ The dynasty of the Qajar kings ruled over Iran from 1193 AH (1779) to 1344 AH (1925) for 151 years. The Iranian nation was kept backward in all the aspects of social, political, and cultural during the reign of the dictator dynasty. The shameful treaties that the dynasty had signed with the powerful governments of the time have always been a disgrace to Iran's history. The grounds for western invasion to Iran started from the very same time.

² AHmad Shah Qajar ibn MuHammad Ali Shah was the last king of the Qajar dynasty (Tabriz 1909, ascending to throne 1314 AHS, 1327 AH—deposed 1945, 1304 AHS, 1344 AH—death, Paris 1307 AHS). He was chosen as king when he was only twelve after MuHammad Ali Shah was deposed but the National Counsel chose Asad al-Malik as his viceroy because he was not old enough, after his death Abul Qasim Nasir al-Mulk was given the position. He was a patriot and good-willed but he had an unrestrained and sensual life; therefore, he was deposed and the Qajar dynasty became extinct, and the kingdom was given to the Pahlavi dynasty.

Muhammad Rida's kingship is illegitimate and the Parliament holds no legality, firstly, because his father's kingship was illegal and was established through coercion and at bayonet point. And even if we assume that Rida Shah's kingship was in accordance with the law, what right did they have to determine our fate? Each individual decides his own fate. Were our fathers our custodians? Can individuals who existed one hundred or eighty years before our time decide on the fate of a nation who will come into existence much later? This is another reason why Muhammad Rida's kingship is illegal. Furthermore, assuming that this monarchy which was established during that time and the Majlis members were empowered rightfully, now this nation whose destiny should be in its own hand is now saying that it does not want this monarchy. When this nation votes that it wants neither Rida Shah's nor Muhammad Rida's kingship, nor the monarchical regime, then its destiny is in its own hand. This is another reason why this monarchy is invalid.

Protégé governments and rubber-stamp Parliaments

Now, we will delve into the issue of governments which sprung up in the monarchy of Muhammad Rida and the Parliaments which we have now. Throughout the whole period of the Constitution, with the exception of some instances and concerning some Parliament members, the people did not have any authority in the election of Majlis members. You (the people) are well aware that in this present Parliament—whether the Consultative Majlis or the Senate—none of the members have been elected by the people, and you who make up the nation of Iran, you the nation who are residing in Tehran, I am asking you the people of Tehran, did you know that you were supposed to designate these Parliament members, whether for the Consultative Majlis or the Senate? Do the majority of the people know the individuals who are now in the Parliament as representatives and senators, or that they were also designated through coercion and without the people's knowledge? A Parliament, which is established without the people's knowledge and consent, is illegitimate. Therefore, these people who are now occupying the seats in the Parliament and are taking the nation's wealth saying that such and such amount is the salary of a Parliamentarian—they do not have the right to receive such salaries and they are answerable; those who are in the Senate also do not have any right to get this salary and, likewise, are answerable.

However, the government, which derives from a king who is illegitimate and whose father was illegitimate is illegitimate; likewise, the Parliament

members who are designated by such a government are illegitimate. A government appointed by such a Parliament and king is illegitimate. This nation, which wanted to take issue during the reign of Muhammad Rida Khan, was saying that it did not want this monarchy and that its destiny should be in its own hands and now it is again saying that it considers these Parliament members, the Senate and this government illegitimate. Can someone appointed by an illegitimate Parliament or a Senate or a monarch be legitimate? We are saying that you (the Shah's government) are illegitimate and should step down. We declare that the incumbent government, which proclaims itself the legitimate one, does not even believe in its own legitimacy! At the time that the government was not yet in his hands and his ministry was not in existence, he (Bakhtiyar) considered the government illegitimate, what has happened that now he is saying that his government is legitimate? This Parliament is illegitimate; ask the Parliament members themselves if they had been elected by the people. We will take each one of them who claims that he has been elected by the people to his own polling precincts and will ask the people there whether this gentleman is their representative or not. We will ask them if they appointed him. Rest assured that their reply would be negative. Therefore, does a nation which is crying out that this government, this king and this Parliament are all against the law, and a nation which has the religious law, legal and human right to hold its destiny in its own hands deserve to have a graveyard of martyrs built for it in Tehran and in other places?

Corruption and destruction in the name of reforms and progress

I must say that this wicked traitor, Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, has gone, he has escaped and has ruined all that we had; he has destroyed our country; instead, he has expanded our graveyards. He has destroyed the country's economy; all our economy is now ruined and is such a complete shambles that if we wish to restore it to its original condition with the people's efforts, it will take long years. Neither the government alone, nor one stratum among all the strata of the society can ever accomplish this task of rebuilding the economy; not until all the people have joined hands can we ever free the economy from this entanglement.

Bear in mind that they had created "Land Reforms"¹ in their so-called bid to transform the farmers into real farmers; they used to be tenet-farmers, so they wanted to make them real farmers! However, after a long period, their land reforms ended up in the complete annihilation of our farming and of our agriculture; and now you are dependent on foreign things. That is, Muhammad Rida had done all this so that a market for America would be created and make us all dependent upon it; so that we would import wheat, rice and everything from it; so that we would import eggs from it or from Israel, which is America's stooge.

Therefore, the deeds that this man had done in the name of "reforms" were by themselves tantamount to utter depravity. The issue of "land reforms" has so harmed the nation that perhaps cannot be compensated for in the next twenty years, unless the people join hands and help each other for many years in order to make up for all these losses. They had rendered our culture a retrogressive culture. This Shah had kept our culture so backward that now our youth cannot complete their education here and they have to seek education abroad after partially completing their studies here with all the difficulties and pressure upon them. We have had universities for more than fifty years and approximately thirty or so years that we have had this university, but due to the treachery committed against us this university never grew; it does not have any human development. This man has destroyed all our people and our manpower.

Because of his servility, this man established centers of prostitution; the television is a center of prostitution; most of the radio stations are centers of prostitution. These centers have been given permission to operate, to be

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

centers of prostitution. They are all in collusion with each other. In Tehran, there are more off-license shops than bookshops. And God knows how many other centers of corruption were in Tehran! What for? The cinemas are centers of prostitution. We are not against cinemas; we are opposed to centers of prostitution. We are not opposed to radio, it is prostitution that we are opposed to; we are not opposed to television; what we are opposed to are services rendered to foreigners for keeping our youth backward, and the dissipation of our manpower. When did we ever oppose modernism and its processes? When manifestations of European modernism set foot on eastern shores, particularly in Iran, instead of utilizing this (great) center of civilization, we were pushed into savagery. The cinema is one manifestation of modernism which should be in the service of the people and their (intellectual) development. And you know very well that our youth have been dragged into corruption through these and other centers of the same nature. From this angle, we oppose these centers. In this sense, they are tantamount to a betrayal of our country.

An outcry because of the Shah and America

But, what about our oil! They have given away all our oil to foreigners: to America and other countries! In return for what was given to America, what did they get? In return, they received arms to be used in installing bases for America! We gave away our oil to America and constructed a military base for it! With this chicanery in which this man (the Shah) had a hand, America guzzled our oil and, in exchange for this, it built for itself a military base. That is, America has brought weapons into the country that our own army cannot use without American military advisers and experts around. This is the (real) issue regarding our oil, which, God forbid, would have been exhausted if this person had endured. If his rule had continued, our oil reserves would have been exhausted and since our agriculture has already been destroyed then this nation would have been completely impoverished and would have had to work as coolies for the foreigners. We are crying out because of this man (the Shah) and for this reason. The blood of our youth has been shed for this reason; because we want freedom. We have led a life of suppression for fifty years. We did not have any media, or a proper radio and television; no writer could express himself; no preacher could talk at the pulpit; no prayer leader could perform his task freely; not even a single individual in the society could carry out any work. During his time, this suppression of freedom prevailed and is prevailing (in the country). And now, the remnant of this man's soul has remained; hence, the last vestiges of

repression have remained. What we are saying is that this man, his government, his Parliament and all of these are illegitimate and if they persist in what they are doing, they are criminals and should be tried in the court. And we will try them.

Appointment of a government with the people's support

I will appoint a government! I will make this government lose its face! I will appoint a government. With the people's support, I will appoint a government! I, with the approve of this nation will¹... This gentleman² does not even believe in himself; his friends do not approve of him; the nation does not approve of him; the military does not approve of him; it was only America that supported him, and had ordered the military to support him; the British also supported him and said that the military had to support him too. This person is not approved by either the nation or a single stratum of the society. Yes, they would bring hired hooligans from among themselves into the streets and they would cry out and shout (pre-rehearsed) words (in their favor). But this is the nation, this³ is the nation.

He declares that a country cannot have two governments! It is quite obvious that a country does not have two governments; the illegitimate government must go! You (Bakhtiyar) are illegitimate. The government we are referring to is a government contingent upon the nation's vote and God's laws. You must renounce either God or the nation! This man must stay where he rightfully belongs. Or, he orders a group of his mercenaries to slaughter the nation on the orders of America and the likes of it.

A warning to the nation of Iran

As long as I am alive, I will not let them gain any sovereignty. I will not allow the return of the former regime's oppression and iniquitous. We will not allow Muhammad Rida to return. They (America) want to bring him back. Be vigilant! O, people, be vigilant! They are concocting a plan. This contemptible man⁴ has set up headquarters where he is staying now and is establishing relations. They want us all to revert to that same situation where all that we have will be subjected to suppression one after another and they will let America devour all of our existence. We will not allow this. For as long as we live, we will not allow this to happen.

¹ The intensity of the people's emotion interrupted the Imam's speech.

² Bakhtiyar.

³ Referring to those present.

⁴ The Shah.

I implore the Gracious and Almighty God to grant all of you health. I must say that it is incumbent upon all of us to keep the torch of this movement burning until the time that they (the Shah and his lackeys) have been toppled. Let us set up a Senate¹ based upon the people's votes and appoint the first government—that is, the permanent government.

A piece of advice and a final word with the army

I must give the army a piece of advice and extend my gratitude to the top military officials—one stratum of the army. The piece of advice that I want to give is that we want the army to be independent. We are taking great efforts and we have shed our blood and sacrificed our youth, we have used our honor and dignity, our clergy have been imprisoned and have been tortured; we want the army to be independent. You, the General of the Army, the Lieutenant General; do you not wish to be independent? Do you wish to be puppets? I advise you to return to the nation's embrace, say what the nation is saying. Say that we must be independent. The nation is saying the army should be independent and should not be under the command of American and foreign military advisers; come and join us. We are saying these things for your sake; say the same things for your own sake. Say that "we want to be independent; we do not want these foreign advisers to be here." Should we, who are saying that the army should be independent, be given such retribution (at the hands of the army), who shed the blood of our youth in the streets. Should the soldiers spill the blood of our youth because they are saying that the army should be independent? We want you to be men of honor.

In appreciation of those military men who joined the nation

I would like to express my gratitude to that group (in the military) which has united itself with the nation. They have vouchsafed their own, their country's, and their nation's dignity. Those enlisted men, warrant officers, and officers of the air force are worthy of our appreciation and praise. Likewise meriting praise are those in Isfahan, Hamedan and other places who knew their responsibilities toward their religion, nation and country, joined the nation and supported its Islamic movement. Islam is better for you than unbelief. The nation is better for you than the foreigners. We are telling you about this matter and you (the army) do the same thing. Desert this (army). Do not think that if you abandon (the army) we will come forth and send you to the gallows! These (ideas) are but your own imagination or the concoction

¹ Take note of Imam's explanation at the end of this speech.

of some other devious elements. On the contrary, we have accorded absolute honor and held in high esteem those warrant officers, enlisted men and officers who came forth and joined the nation. We want the country to become a strong one; we want the country to have a powerful military. We do not intend to throw the military into disarray. We want to keep the military intact; but a military that is of the nation and at the service of the nation; not a military that is subservient to others and is commanded by them.

By "Senate Assembly," I meant "an assembly of legislators", not this Senate assembly (that is now extant). The basis of this "Senate" is an absurdity. It has always been so!

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

Message

Date: February 1, 1979 [Bahman 12, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Rifah School, Tehran

Subject: The army's incorporation with Bakhtiyar's government

Addressees: Army officers, enlisted men and soldiers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH

The great army of Iran, respectable officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers—may Allah, the Most High strengthen them:

With due respect, I hereby declare that the Regency Council, the houses of the Parliament and the government created thereof are illegitimate and carry no national validity, and because the army is of the nation and the nation is of the army, supporting each other is their national duty. It is thus mandatory, with due respect to the nation and its decisive vote, for the army to distance itself from the usurping government¹ and make this matter known to all. I, on account of the leadership based on a religious law decree and the nation's almost total consensus, am introducing the provisional government in order to create a constitutional parliamentary assembly and (attend to) other preliminary affairs until the time that the honorable army can fulfill its legitimate and national duty, and, God willing, all the chaos and anarchy will be put to an end. Rest assured that if you (the army) perform your national and legitimate duty, the nation and the government arising from it will endeavor in honoring and supporting you.

You need not be reminded that in this sensitive and momentous period discord will lead to the collapse of the country's pillars and we will all be held responsible for the consequences. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar.

Speech

Date: February 1, 1979 [Bahman 12, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Rifah School, Tehran

Subject: The achievements of the Revolution; conspiracies under the name of nationalistic slogans

Addressees: Members of the Welcoming Committee

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

The secret of victory

...Up until the time that God, the Blessed and Exalted, wills so, it is impossible for mankind to achieve this unanimity. You are aware, you, who were here in Iran know better that all over the country, from the remotest village to the capital, everyone rejected this dynasty (Pahlavis) with one united voice and heart. Children who have just started talking, youngsters as well as old men are saying the same thing. God is with this congregation. My brothers, safeguard this unity of expression. The secret of your victory is this unity of expression. Put your differences aside.

Theology school and university solidarity: the greatest victory

I consider the reconciliation between the theological schools and the universities the greatest victory so far achieved. Even if we had not achieved any other victories, the fact that we have brought the clergy and the universities closer, and understanding was reached... And the treacherous hand that had kept these two groups in disparity for a long period has been severed, is of great importance. Thank God that the clergy have understood that the university people are not what the foreigners claimed they were. Likewise, both the youth and the university students have understood that the clergy are not the way they (the Shah's regime) had depicted them. They were hankering to sow the seeds of discord among the nation and plunder all that it has and once more throw it in disarray, as a result of which it would be in disunity and oblivious of its own interests. You, the nation of Iran, have proved that with the unity of expression you can cut off the hands of the foreigners (from our land); you have severed the hands of this tyrannical king, the hands of this oppressive Muhammad Rida, who wanted to divest our country of all its existence.

Nationalistic ploys

Nowadays, some individuals from among those in collusion with him (the Shah), the so-called “nationalists,”¹ have come forth with an assumed look of probity with the same intention of preserving the foreign interests with this assumed look. Muhammad Rida himself would resort to such shenanigans. He used to resort to the Quran, and would make pronouncements regarding freedom for men and women and would talk of free men and free women, but these were just his wiles. Now that “nationality” and “nation” have gained currency, he talks of giving freedom and of shelving or augmenting (certain government plans). All of these are but his ploys and the nation should be vigilant and aware and must thwart all this trickery. I implore the Blessed and Exalted God to grant all of you health and keep you all united. I hope that the hands of the foreign (powers) and those in collusion with them be severed from your country.

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar and members of his cabinet.

Statements

Date: February 1, 1979 [Bahman 12, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Glad tidings of returning to Qum

Addressees: A group of theology students of the Qum Seminary

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

God willing, I will be coming to Qum in a few days to be in your company; I will be there with you. I hope that all of us will close ranks and move forward together and God willing, we will bring our Islamic religious law objectives to fruition. I am your servant.¹

¹ The aforementioned speech cassette was defective and unintelligible.

Speech

Date: February 2, 1979 [Bahman 13, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The depravity of the illegitimate monarchy and the expediency of continuing the struggle until the regime is toppled

Addressees: Clergymen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Shah's big crimes

During the time that I was out of Iran, I had always prayed for your well-being. And now, that I have returned in the company of the gentlemen here to be at your service, to be at the service of the clergy, to be at the service of the great Islamic scholars and the learned ones, to be at the service of the Iranian society, I see that the black-bearded friends whom I left behind have grey beards now. We knew certain individuals who were healthy and strong before they left us to go to prison. But when they came out, those who survived and had served their prison term have grown old, infirm and ill. All this lost manpower is worse than anything else. Among all the treacherous acts that the Pahlavi dynasty had committed against our society, no other acts of treason can be graver than their having destroyed our active manpower, or having rendered it inactive for a long period. Those who should have been at the service of the community, such as the great religious scholars and the intellectuals, had been taken to prison and detained for five, ten, or fifteen years. Think of all the suffering they (Shah's cabals) have inflicted upon them, think of the inhuman acts they have done to these men of God and think of the manpower that had been destroyed and which should have been active in the society: if they were teachers, they could educate a number of people; if they were students, they could receive education; if they were involved in political activities, they could carry out political activities; if they dealt with religious activities then they could carry out their religious activities. All of this work force has been destroyed.

The issue of the Shah's "repentance"

Every now and then, well, actually it was said, and is being said, that the Shah has come to repent, and has actually done so! Well, what do you (the Imam) have to say? God accepts repentance, so what else do you want to say!? Firstly, as I have reiterated time and again, repentance has certain

conditions to be met and unless such conditions are fulfilled, God, the Blessed and Exalted, will not accept it. What God, the Blessed and Exalted accepts unconditionally are those things that are relevant to divine rights: for instance, those who did not perform the obligatory prayers, those who did not fast, those who did not perform the *hajj*, if these people repent, their repentance requires no conditions and God will accept it. However, if (his offence involves the trampling of) the people's rights, his repentance will not be accepted unless he compensates for them. You claim that this person (the Shah) has repented. I assume that it is true—will he accept to return the wealth that he had stolen from the people and expiate all the iniquities, such as the plundering that he had committed? Assuming that he does such a thing and that he possesses wealth to compensate for the loot he has taken—the nation's wealth cannot be given back to the nation to compensate for what they had plundered! Everything belongs to the nation; it is not theirs. They looted and pillaged the national wealth and ran off with it and stashed it away in foreign banks.

The Shah's inextinguishable crimes

If we lay our hands on him, we will put him on trial. (If) we can we will bring him here and try him, that is if they extradite him, we will put him on trial in person; if they do not extradite him, then we will try him in absentia, and we will condemn him! We will retrieve the amount he has left here in Iran. Regarding his money in banks, we will announce that he has been condemned and that money belongs to the nation; the banks do not have any right to give Muhammad Rida anything that he had plundered from the people. Very well, now we will assume that he has personal wealth and that this personal wealth has been handed down to him as inheritance from his father; now, he uses this personal wealth to expiate for his loot. But how can he atone for the ten years of imprisonment that one has served and the manpower that has been wasted? Who can compensate for ten years or five years of prison terms of the clergy or scholars or our political dignitaries whose potentials have been wasted? That is, they were detained in a cell until their vitality and strength wasted away. These (crimes) are inextinguishable! Who will compensate for one who has lost everything of his life? Who will compensate for the injury inflicted upon individuals and the pain that has tormented the hearts of the faithful, the old men, women and youth? If a human being takes the life of another, he is meted out the death punishment. If a person has killed thousands, how could he expiate for that? And these thousands were the best children of this homeland, the best children of Islam

who were killed in prison cells—and whose legs were sawed off! We do not have inside information about prisons; we have but a little information. We have no knowledge of what exactly goes on and what went on with the people inside the prisons. We can only see the leg of someone from among the clergy sawed off; some had been broiled in a pan, that is, they ran electricity on the surface of something, and made the prisoner lie on it and tortured him with an electric shock. Assume that he is killed, and in expiation for it, we have taken one life; what about the other lives that have been lost in this way?

The thesis that the Shah should reign but not rule'

How can we accept the repentance of one person and say that he reigns as the king, but should not rule! What answer do we give to that old woman who has lost four of her children—just the night before she and her husband were seated around the tablecloth with their four children, and tonight there are but her and her husband! What answer do we give them? Shall we say: Let His Imperial Majesty' remain seated at the top; and on feasts, the imperial court's religious scholars come and wish him well, together with the military officers and all the people who would take part in such ceremonies and acknowledge him as His Imperial Majesty.' And in our country, he does nothing but eating and walking about; that is, he does whatever he wants!

We assume that his repentance is real... but we know that this (repentance) is nothing but a gimmick in order to deceive us and persuade us to allow him to reign but not rule until the time that the revolution fizzles out! Once the revolution is snuffed out, he will unsheathe his sword and sever all of your legs—that is, no religious scholar, political dignitaries, academicians or theology schools will be spared. This is a plot; it was a plot. Now, we are afflicted with another conspiracy.

A kaleidoscope of chicanery

You have all witnessed from the start how many different sorts of chicanery they have resorted to. They wanted to deceive. One man came forth and declared before the people:

"O *ulama*! O great religious authorities! O *ulama* of the world, and what not! We had committed something and we had made a mistake; now, we regret our mistake! These very same *ulama* of the world and the great religious authorities that he said were like "defiled beasts" and should be shunned;"¹ the same *ulama* of the world that this man was referring to as

¹ Quoted from the Shah's speech delivered on May 27, 1963 [Khordad 6, 1342 AHS].

worms wriggling in filth.¹ This was his logic then! Now that his tail has been caught in a snare, he is playing the cunning fox and calling them the *ulama* of the world and the great religious authorities! Is not this anything but chicanery? This very person that was addressing the *ulama* of the world and the great religious authorities and (would act repentant) before the people and the nation, this same person installed a military government that very day! This person seems to take us to be very ignorant! Or, perhaps he is so stupid that he thinks that everybody is just like him! That same day, that same day and night, he held his repentance letter in one hand and a bayonet in the other and beat the people with it! Is this repentance? Can we say he has repented now? Let us accept it and assume that this man has repented—has he become pious and a Muslim?

Now, after this man had said these words and before that he created the conciliation government—conciliation government is the same one which had shed the blood of a crowd of people and the youth. With this “conciliation” of theirs, now they have installed another one to run the country. Of course, it was not him who did it, it was America! All our misfortunes are rooted in America, in the USSR and in Britain. Now, they have brought another one² at the helm, armed with “nationalism and freedom-seeking” slogans—the same freedom-seeking slogans that this wretched man was blabbering about saying “free women and free men” and the freedom that they would grant! That same freedom that he said he had granted the nation, while machine guns, cannons and tanks were behind him.

Divine grace upon oppressors and traitors?!

Mister, the government is one that has derived from and that has its origin from a dethroned king—a king that is a traitor; a king that is the son of Rida Shah, who formed a Parliament at bayonet point. This much we remember that the Parliament that was established was formed at bayonet point. When a parliament is formed through the coercion of the bayonet, is it a legitimate one?

This is one reason is that this man’s monarchy is illegal. Another reason that his monarchical rule is illegal is to say that the monarchy is a “divine grace” based upon the Constitution, which is sheer nonsense. It is an absurdity to say that the monarchy is a divine grace that the nation grants to “His Imperial Majesty”. Supposing that it is “divine grace,” what does it mean then to say, “The nation grants it”? How can it be possible that God

¹ Quoted from the Shah’s speech delivered on March 14, 1963 [Esfand 23, 1341 AHS].

² Shapur Bakhtiyar.

bestows his divine grace to an oppressor?! How can God, the Blessed and Exalted, confirm someone who has annihilated multitudes of Muslims, and has committed all these treacherous acts against Islam and Muslims?! Bestow His grace upon him? Or, favor him?

Even if we relinquish this idea and (believe that the monarchy) is a divine grace that the nation has granted to someone; this very same nation that you are now witnessing is saying “No!”; so that nullifies it! This nation had never granted it. You say that it has. The nation has never wanted them (the Pahlavis); Rida Shah came to power through coercion and formed the Parliament at bayonet point and the succeeding Parliaments in the same way. When was the Parliament ever “our” Parliament? This very same wretched man¹ himself said that the Parliaments they formed were originated from the embassies and lists (of members) were brought to him! But now (he is saying that) it is no longer this way! Now, the country has become very powerful. This is not the case anymore! He is making a fool of himself! If one of the members of the Parliament that we now have—the Parliamentary assembly and the Senate—steps forward and declare that he is the nation’s (elected) representative we will take him by the hand to the very same people that he claims he is a representative of and will ask them if he really is their representative. They do not even know who he is! He is the representative of Muhammad Rida Khan! The (foreign) embassies have told him to designate these representatives. What sort of government will spring from such a Parliament which holds no legitimacy and whose monarch holds no legitimacy? Will a (legitimate) government be born out of an illegitimate monarch and Parliament?! Just recently, this man² referred to this very same Parliament as illegal prior to his designation and appointment to his present position and said that it was from the Rastakhiz Party³ and was therefore illegal. Why is he now saying that it is legal?

The punishment meted out of an illegitimate government

If a person illegally holds a position at the helm of the government, it is a punishable offence. If a representative occupies a seat at the Parliament without being elected by the people, and wants to get involved in managing the affairs, it is a punishable offence. Punishment must be meted out to all of these people. Such circumstances prevailed in Iran and are still prevailing. Now, that vicious creature (the Shah) has gone, his moribund remnant has remained here and is saying the same words and nonsense. Now they want to deceive us by saying that they will accept whatever the nation says and will never pass over whatever the nation dictates and that they will obey the nation and will uphold freedom! If you (the Shah) really obey the nation, well, this is the nation; this is what the Iranian nation wants, except ten, twenty, fifty or perhaps a hundred club-wielding hooligans whom you had

¹ The Shah.

² Shapur Bakhtiyar.

³ The Shah had ordered various parties to be formed such as the Mardom Party, the Milliun 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 based on three principles: allegiance to the constitutional law; allegiance to the monarchical regime; and allegiance to the Shah-People Revolution. Hoveyda, the Prime Minister of the day, was elected as Secretary General of the Rastakhiz Party and Rastakhiz’ became the focal attraction for those who sought power or influence. No sooner had this party been established than Imam declared its illegality according to religious law. He thus issued a religious decree forbidding anyone to become a member of this party and he argued that to demand compulsory membership was a violation of the Constitution. On the party’s first birthday following its establishment, the regime announced that this party enjoyed a membership of twenty-three million people; the total population of Iran at that time was thirty-three million people! The Shah forbade the party’s members to discuss or hold meetings about oil, the White Revolution, the procurement of arms and equipment, and the country’s foreign policy. Six months after its establishment, high-officials of the American embassy in Iran reported to Washington that this party played no practical role in the politics of Iran. Refer to *Tarikh-e Novin-e Iran*, p. 257.

ordered to be paid, I mean those whom you pay and unleash them upon the people. Or the family of the employee who was under the (regime's) supervision and who came forth, shouting slogans so vulgar that they themselves were ashamed¹ to hear them! Those were the slogans of that regime and these are slogans of our nation. Have these been said at bayonet point!? Aren't they the nation?! Aren't these people who are all shouting "Death to this monarchy!" and "Death to this man!"² the Iranian nation? Have all of them entered from across the borders with false identity cards? Have all these men entered with false identity cards? Do all these people (marching) here every day hold false identity cards? Do all of these people of the villages and cities, who are crying out that they do not want this corrupt monarchy, come from across the borders with false identity cards? They (the government) should desist from this. If they really feel compassion for the nation, they should step aside.

¹ It refers to the demonstration staged by supporters of the Constitution; referring to America and Bakhtiyar.

² Shah.

Turmoil and unrest caused by the agents of the illegitimate government

You saw the multitude of people yesterday; and today throngs of people came all the way from this side of the city to as far as Behesht-e-Zahra (cemetery), all this huge crowd! Is it against the law? Is it an infringement of justice? Are they doing something wrong? Say so, if they are. Why do such things sometimes occur? It occurs because the government agents who are not part of this multitude realize that they cannot stand within this crowd because they will be swept off by it. Then, there will no longer be unrest or perturbation; marches will be peaceful; people's movement will be peaceful; everything will be peaceful. But then the agents enter the scene: and when they enter the scene, they have orders to "Beat up the people, go ahead break their doors, chase them and bash them with your rifles and all sorts of things!"

You (the government) step aside. If you want stability in the region and if you want Iran to have stability and peace, you step aside and we will set things right. You are obstructing the region, or this nation, or this country from becoming peaceful; you are causing all this unrest! You have let loose thieves here and they are looting and bludgeoning the people. You have reduced Najafabad to utter ruins. You have indulged in an unrestrained killing spree massacring people in Tabriz, Qum, Tehran, Qazvin and all the cities, the names of which I cannot name one by one, and have created this maelstrom. You have caused all this (pandemonium). If you step aside and leave the people alone, they will not fight you; the people are peace loving and they are Muslims. They know that Islamic rules do not allow these actions. Step aside. Start from tomorrow. Relinquish your post. You are of the common people; you are not a prime minister or a Parliamentary or anybody else. You are ordinary person like the rest of the people, because your post is not an official one. You are an ordinary person, though you are a usurper, we say that you have been compelled to commit all these misdeeds. I say that you have been coerced, because the same people and governments, which were supporting the Shah, were also supporting this man. They (America) dispatched (an emissary) for what? They say in order to support this man¹ here. They told the army to support this government. If he is a nationalist one, which is impossible because America tramples upon nationalism as it has done so in the past—if he were a nationalist, America would never confirm him nor would Britain. Now, suddenly they have become nationalists whose hearts bleed for the people's welfare. But no,

¹ Haizer (?) (an American four-star Air Force general and NATO deputy commander) entered Tehran on a top-secret mission on Dey 14, 1357 AHS [January 4, 1979].

aren't all these that they are committing, the same plundering, the same treachery and the same shenanigans that Muhammad Rida Khan would resort to? Now, this chicanery is meant either to reinstall that puppet, or to keep these half-dead governments, the monarchial regime, and such inanities, perhaps because of having grown despondent of him.

The monarchial regime is against the law and wisdom

The monarchial regime has never been in conformity with wisdom from its very inception. It is against the law and against the constitution! It is stipulated in the constitution and human rights charter that each nation should determine its destiny, meaning that at the present time, we should take our destiny in our own hands. It is not within our right to determine the destiny of our descendants. Our descendants will live after us; they will have their own destiny, which they should hold in their own hands; not in yours or mine.

If "monarchial regime" means that a monarch should himself be (i.e. the king), and the nation designates him to be so, this regime is not monarchial; he is a monarch that is designated by the people to be the king. However, assuming that our people designate the king and his successor, your destiny is in your hands. You made the king your ruler because you were living during that time. Very well; but what right do you have to designate someone's successor to rule over somebody else? What right do our fathers have to determine our destiny? The monarchial regime does not conform to the constitution or the human rights; therefore, it should not exist. The monarchial regime is corrupt, all of it. Assuming that it is a just one, still it is not in congruity with human rights. The situation in the country has hitherto been an indescribable, nameless hodgepodge of events. We are at a loss for words to name it. Actually, it is not known what it is. Let us call the country a constitutional one; but this is not constitutional, it is dictatorial. But the regime is not dictatorial.

The gravity of the current situation of Iran

I would like to inform you, gentlemen and the nation of Iran that our country has entered a critical situation that has plunged this nation between life and death. Either we remain captives forever and let Islam and the religious laws fall prey in the hands of the depraved clique, or we attain victory with our own hands. Our affairs vacillate between these two premises. Any individual member of the nation who declines to join these is a traitor. It is tantamount to treachery against Islam; he is betraying Islam and

the country. If we do not grab these people by their coat tails and fling them out of the arena, they will bring the Shah back and all our resources will be handed gratuitously to America and the foreigners. And now that they have understood that Islam, Muslims and the clergy are the forces obstructing them, this time, God forbid, if they regain dominance over the country, nothing will be left of the clergy or Islam. When the situation reaches this critical point, who will oppose (them)? Who can remain silent? Silence means acquiescence. The traitor is the silent one. Today is not the day that you should sit in your homes and tell yourself that my duty now is to go, for instance, to my shop and then come back, or go the mosque and then come back, or preach at the pulpit and then come back home. Today is not that day. If that were the case, then I would be in Qum busy with my studies and discourses and learning from the *ulama*. Gentlemen, this time it is different!

Upholding justice is one of the important responsibilities

The present time is a matter of importance. It is an important issue for which life has to be sacrificed. It is as important as the one for which the Doyen of the Martyrs¹ (Imam Husayn) had immolated his life; as important as the one for which the Prophet of Islam strived for twenty-three years, and as important as the one for which Hadrat Amir,² may God's peace be upon

¹ Imam Husayn: grandson of the Prophet, and also known as the Doyen of the Martyrs [*Sayyid ash-Shuhada*]. In 60 AH [680 CE], Imam Husayn refused to swear allegiance to Yazid, son of Muawiyah and second caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, since Yazid did not possess legitimate authority and had succeeded to the caliphate by hereditary succession. The ensuing death of the Imam in battle at Karbala has always been commemorated by Shiah Muslims as the supreme example of martyrdom in the face of tyranny. It served as an important point of both ideological and emotive reference throughout the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Ashura, the tenth day of Muharram, is the day on which he was martyred in Karbala. See Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams ad-Din, *The Revolution of Al-Husayn*, <http://www.al-islam.org/revolution>; Ibrahim Ayati, *A Probe into the History of Ashura* (Karachi: Islamic Seminary Publications, 1984); Zakir, *Tears and Tributes* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications); Yasin T. al-Jibouri, *Karbala and Beyond* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications); Sayyid Wahid Akhtar, "Karbala: An Enduring Paradigm of Islamic Revivalism," *Al-Tawhid Journal*, <http://www.al-islam.org/al-tawhid/paradigm-akhtar.htm>.

² Hadrat Amir: Imam Ali (a), the leader of the Muslim world was born in 600 CE to his mother by the name of Fatimah and a father by the name of Abu Talib (Prophet's uncle), and from the age of 6 he grew up in the Prophet's house. He was the first man to accept Islam and promised to aid the Prophet (s). In the early days of his mission when, at God's command, the Prophet was inviting his kith and kin to Islam, at a gathering, he announced to them: "He among you, who accepts my Faith will succeed me." He repeated this declaration three times and each time, only Ali (a) declared his faithfulness. On the eve of the *hijrah* or migration, notwithstanding the plot of the Quraysh against the Prophet's life, Ali (a) slept in the Prophet's bed and thus proved his fidelity to him. The Prophet selected him as his brother and when returning from the last *hajj* pilgrimage, at a place called Ghadir, introduced Ali (a) as the master and guardian [*wali*] of the Muslims, after himself. Ali was the companion of the Prophet during his loneliness and his aid in his struggles and in time of dangers. After the Prophet's spiritual ascension, for about 25 years, Ali (a) kept aloof from government administration and leadership. During this period he was the observer and overseer who prevented deviations and defections. After the murder of the 3rd Caliph, Ali's disciples and a group of people swore allegiance to Ali (a) and elected him as the caliph. The Imam's period of administration lasted for 4 years and 9 months. Ali obliterated the changes that had been made after the Prophet (s) and restored things to their earlier conditions. Opposition elements, whose personal interests were threatened, rose pretending to take revenge for the 3rd Caliph's death. Bloody civil wars followed that lasted throughout the reign of Ali (a). Finally the unique man of history was martyred in the altar at Kufah, Iraq.

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

him' fought Muawiyah¹ for eighteen months while the latter lay claims on being Islamic, and because he was a tyrant, he was an oppressive entity that had to be toppled. He lost so many of his great companions, and also killed so many (of the enemy). What for? In order to uphold the truth; in order to uphold justice.

We must uphold justice. It is not an excuse to say that we possess no power; the nation is our power—this nation which stood before tanks with their fists and were killed. We, of course, hold them in high esteem and send them benediction. We will also get killed, God willing. This is not a time to keep silent; this is a time to take action. No one in any position or of any status should remain silent. This outcry of the people—you can see how

¹ Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan (607-680 CE), the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, accepted Islam on the day Mecca was conquered (630 CE). He was the commander of the army during the caliphate of Abu Bakr and at the time of Umar he was first the governor of Jordan and then governor of Damascus, and at the time of Uthman he was responsible for the entire principality of Syria. After the death of Uthman, Hadrat Ali (a) was proclaimed caliph and issued orders for Muawiyah's dismissal. However, Muawiyah did not comply with Imam Ali's orders and accused him of involvement in the murder of Uthman and demanded vengeance for his death. During the battle of Siffin, which was fought between Muawiyah's troops and those of Hadrat Ali, Amr ibn al-As, Muawiyah's army commander, on seeing the battle going in Ali's favor, resorted to a ruse and ordered his soldiers to fasten copies of the Quran to their lances and hold them up in the air. This move brought about a dispute amongst Ali's followers, the battle was ended and Muawiyah remained in his principality. After Imam Ali's martyrdom, his son Imam Hasan (a) was forced into a conditional peace with Muawiyah because of the actions of his traitorous troops and commanders and eventually relinquished the caliphate to him in 661 CE. From this date on, Muawiyah called himself the official Muslim caliph. See Philip K. Hitti's *History of the Arabs* and S.H.M. Jafri's *The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam*.

loudly men and women are crying out.¹ These are your support, may God reward your endeavors. If it were not for them, we would have never taken a single step. They are the driving force that makes us take action.

A message to the army

I am telling the army that we want your welfare. We are not (saying) we do not want the army to be in this world; we are telling you not to be servants, not to have these foreign advisers or Israeli officials ruling over you. This is what we are saying. This is our logic. We are crying out that we want independence; we want military independence. Our military does not have independence. This is our cry. Gentlemen (of the army) we are saying that we want you to be your own ruler, to be independent. But then here comes somebody, say the army or a certain general or a fellow (i.e. a military official) resisting us! And their resistance means that they do not want to rule and that they wish to be servants! We want you to be real gentlemen! We are crying out and striving to make you real gentlemen. Some of these people who are, were and have become, devoid of any human nature, are saying that they do not want to be (free and independent)! We definitely have to be under the control of American and Israeli military advisers!

Dependent economy

We are saying that we have to set our economy right. You (the people) saw how those people in position, those involved with the monarchy, the government, and the like devoured the people's assets. They pushed the economy backward. They have afflicted the nation with difficulties, and we are heedless. Now, we do not have any agriculture. Our resources would have been depleted had this man (the Shah) stayed in power a few more years. Iran would be reduced to a country with no resources, a country without anything. Oil is our resource—and they have plundered all of it and yet at the same time would declare that the oil would be depleted within ten or twenty years! And then what shall we have when all the oil is exhausted? Many promises are being made, of course. One promise is that he would industrialize the country! Which industry have you established? You have erected these steel mills in order to bring in a Soviet clique to rule over you! You did not do anything. You got and brought everything here, pieced them together—an assembled commodity! Your “industry” is no real industry. We have neither agriculture, nor culture.

¹ Referring to the sound emanating from outside the place where Imam was delivering his speech and where people were shouting slogans and demonstrating.

A colonial and subservient culture

Gentlemen, they (monarchial regime) have dissipated our manpower. Our culture is a colonial one that had retarded the growth of manpower. They want to confine it within certain limits and never let it grow. They do not allow any manpower development. When I was in France, people from around would come to me; for instance, a few gentlemen working at an atomic power plant from Germany came several times and brought up some issues saying that they (Shah's regime) would not let these gentlemen understand anything. They had dispatched a few hundred people and wanted to construct an atomic power plant for themselves. They also added that the Shah's regime would not let them learn anything. Moreover, they stated that the plant they are constructing is deleterious to the country. Those who were working there had told us that this project was damaging to the country; it puts the country in peril! To whatever place you point your finger, you will see the name of Muhammad Rida Khan and his treachery written on it! The marks of Muhammad Rida and his treasonous acts are imprinted on whatever part of the army you put your finger on, on the American advisers who came here, on the culture and its retarded state, and on our agriculture. They have gratuitously gifted our verdurous pasturage to so and so, and then termed it "nationalization!" By "nationalization," they mean dishing out one vast pastureland, which is said to be the most fertile one, to the Queen of England and to some others associated with her! Our pastureland is decimated, or given away to spongers. Our jungles were doled out to some others. By "nationalization", they mean severing popular involvement in affairs and endowing land to foreigners!

Continuation of the struggle: a religious and logical necessity

We cannot imagine the treacheries they had committed against us. If, God willing, a just regime comes to power, if accountability is to be determined, and a free pen to jot down at least what they have plundered, we will then understand what issues these newspapers are involved in that we have no knowledge of, and what problems these people living in isolation know of that we do not. They have driven the country into non-existence. It is rationally and religiously incumbent upon us at this moment in time to follow up this matter and bring the movement that has taken root in Iran to fruition. Let us sever the hands of the foreigners off the national treasury, off religious matters and put an end to the repression that has plagued us, and which was quite severe. Let us root out repression and make the country our very own, run it and build it. "We cannot manage the affairs of the

country?!¹ Do we have to steal? Do we surely have to be thieves in order to run the country? We have so many sincere and educated people living abroad and inside the country, who are well versed in all aspects and have been educated abroad, who are knowledgeable and trustworthy. We will oust one thief and replace him with an honest person. Will the country be in shambles?! “No, the issue of transition should take place legally!” They are so ignorant that they do not understand that the issue is that of the revolution; it is not one regime replacing another! The issue is revolution. These statements do not have room in a revolution. The revolutionary council or the one who initiated the revolution can accomplish this task. The same events have repeatedly occurred in the world. The Iraqi regime, for instance, or the Afghan regime, which has recently come into existence in Afghanistan, was typical of a revolution and the world acknowledged it. It was brought neither by a popular vote nor by anything else. “No, in a revolution war has to be waged.” We have been fighting for two years. The people have confronted the firearms of the regime with cold weapons and their fists. Do warring parties have to be of equal strength! What nonsense are they talking about?!

Advice to the army and the government

I advise the army to be in solidarity with the nation. It is to your and the country's benefit that you be united with the nation. The country belongs to you; the nation belongs to you and you belong to the nation. Be the nation's servants. Desist from committing wrongdoings that some hooligans among you used to do. Repent. God accepts repentance and so does the nation. Your crime is not that serious that the nation does not accept your repentance. The crime you have committed is of a different nature. Return to the nation's embrace. A group (among you) has already done so. An honorable group (of military men), namely military personnel from Isfahan, Tehran, Hamedan, Khorasan and other places, have joined the nation and declared that it is in agreement and solidarity with the nation. You also do the same. There is nothing to it.

I also have a piece of advice to the government: Hey, you mister (Bakhtiyar) you are but an ordinary person; step down before you lose your face! (He says,) “I won't budge due to my obstinate streak!” Why should a human being be obstinate and toy with the destiny of one nation and flout (the nation's plea) only because “I am a Lori², so I am a stubborn one.” Do

¹ Allegations made by Bakhtiyar.

² Someone from Lorestan Province; Lors are quite known for being an obstinate lot and Bakhtiyar, being of Bakhtiyari descent, hailed from Lorestan.

you have to be slapped on the nape before you step out of the scene? Come forth and repent like a human being. Acknowledge the truth in the nation's words. It is the nation's command that should, and will, prevail.

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to grant you success. I hope that God bestows health upon you and make us succeed so that we can serve you and you can serve God.

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

Statements

Date: February 2, 1979 [Bahman 13, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: A warning to Bakhtiyar's government regarding the safety of lives of warrant officers

Audience: Air Force personnel

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

If ever one person among these warrant officers is killed by these executioners, the corresponding punishment will be meted out by us. The crime of these deserting warrant officers and other military personnel is that they have joined the nation. Why do not these government lackeys deflect from this wrong and satanic path? Why have they shied away from the will of the nation and adhered to the ways of the Zionists? We will welcome with our heart and soul any military man who repents and joins us.

Statements

Date: February 3, 1979 [Bahman 14, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The grave responsibility of men of letters and press

Audience: Columnists and personnel of the *Ittilaat* daily

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

We have been informed of your Islamic stance. We hope that you at *Ittilaat* newspaper will strive to recount reality as it happens; make efforts that your writings do not foment schism in the heart of the nation and the Revolution. Writers have a grave responsibility and must be vigilant and cautious for a word in print sometimes can prove detrimental.

[*Ittilaat* columnist: How much freedom will the press enjoy under a just Islamic government?]

Islam is a religion of freedom and nobility, so it is axiomatic that the Islamic press is a free press. When a nation's revolution is an Islamic one, endeavor to make your newspaper the mirror image of this Revolution. Therefore, all your efforts should be directed toward illuminating the nation's thoughts by means of expressing the truth about Islam and the Revolution of the nation of Iran.

[At the end, Imam Khomeini gave his benediction on the freedom-loving writers, who had a share in the struggle through their endeavors.]

Speech

Date: February 3, 1979 [Bahman 14, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Enmity of power-mongers toward Islam; the expediency of the coalition of the *ulama* and all the strata of the people

Audience: The clergy

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The distortion of Islam

I must thank the *ulama* and the learned ones. The nation is indebted, primarily, to the *ulama*, and secondly, to the rest of the social strata for its victory. You, the *ulama*, as it is your duty to be the leader of the nation, should be in the vanguard of the society's affairs; purge the nation of its impurities. Thank God, you have risen to uphold the (Islamic) cause. On behalf of the honorable nation of Iran, I am thanking you. May God protect and bestow power upon the clergy, who are the nation's reserve and support. Your and Islam's enemies have introduced you and Islam in a bad light. The adversaries of humanity and religions comprehensively say that religion is aimed to be the opium for the people and the nation! Because they have understood that it is the religiosity and the clergy resisting them, they have stood in opposition against and have, since ages ago, attacked these two forces. They have lashed out at Islam, which is the greatest force, in a bid to introduce it in the worst possible light. They took efforts to propagate that Islam, if ever it was anything, it was merely a prayer or incantation! It was nothing but a human being-God ritualistic relationship as it is with Christianity. It is the same in Christianity; it has been distorted. The Christianity that Jesus Christ had brought cannot be like this. They opposed Islam and all other religions and counted them as the opium of humanity, i.e. something that the wealthy clique and ruffians had fabricated to tranquilize the people and silence the masses with empty promises. They had aggrandized this publicity to such extent that later it has been given to us in another form.

Colonial thesis: Segregation of religion and politics

The issue of the segregation of religion and politics is an issue that was colluded with so much deceit and chicanery that even we have been deluded! Even the term "political clergy" is a word of abuse in our circle! (It is

disgraceful to say) that so and so is a political clergy! Whereas in reality these gentlemen themselves have perused in authoritative supplications which state that men of politics are servants.¹ Nevertheless, this chicanery has been inculcated so expertly that we ourselves have been deluded into believing that religion is separate from politics. A clergy goes up the pulpit (preaching) while the king is busy with his plundering! It is sufficient to know for anyone who has studied Islam and the glorious Quran that these two educate a society in all (respects).

The distinction between Islamic precepts and human laws

There is a difference between Islamic tenets and other laws extant in this world—I am not referring to divine laws, which are not observed now, and have remained unheeded to, as Islam has been. Islam and that which had been handed down to man from God differ from those laws made by man. One fundamental difference lies in the fact that man-made laws took only one weak aspect into consideration. For instance, man has legislated laws that are concerned with the maintenance of (social) order and discipline, social associations and the quality of temporal politics. Another dimension that man has overlooked in formulating laws and principles is the human element. However, when you deliberate on Islam, you will see that from humanity's point of view, it has ordered scheme and laws. Before man came to this world and even before his parents were united in matrimony, there was a plan to educate this seed (of creation) well. Islam has an organized code: how to choose a wife, how to choose a husband, what conditions and customs should be followed in marriage, conceiving a child and pregnancy. It is similar to the farmer who takes care of seeds after sowing them making sure that the soil is just right and the water healthy; he sees to it that they ripen at the right time taking care to comply with the norms of plant cultivation, so that it grows right. Similarly, Islam commences with man's education even before his father and mother get married. It aspires to maintain an earth that is salubrious and pure; a righteous wife should choose a spouse of humane qualities; other norms will have to be conformed to until the time the child is born. Thereafter it is incumbent upon the mother to observe the customs regarding pregnancy and nursing the child, after which the father takes the responsibility of bringing up the child and of relevant disciplinary norms that ensue. No human laws undertake the responsibility of any of these issues. This matter is exclusive to the laws of humanity. Another

¹ Referring to a phrase mentioned in *Ziyarat-i Jamiat al-Kabirah* in the *Mafatih al-Jinan*, p. 370.

human aspect that has been neglected by other existing laws is the principle of self-edification—expediency because man is a humane creature that seeks to be divine. The Quran is a book that seeks to develop man, and Islam is a school that aims to make man in all aspects, not only to make him a material being but also a divine one. Islam considers all the facets of human life. Other principles and laws in the world have not outlined these issues like Islam does. Anyone can be brought up in any manner he wants: He should not just go hollering in the public market—he will be detained for it—but he is free to do anything that he pleases in the privacy of his home! One's privacy and what one does in it is of no concern of theirs. It is no business of anybody's! Islam, however, encompasses every aspect (even) one's privacy; it takes care of man when he is alone, when accompanied by someone, and so on in similar cases.

The political and social aspects of Islam

One aspect of human life in this material world is that man wants to establish social associations; he wants to establish a government in this material world; he wants to establish other places that concern his materiality. Islam considers these aspects, too. So many verses and narrations on politics have been recorded that have not been narrated in matters of worship. You consider fifty odd books on jurisprudence, about seven or eight books concern worship, the rest relate to politics, societal affairs and social associations and issue of this nature. We have put aside all these and have concentrated on only one weak aspect. They (government) have introduced Islam to us in such a bad light that we found ourselves believing that Islam did not have anything to do with politics! Politics belongs to Caesar and the pulpit to the clergy! They do not even allow us to occupy the pulpit! Islam is a religion of politics; it includes a government. You read Hadrat Amir's book and his directive¹ to Malik al-Ashtar² and see what it is. See what

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 53.

² Malik al-Ashtar: more fully, Malik ibn Harith from Nakha'i and famous as al-Ashtar, was among the prominent commanders of Imam Ali's army and the governor appointed to Egypt by Imam Ali. He accompanied the Imam in the Battles of Jamal and Siffin. On his way to Egypt, he was killed through the conspiracy of Muawiyah.

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>.

commandments concerning wars and politics from the Prophet and the Imam (Ali) (a) had been stated. We have these resources but we do not possess the competence to utilize them. Resources exist and we have everything, but we lack the competence to use them. It seems Iran has everything but it is given away to the foreigners. We have very rich books and traditions that cover everything but they have been badly introduced, i.e. by the experts.

Studies made by the colonizers in Islamic countries

Since the time that Europe opened its gates to Asia and the Orient, experts congregated and investigated. They were vigilant but you and I were in deep slumber in schools! They delved into study; they put every inch of Iranian land under scrutiny; they had a map of every spot where there was oil, or copper. They came into these waterless and barren deserts on the back of camels. They explored the oil reserves and sites, and whatever (rich) spot they located, they put in record. Their studies about us revealed that the thing that could hinder them was belief in and service to Islam. From thence on, they attacked Islam, segregated it from everything, even from the nation of Islam and the servants of the Quran some of whom could not be made to comprehend that Islam was a religion of politics. Perhaps they saw it as a shortcoming of Islam! Islam has system of sovereignty—not like this monarchial sovereignty now. It has a government; it has leadership and a caliphate. The Prophet of Islam established a government. Hadrat Amir had a government, a governor, a commander and others of this kind. They had an army and military rules and regulations. They had everything. We had delved into a study of all this, but because it has been so distorted for us, and we were always hushed into minding our own business and were told to just say our prayers, and were constantly told “what business is it of yours what we are doing; it is none of your business, it is none of your concern” that our task was reduced into congregating to mourn!

The colonial conspiracy against the clergy

Experts (from the West) have observed the people's temperament; they discerned that the eastern temperament, especially that of the Muslims and for that matter Shiah Muslims, was characterized by high esteem and advocacy of the clergy. They thought of how they could separate the people from the clergy. They hatched plots to sully the clergy's reputation among the people. Majority of you were not living during the time of Rida Shah, but I, the people of my age, and the older men were living during his reign. Based on a conspiracy concocted abroad, they had subjected the clergy to measures so repressive that the latter could not even breathe. The people's ideas of the clergy were such that they would not even give a clergyman a ride in their automobiles! They had dissociated the clergy from the people. However, their plot was a complete fiasco. They did whatever they wanted, but God is the best of plotters.¹ However, their conspiracy succeeded in one aspect in that they could dissociate the clergy from the university. A clergy was not allowed to speak about the university, even among ourselves. I know of no one (who has ever gone to a university.) University people would also think of the clergy as pernicious creatures that the British had dumped here! I myself was a witness of an incident. Once I was traveling by bus with two respectable gentlemen from Qum several years ago. There were others riding in the bus with us. One of them was telling the other: "It is ages I have not seen any of these figures." He was referring to us. Then he added, "The British have brought them and have sent some in Najaf in order to deviate the people. From the university people's point of view, the clergy either was a courtier or tied up to the British! From your (clergy's) point of view the academicians were, well, I do not know, (westernized)! They have sowed the seeds of discord among the nation; they separated some people from the others and took advantage of this separation.

Nation's solidarity: origin of the Shah's downfall

You witnessed how the various social strata formed in this short period a coalition that God had caused. This coalition and unity of expression between the material and spiritual wings, between the *ulama* of Islam and other classes from whatever clan they may be had caused a nation to rise up in rebellion. This unity of expression that the nation had adhered to and caused the nation to rise, defeated all the world's superpowers, tanks, and cannon.

¹ Surah Al-i Imran 3:54.

All of you know Muhammad Rida, the things they would say about him; he would eulogize himself and he was powerful, too. He was endorsed by a powerful man from Russia, by America, Britain, all Islamic governments, China, the superpowers and any other powers after them. And you, the nation whose everything had been plundered, have vanquished this great power barehanded and barefooted; you have risen because unity of expression was at work. You crushed the tanks with your fists. Blood prevailed over the sword. You dragged him down from his throne. He escaped and ran away but he took the wealth (of the nation) and everything we had, apparently about three billion dollars! As one writer put it, he and his family took three billion and hundreds of million.

The thievery of the Pahlavi family

We cannot figure out how much this family had stolen from this country. One of the things that have been reported to me concerned one of the sisters of this man (the Shah), who has a mansion somewhere; I do not remember how much, but one thing I remember is that, according to a report reaching me, five million dollars, i.e. thirty-five million tumans had been spent just to plant flowers around it! We cannot imagine it in our dreams! We cannot believe it! You do not know what they had done to this country! You do not realize how backward they had pushed this country's spirituality. I say you do not know—I mean you do know, now you know, that is we know right now that all misfortunes, any misfortunes we have and ever had is caused by this family. A country can never attain competence unless the government is competent. A corrupt man will destroy a country. We witnessed how this corrupt man whose name is Muhammad Rida Pahlavi would designate a minister; he would choose someone who was corrupt like himself! Anyone who is willing to steal, that is thieves are cronies of thieves! Thieves are never friends of the holy. When he designated a parliament representative, he chose one of his own kinds. The selection of representative was not in the discretion of the people. People never had any freedom during these fifty years (of Pahlavi rule). Nothing was related to the people, not one single representative, or parliament or government. Everything depended on the foreigners. When they had singled out this depraved man, they put him at the helm of the country, imposed him upon the country until it lost everything. Then he would constantly eulogize himself and would make the radios and the presses do the same. He made it mandatory for everyone to eulogize him!

An example of the corruptions and crimes of the regime

Consider his so-called "land reform" program. "Land reforms" that they commended, praised, and publicized so much caused nothing but the mendicancy of the farmers and the decimation of agriculture. Now, if the nation joins hands, it might be able to restore our agriculture to its original state. They have created a market for America, which either burns or dumps its (surplus) wheat into the sea; and if it ever it gives (its surplus wheat), it gets money in turn! It gives (its wheat) and gets foreign exchange. Some market they created! You do not have anything. They say that all of Iran's agriculture is sufficient for only some thirty odd days! An Iran whose one province such as Azerbaijan or Khorasan could provide food for the whole country with surplus that can be exported, yet they say we have enough only to last thirty odd days! Where do we get the rest? We get it from Israel, from America or from other places. All this depredation was brought about by this despotic man who had written a book about his mission to his country stating in it that he had come to serve his country!! I say he is right! He had a mission to "serve" his country, which is to deprive it from everything! He had a mission to sever this country from everything, and to devastate its spiritual force. The greatest blow this country had suffered is the corruption of the force of the young generation. They lured them toward wine shops or cinemas, or took them to wilderness where they constructed centers of corruption and spread it. They did not spare one single decent youth for us. The greatest blow that this country had suffered is the dissipation of its manpower. Now the impact of this ruination has yet to surface. Some "service" he rendered! Some "service" to the country! He completely destroyed its agriculture and its culture and divested it of everything. If we had a culture, we would not be plunged into this misfortune. If only we had cultural luminaries, but were they independent? Culture must be independent. But will they ever allow such things? Would the intelligence organization allow such crookedness be straightened out?

The ostracism of the clergy from politics and its repercussions

They had ruined the economy. If the nation had given him a deadline, he would have exhausted its oil within ten or fifteen years...but he left to do his own business! What has it (America) given in exchange for the oil? It has given us weapons! What weapons?! Modern weapons that the Iranian technocrats cannot understand what they are, and how they should use them! And why has it brought these weapons here? So that America will have a base in case, it starts a fight with the Soviets. It got our oil and, in return, it

constructed a base for which it would be willing to give a country millions of dollars to let it construct such a base for itself! It takes our oil and builds bases for itself. This is our predicament. Then should not the clergy interfere with politics? Should the clergy keep silent about all this? And if a clergy dares to say something, he will be branded as a “political clergy”? America took everything we had. It had sullied and completely ruined the clergy’s image among the people. It separated the clergy from the modern intellectuals and bled them dry of their potentials. You were also divested of everything you had. If this movement did not possess any attribute, but it brought with itself the loftiest fruit that we could ever get, which was having a good theology student-academician relationship. Only if they (regime) let it remain. Only if they allow it to live on! Strive to keep it! The key to your priority, the key to your victory is unity of expression. If they take this unity of expression from you, the same old bondage and plundering will prevail. It is not the same as before when you used to have an excuse that you could not do anything. Now you have realized that you can. You have a force and the nation is with you. You have a force in every city and village. Each day that you wish to accomplish something, the people will pave the way for your force to advance. Be together and form an assembly. Be accomplished and safeguard your unity of expression. Now they are trying to pit you against each other and take advantage of this. You should not allow this to happen. You must not allow their ruses to be put to work. That wicked man (the Shah) would do it until the time he left, and now this evil man¹ is doing it.

The nation’s leader is the nation’s servant

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to grant you all success. I came back from abroad to serve you. I am your servant; I am the servant of the nation. I came in order to safeguard your chivalry. I came to topple your enemies. I came in order to make the nation independent, and if a government is to be founded then let it be an independent one. I came in order to sever foreign interests off our country. I came in order to expose the true image of these people who call themselves “nationalists” and what not, and who talk of “constitutional law” and such and such names but who actually want to bring back the same old problems. May God grant you success and familiarize us with our responsibilities.

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar.

Speech

Date: February 3, 1979 [Bahman 14, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The deceit of American agents in the guise of nationalism; Islamic rule

Audience: Members of the Committee of Welcoming Ceremonies

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I do not know how I can ever compensate for all the efforts you have taken. I have not performed any service that merits your satisfaction. And I implore God to grant us the honor to be able to serve this country and the Islamic tenets.

Safeguarding American interests with slogans of “nationalism”

Today is the day that the phase we have toed reaches a sensitive stage in a way that has engendered a divine task for all of us. We are all duty-bound at this stage, which is a matter of life and death, from the very beginning up to the end, not to ever be negligent. One person's negligence may prove to be costly. Now is the time that chicaneries are underway and they want to toy with the Iranian nation and us in any way possible. Today, once again they are saying, “We want to give freedom, we want to give you this and that, so please give us time! The same words the Shah would say, the same ruses the Shah would resort to, but to which we never listened, are being asseverated by his servant.¹ They want to bring back the same power; they are the servants of America; these people want to safeguard American interests in the name of nationalism, in the name of Islam, in the name of tribalism, in the name of the nation, and in the name of service; they want to give away your resources to the foreigners; they want you to be in captivity.

In the pathway of reaching an Islamic rule

Now is a time that negligence is tantamount to self-destruction and suicide. We should not be negligent (of our duties); this movement must be perpetuated. Streets should be packed with crowds of people. With awareness, all the people should take to the streets and excise this rotten core (of power). Almost nothing of it is left except a tiny fragment—something insubstantial—and with the perseverance of you, the Muslim people and the

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar.

persistence of the Iranian nation this too must be eradicated completely for us to achieve an Islamic rule, a just government, and a government wherein your interests will be neither usurped nor doled out to foreigners. This is the kind of government we want: an Islamic national government, a republic that is reliant upon the popular vote to be cast by the people in a free election unlike these past fifty years when nobody was free in anything; unlike these last thirty years when all of us were held in captivity and plunged into misery and suffering; our interests, the (resources) that we had, our treasury house was plundered and everything in it was devoured. Even now, our treasury money exists as a deposit in foreign banks in the name of Muhammad Rida Khan and his family and those who are related to him. All our wealth has been plundered. They impoverished a nation and then left and escaped.

Unity of expression: the key to victory

We would like to express our gratitude to you, young people, for rising at this moment in time with all your power and might, with determination and divine will. You relinquished all your own affairs and pursued this great task, which is incumbent upon all of us. The key to your victory is your unity of expression and your striving after one goal. Now all the nations, that is the Iranian nation in every city, every village and hamlet is pursuing the same goal: not the annihilation of the Shah, or the destruction of this regime or the extirpation of the usurping government but the establishment of an Islamic rule and an Islamic republic which will be so, God willing.

I would like to thank all of you gentlemen who have taken efforts, and these efforts have all been for your own servant. I am your servant. I want you all to be endeared. I am the nation's servant. I want the nation to be proud and independent, not like today when everything we've got came from another place; and all our political affairs are devised; likewise our economic affairs are drawn up by somebody else; and our cultural affairs are programmed by somebody else; our military is controlled by somebody else—that is, by foreign advisers. I want you all to be independent and crush and hurl these remnants which have remained of colonialism and which are plundering the treasury in the name of "nationalism." God willing, the establishment of an Islamic rule is nigh.

Letter

Date: February 4, 1979 [Bahman 15, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Rifah School, Tehran

Subject: Expressing gratitude in answer to dispatched letter

Addressee: Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari

In His Most Exalted Name

Hadrat Ayatullah Shariatmadari, may his blessings last:

Your honorable missive expressing sympathy for me has been received and caused my gratitude. I implore God the Almighty to grant you health and prosperity. I hope that I shall be able to be in the presence of you gentlemen within a few days' time. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 4, 1979 [Bahman 15, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Refah School, Tehran

Subject: The Prime ministry of Mr. Bazargan¹

Occasion: The formation of the provisional government

Addressee: Mahdi Bazargan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi al-Awwal 6, 1399 AH

Engineer Mahdi Bazargan:²

Based on the recommendations of the Revolutionary Council, and the canonical and legal right arising from the approximately unanimous and decisive majority vote of the Iranian nation and the trust in the leadership of the movement as expressed in the huge assembly and numerous massive demonstrations of the people held all over Iran and by virtue of the trust (confidence) in the unwavering faith that you have in the sacred religion of Islam and the knowledge that we have of the history of your Islamic and national struggle irrespective of your party relationship and affiliation to a specific group, I hereby invest you with the power to form a provisional government that will be responsible for managing the country's administrative affairs, in particular, the holding of a referendum based upon the public vote of the nation regarding the change of the country's political system into an Islamic republic and the creation of a constitutional assembly made up of popularly chosen representatives who will draft the constitution of the new system and the election of the parliamentary representatives of the nation according to the laws of the new system.

¹ The text of the decree was read by Hashimi Rafsanjani in the presence of foreign and domestic reporters, and its translation was read for the reporters present in the meeting by Ibrahim Yazdi.

² Engineer Mahdi Bazargan (1908-1994) held different public positions in the administration of Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq. He was among the main founders of the Iranian Freedom Movement. Upon the culmination of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, he was appointed as the head of the provisional government; however, he decided to step down one day after Iranian students stormed the US embassy (Den of Espionage) in Tehran.

Under the present circumstances, it is expedient that the cabinet members of the provisional government be named and introduced as soon as possible.

The provisional government will have the full cooperation of the government employees, military personnel and the national citizenry, and the observance of discipline for the realization of the sacred goals of the revolution and the establishment of order in the country's affairs.

I implore the Almighty God to grant you and the provisional government success at this critical historical junction.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: February 5, 1979 [Bahman 16, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwa 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The ideals of the Iranian nation; public opposition against the monarchy; imposed regime

Occasion: The introduction of Mr. Mahdi Bazargan as the Prime Minister of the provisional government

Audience: More than four hundred domestic and foreign reporters

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

Iran in chaos

The gentlemen present are well aware of the nation's years of unrest. They know that all national and governmental machinery has been paralyzed, our economic situation was heading for annihilation, our cultural situation is a shamble, and universities, educational schools and the bazaars are closed; all these in addition to all the bloodshed that has taken place up to now and the mayhem in the country. They are informed of all this. Those who are responsible for these must cease fomenting chaos; and with reasoning must think and step aside.¹ God willing, we will resolve all these problems with the support of the nation.

Wishing for the establishment of Imam Ali's (a) just government

You, reporters, have seen that from the capital to every place your eyes can see, from large and small cities, from villages and boroughs, in every nook and corner, our nation wants and all the people with unified thought and consensus are saying that the monarchical regime, a decaying anti-morality and immoral regime, the monarchical regime of Muhammad Rida Khan has to be toppled, and with one heart and in the same direction they want an Islamic republic. Our nation is Muslim and is enthusiastic about Islam; it has experienced Islamic justice; our history has informed us about governments at the advent of Islam and has enlightened us on how these governments and the rulers had been. The Commander of the Faithful Ali ibn Abi Talib—who had been the ruler of a big domain, a huge country extending from Saudi Arabia to Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and other places—

¹ Referring to Bakhtiyar and his government.

appointed a judge to arbitrate on the case of a Jew who fought Ali ibn Abi Talib and complained against him. The judge summoned Hadrat Ali, who was obliged and appeared in the presence of the judge; together they heard and deliberated on the case in which the verdict reached was against Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him; that is, the government had decided and (Hadrat Ali) abided by the decision. No such governmental situation can ever find manifestation in humanity. We wish for such kind of government—a just government which is committed to the interest of the peasants; a government which believes that it should consume stale bread lest one citizen in the country lives in misery or hunger. We want to establish such a just government.

The illegitimate Pahlavi regime

As you all know—that is, the reporters know from the information they have in their own countries, and the information that we have in our country and the events we had been witnesses of—Rida Khan staged a coup d'état and came to Tehran.¹ After which he created a constitutional assembly, and handpicked the parliament members all of which he did at bayonet's point. The nation's discretion did not play any role, and was never taken into account in these affairs. He gathered such a horde and, at bayonet's point, set up a constitutional assembly, which cast its vote. But this vote bore no legitimacy; that parliament was not a national parliament; and because it was not a national one, the Pahlavi monarchical regime was based on coercion and hence was illegitimate. When a regime was not legitimate, the parliaments formed thereafter were not national or legitimate. All these matters tell us that neither the present government nor the parliament is legitimate—not this parliament or that parliament.²

Introduction of the provisional government based on the rule of jurists

And because we consider the parliament and the government illegitimate, we see Iran in chaos, and so in order to put an end to this chaotic situation we are introducing a government based on the public vote, which you all see now, and you have witnessed that the public vote is in our favor and we have been recognized as an agent or as you call it the "leadership". We are introducing the head of this government in order to form a provisional government which will not only put an end to the chaos, but also address the issue of setting up a parliamentary assembly, which is of utmost significance,

¹ In principle, Iran.

² The national parliamentary assembly and senate assembly.

and pave the way for the holding of parliamentary elections and make the preliminary preparations for such and set up the parliament. Likewise, it should see to the holding of elections during which people will elect a permanent government. The parliamentary assembly will in turn hold a referendum for the people to decide on an Islamic republic, although I believe that a referendum is not really necessary and the people have repeatedly "voted" for an Islamic republic. However, in order to end all pretexts and count all the votes, we should carry out such tasks in a free atmosphere so that the people and the whole world will know that the votes cast in a free manner by the people are cast for whom and for what regime. Therefore, we appointed a provisional government at the helm of which we have appointed Mr. Mahdi Bazargan, whom I have known personally for years, and who is a pious, religious, sincere, nationalistic man who believes in religions, and is not affiliated to any faction that is against canonical regulations. He will then appoint and introduce his ministers so that the revolutionary council, which chose him as the head of this government, can examine his cabinet ministers and, God willing, all affairs will be carried out with ease and facility. I should make you aware of another issue and that is if I have named him as the ruler, I did so based on the agency granted to me by the sacred canonical laws.

Expediency of obeisance to the provisional government

He whom I have designated is to be made obeisance to; the nation must obey him. This government is no ordinary one; it is a canonical government. Opposition to this government is opposition to the canon laws and is tantamount to rebellion against religion. Rebellion against religion is meted with a heavy punishment in our laws and jurisprudence. I warn those who might entertain such an idea to sabotage it and, God forbid, stage an uprising against this government; I declare that the punishment of those elements in Islamic jurisprudence is very heavy. Rebellion against this government is rebellion against God and rebellion against God is atheism. I warn these people (Bakhtiyar's government) to come to their senses and let this country be delivered from this anarchy; do not let this noble blood be shed and so much blood of our youth be shed anymore. Let our economy be corrected; gradually, we will put things in their right order. I implore God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant Engineer Bazargan success in carrying out this mission in the best way possible.

Replies to reporters' questions

[After Imam Khomeini's speech and the introduction of the provisional government's prime minister, reporters asked their questions to which the Imam answered briefly. The questions and answers are as follows:]

Question: [Your Eminence, the Ayatullah, said that anyone who refused to accept this government would be punished; if the military does not approve of it, what will you do?]

Answer: The military will never take such action. And if it does, firstly, the corresponding punishment will be meted out by God; secondly, the punishment that Islamic law has determined for such will be carried out should the circumstances demand so. And if, God forbid, the military did so, we would announce it.

Q: [Considering the close contact that Bazargan had with you as well as with Bakhtiyar, what do you think will be Bakhtiyar's and the military's reaction?]

A: If both are sensible and want the country's interest, their reaction will be positive; if they are traitors and want to betray the country, their affair will be with God.

Q: [Do you think that the 1906 Constitution¹ is acceptable and can serve as a framework during the transition period?]

A: Except from several articles that were incorporated into the constitution by coercion, the constitution holds until the time that the nation votes otherwise.

[Afterward, Engineer Bazargan expressed the following in a speech:

I thank God the Almighty for conferring upon me such credibility and honor which I do not merit or have the competence for. I also would like to express my gratitude to the Iranian nation, which, as the Ayatullah has repeatedly stressed, has taken strides and raised their voices "in the name of the nation, the nation's voice and for the nation."

This mission, that is the provisional government's policy and the installation of a government during this difficult and perilous time is the greatest profession and responsibility and, at the same time, the greatest honor that has been conferred upon this humble servant. And perhaps, I am right in saying that it is the most difficult responsibility and task that has, so

¹ The Constitution of the Constitutional Movement.

far, been granted upon any candidates and agents of other prime ministries during the 72 years history of the Constitutional Movement. In principle, considering the feebleness, inadequacy and defects that I have, I should not accept this responsibility and undertake such a mandate. However, on the other hand, I am compelled to do so on account of expediency, responsibility and natural duty, and I will tread this path, particularly, in order to follow the policy and tradition the Ayatullah has had during the period of his administration and leadership of the movement, and his resolute determination, absolute faith in God and belief in the success of the path his leadership has taken. This is the first lesson and command that I have received from the Ayatullah. Hadrat Ali ibn Abi Talib's (a) commandment, to which I am duty-bound and committed, states: "When you are confronted with a grave matter and a difficult task do not ever waiver, face it and, with God's might and power, the difficulties and problems will be resolved."

Hence, I hereby declare, with hope in God, while expressing my gratitude to the Ayatullah, the expectation of the nations of Iran and the world, that I am accepting this commitment and responsibility. I am prepared to face the dangers and take the efforts that concern me and I will fulfill all my responsibilities to the best of my abilities and take part in the crusade in the path of my beloved Iranian nation. "There is no power greater than the power of God, the Greatest."

After Mr. Bazargan's speech, Imam Khomeini said:]

After thanking the Iranian nation, who have suffered and taken efforts during this long period and who have served Islam by shedding their blood, there is one thing I would like to inform the nation and that is the nation should voice out their opinions regarding Mr. Bazargan's government, which is a canonical and Islamic government; they should make their opinions known through the media, peaceful demonstrations in cities, villages and wherever there are Muslims.

[At the end, Mr. Hashimi Rafsanjani read the text of the decree designating Mr. Bazargan as the prime minister of the provisional government, which had been issued and written by Imam Khomeini.]¹

¹ The text of the decree has been published during its historic course on February 4, 1979 [Bahman 15, 1357 AHS] before the delivery of this speech.

Speech

Date: February 5, 1979 [Bahman 16, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Unity of expression, the key to victory

Audience: The *ulama* of Khuzestan and a group of the people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safeguarding the unity of expression is everyone's duty

I am sending my greetings to the native people of that side (of Iran), such as Ahwaz, Khorramshahr, Abadan and other places through Their Excellencies, the great religious scholars and Islamic clergy and I want them to obey their great religious scholars in this issue, and participate in this movement, be persistent and uphold the activities taking place in the capital until the movement comes to fruition. I would like them not to shirk away from it and safeguard the unity of expression. The secret of success in toppling and annihilating a 2,500-year-old dictatorial monarchy¹ is the Iranian nation's unity of expression, which has overthrown the Shah with all the power that he possessed, but it is this power of the nation, which has made the powers supporting him such as America, the USSR, China, and Britain to withdraw their support.

The Shah's inexpiable crimes

Regrettably, the Shah got away and the nation was not able to catch him and make him compensate for at least a few of the crimes he had committed. He has committed so many crimes that no human being could ever atone for and for which no punishment could be meted out. He has rendered thousands of people homeless; he has made thousands vagrant; he had committed thousands of crimes. To a certain extent, if it involves one person (killing)

¹ Early in March 1976 and on the birthday anniversary of Rida Khan, the Iranian Parliament and Senate passed a bill to change the official calendar of Iran from the Islamic Solar *Hijri* to that of Monarchial by basing the start of the said calendar on the establishment of monarchial rule in Iran and the start of Achaemenid dynasty by Cyrus in 529 BC. The deposed Shah of the time celebrated the day by spending millions of dollars to mark the day while the impoverished citizens of Iran were living under the worst economic hardships and deprived of any sort of political activities. The deposed monarch took extreme pride in celebrating the 2,500 years of monarchial rule in Iran.

against another, that person can be executed (as a punishment), but against hundreds of thousands, it is not possible. His punishment should be meted out in the other world, which is eternal and the world of retribution. God willing, he will eventually be meted out the chastisement he deserves. Our duty now is to follow the path of this movement together in one unified stand and without ever expecting any rewards in this state of guidance. We should tread this path up until the end because it is for the prosperity of this nation that we be able to implement Islamic tenets and execute Islamic justice, God willing.

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

Speech

Date: February 5, 1979 [Bahman 16, 1357 AHS /Rabi al-Awwal 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The Pahlavi rule, the rule of the bayonet; and illegal contracts

Audience: Members of the National Legislative Assembly who left their posts

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

The Shah did not heed advice

We advised the Shah but his arrogance prevented him from heeding our advice and things ended up the way you see them now. He did not listen to our advice and the situation boiled down to what they are now. He has gone now and he destroyed the country and left. That is, he rendered the whole country in utter ruins that there is not a single patch of land left that is redeemable. Take the agriculture for example, it is completely destroyed. Look at our culture, it is a parasitic culture. Look at the military, it is run by American and Israeli advisers and wherever you look the same situation exists.

An American-installed or a monarchy-oriented parliament

During the fifty-year period (of Pahlavi rule), we never had a legal parliament. The parliament was in no connection with the people who were not consulted on any issues. At the time of Rida Khan, I can remember and anybody of my age can remember—you can not recall—that we did not have any parliament. Whatever we had was brought about with the force of the bayonet! You all know that during Rida Khan's time, he himself had said that lists (deputies) were brought from (foreign) embassies. However, he would say that they used to be brought in before and not during his time! He meant that when he staged a "revolution", the lists were not brought anymore. But the issue is that if what he was saying was right that lists would be brought in—which was true—then our parliament was an American protégé parliament; and if it was a lie and lists were not brought in, then the parliament is an imperial rubber-stamp parliament! It was not the nation's parliament. Therefore, those people and the governments who were offshoots of such a parliament and Rida Khan's and the imperial regime were largely illegal because the parliament was illegal. The Shah is illegal for we know that he had been imposed upon us. His father was imposed on us by the

British and I myself heard it from Delhi radio, which was run by the British, that they installed him to power, but he betrayed them so they deposed him! He was not a nationalist and was then imposed upon the Allied powers. He himself had written in his book that the Allied powers believed that they had to be! But later it seemed this story was omitted from the books. We have had neither a legitimate monarch nor a legal parliament. At the time of Rida Shah, the parliament was set up at bayonet's point. Therefore, the installation of the Pahlavi dynasty was with the force of the bayonet and not by the parliament. Hence, we do not accept all these because they are all illegal based on the fact that the Shah is illegal and that the government arising from an illegal parliament and monarch is illegal. Everything that has transpired in this country so far (has all been against the law.)

Illegal contracts, and a warning to Bakhtiyar

If we take a little effort, we will discover that all the contracts that had been signed during these fifty years were against the law. That is the previous Parliament was not a national one; the government, which it introduced, was not borne out of the people; everything was accomplished at bayonet's point. In other words, we lived at bayonet's point for these fifty years and these past couple of years we have lived at bayonet's point and with bloodshed. We lived in bloodshed. All our children are either in prison or, in exile, or have been tortured to death or have been burnt. They (executioners) would place a metal tray on which prisoners would be made to lie and then electricity would pass through their bodies and they were burnt! Such was the situation we were in! We were in such deplorable conditions.

The government of this man,¹ which was an offshoot of this parliament and monarch, and one that has been brought about by the force of the bayonets, is not a government until we say he should step down and resign! It is not a true government. He does not need to resign at all. Only if a government is legal the person can resign. However, if anybody comes to his senses and repent, his repentance will be accepted by God and the nation. Those who do not relinquish their posts are culpable; and are wallowing in sin in their life. Those who have abandoned their posts are absolved from blame and God accepts their repentance. I implore God to grant you success so that from now on you will be for the nation. Mister, side with the nation and advise this man (the Shah) to be with the nation. If you can, go and have a meeting with him so that mayhem will be avoided. Do not let it reach a point where we will be forced to tell the nation to attack and destroy him. We

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar.

do not want things to turn out this way. We wish that the issue be resolved in a sensible manner. And since we do not recognize him as the prime minister, we have appointed a prime minister based on canonical rule and leadership.

Speech

Date: February 5, 1979 [Bahman 16, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: A warning to the army and the usurping government; the necessity of obeying the provisional government

Audience: The clergy, a group of military personnel, eleven parliament members who have resigned from the national legislative assembly

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

A piece of advice to the army and the usurping government

Although I am not very well, I have to say a few words. We have always wanted the people to be prosperous and lead their lives in peace. We never wished such revolution to happen; the revolution that they have brought forward, which brought sufferings for us, and abjection for them; but they acted senselessly and it happened. Had they accepted our advice, things would have not reached this point. Now we are once again advising those who are usurpers. We are advising the illegitimate government; we are advising the army to stop resisting if you want this country to attain peace and stability. Those who are occupying their posts illegally should leave and mind their own business. The army should also return to the nation's embrace and the nation will accept them. If they heed this piece of advice, the problems will be resolved, the country will find peace and culture, economy and other aspects of the society will assume a definite form, little by little of course, and the rest will fall into their specific and rightful places.

The decimation of the country in the name of civilization and progress

Although this man, whose name is Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, is gone now, he has destroyed every single aspect of the country; he left us a country in ruins. Everywhere you look you will see a trail of destruction: the economy is a shambles; the agriculture is completely devastated; in the name of "Land Reforms" they have despoiled the agriculture and established a market for their (foreign) masters. In the name of "civilization" and "progress," they pushed us backward and made our culture backward. They rendered conditions inside Iran execrable except the graveyards, which have flourished! That is the graveyards, which were but a few now have increased in number and have expanded. However, the country's conditions have

become deplorable. If they listen to the clergy's advice and obey what we are saying which is for the good of the nation, things will not be the way they are now: neither will the graveyards expand further nor will the country be worse than its present state; neither will the blood of our beloved youth be shed nor will the mothers who have lost their young sons be mourning. I advise this government and the army to desist from their obstinacy. Submit to the nation's vote (will), which you are now witnessing. The nation consists of every citizen residing in any place you call Iran, from the capital to the remotest hamlet. Go to a village and see if you find one where cries (against the Shah) are not heard. Will you find a city where people's cries demanding independence, freedom and Islamic republic, and not wanting this regime, is not heard?

A government based on religious law and compulsory obeisance to it

Respect the nation's opinion. Respect the opinion of the Islamic *ulama*. Respect the views of the nation's different walks of life. Desist from further attacking the people. We have appointed a government. We have this right on both legal and religious law bases. Based on the religious law authority, which we possess, and based on the votes cast by the nation, which acknowledges us, we have appointed Mr. Mahdi Bazargan to form a government, a provisional one in order to hold a referendum that will enable us to assess the people's votes regarding the regime. However, I do not see any necessity for this because the nation has already cast its vote through their cries. They have shouted out so loudly that they want an Islamic rule and do not want the monarchial regime. Therefore, there is really no need for it, but in order to put an end to excuses and prove that such is the case; that Iranian nation is Muslim; it does not want an anti-Islamic regime; the nation of Islam wants the rule of Islam, an Islamic government, a government of justice; to prove this, we have appointed him (Bazargan) to hold a referendum and provide the preliminary ground for us to be able to assess the public consensus. And the people, if the people have any comment on the matter, they will have the chance to express their opinion regarding this government. Tomorrow all the people everywhere in Iran, in all the cities of Iran, in Tehran and all its localities, should express their opinion regarding this government that we have appointed. They should demonstrate and let their ideas be known, or declare that they do not want an Islamic government and should voice it out that they do not want it. Or, that they believe that this appointed government which is based on the authority of the religious law should be a religious law government, not only a legitimate one. That is, a

religious law government that must be obeyed. It is binding upon everyone to obey this government. A similar case was that of Malik al-Ashtar, who would be deployed to a place and appointed by Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him. He was a ruler to whom obeisance was indispensable meaning he was divinely ordained ruler and a religious judge. We have also invested him (Bazargan) with a religious law mandate and a legal government; hence, obeisance to him is obligatory.

An uprising against an Islamic government is tantamount to a rebellion against the Truth and is punishable. However, opposition to this regime or any other regime is a sin against God, but the chastisement does not mean that it is to be found in common law; contrary to a rebellion against the government. In our religious law, an uprising against a government is meted out with a customary punishment, which is very harsh. In this connection, we remind and announce to all governments, all incumbent governments, provincial governors, the gendarmerie everywhere, the army wherever it is, office employees, the prime ministry and everybody else that Mr. Bazargan has been invested with a religious law rule by me, and it is incumbent upon all to make obeisance to him. And you, gentlemen, who are men of letters and of the *ulama*, should enlighten the people. If you are to go somewhere, go ahead, enlighten the people, and make them understand that the issue is an issue concerning the rule of justice; the issue is that of an Islamic rule. We hope that, later on, control will devolve on you and that you appoint a parliament. For fifty years, our parliament was of the monarchy; it was not a national one. Now we want to set up a national parliament, with the people controlling it and appointing the deputies. Their destiny should be in their own hands.

May God grant you health and victory and may you all stay in good health and keep your dignity, God willing.

Message

Date: February 6, 1979 [Bahman 17, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Expressing gratitude for telegrams and letters of congratulations for the return of Imam Khomeini to Tehran

In His Most Exalted Name

I would like to thank all of those who have sent their congratulations or expressed their gratitude, affection, loyalty, appreciation, and solidarity. I implore God the Almighty to grant everyone victory over the enemy of Islam and the Muslims, and success in the establishment of the Islamic Republic.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 6, 1979 [Bahman 17, 1357 AHS /Rabi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Acknowledging the receipt of a letter and telegram

Addressee: Sayyid Jalaluddin Tahiri Isfahani

In His Most Exalted Name

Hujjat al-Islam Tahiri, may his blessings last:

I would like to inform you that your respectable letter showing concern for my well-being and expressing your affection has been received. Likewise, the telegram that you had written has reached us, which, God willing, will be answered separately. It is hoped that you do not forget to remember us in your prayers. I implore God the Almighty for the greatness of Islam and Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH

Letter

Date: February 6, 1979 [Bahman 17, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Expressing gratitude

Addressee: Sayyid Sajjad Hujaj Miyanei

In His Most Exalted Name

Honorable Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Sajjad Hujaj Miyanei, may his blessings last:

I wish to acknowledge the receipt of the letter you had written regarding my arrival in Iran and I would like to thank you for your kind sentiment. I am aggrieved by the fact that you had been attacked¹ by mercenary agents. I implore God the Almighty for your early recovery and the severance of foreign interests from Islamic countries, in particular Iran. I hope you will not forget me in your prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH

¹ Hujaj Miyane'i was severely injured when the Shah's mercenaries attacked a demonstration staged by the people of Miyaneh and was hospitalized. This event took place during Shapur Bakhtiyar's premiership.

Speech

Date: February 6, 1979 [Bahman 17, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The role of virtuous people in the country's reconstruction

Audience: The personnel of the Navy

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

Plundering of the fruit of the labor of the masses

Until now, you have been at the service of the *taghut*. It is most unfortunate that this group, which should serve Iran and build a safe Iran for us, is at the service of someone that was endeavoring to destroy the country. For fifty years, we suffered from the rule of Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida Khan, whose treacheries during the first fifty years have escalated in the second fifty years of their rule. During these second thirty-eight years, which was the period of his rule, his treacheries have been much more than the previous rule (Rida Khan's). This person has bled us dry. They escaped; they carted off the nation's wealth and left. Somebody has written to me, or has informed me through a magazine, or maybe it has been sent to me from somewhere saying that one of his (Shah's) sisters, I do not know which one, has bought a mansion at a certain price, the amount of which I also do not remember; what I remember is that six million dollars was spent on its garden flowers! Do you understand? Can it ever occur in your imagination? Can we understand what it means? Six million dollars, equal to thirty-seven million tumans, has been spent merely for the garden flowers of this lady's mansion! From whose wealth did she take the money? What did her father who came to power in a coup d'état have? Nothing but a bunch of starving soldiers! It was taken from this nation's and our wealth. They impoverished and looted this nation. His and his family's wealth, which was in banks and was around thirty billion dollars or tumans; I'm not sure which. Three billion and some hundreds [of thousands] of dollars of those who were his followers—those field marshals and lieutenant generals, and so and so, also plundered our wealth and ran away. You, who had been serving the country, have been deprived! Those who were in top positions and were betraying (the country), those top people indulged in plundering, stealing and then ran away.

Resistance of the barefooted people against tanks and cannons

From now on, you should be at the service of the nation. Serve your own nation. This land is yours. This country should be yours. The foreigners' hands should be severed. How much more must America, Britain or others plunder this country? We, at some time should become alert, vigilant, observant, and regain freedom. We have to gain our right through bayonets and machine guns. They (the regime) will not grant it to us. Stand against them. You have witnessed how this nation, the barefooted ones, stood against tanks, cannons and machine guns and advanced their cause. All these superpowers were supporters of the Shah, but these barefooted masses stood up to the tanks with their bare fists, sacrificed themselves, and pushed them back, so the Shah was not able to stay here any longer; they all ran away.

Reconstruction by means of the unsullied people

From now on, you must be more heedful and you must make your friends and comrades aware. Tell them that you want their welfare. We are crying out that the army must be independent; that is it must not be subservient (to another). This is for your own good. Or, do you like our army to be under the supervision of America, and worse than that, of Israel? The army must be reformed. You should all join hands and together correct these matters, set the country right and reconstruct it from the beginning. They (the regime) destroyed the country and then ran away, now, we must build it. What they have accomplished is that they have expanded the cemeteries! They buried all our youth and ran away. Now, we should all join hands, collaborate and build the country. Those in the army who are blameless should reconstruct it; those untainted civilians who are working in offices should rebuild the offices. The people should rebuild the bazaar; they should rebuild the agriculture. The regime had completely destroyed the agriculture. You all know that Iran was a country that exported goods. Now, people stretch their hands toward America and other places. May God protect you all. May you be successful and may God help you.

Dialogue between the Imam and some navy personnel

[A person from the audience: Excuse me. We, of course, know that you are tired and we do not want to inconvenience you, but we want to bring up an issue regarding the military. We would like tell you about what you have said about our being at the service of the *taghut*; if God accepts us, although I have spent twenty-five years in the military and have worn the *taghuti* uniform, if it is acceptable to God, then I have not been a traitor].

Imam: By “at the service of,” we mean that you (the navy personnel) were in a place where the *taghut* had business in and, of course, I know that in the military, the people are respectable, committed, decent and pure. We have pinned our hopes on the military, trusting that there are many who are upright. God willing, our country will be reformed by these people. When I said that all of you were at the service of the *taghut* I meant that you were working in a place where the *taghut* was present, not that you were their servants. God willing, you will be successful.

[The same military person addressing the Imam: If you allow me, there is another issue I want to bring up and that is the fact that many people are awaiting your arrival in Qum very eagerly and they are expecting you to go there. They believe that they will find relief if your honor goes to Qum. They will be free from all the hassle.]

Imam: No, tell them that I will not go until I have removed all your inconveniences. No, God willing. No!

[One of the army personnel: Qum can easily be surrounded and communications be cut off.]

Imam: No, be assured. I am neither from Qum nor from Tehran or any other place. I am from Iran. I am in Iran and a friend of all Iranians.

[One of the army personnel: May God grant you long life so that you can rescue us from the claws of these bloodthirsty elements.]

Imam: We need everybody’s assistance. Everybody should lend a hand. God willing, you will be successful. May God protect you.

Speech

Date: February 6, 1979 [Bahman 17, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The record of the Pahlavi's rule

Audience: Exporters of agricultural dried fruits and grains

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

The plunder of spiritual and material resources

Perhaps you gentlemen are better informed than I am that during these fifty years of the Pahlavi's dark rule, this dynasty left almost nothing for Iran; that is they have destroyed its human and material resources. They have kept backward the universities that should create human resources for us, and were ordered not to allow one single accomplished and serving human being be produced in them. They gave away our underground resources, such as oil, to so and so and in exchange for it, they got something that is of no use to us; instead, they built bases for America. In other words, they gave away our oil and on the pretext that they wanted arms (to be prepared) against other governments; and using the issue of not having (military) experts in the country to deal with the issue, they said that (Americans) should be here. So that, when the USSR complains why they (Americans) have set up military bases, they can reason out that these bases belong to Iran and the arms are bought with its oil money. Nevertheless, the truth of the matter is that the arms were not the oil money, rather they plundered our oil and in exchange for it, they created jobs for themselves. This is one of the crimes that must be recorded in history.

They left Iran with full pockets

With the present state of the country's economy, you will understand how and in what aspects they have ruined it. The main thing that was of value in Iran was its agriculture. Iran's agriculture was rich and its products more than what the country needed. (Iran) should have been an exporter but instead it is an importer; everything that we need has to be brought from a foreigner, from abroad. One of our pasturelands, believed to be the finest, and which the experts had appraised to be the best in the world for raising livestock, according to what had been written to me, were given away to the Queen of England and to the company of which she was a partner. They had

forbidden the jungles to the people, but they gave them to the others and the foreigners. At last, they have plunged the country into such a deplorable state that, as I have reiterated, it has been decimated, but they have developed the graveyards!! They took our youth to the graveyards, plundered our wealth, and took it abroad. And now that they have escaped, they did with their pockets full. Either he (the Shah) or anyone related to him, they all went abroad with full pockets. The country that is now in your hands is one that is in chaos. Now we have to build it. A country that has been “foreign-ravaged” should be called “war-ravaged” and “earthquake-stricken” has to be rebuilt. Do not think that one class of people or one government can accomplish this task. Neither the traders nor the farmers can accomplish this task. Everybody should join hands in order to deliver the national human society of Iran from this oppression and affliction. Everybody should join hands and perform this national duty in order to rescue the country from the destruction it is finding itself in.

The ideal Islamic rule

The people, I mean the occupation, which has a major role in this task is the traders, who should do their fair share of the efforts to be taken. We should give vice and make statements and the gentlemen should take the efforts. We are not able to do other than this. We can provide the counsel and the gentlemen should take the efforts. I hope that, God willing, if we had not gained this victory now, toppling this dynasty would have been sufficient for us, but it certainly is not. We have to strive to take this movement to fruition and have here a just government in which none can ever fill their pockets (with people’s money), a government that believes it is of the nation and its servant and not its master. These governments and rulers we had always believed that the nation was their slaves. This is in contradiction to the traditions of the prophets, our ancestor, human wisdom, human rights and the international laws which they never implemented. God willing, there will be established a government that is responsible toward the nation, a parliament that is of the nation. During the last fifty years we have never had a parliament that was of us. Its deputies have always been determined by others or by the foreigners. And as Muhammad Rida Khan had admitted himself, (foreign embassies) would send the list of deputies; but even if they had not done so, the parliament members were determined through coercion. Our destiny was drawn by the (regime’s) bayonets. We hope that, God willing, our destiny will be a Quranic one. May God grant all of you success and enable us to serve.

Support for the provisional government

[One of those present said: Thank you very much. Toeing the line of your command, if it becomes expedient, I would like to ask you, on behalf of everybody, to appoint a body like these committees or anybody else to whom we can refer to, to be in charge of this country's exports, and with God's power and might we can boost the country's exports which have been reduced to such a deplorable state as a result of the corrupt governments.]

God willing, this issue will be rectified. I chose Engineer Bazargan in order to set up a government, which is a provisional government. I know him and he is an upright man. And the gentlemen here should support him and announce it through newspapers. God willing, he will establish his government. We hope that affairs will return to their original state and, God willing, issues and problems such as these will be resolved, of course, little by little.

[The same person: Thank you very much. Of course, we confirm his (Bazargan's) appointment. As I have stated at the beginning in your presence, we would like to congratulate the nation and extend our full support for him. We will extend any assistance that we can to the best of our abilities to this incoming government that you have elected. And as you have said last night, we will do our very best to make use of the newspapers and other media that we can avail ourselves of in order to confirm our support for him.]

May you be successful.

[The same person: There is another matter I would like to bring up, and that is some of the gentlemen had requested us to ask the Ayatullah's pardon if perchance they were not able to come during the few days that we wanted to hold audience with you.]

I pardon everyone.

Speech

Date: February 6, 1979 [Bahman 17, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Unity of expression; Shiah-Sunni fraternity; the position of the religious minorities; supporting the military

Audience: Teachers and theology students of Qum's theological center, and national airline and oil company employees

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

The country of the Imam of the Time (a)

I would like to thank all the social classes of the nation. I thank the nation for creating this cooperation between the nation and the government. You owe your success to the solidarity of some (groups) with others. I am thankful that the clergy have come here together with academicians, the oil company's employees, and airline employees have announced their solidarity in this way. The clergy who are at Qum's theological center and other holy religious centers, in the major centers of Iran—Tehran and other places—and have all united and concerted efforts in the way of Islam will be rewarded. May the Almighty God grant you dignity and greatness. May God sever the foreign hands off our country. This is the country of the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him; foreign hands should not have anything to do with him. Anyone who is not united with the Imam of Time, may God's peace be upon him, should step aside.

The key to victory

We had faced many adversities and will face adversities in the future. The key to what had been achieved so far and to the victory is the unity of expression. It was the unity of expression of the Iranians and all walks of life which have brought the superpowers down to their knees and brushed aside this satanic power. It scuttled and pushed aside the great satanic powers that were backing him (the Shah). This key is the unity of expression, which should be safeguarded. Safeguarding this unity of expression will, God willing, take us to the end of our struggle. All the gentlemen (present here), all walks of life, all those who are interested in Islam, in Muslims and in the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him, must continue the struggle and the movement, in one united stand. This sacred movement is present

until the time we accomplish our objectives, that is the final victory, which consists of the elimination of all the satanic powers, and the succession of power of compassion in our country, which belongs to the Imam, to the Imam of the Time, to God and to the Prophet of Islam. We must all be united in expression so that we can brush aside this satanic power, which is now tottering. Nothing but a modicum has remained of it.

A message to the military

Once more, they are making incorrect statements! If they (the regime) respected the nation and the votes of the nation, they would realize that it was the nation's vote that is now being expressed through their cries in the streets in all the provincial towns. The nation's vote and unity is announcing their support¹ and solidarity when they take to the streets tomorrow in all the Iranian cities, in Tehran and the rest of the cities in Iran. Anybody who believes that he is of this nation and is telling the truth should be in solidarity with the nation. The military should unite with the nation. The military is of the nation and the nation is of the military. We declare our support for the military. The clergy announce their support for the military. Likewise, the military should join in the ranks of Muslims like the rest of the Muslims and become the army of the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him, not the army of his enemies. Oh, the respectable armed forces! You are Muslims, you are of the prophet and the Quran, you are of the Prophet of Islam and the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon them, you should also be shouting in unison within the ranks of Muslims. We are united in expression with all Muslims and all the nations.

Announcement of unity and solidarity

We are announcing our solidarity with the religious minorities. We announce our fraternity with our Sunni brothers. The enemies of Islam want to create disparity between our brothers and us. The enemies of Islam and those duped by them are publicizing differences between these two sects (Sunni and Shiah) at this time. We announce the unity of expression of the Muslims. If Muslims had unity of expression, it would have been impossible for the foreigners to dominate them. This schism between Muslims has made the foreigners dominate us. This discord between Muslims first found existence by the hands of the ignorant people, and up to now, we are still entangled in it. It is incumbent upon Muslims to be united. This is a critical period, which is a matter of life and death. We either remain under the yoke

¹ Support for Mr. Bazargan's provisional government.

of exploitation and despotism forever, or be freed from this yoke. If we do not keep our unity of expression, we will be afflicted until the end.

Sunnis and Shiah are brothers

Gentlemen! All of us are responsible. The clergy is at the top of the list of those bound by these responsibilities. It is incumbent upon the clergy to go to towns, cities and remote areas, the villages and hamlets and announce to the people the issues that we are talking about. In remote places people might be taken advantage of and publicize wrong notions (about the revolution). These elements cannot publicize adverse propaganda at the center of the country like Tehran and other major cities; however, in remote towns and villages, they are disseminating mendacities and lies. For instance, they are saying that in the Islamic government religious minorities will be annihilated! This is in contradiction to Islam. Islam respects religious minorities. In Islam, religious minorities are accorded with respect. Likewise, in Islam there is not any difference between Sunni and Shiah at all. There should not be any schism between the Sunni and Shiah. You should safeguard your unity of expression. Our infallible Imams had enjoined on us to be welded together and to maintain our congregation, and anyone who wishes to break up this assembly is either ignorant or of malicious intent. These words should not be heeded. Our Sunni brothers should not be influenced by the publicity created by the enemies of Islam. We are their brothers and they are our brothers. This country belongs to all of us. It belongs to the religious minorities, to the religious people among us, and to our Sunni brothers. We are all together (with one united stand.)

Responsibility to enlighten and propagate

That which is incumbent upon you gentlemen who are men of learning, you the respectable theology students and great scholars, may God add up to your rewards, is to disperse in cities and propagate our cause and aims there. (Go to) cities and remote places and propagate this matter to settle these differences and rectify the mistakes.

I beseech God the Almighty for the health of all of the *ulama*. As has been said, the respectable attendants¹ of Qum are also present here; and they have my gratitude; they are of us too and we are of them; they are our Islamic brothers too. They are also servant of FaTimah, of Hadrat FaTimah

¹ Attendants of Hadrat Fatimah MaSumah's (a) holy shrine in Qum.

Masumah¹ and are great in our eyes. I am servant of all of you. May God grant success to all of you.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ It refers the daughter of Imam Musa Al-Kazim (a). She went to visit her brother, Imam ar-Rida (a) a year after Ma'mun appointed Imam ar-Rida as his successor. She fell ill in Saveh region on her way to Mashhad and passed away seventeen days later. The area was then renamed Qum in her honor. Her burial site is located in a neighborhood used to be called Pabellan. She is reported to have lived no more than 21 or 22 years.

Speech

Date: February 6, 1979 [Bahman 17, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Damage done by the Shah's regime in Iran; everybody's participation in reconstruction.

Audience: Various classes of people, physicians and pharmacists

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

Destruction and backwardness

I thank you for your show of affection. May God bless you with prosperity. I hope that at this sensitive moment that our country is in a great predicament all the gentlemen here, all walks of life and guilds of the people will help each other, and, God willing, rebuild anew this country, which has been destroyed by these people (the Shah's henchmen) who abandoned it and ran away. At the present time, everything in our country has been reduced to ruins. On the one hand, they had kept the universities backward and never allowed students to be trained properly; and on the other, they had thrown them into disarray; and retarded the growth of the rest of educators.

They had transformed the press in such a way that some of its pages were for the dissemination of corruption! They had destroyed the rest of the country including the economy, the military and everything we had. Most important of all, they had squandered the human power. In order to inveigle the youth into using addictive stuff, they scattered opium and heroin and lured them to it. They built centers of prostitution and dragged the youth into them.

Cinemas were metamorphosed into vulgar centers toward which they had dragged the youth. They had completely corrupted our youth. On the one hand, they had devastated our economy, and on the other, our agriculture was reduced to nothing. They had squandered our oil, and in exchange, they brought for us scrap iron, which benefited them (Americans).

All together on the road to reconstruction

We have to rebuild our country anew and this cannot be accomplished by the government alone, or by some groups of the nation. Everybody should partake in this. If all the people join hands, this country will be delivered from this chaos and confusion, God willing. As you have witnessed yourselves, when you joined hands, you were able to overcome the powers.

The retreat of the superpowers before the closed fists of the masses

You should know that behind this man,¹ who had held power here and was backed by the military, all the world's superpowers such as the USSR and America queued up in support albeit some of them explicitly and some implicitly like Britain, China and the Arab countries. However, the nation clenched its fist, rose and pushed everybody back, and made that person who, if given the chance would have laid claim to being a pharaoh and a god stand in abjection and repent! But the nation did not accept it and said, "No! You have to leave!" Now he is gone and America will not accept him (into the US)! Now he is in Rabat.² Where? Somewhere he is sitting and flouncing about, but all his nerves are shattered; that is you have wrecked his nerves, you have struck his nerves with your fists. Now go ahead, clench your fists, and jab into the brains of these people who want to keep this totem. Now this totem has been reduced to nothing. They should be sensible. Is it ever possible to oppose a nation?! One nation is not one or two persons, nor is it one or two parties. One nation wants something. Is it possible that the nation does not get what it wants from these people (the regime)?

I implore God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant you health. May you all be successful, God willing.

¹ The Shah.

² The capital of Morocco.

Letter

Date: February 6, 1979 [Bahman 17, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Expressing gratitude

Addressee: MaHmudi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Hujjat al-Islam MaHmudi, may his graces last:

I would like to inform the receiving of the reverent letter of congratulation of the great *ulama* and the respectable residents of the town of Varamin and its suburbs on my arrival. I thank the gentlemen's expression of concern and affections. I regret to inform you that due to the innumerable difficulties and problems we are facing I cannot oblige your request.¹ Kindly extend my humble regards to the public. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 9, 1399 AH

¹ It refers to Varamin's residents' invitation for Imam to grant them the grace of his presence.

Speech

Date: February 7, 1979 [Bahman 18, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Connivance of the discord-mongers and the colonialists

Audience: Three hundred judges and lawyers from the Justice Ministry

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

The conspiracy of the colonialists, discord among all strata of the nation

On the one hand I must express my sadness, and on the other my happiness. What has caused my sadness is that the various classes of the nation have distanced themselves from each other because of foreign conspiratorial exploits, which is a very grave issue that we have never faced in our life. Each and every guild gathered on one side: the academician on one side, the clergy on another, Justice Ministry judges on one side and the clerical scholars on the other. The same is true with the Justice Ministry lawyers. And it was the conspiracy of the foreign agents who were involved in some activities inside the country.

Studies made by experts of colonialism

Their (colonialists') experts, who delved into a deep study in the past, have investigated and toured this land inch by inch and have discovered its resources. They studied our spiritual nature, our various tribes and whatever we appealed to. Based on their investigations, they found out that if religion is prevalent among the people and they are under one banner, they cannot be overcome and their treasury cannot be plundered. Therefore, in order to dominate them they tried to weaken religion and propagated that the basis of religion was something that the powers had concocted, saying that religion was the opium of the masses! The basis of religions is the opium of the society! This was aimed at demeaning religion in the minds of the people and the intellectuals so they would lose their faith in religion. However, the fact is that anyone who looks into the history of the prophets will understand that the prophets had hailed from among the masses and had assailed the powerful. They arose amidst the masses. Hadrat Musa (Prophet Moses) was a staff-bearing shepherd from among the masses who rose against the pharaoh and was victorious. Our own prophet whose history is more contemporary,

and, the gentlemen here perhaps know, was a person from the masses, from the common people; he was constantly at war with the oppressive powers, orchard owners, the wealthy and the capitalists from the start of his prophetic mission up until the end. The prophets were from the masses, and they would oppose the powerful clique; they were not from the oppressive powers who schemed to dupe the people. This is a very clear issue but foreign propaganda is very powerful.

The plot to separate the people from the clergy

They (the colonial power) realized that if the entire nation were united, they would not be able to steal the resources they wanted to loot. Hence, they thought they had to sow the seeds of discord among the nation. First, they turned their attention to the clergy. If anyone remembers, all the gentlemen present here remember that during the time of Rida Khan, they beat up the clergy so severely that neither a preacher nor a congregational prayer leader was left for us. They beat up everyone. Nor was there a parliament, that is parliament orators. They had humiliated the clergy in the eyes of the nation in such a manner that drivers sometimes would not give clergy a ride in their automobiles and would repeatedly tell them: "We will not let you sit in our automobiles!" They humiliated the clergy. On the one hand, they caused disparity between parties plunging them into disarray and creating chaos. They segregated the academicians from our universities¹. The former would ostracize the latter in one way, and vice-versa. There were so many other controversies to expound on and I do not feel very well. The gentlemen themselves should take note that all these were factors that this nation should vouchsafe their nationality under one banner because it was this solidarity that they (colonialists) wanted to snatch away from and divest the nation of and perhaps pit them as foes to one another. This is a great cause for concern. Therefore, prior to the movement we were never confronted by you; we were confronting another "clan."

That which has been the source of our delight is the fact that this Islamic movement of Iran has led to the reduction of the differences into mere deficiencies and they will be eliminated. The universities have become united with theology students. Now the parliament in which the gentlemen judges and lawyers are, has never been for us. Now that we are face to face, we would like to tell you our grievances and we have a lot of those; they are grievances that are also yours.

¹ Theological schools.

An account of half a century of treachery

We have never had freedom for fifty years. All of you know that when Rida Shah came to power and so brazenly occupied the throne, we had never had freedom; it was just recently that we have acquired it. Neither was there a free press, nor did we have an independent judiciary or a lawyers' guild. They had encroached on everything. Neither was there one single decent university, nor could they properly educate the youth whom they had detained in backwardness. The growth of our culture was reversed and our offspring pushed (culturally) backward. A lengthy chapter can be written regarding what they had done to the culture.

On the one hand, they created centers of prostitution nationwide, particularly in Tehran. Centers of prostitution proliferated in Tehran and its suburbs. They dragged the youth into these places and decimated human resources. And on the other, they had reduced the economy into a state that you see it now. And as you see, the agriculture too was kept from flourishing and was despoiled. Everything that we have has been destroyed. Our military is one that is governed by American and Israeli advisers. All these are adversities afflicting the country and us.

The Iranian nation's wishes

This nation has risen and is saying that it wants to be free. The wish of being independent is one of the human rights, and the whole world believes it in. This is the right (of everyone) to have their destiny in their hands. The nation is saying that it wants a just government; they want a just Islamic government. It is every man's wish to live under a rule wherein the ruler will not fill his pockets after sometime and transgress the limits (abuse his powers)! You just imagine how much these people plundered our resources, devoured everything and despoiled the country in their thirty-seven years of rule. American, British, and Swiss banks and so on, are chock-full with the nation's wealth all deposited in their names. We hope that the judiciary will consider the nation's demand and put this man on trial. If possible he be extradited here and stand trial. If we can we will try him here and if we cannot, then let us try him in absentia and freeze his assets in banks.

General mobilization to buttress the movement

But you, gentlemen, are well aware that they (regime) have gone and have left the country in ruins, a country whose everything is falling apart. Anywhere you turn your head there is corruption. And do you think all this can be remedied in one or two years and by one group? It is impossible! It is

incumbent upon all of us to help this movement, which we have brought to this stage and has achieved the present results; we hope that we will be able to achieve its ultimate goal. You are men of letters; you should write and discuss the matter. Or, shall I say, you should give talks, publicize it, expand it and support it. Support this (provisional) government, make declarations and announce them in newspapers. Thereafter, when, God willing, a rightful government is in place, then we should all assemble and, lamentably, rebuild the ruins! They have despoiled this country, and abandoned it after devouring and plundering its resources; now you should all join hands and rebuild this country anew. We should reconstruct it as if it had been devastated by an earthquake. I hope that God will make all walks of life closer to each other. I should not be cynical about you, nor should you be cynical about me, and, God willing, you are not. May God grant you all success and His approval. I thank you for coming.

Statements

Date: February 7, 1979 [Bahman 18, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The corrupt regime's illegitimate use of the mass media

Audience: The public

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

There were, and still are, some agencies present in this country, which should have been at the service of the people;¹ however, in the past they have been utilized by the usurping and corrupt regime for the sake of their immoral goals and spreading corruption.²

¹ When the television station was occupied by the military, a group of striking TV employees arranged to broadcast the events of the Revolution on a special channel, which they called "Channel 10" or "the Revolution Channel."

² At the end (of the message), Imam Khomeini expressed the wish that the radio, television and national mass media be successful and that they would render more services to the people.

Speech

Date: February 7, 1979 [Bahman 18, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Differences between Shiah and Sunnis

Audience: Ahmad Muftizadeh and a group from Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The root of discord between Shiah and Sunni brothers

The issue of the discord between these two groups and these two sects has its roots from the advent of Islam. At the time, Umayyad caliphs, in particular the Abbasids intended to cause division. They used to set up assemblies and fan the flames of discord. These differences gradually caused the Sunni and Shiah common people to become arrogant and compete with each other. However, the Sunnis neither complied, nor are complying, with the traditions of the Messenger of God, nor have the Shiah abided by the teachings of their pure Imams. Our infallible Imams made efforts to integrate them into that society, to say prayers with them and attend their burial ceremonies. Little by little, the situation took on a different turn, and the powerful clique did this to keep these two sects occupied (with their differences) and do whatever they want.

The satanic plots of the colonial powers

Approximately three hundred years ago, foreign policies were implemented in Iran and the East. They began to think about these matters. Their experts made a study of individuals and tribes, and observed the people's morale. They delved into their material concerns from every angle and tried to take advantages of them in two ways: material benefits, which they have already done, and spiritual ones in which they have exacerbated these differences and distanced us further from each other. When you see that whenever a word is spoken by someone, they call attention to it and print thousands and hundreds of thousands of copies, does not mean that this is done by an ordinary individual, but it is done by these (previous) governments and aliens who would exacerbate the differences and publish them in such a way...

The unity and brotherhood of Shiah and Sunnis

We are one; we are not separate. The difference is in belief; this should not cause us to differ on the basics of Islam. Islam is a lot loftier than these meanings that we, for example, do not know what to do because of the difference in creeds. When we see that Islam is in jeopardy, it is incumbent upon all of us to join hands and desist from committing our past mistakes. We should sever the hands that are scheming to separate us.

I hope that with the efforts of you scholars on one side and we the seminarians on the other, we will be able to resolve the differences, although we, ourselves have our differences: the disparity between the *Akhbaris* and the *marja at-taqlid* is one instance of this, and between the Sufis and the ritualist, another instance; and also recently between parties or between academicians and the clergy. They (alien powers) added fuel to these differences in order to keep us occupied with such matters and disgrace all of us, loot our wealth and cause our spirituality to fritter away. However, now the nation has awakened both in your and our parts, thank God, by the blessings of your very existence, and, here, by the blessings of the clergy. I hope that God will grant health to all of you. Convey my regards to the Kurdistan and Baluchi gentlemen. I am a servant of all of you. We are ready to deliver Islam from this adversity and rescue the Muslims from this disunity. May you be successful, God willing.

Message

Date: February 8, 1979 [Bahman 19, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Thanking the people of Yazd Province

Addressee: Muhammad Saduqi Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Saduqi, may his blessings last:

I would like to inform your honor that a great number of governmental and non-governmental personnel and employees from Bafq Province have sent letters and scrolls of congratulations on my return to the country; I am not able to reply to them individually because of the many engagements and difficulties I have at present. I would like to ask Your Venerable Eminence to extend my humble regards and gratitude to the public there and remind them to maintain their unity with all classes of the nation as before, and avoid discord. I implore God Almighty for the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims, and for the continued blessings upon everyone. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi al-Mawlud 10, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: February 8, 1979 [Bahman 19, 1399 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The Pahlavi dynasty was the lackey of the foreign powers; the nation's resistance against the superpowers; unity of expression

Occasion: Rally in support of the provisional government

Audience: Merchants and people of the Tehran bazaar

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Pahlavi dynasty: a puppet of the foreign powers

He mentioned fifteen years,¹ but I say fifty-seven years or so. Our nation's affliction started from the time of Rida Shah. Anyone who lived during that black period (of history) remembers and knows what Rida Shah had done to this nation. According to Delhi Radio, Rida Shah was installed by the British in order to subjugate our nation! Succeeding him was Muhammad Rida, who was imposed on us by the power triad namely America, Britain and the USSR. As he himself had mentioned in his book, the powers thought it expedient for him to be (the ruler). However, certainly, they were envisioning their own interests! Because they had no better servant than him who laid the nation's treasury at their disposal and who rendered backward the country from the agricultural and commercial aspects and everything else to serve foreign interests. Of course, he was given a mission, as he himself had said, "a mission for my country!" This so-called mission was that mission and nothing else.

The nation's resistance against the superpowers

Subsequent to the years of sufferings and frustrations that the nation had undergone, you know that when the nation decided on a particular issue, it stood up and defeated with its clenched fist that great satanic power and all the most diabolical powers which were all backing him, namely the powers of America, the USSR, China and Britain. And I know that the Tehran Bazaar has always been the center of political and Islamic activities. It was the Tehran bazaar, backed by Tehran merchants, which would always pave the way for the execution of any proposals put forth by the *ulama* and any

¹ The representative of the people of bazaar referred to Imam's fifteen-year exile in his brief speech.

citizens with heartfelt concern for this country. I would like to thank all guilds and individuals of the bazaar, working in any capacity for the lion's share they had contributed to this movement. Had it not been for the bazaars of Iran, it would not have been certain whether we could reach our destination. It was the support of the Iranian bazaars and the rest of the guilds that made it possible for this movement to achieve this great progress up to now. Nevertheless we are still at a fledgling stage; whatever remnants have remained of these (corrupt elements) must be buried in the graveyards and then we can proceed to establish an Islamic government which springs from the nation, determined by the nation and which relies upon the nation.

The absence of a popular government in Iran

Throughout the entire history of Iran, we have never had any government that relied upon the nation. During the time of the previous rulers, the nation had never been considered because coercion was the order of the day! The same was true, as we had witnessed and as far as our knowledge takes us, from the time of Rida Shah up until the present. Therefore, there has never been a national government, a national rule, or a national election in this country; in the elections and parliaments have not been national ones. The governments arising from these parliaments, not being based upon the people's vote, are also illegitimate. And this person who has taken the place of and has been assigned to his ministry by Muhammad Rida and who claims to be a nationalist and a legitimate one is neither legitimate nor national. He is not national in the sense that he does not respect this nation; he does not respect the nation's cries now reverberating in the streets; and finally yet importantly, he is illegitimate because he has originated from parliaments, which were illegal. And before he was posted to this ministry he himself confirmed the illegitimacy of these parliaments, and now that he is at the helm of his ministry, the parliaments have suddenly gained legitimacy?! Of course, people of this kind are of the belief that whatever serves their interest is legitimate and whatever is against it is another matter. If it is to their benefit, it is legal, but if it is to our benefit, then it is not.

The key to victory and advancement

It is in such things that the bazaar has always shared in the (nation's) afflictions as well as in its advancement. What I want to say is that the secret of this advancement has been the unity of expression without which we would have never gained victory. Today, you are witnessing throughout the whole country that the nation has one thing to say; is shouting one slogan,

that is the Islamic slogan; the slogan that they do not want this regime, or the rule of this dynasty, and that they want an Islamic rule, a just Islamic rule. This unity of expression, which has been forged among the nation, has made us understand that the great powers cannot do anything in the face of it. We have seen it materialize (with our own eyes.) I hope that this unity of expression be preserved up to the end (of this movement).

The most sensitive phase in history

I must say that the country is presently going through the most sensitive period in history: that is the transition from the *taghut* to the divine rule, a transition from oppression to justice and from betrayal to trust. We are right in the middle of a most sensitive period. Thus, it is incumbent upon me, a theology student, on you gentlemen who are merchants, on the *ulama*, on the students of the religious sciences, on the academicians and workers, office employees, farmers and everyone to support this movement. If we neglect to support it, God forbid, instability will set in and then we will be subjected to their iniquity forever. Now they realize that the true power that can stand against superpowers is the unity of expression of the nation and Islam, which has been forged under the banner of Islam. They have understood it and are now intending to crush this power (of unity). Hence, they are seeking to separate the *ulama* from you and vice-versa, the academicians from the *ulama* and the university from the bazaar, and sow the seeds of discord among them in order to nullify this unity of expression after which they will perpetrate whatever (evil designs) they have. It is likely that they are purporting to preserve the same monarchical regime. Although it is beyond human understanding, they would want a decaying thing! Thus, you saw how Muhammad Rida had been denied entry (by the superpower country) which was supporting him when he sought refuge in it!¹ They are like this, supporting any individual whom they feel will serve their interests.

Hoping for a progressive Iran

All of us should now be vigilant (to ensure) that, God willing, the support of the powerful (strata) for one another—the *bazaar's* people for the workers and vice-versa, all for the *ulama* and vice-versa—and their unity and unified cry that they want these matters of religion, of Islam and of human beings, which existed in the past, henceforth continue, God willing, until the culmination of the movement, so that we can have an Iran that truly belongs to us and not one whose treasury is gratuitously being given away to

¹ It refers to America, which denied the Shah entry to the country.

this and that (foreign power), an Iran whose agriculture we ourselves cultivate; not Israel, which wants to grab our agriculture from us and exhaust everything.

I implore God the Almighty to grant you all success.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: February 8, 1979 [Bahman 19, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The soldiers of the *taghuti* regime at the service of Islam, efforts taken toward the establishment of an Islamic rule

Occasion: The first parade of the military group that joined the revolution

Audience: A group of the Air Force and Army personnel

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

The soldiers of the Imam of the Time (may Allah expedite his advent) at the service of the Quran

Peace be upon you, the soldiers of the Imam of the Time (a). As you have cried out¹ up until now you have been at the service of the *taghut*, which has decimated all our being; the *taghut*, which has emptied our treasury, the *taghut*, which has turned us into slaves of the foreigners. From today you are at the service of the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him, and the glorious Quran, which has guaranteed the prosperity of all humanity; the glorious Quran, which assures anyone who remains under its banner of prosperity in this world and the hereafter; the glorious Quran, which advocates freedom and independence. We are all the followers of the glorious Quran and Islamic precepts and ordinances. All of us, as well as the clergy are grateful to you.

The obliteration of the *taghut* and the establishment of the Islamic rule

We hope that we, aided by our solidarity, will be able to obliterate the *taghut* forever, and instead establish an Islamic rule of justice in which the country belongs to us and our affairs are in our hands. We want our destiny to be determined by ourselves, not by the US or the USSR embassies. We want our country to be restored by us, not by the Jews or Israel.

We want to emancipate our country and divest it of any suppression. We want the armed forces to be free, not to be dominated by Israel or America.

Salutations to you, who have understood the value of divine blessings and have become one with the Quran. Peace be upon you, who have

¹ The slogan of the military men present was, "On the order of Khomeini, we, the national military forces, have turned against the *taghut* and have joined the nation."

abandoned the *taghut* rule and adhered to God's rule. I hope that the rest of the individuals, who are still serving, will eventually understand their duty and join the nation. We want your well-being. We want you to be free. We want you to render our country independent. We want to render non-existent anybody who aims at dominating you, to sever the hands of the foreign powers. May God grant you victory. This movement must be safeguarded, so that, God willing, we attain the penultimate and final goal, which is for an Islamic humane rule of justice to rise in place of the rule of the *taghut*.

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

Speech

Date: February 8, 1979 [Bahman 19, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Excellent attributes of the Islamic movement

Audience: Members of the Islamic Society of Physicians, Engineers and Teachers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The crimes of the Pahlavi family¹ during fifty years of rule

One of the good points of this Islamic movement is the fact that we had never faced such faces before. You were preoccupied with your business and we were, too. Such gatherings were not possible. Neither had we ever seen you, nor had you seen us; nor had we encountered the problems that we are now discussing. It is this sacred Islamic movement, which merged all the strata, provided the opportunity, and facilitated the means through which we could meet with you gentlemen to bring up the issue. You know how much sufferings the Iranian nation has undergone from fifty odd years ago up until now, how many crimes have this father and son committed and how much suppression and hardship have people from all walks of life in this country been subjected to. On their part, the universities, faculties and teacher's colleges could not fulfill the responsibilities entrusted to them. Likewise, the engineers and other classes of people were not free to raise questions or to carry out any task they wanted for the benefit of the nation. In Europe, we met with many students, four hundred of whom were sent to Germany by the government, and discussed issues including that of atomic energy. A group of these students came to us and brought up their predicament. The first was that they were kept backward and were not allowed to progress scientifically, and second was the fact that this atomic energy is deleterious, not beneficial, to Iran. It is useful until the time there is oil and gas in Iran; once this oil and gas are exhausted then it will outlive its usefulness. Furthermore, it can inflict other material damages as well. Moreover, this act has been done intentionally by the governmental machinery in order to retard our youth's progress, destroy our youthful work force, and obstruct the progress of the

¹ Rida Shah Pahlavi was the first king (1304-1320 AHS) of the Pahlavi dynasty. He was the father of the deposed MuHammad Rida Shah Pahlavi who was dethroned by the Islamic Revolution led by Imam Khomeini. Rida Shah Pahlavi staged a coup planed by the British government in 1299 AHS and came to throne in 1304 AHS.

country. In the name of development, they, in reality, have pushed the country backward.

Reconstruction through unity

God willing, through the efforts of the people from all walks of life, joining hands, and with unity of expression and efforts you shall rebuild Iran, which has been driven backward, destroyed and abandoned. Teachers should give the children a proper education; engineers should be involved in beneficial activities and the rest from all other lifestyles should follow suit.

I implore God the Almighty and Exalted to acquaint us all with our national and Islamic responsibility. I hope that we will be able to sever the hands of the foreigners off this country, so that you can run your own country, and the country's treasury be at your own disposal. Iran is a country that possesses everything, but so many looters abound that nothing benefits the nation. So many plunderers were, and are, lurking that the nation could not lay its hands on these resources. We have everything and yet get nothing! We have everything if we are free and independent. But in the manner that we have been leading our lives, we have nothing. I hope that from now on we will not live in this way anymore. Now is the time that you, the intellectuals, who carry more responsibility than others do, worked harder than the rest. You have a heavier responsibility than the others do toward this country. All of you, in whatever activity you are involved in, should, firstly, work for the cause of this movement and take it forward toward its desired end and make the country independent, and (ensure) this discord which has hitherto been with us, is not repeated. Secondly, take efforts to establish a just government, a government of justice, which is founded and based on the nation's vote...

Speech

Date: February 8, 1979 [Bahman 19, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: An uprising for God

Audience: A group of teachers

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

The invincibility of the divine movement

I am not feeling very well; however, I would like to say a few words to you ladies and gentlemen. God the Almighty and Exalted commands the Holy Prophet, “Say (unto them, O Muhammad): *I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye rise up for Allah’s sake...*”¹ He has commanded the Prophet to tell his community that “I have one exhortation to you and that is you must rise up for God; you must set up a movement for God. If the movement is a divine one, then victory is inherent to it; even if we are apparently defeated, we are still victorious; and if we are not defeated, then surely we are victorious because we did it for God. When the movement is for God, it is itself a victory, but if the uprising is a satanic one based on selfish and satanic intentions it is a defeat whether it appears to have gained victory or been defeated, it is all the same. This is best exemplified by the confrontation of Hadrat Amir with Muawiyah. Two armies were pitted against each other: on one side were the *Taghut* and its army, on the other was God’s army. If Hadrat Amir, and whoever was on his side, won, victory was theirs; and if they were defeated, they were still the winners. In the Battle of Siffin, we can say that Hadrat Amir was defeated because (his enemy’s) cunning stratagem did not allow him to advance. However, (in spite of this) in the end these divine forces were triumphant. The Doyen of the Martyrs, may God’s peace be upon him, was killed and was defeated, but the Bani Umayyah could not achieve anything subsequent to this because his blood repulsed the (enemy’s) swords. Now that we look at it, we realize that victory was with the Doyen of the martyrs and defeat was Yazid’s and (that of) his henchmen.

The movement, of which you the nation of Iran, both men and women, are upholders, is for God. You want to annihilate the *taghut*; you want to rescue your nation from those who have undermined and subjected it to

¹ *Surah as-Saba’* 34:46.

suppression, coercion and plunder; you want to establish the rule of God. Hence, whether you lose or win, you are victorious. If we are killed for God, we will go to heaven. But if they (the enemies) kill or be killed, they will go to hell. This criterion is a question of being Godly or being Satanic: Satan and his forces are always at the losing end, and the Quran, God and His army are always triumphant.

The world is the lowest level of the universe

The world is but a tiny speck in the universe; the world is something extremely abject. The universe is an amalgam of the physical and metaphysical worlds. This physical world is at the lowest level of existence, lower than all the levels. If a human being leaves this world in his crusade for God, he is elevated from the abject world to a higher world; he will enter a world that is above all other worlds. On the other hand, if (he dies for) satanic ends, he will be plunged into the abyss (of hell). Those who are of the army and the advocates of Satan are descending gradually down the abyss of hell. Those who are of the army of God and are of God are ascending higher; whatever deeds they commit, their deeds will take them high (to heaven); and those whose deeds are to the contrary and are satanic, their deeds will hurl them headlong below (into the bottomless pits of hell).

Divine education and spiritual unity

Beware that your actions be commendable ones and your uprising and deeds be for God. Anyone who has a child should educate him with divine, not satanic, education. Anyone who goes to school, whatever school it is, should be educated in the divine guidance. Anyone who is a schoolteacher should educate children in the divine way; desist from imparting satanic education. Although I do not feel so well, I would like to thank all of you who have taken the trouble of coming here. I hope with this solidarity and unity of expression that you have, which have made everybody converge in one place and which have brought you and us together to one place, you will maintain the same spiritual and intellectual unity, and advance forward in one unified rank toward a rule of divine justice. May God protect you and grant you all success.

Statements

Date: February 8, 1979 [Bahman 19, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Expressing gratitude and appreciation of the armed forces personnel who have joined the nation

Audience: A group of Air Force officers and warrant officers from ISfahan

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

I would like to express my gratitude to you, the soldiers of the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him, and the Quran. If up to now you have been under the domination of the *taghut*, I hope that from now on, you will be under the auspices of the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him, and be counted as his soldiers. I am saddened by the situation of Iran. What has been the situation of the Iranian government up to now has been a cause of so much regret. They committed any conceivable crimes against us. One of the worst crimes they committed was maltreating the military so badly. The bulk of the military was Islamic, aware and committed, but some of the commanders who were at the service of the foreigners derived benefits and left, or are going to leave, the country, leaving the others in a deprived state.

Now that you have returned to the nation's embrace, the nation will welcome you warmly. When the time comes, God willing, that the rule of justice is established, we will try to welcome you with all our hearts. May God the Almighty keep you. We thank you for all the efforts you have taken in the fulfillment of our goals. May God's peace be upon you.

Speech

Date: February 8, 1979 [Bahman 19, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Massive gathering in support of the provisional government; an ultimatum

Audience: Various classes of the people

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

Public and nationwide support for the provisional government

I would like to express my gratitude to the whole nation, which has taken great pains and closed its ranks, which has suffered in resisting the machinery of oppression. I am thankful to this great gathering of the nation who have gathered in support of Engineer Mahdi Bazargan's government, which is a religious law one and is the government of the Imam of the Time (a). All news agencies must realize that this massive gathering of the people in Iran, from the capital to the provincial towns and villages in support of the (new) government suffices as an answer to those who were and are saying that the nation itself has to say what government it wants. In what language should the nation tell them? The nation is crying aloud! It has been a long time and many years that the nation has been crying out about this issue. Today also, they are declaring their support for the Islamic government and expressing their hatred for the opposition in their cries and slogans.

An ultimatum to the last remnants of the Shah's government

It is best for the opposition to desist from committing further mistakes. It is still not late. They should return to the nation's embrace. The nation will still accept their repentance. They should desist from their obstinacy; they should not trouble the people so much. At this very moment, I have been informed that a mass slaughter has taken place in Gorgan and some other places. Why are these acts being perpetrated? Who are these club-wielders in whom Muhammad Rida would seek refuge, and under whose shelter you are now living? Which organization do they belong to? Why are they doing this to the nation? Why are they shedding so much blood? Why are they being so obstinate toward the people? We wish to have peace in the country. We want the good of the nation. We want to have an independent military force: one that is allied to the nation and not to the foreign powers. The military should

return to the nation's embrace like the numerous groups who have returned and we welcomed them with open arms. You, as well as all the governmental organs, should do likewise.

The perpetuation of the revolution and support for the provisional government

I declare that agreeing with this government, which we have set up, is everybody's religious duty, and opposition to it is unlawful to everyone. We declare that serving a *taghuti* government is serving the anti-God forces, serving unbelief and polytheism. You must desist from doing so. It is serving the foreign powers; you must desist from doing so. I implore God the Almighty that Iran be a free and independent country.

I want the nation perpetuate this movement, in the same way that it has done so up to now, until the time that final victory is reached. God willing, victory is nigh. The key to victory is unity of expression. Everybody must say the same thing in unison. Everybody must support each other so that victory is gained.

Observance of religious law and legal standards

Recently, I have been informed of an issue that has saddened me, and that is that jungles have been invaded by certain individuals, native to that area, and are being destroyed by them. These jungles belong to the nation, and we should not destroy them. They should be under the supervision of their guardian and the ruler. It is not permissible for anyone to trespass on them, cut down the trees and ruin them. Our brothers should advise those individuals concerned; they should prevent and prohibit them from despoiling what has remained for us after others had plundered them. Should we be the ones to destroy them? This is destruction and there must not be any destruction. As we should not beat and irritate anyone for no apparent reason, we should not be a nuisance to anyone. There are religious law and legal rules that apply to these affairs. There should not be chaos. Do not let yourself be branded as advocates of anarchy.

You people, the honorable nation of Iran have proved that you are advancing your cause with steady steps, order and firm determination, and are annihilating the satanic forces one by one. May God grant you all honor and grant me the honor to serve everyone.

Message

Date: February 9, 1979 [Bahman 20, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Emphasis on not having a spokesperson

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In His Most Exalted Name

I would like to inform the people that no one has the right to say anything on my behalf, presenting himself as a spokesperson, supporter or affiliate or under any other title. I myself am capable of writing and expressing myself. Any comment or remark that is aired on the radio or printed in publications concerns the one who made them, and has nothing to do with me.

Rabi al-Awwal 11, 1399 AH

Letter

Date: February 9, 1979 [Bahman 20, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Expressing gratitude

Addressee: (Grand Religious Reference Authority) Sayyid Muhammad-Rida Golpaygani

Hadrat Ayatullah Aqa Golpaygani, may his blessings last:

I would like to inform your honor that I have received your benevolent letter mentioning your sound state of health and expressing your kind sentiments and affection over this humble servant's return to Iran and hence, and I became very grateful. It is hoped that by preserving the unity of expression, God willing, the Muslims will gain complete victory under the leadership of the grand Ayatullahs, leading religious reference authorities, and the distinguished spiritual leaders—may their blessings last long—and that at this sensitive and historic juncture, we will be able to perform, to a certain extent, our duty toward the sacred religious laws.

The services rendered, and the hardships and difficulties undergone by your Venerable Eminence throughout the struggle will never be forgotten. It is hoped that you will not forget me in your prayers. I implore God the Almighty for the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: February 9, 1979 [Bahman 20, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Ways of reconstruction and continuation of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Representatives of the council for coordinating strikes

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

I would like to thank the ladies and gentlemen for having taken the trouble of coming here. Thanks God in this movement we had this opportunity to meet with people like you who bring up their problems with us and, in turn, we tell you of our pains.

The long path of reconstruction

After the revolutionary government has materialized, you know that we still have a long way to go for repairing the destruction inflicted upon this country throughout the fifty odd years (of Pahlavi's rule) in the name of the "great civilization" and freedom that they claimed had been realized. They all left the country and ran away after having either squandered our treasury or taking it away with themselves. We have become heirs to a country in ruins which cannot be returned to its sound condition and whose reparation is impossible unless through the concerted endeavors of all strata of the nation. If anyone in whatever position he is in does not make any efforts, and assigns his duties to another group, this burden will remain on the ground. The devastation wreaked upon the country is not something minor that the government or a group or groups of the nation can repair. The destruction done is so great in every aspect, such as economic, cultural, and military and others. All this will have to be repaired through the concerted efforts of people from all walks of life. Though you have a big share in this movement, the gentlemen teachers, strikers and others have a big share in it, too, and these strikes have yielded results for the movement, however, we have only taken the initial step. It is akin to a war-stricken country where foreigners had been. We should strive to kick the foreigners out. This is the first step.

The second step is reconstruction, which is more important than the first one. The reconstruction stage should start from today. Everywhere you turn your head in this country you will see destruction. As the government offices

were run by unrighteous individuals, and the same is true with ministries, which were run by unpatriotic people, we can virtually say that these elements have ruined government offices.

Slum dwellers in Tehran

You have seen how, in the name of land reforms, they have despoiled our agriculture, which is one of the most vital features of our country, and on which our economy is dependent; now you have a bankrupt agriculture and have to import everything from abroad. In like manner, they have destroyed animal husbandry and our pasturelands, which they gave away to foreigners depriving the nation under the guise of nationalism. In those places, animal husbandry and agriculture would sustain the lives of people who now have to migrate to towns and cities in order to find jobs, however they cannot find decent jobs here. According to what I have heard, there are many places right here in Tehran where squatters, tent-dwellers and the like are proliferating and these poor migrants live there in deplorable conditions.

Avoiding discord

All men and all walks of life should join hands and be united and get involved in the reconstruction, amidst the destruction, with all their hearts. Office employees should take care to inform the government of any corrupt activities they observe in their place of work. Anybody in whatever place he is should take note of any corruption and report it. By taking strict measures, God willing, these problems will be solved.

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to grant you all health, and I hope that with your concerted efforts you will be able to resolve these problems by preserving your unity of expression. You should do away with ideological and party disparity and other differences that these people have created amidst people. You should take note that it is the enemy who will benefit from this discord. You, yourselves, have witnessed how you, with your unity of expression, have brought the great powers to their knees rendering them powerless to keep the Shah any longer. May God grant success and His assistance to all of you.

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

Speech

Date: February 9, 1979 [Bahman 20, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Victory can be gained only through the collaboration of all strata of the people

Audience: Physicians and employees of Sevvum-e Shaban Hospital

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

Eyewitnesses to crimes

The gentlemen working in hospitals have suffered more than the rest of the people and even those in the streets. Those in the streets have witnessed how young people were hit and felled by bullets, but those who were at their bedside (of those injured in hospitals) knew fully well what had happened. Perhaps their fathers and mothers came to the hospital, that is, if they were given the consent (to see their injured sons), and you have seen in what an emotional state they were. All those who were injured, wounded and killed and those, who were taken away, and whom you have not seen are safe in the sight of God.

This nation's only fault was that it did not want the foreigners to take control of its country. Its fault was that it wanted to be free and wanted suppression to die out; it wanted to kick out the plunderers. These were the faults of this nation that became, and still are, the target of machine-gun fire. Just a few days ago, the same acts were committed in provincial towns.

Foreign agents in the guise of nationalism

Each day these people, that is, the agents of the foreign powers, don a different mask or a different disguise behind the curtain. For twenty or thirty years, their agents posed as nationalistic individuals whose true positions were not obvious to the nation! When their true face was revealed, the nation would understand who they really were. For twenty years, an agent might have posed as a nationalistic or a religious figure and enjoyed all security, and the powers protected him in case one day they might find a need for him as a weapon to thrash the nation as they are doing today. They are now thrashing the nation under the guise of nationalism and by going to Dr. MuSaddiq's grave. Sharif Imami rushed forward with such "peaceful rapprochement" and attacked the nation; they all came forth with such a weapon. Now this nation came pouring into the streets shouting in unison, as

they did nationwide yesterday, that it wanted the new government. They do not consider the nation's ideas! For them the nation is the one that America recognizes, if ever America recognizes the nationality of anybody! And of course, it recognizes someone if he preserves its interests. Now these people are saying that they are nationalistic, obedient to the nation and respect the vote of the nation [No]. Was yesterday's (rally) not a proof of the nation's vote? Yesterday a few million people were shouting. Were they not the nation? It still is not the nation that America and its agents believe it should be. The "nation" they are referring to is one which will give all its resources to America and the foreigners!

Thieves and looters

You who were in the hospitals know what this nation has gone through. But you know only a small part (of the whole massacre), and the other part by those in other hospitals. Most of them have been hidden from your and your brothers' eyes. They have committed so many crimes and looted so much that most of them have been concealed from us. We cannot fully understand what crimes they have committed.

There is a story somebody has told me, or perhaps I have read in a magazine, I do not remember exactly, which says that one of Muhammad Rida's sisters bought a mansion abroad the price of which I do not know. But it was written there that six million dollars was spent on planting flowers in its garden! They have done such acts of which we are uninformed and ignorant. Six million dollars! It is equal to approximately thirty-two million tumans just for planting garden flowers! They have plundered everything that we had, and left. How much he, his relatives and their generals has stolen! They have emptied the treasury and decimated the country, and left us with a ruined country and ran away.

The need for perseverance and collaboration

May God reward you who have strived for this nation and have endured hardships. I know fully well how hard it had been for you to attend to those helpless victims who were beaten up, injured, some of them in the throes of death and some who breathed their last, but God will reward you. God knows what you have been through and He will compensate you for it. May God grant you health. Our friends should all collaborate with each other in this affair and be united in this movement. If you are defeated in this movement then defeat is till the end. Everybody should stay together and collaborate until victory is attained.

Letter

Date: February 9, 1979 [Bahman 20, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The return of Mr. Sayyid Izzuddin Husayni Zanjani to Zanjan

Addressees: The people of Zanjan

In His Most Exalted Name

The most respectable people of Zanjan, may God assist them:

Your respectable letter has been received and I have been informed of its contents. I would like to express my deepest gratitude for the kindness you have shown. In regard to what you have written about His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Izzuddin Husayni Zanjani, may his blessings last, negotiations have been conducted and it has been decided that he will return to Zanjan, God willing. It is hoped that with the leadership of His Eminence you will persist in your struggle against oppression and despotism.

I implore God the Almighty to grant you continued success and for the dignity of Islam and Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 11, 1399 AH

Message

Date: February 10, 1979 [Bahman 21, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Guard Corps' attack against Air Force personnel in Tehran

Addressees: Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Brave people of Iran! Honorable people of Tehran!

As you all know, I want the Iranian issue to be solved through peaceful means. But the machinery of oppression and tyranny, finding itself condemned on the basis of law, has perpetrated crimes in the cities of Gorgan and Gonbad Kavus and has attacked and slaughtered the brave Muslim people. In Tehran, the (Shah's) Guard Corps has made a sudden attack on the Air Force personnel who have joined the nation and have fearlessly defeated them with the people's assistance. I condemn these inhuman acts of aggression of the Guard Corps. With such fratricidal moves, they want to keep foreign influence in the country and reinstate the plunderers back in their positions.

Although I have not yet decreed a holy war and I still want to maintain the peace and affairs to be carried out in accordance with legal criteria and the nation's will, I may not be able to put up with this bestiality any longer. I am warning (these people) that if they do not desist from this fratricide and the Guard Corps does not retreat to its base, and aggression does not stop on the part of the army, God willing, I will make my final decision and these aggressors and intruders will be responsible. I would like the dauntless people of Tehran to maintain their readiness and vigilance in face of the enemy's chicanery and keep peace and order in cases when the aggressive forces are retreating. But they should be well equipped and ever ready for defending Islam and the honor of Muslims. Today's declaration of martial law is another stratagem and is against religious law and the people should defy it.

My dear brothers and sisters! Do not let fear overcome you because, God willing, truth will triumph. I implore the Exalted God for the victory of the nation of Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 10, 1979 [Bahman 21, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Expression of gratitude

Addressees: The people of Malavi district, Lorestan

In His Most Exalted Name

Respectable people of Malavi district, Lorestan—may God assist them:

I am in receipt of the scroll, which you have sent through your representatives, congratulating me on my return. I would like to thank you for the kindness and affection you have shown. I hope that you will keep this solidarity until the total victory, and will avoid discord and differences, which are the means of dominance of the foreign elements and the enemies of Islam. I ask the Exalted God to grant you success. Extend my regards to all the gentlemen in your locality. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Mawlud 12, 1399 AH

Message

Date: February 11, 1979 [Bahman 22, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Maintaining peace and vigilance subsequent to the army's retreat

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Brave nation of Iran! Vigilant brothers and sisters of Tehran!

Now that victory is nigh, as God has willed so, and the army has withdrawn, declaring its non-intervention in political affairs, and has expressed its support for the nation, the brave and beloved nation should maintain its readiness for any possible defense while keeping very alert in this situation. In cases when the military forces are retreating to their bases, it should maintain peace and order.

If seditious elements do not desist from arson and sabotage, make them aware of their religious and human duties and do not allow any such people to attack embassies and cause the nation any ill repute. And if, God forbid, the army returns, you are duty-bound to resist using your fiercest means of defense and to defend yourselves with all your power and might.

I hereby announce to the military commanders that if the military refrains from further incursions and joins the nation and the Islamic legal and national government, we will recognize them as being one with the nation and the nation as one with them, and will treat them like brothers. I ask the Exalted God for the victory of the brave nation of Iran. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 11, 1979 [Bahman 22, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Averting sedition and anarchy; necessity of collaborating with the provisional government

Addressees: Muslim nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi al-Awwal 13, 1399 AH

Bahman 22, 1357 AHS

Heroic and combatant Muslim nation of Iran!

At this critical moment that your heroic struggle has crushed the obstacles of despotism and exploitation one by one and has made the blossoms and fruits of your Islamic Revolution bloom, while expressing my gratitude to each one of you, brothers and sisters, I deem it necessary to remind you of the following points:

You have manifested your Islamic and revolutionary growth during the course of the struggle and now, more than ever, it is necessary for you to show this growth to the whole world to let them know that the Muslim people of Iran can choose their own path to prosperity without the mandate of this and that (power). Hence, I want all of you, firstly, to obstruct any chaos and acts of sedition and do not allow malicious saboteurs to carry out activities such as looting, arson, punishing the convicted ones, destruction of scientific, technical, industrial, and artistic works, and vandalizing public and private properties. The enemies would resort to all sorts of ruses such as infiltrating the Muslim masses with corrupt and malicious elements in order to distort the image of the movement and present it as a reactionary and violent one. I declare to everyone that any individual who gets involved in such activities will be ostracized from the nation's revolutionary community and will be responsible before the Exalted God. Secondly, take note that our Revolution has not yet fully attained victory over the enemy, who enjoys all the means of conspiracy, and is lurking around with plots. Only vigilance, revolutionary discipline, and obedience to the commands of the leadership and the Islamic provisional government can thwart all these plots. Thirdly, do not ever subject to any violence and persecution those individuals from among the enemy who are taken captive by you. In accordance with Islamic

traditions, show them kindness and affection. In due course, the Islamic government will certainly put them on trial and the laws of justice will be implemented regarding them.

I want all of you, brothers and sisters to cooperate with the provisional revolutionary Islamic government, which is heir to the ruins of a series of past corrupt governments, so that, with God's might and assistance and with everybody's cooperation, we shall be able to reconstruct as soon as possible an Islamic Iran, which will be the cause of envy of the whole world. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Reply to a Query

Date: February 11, 1979 [Bahman 22, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Invalidity of military oath taken during the time of the *taghut*

Questioners: Army men, and military and police forces

[The question asked in the presence of the Grand Ayatullah, Hadrat Imam Khomeini, the Vicegerent of the Imam of the Time, is as follows:

Obviously, Your Eminence is aware of the prevailing tradition that all military personnel swear by God and the Holy Quran and take an oath to protect the crown and the monarchical regime when being conferred with a rank and an epaulette. We beg that you express your opinion and decree regarding the annulment of this oath and the convergence of the military with the great Islamic movement.

On behalf of a group of personnel
of the Armed Forces]

In His Most Exalted Name

An oath taken to protect the power of the *taghut* is void and bears no validity; and opposition to it is mandatory. Anyone who has taken this oath should act to the contrary. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 13, 1399 AH

Message

Date: February 12, 1979 [Bahman 23, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The religious responsibility and national commitment of the people

Occasion: The victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran

Addressees: The Iranian nation and citizens of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Great nation of Iran! Chivalrous citizens of Tehran!

At this moment that the beloved nation's ultimate victory is nigh, it is necessary to remind you to pay attention to the following religious and divine duties, and national commitments. Opposition to these is tantamount to opposition to God the Almighty and is treachery to the nation and the Islamic movement.

1. Now that the dictatorial and oppressive apparatus has been totally squashed, evasion from any kind of destructive actions, plundering, arson and aggression is mandatory. It is a public duty to obstruct any activities of such nature, which are un-Islamic and inhuman. Those who get involved in such violent acts are traitors and are acting against the Islamic movement.

2. The nation should supervise the protection of public centers such as ministries, banks and other governmental and national centers and should not let the nation's treasury be wasted until the time order has been established by the provisional government.

Beloved nation! Do not let people of malicious intent spread the notion that now that the corrupt regime has been toppled, chaos, anarchy and sabotage have taken its place.

3. Opportunists who, donning revolutionary masks, are rallying behind the defunct regime, and are intending to slander the movement, should not be given any chance to indulge in their activities. The Muslim nation should take the initiative into its hands.

4. Officials assigned by the Islamic Prime Minister to undertake missions are soldiers of the Revolution; you must cooperate with them. Those opposed to the Muslim people must be prevented from carrying out acts of sabotage.

5. It is incumbent upon the people to leave the streets as early as possible, and converge in mosques and congregational centers. They must listen to the commands of the distinguished spiritual leaders and the esteemed preachers. Likewise, the great *ulama* and preachers in towns

should go to mosques and public centers and invite the people to goodness and honesty; they should, by all means, prevent any actions running counter to religious laws and the direction of the movement. By using expressive language, they should dissuade people from perpetrating sabotage and chaos while informing them of the sacred religious edicts.

6. Now that the armed forces, the gendarmerie and the police have joined the nation, it is incumbent upon the nation to avoid any acts of aggression against them, while protecting them as if they were their own brothers. The distinguished *ulama* too should instruct the people to support the police who have come under the banner of the Islamic rule.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 12, 1979 [Bahman 23, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Rising for the reconstruction of Iran

Addressees: The Iranian nation

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

I thank the noble and combatant nation of Iran. I express my gratitude for the unity of expression that has come into existence among the people from various walks of life. I congratulate you for the victory that the nation has gained. The Iranian nation should know that the Iranian Revolution differs from other revolutions that have taken place in the world. Besides, being an Islamic and humane revolution, it suffered few casualties. In other revolutions that took place in the world, there were heavy casualties. However, we achieved a great victory with a few casualties. You, the nation of Iran, have toppled a 2500-year-old despotic monarchy with your fists, much effort, and unyielding faith, ignoring all the support that he would get.

May God maintain your constancy. May God bestow grandeur on Islam. Your victory is a great victory for Islam. From now on, we should pay attention to a great number of important issues, particularly in safeguarding the unity of expression. We are in the midst of our struggle and we still are in need of the unity of expression. All classes of people should stand by each other in a brotherly manner, and be prepared to campaign against and prevent turmoil and discord. If, God forbid, discord comes between us, attaining ultimate victory will be uncertain. I advise the whole nation that from now on they should keep their unity of expression in the same manner as before. In the same manner that they have acquired their sense of humanity, nationality and Islamic identity, they should keep it alive and should not allow the divine flame to be extinguished. They should hold fast to Islam and the strong rope of Islam and the glorious Quran and the great Imam, the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him, and with an enormous amount of effort eliminate all the difficulties.

My beloved nation! Problems and adversities abound and we are heirs to a country in an agitated state. They have despoiled our country and have gone away; they have bequeathed us a country in a pile of rubble. With the

help of God, the whole nation should rise for the reconstruction of Iran, which is a country stricken and shaken by a quake, foreign powers and enemies. Today we should rebuild Iran, but there are numerous problems, which cannot be eliminated by the government alone, or one or two strata of the people. The whole nation, and each individual in whatever profession, position, or place should join hands and build to completion this new foundation; we shall build a new nation, a new government, a new structure which is all-Islamic and comprehensively humane.

We should be aware of the fact that in these early days of the Revolution, treacherous and defiled hands are at work and traitors may instigate turmoil among you. You should seriously avoid sabotage and beware of saboteurs so that if anyone is intending to foment unrest and disorder or kill people, or attack government centers, the military, palaces and other places, you can obstruct them, because such acts will eventually cause disturbances. Such actions are tantamount to treachery against Islam and the Islamic country and treacheries of this sort should be prevented. All weapons in the hands of the people should be collected, and anyone who finds a weapon should take it to the local mosque and hand it over to its congregational leader. In turn, these weapons will be handed from the mosques to the committees, which will place them at the disposal of the soldiers of Islam who have been organized to defend Islam and the Muslims. Only the soldiers must be armed; others do not have any need for arms, which should be controlled by the committees. Be reminded that the sale of weapons is (religiously) unlawful; they are the property of others, that is the property of the nation. None shall sell nor buy weapons. Anyone who has bought one should hand it over to the mosque or the committee. These weapons are part of the nation's assets and therefore should not be destroyed. Should you see anyone intending to steal any weapons, stop him sternly and do not let the deviated people get hold of such weapons. Do not let these weapons fall into the hands of the enemies of Islam and the nation. Everyone has a responsibility and has a religious law duty in this regard. These days Islam and Muslims are passing through the most critical period (of their lives). You should be vigilant and should not allow the enemy to infiltrate your ranks, or you should not let these weapons fall into the hands of the enemy. If they have the intention to attack places where weapons are stored, you are duty-bound to publicly oppose and stop them. Also, if you see any weapons in the hands of the ordinary people, advise them to hand them over. If you learn that there are individuals in possession of firearms who do not give them up, it is your duty to report it and give their names and addresses to the committee, which will in turn deal

with them. This issue should be taken note of all over Iran. Another issue is the fact that turmoil and demonstrations should be stopped. There should not be public disturbances. People should not think that they can stir agitation just because they have gained victory. They should behave with discipline, order, humanity and Islamic sense, and show to the world that you, the Muslim nation, are cognizant of the truth of Islam and are committed to its rules and regulations. You should seriously avoid this kind of looting. The *ulama* of Islam are religiously duty-bound to dissuade people from instigating turmoil, and to forbid them from attacking individuals and (governmental) centers. The *ulama* of Islam, who are the people's guide, should give them guidance during this sensitive period and should not allow discord and pandemonium to be fomented in the country.

Now is the day that the country should be protected. Committees should be set up in every city and locality under the supervision of the *ulama* and trustworthy individuals in order to take charge of the security in cities. Police, gendarmerie and military bases and precincts should not be attacked; these forces have returned to our fold and are with us now. The gendarmerie, police and military forces are one of us. Likewise all the disciplinary forces are of us and we are of them; we are all followers of Islam. Tumult should be prevented.

In particular, the (Air Force) warrant officers are singled out among the rest; they are young officers who extended their assistance, took great pains and declared their solidarity with the nation at a crucial time. You should protect all forces.

We are united with the Sunnis; we are Muslims, are brothers, and are one. Anyone who speaks a word that will foment discord between Muslims is either an ignoramus or someone who wants to create differences between Muslims. There is no issue named as Sunni-Shiah issue; we are all brothers. We assure all religious minorities residing in this country that they will live in justice and comfort, and that they enjoy our full support. Islam supports the People of the Book living in Iran. Anyone who says otherwise wants to foment discord. Saboteurs must realize that willful destruction is treachery against the nation and the country; they should refrain from such destructive actions, be under the supervision of the Islamic government, and submit to the idea *there is no God but Allah*. What do they want other than all the people of the lower classes', the peasants' and the laborers', living in comfort? We will provide for all of them.

I want to request all the classes of the nation that this is not the time for plundering and discord. This is the time to take our noble movement in all

seriousness to its final destination. God is with you. May God protect you all. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 12, 1979 [Bahman 23, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Expressing thanks

Addressees: The inhabitants of Gundareh village

In His Most Exalted Name

The respectable people of Gundareh, may God the Almighty assist them:

I, hereby, acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the scroll, signed by the respectable inhabitants, concerning their support for the Iranian nation and for its legitimate, Islamic demands. I pray to God the almighty for the continued success of all.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH

Letter

Date: February 12, 1979 [Bahman 23, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Expression of gratitude and the need to eliminate discord and prevent unrest

Addressee: Sayyid Kiramatullah Malik Husayni

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Kiramtullah Malik Husayni—may his blessings last:

I am in receipt of your esteemed letter, and would like to thank you and the respectable tribes of Kuhkiluyeh and Buyer-Ahmad for the kind sentiments expressed. I pray to God the Almighty for the continued success of all of you. It is hoped, God willing, that you with full vigilance and maintenance of unity and solidarity will be able to foil the conspiracies of the enemies of Islam, and prevent any kind of disorder, discord and difference. Please convey my best regards to all the respectable gentlemen. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH

Letter

Date: February 12, 1979 [Bahman 23, 1357 AHS /Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Expression of gratitude

Addressee: Husayn Anzabi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Anzabi, may his blessings last:

Your cordial letter, which informs us of your good health, and concern for me has been received and I became very grateful. It is hoped that, God willing, Muslims will garner more success by keeping their solidarity and unity of expression. I implore God the Almighty for your continued success. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH

Message

Date: February 13, 1979 [Bahman 24, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 15, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Public disarmament

Addressees: The Iranian nation

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

The honorable and combatant nation of Iran:

It is necessary to remind you of the following:

1. Arms that have fallen into the hands of the people belong to the Muslim treasury and nobody has any right to sell or buy them. It is forbidden for anyone to use them for personal aims without the consent of the responsible authorities; and whoever does so will be held liable.

2. Individuals in possession of arms or government property should hand them over directly, or through a congregational prayer leader, to a special committee designated by the prime minister, and obtain a receipt. Violation of this is forbidden and whoever does so will be liable to prosecution.

3. The Muslim people should be on the lookout for anybody in possession of firearms who refuses to give them up; they should report such individuals to the above-mentioned committee.

4. Positively refrain from unnecessary shooting and wasting bullets, as such actions create dissatisfaction among the people and are a waste of public property.

5. Anybody who attacks governmental and other premises will be prosecuted.

6. People are duty-bound to prevent any aggression against police forces and stations, gendarmeries, army bases, governmental and national premises as well as palaces. As our brethren from the air, ground, naval and other governmental forces have returned to the nation's fold, they should be treated in a brotherly manner.

Respectable citizens of Iran, Islamic forces of the Master of the Age—may Allah expedite his advent—do not let weapons fall into the hands of the adversaries of Islam. Do not give the enemies of God and the nation any opportunity. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

¹ In volume 5 of the 22-volume *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, p. 78, this message is dated Bahman 25, 1357 AHS [February 14, 1979].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 15, 1399 AH
Bahman 24, 1357 AHS

Message

Date: February 14, 1979 [Bahman 25, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School

Subject: Suppression of the saboteurs of peace in Tabriz

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

After thanking you the brave and combatant citizens all over the country for your great efforts that have led to the victory of the Islamic Revolution, I deem it necessary that you take note of a very important point:

Brave nation of Iran! Muhammad Rida Pahlavi has met his final defeat and no longer has any base in the country. The army and the rest of the armed forces have joined the nation and have announced their loyalty to it. However, some corrupt and devious elements are trying to create unrest and chaos in their attempt to achieve their nefarious aim, which is to open the doors to oppressors and to prevail the looting of the treasury, and perhaps to bring back foreign powers to dominate the fate of the country. These people who have taken a path contrary to the direction of the Islamic Revolution and have rebelled against the Islamic government, are traitors who have resorted to creating disorder by donning the mask of deception. It is up to the brave Muslim nation to defend itself with God's power and deprive them of the opportunity of opposing it.

As we have heard people associated with the decadent regime had created mayhem in Tabriz. It is the duty of the citizens of Azerbaijan, particularly Tabriz, to rise, confront these people with all their powers, and put an end to such futile moves as has been done in Tehran. Indubitably, the army and the rest of the armed forces are on the nation's side and it is incumbent upon everybody to cooperate and bury the useless items of the defunct Pahlavi regime.

My beloved (people)! With your dauntless efforts and your divine Islamic power, you show these Godless people and traitors to the nation that truth triumphs and that God is with you. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 14, 1979 [Bahman 25, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: End of strikes and resumption of activities and work

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable and brave nation of Iran:

Now that the strongholds of the tyrannical monarchical regime, the anti-Islamic rule of the Pahlavi dynasty and the pillars of old and neo-colonialism have crumbled one after another by the divine grace and the blessings of unyielding resistance and endurance of you the zealous people, and the provisional government of the Islamic Revolution has been set up as the first step in the path leading to the crystallization of the objectives of the sacred Islamic Revolution, it is necessary to call on the general public, workers, employees, merchants, artisans, university people, and teachers to end their strikes and resume activities and work on Saturday, Bahman 28, 1357 AHS/ Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH [February 17, 1979].

The country's deplorable situation—resulting from the unprecedented widespread corruption, treacheries and looting perpetrated by Muhammad Rida Pahlavi's henchmen and the expediency of continuing the general strikes as a weapon in the nation's hand in order to crush the resistance of the previous regime—has reached such levels that a basic reconstruction will have to be immediately effected. The continuation of the strikes as well as delays in the carrying out of a series of urgent and immediate political and economic measures may create a situation in which the internal enemies of the Islamic Revolution and the foreigners who have lost their interests with the overthrow of the previous regime might resort to intrigues and perhaps reap anti-Islamic and anti-national benefits. Therefore, the country must come out of this period of strikes, hardships and deprivation that it had imposed upon itself for the overthrow of the despotic system, and start turning the wheels of life, economy and discipline, with complete power, speed and efficiency, for the purpose of production and reform, and start repairing the damage and effectuating production and prosperity.

Willful intervention and obstruction in the directives and rules of the Islamic Revolution's provisional government will cause mayhem; hence, you

must cooperate and collaborate with it and decisively support it, and abide by its rules and regulations. Disobedience to the provisional government, and obstructing the implementation of the revolutionary government's programs will be considered as acts meant to oppose the genuine Islamic Revolution; agitators and agents involved in such activities will be presented to the people as anti-revolutionary elements so that they can deal with these anti-revolutionary elements in the same way they had toppled the Shah's anti-revolutionary regime.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 14, 1979 [Bahman 25, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of superintendent for Imam Rida's holy shrine

Addressee: Abbas Waiz Tabasi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Aqa Shaykh Abbas Waiz Tabasi, may his blessings last:

After extending my greetings and regards to you, (I wish to say that) until the appointment of a superintendent for the holy shrine of the eighth Imam—may God's peace be upon him and his pure ancestors—you have been appointed to look after the holy shrine. It is expected that you will protect with absolute sincerity and exactitude all its belongings particularly its library and the assets, and everything inside the holy shrine, its estates and other things relevant to this sacred precinct, and prevent wastage and looting of its properties. The shrine's attendants should give you their full cooperation in this regard. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH
Bahman 25, 1357 AHS

Speech

Date: February 15, 1979 [Bahman 26, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Gratitude to the revolutionary nation; support for military and police forces; announcement of the end of strikes

Audience: A group of businesspersons, guild members and tradesmen on strike

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise and gratitude

Greetings to the nation who has kept its orderliness during its Revolution so meticulously that it has amazed the world. Revolutions that have taken place in the world have been so violent and bloody that they simply cannot be overlooked. However, in the religious Revolution of yours, in this Islamic-humanitarian Revolution of yours, there were very few casualties because it was your unflinching faith that had driven you to resist oppression. Satan was remote from your actions. The Blessed and Exalted God looked favorably upon you, The Imam of the Time—may God's peace be upon him—looked favorably upon you. I would like to thank you, the great nation, because you staged an uprising, participated in the movement, took efforts and suffered bloodshed for the sake of Islam and the Muslims at a time when Islam was in great difficulties and danger. You have freed yourselves of the evil of oppression and crushed the 2500-year-old oppressive machinery; you have driven back the world's great powers, which were supporting this corrupt regime, and have rendered them powerless. Up to this point, people from all walks of life have gallantly and bravely collaborated with you in this affair. Now, the next step that you must take is the step toward reconstruction. Together everybody must cooperate with each other in this effort and make the ruined country of Iran flourish. You must make a concerted effort in this regard.

The military and police forces under the shelter of Islam

Now that the armed forces—the army, the police, gendarmerie, and all the other forces—have joined the Islamic nation and have sought refuge in Islam, nobody has any right to harass them. Harassing them is tantamount to aggression against the Islamic government, which is tantamount to aggression against God. Those who are preoccupied with sabotage and are infringing on public centers, embassies and other places such as private

homes are traitors. These people should be stopped and if they do not desist from doing their actions, I will tell the nation what to do with them. Weapons at the hands of people should be handed in to the committees so that they can be distributed among certain individuals according to a definite rule. If you see any sort of commotion in the country, any individual in any place is duty-bound to prevent it and not to let any destruction be done. It is also your duty to stop any intrusion into people's homes, whether private buildings or ones that concern the government.

Duty to confront anarchy

You should not allow chaos and anarchy to take place. Satanic elements want to show that democracy does not exist in Iran and that Iran does not deserve justice and freedom. My brothers, you must not let these matters be brought up and irrelevant statements be made (about Iran).

You must maintain peace. You are all duty-bound to protect the city. Now that the city is revolutionary, the whole city and all the believers and Muslims should make joint effort to stop agitators intending to create commotion and indulge in looting people's homes. Do not let the nation's image be distorted, or be put to shame before other nations. All the world's nations and governments have their eyes fixed on Iran to see what it will do in this Revolution. They are asking, "What will happen after the Revolution and the overthrow of the corrupt regime? Will there be anarchy? Will Iran be divided?" Do not let these words be said. Do not let anarchy take place. All the people are duty-bound to confiscate arms from agitators even if it means killing them. Do not let these agitators infiltrate your ranks.

Order to end the strikes

Strikes should be ended on Saturday; this is an order and not a request! Some agitators want some strikes to continue in order to abort the movement. Up until now, the strikes have been at the service of the movement; from now onwards, ending the strikes is serving the movement. Anybody who tries to inveigle you by saying that strikes have to continue is a traitor, and he should be smacked in the mouth. From Saturday, all strikes nationwide should be ended. People must resume their work but they should exercise caution and be vigilant. While any individual is busy doing his job, he should be vigilant and on the lookout not to let agitators and looters who have set out, and miscreants who have appeared in your city and the other cities, indulge in looting. Secondly, I would like to repeat the request of the disciplinary forces: the police should return to their posts. Those who had

deserted this Revolution should go back to their posts; they are in safety and nobody has any right to harass them. All air force personnel and warrant officers, army, police forces, and the gendarmerie should resume their posts and the people must support them as they are also of the people. Together both you and the disciplinary forces must safeguard the peace and order in a brotherly manner.

I implore God, the Blessed and Exalted, for your health and the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 16, 1979 [Bahman 27, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Forbidding entry into private individuals' homes without the government's consent

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Noble and combatant nation of Iran!

I would like to thank you for your untiring efforts and endeavors in the path of bolstering the truth and defeating falsehood. Nowadays, it has been observed that various individuals have trespassed on people's homes and have inconvenienced the families. Although some of these people must be punished because of their tainted past record, I deem it necessary to ask you to refrain from breaking into their homes lest innocent members of the families be put to trouble. I ask of you, my beloved children, that from now on nobody is allowed to break into any private homes or detain any individuals unless you have the consent of the legal government. Of course, those criminals and oppressors, whose hands are tainted with the people's blood and have violated people's rights, should not be exempted from punishment, but the punishment of offenders should not be meted out in a disorderly manner by the irresponsible people. You must identify the criminals and report them to the Islamic revolutionary provisional government so that they will be detained or tried in court according to government orders. I reiterate that the above-mentioned is an Islamic order and its violation is prohibited. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 16, 1979 [Bahman 27, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The presence of the clergy in the inaugural ceremony of police and military centers and government offices

Addressee: The *ulama* and the clergy

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Now that it has been decided that military, police and gendarmerie units, as well as other offices, which had been closed these recent days, resume their activities, and as it is possible that they might face problems in the resumption of their activities, I would therefore like to ask the great *ulama* and the respectable clergy, may the Exalted God support them, to participate in the inaugural ceremony of these centers and ask the local people to cooperate with their personnel in a friendly and brotherly manner in order to establish order and prevent any chaos and disorder and, as far as possible, to supervise their actions and show them sympathy. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Thursday,
Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1399 AH
Bahman 27, 1357 AHS

Message

Date: February 16, 1979 [Bahman 27, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: End of strike in the Oil Industry

Addressee: Workers of Iran's National Oil Company

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

All the employees and workers of the Oil Company:

After expressing my abounding gratitude to all of you, who played an important role in advancing the Islamic movement and whose undaunted efforts have led to the nation's victory, I would like to remind you that now that we have gained victory, by the grace of God, it is necessary to end your strike and return to your work. At this time, strikes are against the direction of the Revolution and ending them is concordant with the nation's welfare.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 16, 1979 [Bahman 27, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Establishing order in social and political affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Jawad Pishvai

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad Javad Pishvai, congregational prayer leader of Anzali's grand mosque—may God always assist him:

It is necessary at this crucial time that your honor assume the responsibility of putting in order the socio-political affairs and prevent discord in Bandar Anzali (seaport), which is in a sensitive position. If the opposers of the movement and deviated groups instigate seditious moves and commotion, repel and crush them with the help of zealous Muslim youths, and introduce their leaders to the revolutionary committee so that they are punished. The brave and respectable citizens of Anzali and its suburbs should support you and are duty-bound to fend off discord and disorder.

I implore God Almighty for the success of all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1399 AH

Dialogue

Date: February 16, 1979 [Bahman 27, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Confronting plots made by small groups to dissolve the army

Occasion: Re-opening of universities after the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: 150 people from university professors and Islamic society of academicians

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

Imam: ...It was intended that one day, in a way that will be obvious, when strikes are ended, affairs will be at your discretion the very day after. There should be strikes no longer. One day, universities will be re-opened and students will go back. Now, if problems arise, do not allow them to come until your adversities are smoothed away. What I mean to say is that strikes should be ended and you yourselves as well as the radio should announce it. There will certainly be problems afterwards; these will have to be resolved.

[University people's representative: I would like to say that there are three or four other problems which have been noted down and which I will place at your disposal. I, only, would like to explain that one of them concerns the provisional government. Obeisance to the government is obligatory and we definitely will obey; however, some issues are indefensible: Is it mandatory on us to defend those? That is, we will absolutely carry out any orders given, but sometimes they cannot be defended.]

Imam: Say exactly what you mean.

[The Representative: I would like to inform you that friends have said that this government is more a national coalition than an Islamic revolutionary government.]

Imam: I would like to say that this government is provisional to hold a referendum and set up, for instance, a constitutional assembly, which will determine the kind of regime, and then afterwards everything will be in the people's hands. People will decide everything themselves; they will determine their representatives, who will in turn determine the government. It is not a matter that anybody may impose things; imposition is not the order of the day. What has been formed now is solely (because it is necessary) to have a ruling body for the transfer of power; otherwise it was not possible. Regarding this, we have made use of popular votes and the religious law

guardianship, which we have been empowered with, in order to set the provisional government up. That it has been set up does not mean it will govern forever. It has been written everywhere that it is a “provisional government.” By “provisional”, we mean that its power is limited to the setting up of a constitutional assembly and a consultative assembly; and even that is up to the people themselves. When the constitutional assembly has been formed, these are the people’s representatives who will determine the regime. Subsequently, there will be a consultative assembly formed, also made up of the people’s representatives who have been freely chosen and without any intervention. The people themselves will determine their representatives and hold the reins of affairs by virtue of the fact that these representatives are from among the people. It is not the case that this (government) will rule forever. From the view that it is a revolution and it is a revolutionary issue, it cannot be resolved soon. This will have to be dealt with gradually. You see that this country is in a state of confusion: that is, a clique of agitators left only to be replaced by yet another gang of disruptive elements! We should remedy these ills in order to calm the situation. When a calm atmosphere is established and the affairs fall in the people’s hands and they themselves start running the country, then nobody can raise any objection to anyone. If you yourselves are to choose a representative, another shall choose another, then another one shall do the same; these shall constitute the nation’s representatives who will then form a government. When this happens, nobody can raise any objection because it is the nation itself that has formed the government and no one has imposed it upon them. Now, we are left with no alternative except from solving this basic problem...

[The representative: You have said that we should confirm this government. Certainly those orders regarding the future and which should be carried out shall be carried out, which is quite obvious; however, we want to be clear on whether this government should be reckoned as an Islamic government?]

Imam: (This government) is Islamic because things are to be carried out based on Islamic rules. However, we have to decide on our constitution which has been ratified and which is now under study¹...I have appointed a prime minister using the power of a religious law guardianship. When somebody has been appointed according to a religious law guardianship, then such a government is a religious law government. It is not the case that we will be executing affairs in this way for always. This is temporary and is to be done out of expediency until the basic principles are established. The issue

¹ It refers to the draft of the Islamic Republic Constitution.

is the Revolution. The question is we cannot treat the matter so strictly and delve into a scrutiny (of the government) until we find the right people. Now that we are doing things on a probationary basis, we should not raise objections. I will state the matter again. What we must all do now is to join hands and support this government so that the basic issue, which is setting up a parliament, can be resolved. Now our regime is not legal; we do not have a regime. The monarchial regime was toppled and the Islamic republic regime is in place because of my opinion. However, in the opinion of the world it should be set up based on people's opinion. We wish to refer to the people's vote based on which we will form the consultative assembly and a government that the people desire. Now, whether they want a monarchial regime or an Islamic republic, it is up to them to decide.

[**The representative:** What we meant is supposing that during the few months that the provisional government is running the affairs, it takes wrong measures...]

Imam: Mistakes should always be pointed out. Mistakes cannot be (overlooked). I am not saying that you should follow anybody who is committing a mistake! You should point out mistakes. Everybody is free in speech. Write, express and write in the newspapers.

[**One of those present:** Is there any right to criticize?]

Imam: Yes, there is.

[**The representative:** The second issue concerns the army. We all know that this army had been formed in a way to preserve the monarchial order, not to defend the people]

Imam: This problem has already been resolved even before you have brought it up! This very day, I summoned Mr. Qarani¹, who came here. Mr. Yazdi², who represents the government, also came here. The former is the chief of staff. This week top ranking officers, from brigadier-general up will be thrown out. The low ranking ones will be assigned, in lieu of those, to perform (military affairs). If you are saying that we do not want an army, which is not what you are saying, I must say that we do want an army; we want a gendarmerie, a police force and all the forces. We must strip the ranks off the military's top brass who have come up the ladder through corruption and who are mostly, although not all, corrupt, and force them into retirement.

¹ Wali Allah Qarani, the first chief of staff of the armed forces after the victory of the Revolution.

² Ibrahim Yazdi, deputy prime minister of the provisional government on revolutionary affairs.

Then, we should deal with the low ranking officers, put things in order and assess how they are. Thanks God, this has been resolved.

[**The representative:** Pardon me, Haj Aqa; but officers from the rank of colonel and above were never promoted to a higher rank unless the Shah had known them one by one, their murky dealings and treacheries.]

Imam: As I have said, judicial issues are religious law issues. They cannot be resolved by treating these people with belligerence, anger and cynicism. These issues should be dealt with, God willing, by a judicial court which will be set up according to a certain criterion right this very night or, perhaps, tomorrow in order to indict them. Assuming that I am at odds with someone, a judge's decision should not be influenced by the fact that I do not like the person involved. Based on this criterion, a person proved guilty of murder will be meted out with the death penalty. Stolen items will be confiscated from anyone who has been proved guilty of robbery, and who then will duly be punished or flogged. Anybody who has been proved guilty of committing any offense will be rehabilitated. God willing, the setting up of this court is also underway.

[**The representative:** Haj Aqa, an issue of great importance about the military is that, based on the current and extant system in the army, that is, the connections and norms among its personnel, is divest of any Islamic aspect and so cannot remain in place.]

Imam: It is not the case that there are not any Muslim military men. Those low ranking personnel are not as corrupt as the top ranking ones. Whatever corruption prevailed in the military has been concentrated among the top brass. The low-ranking ones are not that corrupt. We cannot say that the army should be done away with. We must preserve the army in another way. We should dismiss the high-ranking ones, from the brigadier-generals and higher, and then organize the low ranking echelon. We then assess these people, and whoever is found dishonest will be dismissed and replaced by honest ones.

This problem is not something that can be resolved right away. It is not like that now the Shah is gone and the next day everything is resolved! They destroyed everything and then left. Now, you should rebuild and improve it.

[**The representative:** What is your opinion on setting up a national military force instead of making efforts to reorganize this army and allocating a budget again for the purpose?]

Imam: This will be done gradually. As I have said this will happen gradually, gentlemen. We cannot say now that an army, which has been organized systematically and disciplined, step aside just like that. Do we want a disorganized, undisciplined army?! This cannot be so; this will have to be done gradually. (A popular force) must be properly trained and then transformed into an army. However, this cannot be done just like that.

[**The representative:** Haj Aqa, a state founded upon fear...]

Imam: Sir, I would like to ask you to set aside the characteristic of aggressiveness young people possess... Once I was a youngster myself! Young people have certain expectations, which are caused by that energy in them, and as a result, they want all the problems be resolved overnight. This is not the case. The issues are problematic; there are problems now. There is turmoil every place in the country you turn your head to. Putting an end to this turmoil should be of top priority in all agendas. This turmoil should be resolved by the concerted efforts of the military and national forces. At the present time, we do not have a trained national force; the national force we have now is a guerilla force. This national guerilla force is doing its duty quite well. The saboteurs who are causing all this chaos should be crushed through our joint efforts together with the gendarmerie and the police forces. Let us eliminate those saboteurs and establish some peace and quiet and then we shall deal with the next issue.

[**The representative:** Haj Aqa, I am sorry to say but what the issue concerns are some elements in the armed forces...]

Imam: An organization exists (for this matter). An organization is going to be set up. When the military organization was in place, it used to say Shahanshah! Shahanshah (consecutively)! That is all over now. The term Shahanshah is now obsolete! And when this is so, it is no longer an issue if certain people say Shahanshah night and day. This matter is now history and will be effaced off soldiers' memories. But this issue needs a little time. We should consider the matter from all angles. A revolutionary issue cannot be resolved immediately right after we say so, destroy something in its path and advance forward. When (the Revolution) was won, the Iranian Revolution became the best revolution which has ever taken place in the whole world, thanks to Allah. By this I mean, it had very few casualties. And what we have defeated and destroyed was the over 2,500-year-old monarchical regime. You have severed its hands and curtailed foreign interests off your country. These were what you have won. You also had some casualties and of course,

we have lost a thousand lives. In other revolutions, a certain number of people would get killed and devastation would be incurred. We should not expect that right after a revolution peace would reign. We should name this revolution a white revolution and not a monarchial revolution. This revolution is truly a white one. This national revolution of Iran could topple a monarchy within twenty-four hours and turned things topsy-turvy. But now the situation (in the country) is in disarray and we should bring things into order if it becomes necessary. They (the government) have promised to us that this week order will be established and we hope that other things will be rectified little by little, God willing. May God keep you all. May you be successful.

Allow me to rest a bit. I am tired. God willing, we will all join hands in the construction (of the country). This country is in ruins and has been stricken by an earthquake! A quake-stricken country should be reconstructed through the joint efforts of everyone to make it prosperous. Everyone should join hands. Everyone is duty-bound; we are duty-bound. You should all join hands. May God keep you all...

Speech

Date: February 16, 1979 [Bahman 27, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Foreign conspiracies and propaganda

Audience: Abu Rayhan University professors and a group of Air Force personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

An ancient colonial conspiracy

Before anything else, I would like to express my gratitude to the professors and students who have come here enabling us to meet. Regretfully, during the previous period they (defunct regime) had sown seeds of discord between the university, that is all the universities, and us. Thus, we had never been granted with such a great opportunity to meet during this period. Now, it is the first encounter. I hope that the liaison between the clergy and the university people, which itself is spiritual, will last.

You, gentlemen, are aware that this kind of discord which has emerged, and will emerge if allowed, among factions in Iran, is the result of the problems caused by the foreigners who had launched studies finding what centers could educate people, and ought to crush. Therefore, they delved into extensive studies of the material as well as spiritual aspects of our people's lives, and their experts became involved in such studies for over two hundred years visiting all regions in our country and making maps of everything that existed there. They had done so with regard to the culture of all the countries that they wished to exploit. Therefore, they launched extensive studies of our universities and religious seminaries, and arrived at the conclusion that there were a few things that would prove a hurdle to their objectives. One was, of course, Islam. They realized that if Islam, with its true meanings and its true teachings, were to be implemented in these countries, they would reap no benefit and their hands would be cut off from those lands. So they had a number of people of their own, as well as from within (the land), involved in the business of presenting Islam in a distorted way. An Islam, which has risen against satanic powers right from its very inception, was presented by them as an Islam, which is at the service of such powers.

Islam and the barefooted people

If you look at history, you will see that from the first day that the Holy Prophet rose, he did so with these very poor and oppressed people against the oppressors, feudal lords, rich caravan owners who, at the time, represented satanic (oppressive) powers. Islam and its holy leaders had stood against oppressors during all their lives.

If it is said that Islam is at the services of the oppressors and that it is the opium of the masses, it is what such enemies of Islam and those who have followed them and have been their servants have fabricated and inculcated. Such people followed this line and got involved in spreading these lies in Iran, and their supporters did the same out of the country, in such a way that such wrong notions about Islam entered the minds of many people. But it is enough for one to study at the Quran to see what this book, which is the documented proof of Islam, says. Anyone who studies the religion of Islam, the life and history of its prophet and the way he lived, will readily comprehend that there are numerous verses in the Quran regarding the battle against repressive powers, and that it had been the tradition of the holy Prophet of Islam to fight those who wanted to exploit people and force them into serving their vested interests. He rose against them right from the beginning. So, this has been a part of their propaganda. You, the scholars, must bring up such issues in the books you write and mention the discrepancies.

Clergymen: the vanguard of the movement

Another issue (in this connection) concerns clergymen. They realized that the clerics were influential people and that throughout history they had risen against bullying powers. So they decided to suppress them and make them lose their credibility before the nation. Therefore, they accused them of being affiliated to imperial courts, and that they were agents of the court, and that they were trying to stupefy people so that others could exploit them. But anyone who has studied history may bear witness to the fact that in all ages and eras those who withstood oppressors were clergymen. At the time of the Constitutional Movement, it was the clergy who rose and it was them who launched a rebellion during the Tobacco Movement. At the present time, too, you are witnessing that it is the clergymen who have risen, shed their blood, went to prisons, and were tortured and exiled. They endured all these hardships but launched this uprising.

Conspiracy against the theology schools and universities

The university was one entity that foreign powers understood would obstruct them from advancing their stratagem, if they grabbed the reins of power. So, with all their might they tried to keep our universities backward. They would not let our professors educate the youths properly or let these young people get correct education. It was because they knew that if our universities functioned properly and became independent, by the time the students left, they would become anti-colonialists. It was a ploy concocted by the foreigners to pit the universities against religion and vice versa. They positioned the universities against religious scholars and vice versa. There has not been contact between us (the clergy) and you (academicians), for many long years. That is because it was their plan to have the educational system functioning in such a way as to separate us from one another.

Now, please recite again the first verse you had read.

[The representative of the people present: *“And hold fast, all of you together, to the strong rope of Allah, and do not separate...”*¹]

Imam: You should take note of the contents of this very same verse. We were, almost at the state of war with each other in the past. It was due to God’s graciousness that we became brothers. Now we should safeguard this brotherhood. You should have a positive view of us and we should have a positive view of you. We are all brothers, all believing in the same faith and Book, and are of the same nation.

Iran’s destruction

Now, you see Iran is in disarray. They ruined Iran and left it in shambles. They destroyed our agriculture. They kept our culture backward. The state of our army was as you have witnessed. Everything we have today is in disorder and chaos. All walks of life of the nation, especially the scholars, who top them all, should join hands and forces to build up this country, which has been reduced to ruins because of the fifty-odd years of monarchical rule. They crowed, blew their trumpet about the “great civilization”, and at the same time destroyed the country, and now, we can say that we actually do not have anything but a ruined, or shall I say an earthquake-stricken land. We are all duty-bound to join hands, act like brothers and build up Iran anew.

Confronting agitators and conspirators

And you, gentlemen of the university, note that presently a group of those who are affiliated to foreigners and are their agents, cannot tolerate the

¹ Surah Al-i Imran 3:103.

fact that we intend to build up an independent and free Iran. This group, which is disrupting the peaceful situation, cannot bear to see an independent Iran. They wish to see Iran affiliated to either the USSR or the USA, and it seems to me that they are more related to the US under another name close to the USSR. You must guide these people; guide them if they heed your guidance. Guide our youths. Prevent the turmoil in which the Revolution is being plunged into, an Islamic revolution that has united all people. Now, a group of people is actively trying to contaminate this Revolution. Introduce them to your students, to our youths. Tell the youths that such people are foreign agents disguised as nationalists. They are but foreign lackeys. They wish to take Iran back to its previous state, but in another form. This is now a duty binding upon you. Do not let this contamination find its way into the universities. Do not allow demonstrations, which I heard were held yesterday, escalate at universities. Be aware that these demonstrations are instigated by the remnants of the defunct corrupt regime, who are posing in this way now; they are the same as the prime minister, who presented himself as a nationalist and a frequent visitor to the late Dr. MuSaddiq's grave and would do things such as these. These people have now donned another mask, posing as intellectuals, etcetera. You, gentlemen, should all join hands and not allow these agitators stir up trouble in your midst or upset you, or obstruct you in the affairs, and stop you from performing your tasks independently. May God grant you all success and acquaint us with our duties. May God's peace be upon you.

A dialogue with Imam

[The professors' representative: We know we should not take much of your time, but we have some comments to make specifically on the points you have just touched on. Your honor, the people you just referred to are like those who drew, instead of writing the word, "a snake" and then told the people that this drawing is a better way of depicting the "snake." Using such tactics, they make use of obvious truisms, which have been more lucidly described in Islam, and try to divert people's minds to their side. They are now actively involved in such affairs. I believe we should invite some of them, the communists and their theoreticians, scholars and elites to hold debates on the radio and the television before the people.]

Imam: They are not ready for a debate. They are rabble-rousers.

[The professors' representative: Yes, but at least people will be convinced. These elements are now stupefying them and are doing it quite intensely. I would like to bring to your attention that such elements have found their way

into factories and universities without much effort. We want to announce it right here loudly and explicitly and we want to announce over the radio and television that we are prepared to hold debates with them for the people to see for themselves.]

A glance at the ways and attitudes of Islamic leaders

People should be made aware. We must know people by evaluating their leader. For instance, when we delve into a study of Islam, we should consider what the man was who set up and fortified the Islamic faith had been like. We must look closely into the ways of its Prophet and Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him. We should see how they behaved and invited the people to Islam. Did they practice what they preached or not? History shows that they did to the letter.

Hadrat Amir had under his rule a large number of countries, which were among the developed countries of the world. Once a Jewish subject brought up a complaint against him—who ruled Iran, Iraq, Hijaz,¹ Egypt, and other countries—and went before a judge who had been appointed by Imam Ali to file his complaint. The judge summoned the Imam, who was obliged to appear in the court and sit before the judge. A hearing was held and the verdict reached was against the Imam, who acquiesced to the ruling. However, later the Jewish man embraced Islam consequential to what he witnessed (the Imam's acquiescence to the court's decision.) This is only one instance of democracy in Islam. Another example concerns the way the Imam lived. That very same day people chose him the caliph, he took his shovel and pickaxe and went to do his work. At that time, he was digging an artesian well with his own bare hands. His living conditions were well worse than those of his own subjects. He would seal off his barley flour or bread lest his children added oil to it to make it more palatable. This was his meal though he was the ruler of a vast empire.

The lifestyle of communist leaders and claimants of brotherhood

On the one hand, we shall a look into (the affairs of) these gentlemen who say they are of the masses and that they are communists! We will look into (the lifestyle of) their leaders. During the (Second) World War, I myself saw that the leaders of the Allied Forces came and had a summit in Iran. They came to attend a conference. You may not remember it but I remember

¹ The western part of Arabian Peninsula, which is situated along the Red Sea. Its old and important cities were Mecca and Medina, which are now the most crowded and flourishing parts of Saudi Arabia.

it quite well. Churchill was one of them; Roosevelt was another and Stalin. Words went round that Churchill arrived at the airport, and left there in a taxi and went to attend to his business. The other one (Roosevelt) also arrived and left quite casually. However, Mr. Stalin brought his cow with him lest he had to drink the milk of another cow! Nobody had ever led such an aristocratic life as he had! At the same time, he claimed that he led a life just like the others! While Stalin arrived in Iran with so much, pomp and ceremony that he even brought his own cow lest he would be compelled to drink the milk of an Iranian or an undomesticated cow, I, myself, was going to Mashhad from Tehran by bus. At that time that side of Iran, somewhere near Mashhad, was occupied by a Russian battalion. The men who were in the military would beg for cigarettes, whereas their leaders (like Stalin) had propagandized that they were “comrades”! They would address each other as “comrades,” meaning, “We are brothers! We are equal!” They should be told, “You who say that everyone should be the same, should take a look at Islam and at their own leaders.”

Look at Muslim leaders and your own leaders. See how their living conditions had been. In what conditions were its founder, leaders and followers living? The one who conceived the concept of Marxism (Leninism) did it for the sake of one woman! You, too, must consider this and make them understand and realize what the things or theory are that they have and that are not found in Islam and are not better. What is it that they want that Islam does not have more and better?

American agents under the guise of Marxism

Anyway, they are people who cannot understand logic. Tell them to come and sit for a debate. They have no logic. They attack places here and there, looting people's homes in order to foment unrest, disrupt the (peaceful) conditions, and take advantage of the confusion to serve their masters' (interests). I surmise that America is doing this, not the USSR, because these (agitators) were also working at the imperial court (of the Shah). These same people, their top leaders, who now beat the drums of communism, were imperial court servants!¹

¹ It refers to the Tudeh Party, and other Marxist, leaders, such as Parviz Nikkhah, Kurush Lashayi, Manuchehr Azmun, Nuruddin Alamuti and others who had key positions in the cabinet, the imperial court and the (Shah's) propaganda machinery. The Shah had written in his *Memoirs*, “Former communists who had sincerely joined the Shah-People Revolution' and were working at the television network remained loyal until the end.” See *Answer to History*, p. 407.

Now that they are creating unrest; you must, therefore, enlighten the youth who are now with you and talk to them. Make them aware and make them understand that they should oppose this clique, which is now in Iran and is carrying out sabotage. Be sure that this sabotage is serving foreign interests and is perpetrated by foreign agents who show themselves as they are (disguised as Marxists). Like the gentleman¹ who was a foreign lackey donning a nationalist mask but wanted to bring back the Shah here and so on.

I hope that God will grant success to all and support everyone. Today, Iran is in need of your existence and everything. We should all join hands and meet this need. May God keep all of you.

[Representative of those present: This is an honor for us today and for our families and relatives and we will never forget it; and for the entire Iranian nation and the Muslim nations of the world, it is a great feast.]

Imam: I am your servant.

[Representative of those present: You have given us the greatest lesson and for this, we are truly grateful.]

Imam: May God keep you and make you successful. May you enjoy good health.

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar.

Interview

Date: February 16, 1979 [Bahman 27, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Setting up the revolutionary courts and the punishment of the first group of criminals

Interviewer: An *Ittilaat* newspaper reporter¹

These criminals have been condemned in a special revolutionary court and punishment was meted out for their crimes. However, their real punishment will be meted out after their death. Very harsh retributions for such crimes and mass slaughter have been delineated in our divine book, the Quran.²

All criminals and accomplices to the Shah's crimes will receive their due punishment. Our great Islamic Revolution will punish these criminals. From now on, the faithful and religious youth should not detain anyone without the knowledge of the Revolution's provisional government and competent authorities. The Islamic Revolution will mete out the appropriate punishment for their crimes. It is imperative that the Muslim nation return to leading a normal life as soon as possible.

¹ The *Ittilaat* newspaper reporter asked Imam Khomeini about the execution of four members of the regime (Nasiri, former SAVAK director; Naji, Isfahan's military commander; RaHimi, Tehran's military commander; Khusrowdad, commander of the Army Air Force and Special Forces). The Imam's statements are in response to this question.

² *Surah Nisa* ' 4:93.

Letter

Date: February 17, 1979 [Bahman 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The fruits of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Muhammad Ali Araqi (Araki), one of the great *ulama* of Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH

I would like to inform your honor that I have received and am grateful for your letter, which is filled with concern for me. I pray for your honor's health and prosperity. What has been achieved has been engendered by the great power of Islam, immense faith of the nation and the untainted prayers of the pure servants of God, and with a relatively small number of casualties, but with abundant harvests, thanks to God.

The famous revolutions of other countries that incurred were won with huge losses, great destruction, and casualties, and were never as prolific as this Revolution. If there had not been any fruits reaped in this Revolution other than the overthrow of this savage dynasty, it would have been enough for the nation. However, it is hoped that by the prayers of your honor and the rest of the sincere servants of God, great Islamic achievements will ensue.

I am in great need of your benevolent prayers. I implore God Almighty for the greatness of Islam and the Muslims, especially the distinguished *ulama*. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 17, 1979 [Bahman 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Necessity of refraining from unjust dealings and overpricing

Addressees: Strikers (academicians, workers, employees, traders, farmers, etc.)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Now that the Islamic Revolution has achieved outstanding successes with the will of God Almighty, the endeavors and the solidarity of the heroic and brave nation, I feel it necessary to thank all the respectable strikers from among the clergy, university students, teachers, workers, employees of various governmental and private sectors, farmers, the media, merchants and the bazaar guilds of Tehran and the provincial towns, all the businessmen, craftsmen and professionals. May God support you.

The numerous hardships you have endured and the great efforts you have taken throughout this long period are appreciated by me. Your long and nationwide strikes and unprecedented solidarity proved to the world that you are not ready to countenance dictatorship and oppression. You are not willing to allow foreigners to interfere in your country's (affairs) and that you will not be deterred from doing any kind of sacrifice in order to achieve Islamic goals.

Now that, with the help of God, you are prepared to begin work and end the strikes, you must take note of the following guidelines:

1. Traders and manufacturers must refrain from unjust dealings, overpricing and exploiting the present condition. They must try to ensure that prices are fair and in accordance with religious law;
2. It is necessary that they fully observe Islamic equality and fairness and be considerate when dealing with debts in the form of checks, promissory notes and any other kinds of negotiable instruments. Debtors must be allowed grace periods (to pay off their debts); they should refrain from putting under pressure traders who have suffered losses as a result of the long strikes, and should give them ample time to be able to pay off their debts without being subjected to any pressure. I expect merchants and businessmen to take note of this humane and Islamic command and put it into practice.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 17, 1979 [Bahman 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Setting up a committee on looking into worker's demands

Addressees: MaHmud Lulachiyan and Mir-Muhammad Sadiqi

[His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini¹—may his benevolent presence endure...:

With due regards and respects, I wish to state that following the cessation of strikes in some of the institutions, the workers have protested the presence of officials connected to the former regime, and it has been observed that they have refused to go back to work. On the other hand, saboteurs are taking advantage of the situation and are inciting the people. Since such affairs may lead to untoward consequences, please give instructions regarding the setting up of a committee to be made up of competent individuals under the supervision of Dr. Beheshti and Mr. Musawi Ardebili to satisfy the rightful demands of the workers and make them aware of the crucial situation of the Revolution and by so doing prevent the aggravation and spread of such problems.

MaHmud Lulachiyan and
MirmuHammd Sadiqi]²

In His Most Exalted Name

The honorable gentlemen should act accordingly.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Illegible phrase.

² One of the members of the Strikes Coordination Committee at the peak of the Revolution.

Speech

Date: February 17, 1979 [Bahman 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Factors leading to victory: God's will and nation's unity

Audience: Socio-national research group

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Divine graces on Iran's Revolution

I would like to thank the gentlemen who have shown responsibility during this critical period. Up to this stage of the movement, the secret behind the success in reaching this stage was the all-rounded solidarity of the nation. All strata of people, from Tehran and all the other cities to the remotest hamlet and village converged with one unified voice. When I was in Paris, an acquaintance of mine told me that he had been to Japloq,¹ a Bakhtiyari village and to those limits of Kamareh,² and named some of them, and a fortress located near a mountain, the area around which was rustic and undeveloped. He said that he went into the fortress and heard the very same words that were being said in the capital, and the same slogans were being shouted in villages there. In the village, headman would lead the march and the demonstrating villagers would follow. The secret of this victory is this unity of expression, which God had engendered in us. I cannot imagine how one human being can unite a nation of thirty million people or so in word and in heart in such a short period of time that even a two or three-year-old child who has just started talking is saying the same thing; that eighty-year-old man is uttering the very same words; women and men, children, young and old, everyone is moving forward in the same direction. This can only be due to God's will. And because I had felt this from the very beginning, I became hopeful about this movement, that this movement, which had united a nation through God's will, would be victorious. The secret of this victory was this very unity of expression, and we should safeguard it. That is, everyone, in whatever position he is, I, who am a mere theology student, the gentlemen who are among the great *ulama* and you, the intellectuals and thinkers are all duty-bound to work for the future of this country.

¹ A part of Aligudarz district in a district inhabited by the Bakhtiyari tribe.

² A district whose capital is Khomein and includes the towns of Khomein, Mahallat and their suburbs.

The bloodthirstiness of the kings and the tyranny of the Pahlavi dynasty

So far, we have driven out a number of thieves, those who were criminals and had devastated our country, even more than the warplanes that attack countries. They would come, fly over quickly and soon disappear. In Iran, however, we have been under a 2500-year-old monarchical rule. All kings, almost all of them, with no exception, were bloodthirsty, even those who had a reputation of being just. Historians know what kind of a man and tyrant that so-called “Anushirawan, the Just” had been.

Then the era of Rida Khan’s dictatorship arrived, followed by the rule of someone worse than himself, that is, his own son, so worthy of him! They (Pahlavis) did more harm to us than the Mongols, who did nothing to our culture. They came, indulged in pillaging, left the country, and the people’s life resumed normalcy. But those two (Pahlavi) kings ruled the country as despots for fifty years and we lost everything we had because of their fifty years of destructive rule, shouting slogans about the great civilization!’ Fifty years of “culturelessness” chanting slogans of a progressive culture; fifty years of atrocities with shouts of “social justice”; fifty years of suppression amidst chants of “freedom, free women and free men”. They ruined all our dignity and left nothing of it. Our national treasury was emptied of Iranian jewels; Rida Khan took some of them and his son took yet another portion. They took the nation’s wealth abroad and built mansions for themselves and deposited the rest in banks, especially in Swiss banks. They hold a great portion of the nation’s wealth and we, God willing, will investigate this case soon. God willing, we will demand his extradition to Iran. If they (US) refuse to extradite him, we will still try him in absentia and sequester the property he has in Iran. We shall, God willing, also freeze his assets in foreign banks.

General mobilization for Iran’s reconstruction

Anyway, what has been achieved so far, has been made possible through our unity. We have driven out the traitors, thieves and saboteurs. They left us a country that has neither an independent culture nor an independent army or agriculture. You know what they have done to the country’s agriculture; they had transformed Iran into a market for other countries. Almost everything in this country is a shambles. Henceforth, it will be the time of reconstruction and it is our duty to help rebuild this ruin. It is incumbent on all of us: on me, a mere theology student, the great *ulama* in major cities and grand Religious Reference Authorities across the land; on you, the gentlemen, who are men of knowledge and are among the scholars, the intellectuals and people from all walks of life. No one, not the clergy or the advocates, or the

Justice Ministry can perform this task alone. Neither could the corrupt regime be removed by one single group. The whole nation joined hands to eradicate that corruption to some extent and will, God willing, continue doing the task.

The entire nation should take part in rebuilding Iran. All classes of people should cooperate and join hands to reconstruct the ruin that has been left with us: the farmer in farming affairs, the peasant in sowing the fields and the people in industry in industrial affairs. People in the government and non-governmental organizations should also cooperate in a brotherly way with each other and build anew on the ruins that have been left for us.

Blossoming of uprising for God

I pray to God Almighty to grant you and us success (the people). The most important thing is that an uprising should be a divine one. I believe that this verse that says, *"I exhort unto you one thing only: that ye awake for Allah's sake, by twos and singly,"*¹ means that an uprising should be for God. This is what God, the Most High, says. I have a word of advice, only one piece of advice. That is, do rise up and launch a movement for God. When it is for God, it will blossom. I believed that this uprising of the Iranian nation was for God. That is why it succeeded. It was void of any conceit. A kind of humanity blossomed among the people and this lies only in the fact that there was some sort of faith, a kind of God worship and following the example set by God.

Indescribable treacheries and crimes

We must strengthen our faith and rely upon the Blessed and Exalted God. With this reliance upon the Blessed and Exalted God, we should not allow any foreign intervention in this country from now on or let them plunder our resources gratis and gratuitously. As you have seen, our oil was taken away and would have been exhausted had the Shah stayed any longer. He, himself, said that the oil would have been exhausted. Now, what did they (foreigners) give us in exchange? In return, they built military bases for America! That is, not only did they take our oil, but also did them a favor by building a military base. There is much to say about our misfortunes. Later on, those in the know, those individuals who are informed of the truth will write it down in history. We do not have all the information in our hand. We are unable to depict the magnitude of the plundering and treacheries that they had committed because we do not have the information. Those informed will

¹ Surah as-Saba' 34:46.

recount it bit by bit. Anyway, from now on, we need to be united for the sake of the Blessed and Exalted God, with steadfastness in faith, the same strong faith our nation had when it toppled the superpowers.

Extraditing the fugitive Shah to Iran

You have seen that in the early days of the movement America was helplessly looking for a way as to what it should do, the same was true with Britain, the USSR, although somehow with moderation, and China. All of these acted in this manner at the beginning. However, when they witnessed for themselves the nation's insistence, they gradually withdrew their support one after another. They withdrew (their support) to such an extent, that Muhammad Rida is now in Rabat! I do not know where he is now. No one would give him entry! One by one, each country he went to, told him it could not provide him security! Nobody would let him in (to their country)! God willing, nobody will. We ourselves will let him in! Let him come and we will make him face a fair trial to retrieve the people's wealth. When he comes, we will not execute him right away; all his wealth must be taken from him, that is, he must return the people's money. Then, if his sentence is the death penalty, we will carry out the punishment, and he will be condemned without doubt! I implore the Blessed and Exalted God to grant you gentlemen health and prosperity. I hope we will be able to rescue this sinking ship together.

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

Dialogue

Date: February 17, 1979 [Bahman 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Triumph of the power of faith and Islam over oppression and colonialism

Audience: The Vatican ambassador and a group of the Pope's emissaries

[Pope John Paul's emissary: The Pope has asked us to extend his heartfelt wishes for your health and success of the Iranian nation.]

Imam: Religious minorities have always been accorded respect in Islam. Understanding between major monotheistic religions is necessary for human progress.

It was this nation's faith and the power of Islam, which triumphed over oppression and dictatorship. I hope other nations will also join us in this...

[Pope's emissary: We have just started a dialogue between Islam and the Catholic religion and I hope this dialogue and exchange of opinions will continue in the new order that has come into existence in this country under your leadership.]

Dialogue

Date: February 17, 1979 [Bahman 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Triumph of faith over satanic powers

Audience: Yasir Arafat, Hani al-Hasan, some Palestinian officials, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, and Ibrahim Yazdi

Imam: Although our Revolution had but a meager amount of material power, its spirituality will suffice to push it toward progress. Therefore, that great satanic power, whose source of support was the superpowers with all their diabolical resources, was defeated by our nation with fists and blood, which triumphed over all these satanic powers and superpowers that were supporting the Shah and were openly expressing their loyalty to him. And the secret of this victory, apart from the vital part played by the power of faith, was that this same power of faith has created the true key, which consisted of the nation's unity of expression throughout the whole affair. Because this Revolution was Islamic and humane, it spread at lightning speed to all corners of Iran, from that remote hamlet to the capital and reached all the strata of the people. Through this very unity of expression, the nation was able to resist this satanic power, which surrendered its strongholds one after another.

Certainly, our difficulties are plenty. They have plundered our country and destroyed our entire cultural heritage. They pushed our culture backward in the name of the "great civilization", destroyed our agriculture in the name of "progress", and suppressed freedom of the print media and publicity centers in the name of "freedom". They bequeathed to us a country in shambles, a country in utter ruins, which has to be rebuilt from scratch. However, with the grace of God and because the affair is a divine one, I feel that God has willed that the deprived triumph. All categories of nation are together in order to counter the difficulties. God willing, our difficulties will be eliminated through our nation's endeavors. I implore the Gracious and Exalted God to empower our brother nation, Palestine, to overcome its problems. We are all brothers.

Since fifteen years ago, that is, at the beginning of this movement, I used to refer to the Palestinian issue and the crimes perpetrated by Israel in that territory in my writings and statements. Now, too, once we have passed through this tumultuous situation, we will stand by you as we had done in the past. Even now, we are with you. I hope we will be able to confront the

problems together like brothers. I pray to God the Almighty for the dignity of Islam and the Muslims and the return of Holy Quds to our brothers.

[**Yasir Arafat:** I, whether by a stroke of luck or misfortune, was born there. That is my homeland. It was the dictate of destiny for me to be born there. This does not mean that I alone am responsible for (freeing) Quds. All of you bear responsibility in liberating it. After this great victory in Iran, your responsibility toward Quds is greater than mine who was born in Jerusalem. I have nothing but my blood to offer for the cause of the liberation of Quds. But you, with such a great victory, now have vast facilities at your disposal and must do something so that all Muslims can pray at Quds. We will never allow the Palestinian flag to remain un-hoisted. We will have it erected as it was in Iran. (Menachem) Begin has recently said something important concerning your victory. He said, "An age of darkness has descended upon Israel."]

Imam: God willing.

[**Arafat:** Now an earthquake has struck. This quake is now very close to us. God says in the Quran that "...and you did not shoot (the arrow) but Allah did." In response to (Moshe) Dayan and Begin, I said, "You may choose and rely upon one supporter. You may lean on America. I, too, can find a supporter and I have found this supporter. I am now leaning back on the Iranian nation led by the grand Ayatullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini.]

Imam: The Shah too had relied upon the US, Britain, China, Israel and all such powers. But these supportive forces are all feeble. Only one support is strong and firm, and that is God. God is the only support. I advise you (Arafat), my own nation and your nation to look to God for support and not to these powers, not to rely on material things but on spirituality. God's power is above all powers. That is why we saw that an oppressed nation, which had nothing, triumphed over all powers and will, God willing, prevail. And we are not afraid of anything if we are with God, even if we are killed, or kill, in His path, we shall prosper.

[**Arafat:** Last year Israel dispatched a massive contingent to South Lebanon to suppress its Palestinian and Muslim population. Not exceeding 2000, the fighters who resisted those huge military units, faced 65,000 Israelis including reserve forces at the rear and at the frontlines. The Israelis believed they would rout our forces within a couple of hours. We were plunged into a great predicament. In utter despair, I said, "Oh, God, if these people are

killed, there will be no one left in this region to worship you.” I suddenly saw that victory arrived. Mr. Brzezinski said, “Goodbye Palestinian Liberation Organization. You are on the way out; you are finished!” But we witnessed how God bestowed a great victory on us. And a year after our victory in South Lebanon, which was a small and simple victory we gained the greatest of victories here in Iran. As the Holy Quran says, “*When the truth comes, falsehood shall perish.*” We have now cast fear upon the heart of the enemy. Begin’s statement: “a period of darkness has descended upon Israel,” carries a lot of meaning. It signifies their fear. Kissinger, too, has said that the greatest event after the Second World War has been the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. In what way does the victory of Iran’s Islamic Revolution pose a threat to the US? Kissinger said yesterday that if the US did not carry out in Iran what it had done in Vietnam, Iran’s revolutionary movement would spread until it encroached on Israel. We may deduce from this statement the magnitude of the danger this Revolution poses to American interests in this region. We can understand our true position through the enemy’s tongue. When I went to Baghdad, I heard from heads of Arab countries words like “What do you have to do with Iran? What business do you have with the Grand Ayatullah Khomeini?” This was the least they were saying. Others said, “Your interests will be better secured with the Shah in power. Support him and your interests will perhaps be better provided for. The last time I was touring (Persian) Gulf countries, a few days before your victory, the Gulf rulers were saying that according to their information, Bakhtiyar would prevail and that Americans would be able to keep Bakhtiyar in power against the Iranian nation.]

Imam: All the calculations of the great powers proved wrong because it was a divine issue.

[**Arafat:** “*And (the unbelievers) plotted and planned, and God too planned, and the best of planner is God.*”]

Imam: And their present and future calculations too will prove wrong.

[**Arafat:** They say an earthquake has occurred; we say an explosion of light¹ has occurred. We say the time has arrived for our nation and our region to be free and independent. Many problems lie ahead. But I am optimistic about the future. You have a great *jihad* and more strenuous efforts (to make)

¹ The revolutionary expression, *Our Revolution was an explosion of light,* often used as a slogan, originated from this statement but which has been mistakenly attributed to Imam Khomeini.

ahead of you. To reconstruct the foundation of the society is more exacting than fighting and winning. The Shah has ruined this land.]

Imam: We have pinned our hopes on God and we will never despair of Him. We will overcome our problems, God willing. And we do not count on material things in this regard. We do not believe material matters can bring about victory. Victory is gained through spirituality. As long as our nation relies upon God the Almighty, it will move forward. And if, God forbid, deviation occurs, everything will go in decline.

[**Arafat:** I do not think that the enemy's plots have ended as yet. When we look at the string of events, we can be certain that the enemy will not just let go of one of its fortresses (in the region) so easily.]

Imam: The enemy does not want to do so. But God will, hopefully, act against the enemy.

[**Arafat:** Although I now have a smile upon my lips, my heart is bleeding because of the massacres committed in Iran.]

Imam: God willing, your heart will be lightened.

[**Arafat:** God bears witness that in all my life I have never experienced happiness as the joy I felt when you triumphed.]

Imam: May God protect all Muslims.

[**Another Palestinian:** In Lebanon, there is a ban on firing into the air as a sign of celebration. It is now over a year that it is so. The commander-in-chief of the Palestinian forces has specifically ordered that no bullet should be wasted for any occasion. But (with the victory of the Islamic Revolution) the whole of Lebanon was "set ablaze"! Abu Ammar (Arafat) himself fired five bullets. He himself broke that rule as a display of joy. Undoubtedly, they are going to launch air raids against South Lebanese villages and Shiah populated regions. Begin is saddened and grieved because of the upheaval in Iran. May God protect South Lebanon against Israeli air raids; God willing the Grand Ayatullah Khomeini and the Iranian nation will protect the forces of Arab governments.]

Imam: May God protect (them).

[**Arafat:** It is true that Israel has friends. But we, too, have brothers and friends.]

Imam: We rely solely upon God, the Blessed and Exalted.

[**Arafat:** Last week marked the beginning of a new era.]

Imam: God willing.

Letter

Date: February 17, 1979 [Bahman 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Rifah School, Tehran

Subject: Safeguarding the unity and solidarity

Addressee: People of Miyaneh and its suburbs

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The respectable people of Miyaneh and its suburbs—may God the Most High support them:

We have received several scrolls and letters from you regarding my entry to the country and your solidarity with the sacred Islamic movement of the Iranian nation through Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Sajjad Hujaji. I thank you for expressing your kindness. It is hoped that, God willing, we will always maintain this solidarity and unity so that with God's will we will achieve further victories in the path to advance the holy objectives of the holy faith. Give my regards to the public, especially the bereaved fathers and mothers. I implore God Almighty for the grandeur of Islam and Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Mawlud 19, 1399 AH

Message

Date: February 18, 1979 [Bahman 29, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Dispatch of Mr. Husayn Nuri to Kurdistan

Addressee: People of Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi al-Awwal 20, 1399 AH

Bahman 29, 1357 AHS

Dear Kurdish brothers:

The Iranian nation will never forget their Kurdish brothers' solidarity, and their onerous and chivalrous struggle in the anti-colonial and anti-dictatorial battle against the satanic Pahlavi regime.

Iran's Islamic movement is a symbol of the Shiah-Sunni brotherhood and solidarity among various ethnic groups of the nation. You, dear brothers and sisters, should be aware that the archenemy, that is, colonialism, is still involved in sabotaging and sowing seeds of discord through various means in order to regain the control of our resources and continue plundering this nation. I want to remind you, my children, not to fall victim to the stratagem of colonialism and continue along the path of unity, through cooperation and solidarity with other brothers who share the same goals with us as dictated in the Quran: *"And hold fast, all together, by the Rope which God (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves."*¹

I am hereby dispatching Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Hussayn Nuri, who is a lecturer and had been exiled to Kurdistan for a long time by the regime during the age of suppression, as my representative so that if you, brothers, have something to discuss, you can inform me through him.

I implore God the almighty to grant us all success to build an Islamic Iran and tread the path to evolution and goodness under the banner of Islamic justice with freedom, brotherhood and equality.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Surah Al-i Imran 3:103.

Decree

Date: February 18, 1979 [Bahman 29, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 20, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of a superintendent for Sepahsalar Theology School and Mosque

Addressee: Muhammad Imami Kashani

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 20, 1399 AH

Bahman 29, 1357 AHS²

Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Muhammad Imami Kashani:

It is necessary that you supervise the affairs of Sepahsalar Theology School and mosque and all its offices and other relevant matters until a definite decision is made.

¹ *In Sahife-ye Nur*, vol. 5, p. 104, the issuance of the decree is dated Bahman 30, 1356 AHS.

² The difference between the solar and lunar date is on the observance in date of new moon and the calendar date.

Speech

Date: February 18, 1979 [Bahman 29, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Sowing seeds of discord between the clergymen and intellectuals

Audience: Representatives of Iran's Writers Association

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Colonial plot to create a rift in the nation

I thank the gentlemen who have come here and expressed their kind regards for me. Among the things and fruits I have reaped in this movement, one is meeting new faces we had not seen before. They (the regime) had segregated all walks of the nation from each other. They had separated the clergymen from the intellectuals, that is, from thinkers and they pitted them against each other. This resulted from the iniquitous efforts taken by the colonial powers, which wanted to plunder our resources. They did this in order to sow seeds of discord among the enlightened walks of the nation, the effective people who could resist against and push back the foreign powers. They did so to prevent their unity and keep them estranged from each other and belligerent toward each other, and at times, with great and severe differences. They took many efforts and, of course, achieved what they wished. They presented such an (ugly) picture of the clergy to you, thoughtful men of letters that you were not prepared to even mention their names. Likewise, they painted such a portrait of you for the clerics that they, too, did not wish to mention of you. This discord caused them to accomplish their wishes and they looted our resources gratis and gratuitously as if there was no hurdle before them. They pushed the country backwards and kept it backward and prevented our manpower from blossoming.

Unity: the greatest fruit of the Islamic Revolution

We can say that in this recent movement the best achievement garnered is the unity, which had been created among various walks of life: academicians have now become closer to the clergy, and vice-versa; the merchants, too, share affinity with them, and likewise the farmers. Now you see that all classes of people all over Iran share the same ideas and beliefs and are unanimously saying they want an Islamic republic. The secret of our success, which had pushed back great global powers and made the satanic

power of the Pahlavi family crumble, is this very unity of all walks of life and the unity of expression. If the clerics had waged war against (satanic powers) alone, they would have been strangled. If writers wanted to fight alone, they would have been destroyed. If the academicians had done so by themselves, they could not (have succeeded). If the merchants had done so alone, it would not have been possible. The fact that we have achieved everything, and, God willing, will achieve more, is due to this very same solidarity among the walks of the nation. We should safeguard this solidarity.

The writers' heavy responsibility

Gentlemen! You, the writers, have now a very great responsibility upon your shoulders. They (the regime) had forbidden you to use your pens but now you are free to write; use your pens in the path to the nation's freedom and Islamic teachings. This nation before your eyes has found unity under the banner of Islam. Otherwise, this Islamic unity and convergence would not have been possible. Now, everyone, from a child of a few years to an eighty-year-old man, is participating in this movement and all of them have a role in this victory. With one unified voice, they demand freedom and independence, and thank God, these have been achieved. Moreover, they want an Islamic republic. God willing, that, too, will be attained through a public vote. What is now incumbent upon us is to protect this unity. (Political) convulsions, whether deliberately instigated or not, have, at times, been observed occurring at universities. If they are perpetrated intentionally, I have to say that it is tantamount to a treachery. If it is done unintentionally, then I have to say it is ignorance. Today is not a day that this nation should upset this achieved victory by engendering these convulsions. It is not a day that we can afford to pollute this movement by attacking public and private centers. Today is a day of unity of expression. All of us, each and everyone in whatever path we tread, and whatever creed we have, must all converge under one banner. If we do not, we will all be annihilated.

The perils of a step-by step policy and left or right leanings

When I was in Paris, some would come to me and advise me to opt for a step-by-step movement, saying we will keep the Shah and let him reign but not rule. Then we could set up a parliament, attend to other things, and eventually eliminate all of them.

I asked that gentleman, who was a righteous man but who thought wrongly, if he could guarantee that we could rekindle the flame of the

movement that had come into being once it was extinguished. He said no. I asked if he could guarantee that the Shah would not destroy all of us if we gave him a grace period and let him take a step forward. He said not. I said we had to make use of this flame that had been lit. If we do not attain our goals now, we will definitely face a defeat. We must put forth our ultimate goals now.

Our ultimate goal is the toppling of the contemptible monarchial regime, whose crimes are vividly depicted in history and the elimination of the left and right wings and advocates of the imperialists and leftists, who want to hold us captives. We must be independent from now on, not leaning toward the right or left, but rather independent with everybody under the banner of Islam. If you want your country to be independent and attain freedom, you must brush aside disturbing thoughts and bring home victory together with one unified voice.

You know that our country is now a country in turmoil. Everything that we have is a shambles: an economy kept backward, that is, they had done this to us. They have kept our agriculture so backward that everything is dependent upon foreign aid. They did not allow our industry to flourish and destroyed small industries and you had seen what had been done to our military. Everything we had was decimated, including our manpower.

Throughout the course of history, they (exploitative powers) had taken so many efforts to stifle our thoughts so that the idea of independence would not occur in our mind, so that walks of people would not think of being independent. They never thought that such a monarchy could ever be toppled. They never imagined that America and the USSR, with all their accouterments, could not intervene in Iran's internal affairs. They wanted to do this and, of course, sent words of intimidation and launched into a harangue in order to shove us backward. However, we were not driven backward into retrogression. Instead, we became aware that our task was to move ahead. I told everyone who called on me and advocated a gradual approach to the path and wanted to mediate in our affairs that our task was Godly; it was not part of our task to enter into a compromise. I am not the sort of person who will tread the path with even a bit of leniency. I have a divine task and will act upon it as a divine task requires. I will perform my divine duty even if I get killed (in this path). And if I got killed, then I have fulfilled my divine duty; and if I advanced forward, I had fulfilled my divine duty.

Unity, a prerogative of freedom and independence

You have a divine duty. Rely upon the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him, and you will prosper, God willing. Keep your unity of expression, which is the secret of our victory. We have moved forward and will move further until we reach our ultimate goal. We will no longer allow our wealth to be plundered and the poor to sleep in alleys without bread or water. If, God forbid, this unity of expression is shattered, be aware that they (foreign powers) are ever alert and discerning. The day we lose this unity of expression, they will surely attack and install in power another thug like Rida Khan or somebody in his name or anybody else. They will establish any regime in power. Things will revert to the way they were before; it will be the same old story: the same backwardness, abjectness and the like.

Unity of expression must be preserved. We see that now there is unity of expression among all walks of life. Elements who want to break up this unity of expression and enervate those who engendered this unity should do some rethinking and pay attention. We are your well-wishers. We wish the nation's well-being. Islam wishes your well-being. Islam will make you prosper in this world and the other.

Reconciliation with Islam: solidarity with the nation

Those who are estranged from Islam should reconcile their ideas with it, come under its banner and learn its teachings. The foreigners did not let its teachings be understood. They let loose a clique who was ignorant of Islam and forbade us from delving into studies or publish our writings. Likewise other groups who were opposed to their interests, but who were connected to Islam and were qualified to teach it. You should be aware that Islam has everything. It affects every aspect of life a man and a woman from their marriage to their interment. It has decrees and rules all of which are progressive. All its commandments aimed at human prosperity, whether in this life or the afterlife, are beneficial. What I want of the writers is that it is their duty, as well as mine, who is a theology student, to utilize their pen for the well-being of the nation. Use your pen to exhaustion for the welfare of this community. May God grant you all health and honor.

Speech

Date: February 18, 1979 [Bahman 29, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Islam's treatment of minorities

Audience: Delegates of Iran's Zoroastrian¹ Community

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

I would like to thank the gentlemen. Gentlemen, you can rest assured that all minorities have always been treated justly and humanely in Islam and enjoyed welfare. Zoroastrians, like the rest of the minorities, are part of the Iranian nation; they and we live together in this country. God willing, everyone will enjoy well-being. And the unity of expression, which is the key of this victory, should be preserved everywhere; we should safeguard this key in our territory and you do the same in yours. Likewise, the rest of the other social strata should do the same. Everyone must be vigilant and with hands joined together, we must rebuild the devastated Iran we now have in our hands.

They (ex-regime) have depleted all our reserves. Some of our (crown) jewelry was taken away by the father (Rida Khan) and most of it by the son and his cronies. Similarly, they stashed away the moneys here in foreign banks amounting to billions, which they had transferred to foreign banks. God willing, this money will be retrieved and the Shah will be extradited back to Iran to be tried in person or in absentia and his property confiscated because they never had any property. Their property belongs to the nation.

You, who are Zoroastrians and have been the servants of this nation and country, must carry on with your work and safeguard the unity of expression.

I implore God the Almighty for the success of the entire Iranian nation.

¹ Zoroaster was the founder of the Zoroastrian religion. The principles of the religion are based on the three main fundamentals: "Do no evil, hear no evil and say no evil".

Radio-Television Message

Date: February 19, 1979 [Bahman 30, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Class attendance and the necessity of changes in the educational system

Occasion: Schools' re-opening after the Revolution's victory

Addressees: Education Ministry officials and school students

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Now that the country's schools are re-opened after a great Islamic struggle, I would like to thank all the dear school pupils and university students, teachers, instructors and professors. May God grant them success. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to the Education Ministry employees and workers. I deem it necessary to remind you of the point that this Revolution will continue until the materialization of the ultimate goal, which is the severance of the hands of the US, USSR, Britain and the rest of the exploitative governments.

My beloved children! Now you should take greater efforts in order to irrigate this sapling of the country's freedom and independence. Your future ahead is onerous. If you are fully armed with strong Islamic and revolutionary knowledge, piety and wisdom, you will be assured of a certain victory. And if, God forbid, at this stage, you prove to be negligent, you will be held responsible for it. Never allow a coterie rule over you as in the past bitter days of tyranny. Do not forget the Islamic principle of democracy.

Today, the Iranian nation staged an uprising, achieved successes, and has shaken both internal and external traitors without leaning toward the left or right; these elements are lurking, as they had in the past, to annihilate you. For this very reason, you must endeavor to bring into existence through your unity an Islamic society wherein everybody can express his ideas freely.

I consider myself fortunate that the circumstances have totally shifted in favor of our oppressed nation. The same responsibility and commitment that had necessitated your staging strikes and demonstrations during the past months now make it expedient for you to resume your educational task with complete seriousness in a peaceful environment. Yesterday, foreign elements were aiming at breaking up the strikes, and now that you are witnessing that the trend in the country is heading toward a just Islamic government, these elements are standing against the noble revolutionary Islamic movement with pseudo-revolutionary slogans.

I am asking all of you to go back to school from today, the first of Esfand 1357 AHS [February 20, 1979] and become the revolutionary and Islamic soldiers of the future. May God be your helper and supporter. It is necessary that you take note of the following points:

1. The key to our victory was unity of expression. With absolute humility, I want you to bury your differences, think of something constructive, and refrain from any kind of discord because termites destroy everything good or bad.

2. Educational books, whether primary, secondary or university ones, must have fundamental changes and purged of any materials and pictures which serve the interests of colonialism and exploitation and be replaced by Islamic and revolutionary lessons that will awaken children and bring them up independent and free.

3. Education and training throughout Iran should be cleansed of any traces of colonial culture. Create an environment where our children will be trained to become lion cubs that will always stand behind the fronts of resistance against America, Zionism and other eastern and western plunderers. Rest assured that Khomeini will be with you in the trenches until the colonials' roots, left or right, are destroyed. The Islamic mission of every Muslim individual continues until death. I pin my hopes on you. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Message

Date: February 19, 1979 [Bahman 30, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Seditonists' plots, and the police forces' need to return to security centers

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

At this crucial time, seditionists using deceptive names are preoccupied with conspiracies against the Islamic Revolution and there is danger that foreign elements will return to plunder the country. Therefore, it is necessary that police forces immediately return to security centers and work together for the protection of cities and key centers.

The elements that are perpetrating destructive, anti-Islamic and inhuman acts of sedition to gain control of key centers to serve foreign interests should realize that their power is nothing compared to the satanic power of the Shah and his supporters. If they do not unite with the nation and act rationally, the brave nation of Iran and Tehran will decide their fate.

I will not tolerate these uncultured elements. All walks of life, whatever status they have, must carry on with their activities under the banner of Islam; otherwise, it will be considered an uprising against the Islamic revolutionary government, which is punishable according to Islam's constitution. As much as possible, I want all strata of the people to behave with honesty and sincerity toward each other. However, I will never allow any commotion. May God's peace be upon those who follow (Islamic) guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 19, 1979 [Bahman 30, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Dispatch of Mr. Nuri to Kurdistan

Addressee: Ahmad Muftizadeh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable scholar and brave clergyman, Mr. Ahmad Muftizadeh, may his graces last:

I would like to express my appreciation and gratitude for your efforts and continuous activities in Islamic affairs and the endeavors you have made in this path. I hope that you will always be successful and supported in fulfilling your divine duties and in advancing Islamic objectives.

Today I am dispatching Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Husayn Nuri, may God bless him, one of the respected teachers of the holy theology school, to that district. You may bring up any issues with him and he will inform me. It is hoped that with the relentless efforts of the gentlemen, the Islamic republic government will soon be installed. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi al-Awwal 21, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: February 19, 1979 [Bahman 30, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Illegitimacy of the monarchial regime; the need to educate children on all dimensions of Islam; the peril of one-dimensional Islam

Audience: Alawi School's officials, teachers and workers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The monarchial regime is opposed to human rights

...All affairs will be run well under a just government and carried out decently. If heads of the ruling party are corrupt, this corruption will spread among all walks of life in the country. You saw how a corrupt individual ruled this country and for thirty-seven¹ years dominated over the country's people, and an illegitimate domination for that matter, and spread a lot of corruption. This principle of the monarchial regime is opposed to human rights, because even if we assume that the entire nation gathers and votes for the monarchial regime, as it is their right to choose a regime, it does not have the right to determine a regime for the future. That is, the entire destiny of the country should be run by the people themselves. The people have the right to choose an individual to rule over them as a monarch, president or anybody by any title. It is right to do so. The people possess discretionary right to do this. However, do the people have the right to determine the fate of the succeeding generation, of their children and the children of their children? Nobody has any right to do such a thing. Based upon human rights, you must rule over your own destiny and have a hand in it, but you cannot rule over the destiny of another country or nation. You cannot interfere in the destiny of the succeeding generation. You do not have this right. That a monarchy can be inherited by an individual to rule a generation after another generation is, therefore, illegal and is against human rights.

The Pahlavi dynasty: an illegitimate regime

Brushing aside everything we know, let us assume that when Rida Shah came to the scene, he was welcomed by the people and everybody accepted him. Well, assuming that some fifty odd years ago when Rida Shah came to power, all the people accepted him, but now the population in this country is

¹ In principle, 28 years.

totally different from the population that existed in that period. Those people who made up this nation at that time had no right to choose his son to rule over us who live in another era. Our fathers did not have the right to do so. Therefore, even though we believe that Rida Shah had been welcomed by the people (of his time), his selection had been legitimate, however, choosing his son to rule over us was illegal. However, everybody knows that the coming to power of this dynasty was illegal from the very start. From the very beginning, the Constitutional Parliament they set up was done under the force of the bayonets. The representatives to the Parliament were appointed and not elected by the people, who were totally unaware of what was going on and if they had been cognizant, they could not have been able to breathe (under suppression). The very basis of this government, therefore, had been tyranny and its rule bore no validity. Ever since the beginning, their domination over the country has been illegal. And while it was so, all affairs were run through treacherous and criminal ways. Now, if you consider the state of your nation, wherever you go or whatever institution you consider, you will find that each institution is malfunctioning. Your culture is now a colonial one, not a proper culture. The military and its training was under foreign advisers. They embarked upon a total destruction of our agriculture and industry. They ruined this country under the guise of the “great civilization” and transformed it into a market for big countries, especially the US. Therefore, an all-out general collaboration is needed to wipe out the corruption and disorder that plague this country.

A comprehensive education and training of school students

Certainly, you, the instructors of Alawi School, as has been relayed to me (I, myself, am not involved in such affairs,) have done well and have educated our children well. There is only one point that I would like to call your attention to and consider from this time onwards, is the fact that our children must be brought up at every juncture in time according to the norms of that time. There are narrations available to us that say, “Raise your children in a way different from how you, yourselves, had been brought up.”¹ We should raise them for the future because they will run the country in the future. You should not keep children estranged from politics. Keeping them aloof from it will cause them to be blind when they step into and be part of the society. People who want to live in this country and run its affairs

¹ Imam Ali (a), said, “Do not force your own upbringing upon your children because they were born at a time different from your own.” *Nahj al-Balaghah* by Ibn abi-Hadid, Chapter 20, p. 267.

must be aware of the deceptive tactics and all the things perpetrated by colonial powers. You must inform and educate them of all the backwardness brought about by the colonial powers. They must be aware of current affairs. Otherwise, you will witness that those deviated individuals who have an insight into current affairs will prevail over truthful people who lack such an insight. Education and training must be comprehensive enough to satisfy the (educational) needs of the country and individuals.

The comprehensiveness of Islam

Islam, if you are informed about Islam and the Quran, and, God willing, you are, is not merely a form of worship or concerned with devotional teaching and education and the like. Islam is not separate from politics. It brought into existence a country and a great government. It had created a great country. It is a regime, a political regime. Other regimes are neglectful of many issues, but Islam is never neglectful of any affairs. That is, Islam educates man on all aspects of the human life. One aspect is material and encompasses man's materiality, and the other is the spiritual aspect, which talks of spirituality. Moreover, it has commandments regarding everything, from pre-marital arrangements on which woman to choose for a man to marry and vice-versa and what morals or religions they should adhere to even before a man and a woman become united in matrimony. When a farmer wants to sow a field, he plants a seed in the earth that he nurtures and considers everything its breeding necessitates. And when, finally, it sprouts, he must be careful of what is beneficial or detrimental to it; oversee this process and likewise, look after it until it bears fruit.

Method of human development in Islam

Islam, similarly, applies these procedures to human beings, that is, it treats man in the same way a farmer does his field at time of sowing. Before man is born, Islam has rules regarding what kind of father and mother he should have, that is, how a couple should be before marriage. This is because Islam considers the ultimate end of this act, that is, if (one of) the father or mother is morally corrupt or behaves inhumanly, what influence it will have on the children who will be born in terms of inheritance. For this reason, Islam, as is true with the planter, is very precise and compassionate regarding this matter. Islam considers the human being from his birth until he gets married and what behavior to adopt during his married life and what rules should be followed on matters of conception. There are numerous rules regarding pregnancy and suckling the child. There are also rules on behavior

toward one's mother and under the auspices of the father. Furthermore, there are rules concerning schools and the society. It considers the child from before its birth up until it reaches the superior stage. Islam has rules that encompass all human aspects. Other regimes and governments in the world do not have any regard for these matters. They are merely concerned with one thing and that is to keep the society at peace for their own vested interests and so that they can plunder the people! Or, they are very good and just and are not concerned with plundering and are merely involved in rectifying their own social problems. But when it comes to how a child should be from beginning to end and how to rear it up to the end (of its life), during pregnancy and the suckling period, other regimes are aloof.

Islam is such that when a human being reaches maturity, it outlines rules on how he should associate with his brother, his father and mother; how a father should associate with his son; and the association of both with their neighbors, town mates, co-believers and foreigners. Islam is a government that concerns political rule, on the one hand, and spiritual rule, on the other. That is, the human being has two faces: a material facet on which Islam has encompassing laws and a spiritual facet, which was never considered in other regimes, which prohibit the human being from educating himself spiritually, or edifying himself until it reaches a level that nobody knows but God. This is how Islam clutches man's hand and takes him until he ascends to heaven. Other regimes are not like this.

Colonial thesis: segregation of politics and religion

What I mean is that politics is not an issue that Islam does not discuss. The idea of separation of politics and religion is an issue that the colonialists had put in people's mouth and through this they wanted to cause a disparity between these two branches. They wanted to cause discord among religious scholars and likewise, among secular groups, segregate politicians from the rest of the people to achieve their vested interests. They embarked upon such factious agitations, firstly, by disseminating the idea that religion and politics were separate, and prior to this (they propagated) that religion was basically the opium of the masses, and that clergymen worked at imperial courts! Because they knew that if these two forces converged, they would not be able to achieve their objectives. They distanced these two and drew a shaky image of the religion before the people's eyes.

Prophets were from the deprived class of the society

If one looks at those who had brought religions into the world, such as Hadrat Abraham and Moses, may God's peace be upon them, and the messenger (of Islam), may God's peace be upon him and his household, we will understand what clan they came from and what occupation they had. Were they, say Moses, brought to power by the Pharaoh, or was he a shepherd and then went to deal with the pharaoh. Did Moses go to the Pharaoh to defeat him and take his Pharaonic power into his hands? Or, did the Pharaoh brought Moses to himself in order to stupefy the people into slumber? Moses awakened and made the people aware and with this awakening, they attacked the Pharaoh and achieved other things. Our own prophet was a shepherd and was of the masses of third class of people. From the very beginning, he rose and revolted against the contemporary Quraysh bullies and dictators and other tribes of the Arabian Peninsula. They did not install him in power to deceive the people! He enlightened the people and then dealt with them (oppressors).

The struggle of the Prophet of Islam against capitalists

If anyone knows the history (of Islam), they know that when the Prophet migrated to Medina,¹ a group of Muslims from among the virtuous group who did not have anything congregated around him. The Messenger's mosque was a simple platform made of clay, not like other platforms that you have seen. A great number of the Prophet's companions and followers would sleep there. They never had houses. The Prophet's home were these rooms, which were made from clay and without any architectural (expertise). Yet in these, he gathered this third class and oppressed people, and with them initiated his battles against the capitalists, the bullies, and the camel and caravan owners. The wars he waged were continually against this group.

Therefore, it was a deception that they (colonialists) brought up the issue of separation of politics and religion. Is (real) politics any different from having a country run smoothly and wisely in accordance with a certain criterion and ties as had been carried out in (the early days of) Islam? The Islamic government conquered almost the whole of Asia, but they are telling us that politics is separate from religion! Whereas those who were in charge

¹ It is one of the major cities of Saudi Arabia and the second Islamic city in regards to greatness and sanctity. It is situated in the northeastern part of Mecca in the Hijaz. Its original name was Yathrib but after the migration [*hijrah*] of the Holy Prophet from Mecca to this city, it was renamed as Madinah al-Nabi [City of the Prophet] or Madinah at-Tayyibah [the Pure City]. This city bears in itself the tomb of the Holy Prophet of Islam, some of his holy household, and the first three caliphs (Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman).

of religion were also in charge of political matters. Hadrat Amir would talk not only about issues (of the country) but also about canonical laws and would fight holding a sword in his hand. The Messenger brought the Quran and the iron. He brought the sword, fought against his enemies, and overcame them. This issue has to be observed very closely.

The necessity of educating pupils on devotional and political issues

The gentlemen who are responsible for educating children would also teach them current politics. I am not saying all of them should just be political issues. The lessons should include everything. A child who leaves school must know religious issues such as prayers and fasting; he should be scientifically and politically educated according to whatever system is enforced. Of course, they used to oppose this issue but, God willing, I hope that from now onward a little freedom will be allowed. You must perform all your tasks with freedom. What you are responsible for is the education of human beings. It is the most important issue, so you must perform your task correctly and well.

Farewell and thanks

Moreover, I must say that we have entered Alawi School and “invaded” it! Or, perhaps we are the guests of the gentlemen here. The moment the schools open, I told them to gather all those people (students) and I will move somewhere else. The school officials in charge of its affairs came and asked me not to go from here and that if my leaving would not take long too long, to move to Qum from here and not anywhere else, and that my stay would be a great support for them. I obliged their request. I will stay for four or five days after which, God willing, I will go and leave you in God’s care. I implore the Exalted and Beneficent God to support you and grant you victory. I was hoping and counting on the possibility that Mr. ...¹ who was unable to come, will also be there on Thursday. I have known him from the very beginning and he is one of my old friends. I implore the Beneficent God for his success.

¹ The tape was garbled and incomprehensible and this part was printed in *Sahifeh-ye Nur* as Alawi.

Message

Date: February 1979 [Bahman 1379 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Return of the *ulama* and clergy to their own cities

Addressee: The *ulama* and the clergy

In His Most Exalted Name

Honorable great *ulama* and Hujjat al-Islams of the provincial towns, may their blessings last:

After thanking you for all the meritorious efforts you have taken and insufferable endeavors you have made during the Islamic movement and for coming to commiserate with me, I would like to ask the great *ulama* to return to their respective cities. Your presence in your localities is necessary. There is likelihood that expedient issue may arise that will require immediate measures to be taken.

I implore the Exalted God to shower His blessings upon the honorable gentlemen. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February, 1979 [Bahman, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Safeguarding unity and solidarity and avoiding discord

Addressee: Muhammad Baqir Gharawi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Muhammad Baqir Gharawi, may his graces last:

We have received the missive sent by Qasr-e Shirin's people expressing their support for Engineer Bazargan's government and the Islamic republic. I would like to extend my gratitude to the gentlemen and remind you that it is necessary to safeguard your unity and solidarity until victory over the enemies of Islam and the supreme Islamic goals are achieved. Refrain from any discord and differences. God forbid, the enemies may have the opportunity to reactivate. I implore the Exalted God to extend His favor to you. By the way, take part in the referendum and vote for the Islamic republic.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 1979 [Bahman 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Dismissal of Riyahi from the Defense Ministry

Addressee: Mehdi Bazargan, Prime Minister of the provisional government

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Prime Minister:

General Riyahi¹ of the National Defense Ministry has been removed from office. Appoint another person to replace him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Taqi Riyahi had succeeded Ahmad Madani as the Minister.

Memorandum

Date: February 1979 [Esfand 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1399 AH]

Subject: Handwritten manuscript in the margins of the Glorious Quran

Addressee: Surur Yazdi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My best wishes for the success and confirmation of the respectable wife of Mr. Yazdi.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The above-mentioned manuscript was written in the margins of the Quran belonging to the wife of Mr. Yazdi, which was placed at Imam's disposal for having his signature and his handwriting.

Message

Date: February 20, 1979 [Esfand 1, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Taking charge of Guilds Cooperative fund

Addressee: Fadlullah Mahallati

In His Most Exalted Name

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Fadlullah Mahallati, may his graces last:

You are hereby commissioned to go to the capital accompanied by Messrs. Haj Habibullah Asgar Awladi and Haj Muhammad Labbani—may the Almighty God always assist them—to take action for the supervision of affairs concerning the Guilds Cooperative fund and take delivery of the cash in that fund and spend it if the need arises.

I implore the Exalted God for everybody's continued success in the service of Islam and Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 20, 1979 [Esfand 1, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Formation of a committee in Khuzestan's Arab-speaking districts

Addressee: Muhammad-Tahir Al-i Shubayr Khaqani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi al-Awwal 22, 1399 AH

Honorable Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Tahir Khaqani, may his blessings last:

After extending my greetings and regards, I would like to express my gratitude for the endeavors your honorable self has taken in this sacred movement. Now that the initial victory, praise be to God, has been achieved, problems are many and should be solved through the efforts of that city's great *ulama*. You, who live in the proximity of the borders, which are very important and sensitive areas, should preside over regional affairs by forming a committee, which you have so far done.

Hearsay has it that some agents have sabotaged schemes under your auspices. I ask the respectable citizens of that area to support His Eminence and thwart their ominous plots. It is hoped that, God willing, with the endeavors of His Eminence and the rest of the brothers residing in that area order will be restored. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 21, 1979 [Esfand 2, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Expression of gratitude for the congratulations sent on the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Salvador J.D. (?) (Vice President of the National Arab Union in Santiago, Chile)

It is an honor to receive your friendly message and congratulations on the victory of the Islamic Revolution. I wish for your happiness and the National Arab Union and hope to achieve justice and freedom in a way that God will be pleased and satisfied with us.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 21, 1979 [Esfand 2, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Investigation of Mr. Pakravan's request

Addressee: Tehran's Islamic Revolutionary Court

[Dear Mr. Khomeini:

As you are aware of, on Friday Bahman 8 [February 16] at around five in the afternoon, a group of armed men came to Major General Hasan Pakravan's home, arrested him, and took him to Imam's Committee (headquarters). From that date up until today (after five days) not the slightest information on his condition and whereabouts or any decision made regarding his case is available.

The purpose in writing this letter is to bring up a few points and make a request. Firstly, if the reason for his arrest is because of his record of services, viz. being the head of the Second (Military) Command, head of the Intelligence Organization, Ministry of Information, ambassador to Pakistan and France, you are aware that during the tenure of office of Teymur Bakhtiyar and Nimatullah Nasiri, the only period this organization carried out its legal responsibilities was in the four-year tenure of the aforementioned, during which it operated humanely in spite of the dictates of the time.

Anyway, whether it is Divine Providence or the historical destiny of this nation that led to this situation that under your leadership the castle of tyranny crumbled and justice done to those who deserve it. If, in case, the panel of judges does not see any hurdle, arrange for his return to his home, and should the need for explanations arise, they may summon him.

Yours sincerely,
Dr. Karim Pakravan]
Tehran, Esfand 2, 1357 AHS

In His Most Exalted Name

The Islamic Revolutionary court will study and look into it.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 22, 1979 [Esfand 3, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Confirmation of the proposed ministers of the Provisional Government

Addressee: Mahdi Bazargan

[His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran—may his blessings last:

After greeting you and praying for your success, in accordance with your letter dated Bahman 5¹ in which you had honored me by delegating to me the task of forming a provisional government of the Islamic Revolution, I, hereby, wish to introduce to your honor five of the selected colleagues, who have also been approved by the Revolutionary Council, and hoping for divine assistance and Supreme guidance, request your permission for them to assume the responsibilities entrusted to them.

The gentlemen are:

1. Dr. Ali Shariatmadari: Culture, Arts and Sciences Minister;
2. Engineer Hasan Islami, Ph.D.: Post and Telegraph Minister;
3. Admiral Ahmad Madani, Ph.D.: Defense Minister;
4. Dr. Ghulam-Husayn Shukuhi: Education Minister;
5. Nasir Minachi: Information and Propagation Minister.

Prime Minister Mahdi Bazargan
Esfand 3, 1357 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

They have my confirmation as well. May they be successful, God willing.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The correct date is Bahman 15.

Letter

Date: February 23, 1979 [Esfand 4, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Formation of Islamic Revolutionary Committee in Turbat Haydariyyah

Addressee: Ridai

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 25, 1399 AH

Honorable Thiqat al-Islam wa Murawwij al-AHkam Mr. Ridai, may his graces last:

We received the letter you had written regarding the introduction of Haj Ali Asghar Shirkat. Concerning the formation of a committee under the supervision of the great *ulama*, which you have requested, you may act upon it as you deem right, please extend my greetings to the great *ulama* of the City of Turbat—may their blessings last—and form the above-mentioned committee under the supervision of the respectable gentlemen (*ulama*).

Regarding the martyrs' families and their expenses, the great *ulama* and esteemed people there are authorized to spend out of the blessed Imam's Share¹ for their living expenditures and needs. You may also use this money on the city's police precincts and half-burned buildings whenever necessary. Or, if not, consider another building appropriate for the police forces.

Regarding the return of the Kurds, act according to what the Islamic Revolutionary committee under the supervision of the great *ulama* and

¹ *Khums*: literally means *one-fifth*. According to the Shiah school of jurisprudence [*fiqh*], this one-fifth tax is obligatorily levied on every adult Muslim who is financially secure and has surplus in his income out of annual savings, net commercial profits, and all movable and immovable properties which are not commensurable with the needs and social standing of the person. *Khums* is divided into two equal parts: the Share of the Imam [*sahm al-Imam*] and the Share of the Sayyids/Sadat (descendants of the Prophet) [*sahm as-Sadat*]. Accordingly, the Share of the Imam is to be paid to the living Imam, and in the period of Occultation, to the most learned living *mujtahid* who is the giver's *marja at-taqlid* [Source of Emulation]. The other half of the *khums*, the Share of the Sayyids/Sadat, is to be given to needy pious Sayyids who lack the resources for one's year respectable living in consonance with their various statuses. For more information, see Sayyid Muhammad Rizvi, *Khums: An Islamic Tax*, <http://www.al-islam.org/beliefs/practices/khums.html>.

your honor deem right. I implore the Exalted God to give you continued successes. May God's peace and mercy be upon you

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 24, 1979 [Esfand 5, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Formation of the Islamic Revolutionary Court

Addressee: Sadiq Khalkhali

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH

Hujjat al-Islam Sadiq Khalkhali, may his graces last:

You are hereby commissioned to determine and pass judgment in the courts that will be formed to try accused individuals and prisoners and issue a religious verdict based on religious laws after the completion of their trial.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 24, 1979 [Esfand 5, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Protecting palaces and sequestration of the Pahlavi family's property in Mardabad, Karaj

Addressee: Sharifi

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH

Honorable Hujjat al-Islam Sharifi, may his blessings last:

It is necessary that you proceed to Mordabad, Karaj to look into things regarding the protection of the palaces and sequestration of the contents therein, together with the farmlands, tractors and other possessions relevant to the family of the defunct Shah and former tyrant, and take the necessary measures for their protection and maintenance. You must also prevent any seizure of the mentioned properties by usurpers. The respectable people and inhabitants of that area should obey your orders and cooperate with you. I implore the Exalted God to give you continued success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Dialogue

Date: February 24, 1979 [Esfand 5, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Replies to questions about government properties and religious law payments

Audience: Asadullah Mubashiri (then Justice Minister) and Ali Shaygan

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

Policemen of the police stations must be stationed in their places of duty. People should not interfere in their duties so that order is established.

These¹ (people) want to reinstall American and Soviet influence in another way in Iran by donning a disguise and appearing with new faces. Do not attend their gatherings but advise them.

[On digging wells and occupation of landed estates:]² The government must take action in this regard.

[On spending religious funds:] Give them to the people, those who took part in the struggle, and gave martyrs to the cause or were injured.

[On the rice transported from military barracks to mosques:] Give it to the people.

Imam: The culture must be changed. The judicial system must be changed. Previous rulings should be nullified. The present procedures of judicial investigation are wrong. Criteria of religious law should be adopted and investigations should be one-stage and decisive. Care should be taken. European standards must be rescinded. Iran should be Iran, not Europe.

[Justice Minister: Regarding private matters, a one-stage investigation will suffice. However, regarding other matters, particularly executions, precision is necessary.]

¹ The opposition groups.

² The statements inside the brackets “[]” are questions raised and those outside are Imam’s replies.

Imam: Regarding the country's Supreme Court, there should be one of the *ulama*, concerned with religious law, present, under whom investigations should be carried out.

[**Mr. Shaygan:** Rumors regarding my presidency that were printed in the newspapers did not originate from me and I am refuting them.]

Imam: I know that you will never do such a thing.

[Imam, responding to the poet who eulogized him in his poem:] You had better recite your poems for the barefooted people and those who made sacrifices.

Speech

Date: February 24, 1979 [Esfand 5, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Ties with neighboring powers and governments

Audience: Mr. Vladimir Winogradoff (?), Ambassador of the former USSR and others with him

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Religious uprising

What I want to say now is that I am grateful for the kind message your leaders have sent.

We suffered a lot in the course of fifty-odd years of the Pahlavi dynasty's illegitimate rule. Under the suppression of this man, Muhammad Rida, and his father, we underwent much misery. Our nation was deprived of all freedoms. Our country was deprived of a proper independence. The nation reached the end of its tether because of this tyranny, and staged an uprising, a great Islamic uprising. This uprising was not merely political; it is a big religious one. The people with the faith they had, and in spite of the difficulties they were experiencing, confronted with their bare hand a regime which, by virtue of alien support, was fully equipped with the latest weaponry, and prevailed over the super powers their faith and fists. We are determined to fight to the end any power that meddles in the affairs of our country.

The value of life in the light of freedom and independence

We consider no value for a life under anyone's dominance. The value of life is in freedom and independence. Our religious commandments, which are among the most modern ones, have determined our route. We will fight any powers trying to intrude our country, relying on those commandments and following the leadership of the great man of the world, Muhammad (S). Those days are past when a single individual could dominate a whole nation; an individual who was himself appointed by alien powers who meant to infringe our country through him. The nations' determination counts today; and the nation is obliged to oppose any powers, in defense of the country, using its fortitude and belief in Islamic commandments. We ask all powers not to intervene in our country's affairs in any way. If they do not we will have cordial relations with all. As I have repeated many times, we are

philanthropists and our prophet—our great prophet—was one too; he took lots of troubles for humanity; and we follow this code too and have friendly relations with all divisions of humanity, with all of the oppressed of the world, on the condition that it is on equal basis and based on mutual respect.

Peaceful relations and co-existence

As a neighboring country—which used to have close relations with Iran, and recently these relations between our nation and the great powers was damaged due to the satanic power of Pahlavi, because of his crimes which was supposed to be backed by the alien support—with some hundreds of kilometers of common border lines, we wish to treat you peacefully and humanely. Of course our government will act according to its expedience in the economic and other official affairs. This government is an Islamic one, under the leadership of the Islamic leaders; so it will never oppress others, no matter how vulnerable they are, and will not stand oppression from others, no matter how powerful they might be.

I ask God Almighty that our relations will be amiable with all governments and nations, so that our nation can be instrumental determining its own destiny and no one will be able to meddle with our domestic affairs. Also we have repeatedly announced that we are not going to store up the gas.

We want to sell our gas at reasonable price and receive currency. The old transactions with the US have been most undesirable ones and we will avoid them. Of course, if anyone wishes to do reasonable business with us, our administration will do it after necessary studies. Besides, the Soviets who are busy here either in trade sector or in the industry, are welcome, as long as what they do is not against our nation's interests or is not considered intervention in our domestic affairs.

[To the translator:] what I said and should be translated is the answer to this letter.¹ This must be translated as an answer to the message they have sent. These were the same points I would write too. You translate what I said and hand it to him as my response, and take the message from him.

¹ It refers to the message by the leader of the ex-Soviet, which was read out by the USSR ambassador to Iran at the beginning of the session.

Decree

Date: February 25, 1979 [Esfand 6, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Dispatching representatives to the cities of Qazvin, Rasht, Bandar Anzali, etc.

Addressee: Sayyid Asghar Nazimzadeh

In His Most Exalted Name

Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Asghar Nazimzadeh, may his graces last:

It is necessary that you proceed to the cities of Qazvin, Rasht, Bandar Anzali, Astara and the neighboring cities and look into the situation of the local committees, and if there are any shortages of funds and manpower, eliminate the problems with the judgment of the local *ulama*—may their blessings last. Meanwhile, remind them that at this sensitive and precarious juncture, they should refrain from any discord and maintain their unity. Extend my greetings to the great *ulama* and the respectable local people. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Mawlud 27, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: February 25, 1979 [Esfand 6, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: The reconstruction of Iran through cooperation and unity

Audience: Sistan and Baluchistan's clergy

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

Difference: a lethal poison

Now, after having driven out this criminal (Shah), we are burdened with a country in chaos; that is, neither do we have a proper economy, nor a proper culture, or a decent army. Everything is in disorder. Today is the day that all Muslims are duty-bound before the Exalted and Gracious God to join hands and reconstruct these ruins. Discord at this time is a deadly poison and if such differences appear, that era of crimes will, God forbid, return in another form. Those who love Islam, the nation of Islam and the country are duty-bound, at this time that Iran is going through the most crucial and important period, to act like brothers and friends and join hands to rebuild the ruins they, who had robbed us of everything, have left behind. All of us together should reconstruct these ruins.

If difference arises, it will, God forbid, put us in a predicament and we will have to answer before the Exalted and Gracious God. This is what I have to say to all my brothers, all over Iran, whatever their origin. This is what I recommend to them. I entreat the Blessed and Exalted Lord to give you all success.

[Text of the speech delivered by Baluchistan clergy's representative:

On behalf of all Baluchistan's clergy and people, tribal and non-tribal, I declare our solidarity, affiliation, and devotion to the Islamic movement. We, the people of Baluchistan, have been, and remained, backward and could not achieve anything under colonial repression. We are behind the times in all respects, culturally, hygienically and agriculturally. I would like to request the Ayatullah that Baluchistan be given special attention. We, Haj Kafami¹ and I, have tried very much to establish coordination and brotherhood here (in Baluchistan), as Kalantar² and I had told you in Holy Najaf. God willing,

¹ Mr. Kafami was the people's representative of Sistan and Baluchistan.

² Mr. Sayyid AHmad Kalantar is a clergyman from Qum Theology School.

when you conduct an investigation there, you will not hear of even the least discord between Shiah and Sunni brothers in that region. Total unity and agreement is in place. Even though the majority consists of Sunnis, eighty to ninety percent are Sunni; there has never been any record anywhere of any religious conflict occurring between these two Islamic sects. In the recent events during which there was a little commotion, it was caused by the colonialists who wanted to pit them against one another. But the clergy, the clans, tribes and I did our best not to let the colonialists exploit and pit us against one another. We are in concord and hand in hand with all the Muslims of Tehran in this Islamic movement. It was our long-standing wish to see the day when the Exalted God will bring us the true and correct Islam as it was at the advent of Islam. We are very fortunate. We are so lucky that I, a 63-year-old man, feel young thinking that the Quran will be implemented, a correct Islam will be enforced, not the imitated Islam that—with no intention to compare—we, the uneducated clergy, have created. The Islam as it was at its advent, which is the true Islam, should be implemented; and, God willing, it will be so. We are very grateful to you. May God keep you for Islam and the Muslims and grant the clergy success to cooperate and devoted themselves to the movement.]

The Shah's mission: destruction of Iran

May God grant you success. That you said that they (regime) did not do anything for you; they did not do anything for anybody! The only thing they did, they did for America and other foreign powers. Whatever they did was for America and other aliens. About the book, *Mission for My Country*, which the former Shah had written, I do know that he did have a mission' for his country: to destroy it completely; destroy Islam, the tribes and all the segments of the society; to plunder the treasury, make us puppets of aliens, and so disrupt our agriculture that would cause us to be dependent on every foreign thing. All these constituted a part of his mission, which he carried out. However, it was God's will to disgrace him in the world.

Of course, we request all of you, gentlemen, in whatever region you live to be united. The *ulama* there must also be brotherly and directed toward the same course. When the just Islamic government comes into being, God willing, all will equally derive the country's benefits in a brotherly manner. This country is yours and you will run it, God willing. May God protect you.¹

Speech

Date: February 25, 1979 [Esfand 6, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Revolution's triumph through divine assistance

Audience: Sayyid Abbas Muhri accompanied by 270 supporters of the Islamic Revolution from Kuwait

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

Reason of migration to Iraq

First, I would like to thank the gentlemen, who have taken the trouble of coming here from Kuwait to commiserate with our nation and us. May God render your efforts laudable.

The Exalted and Blessed God destines things, the mysteries of which we do not understand except after ages. Due to the pressure exerted by the

¹ After this meeting, and considering the special circumstances of the above-mentioned region, Imam Khomeini, on Farvardin 9, 1358 AHS [March 29, 1979], assigned Mr. Khamene'i, who had spent his exile there and was familiar with that region, to go there and look into the urgent needs of the place to do what are needed.

government of Iran and by Muhammad Rida Shah on the Iraqi government, they (Baathists) surrounded our house and visits and talks took place between the Iraqi government and us. I warned them that the issue was a religious one, that it was my divine duty, and that I could never forego a divine issue and a religious duty because of what they were saying. I told them I would carry out my task and they could carry out whatever tasks they had. They said that they (Shah's regime) had requested the Iraqis and because of the commitment they had to the Iranian government, they could not tolerate the activities my companions and I were carrying out, which went against that commitment. I answered that I did not have any commitment, and that it was they who were bound to a commitment! I had a divine duty that I would fulfill; I would not heed their commitment. I would preach my sermons from the pulpits, issue proclamations, record (speeches) on tapes and send them (to Iran). This was my duty. (I told them) they, too, could perform their duty. After their comings and goings, they (Baathists) threatened my brothers (in faith), who were my friends in Najaf. Words reached me that they told my friends that they would not bother me, but they threatened my friends that they would do something to them. I thought that they might harm my friends, so I set off to move, under the supervision of

the Iraqi government, to the Kuwaiti border. But even there, the same pressure applied to the Iraqi government was also imposed on the Kuwaiti government. I was not even allowed to cross from one side of the city to the other side. I have no complaint to make against anyone because they had to act according to the agreement they had (with the Shah of Iran). I have no complaint against the Iraqi government or the Kuwaiti government. But God the Blessed and Exalted had pre-ordained this fate and we were unaware.

Residence in France: a divine predestination

Our goal was to go to Syria from Kuwait, a couple of days after we had a meeting with the gentlemen and remained there for a long time. But God so destined that our course shifted to another direction and we did not know where this destiny would lead. From there, we returned to Basra and then were taken to Baghdad. I realized that wherever we went, we would be given the same treatment by these Islamic governments. For this reason, we decided, without any previous thought, to go to France. Although I was not willing to leave an Islamic country, God had preordained that the issues (of the movement) be extensively disseminated worldwide from there (France). So many reporters from all corners of the world thronged that I had to hold several interviews in a day. In particular, there were some from America with whom I held interviews, which were broadcast all over America and other countries. We threw light on Iranian problems in a manner that expunged many of the ambiguities stemming from the malicious propaganda spread by foreign powers.

Neutralizing the regime's propaganda

Muhammad Rida, as I have been told, had allocated 100 million dollars annually to fund his anti-nation and anti-clergy propaganda campaigns, which extended to all parts of the world. He and his minions after misrepresenting matters we were in Paris, we were almost able to resolve these issues. The interviews, articles and other writings shed light on these issues for the foreign countries and nations. Gradually, the Iranian nation, armed with the power that God had endowed it with, such as the power of faith and unity of expression, rose up because of these concerns. Nearly a year later, that is from June 5, 1963¹, after massacres and other offenses were

¹ To prevent the movement started by Imam Khomeini (r), the defunct regime of the Shah decided to arrest the leader of the movement after protracted consultations with its Western supporters. The mission entrusted to the Shah was initiated at 3 o'clock on the morning of June 5, 1963 by mounting assault on the residence of that great man and later transferring him to Tehran under arrest. The news of Imam's arrest gave rise to a widespread unrest and demonstrations staged by the people on the morning of that day and was put down by the forces of the Shah by shooting to kill and staging an attack on Qum Seminary, where the late Imam used to teach at. Many people were martyred and that catastrophic day was recorded in the annals of the Islamic Revolution

committed, we were banished to Turkey, and then Iraq, a brief period of indifference ensued. However, circumstances came about that, within a year or perhaps in less than a year and a half, a movement in Iran started brewing. In keeping pace with this movement, we launched (the struggle) in Iraq. Then we went to France and from there we pursued it. For all the events that have taken place, we are indebted, firstly, to the favor of the Exalted and Blessed God, and secondly, to the Iranian nation, in particular the destitute class, not the aristocracy or the rich and ruling class. Those men and women, young and old, would take to the streets whenever the situation required, and stand fearlessly before machine guns, with their chests bared and crying out "Shoot us!" I have to say that flesh and blood had overpowered tanks and machine guns. And all this is (a manifestation of) the power of the Exalted and Blessed God.

The divine nature of the Islamic Revolution

When I studied the situation in Iran and the spread of one single idea and a unified Subject of (establishing) a legitimate Islamic government and when I was deliberating on this far-reaching movement, extending from Tehran to the remotest point and all borders of Iran, to all directions, to every village and hamlet, I became hopeful that the issue was a divine, and not a human-related one. No matter how strong a man was, or how great his power of speech was, he could not exert so much influence on everyone, from a child who had just started talking to a sick old man confined in a hospital, making them speak about the same issue, shout in the streets night and day, say that they wanted independence and freedom, that they did not want the monarchical regime and that they wanted an Islamic republic. Observing this widespread influence, I became hopeful that it was a divine issue and that it was God the Exalted and the Blessed, who was our support in this affair and that we would triumph.

Transformation in the cleansed souls and divine spirit

I was very hopeful of such a transformation right from the very beginning when the Revolution began to spread and people became aware and awakened. And thanks God, this became a reality. But no one should say

that I did it. Of course, the poems read by this gentleman were very good from the poetic point of view. But I must say that I cannot be eulogized in such words. It was the slum dwellers, who shouted slogans in the streets, and gave their blood and their young sons, who brought about this Revolution. There were mothers who had lost three of their children, and they were saying that even if the fourth one set his foot in the same path, this would be for God's cause. What is very encouraging to me is this spirit of cooperation, spirit of humanity and the spirit of Islam that have blossomed in the Iranian nation. The change that emerged in the nation is greater than that of the regime. There was a time when a policeman would come to the Tehran Bazaar, which is Iran's largest bazaar, and would tell everyone to close down their shops or hoist the flag because of the birthday anniversary of the Shah. No one would ever permit himself to disobey. It would not even cross one's mind to oppose a policeman. But the Exalted God brought about such a great transformation in these cleansed souls and He turned everything upside down in such a way and in such a short time that people poured into the streets and shouted "Death to the Pahlavi monarchy." They would defy the machineguns and jump in front of tanks or on top of them and shout their slogans from there. This change, which occurred in a nation over such a short period, was obviously a miracle. Wherever you went across the country, people, under no circumstances, would obey the police that had been ordered to rout the people and kill them. They would chant their slogans, their Islamic slogans.

Triumph of faith over all powers

This spiritual change is astounding. This spiritual transformation caused this victory to take place for our nation. Pray so that God causes such a change in all Islamic and oppressed nations, and that the Exalted God so destines that we all become transformed. This spiritual transformation and this Islamic Revolution are gifts that God, the Most High, has sent down to our nation from heaven. We should all offer thanks to God, the Exalted and Blessed. I must appreciate this blessing, this grace and these hardships undergone by the Iranian nation. I should thank God for these but am unable to do so. It was the people who did everything; it was God who supported them, and it was God's might and the power of faith, which blossomed on the last days of the Revolution. It was this power, which, through God's hand, uprooted a 2,500-year-old monarchy that was backed overtly by the US and covertly by the USSR. China, Britain; all the superpowers were behind that regime which had in its possession all modern weapons. Our nation was empty-handed, and had nothing, not even a single rifle. But it was the power

of faith, the power of God. It should not be surprising that God, the Exalted and Blessed, so destines that a nation, which has nothing and no weapons, but the weapon of faith triumphs over all powers.

A plot to prevent (Imam's) movement toward Iran

They gradually back-pedaled. When we were in Paris, there were many contacts secretly, and, at times, openly, made with us in order to force us to relinquish the cause (of the Revolution). They would say: "We'll give and we will do whatever you want." The former king himself sent a message through some means saying: "I will surrender the country to you and I will remain a figurehead only. You will run all the affairs." But I paid no heed to him. And it was divine power that helped us. The Shah's power was finished and a little of it remained. They tried once more, even through the Republic of France, and the French president sent a message stating: "It is still early (to go back to Iran)." It was, for instance, written by way of sympathy. It was proposed, on behalf of the US, that I should still remain (in France) and that it was premature to go back. From the Iranian side they said the same thing. And indeed this very proposal caused me to have the intention to go back to Iran no matter what happened! I realized that there was something to it. They wanted to keep me in France so that they could support the conspiracies from inside Iran in such a way that we could no longer do a thing. I then declared that I would return. They (authorities) closed down the airports, all airports. I waited and said I would go when airports reopened. They closed them down again. I said again that we would go when they reopened. They understood that the airports could not remain closed forever. They intimidated us and what not. When I arrived (in Iran), and, of course, I was overwhelmed by the show of emotions of the Iranian people who had come from all parts and corners of the country (to welcome the Imam), and while many people had already gone back (to their homes), Tehran people remained. But here again we heard certain words (from the government) when we came. But we paid no heed to their words and appointed a prime minister. We said that by virtue of authority vested in us by religion and since the nation had voted us (to the leadership), I would appoint (Bazargan) prime minister. The government said it would detain our appointed premier. We said, "Well, do it. Another one will come." Later, threats and things of that sort began again. We ordered the people not to let ministers into the ministries, and the employees agreed to do so and did not allow the officials to enter. Even the Prime Minister (Bakhtiyar) used to say that until the time the appointment of a premier remained a jest, they would not bother about it. He had previously said they

would arrest our prime minister. But he budged and said that until the time the whole thing verged on the farcical, he would not take any action, but that when it became serious, we would do such and such a thing.¹ We gradually ordered that things be serious! It eventually pushed Bakhtiyar into taking harsh measures, as a man of savage disposition would do. He said he would arrest our appointed officials and would do such and such. He said these because of the ferocious nature that he had. I knew of this bestial disposition that Shapur Bakhtiyar had. I was aware of this because we have had a long record of encounters with them, which led to the crimes he later committed. A massacre took place which, according to his own words (as printed in the newspapers), was perpetrated under his orders and that the armed forces does not do anything other than what he orders them to do.²

Calling on the world to extradite the criminal Shah

Later, the Shah took flight and we declared that the Iranian nation and all nations abroad should deliver this criminal to us. Anyone who finds this criminal anywhere should hand him over to us. We shall announce it officially and this statement is tantamount to a declaration. We are making the same recommendation to our friends abroad to arrest him wherever they find him and inform us so that we can ask the government of the country he is in to extradite him to Iran. While we were empty-handed and had nothing but the support of the Exalted God, events that ensued took a turn that led to a situation wherein this man, who had such great power and who enjoyed the support of all superpower governments, has been denied entry by the countries of the world. Even where he is at present, his very close friend, King Hasan [of Jordan], has said, and I saw this in the papers last night, that he did not consider him a king anymore. Other governments have also declared that they would not allow him entry. It seems that, recently, the US has said it would grant him entry. Whether they accept him or not, we shall bring him and his wealth that is abroad, back. And gentlemen, when he fled (the country), you do not know what other possessions of ours he plundered and took away with him.

¹ Bakhtiyar: "Until the time that the Provisional Government remains a jest, we will not lift a finger, but the moment it starts taking action, we will also take action." *Kayhan*, Bahman 18, 1357 AHS [February 6, 1979].

² Bakhtiyar: "...The armed forces take their orders from the government; by itself, it does not interfere in politics..." *Kayhan*, Bahman 9, 1357 AHS [February 8, 1979].

The necessity of recording the crimes and treacheries of Pahlavi dynasty

The country that we now have is in shambles. They (Shah's cohorts) ruined everything it had before he (Shah) left. The oil, which must be utilized in the service of the nation, was bartered for weapons, which were for the US and for the setting up of its faces in our country. Therefore, the weapons they received were not for our country. These weapons were not ours. We could not even use them. These arms belonged to the US itself. Under the pretext that they were giving weapons as payment for the oil, they set up bases (in Iran) against the USSR, so that if a war broke out, the US could use these bases. This was the nature of the betrayals they have committed. The majority of the people may not know this and think that they (the US) have given us arms, but the arms do not serve our interests. But even this has been a treacherous act in that they bartered oil for arms, which served us no purpose. But the (real) issue was they took both what we had given them and what they gave us in exchange (for it)! Both found their way into their pockets. A power, which wants to set up a base here and against all international criteria for that matter, has to pay us millions of dollars to win our consent to build a military base, but it (US) took our oil and built itself a base (here)! This was how they perpetrated their uncountable treacheries. But the Exalted and Blessed God had everything under His control. Later on, people, who were informed of this, but who may not be aware of everything, will gradually come to know. Anyway, this is now the state of affairs. There is now a lot of commotion in this country because of the treason they had committed. They trained the army to be anti-nation and dependent on the foreigners. They had pushed our economy to total bankruptcy. We are in dire need of bringing everything from abroad. If one province of our country had been properly cultivated, its produce would have been sufficient to meet all our needs. We were exporters, but now we depend on imported things for everything. They destroyed our animal husbandry. As I have been told, our pasturelands, our green, verdurous pasturelands, had been described as the most fertile pastureland for animal husbandry in the world by people sent by the Queen of England to study them, and they have been gifted to her. They have "nationalized" our pastureland, that is, they snatched it away from the nation and gave it to foreigners! They "nationalized" our jungles, which likewise, were given to the foreigners. If anyone wants to write and relate the crimes and treason committed against the nation by this dynasty, particularly the second one (Muhammad Rida Shah), it will be a hefty tome.

I hope that those who are informed of these issues—although we do not have anybody who is fully informed of all issues—will write and relate that

much they know, so the world will understand what ordeals we have been through. Thanks God, their hands and their masters' hands have been severed; their hopes must also be dashed. They (aliens) should not think that they would return if the nation weakens a bit. But no weakness will be found in Iran. Our nation is vigilant and alert. It is awake; our small children are also awake. Such a nation can never, and will not, be defeated if it relies upon God.

Establishment of a great Islamic government in the world

I want to ask my nation, all of you and all Muslim nations to rely upon God in all your undertakings. All powers are nothing before God's powers. All forces confronting those of God will be annihilated. Rely upon God and you will prevail over everything. Although alone, the Prophet of God prevailed over everybody by relying upon God. When he entered Mecca, the people of which had tortured him so severely, he did so victoriously and enlightened its people. The movement of the great Messenger was human and divine. It was unlike other powers which were satanic and which rose up to serve their vested interests or dominate and massacre people. Our movement was backed by a divine power. It was divine knowledge which united the nations worshipping stone figures, idols, fire and other things worse than these, and spread the light and hoisted the banner of monotheism over all the Islamic countries. Because it relied upon God, and Gabriel, the truthful one, was behind it. You, too, should rely upon God, so that Gabriel, the truthful one, will be with you and behind you. And so will the angels.

I hope that all Islamic nations will wake up and stand united against all the propaganda and activities that foreigners had undertaken to disperse them and pit them against one another. I hope they will establish a great Islamic government under the banner of "There is no God but Allah" and make this government prevail all over the world. May God assist you all. May you all succeed and triumph.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: February 26, 1979 [Esfand 7, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Colonialists' designs to separate the various strata of the nation from Islam and the clergy

Audience: Members of the Bar Association and lawyers of the judiciary

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Colonial conspiracies in Islamic lands

One of the things we and perhaps you too, have gained in this movement was the fact that we had not gathered under the same roof until now. Before the inception of this movement, we were estranged from one another. This estrangement was the result of foreign powers' activities to distance all the classes of people from each other. They feared the unity of expression because they had witnessed what it could bring about. Their experts, as you know, had delved into a scrutiny of the region a few years earlier. They studied every inch of our land to the remotest deserts! Those days they would use camel to go searching and exploring, and wherever they discovered (oil) wells, they would draw a map while we were in deep slumber. Studies were made on the morale of this nation, the proclivities it had and issues that, if materialized, would go contrary to their interests. Their specialists toured every place and spent time with all tribes. For instance, they went to Bakhtiari areas and lived among them for a long time in order to gain an insight into these people's morale and mentality. They also were with the Qashqais; and in Kurdistan. They went everywhere and studied every place. They surveyed the land and discovered underground resources. Perhaps thirty years ago, I was in Hamedan for one year. A friend of mine, who was a man of knowledge and education and who later assumed another job, brought me a large piece of paper on which a map was drawn with areas highlighted by dots. He told me that it was a map of Hamedan that was made by Europeans (I don't know from where in Europe) who came there and that those dots represented locations of resources in Hamedan. They discovered these resources, which were underground. They did the same thing throughout the country and we were not aware of it.

Creating a negative atmosphere against Islam

These (enemies) have arrived at this understanding that if this nation converged under the banner of Islam they would not be able to prevail over it. They attempted, firstly, in order to distance it from Islam and, secondly, to tarnish the image of Islam, saying that Islam, like such other religions, had been a narcotic for the masses from the very beginning! They said that these (religions) were created by the capitalists in order to keep the people in a state of oblivion! They said that religions had been created by the ruling governments, kings or the tyrants of the time as to dupe the people and let those who intended to plunder the people do so at will! This was their logic in keeping people apart from Islam, by which they wanted to estrange the people from Islam. And perhaps many believed them, whereas, at the beginning, studies made by men on the lives of the prophets revealed that they had been individuals who staged uprisings.

Prophets were from the deprived walks of life

Among those prophets on whom we have information are Hadrat Abraham (a), Moses (a) and our Prophet Hadrat Muhammad, may God's peace and blessings be upon him and his household. We should consider what these men had done and from which group of people they were so that we can verify whether what some people say about them, asserting that were created by the capitalists, is correct or not. Moses was a shepherd who spent long periods of his life shepherding. He rose, with a staff in hand, from the masses and fought the Pharaoh. The Pharaoh did not create Moses! Moses was from the people and no matter how hard the Pharaoh tried, he could not get rid of him! You have probably read the *Mathnavi*.¹ There is a long story on Moses and the Pharaoh, which you have probably read. Moses rose from the masses, these ordinary people, with only a staff in his hand and destroyed the Pharaoh's court! It was not the Pharaoh who created Moses to lull the people. Moses awakened the people in order to destroy the Pharaoh.

The history of Islam has been lucidly written. You all know it. You, and those who are used to studying, know that the prophet of Islam, too, rose from the very same masses, and when he appeared and invited the people (to Islam), the Quraysh tribesmen, who were the capitalists, the tyrants and the bullies of his time, opposed him;. And the Prophet could not openly put forth his call (to Islam) in Mecca. He spent long periods in that cave (of Hira') and could not leave it as if he had been imprisoned there. Later, he moved to Medina, where the deprived class of the people gathered around him. When

¹ Referring to the story of Moses and the Pharaoh in the *Mathnawi Manawi*, Book 3.

he built the (first) mosque, not a pompous one, but a rather humble mosque, many of his companions would sleep on the platform of the mosque—that was not up to much—because they had no home. As related in the history (of Islam), during wars, one single date was shared by a number of Muslims because they lacked everything.¹ Yet, those same poor people were those who subdued the Quraysh bullies and other tyrants. They (the tyrants) did not create them (prophets) to lull the masses! The prophets awakened the masses to destroy the tyrants. This was a way by which they wanted to separate Islam from the nation.

Propaganda against clergymen

They (bullies) also wished to separate clerics from people. They propagated that clerics were “court-related.” This was among the things they bandied about against the clergy. “They are affiliated to the court; they lull the people into a stupor.” You have witnessed that in all the movements that took place during our existence or close to it, those who rose were the clergymen. Other categories would also follow suit but it was the clerics, who began the uprisings. In the Tobacco Movement, it was the clerics, who disrupted the situation. They were also in the vanguard of the Constitutional Movement with the people supporting them. In other issues, too, the clerics were always with you (the people), with all people. So, saying “the clergymen are court-related” has been one of the things the enemies fabricated to separate the people from the clerics in order to cause animosity among them so that people would fight each other and the oil-grabbers could plunder our oil and resources.

Causing differences among the ranks of the people

In the last fifty years perhaps you,² and I, remember, although many of you may not recall, from the beginning it was obvious that the British brought Rida Shah to power. At that time, the US was not so powerful. The British brought him to power. I myself heard it over Radio Delhi, which was at the time under British control that “We (British) brought Rida Khan to power in Iran but he later betrayed us and we toppled him.” So, the British said themselves that bringing Rida Khan to power and bringing him down was something they did! And that was the case. The man who succeeded Rida Khan, and did things to this nation worse than those done by the former, also admitted in his book that the Allied Forces came to Iran and considered

¹ *Tarikh at-Tabari*, vol. 3, pp. 32-33.

² It refers to an old man among those present.

it their interests to have him in power. The Allied Forces installed him in power and caused us so much misfortune. The sufferings we went through and are still undergoing have resulted from being separated from each other. We did not sit together in an assembly to make it known to one another what each side had to say. We (the clerics) were separated from the judges of judiciary system, from universities. They had portrayed the university fraternity in such a way that we formed pessimistic views of them. They portrayed us in a way to make them cynical about us. We were far apart. During Rida Khan's reign, they had presented the clergymen in such a bad light that people would not give them a ride in their cars. A friend of mine told me that once he wanted to get into a car in Arak but the driver told him that they (drivers) had decided not to give rides to two groups of people, namely the prostitutes and the clerics. That was how they humiliated the clergymen. Because Rida Shah knew that it was the clerics, like Mudarris, who would impede his way and openly shout at his face "Long live myself, death to Rida Khan!" So, at the time Rida Khan had power, they used to treat us in that manner. They separated us from one another and everyone from everybody else. They made everyone cynical of each other. A nation, in which every one is suspicious of others, cannot function properly. And when people could not do what they were supposed to, then the enemies could achieve whatever they wanted quite easily; they plundered our resources, disrupted our agriculture, paralyzed our educational system backward, and took control of ours.

Divine graces on Iran's Revolution

Consider this juncture in time when nearly a couple of years have passed. Of course, the beginning (of the Islamic movement) was June 1963 after which there was a lapse (of inactivity). Then about one and a half years ago, it started (again). No hand other than God could have brought about this solidarity of the nation, this unity of expression. It was God who engendered this unity of word among people from all walks of life: we who were apart from each other and some of us were cynical. Now, all over the country wherever you go, you see this unity...When I was in Paris, an acquaintance of mine came to see me saying that he went to Hasan Falak Fortress—I know where Hasan Falak Fortress is; it is near a mountain, near Kamareh and has about ten households living in it; at the time I had seen it there was nothing on either side of it. He said that the same slogans people cried out in the capital were the very same words being uttered in this remote fortress! He further added that in Bakhtiari villages, Kamareh and the outlying hamlets,

a clergyman would lead a march every morning and all the people followed him. One person or a group could not have brought about this phenomenon. God did this and when I first saw that a kind of unity of word has come about, I knew that no other hand could have made it possible; there must be something divine at work, and I became hopeful. Therefore, I never became lethargic in carrying out my task because I was hoping that God would take it to fruition. I have said from the very beginning that he (the Shah) had to go; he had no alternative. He went away! It all happened so easily.

Public mobilization for reconstruction

Now we are in a situation wherein we are heir to a devastated country. You know that everything is a shambles. Now, we do not have a strong army; the army is in a mess and it should be restructured. What else can they do (to repair it); they are doing their best. We do not have a healthy economy and they are also making efforts (to remedy this problem). Everyone is busy working hard and no one should expect us to be able to bring the country back to a sound state in one or ten days or even a couple of years after it had been devastated during the last fifty years or, shall I say, 2500 years. Nor can a single group of people, that is the government, bring all affairs under control in a short period. This is impossible. It is also impossible for you or one stratum of the people to do it alone. Everybody should cooperate and do it. In the same manner that everybody took part in throwing this generation (of the Pahlavis) out of this land, which could not have been accomplished had everybody not been united, everybody should also help in the construction of Iran, especially now that the task is very difficult. You should all join hands and work together. It is not the case that one should say, "I should take the first step or you should make the first move." Such utterances are irrelevant. We should be together ranged in one rank "*as if they were a solid structure.*"¹ We should all be united so that we can carry out this task. There should not be any selfish motives involved, one of you saying, "I should lead, you shouldn't, or you lead and I won't." Such things should not be said, as this will gradually push us back to square one. The evil forces are lurking and they have not given up hopes; they are lying in wait in this Revolution and they have planted a group for their propaganda campaign (against this movement), waiting for us to show any weakness. . If we fail to cooperate with each other and protect this unity of expression and movement, we will be pushed back to where we were before, in fact worse than that. Why will it be worse? It is because they have witnessed what the power of

¹ Surah as-Saff 61:4.

the Islamic nation is and what faith had done to such a great power which was supported by everybody that openly announced their support for him, with others doing so clandestinely; whereas, others, like America, openly provided a tremendous amount of aid. They witnessed how the Iranian nation advanced forward barehanded and rooted out all of them who had amassed all their forces. They deracinated a 2,500-year monarchy and wiped it out. The enemies could not do anything and did not. They could not have because all the forces stood before each other and were careful of each other's moves. God had so destined it.

Therefore, we, that is me, who is a theology student, and you, attorneys-at-law, *ulama*, lawyers of the judiciary system, and the others should all join hands and reconstruct this devastated country they have left for us, each one of you doing so in his own sphere of activity.

A picture of the justice administration during the *taghut* regime

Of course, attorneys-at law and jurists should sit (and consult each other and think of) a way to reform this judiciary system. Our justice administration was a disaster! It was not a justice department, but a mockery. You might have been here when I said it and I have recounted this event repeatedly regarding an attorney whom I knew during my youth and who was involved in the prosecution (of somebody). He said that he would defer the trial and would not allow it to progress in the right course for as long as he lived and after him, his son (would do the same). At times, one had to wait two years before a hearing could get underway, or, if, for instance, the court was in session or not. Could this be called a court? This much they knew (about justice administration). It was their plan to suppress its intellectual manpower, so that people had to go to the justice department from morning until sunset wasting their life away. And even after this it was not clear what result they would get, or whether they would get their rights upheld or not. Whoever from among the attorneys who knew how to twist the law articles or any of the judges who could be bribed more would judge the case. We used to have a judge in Khomein, who would accept bribes, but would decide against the briber. No matter how loudly the unfortunate loser would shout exposing the judge, saying that he had accepted bribes and then voted against him, his word would be ignored. These were the sorts of things that were in vogue at the time. Anyway, you are now duty-bound, nationally and Islamically, to sit down (together and reform) this justice administration because it is not a justice administration. Our justice system is based on a Western model; however, it is not functioning properly (as it should be.) The

problem with us is when we adopt something Western; it becomes only partially Western and inefficient. Another thing is this Western model is not appropriate to our country. You, legal experts and the informed ones should sit and rectify the justice administration. Our justice administration should not be the same as the previous one. It should function on religious laws, and judgments be meted out according to the same rules. It should not be as before. I have heard that one of those who have just arrived¹ and wants to become somebody², has said that Islam itself cannot be implemented. Mister (Shaygan), what do you know of Islam to say that it cannot? How do you know that Islam cannot be implemented? These contentions are reasons why I say that they (regime) had obscured Islam and did not let it solve people's problems. Islam was kept from the people's reach. They thought Islam was merely going (to mosques) in the morning to say prayers! Well, let us see how Islamic leaders had been. Hadrat Amir would say his prayers but would also wield his sword (against the enemies). While he prayed, he also held his sword. He would also pass judgments. He would handle everything. Now, affairs have become extensive. The expansion of affairs means that things should be done in such a way that everything is somehow improved. Judgments should be administered based on religious law. Judgments that were based on connections (rather than laws) and would lead to the condemnation of people at courts should be stopped; bribery and other malpractices were rampant and must be eradicated. You—the judges and all of you—should all sit together, deliberate, and set up a justice administration, devoid of a state of affairs in which a court order is issued today and is sent to this and that court and people have to spend their time going from this to that office and then return. That kind of practice wastes the people's time and money. All this should be rectified. Of course, it is difficult and cannot be achieved in a couple of days, but we should not be disappointed; just as our task (toppling the Shah) was arduous and we (thought we) could not unseat that government and no one ever thought that it was possible, but God was with us. When God is with you, everything becomes easy. If we are sincere in our intention and if we want to serve the people and Islam, rest assured that the Exalted and Blessed God is with us. May God grant all of you success and keep you in good health.

¹ Ali Shaygan, a member of the National Front, who lived in America for 21 years.

² The press regularly mentioned the probability of Shaygan's becoming president.

Speech

Date: February 26, 1979 [Esfand 7, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Reconstruction of the devastated Iran

Audience: Kurdistan's clergymen

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

Reconstruction period

I would like to thank the gentlemen, who have come to inquire about me. You are aware of what the nation has gone through during the rule of this dynasty for fifty-odd years. What suffering it has not undergone! What crimes they did not commit; what treacheries they did not perpetrate in plundering the treasury. They committed crimes and treacheries against the people, depleted our resources and fled. We are now plunged in a situation that all aspects of Iran, the economy, culture, and the military are in disorder and in peril. It is now the duty, the divine duty of every one of us to be united, and with singleness of mind and purpose rebuild this devastated Iran. We have so far ousted the thieves, and, aided by the power of faith and Islam, the Iranian nation had defeated the forces of tyranny. Now is the time for reconstruction, which is more important than the first step (the toppling of the Shah). The Iranian nation and country are now going through a critical period; the people should rise without the least differences and selfish motives, and build this country anew.

A warning against a foreign tune of (deception) being played in Kurdistan

You, the officials and *ulama* of Kurdistan should be aware, as per your national and religious law duty, that in case a tune (of deception) is heard from the ignorant and the corruption-mongers, it is emanating from the throats of aliens who want to create this discord (among you), so that they can come back in another form to dominate us like before. You should be alert and vigilant and keep Islam and the Quran in mind. All should stand united and strengthen Islam.

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

Speech

Date: February 26, 1979 [Esfand 7, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Criterion of humanity

Audience: Members of the Iran's Community of Disabled People

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

Humanity depends on the soul and not the body

I thank you gentlemen who are representatives of the disabled and handicapped society. May God keep you in good health, and may He grant you a speedy recovery. The Society of the Disabled should note that man possesses both soul and body. What determines a person's humanity is his soul, not his body. You pray for those whose souls are disabled' to be cured. You the members of the Community of the Disabled in body should pray that you never become a community of spiritually disabled people. If your souls are sound, free and strong, it does not matter if you are disabled in your hands or legs. Man's limbs are not the criteria for his humanity. The physique is but skin and outer appearance, but the very essence of man is his soul and his intellectual faculty. When man's thinking self becomes powerful, it does not matter if he is physically disabled. Man is man because of his soul. Among the world's geniuses, we have had many people who were disabled but were in the rank of *ulama*, philosophers and geniuses. Do not grieve because of being disabled in your hands, legs, or eyes. I hope that in this society you will live with pride because of your spiritual power and health. God willing, I shall refer to the respective officials regarding your requests. May God protect you. May He cure you, who were active in this movement and helped us like brothers. May your soul, which is sublime over the body, and upon which your very humanity depends, be engulfed in prosperity and well-being.

May God's peace be upon you.

Speech

Date: February 26, 1979 [Esfand 7, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Building backward Iran and reviving the agriculture

Audience: Western Tehran's clergymen

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

The clergy's explanations, source of people's awakening

I thank you gentlemen for your exhausting efforts and your fortitude—of which I have been aware over a long period—in the face of the regime's crimes. May the Exalted God grant you, the great *ulama* and disciples of the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him, longevity, honor and His blessings.

You proved your steadfastness in this path, enlightened the people and spurred the nation to action. You guided the people. Iran's clergy guided the people and, thanks to God, your enlightening them left its impact and the Iranian people rose up en masse and with vigilance. That is how we have arrived at this point now. But henceforth the task will be even more difficult.

The nation, inheritor of ruins

They left behind a disorderly, defeated, plundered, and looted country. They kept our manpower in a backward state and did not let it progress. Our resources, together with our national (crown) jewels were carted off abroad. And the country has been left crushed and impoverished. Whatever aspect of the country you look at you will see that it needs long years of hard work to bring it back to the situation before it was plundered. When it comes to the economy, we see that the nation's economy has been totally ruined. Our culture has been a colonial one. Our army has been a parasitic one. Everything has been destroyed and left in ruins. You are heir to a ruined country, which has to be built anew with your determination and that of the rest of the people.

¹ In the 22-volume *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it is dated Esfand 11, 1357 AHS.

People's participation in reconstruction

Well, there should not be any expectations that things will improve miraculously overnight. Destruction is easy. A flood comes and destroys a whole city; an earthquake strikes and ruins a city. But reconstructing those cities is difficult. Anyway, expectations are very high now. Expectations are increasing daily but attention is not paid to the fact that the nation has suffered for over fifty years and tolerated it. Now they want all the afflictions to be removed overnight or in a month's time! This is something impossible. We should all join hands and you, respectable gentlemen, should preach and urge the people to unite and reconstruct this devastated country. The government alone cannot do it; no group can do it single-handedly because the destruction is not confined to one area that one single group can handle. Now everything is a shambles. It is necessary from now for all of us to collaborate and take part in the reconstruction of this ruined country. You, gentlemen should, in mosques and public gatherings, bring this issue to the attention of the people that they are duty-bound to contribute to the reconstruction efforts, each person to the extent of his ability.

Necessity of reviving agriculture

Now, our farmlands and agriculture have been totally destroyed. The gentlemen here should explain in public gatherings in mosques and send the representatives to all parts to notify the people to get involved in farming and agricultural activities in order to obviate the procurement of our needs from abroad. A country like Iran has provinces whose yield could be enough to supply the whole nation. For instance the province of Azerbaijan, if properly cultivated, could provide for the entire country's needs with its produce. But now, it is importing everything from abroad. The so-called land reforms that the regime had launched were aimed deliberately, and not by mistake, at destroying the country. That wretched man said that he made a mistake.¹ But he intentionally carried on what he was doing, not that he made a mistake. He was well aware and intended to do so in order to destroy the country. It was a carefully planned conspiracy to plunge the country's agriculture into a ruined state in the guise of "Land Reform." His mission was to turn Iran into a market for foreigners so that we would import everything and be a market for them. If it had not been for that man, our country's agricultural output would have been sufficient for us. But this "unmanly" man because of his servility and his "mission for the country"—they (aliens) had commissioned

¹ MuHammad Rida Pahlavi, in his message delivered on Aban 15, 1357 AHS [November 6, 1978].

him to come and destroy the country—ruined the country and went away with everything of ours. This was how our agriculture ended in its present state. Publicity is necessary; people who are at the helm of affairs and who guide people and are obeyed by them, should urge the people to take to our agriculture again and bring it back to the stage it was before or even better than that, God willing. No one should expect that this unpleasant situation be rectified right now or everything to be, as people desire the next day. This is not possible. Therefore, the numerous cases of people's reference to us, each one with a certain expectation, are because they are just concerned with their own affairs. They do not pay attention to the hurdles in the way and what problems the government is facing. Wherever the government turns, it finds problems, and time and money, which it lacks, have to be expended to improve the situation.

Calling on people to be patient

You should guide the people. You, gentlemen underwent torture and put up with it for fifty years, and in the last few years, you reached the end of your tether. Thanks God, with divine power, the monarchical regime was toppled. Now, you should wait a few more years for things to improve gradually. We have an army and agriculture that will have to be rebuilt and revived, and the same is true for some disorganization; all these require time (to be solved). Nowadays, government (officials) have been coming to see me, such as ministers, the army chief, (General) Qarani and others, all of whom are unable to accomplish their tasks so soon and they are right. It is not that they are treating things lightly; they are very serious; everybody is busy, busy day and night. But the situation is such that things cannot easily be done. You should help them.

Strengthening the government and averting the disruption of activities

One thing that the gentlemen can do to help is to confirm those individuals that are appointed (by officials) in military bases, and police departments and stations. Do not sabotage these activities. It should not be so that you confirm another government by which the (national) government is undermined. The government now is not the same as the previous one; it is your own government that has come into power because of your own will. You should uphold it, not that you do something in opposition to whatever it does. Similarly, you should confirm anybody that is appointed in police stations and in military bases. Do not attempt to disrupt matters. Persuade and guide the people to confirm them, so that they can take control of the

state of affairs and put an end to the chaos. It is a troubled country that should be made to return to normal through your efforts and those of the *ulama* and all people.

Necessity of confronting the creation of negative atmosphere in factories

Now, things are in disarray everywhere with the corrupt elements have frequenting factories and infiltrating the ranks of the people, disseminating lies and telling the workers that nothing good has happened in the country. Well, those unfortunate workers do not know that the statement “nothing has happened” is not true. They do not consider that a satanic power, a confirmed dictatorship has been overthrown. They think that now that the Shah is gone, nothing has happened. They thought that as soon as they (Shah) had gone an invisible hand would appear and correct everything for everybody. These are corrupt people; they wish to lead people astray. You should stand up to them and guide people. Anyone who is able should go to factories and talk to the workers. They should make the people understand that these (corrupt) elements wish to restore previous condition and those former bullies in a different form. Of course, there is no returning for the former Shah but these (saboteurs) want to set up the previous system in another way. Awaken the people and make them aware. Intelligent and informed individuals from among the *ulama* and other groups must go there and talk to the people to make them understand who these (corrupt) elements really are; their masters used to serve in the imperial court and now they are telling people all this nonsense! Now that this barefooted nation has achieved victory, they are rushing to Iran from all sides to have a slice of the cake!... People should be made to understand all this. We see that stereotyped individuals have come from abroad and are talking on the radio saying that Islam cannot be implemented. Whoever is saying this is making a big mistake! You should speak in mosques and say that this matter is no concern of theirs; what does he know of Islam? These individuals went abroad and lived comfortably, left the nation, now they have come thinking of obtaining something from the people! The great *ulama* should speak of this in the mosques.

Islam is for the progress and advancement of human beings

Islam can be enforced. If it were not, then we could say that decrees of the Exalted and Blessed God are defective! Indeed! Certainly, Islam prevents corruption. If what they mean by saying that Islam cannot be implemented now is that cinemas should show the same films with nude women and the same ugly activities as it used to be, then Islam is definitely opposed to all

this. But Islam agrees with all sorts of development and progress. Islam was revealed for human progress and advancement. You gentlemen here should put an end to all the mendacities some individuals are spreading so that they will not be repeated, and also prevent the anti-Islamic activities currently being carried out. You should also choose individuals to be sent to those places where these propagandists go, to talk to the people and enlighten them.

May God protect you all. I am sorry that you are all sitting over there and I here. We are brothers and in one unified rank. Leadership is not an issue. All of us are in one rank, and together we will advance.

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

Decree

Date: February 26, 1979 [Esfand 7, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Confirmation of the Congregational Prayer Leader of Tehran Bazaar Mosque

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Khwansari

[In His Most Exalted Name

A group of devoted bazaar people and supporters of Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad Khansari presented a letter to the grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini requesting that the above mentioned be appointed as prayer leader of the Tehran Shah Mosque (now the Imam Khomeini Mosque). The Imam has confirmed Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Khwansari, son of the late Grand Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khwansari, may his grave be fragrant.]

I have the warmest feelings for His Eminence the prominent scholar Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Muhammad Baqir—may his graces last—who is worthy of the task that has been mentioned in the letter. May the faithful benefit from the blessings (of his personality), God willing. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: February 26, 1979 [Esfand 7, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Reconstruction of the country and its problems

Audience: A group of people

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

Iran's critical situation

The gentlemen know that Iran's situation is a critical one; it is now more critical than before we had ousted the thieves. It is because that time was the time of ousting and driving out (the Shah), which, thanks God, was achieved through the nation's efforts and the power of faith. The power of the nation's faith prevailed over tanks, cannons and the superpowers, all of which were supporting him. And they were all very powerful. But God's power is greater than all powers. Thanks God, you have been victorious up to this stage; however, you are heirs now to a devastated country, that is, everything of it is in a state of disorder. They plundered all our resources and carted off Iran's jewels, and then fled. They built mansions abroad. God willing, these will be retrieved from them. Iran is in a situation wherein its economy, culture, military, administrative offices are all in a shambles.

Unity of all strata of the people in reconstruction affairs

There are two points here: One is that a single group of people cannot repair all this destruction. The government, the army, the merchants cannot compensate (for the destruction). One group cannot do this (alone). People from all walks of life such as the workers, employees, civil servants and, the rest of the nation, in whatever position, should work together so that we can rebuild these ruins. Your country has been robbed, quake-stricken and devastated. These ruins have fallen into your hands, but this is your country. It has not been yours up until now. So far, everything belonged to foreign powers and it was they who benefited from what was yours. But it was you who would do the hard work. Now I hope that Iran has become yours, God willing. But this ruined land belonging to you must be built up with your determination, togetherness and unity of expression; and you must preserve this unity.

The second point is that people should not expect a country to be set right in a few days or months when it has been trampled under the boots (of a tyrannical monarchical system) for 2,500 years, and in which destruction has taken place for these fifty-odd years—which we ourselves have witnessed—by all the powers banding together to destroy it. There are problems to tackle. The government, army, offices are all facing many problems; people must be patient. They should show a degree of toleration. The same people, who put up with fifty-odd years of torture, and are now set free, do not have any fear of being caught for no reason by anyone anymore. They have no fear of being hit on the head by a military officer. This is a great blessing that the Exalted God has bestowed upon you that you now sleep at home with peace of mind, without any fear of security forces, of the army or the government anymore. But those people who are impatient must be reminded that they had tolerated a life for fifty-odd years under the boots of predacious people and plunderers, and so for a few more years they must join hands and build (these ruins). Do not think that it can be accomplished instantaneously. It is not possible to reconstruct a ravaged country, for you to find fault now with Mr. Bazargan, complaining as to why he has not taken any action on such and such issue. Could anyone in his place have done more than what he has done? Officials are all working hard. Everybody is fulfilling his or her duties and God willing, you people, who are sensible should work, will be working seriously to build this devastated country anew. May God protect you and may you be successful.

Statements

Date: February 26, 1979 [Esfand 7, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Concern for Imam Musa Sadr's² fate

Audience: Abdus-Salam Jalud (Muammar Qadhdhafi's deputy) and three other members of the Libyan delegation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

We are concerned of the fate of Imam Musa Sadr. We want you to tell Colonel Qadhdhafi, as soon as you are back in Libya, to take action regarding the fate of Imam Musa Sadr as soon as possible.

[In response to the Libyan delegation's request for Imam's permission to allow Colonel Qadhdhafi to come to Iran to express his congratulations:]

I am now moving to Qum. We have to postpone such a meeting to a later date.

¹ In the 22-volume *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date of the meeting was recorded as Bahman 17, 1357 AHS [February 6, 1979].

² Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Musa Sadr, better known as Imam Musa Sadr, was born in 1923 in the city of Mashhad. He passed the higher courses of the religious seminary by learning from such great masters as Ayatullah Muhaqqiq Damad, Imam Khomeini and Grand Ayatullah Burujerdi to attain the level of *ijtihad*. He was noted for organizing the Lebanese Shiah and led them in their political assertiveness of the 1970s. Imam Musa Sadr mysteriously disappeared in Libya in 1978 after he had traveled to that country on the official invitation of the Libyan government. He is chairman in absentia of the Supreme Assembly of Lebanese Shiah Muslims. Since his disappearance, Shaykh Shams ad-Din had been acting chairman.

Statements

Date: February 26, 1979 [Esfand 7, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Islam and religious minorities

Audience: Emissaries of the Armenian Diocese

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

I hope that this movement has brought blessings to all the religions, the religious minorities that are residing in Iran. We know that all groups of the people in Iran, whether Muslims or non-Muslims, lived in affliction and oppression during the rule of the Shah and his father. We know that Islam has always accorded religious minorities respect. Even Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him, concerning an anklet that was snatched off a Jewish woman subject (of the Islamic community during his caliphate), said that he had heard of such an incident; he further added that if anyone died (of grief) over such an issue, he should not be blamed.¹

We hold the religious minorities in respect. They are of our nation and our country. And I hope that the just Islamic government will be very good for them and they will enjoy a good, free and decent life.

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 27.

Statements

Date: February 26 1979 [Esfand 7, 1357 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Alawi School, Tehran

Subject: Necessity of maintaining unity of expression in the struggle against the foreigners and the reconstruction of Iran

Addressee: Muhammad Derakhshesh¹

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

At this critical juncture in the country, all Iranian people must maintain their unity of expression in their struggle against foreigners, and for the reconstruction of Iran, which has been reduced to ruins.

Iran needs a popular and powerful national-Islamic army that can protect the country and stand by the people. The struggles of the country's teachers in the uprising against dictatorship and imperialism are praiseworthy.

¹ Minister of Culture in Ali Amini's cabinet.

Decree

Date: February 28, 1979 [Esfand 9, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Mr. MaHmud Burujerdi's¹ residence, Pasdaran Avenue, Tehran

Subject: Making an inventory of the Shah's and his family's property on Kish Island and their maintenance

Addressee: Ali Mughaddam

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Ali Muqaddam, may his graces last:

His Eminence is hereby assigned to go to Kish Island, accompanied by Messrs. Muhammad-Ali Nizamzadeh and Husayn Ridwani, may God always assist them, to make inventories of all the estates, buildings and other properties of the deposed Shah and former usurper and other members of his family, and keep them until the time they can be utilized for necessary and legal purposes.

I implore the Exalted God to grant you respectable gentlemen continued successes. Meanwhile, you have so far satisfactorily performed your task in this regard. May you be successful, God willing. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 1, 1399 AH

¹ Imam Khomeini's son-in-law.

Message

Date: February 28, 1979 [Esfand 9, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Mr. MaHmud Burujirdi's residence, Pasdaran Avenue, Tehran

Subject: Fourteen recommendations about the Revolution and the country's domestic issues

Occasion: Departure from Tehran for Qum

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

At this moment that I am intending to go to Qum—the shrine of the Holy Prophet's Household (a)—I would like to thank the entire Iranian nation. Truthfully, it was because of the lofty efforts of this long-suffering nation that it triumphed over satanic forces by relying on the infinite power of God and faith in the Imam of the Time—may Allah expedite his advent. Also, I would like to thank and laud the respectable people of Tehran, who have accorded me hospitality from my arrival until now and have made great efforts and shown me their ardent affection, and whom I would like to bid farewell to although I am not far from them in my heart and soul. I am indebted to all the kind sentiments shown by all factions and classes of respectable people. May the Exalted God grant them independence, freedom, constancy and health, and may He establish a just Islamic government for them. There are issues I need to point out:

1. The brave nation should be mindful of the fact that although internal oppression has crumbled and the people have felt freedom, the imperialist roots of America, the USSR, Britain and Zionism and other predacious governments have not been totally deracinated off this native land. We should be united in eradicating the influence of foreign countries from our country without faltering or pausing in the least. You must bear in mind that the Shah had placed this country at the aliens' disposal in such a way that, for a long time, we will have to deal with the damage done to it; and if we want to have true independence, we will have to make efforts to eradicate all traces of American influence whether economic, political, cultural or military. And I hope that the Iranian nation will achieve this important goal.

2. We all know that the key to this great victory the nation gained was the unity of expression of the people from all walks of life, from the capital to the remotest city of the country, and that its unified goal was the

overthrow of the *taghuti* regime and severance of international colonialist and exploitative hands and the setting up of an Islamic republic. Now, we need to uphold the unity of purpose and expression largely. This great nation must vigilantly fend off some subversive elements that wish to open our Muslim country to aliens through deceptive slogans, and restore the same persecution and plundering in another form. You should avoid them and by isolating them, boycotting their gatherings and by using Islamic logic, neutralize their adverse propaganda. Everybody knows that the victory has been achieved through the power of Islam and the noble blood that Muslims have shed; opportunists want to take advantage of this situation, without having made any positive moves, and install themselves through chicanery and specious tactics. The nation should be vigilant in preventing them. Whereas there is freedom of expression, of the pen and ideas for everyone, and the people will never consent to any conspiratorial ploys.

3. Factory workers and other workers, employees and the oppressed classes must know that Islam has always been their defender since its early days, and in the just Islamic government, they are, and will be, treated justly. Those people whose masters used to be at the service of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi's imperial court and who want to separate the workers from Islam on the orders of, or because of the desire and interests of foreign powers, by infiltrating their ranks and disseminating deceptive lies, whether consciously or unconsciously, are serving foreign interests. It is imperative that their gatherings are avoided and that these corruption-mongers are not allowed to infiltrate their ranks and/or enter the factories.

I have strongly stressed to the government to provide water, electricity and some other facilities free of charge for the impoverished class of the people who had been subject to deprivation, and hopefully with the establishment of the Islamic government this deprivation will be eliminated.

4. The military, the police forces and the gendarmerie are now at the service of the people and are of the people. The nation should support them and desist from committing any untoward acts that can incur their dissatisfaction; the police forces must realize that subsequent to the purging of corrupt elements, they will live in comfort and dignity under the protection of Islam and the just government. We all know that we are indebted to the solidarity of all branches of the armed forces, and other governmental agencies, with the nation for the enemy's defeat. You should not entertain any sense of defeat; rather you should feel victorious as you are of the nation, and have a share in its victory. We respect you and consider you as our brethren. I very strongly warn the Iranian nation that the government must

have a national army that is powerful and of high morale so that it will have the power to protect the country. The nation should make efforts to boost the morale of the military personnel and officers. Likewise, the respected preachers and speakers should do the same and must prevent any attacks from being made against military bases nationwide. Attacks on bases are now incongruous with the Islamic Revolution and must be avoided. It is necessary that the Islamic revolutionary committees in provincial towns vigorously support the commanders, who have been appointed by the general headquarters of the national Islamic army, and also support the heads of other peacekeeping forces, who have been appointed by high government officials.

5. Islamic revolutionary committees in all provincial towns are duty-bound to transfer all their activities to governmental forces once the government has the situation under control and must desist from interfering in governmental affairs. I must thank all the committees for all the efforts they have made in the course of the Revolution. You (the committees) have brought order to all the chaos with your endeavors.

6. I order all members of the committees and prison wardens to treat prisoners, whoever they are, humanely and in an Islamic manner. They must refrain from harassing and causing them distress, avoid violent treatment and the use of invective language as these acts are forbidden and condemned in Islam and in a just Islamic government. The relatives of prisoners must be given the permission to visit them on a designated day according to rules.

7. I have reiterated before and I will say it once more, that nobody has any right to break into or (forcefully) enter any homes, and if it comes to be known that a criminal is (hiding) in a certain house, it should be ensured that he does not escape and the responsible authorities be informed so that he is arrested according to the legal criterion. The supporters of the movement should refrain from doing such things. People should act as per religious law criteria.

8. The protracted strikes have caused crises and it is necessary that people abstain from hiking prices of staple goods in order to provide for the destitute class, and sell foodstuffs that the public needs at a cheap price. This is a humanitarian and Islamic action that I expect of the public. The Exalted God will bestow favors and blessings upon you for this humanitarian act.

9. I have reiterated the accordance of respect for the great *ulama*, respectable prayer leaders, honorable preachers and other servants of the sacred religion. The great nation should know that if, God forbid, the position of this group whose members are the guardians of Islam and Quran, is undermined, the plundering foreigners will have their desires fulfilled and we

will lose control of affairs. It was the enlightening efforts of this group, which fired this nation with the Islamic spirit. The services rendered by this group should not be forgotten, and it is with the assistance of this class that the situation in the country is heading toward peace and calm. I recommend that no violent action should be taken against even those who have insulted me. I want the clergy to cooperate with their brothers for the augmentation of the principles of the struggle and treat them with kindness. I pardon the individuals who have maligned or insulted me. I implore the Exalted God to pardon them. I also ask you to invite other congregational prayer leaders, who, as I have heard, have not joined us here (today), to mosques and to safeguard their respect. Of course, those who had been at the service of the oppressive establishment will have to be dealt with separately.

10. Articles and topics opposed to the Revolution's cause appear in magazines and newspapers that, after the Islamic Revolution, claim to be at the service of and moving along the course of the Islamic Revolution. This has caused unrest and dissatisfaction among the people with regard to which I have been repeatedly asked to take action. I regret this, and wish to advise the mass media that it was the nation's great sacrifices, coupled with reliance upon Islam and the power of faith in the Exalted God, that had emancipated us from the fifty years of servitude and despondency. Now it is not right to launch poisonous propaganda—which can only serve the interests of nobody but the foreigners, plunderers and their servants—against the will of this afflicted nation and the Islamic Revolution. I am repeating my advice that it is not to the interest of the press to be under the influence of the right or left, the East or the West; it should keep itself in the direction of the Revolution.

You, more than anybody else, must know that the nation rose up to wipe the dust of colonial cultures off itself. We must nip this colonial mentality in the bud in whatever form or shape, and not separate people from their faith, which has brought the superpowers to their knees. I hope that you heed the advice of this long-suffering man; I offer the same advice to the young people and all those who, at a sensitive juncture like the one now, are causing discord. I am afraid that such factious activities will be to the detriment of the suffering nation and to themselves. I am apprehensive about the dark days of suppression and servitude. I regret these tendencies toward the West and East. My children! Return to the embrace of Islam and benefit from the rich Islamic culture. Do not be deceived by those whose aim is nothing but to bleed the oppressed nations dry, and do not deviate from the path of the Islamic Revolution in which your and the nation's welfare lies.

11. The Exalted God willing, a referendum to decide the type of government will soon be held. It is worth mentioning that I shall vote for an Islamic Republic. What the great Iranian nation supported with their cries ringing all over the country is this same Islamic Republic, not more, not less. I expect the noble nation to vote for an Islamic Republic, as this is the only course of the Islamic Revolution. Anybody who is opposed to it is free and entitled to express his opposition, the great *ulama* of provincial cities, towns, villages and hamlets, and the nation itself, are duty-bound not to allow the infringement of anybody's freedom; they should take care that everyone casts his vote in a free atmosphere.

12. The arraignment of the corrupt regime's criminals should be attended to as soon as possible. They should be indicted in extraordinary people's revolutionary courts and appropriate punishments meted out so that the downtrodden people will be informed and be assured how those individuals, who had persecuted them during the black era of despotism, have suffered the consequences of their evil deeds.

13. All offices, from the prime ministry down to the smallest office, must refrain from pomposity mania, extravagance and bureaucracy and must carry out the people's business as soon as possible.

Of course, the esteemed people know that ministries and offices in the Islamic Republic must undergo basic and essential changes so that they can come out of their monarchical and Western shell and assume a humane and Islamic form.

14. In all humility, I would like to sincerely thank those who have, through telegrams and letters, been kind enough to convey their affections to me on my arrival, and I would like to apologize for not being able enough to convey their answer the countless letters and telegrams due to the little time and opportunity and the tiring preoccupations I have had. I am at everyone's service and I beg everyone's pardon. May the Exalted God grant Islam and the Islamic nation grandeur and power. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 28, 1979 [Esfand 9, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Mr. MaHmud Burujerdi's residence, Pasdaran Avenue, Tehran

Subject: Sequestration order of the property of the Pahlavi dynasty and affiliates

Addressee: Islamic Revolutionary Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi ath-Thani 1, 1399 AH
Esfand 9, 1357 AHS

This letter hereby empowers the Islamic Revolutionary Council to sequester all movable and fixed assets of the Pahlavi dynasty, its relatives, lackeys and all those affiliated to it, who had embezzled the Muslims' treasury during the course of its illegal rule, (to be used) in the interests of the poor people, workers and low-income employees. Their assets in banks must be deposited in my or the Revolutionary Council's name under a bank number. Fixed assets such as real estate and landed property that are sequestered and registered will be utilized for the good of the poor individuals from every social class for building homes, generating employment and other purposes.

I order all Islamic Revolutionary Committees all over the country to deposit all assets gained in this manner under a specific bank account number. You must also notify the government that these assets do not belong to it, and concern the Islamic Revolutionary Council. Whatever assets government agents have confiscated, or will confiscate, have to be delivered to the (Central) bank to be duly entered under the same account number. Those who have acquired any of these assets should immediately deliver them to banks or the committees; violators will be called to account.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 28, 1979 [Esfand 9, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Mr. MaHmud Burujerdi's residence, Pasdaran Avenue, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Revolution's General Prosecutor

Addressee: Mahdi Hadawi

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Mahdi Hadawi, may his successes last:

By virtue of this decree, you are hereby appointed to the post of Revolutionary General Prosecutor of the Islamic Republic. You must carry out your duties according to the religious law criteria.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: March 1, 1979 [Esfand 10, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 2, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah School, Qum

Subject: Analyzing the results of the Iranian nation's struggles; spiritual and material welfare programs; emphasis on an Islamic republic and self-edification

Occasion: Imam Khomeini's arrival in Qum after the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: The people of Qum and other towns

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

The Pahlavi dynasty's crimes

I would like to thank the Iranian nation for its kind affection. I will never forget you tormented people. I can never ever reciprocate your kindness. I pray to the Exalted and Blessed God for the health and prosperity of the Iranian nation.

The Iranian nation has revived Islam with its life and blood; it has given Islam and the Muslims a new life, and thwarted the almost 300-year-long efforts of the colonial powers and foreigners. The colonial and foreign powers had launched a 300-year propaganda campaign against Islam, all religions and the clerical institution. Such propaganda reached its peak during the reigns of this father and son (Rida Khan and the Shah). These foreign lackeys trampled upon the nation's dignity in the last fifty-odd years. This father and son perpetrated treacheries that have blackened our history. They committed so many crimes in Iran of which we cannot report even one-tenth or one-hundredth. They pushed our nation into servility. They plundered our resources. They destroyed our human resources, which take precedence over all other resources. They made efforts to keep our youth and the universities backward. They tried to prevent theology schools from performing their tasks.

Insuring Islam with martyrdom

I should thank you, the Iranian nation and the people of Qum, who, in this uprising over the past couple of years, thwarted all the plots and drove away the agents of colonialism from your country, and those remaining will also be flung out. You have curtailed the hands of colonial powers, severed the hands of profiteers and international plunderers. You gave blood and

sacrificed your young sons, but these young people and their blood were for the sake of Islam and served its interests. Islam is precious enough for us not to fear the shedding of blood and the sacrificing of our youths for its sake. Islam has had so many martyrs. The Commander of the Faithful, may God's peace be upon him, was a martyr of Islam and he achieved martyrdom for the sake of Islam. Husayn ibn Ali was martyred for the cause of Islam. We have no fear of martyrdom; nor do we have any fear of being killed. You, the Iranian nation have insured Islam with your blood and that of your youths, and have severed the hands of foreigners. You have made all of us grateful. I am indebted to all of you. I am your servant. I cannot ever appreciate enough, to the extent that I should, this blessing bestowed on those zealous Iranians across the land and on us.

The destruction of the country and the expansion of graveyards

You have now reached this stage. They (Shah et al) have already fled the country and left us a devastated land with expanded cemeteries. They "developed" our graveyards with the graves of our youths and destroyed the country. The chaos and muddled state of our country are not such that can be remedied within a couple of years or in a short period. This necessitates the collaboration of all the members of the Iranian nation to improve the affairs and situation of the country. The nation should not sit idle waiting for the government to reconstruct the country. The government cannot do it alone. Nor should the people wait for the clergymen to do the reconstruction. The clergymen cannot do it alone either. All of us, including the farmers, workers, manufacturers, clergymen, university people, civil servants and the armed forces; all should collaborate. This movement, which has now reached this point, is still halfway through. You have so far only driven out the thieves and the saboteurs. But the ravaged land still remains. Reconstruction of this devastation is of primary importance to us. What is important is that this ruined land be reconstructed through your noble determination.

Necessity of the nation's vigilance and awareness

Be alert! Be vigilant! Agitators and foreign lackeys are lurking. They are not asleep, and neither should you. You must be vigilant. They are busy hatching conspiracies in different ways and forms. Now that the degenerate monarchical regime has been destroyed, they want to re-enter the arena to regain the same advantages for themselves, and carry out the same plundering and to restore the same suppression.

My beloved nation! Be alert! Whatever we put our finger on is out of order: our culture is corrupt and it should be transformed. This culture is a colonial one, and should be changed. Colonially oriented teachers must leave. Those who have been up to now at the service of colonialism and the monarchial regime must go and be replaced by people of pure character. Pure-hearted scholars must come to the scene. We are beset with many difficulties in our hands. We must all join in resolving these problems and end these betrayals. Be alert and be vigilant not to let this movement slip off your hand. If, God forbid, the zeal for this movement wanes, then you have to prepare for the return of the previous problems and afflictions. If you wish to rescue Iran and Islam and the glorious Quran, you must safeguard this movement. You should stage demonstrations and have gatherings whenever necessary. Today, demonstrations should be staged fervently. This movement must be preserved; this nation should remain dynamic.

Islam at the service of the oppressed

Gone are the days when a police officer would govern us. Gone are the days when a general-governor would rule us, and gone are the days when a low-ranking officer would rule us. Today, everybody is at your service and at the service of Islam. You should appreciate the value of this blessing. Do not let weakness and lethargy overcome you. Do not say that the Shah is gone and so the struggle is over. No! Colonialism has studied our situation for over 300 years or even more: they have reviewed your morale and the ways and manners of various tribes among you and have come to this conclusion that they have to sow seeds of discord among various Muslim factions and cause differences in every city, create rifts and separate you from one another by playing different tunes (of deception); separate the clergy from Muslims; separate the university people from clergymen; separate workers from clerics. But clergymen are at the service of workers. Islam is at the service of the oppressed. Those who claim that nothing has been done are seeking to disrupt the unity of the people. A great task has been achieved. Yet, a greater task ahead remains to be done. If there are some elements that intend to create discord, you must ostracize them from your ranks. Do not let them say things that will cause disunity. Workers must stay alert. They want to bring back the former era (of monarchial oppression). Oh, farmers, be alert! They want to despoil your agriculture once again. You, farmers, who are the greatest supporters of the nation, should seriously carry on your farming activities. This is now the time for sowing. Get involved in spring cultivation. You the shopkeepers, guild workers and respectable businessmen! be lenient

toward people in their needs for staple food. Desist from hiking prices. Establish a cooperative and humanitarian spirit among yourselves. Render support to the deprived people. Give them discounts. Avoid hiking prices and overpricing commodities. Stay united. You are all brothers. People from all walks of life are brothers. Stay together. Observe each other's rights. Refrain from things that became prevalent during the past fifty-odd years such as lying, fraud, price hiking, and so on and so forth. Today Islam has spread its shadow over you. The Imam of the Time looks at you with kindness. The Holy Prophet is watching you with affection. The Blessed and Exalted God is supporting you.

The Pahlavi Dynasty's assets

We have many things ahead of us, some of which I would like to mention to you. In these recent days when I was intending to leave Tehran, I ordered that all the assets of the sinister Pahlavi dynasty and those related to it, who plundered the people, be confiscated. Houses should be constructed for the poor and the deprived. We intend to build housing units for the poor across the land. The ex-Shah's assets and those of his siblings will be enough to improve the state of affairs in a whole country. We will fulfill our promises; we will not stop at words. We are going to act (upon those words).

All committees all over the country are duty-bound to hand over to banks whatever belongs to Iran's treasury that has been retrieved and whatever they had taken and stashed away somewhere. A bank account will be announced later for this purpose and all such assets will be remitted to that account and will be used for building houses for the workers, the poor and the oppressed in order to make their lives comfortable.

Prosperity in this world and the hereafter through Islam

In addition to our wish to make your material life comfortable, we also wish to make your spiritual life satisfying. You all need spirituality. They took away our spirituality. Do not be content that we have built you homes and provided the poor with free water and electricity or free bus transportation. Do not be content just with this. We will enhance your spirituality, boost your morale, and help you reach a humanitarian status. They (ex-regime) had made you degenerate. They made the world so glittering in your eyes that you thought it was everything. We will make you prosperous in this world as well as in the hereafter. This is one of the things that should be done and it will be so. These assets derive from Islamic wealth and belong to the nation and the oppressed people. I have ordered the

officials to give them to the oppressed people and they will do so. And after this, other concessions will also be obtained, but you will have to be a little patient. Do not listen to evil tunes (of deception). They (enemies) merely talk, but we act. They want to disillusion you about Islam, but Islam is your support.

Sovereignty of divine laws and forms

Subsequent to this, we have programs regarding banks in order to reverse this pathetic and colonial situation. All these palaces and ministries on which millions and billions of the nation's wealth had been spent will have to be transformed into a well-balanced Islamic institution. The (prevailing) system is foreign-oriented, alien and of *taghut*. A palace had been made in the justice ministry, but no justice is administered there; it is not the place to dispense justice. It is nothing but a palace. Palaces will have to be demolished and replaced with a court of justice. Banks must gradually adopt a balanced form and usury be completely stopped.

I should tell and warn high officials not to show such weakness in determination! Do not go after Western styles (of administration). Our helplessness has been the result of going after this Western form and wishing that our justice administration and laws be patterned after the West. Do not give in to self-distrust. We have a very rich code of life in the form of divine laws. Those who prefer Western laws to divine laws, have no knowledge of Islam. Those who say Islam cannot be implemented in our time say so because they do not know Islam and do not understand what Islam says.

Combating corruption and eradicating the traces of the *taghuti* regime

Within the scope of the (Quranic) principle "enjoining the good and forbidding the evil", an autonomous ministry independent of the government will be set up, God willing. Through this ministry, we will fight corruption; we will eradicate prostitution, reform the media, radio and television, the cinema, all of which must adopt an Islamic form. Propagation must be Islamic, likewise the ministries, and laws must be Islamic laws. We will enforce punishment code of Islam and we will not be concerned whether the West likes it or not.

The West had humiliated us, crushed our morale and made us Westernized. We will eradicate this Westernization; together with the Iranian nation and its support, we will erase all traces of Westernization, all its corrupt vestiges—not its civilized aspects—all its corrupt morals, all contemptible Western songs. We will create a "Mohammedan" country. Our

flag should not be the monarchical flag; the emblems of Iran should not be the monarchical one; they should be Islamic. The despicable “lion and sun” emblem should be removed from all ministries and offices. The banner should be Islam. The remnants of the *taghut* should be effaced. All these are vestiges of the *taghut*; this crown is a symbol of the *taghut*. Islam must be our emblem.

Undermining the government and the army will be undermining Islam

Gentlemen, be vigilant! O government, be vigilant! O nation, be vigilant! Do not let them (regime’s agents) drag you back to the previous situation. This issue must be resolved right now. Of course, we need to exercise caution and it will be slow but we will begin it. We will commence it. We will, of course, give the government a grace period; we have to give it a certain amount of time. Do not listen to this tittle-tattle going about questioning (the government) “What has happened? What have you accomplished? What will happen?” These words are meant to undermine our government. The enervation of the government means the enervation of Islam. The government is an Islamic one. A debilitated army means a weakened Islam. Do not let undermine them. Certainly all places such as offices and ministries will be purged and the traitors and thieves will leave. But not all of them are traitors; the trustworthy ones will remain; they are dear (to us.)

Many of the elderly people of Iran and some of the younger ones remember the fifty-odd years—or perhaps twenty years that almost all of you remember—during which the Iranian nation endured all the difficulties until its patience snapped. Give the government some time to carry out its affairs. Of course, some appointments have not been right but the mistakes have not been deliberately made. The government will not commit this mistake intentionally. Some of the appointments have been made wrongly. Likewise, the chief of staff and the army headquarters will not commit any treason on purpose or appoint a traitor (to a post) deliberately. Mistakes are possible. So, whenever you spot any mistakes, point them out. Do not weaken them. Those who are saying that you must undermine the government or engage in propaganda to enervate (the government) are traitors. They wish to enfeeble the government and the military so that they can re-establish another organization to push everything back to square one. Be alert!

The nation's ideal: An "Islamic Republic"

We will resist until our last breath. I have devoted these last couple of years of my life to you. I want you, the nation, to safeguard this movement until the establishment of a just Islamic government. Up until now, you have said (in your slogans) that this movement will go on until the death of so and so.¹ Now, you should say, "This movement will go on until the establishment of an Islamic government." What the nation wants is an Islamic republic; not merely a republic; nor does it want a democratic republic or a democratic Islamic republic. It wants an Islamic republic.

What I want of you, the Iranian nation, is to be vigilant; do not let the blood shed by your beloved ones be in vain. Do not fear the word "democratic" or be afraid that it will be expunged. This from is a Western notion and we do not want a Western form (of government). We approve of Western civilization but not its corruption. Those who shed their blood are the masses; those who sacrificed their young sons are the masses. A clique from abroad, the aristocrats and the affluent sat (comfortably in their homes) while you gave your blood and sacrificed your young ones and your homes set ablaze. It will be as desired by you not what those who came from Europe and abroad want; not what the rich and the aristocrats want or what the legal experts want. What you want is what will be set up. Those who gave their lives must be heard; their opinion must be adhered to

A warning to newspapers

Newspapers should reform themselves. They should not betray Islam and the Muslims. Do not render in vain the blood shed by the oppressed people. They should not reflect adverse propaganda; they should thwart conspiracies, but people are free to cast their votes. When the referendum is announced, I shall vote for a republic, an Islamic republic. Anyone who follows Islam must want an Islamic republic. However, people are free to cast their votes and say that they want a monarchical regime or the return of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi. They are free (to say so); or, say that they want a Western-oriented regime or a republic, but not an Islamic one.

Freedom to vote in Islam

We should ask that person who says there should be a republic, but not Islam, what he knows and has seen of Islam. What evil have you seen in Islam? He should be told that it was Islam, not the people, which uprooted

¹ It refers to the slogan of the public at the height of the Islamic Revolution, "Until the Shah's death, the movement will go on!"

the *taghut*; it was faith, not you or I, which overthrew the *taghut*! What bad thing have you seen in Islam? Those who say they want a democratic republic, that is, a Western kind of republic, what bad aspects have you seen in Islam? What do you know of Islam? Islam guarantees freedom, independence and justice. In Islam, there was no difference between the head of the country and a peasant. In fact, the former was entitled to the use of material things less than the latter. Freedom to vote has always been part of Islam even at its inception, not only during the time of the Imams, may God's peace be upon them, but also at the time of the Prophet. People were free to express what they wanted to say or to discuss issues. Anybody who has an argument to put forward regarding freedom of expression has nothing to fear, but we will not consent to any conspiratorial moves. These (the opposition) do not have any (substantial) thing to say; they just want to plot (against Islam). We invited them to come to the television station and express what they want and we would debate (the issue). So far, nobody has stepped forward.

Qum's being an ideal

I thank the Iranian nation, my fellow countrymen and the people of Qum for their display of affection. I had said before that knowledge issue forth from Qum and power emerged from Qum. Qum was a model, and I am honored that I am here. I was away from you for a little more than fifteen years, but my heart was here and I was with you (in spirit). You, the honorable and chaste youth have become paragons for everyone. Thanks God, the entire nation throughout the land shouted out in unison. The divine power defeated the *taghut*. It was this divine power that destroyed, and will destroy, the superpowers. We will no longer allow the superpowers to interfere in the country's affairs.

The clergymen are the revivers of Islam

Shun differences. The secret of our victory was unity and solidarity. Laud the theological schools. Do not listen to the words of the people who want to separate you from theological circles, and the Religious Reference Authorities. These people have ulterior motives. These theological centers have preserved Islam until now. Had it not been for the clergymen, there would not be anything of Islam. What has kept Islam alive, during these dark times and bleak period is the presence of the clergymen. Support them.

All theological centers everywhere must be vigilant. This is not the time for theological centers to act the way they used to. The previous situation

was one thing and the present situation is another. Theology schools should be vigilant. Piety! Piety! Keep piety always in your mind. Learned people, students of the divine sciences, be pious, edify yourselves and strive to overcome the self! An (Islamic) crusader can rule a nation with just the power of the self. Endeavor and purge ...your theological schools. Everybody must purify himself. The entire nation is duty bound to purify itself.

Islam: human-building school

The Islamic school of thought is a school of edification. The Quran is a book that builds man; rely upon the Quran. Learn from the sublime teachings of Islam. Islam builds human beings. This is why the foreigners and superpowers are afraid of it. They are afraid of its people, so they lambasted Islam because it is a school that builds human beings. They are afraid of a person and so they subdue the schools and universities. Let this place be the center for the development of human beings! One man can rectify a nation. The Messenger of God was a single individual, a perfect human being and could edify one world. And one corrupt individual can corrupt a nation. One certain Muhammad Rida Pahlavi was dragging the nation toward corruption. May the Exalted God grant victory to all of you. May the Exalted God fortify Islam. May the Exalted God keep this movement alive. May the Exalted God preserve this Islamic power. May the Exalted God grant the Religious Reference Authorities and the *ulama* honor and grandeur. May the Exalted God grant our nation courage. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Decree

Date: March 2, 1979 [Esfand 11, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Abstaining from the consumption of frozen imported meat

Addressee: Mahdi Bazargan

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Prime Minister, may God always assist you:

It is necessary that you instruct the concerned officials to positively stop the import and consumption of frozen meat and discard any meat of this kind because it is not clean according to Islam and is religiously prohibited. The people do not have any right to consume it as food, but the farmers can utilize it as fertilizer.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: March 2, 1979 [Esfand 11, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 3, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Faydiyyah Theology School, Qum

Subject: The root of internal discord

Audience: Representatives of the *ulama*, theology students and the various strata of the people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Arrogance: cause of defeat

Up to now, I had not heard his statements; and it is a cause of shame for all of us. I hope that all our representatives agree with us. I would like to point out one thing and that is I do not accept such exaggerated statements² said about me. I am a servant of you all and the issue has nothing to do with being a leader or not. It is the issue of the movement and being together in united ranks that count. He has spoken well but has gone somewhat to extremes regarding myself. When one is eulogized, especially right at his face, he might believe it and become negligent (of the truth), and this may lead to a catastrophe. I hope that all the gentlemen will pay heed to this point that while it was a sublime and sacred movement, the likes of which we can never find and one with very few casualties but which reaped great results, and in a matter of a few hours, uprooted this sinister regime, we should not grow arrogant. Arrogance can cause defeat. We must all be slaves (of God) and know that everything is from God.

All-embracing nature of the movement: a special blessing from God

At the time, I was witnessing that this movement had become public and had engulfed all the strata of the nation to such an extent that a child with a pacifier in its mouth would take it out and shout slogans. This was not confined to just one stratum of people but had engulfed all strata and had exceeded all bounds. I was becoming hopeful about the fact that it was not an issue of whether human beings were able to achieve something, it was not a question of being accomplished by leadership, or that the people were able to

¹ In the 22-volume *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it was recorded as Esfand 16, 1357 AHS [March 7, 1979], and in the new edition of *Sahifeh-ye Nur* as Esfand 15, 1357 AHS [March 6, 1979], which is not correct according to media report.

² Referring to the statements eulogizing (the Imam) delivered by a theology student.

do so; rather it was an issue of a divine nature. It was the will of the Exalted and Blessed God that things turned out this way that all strata of the nation found unity of expression and pursued one goal: a unified goal and slogan. I became hopeful.

The enemies' fear of the Imam's return to Iran

At the time when I was undergoing hardships and was being assailed and threatened from all sides; from America and Iran, and they wanted to obstruct me from returning to Iran, they concocted that plot. But thanks God, their plot was thwarted. At that time if I had not become certain I would have supposed that the situation was somehow extraordinary, and it was so. Thus, all these threats and explanations made by Iran through the French government and America through various means strengthened the thought in my mind that they were hatching plots. They had developed this great fear in their hearts regarding my going back to Iran and wanted to delay it. (They were saying) "It is still premature; don't go!" They rather gave me a pat on the back as if foreseeing the expediency (for me not to go.) But I realized that the enemies did not care for our interests; it was their own interests they were concerned about! When I understood this, I decided that I would no longer demur about going and I would have to go back (to Iran). Our colleagues and friends were also saying that the time for my return was not ripe, but even these words of insistence made me realize that it was not a premature (move); I had to go then! They were scheming to pool all their forces and a conspiracy was brewing. And here, too, when I arrived, some of the gentlemen were wishing I had not come, saying it was a bit too soon and that I should have delayed it a bit more. But I was of the belief that it was not soon and it was not. Had we given them time and had I postponed my return; had we put off our return until now, they would have carried out their activities and executed their plots. They would have never allowed us to do anything until the end (of the struggle). Perhaps, they would not have let us reach up to this stage. But based on what they were doing and saying, I became certain that they were up to something. My colleagues and companions would tell me it would have been better if I had delayed my return, but I said I could not delay it because these were enemies who were telling us not to go. If they had not said such things, it would have been a different matter. But these were our enemies who were telling me not to go; that it was premature to do so. It was early for them, but they were saying that it was premature of us to go. Because of all this, I came.

The enemies are lurking

Thanks God, up to now we have made such outstanding progress that this movement has been singled out as a paragon among all other movements that have taken place throughout the course of history. It was a movement, in which all strata of people took part. I do not think that such a movement wherein a small boy would raise the same slogan as that of the old and young has ever materialized in the history of movements. There has never been such a movement that has advanced its cause with bare hands against an awesome power backed by superpowers. This, too, is a divine mystery. We should not become arrogant as if we did it. This (victory) was achieved through God's sacred will.

Now we should buttress our ranks further. One class of people cannot repair all this destruction. We should move ahead all together! God forbid lethargy should not overtake us; the movement must not slacken, as the enemies are lurking and have not given up. There is oil and other resources in this country; there are many underground reserves. They will not forego all this (that easily). There are borders here, which have strategic significance for them. They will not give up this soon. But our nation should be vigilant. Our nation should not think that the issue is finished. The gentlemen (here) should not think that the issue is over and that we should shelve it. The matter is vital and, from now on, we should all be together.

Differences, the root of Islam's defeat

Our publicity campaigns should be stronger than before. People from all walks of life and their ranks should be closer to one another; we should close ranks and lessen difference. I am sorry to hear that there is discord in some cities. What is the discord about? Why should differences arise? Those who sow seeds of discord obviously do not have an appreciation of Islam. This discord means the defeat of Islam!

If we differ with each other, Islam will be defeated. If people feel that there are differences among the clergy over material things, the material basis that Satan sows, or, if the people notice that the clergy and theology students differ due to their selfish whims, they will turn their backs on you. In religion there is no disparity; we share one religion and one Quran. If the people do turn their backs on you, it will cause defeat and your defeat is Islam's defeat. Your responsibility is a heavy one, Sir! You should invite people through your actions and morals.

You are the people's guide. You should be their beacon; you should be their light. Purify yourselves. Purge your selves of the love for this world,

which is the axis of sins; all sins spring from the love of this world, from the love of fame; exorcise all these desires from your heart; kill this desire. Be alive in an Islamic way of life; a divine course of life. Be a man of God; be united and make your ranks one.

The enemies are lying in wait for you and the nation. Now, they have understood that the unity that emerged in Iran caused their defeat. They are intending to intensify their plots because they have understood the unity among us. They have tasted the torture it brings! Now, they intend to disperse, divide and segregate and separate you from the other segments of the society; separate universities from Islamic universities—the university of the traditional sciences—and separate the modern generation and the intellectuals from you. This conspiracy has been carried out for the last 200-300 years and was designed to keep Iran fragmented in order to advance (their goals.) Study what has been written about this matter. Iran cannot be destroyed unless factions are destroyed; it cannot be vanquished unless you are divided.

The need for the clergy to be united

The clergy should all be together; they are the army of Imam of the Time. If, God forbid, a rift grows within your ranks, it is from Satan and out of selfish desires. And, if this rift is created, it will creep into the ranks of the nation and if this happens, those lurking will attack and uproot you. If they (enemies) predominate this time, not a single clergyman, intellectual, the enlightened people, the new generation or the old one will remain. They have understood it was through this unity that we went ahead and defeated the colonialists. But this defeat is only the beginning. If any rift creeps in, the Exalted and Blessed God will be displeased with you and the clergy. The clergy is the fountainhead of all affairs. If a rift is created then “a corrupt *Alim* will putrefy the world” and make it stink; the stench of this *Alim* will make the denizens of hell seek refuge in its flames. This stench emanates from the love of this world, of position and the desire to rule. Abstain from such things.

Islamic jurisprudence, edification and struggle

You, who are young, should edify yourselves because when you grow older and weaker, you cannot do so. Now your strength is great and the Satan in you is weak. When you become older, your strength will wane and the Satan in you will be stronger. At that time, you cannot do anything and you will be defeated. You have to purify yourselves now. Theology schools

should edify themselves. In the process of edification, pursue whatever field of learning you want to. We have the necessary jurisprudential principles. If the jurists are destroyed, Islam will be destroyed. We need jurists and should pursue jurisprudence. While doing so, you should be as the Imams (a) had been, as Hadrat Amir—may God's peace be upon him—had been; who while praying as he used to in that manner, while worshipping in that manner, held his sword in that manner; who, while pursuing knowledge and monotheism, held the *Nahj al-Balaghah* for us. Who, while warring and wielding his sword, while being pious, powerful and strong, was also a warrior. All these traits should be combined (in you).

The distortion of the true Islam

Islam has everything. The worst thing that foreign powers had done was to inculcate the idea that Islam concerned nothing but acts of worship as it is now in the Christian religion that they had transformed, thus becoming a metamorphosed creed. Christ's call could not have been limited to mere acts of worship and let the tyrants do as they wished! This could not have been so; the prophets could not have been so. These (religions) have undergone a metamorphosis. They had distorted Islam in our views and those of the ignorant people. They presented Islam in another form. These were stratagems they achieved through conspiracies and we believed that the clergy had nothing to do with politics! These were the colonialists' words: "The clergy do not have anything to do with politics." While we read in *Sasat al-Ibad*¹ in the Prayers for Congregation, that the Imam was involved in politics. So, how come when it comes to the clergy, they are not? Hadrat Amir ran a whole country; he was a politician of a country and now they are saying politics is no business of the clergy. This was an idea inculcated in the clergy's mind by the colonialists in order to separate them from the government and the nation. And the clergy believed it! The clergy would even argue with us saying what business was it of ours to get involved in politics and branded us "the political clergy"! And this (controversy) pushed us backward. The clergy is a paragon of Islam.

Islam has everything. The Quran is everything. It is a book that makes the righteous man; it builds the human being. The Quran has everything such as politics, jurisprudence, philosophy, etc. The human being is everything and the Quran should meet all his needs. Man is a wonder that is a microcosm, and the Quran is a wonder that administers human affairs in all the walks of life. While it creates a jurist, a sage or a philosopher, it

¹ The political leaders of God's slaves.

also creates swordsmen and warriors. The jurisprudent should also be a warrior and a swordsman, but at the same time should not lose his jurisprudential knowledge.

The army of God or the army of Satan?

Let it not be that you tell yourselves because it is the era of the movement, you should abandon education! This is wrong. Knowledge is everything. It encompasses all aspects. Hadrat Amir would wield his sword to seek knowledge, establish monotheism, and understand religious jurisprudence. Do not think that because we have entered politics, we should forgo educational issues. You, the youth, should establish jurisprudence; you should establish the science of jurisprudential understanding within yourselves. You should be a jurisprudent; it is a jurisprudent that can make things happen. But you should be an edified jurist, an edified student, an edified human being and an edified nation of religion. Everybody should edify himself and wage a holy war against the self and you (the *ulama* and theology students) should be in the vanguard. You, who are the army of God, should carry out God's commands. To be the army of God means carrying out God's commands in the same way that a soldier carries out his brigadier's command or in his general's command. You are God's army and should obey His commandments. If you transgress His orders, then you are not of His army. Whatever group there is, is either of God's army or Satan's army. If your thoughts are directed toward this world, you are of Satan's army; if it is the truth of the Exalted God you are seeking, and then you are of the army of God.

The *Zil-Allah* (shadow of God): criterion to distinguish between the truth and falsehood

This is what the *Zil-Allah* is. The monarch is the *Zil-Allah* (that is, the shadow of God.) If he digresses from the (right) path, he becomes the shadow of Satan. The *Zil* is a shadow; everything it has emanates from the object that casts it; it has nothing of its own. The *Zil* of God is one whose every move is in obeisance to God's commands just like a shadow, which is nothing by itself. The shadow of the *Zil* of God is devoid of any movement of its own. Its movement depends on whatever moves the object makes; whatever moves the object makes, the shadow follows suit. The Commander of the Faithful was a *Zil-Allah*; the great Prophet was a *Zil-Allah*, who did not have any movement of his own. Whatever there is, it is from God. These (the enemies) are the *Zil-Shaytan* (shadow of Satan)! These kings who would say

they were *Zil-Allah* were actually *Zil-Shaytan*. The *Zil-Allah* is our criterion to determine whether a king is a righteous one or not. It is our criterion to understand whether a king is a true one or a false one. If he acts according to his own will, he is unrighteous; if he acts according to God's commands, he is a *Zil-Allah*; otherwise he is the shadow of Satan.

The army of God, which you have chosen for yourselves or, has been chosen for you, is the same way. If God commands you to sit down, you sit down; if He tells you to rise, then you rise. If you abide by God's command, you are of the army of God. However, if God commands you to do something and you transgress, this transgression emanates from Satan and the extent to which you have transgressed is the extent to which you lose. One day he sees that none of those men's actions had been for God; that is, all of his deeds had been for Satan: a human being in appearance but a Satan in reality. And when he goes to that place (i.e., hell) he will appear in the likeness of Satan.

Jurisprudents are the sentinels of Islam

Gentlemen, endeavor in the path of self-edification, in strengthening the Islamic laws and ordinances and in strengthening and expanding Islamic jurisprudence; our jurisprudence is rich. There is nothing like your jurisprudence in the world. Make this rich jurisprudence flourish. But while you are a jurisprudent, do not sever your political wing. Contemplate, get involved and intervene in the affairs. We cannot say, "I am a jurisprudent and so, I have nothing to do with other issues." You are a jurisprudent but you must be involved in issues, you must be involved with people's destinies. You are the sentinels of Islam and you must be on guard. May God grant all of you success. May God keep us under your protection.

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

Speech

Date: March 2, 1979 [Esfand 11, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Fifty years of Pahlavi family's crimes

Audience: A group of clergy; a group of Iranian residents and selected members of the Red Crescent Society in the United Arab Emirates

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

Torturers: Israel's protégés

I would like to thank the gentlemen for coming here and putting up with the inconveniences to commiserate with me and express their sympathy with the nation. I pray to the Exalted and Blessed God for everybody's health. You know how much suffering the nation has undergone during the fifty odd years of this (Pahlavi) family's rule of oppression and injustice, which had caused it to lose its freedom and the country to be shorn of its independence. The heads of the nation, various social classes, clergy, intellectuals, academicians, merchants all underwent hardships and adversities. How many people in prisons have lost their lives under the most atrocious forms of torture, the horror of which we cannot even imagine? They had brought torture specialists from Israel to train torturers here to inflict torture! As it had been relayed to us, the legs of some clergymen had been sawed off; some others had been made to lie on a metal plate and electricity passed through their bodies and were burned...! Stories of this sort have been relayed to us, but other discoveries to be made later will make us understand what (torturous) days these ill-fated ones and this nation had gone through.

Effects of the Aryamehr culture and civilization

On the other hand, they (regime) had pushed the country backward in the name of the "great civilization". Our culture is a colonial one that does not allow the growth and education of our children. Despite nearly seventy years of having a school system and thirty odd years or more of having universities, if anyone wants to have his tonsils removed, they are told to go to London to be operated! If, for instance, someone complains of a chest pain or any other illnesses, he should go abroad! It is because they never allowed the youth to grow and get educated. In the course of my journey, when I went to Paris, people from different places would come to see me. These included

400 Iranians residing in Germany, who apparently were sent there to study in the field of atomic energy. They complained that, firstly, they were not allowed to learn the existing technology properly and, secondly, that it would be to the detriment of Iran because when oil resources were depleted, this would also be finished! It (atomic energy) would replace oil and if it were erected now, it would be exhausted before oil was exhausted. Therefore, it is deleterious to Iran, not to mention the human damage it might incur for the Iranian nation. So they did not let these students get properly educated. What the foreign powers wanted was whatever that would be harmful for our country.

You know that they (Pahlavi regime) destroyed our agriculture, so that now we depend on foreign countries for everything we need. They fully destroyed our animal husbandry. They gave or rented out our pastureland to foreigners. They “nationalized” our jungles; they (the Pahlavi regime) took away the nation’s right to use them and gave them to foreigners. Today, every place in this country you point your finger at is in ruins. They took away whatever we had and fled, leaving a devastated country for us. Now, our government is heir to a pile of debris in which everything has been smashed to smithereens. We should build it from its foundation.

The plunder of the Iranian nation’s wealth

Their propaganda was so intensive that the Gulf countries believed that if the Shah were gone, the world would turn topsy-turvy! This belief has also found currency in Iran. Later, they will understand what this family has done to our nation. This family plundered and looted all the treasures of the nation. During Rida Shah’s time, they (Pahlavis) filled suitcases with jewels, took them to a ship, and sailed off. In the middle of the sea, a small boat came and Rida Shah was put into it; the ship sailed on to Britain with all the jewels! This took place during his time.

During the regime of this one (Shah), everything was packed and was carted off even before he fled. They took all the jewels, looted almost everything, and went away. Oil, which is the most precious resource of this country, the wealth that the future generations should utilize, has been inordinately extracted and had this man (Shah) stayed in power for another twenty years, it would have been exhausted. He himself used to say that our oil would last no more than twenty odd years¹! It is because they had opened the pipes and profusely gave the oil to foreigners. What did he get in return?

¹ “...Based on estimates, Iran’s oil resource will be depleted between twenty to thirty years...”
Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, *Toward the Great Civilization*, p. 90.

For America, an outstanding example of those foreigners to whom oil was gifted and which was supposed to give us arms in exchange, they built a military base. But the Americans did not give us arms! That is, the truth of the matter was they did give us weapons in exchange for the oil but ones we could not use! Today we cannot find anyone who can use those arms. All those arms were kept in the military base and they built a large number of bases, so that, in case America started a war with the USSR, Iran could be used as its base. They took our oil to serve their interests and in exchange, they got something that would also be to their interests! Both ways they pocketed the benefits. Such were the crimes they had committed against the country.

A dead-end for the Shah

They say that in the Gulf there are people, who are avid supporters of the Shah. Now, they should worship his decomposing bones! These traitors should prostrate before his decayed bones. Now, he is but decaying bones that neither America nor Rabat,¹ where he is, will accept. They are saying that they do not recognize him as king and that he cannot remain there. He cannot even go to Britain, which does not acknowledge him, either. Everybody is denying him entry. He had better go to the Gulf and join his cronies!

We are indebted to the deprived class for victory

Well, you must know that they had committed such actions. Our nation, the brave nation of Iran, reached the end of its tether and armed with the power of Islam and faith, it rebelled and, with the same power of faith, succeeded. We are indebted to the young, the lower' class of young people, and the deprived youth, for this movement, advancement and victory. These youth took this struggle to fruition and made this movement successful. We should thank them. Anyway, you should advise those who had forgone the struggle in your locality. (Tell them that) no matter how loud they shout "Shah!" there is no longer a Shah for whom you should cry out! Return to the fold of Islam. What are useful to us are Islam and Islamic truths. Islam is the guardian of all of our actions. It makes you prosperous and prepares the world and the afterlife.

May God grant you all success. I thank you once again for coming. I now feel indisposed I cannot continue talking. I do not feel well. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

¹ The capital of Morocco.

Speech

Date: March 2, 1979 [Esfand 11, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Foreign conspiracy to undermine Islam and Islamic leaders

Audience: Abul-Ala Mawdudi¹ (founder of the Jamaat Islami) and company

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Foreign propaganda against Islam

I would like to thank the gentlemen for their kindness and the trouble they have taken of coming here to congratulate the Iranian nation.

Foreign agents tarnished the image of Islam in the world. Those who wanted to loot the Muslims' resources made efforts to divest Islam of its power and strove to deface Islam and other religions, saying that these religions were created by capitalists and power-mongers, who considered them as the opium of the masses, to induce a state of lethargy among the masses of people. Their propaganda reached levels that among Muslims, especially the young, who were ignorant of the truth about Islam and did not know anything about it, were deceived and this deception led them to be inclined toward deviated ideologies. This did not suffice and foreign powers went on to introduce Islamic leaders as supporters of the powerful and the rich, making them lose their credibility in their own community, and in the eyes of the youth, thereby divesting them of their leadership. Nevertheless, this adverse propaganda has had an impact on the Islamic societies. On the other hand, they exerted efforts in a bid to create disparity among Muslims and Islamic governments and nations through the extant racial and regional differences. And since Muslim leaders were negligent of, or they intentionally neglected this issue, a disparity consequently emerged between nations and between governments that prompted foreign powers to take advantage of Islamic countries up to the hilt with the Muslims not being able to stand up to them.

It is incumbent upon Muslims to present Islam in its true form to human societies. If Islam is put forth in its true form, everybody will be drawn to it. They (foreign powers) presented Islam in a distorted form and confined it within the walls of the mosque and schools of traditional sciences, which had been cooped up in some Islamic books. All these have been perpetrated

¹ Abu'l-Ala Mawdudi: the outstanding Muslim thinker.

through adverse propaganda since hundred years ago, when the foreigners first set foot in Islamic countries. They concocted these stratagems by presenting Islam in a bad light causing Muslims to develop revulsion for it. Likewise, the clergy and religious leaders, who were to propagate and introduce Islam and make it progress, were so discredited in the eyes of the society during these many years, that a gap has arisen between the Islamic states, even in their own internal environment and between the university people and the clergy, between the bazaar and the offices, between the army and the nation, between the workers and employees. They coercively pitted them against each other. Through extensive propaganda, they aggravated this discord and inculcated these differences among the people in order to take advantage of them.

We should all be of the Party of God

We, the Muslims, are duty-bound to present Islam to the world as it really is. We should all be under one party and that is, the "Party of God". There should not be different parties or factions. The *ulama* of each nation should enlighten its people regarding the conspiracies that foreigners and the colonialists have hatched to sow discord. It is binding on all religious leaders to carry out this duty. Throughout history our nation has been under the yoke of monarchical oppression, had recently become worse than before. And while the nation was under the yoke of oppressors and plunderers, who also divested it of its independence, other governments interfered in the country's affairs. The nation was subjected to so much oppression, pillaging, treacheries and crimes that its endurance snapped and it realized that there was no value in a life of ignobility. A Muslim must not undergo a life of abjectness and adversity. Because of all this, the nation gallantly staged a divine uprising, which included people from all strata, and the entire nation became a single party. Barefooted and armed with the power of faith and the assistance of the Exalted God, this divine party succeeded in triumphing over the great powers which were armed to the teeth with all sorts of weapons. It was this divine power of God and faith that made this nation succeed and gain victory. Now, we are afflicted with problems they (enemies) have created for us. The former Shah reduced this country to ruins and impoverished us in all respects. But with reliance upon the Exalted and Blessed God, we will overcome all the difficulties. We hope all Islamic nations will learn a lesson from the brave Iranian nation and emancipate themselves from the yoke of oppression and tyranny. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to grant you all success.

Statements

Time/Date: Friday, 7:30 pm, March 2, 1979 [Esfand 11, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah Theology School Library, Qum

Subject: Housing problems of the people

Audience: An *Ittiilaat* newspaper reporter

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

The housing problems should be solved as soon as possible for the homeless and impoverished people of Iran. Each family should be provided with a home it needs. Water and electricity should be free for the poor and the have-nots.

I believe that the true revolutionaries, that is, those great and crushing forces of this Revolution, were of the underprivileged class. Those who have given their lives and have brought victory to this Revolution with the power of true faith and unwavering belief were the barefooted people, who have never tasted an aristocratic and privileged life.

I have ordered that the Shah's property, whether in Iran or abroad, should be divided after sequestration only among the indigent and have-nots and the money be expended on housing construction and other amenities for the welfare of these people.

Decree

Date: March 3, 1979 [Esfand 12, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatch of a representative to look into the affairs of committees of Takistan, Abgarm, Avaj and Buyin Zahra

Addressee: Qudratullah Alikhani

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 4, 1399 AH

Honorable Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Qudrat Alikhani, may his graces last:

It is necessary that you, accompanied by Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Ibrahim Amiri—may his favors last—proceed to Takistan, Abgarm, Avaj and Buyin Zahra and the surrounding villages and hamlets to closely investigate and set right the affairs of the committees there, and eliminate any difficulties that may there be. You must also invite them to be united and in agreement with one another, and caution them against differences and discord. Please convey this advice to all of them. I implore the Exalted God to give you continued successes.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: March 4, 1979 [Esfand 13, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah Theology School, Qum

Subject: Women from the Islamic point of view

Audience: Thousands of women from Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The women shoulder to shoulder with men in the Revolution

Endless praise be upon you, the women of Iran! Salutations to you, the respectable women! God's blessings be upon you, the lion-hearted women, whose lofty endeavors emancipated Islam from foreign captivity! The peace of the Exalted and Blessed God be upon the Iranian nation and its women and men! You, the brave women of Iran, shoulder to shoulder with men, have insured victory for Islam. I thank all the women of Iran, all the ladies of Iran and Qum. May God be pleased with you. May the Imam of the Time be delighted with you. Together with your little children, you took to the streets and supported Islam. I used to listen to news about Qum and other cities. I heard the news about Chaharmardan.¹ I take pride in these instances of bravery. The women of Iran, Qum and other cities are in the vanguard of this victory. They inspired the men. Our men are indebted to your bravery; you lion-hearted women. I am indebted to both the respectable men and women.

Islam's favor upon women

Islam holds you, the women, in high esteem. At the advent of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula, the women had lost their dignity before the men. Islam elevated their position and ascribed them honor; Islam made them equal with men. The favors that Islam confers upon the women are more than it does upon men. Men have a right over the nation, but women have more. Women raise brave men in their laps. The glorious Quran builds up human beings and the women do likewise. The women's duty is to build human. If the nations are divested of these human-building women, they will be defeated and plunged into decadence; they will be defeated and deteriorate. The women strengthen and make men brave. Women fought in wars alongside the men in the early days of Islam. The status of women is lofty,

¹ One of the old districts of Qum, where the old and the young, the children and the adult put a lot of pressure on martial law agents during the course of the Revolution.

supreme and towering. We witnessed, and are witnessing, that, not only were the respectable women shoulder to shoulder with the men, but they also stood with them in the battlegrounds. They lost their children and youth and they resisted bravely. We want the women to remain in their sublime status of humanity, not to become a plaything in the hands of contemptible men.

Women's right to be involved in all matters from the Islamic point of view

The woman should have a hand in determining her destiny. Women in an Islamic republic should vote. In the same way that men have the right to vote, women, too, have that right. They (regime) debased women in these recent times. One of the greatest treacheries committed against the nation was the depletion of our human resources, arresting the growth of youthful and feminine power and making our women decadent. They betrayed our nation. They reduced our women into mere playthings and transformed them into dolls. Our women were combatants, but they wanted them to become ill-famed; God willed otherwise! They subjected the women's status to effrontery. They wanted women to be tossed from hand to hand like an object or a commodity. Islam wants women to get involved in all affairs as men do. Women should guard against corruption in the same way as men do. Women should not be playthings in the hands of degenerate youth. Women should not allow their status to be sullied, and God forbid, come out into the society all made up as to look degenerate to people. Women should be human and pious. They are generous and have free will just like the men.

Women, the trainers of human beings

God created you generous and free. Just as God ordained the laws that limit men's actions so that they do not transgress the bounds that would open the door to corruption, He did it in the case of the women. Everything is for your own good. All Islamic laws are for the good of the society. Those who want women to be playthings in the hands of depraved men and youth are traitors. Women should not fall victim to deception. They should not think that a woman's status dictates that she should come out (into the society) all made up, naked and without a head cover! This does not conform to a woman's station. This is like coming out as made-up dolls, which is unbecoming of women. A woman should be brave and be involved in the country's major affairs. Women build and train human beings.

Necessity of the participation of women and men in reconstruction

May God protect you, the women of Iran and Qum from the perils posed by unscrupulous human beings who are actually beasts. Just as you had been involved and had a share in the movements, particularly this movement, and in this victory, now also you must get involved (in affairs) and if the need arises, start a movement and stage an uprising. God willing, the country is yours. Hands severed the foreign powers, bribe-takers and plunderers fled and the country is now yours (to run). You must reconstruct the country. The entire Iranian nation, both men and women, must rebuild the devastation left with us. Men cannot do all this alone; men and women together should rebuild these ruins.

Women's right to procure agency for divorce

Women who want to get married can have discretionary rights from the day of marriage, as long as they are not contrary to religious law or their dignity. Islam grants women the right to set conditions and obtain a divorce if the man (she marries) turns out to be morally corrupt and treats her badly, or is ill tempered. If Islam has set certain limitations for men and women, it is for their own good. All Islamic laws, whether for man's development or limitation, are all for you and your own good. In the same way that the right to divorce has been given to men, it has also granted women the right to procure agency and set the conditions for divorce, that is, if the man maltreats them, to be stipulated at the time of marriage. And if the woman has stipulated this condition, it cannot be overruled. If the condition is stipulated at the time of marriage, the man cannot limit the woman or treat her harshly. If a man maltreats his wife, the Islamic government can debar him and if he does not abide (by its ruling), he will be chastised and flogged. And still, if he does not concede, a religious *mujtahid*¹ can order a divorce.

May God confer upon you honor, health, prosperity, absolute faith, correct upbringing and a proper culture. May God give you all these blessings. Peace be upon you, women and dear, respectable ladies!

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

Decree

Date: March 4, 1979 [Esfand 13, 1357 AHS /Rabi ath-Thani 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Travel assignment to Ardibil, Dashtemuqan, Mishkinshahr and setting up revolutionary committees in those areas

Addressee: Bahauddin Allamal-Huda

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 5, 1399 AH

Hujjat al-Islam Aqah Shaykh Bahauddin Allamal-Huda, may his graces last:

In order to attend to the affairs of the Ardebil committee, and the agriculture and industry of Dasht-e Muqan and districts, as well as Parsabad and Mishkinshahr regions, it is necessary for you to proceed to those places and record all the property that is there such as machinery and other equipment and look into their maintenance. Also, call the local people to unity and solidarity and prevent any disorder and confusion. Do not allow people's property, and lands to be encroached upon that might, God forbid, constitute an oppressive act. Set up individual committees in every locality if the need arises so the local matters are thereby sorted out.

I implore the Exalted God to give you continued success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 4, 1979 [Esfand 13, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Mission for the return to Iqlid of Sayyid Muhammad Baqir AbTaHi

Addressee: People of Iqlid, Fars

In His Most Exalted Name

To the respectable people of Iqlid, Fars—may God assist them:

The letter of the respectable gentlemen bearing numerous signatures has been received. Regarding the return of Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad Baqir AbTaHi, may his blessings last, we have negotiated and decided that, God willing, he will soon return to that district and resume his religious activities. It is hoped that the respectable gentlemen will cooperate with him and perform their heavy responsibility during this critical period in the best possible way while keeping their unity and solidarity. I implore the Exalted God to give everybody continued success. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 4, 1979 [Esfand 13, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatch of Mr. Sayyid Abul-Hasan Husayni to Minudasht

Addressees: People of Minudasht

In His Most Exalted Name

Respectable people of Minudasht, may God assist them:

The letter of the respectable gentlemen bearing numerous signatures has been received. The dispatch of Mr. Aqa Sayyid Abul-Hasan Husayni has been discussed with Dr. Yazdi¹ and it has been recommended that Mr. Husayni proceed there in the near future, God willing. It is expected that with the cooperation and assistance of the respectable gentlemen, he will perform his assigned duties in the best possible way. I implore the Exalted God to give everybody continued successes. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 5, 1399 AH

¹ Ibrahim Yazdi, (provisional government) deputy prime minister in the Revolution's plans.

Message

Date: March 5, 1979 [Esfand 14, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of ambassadors and embassy staff by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Addressees: Iranian students residing abroad

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1399 AH

I hereby express my gratitude to all the respectable gentlemen and dear students residing abroad, who took efforts in protecting embassy documents during the rule of the former tyrant government. Now with the coming to power of Mr. Bazargan's Provisional Islamic Government, it is necessary that the appointment of ambassadors and other embassy staff be carried out under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the aforementioned government, and that the respectable gentlemen support them. In case of any mistakes, in the appointments, you may contact the Minister of Foreign Affairs¹ or me for rectifying them.

I implore the Exalted God to grant success to all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Karim Sanjabi.

Letter

Date: March 5, 1979 [Esfand 14, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Message conveying gratitude

Addressee: Abul-Ala Mawdudi, Lahore, Pakistan

In His Most Exalted Name

The venerable Mr. Abul-Ala Mawdudi, may the Exalted God grant him success:

Your telegram and letter have been received. I would like to thank you for expressing your kindness. I implore God the Exalted for the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: Before noon, March 5, 1979 [Esfand 14, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Continuing the crusade till the complete establishment of the Islamic Republic

Audience: A group of the Islamic revolutionary guards

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

I have always prayed for you, for all the strata of the nation, and the revolutionary guards, and will always do so, God willing. May God further brighten up these radiant faces with the light of His own beauty. May God bestow dignity and greatness upon you, the revolutionary guards. May God grant you prosperity and spiritual health in this world and resurrect you with His infinite graces and blessings in the other world.

The role of the youth in the Revolution's victory

You are from the youthful class of the society, you are of the masses of people, not of the high social class, which has squandered everything we had; you are not of those who fled or lived abroad and plundered the wealth of this nation. You are the youth, who were at the very core of the masses and the society and we are indebted to you. We are all indebted to Islam; it is not us who have done Islam any favors; Islam, as well as the Quran, has conferred this favor on us. But I am under your obligation. You the powerful youth, the pious youth, and the steadfast youth have earned this victory. After I had stayed in the school for a couple of days, I noticed photographs of some martyred youths, who are some of our martyrs, posted in the premises, and God knows what went on in my heart and how saddened and sorry I became. These were our own youth; they were my own children. These worthy youth were martyred for Islam. God will resurrect them with the Owner of Islam (the Holy Prophet).

We are distressed by these killings, by the savagery perpetrated by this iniquitous regime. However, we are thankful that our blood, the blood of our youth has been shed for Islam. Islam has had numerous martyrs of this kind; it has had many of these beloved ones. You, the youth, have served Islam as the youth of the early days of Islam had. Islam was being forgotten; it was

being annihilated and the Quran being crushed under the boots (of oppression). Your, the Iranian youth's and the nation's uprising, which was a divine uprising and a divine movement, revived the Quran and Islam. It gave Islam a new life.

Endeavoring to establish an Islamic republic

I hope that from now onwards, all of us will endeavor until we have established an Islamic republic in this country. And in the same way that we severed foreign hands (off our country), we should also not let them dominate us and we will never allow them to do so. We will not let superpower governments interfere in our country's destiny or our military forces, our culture, and economy. Gone are the days when they indisputably interfered in these affairs.

Today our nation is alive; our productive youths are alive and are standing firmly. They were the ones that proved that cannons and tanks are ineffective before the nation and faith. It was faith in God and in Islamic principles that rendered you victorious. My beloved ones! Strengthen your faith. Do not think that it was material power that did it. From the material point of view, their (enemies') power was millions of times stronger. Based on worldly criterion you should not have triumphed; with one single assault, they should have wiped you out. But all calculations made by the experts were proved wrong! They themselves admitted that this movement confuted all calculations. This victory proved all calculations wrong. Their calculations were materially based and worldly. A society, which lacked everything, that is, a society, which had nothing, no army, arms or organization, overcame an army, which was fully equipped and a superpower, which had everything. This matter is a spiritual one, not material. A materially based calculation is not right. Those who base their calculations on material and worldly affairs should come forth and explain on what basis this nation defeated the superpowers. Carter announced his support from the very beginning with so many clamors, with speeches and statements made one after another. Where are they who promised to do such and such and said that they would deliver arms and send their ships, some of which did enter our waters? They understood that the whole affair was not of a material nature. They should understand this. I do not know whether they understood or not. They should understand the fact that all superpowers supported Muhammad Rida, who himself had everything except humanity and dignity.

The secret of victory

Based on material and ordinary criteria, we should have been annihilated by a single onslaught. They (enemies) would have devoured us as one morsel. But with the power of faith and support from the Exalted and Blessed God, reliance upon the Imam of the Time—may God's peace be upon him—you triumphed. My brethren! Do not forget this secret of victory; the unity of expression that was created among all the ranks of the nation was a miracle. Nobody could have engendered it; it was a miracle. This phenomenon had a divine nature. It was a divine revelation, not the work of human beings. The secret of your victory was, firstly, brought about by your unwavering faith and, secondly, by the unity of expression. Safeguard these two attributes. Strengthen your faith. You are not a material being. Those who regard man as a material being consider man as an animal. You are a being that has a material attribute and higher than this, a spiritual one. You possess a holy spirit. You possess an abstract self,¹ which if placed at the service of Islam and the Exalted and Blessed God, your self will be purified, cleansed, and fortunate and no matter what happens that fortunate and purified self is fortunate, that is, prosperous in defeat and in death. The death of a human being, that is, a chaste human being for that matter, will be the commencement of his human life. In this world, we lead an animal life, a limited life. Man's eternal life belongs to the eternal world. If you purify your self, if you base your actions on the glorious Quran and Islamic decrees, if you make your morals compatible with the Quranic morals, if you edify your self, you will have no fear of anything. Dying will be easy and immaterial. That is why Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him, the master of all (faithful) said that he was more familiar with death than an infant with its mother's breast,² because he had understood what was in this world and what was beyond it. He understood what death meant. Death is life. Many of our people were martyred, but martyrs are alive. They are alive and find their sustenance in the presence of God.³ They are immortal. We beseech God to make us achieve martyrdom. Then in one instant, it will be eternal bliss. A moment's endeavor and eternal bliss ensues.

Divine destination

If you want to serve Islam and your nation, if you want your services to continue, if you want your services to be rewarded by the Exalted and

¹ The abstract self means that it is not bound by physical dimensions and quantities.

² *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 5.

³ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:169.

Blessed God, make your destination divine, take a step for God, dedicate your efforts to God, perform your duties as guards of God. You have made, and are making, enormous efforts. You have a right to Islam but you must strive, i.e., strive to edify the self. Like these vigils that our crusaders are keeping, you too supplicate to the Exalted and Blessed God in the dead of the night. Invoke God to bestow success upon you and the honor of martyrdom, to grant you honor. It is on martyrdom that your honor depends. Do not be afraid of anything. You, the masses, that is, these very same workers, artisans, merchants, office guilds and farmers make up the true masses of the nation; those who plundered and fled are not of the nation. Do not fear anything because the power of faith will prevail over all problems, God willing.

The extirpation of the 2,500-year-old regime by the nation

Of course, you know that it is a revolution. In addition, you should know that ever since this world was created there has never been any revolution that has triumphed so speedily and with just a few casualties. We have offered martyrs, many martyrs (to this cause), but, thanks God, Iran, compared to other revolutions in which millions had been killed and had incurred great losses and damage, with the assistance of Master of the Age, may God's peace be upon him, incurred few losses but reaped loads of benefits. What reward could be more precious than this? That is, in a matter of a few hours, you uprooted a 2,500-year-old autocratic regime whose roots had penetrated into the depths of the nation! Of course, the preliminary stages took a long time, but when the true uprising took its course and the regime wanted to launch a coup d'état (against the nation), you thwarted it in a matter of a few hours and everything (the bedrock of the monarchical regime) crumbled. They (regime) destroyed and laid the country to waste and then fled. Now, we have a devastated land on our hands. For fifty-odd years, you put up with this despotic rule, suppression and the degradation you had been subjected to. They held you in low esteem and never counted you as anything worthy. You have endured fifty-odd years of tribulations. Now you must bear up with (some more) for its reconstruction. Do not think that the government alone or one group from the government or nation can build all this devastation. This is a task for everyone, for the entire nation; everybody is duty-bound to do the job. Those who sometimes warble and asseverate, "What has happened?" and ask "why" repeatedly, want to sow seeds of discord. What do they mean by "What has happened?" What more do they expect? A nation has crushed all superpowers and they ask, "What has

happened?" a nation buried an oppressive establishment that ruled this country with tyranny for 2500 years, and they again ask, "What happened?" Should they ask, "What happened?"

The divine favor in the light of the nation's solidarity

Of course, we have numerous problems. Now, we have myriads of problems, but everyone should join hands to find a solution. I cannot do it (alone), nor can the clergy or the government or any other group but "God's hand is with the community."¹ The Exalted and Blessed God is with the community. If there is an agreement within the community in overcoming a difficulty, the Exalted and Blessed God will be its supporter. We felt this concern, and were enthralled by the fact that the Iranian community, who coalesced, had, and still has, God as its support. Do not act in a way that God's blessings be lessened, God forbid. Do not do anything that will cause anxiety to the Master of the Age. Do not differ from one another. Do not cause dispersion among yourselves. Converge together in a republic of Islam, an Islamic republic...I hope that with the realization of the Islamic Republic, and our success in establishing Islamic justice, our tribulations will be over; the difficulties of the employees, and the difficulties of the workers will be eliminated. We, the government and everybody are all planning to provide a good decent life for employees, the low-income stratum, the oppressed, who had been subjected to long years of suppression, the employees and workers in factories, the farmers and everyone.

Piety: secret of victory and superiority

Islam is for everyone. Islam originated from among the masses and it is at their service. It did not spring from the high social stratum. The great Prophet hailed from this humble group and staged an uprising. Likewise, his companions were from these low-ranking people, i.e., the third class. The higher class was the one against the Holy Prophet. He has risen from among this same mass and for the same multitude and same nation and he has brought religious decrees for the same nation: "*Verily, the most esteemed of you before Allah, are the most pious among you.*"² God the Blessed and Exalted does not view people through the class they belong to; whether they are from the higher class, or if they are a prime minister, His Imperial Majesty, a field marshal or the like. Such things are no criteria for God. Piety is what matters in Islam. Whosoever is pious, whosoever is more pious than

¹ *Sahih Tirmidhi*, chap. 3, p. 316.

² *Surah al-Hujurat* 49:13.

others, enjoys a higher regard by God. The civil servant who is pious as a civil servant, the prime minister who is pious as a prime minister—who has political piety—, the ministers who are pious and regard piety in what they do and are Godly, the president who is pious, they are all divine; they are of high esteem. If—may God forbid—no piety is at work, they are all regarded negative personages by God. The day piety takes place among the nation, then it is venerated and “*most esteemed*” before God; there are no exceptions to “*Verily, the most esteemed of you before Allah, are the most pious among you.*” The Holy Prophet was the most esteemed of the people just because he was the most pious among them. Amir al-Mu’minin was the most esteemed of the people just because he was the second most pious person after the Prophet. Heritage or relation matters not; piety matters. Have piety and you will overcome all problems. Be Godly and fear nothing. Rely on God and...fear nothing.

Defeat means nothing in logic of Islam

The logic now is as it was at the advent of Islam: we will rise to the Heaven either we kill or be killed. There is no defeat to this logic. It is not the logic of the world in which they go to the Hell or a worse place—if there is one!—in case they die. This is the logic of religion; the logic of Islam and Quran. There are no fears when there is piety; when one is Godly. No fears there are if people or the whole world turn their backs on us. That is because God is with you; and if—may God forbid—His favor is removed, it is no use if you had all the world on your side. All super powers supported this guy¹ but it was no use; also did all Arab states who are now saying such and such. Those who were his brothers and supporters, all turned their backs! All nations turned their backs on him. His own folks have turned their backs on him too. You think he is saved from the pest of his own family and folks now? The very folks drive him nuts. There will be no comfort for him anymore.

The cost of uprising against God

This is the cost paid by those who rise against God and His decrees; those who betray Islam, and the Muslims’ country. This is a simple consequence; there are worse ones. This guy’s Paradise is to stay in the world at any damned cost! The guy will not manage to repent. I do not say that he does not have to; I say he will not be able to. As the traditions relate, Hadrat Sajjad (a) taught Yazid how to repent. Imam Sajjad says that Hadrat

¹ The Shah.

Zaynab asked: “You taught it to him’?!” [Imam Sajjad answered,] He will not succeed to repent. One who kills an Imam¹ will not succeed in repentance. If he could repent in the right way, God would accept him, but he won’t succeed in that. That is because the heart so changes that one is not able to save it from the disposition, from the darkness, it has acquired. Just pray that no one becomes like this; that God does not seal away one’s heart; a sealing after which even he himself cannot do anything about.

May God grant all of you strength, health, steadfastness, and the honor of safeguarding the Revolution. However, from now on, too, we will need you. All of us need God. We need this (young) force. We need these productive youths all over Iran. You are the truthful guardians of Islam. You are like the youth of the early days of Islam. You saved Islam. From now on, also you must safeguard the Revolution so that it attains its ultimate fruition. May God grant success to all of you.

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

¹ Imam Husayn.

Statements

Date: March 5, 1979 [Esfand 14, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Muslims' responsibilities during contemporary times

Audience: Pakistan's minister plenipotentiary and Pakistani reporters

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

I would like to extend my greetings to the noble nation of Pakistan. May you have peace and long life. The defiled hands of the foreign (powers) have separated Muslims from one another; they sowed seeds of discord among us in order to reap great benefits and plunge our national and spiritual resources into the abyss of doom. This era is not the time for Muslims to sit idle and watch them (foreign powers) going on with their plundering. This is an era when Muslims must rise up and dissociate their country from the influence of foreign (powers). Muslims should struggle against foreigners all together in one unified rank, retrieve their trampled rights and sever the predacious hand of colonialism off their country. Islamic governments must be at the service of their nations, not at the service of the foreigners, God forbid.

Governments should learn a lesson from the fate of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi; turning away from Islam and turning to the aliens entails such a consequence.

I want the Pakistani government to accord more respect to its Shiah nation. A country with ten million Shiah Muslims must officially recognize their religion. They must respect all strata of the Muslim populace. I implore God for the grandeur of Islam and Muslims.

Speech

Date: March 6, 1979 [Esfand 15, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah School, Qum

Subject: America's role in separating the military from the nation

Audience: Personnel of the regiment and battalion stationed in Manzariyeh, Qum

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

America's wish to occupy Iran

(The Americans) had transformed the image of the military into something like criminals and made it a nuisance and something like this for the people, such that if they (America) told it to do such and such, the military would do as it was told. In this way, they estranged it from all and this was in their interests. The Americans wanted the Iranian nation to acquiesce to their bidding, to plunder our resources and make us dependent on them; they wished to make Iran a market (for their commodities) and pillage all it had. And to accomplish this they had no alternative but to separate the classes of people from one another: separate the military from the gendarmerie, the gendarmerie from the police, the police from the people and the people from one another, and factions (pitted) against each other, thereby creating disparity among the people. If a hundred million people acted individually, they would not have been able to do anything.

The colonialists sense danger

Before this period, the foreigners had scientifically and intellectually figured out what would happen if the nation forged a unity; so, they took measures to hinder this (unity). Now they have sensed and seen with their own eyes how a united nation could thwart their plots and how no power is able to confront a (consolidated) nation. The nation was armed with nothing but they (colonial powers) had everything. When the nation's cries rang out, the army, gendarmerie, police, soldiers, and everybody gathered around it, except for a handful of individuals who had devoured a lot (of the nation's wealth). Then they became aware that this assembly of all forces, all united for Islam and for God, had become one divine force that nobody could ever crush. Then, they sensed the danger of losing their interests. So, what could they do? They had to do something to disperse them and segregate them. Now they are watching the nation from a distance with the mission of

accomplishing their plan to separate you from us and us from you and everybody from one another in order to achieve their motives. We should all be vigilant. With vigilance and awareness, we should take note how we can defeat the plots they are hatching. God willing, we should not allow them to carry out their plot not to let this country have peace. On the one hand, they sow seeds of discord and on the other; they infiltrate your ranks, the workers, farmers, and schools and carry out their propaganda activities. You must all be vigilant and take care not to let this conspiracy materialize; that is, do not let discord prevail among you; or for instance, let their propaganda affect you. Neutralize their propaganda. We should all unite and join hands to rebuild anew this confused and disorderly country, which has lost everything it had. Together we should all work for the country and Islam and be its guards and army. Together all of us will advance forward and, God willing, take this movement to fruition.

Claimants for human rights and defenders of criminals

Islamic tenets should be made known in foreign countries so that people understand what Islam is. They (foreigners) never let Islam be understood. They deceived our youth and did not let them understand Islam and its tenets; what laws God handed down to us and for what purpose. They did not let these tenets be understood. If we are given the opportunity to enforce these laws one by one, that is, Islam's political, economic and the rest of its decrees, then they will understand that their empty democracies bear no substance compared to Islam's true democracy. Then they can draw an analogy between their human rights defenders and advocates and those of Islam. Consider the fact that those who talk of human rights abroad, these groups that the great masterminds have formed for the deception (of the youth) did not utter a word all this time in which so many of the nation were killed and all this happened. Now that a few from among those confirmed by everybody, as being traitors, now that a few of those individuals, whom the nation and all groups acknowledged as traitors are about to be punished because of the treason they had committed, these advocates of human rights are raising a hue and cry in their defense. Telegrams (are sent to us) stating, "Do not do it!" Well, were those killed not human beings? Did they not have any rights? Human rights stipulate that if one person kills someone, he should be killed in retaliation. Now that someone that has committed murders for ten to twenty years or forced others to kill is executed, the human rights supporters raise a clamor. Even so, we are all brothers and have pledged allegiance to one another.

Striving to obtain independence and freedom

Together we should move forward until we reach our ultimate goal, so that, God willing, we will be able to take our movement to fruition and the country will be yours; we will not allow some master to be above us, or foment hostility among us from abroad. (We should) be independent, free, strong and powerful. God willing, you will be successful.

[One of those present: We are all united and our path is clear. From the very first day we, the soldiers, put on this uniform, we did so to sacrifice ourselves and be ready to face dangers for the people, who had supported us; it was the Imam that guided us. We are not separate from our brothers. As our brother soldier had said: “I will sacrifice myself for the people and the defense of my (country’s) borders.]

God willing, we will be at the service of our country, our Islam; all of us together must advance forward so that we can run this country: you from the aspect of the military and the borders, and the others in the domestic domain. All together, we will make this country an independent one. May God protect you all.

I have given instructions regarding the law enforcement forces, whether the army, gendarmerie or the police, regarding these individuals who are at the service of Islam, and, God willing, I will give these the instructions again.

Decree

Date: March 6, 1979 [Esfand 15, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Hujabr Yazdani's property

Addressee: Ali Hajtarkhani

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 7, 1399 AH

Mr. Ali Hajtarkhani, may God always assist him:

Accompanied by Messrs. Haj Asadullah Askar Owladi and Haj Habibullah Shaffiq, you are hereby given the mission to take control of and maintain any property, real estates, farmlands, animal husbandry installations, which belong to Hujabr Yazdani,¹ and to sell those liquid assets and convert them into cash to be deposited in the name of the three of you until the time a decision regarding this is made.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Hujabr Yazdani was a Baha'i capitalist and a Pahlavi crony, who fled the country before the victory of the Revolution.

Speech

Date: March 6, 1979 [Esfand 15, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah School, Qum

Subject: The clergy's duties in various situations, the referendum issue and the scourge of westernization and being afflicted with a feeling of self-alienation

Audience: The *ulama* and the clergy of Qum's theology schools

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

Motivation to migrate from Najaf to Paris

Although I do not feel well enough, nor do I have time to talk, nevertheless now that my gaze has fallen on your kind faces and because you gentlemen, the *ulama*, God willing, will assume the Islamic leadership and guide the Muslims, I have to call your attention to something. Our wish is to fully implement Islamic decrees, the way they really are, among Muslims, to present Islam in its true sense and teach, learn and preserve Islamic jurisprudence, because it is through the preservation of Islamic decrees that Islam will be protected; and the protection of Islamic fiats depends on the clerics, may God's peace be upon them. While this is the case, there is a certain point I would like to mention. When I was in Najaf as a theology student, I was preoccupied with my studies as much as my capacity allowed. For the sake of that matter, I discontinued my lessons, discussions, studies and my pilgrimages to the (shrine of) the Imam—may God's peace be upon him. I set out not for Paris, but for Kuwait, from where I was to be gone to Syria. However, it happened by the will of God that I went to Paris. Of course, it turned out for the better, that is, if we were in Lebanon or Syria or another place, we would have still been there, with you here and the Shah over there. However, this trip was to a non-Muslim country.

The point (I would like to mention) is that jurisprudence lessons and discourses are (undertaken) for the preservation of Islam. The day that Islam requires the jurisprudents to enter the fray, they should do so. The day that Islam necessitates that theology schools close down and take up another task for the preservation of the essence of Islam, they should do so. Today is that day which is so very crucial to Islam, the Muslims and our nation. Perhaps no other time could be more so as the fate of the Islamic country will have to be decided.

Determining the country's destiny through a referendum

Now that the monarchical regime is gone and has been destroyed, and, in principle, it should have not existed in the first place, we need to undertake certain activities in order to determine a system of government. Of course, in my opinion, that is, my personal view, we do not need any referendum because the people all over Iran had already announced their votes. They had cast their votes through their cries. But to avoid any problems that may arise in case a (foreign) government finds faults with the results of this referendum not having been recorded or not having a request for its registration, a call has to be made to this effect so that it will be recorded and votes be counted. For this reason, a referendum has to be held. Moreover, since this referendum is a fundamental one that will determine the fate of our country and if we want an Islamic government to be established in Iran, then a referendum must be held.

“Islamic Republic” only

For this reason, it is essential that the gentlemen, who are up to the task, proceed to the towns and other places, whether or not they are familiar with them, and talk to the people and explain the issues to them. They should invite them to vote for an Islamic republic, using this very term; not a word more, not a word less. This is because some evil elements are saying that it should just be a “republic,” that is, a “democratic republic” and phrases such as these. Therefore, you, gentlemen, should go to those places and expunge the ambiguity. It is a good thing to do; just as the respectable theologians here (in Qum) are to dispatch delegations or some individuals to provincial towns around to enlighten the people. It is essential for this to be done. Do not be distressed that your classes will be discontinued. God willing, you will find the opportunity to study your lessons. Thanks God, you are young and there is time to pursue your studies. I was a theology student myself, but when I saw that the situation developed the way it had, I stopped my studies and left; now I have come back to be with you. Even now, I have neither studies nor lessons. I am so preoccupied with my services to you, gentlemen.

Divine predestination

In any case, the point is that you should not worry about your lessons being, for instance, discontinued for two or four months. Because sometimes men discontinue their studies to go after amusement or just sit idle, or they stop studying for the sake of God. In the same way that studying for God will be rewarded, recompensed and is valuable in the eyes of the Exalted and

Blessed God, sometimes discontinuing one's studies and preoccupying oneself with something, perhaps more important than the lessons themselves, is also an undertaking that merits the pleasure of God. Discontinuing your studies now and going to the towns and remote villages around is going toward a divine destination. It should not make any difference whether you go to a city and meet with a huge citizenry, or go to a village and meet a great number of people. If the destination is a divine one, do not discriminate between this (city) and that (village), it may be that the latter has priority (over the former.) Well, in provincial townships, there are numerous types of people; the aspirations are many and, perhaps, the lewd desires are more; however, in remote villages and hamlets, problems like these are fewer. Few people go there and the population is small. Moreover, they are poor and destitute, but greed among them is less. From this angle, the divine aspect (of village life) is higher. It should not be that all of you gather only in major cities. You should disperse everywhere, in cities, towns, villages and hamlets and inform the people that when the referendum is held, they should say they want just an Islamic republic, not a word more and not a word less. Perhaps the communists will go to these places and propagate (their ideas) and because they have suffered a defeat, they have announced they, too, want an Islamic republic! This move they have taken was a prudent one; it was a sensible move and a wisely planned action, because if they had not done so, their number would have been revealed to the people. They did it, so that people would not come to know how many they were, and people would think that all of Iran voted for the Islamic republic, even the communists!

The victory of clenched fists over fully-equipped powers

Anyway, the only term (we will accept) is "Islamic republic." I, too, will vote for it. God willing, I will place my vote in the ballot box and like yours, mine will be for an Islamic republic. If, God willing, you pursue (this goal), hopefully you will gain victory; and you will because God is with you. The Exalted and Blessed God is looking at you with kindness and this is why we triumphed. While we were nothing, that is, we did not have anything—we did not have these rifles that you see now after the victory—we had nothing; we were alone, with only our grievances, miseries, cries and clenched fists, God willed that the people's lamentation, outcry and bare fists overwhelm immense powers like those of (foreigners), with all their weapons and accoutrements. Nevertheless, God so willed that discord was created among them¹ and they joined us; as they realized that it was their good that we

¹ The armed forces of the Pahlavi regime.

wanted and the clergy wanted. The Army also realized this and joined us; the Air Force did likewise. I should say people from all strata joined us and this unity, which the Exalted and Blessed God has engendered, brought about our victory.

A look into divine and the *taghuti* governments

God willing, you will triumph; a government of Islamic justice will gradually (be established), so that the people of the world will understand what the meaning of Islam and its government is. Has there been any government like it before? Now that the oppressive government is gone, we understand what treasure in banks and other things they had taken and stashed away in (foreign) banks. He (the Shah) looted the nation's wealth and then fled. Was that government a (true) government or that government (of Imam Ali) the leader of which had dry bread and salt to eat? According to narrations, when (his companions) brought milk, bread and salt for Amir al-Muminin to eat the night on the morrow of which he was martyred—and of course the kind of bread he would eat was not the *sanggak*¹ you normally eat—he retorted, “When did I ever have two kinds of stew that you have brought me these?” He took the salt and told the person (who brought the food) to swear by his life to take the milk back, and the latter obliged. Then he (Imam Ali) ate two morsels of the bread with salt.² The next morning he attained martyrdom without a word and without anything. He made things with his own hands, but he endowed all of them. When water spurted out of that big artesian well, which Hadrat Amir dug painstakingly with his own hands, he exclaimed, “Glad tidings be upon my heirs!”³ However, he did not bequeath it to his heirs; he endowed that, too. Is that type of government a better one (or the unjust governments)? Was the government of that ruler whom everybody would distinguish because of the pageantry of his office better or that of the Messenger of God, during whose time people would have to ask which one of them was the Prophet when there was a congregation in the mosque, because he would sit among the people and his companions? This was how the Islamic government had been. Of course, we cannot establish such an Islamic government. We are not able to do so; but we can somewhat approach it. We can sever the hands of the thieves and thanks God, the hand of most of the big ones have been cut off. Most of the heads of the groups who looted our treasury and deposited them in banks (abroad)

¹ *Sanggak*: a kind of local Iranian bread, which is of a good quality.

² *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 42, p. 226.

³ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 41, p. 39.

have had their hands severed by stealing huge amounts. It is hoped that we will be able to retrieve what they had plundered and stolen.

The urgency of introducing an Islamic government

Anyway, this is now the time to make efforts in order to implement an Islamic republic and obtain the people's votes. We will ballot the people to vote for the Islamic republic. Everybody is free (to vote), but you must guide the people. It is not necessary that you assign proctors to oversee the balloting as it used to be done in the previous regime, when watchers would be assigned to oversee the voting, and they would not let the people cast their votes; they cast the ballots themselves! They would cast and read out the ballots and the whole affair would be done with. No, the people are now free, but you (the clergy) must guide the people. Our people are Muslim and they want Islam. Introduce Islam, Islamic rules, and Islamic decrees. Make them understand that they should aspire for a government of justice, an equitable government if they want to live in comfort; if they want the poor to live in comfort; if they do not want the governments and the wealthy to oppress them; if they do not want the policemen and army to oppress them; (tell them) if they want such a government, they should vote for the Islamic republic so that God willing, Islam and its decrees are implemented. Of course, this will take a long time. The devastation that the country had is beyond imagination. Offices and ministries have suffered so much destruction that (the situation) cannot be remedied so soon.

Objection to the *taghuti* situation in ministries

As I have been told, the situation in ministries now is the same as it was during the *taghut* regime, and this is what I have told the government to attend to. Islamic ministries should not have a sacrilegious atmosphere. Uncovered women should not come to Islamic ministries. Women may come but they should don Islamic covering. It is all right for them to enter ministries, but if they work there, they should put on the religious cover; they should observe the religious law rules that apply. They should not use gold- or silverware as plate, which, according to Islamic decrees, are religiously unlawful. They must not keep the superfluous ornaments that have adorned ministries here and there. All these must be deposited in banks or in the treasury house to be used for the nation. The nation wants justice, not big rooms. The nation wants a ministry, an Islamic ministry, not the palatial buildings of the justice ministry, the prime ministry, the finance ministry and other palaces here and there. These palaces are for the nation. The

government must look into the grandiose embellishments adorning these palaces, most or some of which are religiously unlawful. A government which says it is Islamic, and it is, should not be so influenced (by the ostentatious decorations) as to let the ministries remain the way they were at the time of Muhammad Rida Khan. So, what are you¹ for?! You say you are Muslim; as such what are you supposed to do? Do we have to tell you what to do about each and everything? Do we have to remind you item by item? All this must be corrected. And you², whom I know are Muslims and some of whom I (personally) know and some of whom have been recommended to me, are all committed and Muslims, but weak-willed. They are afraid that perhaps some foreign guests may come to the Justice Ministry or the prime ministry palatial buildings and see the modest trappings there. Must it all be as in the West?

Spiritual power in the light of abstaining from worldly allurements

You are of a weak disposition, gentlemen! For as long as you are pusillanimous, you will remain servile to the mighty. When your (spiritual) self becomes robust and turns away from worldly allurements, then you will command respect. Delve into a study of the early days of Islam and see how things were at that time, how the life of those who conquered countries and the world was and how they demonstrated their might to the whole world. When a group of young Muslims (of the time) came to an imperial court, they saw that the floor was covered with silk carpets. They said, "Although silk carpets have not been decreed as religiously unlawful, we are not going to sit on silk carpets because, as narration goes, silk garments are forbidden religiously."³ Afterwards, with the tip of their swords they pushed aside the carpets in the presence of the king and then sat on the floor. These youths were ordinary human beings, but they were strong-willed. The one at the helm of power (Imam Ali) led a life more humbly than any one else. (He said,) "Perhaps in Yamamah or the borders, a person is hungry, or cannot lead a decent life; hence I should live in a way that my food must consist of a morsel of bread and a pinch of salt." This was how our (Islamic) government had been. Certainly, we are not able to resist (the vanities of this world.) (Imam Ali) said, "Certainly, you cannot do so, but at least support me in

¹ The provisional government.

² The provisional government cabinet.

³ *Tarikh at-Tabari*, chap. 3, pp. 518-519.

piety, exertion, chastity and uprightness...”¹ Assist Amir al-Muminin, may God’s peace be upon him.

Governments must realize that power does not mean eating out of gold or silver platters; power is not measured by having such and such (costly) curtains; greatness and grandeur do not mean having such and such curtains or furniture bought out of the wealth of this oppressed nation! Should the people reside in caves while you (the government) reside in the justice ministry and prime ministry palaces? Take a middle course in life; if you do not begin with yourself, you will not be able to reform others. Reform the ministries. All our afflictions emanate from our being Westernized. We have been under the yoke of the West and America for many long years. We became accustomed (to Western life) for many long years. Our hearts have become Western oriented. We have been transformed into western people.

Miraculous transformation of the masses by Islam

You will not be able to return (to your true selves) this soon; but you should endeavor to do so. Now, you want to say that you want to stand on your own feet; do you still wish to adopt a Western way of life? Now, that you are saying you will stand on your own feet, do you still say “democratic republic”? that is a Western-type republic? We are independent; we want to be independent. Islam is our religion. Our laws are the laws of Islam, the rich Islamic laws. Everything has to be transformed. I do not remember very well what Hadrat Amir’s exact words were, but he said to his people, in his commandments, that they had to undergo a transformation in a way that the ones at the bottom had to climb to the top and vice-versa, like a ladle stirring the contents of a cauldron, bringing up the ingredients at the bottom to the top. We must transform ourselves in the same way that our nation has done during a short period. The nation has been transformed so miraculously. The same nation that used to obey the rules of a policeman, or (the merchants of) our big bazaar that used to obey the rules of a policeman one day, refused to obey even the first person of the country the next day! One day people would not dare mention even the Shah’s name with disrespect in their own homes, the next day, the very same people took to the streets shouting “Death to this (Shah)!” They were transformed in such a way. Who did it? Islam, the power of faith, did. Otherwise, a human being cannot do it. This is not something you, others, and I can do. This is something only Islam can do.

¹ Quoted from Imam Ali’s letter to Uthman ibn Hunayf, *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 45.

Caring for slum dwellers

You must resort to Islam. Transform yourselves. The first thing a human being must do is to transform himself. A human being must shed his westernization. Should our ministries have to have so much pomp and ceremony that everyone who goes there will think it is not Iran?! That it is another country? That it is another order?! One night some people wrote to me about some areas in Tehran, about thirty-odd districts where slum-dwellers lived in dilapidated hovels and shacks; these shanty towns were the results of the blessings brought by the "Land Reform" programs (of the Shah), which forced people to migrate from their areas and flock to Tehran to lead wretched lives. I have not seen such places. A few nights ago, I saw a program about this on television here in Qum. If a person has some sense of fairness, just a little sense of justice, he ought to feel such remorse that a group of Muslims, that is, human beings, are living like this and we are heedless of them!

Nationalization of the Pahlavi regime's property

Gradually (the government keeps saying)! (The government) keeps postponing it day after day! When we were in Tehran, we told (the provisional government) that all the property belonging to them (Pahlavi family) and everything that Muhammad Rida Khan, his father and their cronies had looted from this nation had to be nationalized. And the proceeds will be spent for the welfare of the needy; the government does not have any right to take it into its possession. These things have been gained through the nation's movement, that is, the lower class of the nation. Gather data on the number of casualties, if you, or anybody wherever he is, can. Collect information in this regard and find out if there was a civil servant, a major businessman, a feudal lord, a commander, a minister or a communist among those killed and then inform us! All those killed were Muslims, who took to streets and shouted "Death to him (the Shah)!" and "We want an Islamic republic!" All the victims were from this group. Conduct a survey, find out and make known how many reputable businesspersons, feudal lords, heads of these or those offices, ministers or director generals were among them. You will not find any of these people among those killed! Whatever has been achieved was achieved by the nation, by the masses of the people and the populace, that is, the Muslim nation. All the things obtained belong to them and must be given to them, to those who were injured and whose family members were killed and who sacrificed their youths, to those old women whose young sons lost their lives. Things plundered (by the regime) should

be used to provide for the living expenses of their bereaved families. There will be so much that if you do spend it on these people, there will still be an excessive amount left. You can run a whole country with what they (Pahlavis) had plundered! This (wealth) only includes what is inside Iran. Regarding their wealth abroad, it has recently been reported in the newspaper that it was about 15 to 23 billion dollars—I do not remember exactly how much—but it was approximately 23 billion dollars, that is, 23 thousand million dollars! If you want to put these money bills side by side, they will span the distance from here to Jupiter! God knows what other items they last carted off to foreign countries and the money they stashed away in Swiss banks! We can never figure out its full amount! All the wealth I mentioned is only what belongs to this wretched man and does not include that of his cronies. “Lady Farah” used to receive fifty million (tumans) out of the petroleum revenues each month! She would get fifty or thirty million from oil sales. Let alone the amount of money she would get from other sources! They had holdings in all the companies in Iran, they were partners in all of them; not that they had bought the shares. In order to plunder the people’s wealth, factory owners made them their partners. Or, if some of them would not cater to plundering activities, they made them partners so that they would be immune from the aggression of the SAVAK agents and the likes of them. Hence, all would be partners in the thievery and they would be fellow-looters in the caravan (of plundering)!

Step-by-step policy

When I was coming from Tehran, I told some gentlemen who came there that things had to be carried out this way and they agreed to do it. But later it seems that they want to do their task gradually. In this movement, too, some individuals advised us to move systematically, saying that we had to take the first step and then the next. I told that gentleman, who came to see me in Paris and told me about this, that the enemies would break his leg at the first step!

May God grant you all health, well-being and prosperity. God willing, now that you are known as the army of God, you will truly be the army of God, that is, you endeavor for God. May God make you prosperous in this world and the other.

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

Telegram

Date: March 6, 1979 [Esfand 15, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: A message of thanks¹

Addressee: Sayyid Abul-Qasim Khui

In His Most Exalted Name

Hadrat Ayatullah Mr. Khui, may his blessings last:

We have received with thanks your esteemed telegram expressing your kindness. I pray for the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims.

Khomeini
Qum, Rabi ath-Thani 7, 1399 AH

¹ A reply to the telegram sent by Mr. Khu'i, one of the grand *maraji at-taqlid* congratulating the Imam on his return to Iran and arrival in Qum.

Decree

Date: March 7, 1979 [Esfand 16, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Formation of Islamic Revolutionary Committee and maintenance of the Pahlavi family's property in Fasham and environs

Addressee: Sayyid Husayn MuTahhari Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1399 AH

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Sayyid Husayn MuTahhari Yazdi, may his graces last:

It is necessary that you go to Fasham village and other areas in its vicinity to take action regarding the formation of an Islamic revolutionary committee, and take over and maintain the property belonging to the Pahlavi family in those areas and in the Galanduk district. If expenses are incurred in the process, spend out of the income accruing from them. Call the people of that area to unity and solidarity and warn them against disparity and discord. I implore the Exalted God to grant everybody success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time/Date: 10:20 am, March 7, 1979 [Esfand 16, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah School, Qum

Subject: The role of the foreigners in sowing seeds of discord and preventing Muslims from resorting to the Glorious Quran

Audience: Seventy representatives of Qatar's Islamic Religious Law Assembly and Abd al-Hamid Khaqani (head of the group)¹

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

Colonialists' policy in separating nations from Islam and the Quran

I would like to thank you, gentlemen, who have come from a faraway place to commiserate with our Iranian nation, to call on the nation, which had been trampled and crushed under oppression, tyranny and because of the (Pahlavi) crimes for more than fifty years. I would also like to thank the gentlemen, who have come all the way from a remote city to express their kindness to the nation and us. May God awaken you and all Muslims from slumber. May God awaken us and make us vigilant at a time when slumber and negligence have overcome most Muslim countries.

The criminal hands of foreign powers wanted to take possession of the East, in particular, Islamic countries, in pursuit of their vested interests. After conducting an inch-by-inch scrutiny of this region, all its cities, deserts, townships, provinces and after studying the collective morale of the people living in these areas, their rituals and the extent to which these rituals influenced their lives, they understood that they had to prevent the Muslims from resorting to the Quran. They knew the Quran in a hundred of ways. If Muslims had resorted to the Quran, no opportunity would have been left for them. Therefore, they separated Islam from the people; hence, nations became separated from Islam. Through their anti-religious, anti-Islamic and anti-Islamic clergy propaganda calls, made either directly by themselves or through their agents, the foreign powers sowed seeds of discord among Muslims and alienated them from one another. The formation of numerous parties since the early days of the Constitutional Movement was all aimed at causing disparity and such moves were all meant to forestall Muslim unity.

¹ Mr. Isa Abd al-Hamid Khaqani is an Arab from Khuzestan.

Causing differences among religious sects, that is, Muslim sects, was intended for the same purpose of segregating Muslims from one another so that they would not be able to serve the interests of Islam. These activities have been going on for more than three hundred years.

Thank God, a movement, that is, a divine movement has been initiated in Iran these recent years. I cannot give it any name other than to call it a divine movement. Small children as well as old citizens took part in this movement. It was a movement in which small children sucking pacifiers would take them out to shout "Death to the Shah!" and would then put them back into their mouths! All the people, from children who had barely started talking to old men who were in their declining years, were all together, and all of them discarded this *taghut* (regime). This unity was the secret of Iran's victory: reliance on God, (struggling) for the sake of God and unity of expression and one unified goal and destination. Whoever was asked what (the movement's) goal was would say it was (attaining) an Islamic government. At the beginning, the goal was to overthrow the *taghut* rule. The goal was independence and freedom under the auspices of an Islamic government. The secret of the nation's victory was unity of expression and unity of purpose, and, most important of all, reliance on the Exalted and Blessed God. Do not forget this secret wherever you are, gentlemen.

A complaint against regional governments

Of course, I have a complaint to make against (the governments of) the Gulf States and the surrounding countries. Not only did many of them disagree with us but they also opposed us. You, yourselves, know individuals who were there and who would support the *taghut*, and I do not know whether they still do so! Are they wishing for him to return?! Advise those individuals; tell them to turn to Islam. These governments (Gulf littoral states) are *taghuti* governments and are against Islam. Do not think that the Exalted and Blessed God is with those that gain power. Muawiyah had power, so did the Pharaoh, who also ruled over a kingdom. If a ruler is a *Zil-Allah* (the shadow of God), if the king is a *Zil-Allah*, he is a bona fide ruler. What does *Zil-Allah* mean? It means that just as a human shadow does not have any movement of its own except by the movement of the person who casts the shadow, if a king also has no independent movement and moves only when the Exalted and Blessed God makes him move, he is *Zil-Allah* (the shadow of God). The Messenger of God was a *Zil-Allah* and besides him, those who were close to him were close to the *Zil-Allah*; the main one was the Messenger, who was a *Zil-Allah*. Amir al-Muminin (a) was a *Zil-*

Allah because his whole being was annihilated in the being of the Messenger of God. Tyrants are the shadows of Iblis! This is the criterion that distinguishes a despotic king from a just one. A ruler, who is evil and tyrannical, is the shadow of Iblis and not of God. These (oppressive rulers) even usurped the title "*Zil-Allah*"! They deceived the people. He who does not have anything of his own, has no movement of his own but the will of God—"*...when thou throw (a handful of dust), it was not thy act, but God's...*"¹ "*Verily those who plight their fealty to thee, do no less than plight their fealty to God...*"²—because you have nothing. Your whole being is annihilated in God. Those who subscribe to the *taghut* are the shadows of Iblis. A person is either the shadow of God or the shadow of Iblis. These (*taghut*) rulers have betrayed out nations by usurping this auspicious phrase for themselves in the same way that they had usurped the seats of power for themselves.

Discord is the cause of Muslims' abjectness

Tell our brothers in Qatar and other littoral states to be united. Seek refuge under the banner of Islam. Keep away from the *taghut*. Forge a unity of expression. The secret of our victory was unity of expression and reliance on God. You, too, rely on God and have unity of expression and you, too, will be victorious. All Islamic nations must be united. If Islamic nations had not been disunited, I do not know whether we have an Islamic government or not. Perhaps you know that we do not have; but is hoped that we will have one. Had the Muslims been united, they would not live in abjectness; the hands of foreigners and their agents could not manipulate them. There are approximately one billion Muslims, but one billion divided Muslims. If a government were the same as the one in the early days of Islam, with every follower supporting it, we would not have sat idly (for years). The foreign powers took great efforts in order to turn the tables in their favor and splintered the entire Muslim nation. Even the Ottoman Empire, which was a vast empire, was fragmented into around fifteen states after the war was over, and the powers installed their own puppet rulers.³

¹ *Surah al-Anfal* 8:17.

² *Surah al-Fath* 48:10.

³ In October 1923, after the deposal of Sultan MuHammad V (the last Ottoman Sultan), Kamal Ataturk declared Turkey a republic and the conspiracy to divide the Islamic Ottoman Empire, which began in the 18th century, finally materialized. This division gradually gave rise to the birth of the following countries: Hungary, Yugoslavia, Crimea, Bulgaria, Albania, Egypt, Greece, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Iraq, Jordan, Hijaz (Arabia), and Lebanon.

The world's Muslims look up to Iran

Muslims should become vigilant. They should wake up after three hundred years of slumber, which they had been lulled into. They should look to Iran, which triumphed over tanks, cannons, machine-guns and the great powers with nothing but their bare fists because its nation relied on God. All the people in Iran were saying they wanted Islam. All were clamoring for an Islamic government. The unwavering faith, which blossomed in the nation, and the change and development, which was brought about in the hearts of Muslims, was the keys to this victory. All were together in their reliance on God. My brethren! Rely upon God; have unity of expression; be together; shun discord. May God grant you dignity, health, success and unity of expression. May God grant Islam strength and power.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: March 7, 1979 [Esfand 16, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Iran's situation during the Shah's regime; efforts to engender a proper civilization

Audience: A group of doctors and nurses

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

Expressing gratitude to doctors and nurses

You, gentlemen, know better what the nation had been through. You, who were in hospitals and had those injured, wounded and killed under your care, know more than us (the things that happened). You know what they (regime) had done to our country in the name of progress and how they kept us backward in the name of civilization; they wasted our human resources and damaged all our national dignity. I would like to thank you, gentlemen, for all the efforts you had taken during these difficult times caring for and commiserating with the injured and wounded, who were your own people and ours. I hope that God is pleased with all of you. During this period, you served as the army of God, for you carried out your duties for God. I would like to thank both the ladies and gentlemen here. May God grant you all dignity, health, prosperity and freedom.

The Shah's mission for Iran

We have not had seen the face of freedom during these fifty-odd years. You, the youth, do not remember what this nation had gone through during Rida Khan's time. I have witnessed all the events that happened from the time his despotic rule started until now. I had tasted the bitterness of life that this nation experienced during the reigns of this father and son, and so did you during the time of this (Shah) one. And perhaps, some of you knew and witnessed what they (the regime) did to us toward the end of his rule. He (Rida Shah) was brought to power by the British and this one (the Shah) by the Allied Powers according to what the Shah himself had written in his book¹ and which, I heard, he later deleted. He had written in his book that when the Allied leaders came here, they saw it to their advantage to have him

¹ A Mission for My Country: a book written by the Shah.

in power! Some “mission” he had for his country! He did have a mission, but a mission to push the country to a state of collapse and retardation. He had a mission to paralyze our economy. He had a mission to forestall the activities of our universities. He had a mission to see that our farming and agriculture completely collapsed. Very well, indeed, he did carry out his mission!! He had a mission to deplete our resources and reserves by giving them away gratis and worse than this, he built bases for America in return for the oil that he gave. He gave away the oil free to the Americans and in exchange for it, he built them bases in Iran. In other words, the commodity he sold filled the American pockets and the “payment” also went into their pockets. He accomplished his mission quite well! They gave¹ him a lot of support, as well. What threats they made; what things they said.

People’s power of faith: starting point of disintegration of palaces

Thank God, however, the people resisted and, though barehanded, they had the power of faith. That is, the movement was an Islamic one. Everyone would move forward in the name of Islam. Because it was forged in the name of Islam and faith in God, they triumphed over superpowers and demolished the (Shah’s) great establishment. With bare hands, they defeated tanks and cannons and shattered the palaces (of power). Now, even America does not recognize him! That benevolent friend of his, King Hasan,² is also saying that he will accept him (into his country) as an ordinary citizen. His (dear friend), King Husayn,³ proved to be just like King Hasan! Everyone is turning his back on him and the Exalted and Blessed God will wreak His vengeance on him.

Divine vengeance awaiting the Shah

Death is not the revenge to be meted out for such criminals, because if anyone kills another, that is, if anyone ends one person’s life, the killer can be sentenced to death; retaliation applies when one person takes the life of another. However, a person who killed hundreds of thousands of people, tortured hundreds of thousands in prisons and forced hundreds of thousands to dwell in slums can only be punished in a world that is eternal, so that each life he had taken can be avenged; (there is no other alternative) because no power exists (in this world) to carry out such a task. We can execute one person for each life taken and it makes no difference whether it is the life of a

¹ Actually, the Imam said, “They said...”

² The king of Morocco.

³ The king of Jordan.

king, a criminal or a non-criminal. In fact, the lives of common people are nobler than that of a king. We, or any human being for that matter, can never punish a person who is an inherent criminal because no matter how much he is tortured, only one person is being punished. This one person (Shah) killed thousands, but we cannot kill him a thousand times. However, in that place where God will wreak revenge, he will be killed, will be brought back to life, and then will be killed again and so on. For every life he had taken, he will be tortured. And what a torture it will be! It will be a kind of torture that does not exist here (in this world). The Exalted and Blessed God will take revenge against these (oppressive) people.

Together toward a right, divine civilization

I will say it again that you, gentlemen, will be rewarded by the Exalted and Blessed God for the efforts you had taken during this period. If something is dedicated for God it will not go to waste; it will be preserved for you. Whatever has been done for God will not be forgotten; it will be kept (in a record in the other world). Endeavor for God from now on. Work for the reconstruction of a devastated country.

Everything we have is in ruins and a shambles. Safeguard this movement together with one unified goal; do not allow it to slacken. We are all duty bound to safeguard it. We have succeeded in this Islamic movement up to this stage and pushed back the superpowers. From now, onwards we should implement reconstruction programs within this Islamic movement. That is, we should move forward all together collectively toward the right civilization, not “Muhammad Rida’s civilization!” Toward a divine civilization, the civilization of the Messenger of God: a civilization that draws no distinction between strata of human beings or between black and white, unless it is in the degree of their piety. *“Verily, the most honored of you in the sight of God, is (he who is) the most righteous of you.”*¹ One’s humanity is measured by the degree of one’s piety.

May God assist all of you, and may all of us tread this path together, and enter the lofty heaven, God willing.

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

¹ Surah al-Hujurat 48:12.

Speech

Date: March 7, 1979 [Esfand 16, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: A look into the achievements of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: A group of Qum's physicians and nurses

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

The unity of body and soul

One of the consequences of this movement is that we are seeing faces we would not see before. Due to the activities perpetrated by foreigners and their lackeys for a long period, we had been estranged from each other. People from all walks of life were distanced from one another. We, that is, the clergy, and you, that is, the noble physicians, have capabilities distinct from those of others. (As the narration goes,) "There are only two kinds of knowledge: knowledge of the body and knowledge of religion."¹

There exists a unity between the body and soul: the body is the shadow of the soul; the soul is the essence of the body; the body is the (physical) manifestation of the soul. These two entities together are one. They are not separate. In the same way that the human body and soul have unity, the physician of the body should be in unity with the physician of the soul. They should be united, but they separated us. We have been estranged from all the strata of the people. Either the clergy had been cast into the abyss of oblivion or had their image been tarnished. They made you fall from our favor and vice-versa. Foreign powers, with their cohorts and lackeys, had committed this kind of treachery against us for approximately three hundred years. Not only did they separate the universities from our theology schools, but also made them opposed to each other. They separated all the strata of the people from one another. They committed this great treason against the nation and us to shove us into these days of affliction.

Foreign conspiracy led to the separation of nations

Not only did they separate the various strata of people, but also the nations from one another in such a way that, for instance, now the Iranian nation does not have any ties with the Turkish nation. In principle, if Iranians

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 1, p. 220.

were not opposed (to having ties with the Turks), neither did they agree with it; they were indifferent to such a relationship. So, if any difficulty had befallen our Turkish or Arab brothers, our Persian brothers would remain indifferent. Foreign (powers) and their lackeys had engendered this indifference in order to create discord; and if they failed in this machination, they made us negligent, that is, negligent of our own destiny and that of our brothers. From now on, we should seriously safeguard the vigilance that this nation has found so that it will be perpetuated.

Harm arises from negligence

For three hundred years, we have suffered the harmful effects of negligence. For fifty-odd years, men as old as I, or perhaps a bit younger, have suffered the painful torment meted out by this (Pahlavi) dynasty. And for twenty years or so, you, the youth have experienced and seen the same for yourselves

They depleted all our resources; likewise, our human resources, the most vital of all these resources, were decimated. They divested us of these human elements, which should take the reins of the country's destiny into their hands to make the country prosper spiritually and materially, and pushed the youth toward centers of corruption. They have transformed educational centers into a gathering place for prostitution. The cinema, which is an educational hub for everybody in the world, the radio and television, one of the educational centers for everyone and for people of all categories, and are apparatuses that should be utilized to educate the entire nation, have all been transformed into something else. Our cinemas were converted into prostitution centers. Similarly, you had seen for yourselves what kind of advertisement programs the radio and television would broadcast.

Effacing the Pahlavi regime's culture

Those who have now joined the ranks of Islamic servants must be reformed. They are busy with activities that will help them edify themselves. Remnants of the depraved regime still lurk around them. Vestiges of corruption remain in our press, such as newspapers and magazines. These places must be reformed little by little. The corrupt morality that the regime had created among our youth, and which remains, has to be rectified. God knows what these centers of corruption did to our youth. They (regime) made everything accessible to make the youth neglectful of everything. The regime created prostitution centers and made them available to the youth for free.

They tempted the youngsters and lured them into these centers to render them negligent of their destiny.

The victory of the power of faith over material powers

I thank God for the fundamental development that has occurred in the nation during the last one or one and a half years. Our youth are now paying attention to current issues. They now have turned their attention away from those (corrupt) activities they used to be drawn to, and have shunned them. They have undergone such a spiritual development to which I cannot give a name; all we can say is that God's hand is in it. No human creature can bring about a spiritual change among all categories of people. I have said it repeatedly that an (ordinary) policeman used to go and control the entire bazaar (of Tehran) with just one order that everyone would obey. The bazaar people would not dare give themselves the right to even question him. Not that they had the right and would not use it; it was not the case at all. Their spiritual being had been so conditioned that they had to obey the rules without question! Our armed forces were as acquiescent. The people were made to obey like sheep! Obedience should be absolute: the king's command is God's command. "God's command and the king's command are the same." This notion (of servility) had been inculcated in the minds of our children and made to take root from their childhood; and that too, for this Shah! However, within this last year or two, a change has taken place. The very same populace, which used to be terrified at the sight of a police officer, now attacked tanks and said everything it wanted to say against the Shah, and, finally, overthrew him. The same populace, which cowered with fear and terror at the sight of a high-ranking officer¹, clenched its fists, resisted all (powers) and flung them out (of the country.) This development can never be anything but a divine one; it is no other than a divine decree. This is (the power of) faith. If there had not been faith (among the people), (the movement) could not have been (victorious). It necessitated faith. Faith in God had engendered this (victory). Faith in Islamic tenets accomplished this. The people cried out in unison that they wanted Islam. This was faith! The power of faith prevailed over all these powers for we had nothing. With kitchen knives and pieces of wood and other gadgets, people took to the streets and overcame tanks, cannons, machine-guns, and other (weapons).

¹ Top military brass.

The people declared that nothing could have an effect on them anymore!¹ And nothing really did, nor could, in the presence of faith.

Fruits reaped from having faith and unity of expression

Keep your faith, gentlemen! Keep your faith in God; keep your unity of expression; preserve this movement. Whatever we have (achieved) was through this faith and unity of expression. They (enemies of Islam) wanted to divest us of our faith and unity of expression. They made efforts to rob us of these two features, but the Exalted and Blessed God was with us and forestalled it. Instead, he caused a transformation to take place in a country and nation, which did not heed religious issues. God caused such a transformation that all the people now pay attention to those issues and have entered the arena (of struggle) with faith. In an instant, this nation, which was at war with itself, one city versus another, one district at odds with another within the same city, and one faction of youth against another, suddenly underwent a divine transformation and forged a cooperative unity. One of my friends said that in one demonstration in Tehran, he saw an old woman standing somewhere holding a bowl with money in it. He thought that perhaps she wanted to collect some money. He went toward her and asked what she was up to. She replied that because the bazaar was closed down and people needed to telephone, so, she thought she would take a bowl of coins for the people to use in case they did not have any small change to insert into the coin slot to make a call. Such sense of cooperation was engendered in all the people. Such sense of cooperation was created that when a crowd would take to the streets, people, in and out of their homes, would help it. This change came about through God's hand.

Only "Islamic Republic"

Rely upon God. If, God forbid, this faith and this reliance on God is taken away from us, our unity of expression will go with it. Then, God forbid, we will be faced with the same tribulations. Call on the people and invite them to take part in this referendum on an Islamic republic, that is, only an Islamic republic, not a word should be changed or tampered with, not a word added or a word deleted. Evil elements want to omit or add a word. Be careful of these (evil designs). Invite everyone (to vote for an Islamic republic).

¹ It refers to the people's popular slogan during the revolutionary days, "Cannons, tanks, machine guns no longer have any effect, even if we are barraged with bullets night and day."

I thank all the physicians of Iran, and, now that I am in Qum, I thank all the physicians of Qum and the hospitals (and their staff) for having the sense of responsibility and carrying out their responsibilities during this period of great tribulation. May God make you more acquainted with your responsibilities, as this itself is a great form of worship. May God grant you prosperity and health. God willing, your country will be rescued from the claws of foreign powers. May God keep you all.

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

Message

Date: March 7, 1979 [Esfand 16, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 8, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Reliance on God and unity of expression

Addressees: Muslims of Turkey²

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

Extend my greetings to all (Turkish Muslims) and tell everyone to pursue whatever task they have and not to lose heart in performing it. We did not have anything but we were able to overcome these³, who had all the accoutrements. You, who are (living) there, should not be discouraged. Rely on God and faith; acquire unity of expression. Merge parties and factions around you with yours. God will make you accomplish your work. Peace be upon you.

¹ In the new edition of *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it was recorded as Esfand 24, 1357 AHS [March 15, 1979].

² This message was given in the presence of Messrs. Abbas Shahbazi and Salahuddin Delshad (an Iranian physician residing in Istanbul).

³ The Pahlavi regime.

Speech

Date: March 9, 1979 [Esfand 18, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Hakim NiZami High School, Qum

Subject: Guidelines for the youth

Occasion: Reopening of schools

Audience: Schoolteachers and school students of Qum

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
“My (own) affair I commit to God”¹*

The agony of separation and the glory of solidarity

This is the first time that I have come to this school. The treacherous hands of foreign powers and their agents had separated you from us. They sowed seeds of discord among us and achieved their ulterior motives. Then they witnessed that the solidarity of various factions and strata of people of life would preclude the achievement of goals they set for themselves. So, they made efforts to separate religious schools from universities and student groups from one another. We must understand what pains this separation had afflicted us with and what glories this solidarity had brought us.

The youth are the manifestations of hope and the harbingers of glad tidings

You, the young students and the rest of the youth, are my hope and the harbingers of good tidings. You, the masses of young people, the masses of students, are my hope. My beloved youth, I hope that the country's destiny will be in your hands from now on and you, my dear ones, will protect your country. I hope that you will overcome your difficulties by (attaining) knowledge, and (doing) good deeds; by knowledge and self-edification; by knowledge and good deeds. So far, you have achieved this much; you have severed the hands of traitors through the unity of expression of all of the strata, reliance on faith and trust in Islam and the glorious Quran. God willing, we will further cut off whatever predacious tentacles remain. However, there may be more difficulties from now on, so this will require more vigilance.

¹ Surah Mu'min 23:44.

Reconstruction era

From this time onwards, reconstruction of the devastation they (regime) had left us commences. You know better (than anybody else) what perfidious acts they had committed against our universities, high schools and primary schools. You know that they wanted to keep you backward and did not want you to become Islamic human beings, or be powerful individuals with a goal. (School) education had been corrupt and deviated from the very beginning and (educational) programs had always been designed to mislead. They wanted to drive our youth to (cultural) retardation so they could take advantage of the youth and make us dependent on everything (foreign) both scientifically and economically.

You, the youth, are my hope and harbingers of good tidings. You must make efforts and safeguard your unity of expression. They (foreign powers) did not let us confer with each other. During the lifespan of this school, this is the first time that I am meeting with you. This is the first time I am seeing your professors and teachers face to face. This is the first time that I am seeing you, the beloved youth and children of Islam, face to face.

You, the source of my hope and harbingers of good tidings, the beloved children of Islam, have discovered the secret of victory. In these last two years, you have understood that you could uproot the foundation of this 2500-year dictatorship and monarchical autocracy through your unity of expression. You have understood how you could push back oil-guzzling spongers. You have understood that the secret (of victory) was this unity of expression, unity of intention and purpose, and Islamic faith and goal, and the goal of the Islamic republic. You have realized that this secret brought you victory. Do not let this secret slip off your hand. Fortify and close your ranks; strengthen your relations with all strata of people, especially the clergy. Our hopes and aspirations revolve around you. With this unity of expression, the Iranian nation has become the paragon and hope of Islam. You must safeguard everything that has been achieved with this unity of expression.

The necessity of following the provisional government

Support you provisional government. Punch in the mouth the corruptors, who are looking for a pretext to weaken the Islamic government. It is necessary to obey this provisional Islamic government. It is based on religious law. I have absolute faith in it and you, too, must support this government, which has been entrusted with the task of holding the referendum, which is one of the most vital current issues, and the legislation

of a new constitution through the votes of your legal representatives. The establishment of an Islamic republic, which is the ultimate wish of everybody, is the ultimate commandment of the Exalted and Blessed God. You must back this government for it to be able to carry out the tasks that have been entrusted to it in a free and right environment.

Intruders lurking and wishing to weaken the government, for one reason or another should know that a government that is reliant upon the nation will not be undermined. Someone who is reliant on the nation has endorsed this government. The nation has confirmed and approved this government, which has been set through the nation's support. You must give it more support. Ostracize or advise malicious elements, who are the lackeys of foreign powers and do not wish that an Islamic government be set up.

For a long period, we faced numerous difficulties; you were not in the scene (of the struggle), though. Recently, however, you became involved and experienced the difficulties, which all originated from foreign sources. Likewise, the crimes committed (against the nation) had been perpetrated by foreign hands. They (foreign powers) want the same (corrupt) practices to prevail in the country once again through their iniquitous functionaries. They are concocting notions in their heads in order to drag the country back to the same old tribulations but in another form. You, the energetic youth, and noble students, who are my hope and the harbingers of good tidings, must stay alert and vigilantly defend your rights wherever you are, whatever place you are in Iran.

Vote for an Islamic republic

Set up and establish an Islamic government that will defend your rights. Do not listen to reckless prattlers. Do not pay attention to statements made by groups who know nothing about Islam and are opposed to it. They want to deviate the people from the path. Your path is the Islamic path; your path is that where you set up an Islamic republic. I will vote for an Islamic republic and I am asking you to vote for it, not a word more and not a word less: only an Islamic republic.

Those people who mention "republic" in their writings, only a republic, that is, not Islamic, those who talk of a "democratic" republic, meaning a Western kind of republic and not an Islamic one, and those who want to push us back into another form of the same old adversities were never involved in this movement.

Those who now want to sit at the table spread all laid out were never involved in this movement. You, the various strata of students, the workers,

peasants and merchants brought this movement into existence. They have a right. Do not accept, and we, too, will not accept, those who lived in foreign countries and who have now come for the harvest, and also those who warmed their seats watching the whole struggle from atop or assisted the regime and who now pose as revolutionaries. Do not accept those who, wielding their venomous pens, bring up such things as “national” and “democratic” (systems) and write against Islam.

Islam is what the Iranian nation wants

We want an Islamic (republic); the nation wants Islam. Those who are attempting to undermine our movement and our government, wishfully thinking that we will not succeed in the referendum, are entertaining whimsical thoughts in their heads. Our nation unanimously wants an Islamic republic.

We should follow the ideals that the nation pursued for some years and heed what it aspired for in its cries for more than a year. The people of the country from various walks of life should listen to the nation's voice and see what it wanted, and does want. During this past year and a few months, the nation poured into the streets and shouted “Freedom, independence, Islamic Republic!”

We should follow the nation. We should not sit at home, hold a pen and write whatever we want. This is not right. This (action) will push us back to the same old situation and predicaments of the previous era and is tantamount to treachery against the nation. The communists, too, must want an Islamic republic. If they (communists) want to work for this nation and be truthful to it, everybody should desire an Islamic republic. Those who love this nation, those who love this country, those who are fed up with oppression, those who are opposed to this country's dependence, those who want this country's independence, whatever creed they have, should follow this nation in order to become victorious. They should follow these very same strata of the nation, the very same students, the very same traders, porters, peasants, farmers and workers. These people gave sacrifices (of their near and dear ones) and shed their own blood, and they have a share (in this victory and government). Everything belongs to them, not to you or me, who sat aside (during the struggle). And now, you (anti-revolutionary elements) have taken to your pens. Break those pens! Take refuge in Islam. Desist from your malicious government so that you obtain results and preserve your independence.

The tidings of victory

You, beloved and energetic youth and the rest of the nation, are my hope. I give you the tidings of victory: I give you the tidings of independence, grandeur, welfare, spirituality, cleansed souls, freedom-loving souls and refined souls spirit of religion, on the condition that you stay united, and (move) all together toward an Islamic republic, and all together toward Islam.

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to give the entire Islamic nation grandeur, health and dignity. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to give success to the dear and worthy youth.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: March 8, 1979 [Esfand 17, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The role of women in the Islamic Revolution

Audience: The women of Qum

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

Condolences to the bereaved residents of Qum

I left Qum at a time when you, the ladies and gentlemen of this city, were afflicted with so many difficulties, but at that time your young ones were by your sides; and I have come back at a time when the grief of the children that you, mothers and fathers, nurture in your hearts has affected me as much. I have seen the photographs posted on the walls of Faydiyyah Madrasah and I would like to extend my condolences to Qum residents and the bereaved mothers for the loss of their worthy youth.

The enormous crimes and treacheries of the Pahlavi regime

The entire country had been beset with these afflictions. For fifty-odd years, our whole country was beset with difficulties, was suffering and living under oppression, and was dependent on the foreigners. God knows what this father and this son had done to the country of ours. God knows that no treason has ever been done against Iran—like what they did—throughout the course of its history. All the kings (that had ruled Iran) in the last 2,500 years or more had been criminals; even the good ones among them committed crimes. However, their crimes were not as bad as those of these (father and son). The treacheries committed by them were not known (to the people.) Apart from their crimes being so many, their treacheries were more.

Most of you may not remember it, but we had witnessed (horrible) crimes committed during Rida Khan's time. In the name of "stripping off the *hijab*," he subjected the venerable women of Qum, the faithful, the women in all cities, and Islam to indignities in obeisance to those who were ordering him what to do! God knows what things his functionaries did to the women and what ill-treatments. How many of the women's veils [*chador*] they tore! And stripped them of their veils [*chador*] and headscarves. We witnessed all these and you, too, have witnessed what the son had done to this country in

the name of the “great civilization”. You cannot imagine what adversities they had subjected to this country. We are not able to comprehend the magnitude of the crimes and treacheries they had committed. We do not have information about the places they have stashed away their wealth. What has been revealed of their hidden wealth does not throw light on whether this is all that they have. It is not known how much money they had stowed away in banks, for example, the banks in Switzerland, America, Britain and other places. It has been said recently that he (Shah) had carted off twenty-three billion dollars and we do not have any information on how much he had hoarded before.

During the time of Rida Shah, when the war broke out and the allied powers banished him, he started hoarding jewelry; he filled his suitcases with jewelry and fled. When he was aboard a ship (that was to take him to Africa), as we have been told, another ship, the kind used for transporting animals, stopped beside his ship; and this evil man, who was worse than a beast, was told to get on the (second) ship. When he asked about the jewelry-filled suitcases, he was told that they would be dealt with later. Afterwards, those suitcases were taken to Britain and were looted.

During the reign of this (Shah), they (the Shah and his cohorts) also looted everything. They also stripped us of our dignity. They ruined our human resources and material powers to such an extent that they forestalled human development. They created so many corruption centers; they set up so many gambling casinos and red light districts, and placed them at the disposal of our youth and rendered them negligent of their destiny. The regime made our youth addicted to narcotics to push them into stupefaction and prevent them from thinking about their destiny. However, the Exalted and Blessed God, willed and assisted you in these last two years when the movement, which actually started on June 5 (1963), blossomed.

Women in the forefront of the Revolution

You, women, proved that you were in the forefront; you proved that you were ahead of the men. The men derived inspiration from you. Iranian men learned a lesson and found a paradigm in the Iranian women. And the men of Qum found their paragon in you and learned a lesson from you, the women (of Qum). You are at the forefront of this movement. Islam accords you more respect than it does to men. Islam wants to rescue you (from corruption). Islam wants to rescue you from being transformed into mere playthings, which the regime wanted you to be. Islam wants to make you evolve into perfect human beings in whose laps perfect human beings are trained.

I thank all of you for partaking in this movement. I would like to offer my sympathy and condolences to all the mothers who took part in this movement and lost their beloved ones; and I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to bestow His blessings upon their martyrs. I also beseech God to grant His blessings upon all of you. May God make you all prosperous. May God grant prosperity to all of you. May God help you attain your desired (state of) perfection.

You must all cast your votes for an Islamic republic, not a word more and not a word less. You, (the women of Qum), too, must vote. You are not different from the rest; in fact, you have precedence over men. Men are brought up on your laps; you are the educators of men. You must appreciate your own value. Islam recognizes your merits. You, too, must participate in the referendum that is to be held, and vote for an Islamic republic. I hope that an Islamic republic, Islamic justice and a just government will come into existence to deliver this country from all its tribulations and not allow the aliens to do as they please in this country, and to insure your independence and freedom. May God bless you all.

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

Speech

Date: March 9, 1979 [Esfand 18, 1357 AHS /Rabi ath-Thani 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Baghi cemetery, Qum

Subject: Quranic and Islamic uprising

Audience: Various strata of people

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

The nation's role in the movement's victory

Praise be to the martyrs of the path of freedom! Peace be upon the martyrs from all over Iran! Praise be to the martyrs of the city of Qum! Praise be to you, the chivalrous youth! Praise be to the dauntless ladies and youth of Qum! Praise be to the ladies and youth throughout Iran! I was separated from you at a time when the majority of today's youth were still children and I have come back to serve you at a time when we have lost many of them (to the Revolution). Many of those youths whom we have not seen and now we can see their pictures around (pasted on the walls), were martyred and attained the honor of martyrdom in the path of Islam, in the path of the glorious Quran, in the path of freedom and independence and in the path of the great Islamic goal and the just Islamic government, that is, the Islamic republic. You, the powerful youth of Iran, the dynamic youth of Qum, have acquired the right to the esteemed (religion of) Islam. We are all indebted to Islam, but Islam is not indebted to us. I am indebted to you; I am indebted to the Iranian nation and the esteemed people of Qum. You were the ones who brought this Islamic movement to fruition. It was you, the great Iranian nation and the residents of Qum, who triumphed over the tanks, cannons and machine-guns with your fists.

Islam and the Shiah's epic

We are not worried that the pure blood of our youth is shed in the Islamic path. We are not worried by the fact that our beloved ones have attained martyrdom. This is a laudable practice of the Shiah of Amir al-Muminin, which existed since the advent of Islam. Islam has always been identified with the epics of the Shiah. In the early days of Islam, Amir al-Muminin—may God's peace be upon him—the magnificent man of Islam and of the world, flourished and blossomed Islam by his great endeavors. With his

honorable Shiah (followers), he was in the vanguard of the great battles (in the cause) of Islam. His infallible progeny, such as the Doyen of the Martyrs—may God's peace be upon him—sacrificed his life in the cause of Islam. The rest of the (infallible) Imams promoted Islam and gave credence to Quran clandestinely. Subsequently, the only group that confronted and fought incumbent tyrants and dictators of the time were the Shiah of Ali, may God's peace be upon him. Since then, successive uprisings up until recent times have been staged by the Shiah of Ali (a), who rose and stood up to the tyrants of their time. In our own time, the only group that resisted dictators and stood against the superpowers and prevailed over tanks and cannons with their clenched fists, was you, the great Shiah of Islam. Islam has been kept alive by the Shiah faith. Successive uprisings staged by the Shiah of Ali, may God's peace be upon him, have revived Islam.

The nature of the uprising

This uprising, which started on Khordad 15 [June 5, (1963)], and persisted up to now and we hope will go on until all the objectives of the Islamic community are realized, is an Islamic one. It is an uprising of faith; it does not follow any other uprisings. We all know that June 5 was the beginning of a turning point in the history; it did not take after any other movements or uprisings. The slogan "this is not a nationalist uprising; it is a Quranic uprising, an Islamic uprising," should be preserved, because it is not a "national" uprising. It is an Islamic uprising. A weak nation without any (arms) confronted and prevailed over the superpowers and the satanic power, which had everything, and were armed to the teeth. Such powers cannot be defeated by nationalism. This nation triumphed because martyrdom was its wish. Some of our youth would ask me to pray for their martyrdom and would even make me swear for it. Women who sacrificed their youths would take pride in having done so, and would say that they were willing to offer their other sons. This could not have been engendered by the power of nationalism; this is the power of faith; it is the power of Islam. It should not be misconstrued. It is Islam, which defeated the superpowers. It is Islam, which brings up followers who are predisposed to martyrdom. It is this power of faith, which mobilized the people throughout Iran. It was the invisible Divine Hand that made the people all over Iran, from that primary school pupil to the sick old man in the hospital, united in expression and united in purpose. No front could have ever achieved this; no human being could have ever mobilized a whole nation and no nation could have ever been mobilized in such a way. It was the power of faith, the power

of Islam and the spiritual power of the nation that facilitated this victory. We are indebted to the Exalted and Blessed God. We are indebted to the Imam of the Time, who supported us.

Islamic slogans

There should not be any ambiguities in our affairs. If ever any ambiguities set into our affairs, or elements intend to divert our Islamic movement, this movement will meet with defeat. It is a betrayal of the nation, a betrayal of Islam. Those who have it in their mind to divert this movement from its Islamic nature should know that they are traitors to Islam and the nation. Today, the slogans should be the same Islamic slogans: "Islamic Republic." Those who insist that the word "Islam" be deleted from the word "Republic" are traitors who want to cause differences among the nation. Those who want to append the term "democratic" to this phrase are obsessed with the West and do not know what they are talking about.

Those who talk of democracy in their writings are either ignorant or do not understand what they are doing, or, are premeditating conspirators and traitors. The press should think twice when writing their articles. Those who wield the pen should reconsider their writings. They should allow the nation to carry on treading the path, the same route that led to victory, and tread it to its ultimate fruition. Are they enemies of Islam?! Are they enemies of the Islamic nation?! Are they enemies of their own country that they wish to cause deviation?! The Iranian nation will never be deviated.

Delivering blows to the nation in the name of "people" and "nationality"

O the beloved nation! Safeguard your own movement! Great nation! Safeguard this great uprising with the same (original) name (it had been given, that is, Islamic republic.) Safeguard this slogan. Do not let the hands of foreigners and their advocates influence your slogan. I feel sorry for those individuals who lay claim to nationalism and oppose the nation's desires. Those who stab the nation in the back in the name of nationalism and love for the people should wake up and realize that their leaders are all handpicked by the foreign powers, and they wish to take the situation back to the way it was at the beginning, or shove it toward the left or to the right. These people should awaken. We should advise them. If they do not heed our advice, we can resort to other measures. Those who want to hatch plots, those who want to mislead our nation, those who want to sow seeds of discord among the people, are all conspirators. But, we will not sit quiet; we will thwart their plots.

We say "yes" to freedom, but "no" to conspiracy. There is freedom of expression. Everyone is free to express what he wants. From the outset, Islam has had the power to refute all unjustified statements and mendacities (hurled against it). That power stands valid; the same holds true concerning (Islamic) reasoning. We have our logical reasoning; we have proofs. We are not to be daunted by statements made by certain people. Everyone can say what he wants but we will not condone any conspiracy. We will not consent to treachery against the nation, as we have not allowed it before. Our nation has so far been the victim of so many treacheries that it will not countenance any further treachery.

Our nation has offered sacrifices for an Islamic republic to materialize, not a republic or a democratic republic, which is a Western type of republic, which is the promiscuity of the West. Shun this act of imitating (the West); shun this obsession with the West. Let the nation tread the path it has taken and achieve its independence, and it will, God willing.

You, the Iranian people, the great Iranian nation! The beloved residents of Qum, the beloved nation of Qum! Be aware, vigilant and alert! Neutralize the conspiracies. They (anti-revolutionaries) wish to undermine the Islamic government and weaken the provisional Islamic government so that the nation will not be able to vote for which it had made sacrifices. Nevertheless, it is wishful thinking. We have sacrificed our youth, the people gave their lives, and our youth were tortured and suffered considerably in prisons. Our nation will not allow all these sacrifices to be wasted. Our nation will not let these sacrifices go to waste just because of the nonsense of a handful of dastardly people. The people have given their lives for the sake of freedom and independence. We will not sit by for the foreign agents to perpetrate their previous machinations once again.

Support your government. I am its supporter and you, too, must patronize it so that it is able to carry out its affairs peacefully, hold the referendum, ratify the new constitution through the nation's vote and establish the Islamic republic. They (the anti-revolutionaries) have gone into a state of frenzy to forestall the holding of a referendum or, not to let it be held properly. However, all this is whimsical thinking. They do not want the Islamic constitution to be ratified based on the Twelve-Imam Shiah school of thought. They think they can do it, but these are all futile thoughts. They would like to see a flawed Islamic republic. An "absolute republic," a "democratic republic" or a "democratic Islamic republic," all these are wrong (terms). (We want) only an "Islamic republic!"

Voting is free, but conspiracy is forbidden

I will vote for an Islamic republic, and I am asking the nation not to let the blood of the youth to have been shed in vain and foreign interests gain access (to the country); not to let the independence it has achieved be lost and the freedom it has attained be transformed into repression. We want an Islamic government, an Islamic republic, not a word more and not a word less. Anyone who wants to follow another path is free to do so, but conspiracy is forbidden; treachery is forbidden; voting, however, is free. Everyone is free to express what he wants. We are the nation's well-wishers. We are the followers of Islam and want the good of all factions. We are the well-wishers of the respected women. We do not want the women to be dragged into prostitution. We do not want them to be playthings in the hands of the profligate youth. We suggest that they abandon their previous way, the crooked way that they (ex-regime) had suggested for them to take, pushing many of our youth and beloved ones into debauchery. Eschew all these (unchaste practices). We want your well-being. We must efface this deviation by giving the people advice, making recommendations, begging and requesting them. We must crush the bedrock of this fifty-odd years of corruption that had taken root (in this country).

I am the servant of the Iranian nation

I am the servant of the Iranian nation and of the Iranian youth. I am the servant of the Iranian women, of the respectable residents of Qum. I am at your service from now on and for the remaining few days I am here on earth. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the greatness of Islam and the nation of Islam, and the independence of the Islamic country. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the grandeur of the Islamic countries and Islamic nations wherever they are. I advise all the nations to make use of this key, by which victory was gained in Iran over the superpowers. Unity, reliance on God, strengthening of faith, reliance on the glorious Quran and Islam and unity of expression (constituted the key to victory). The key to our victory is unity of expression and reliance on God, the Exalted and Blessed. We cried out in unison, "independence, freedom, Islamic republic"!

Oh, God! Safeguard the unity of expression among the Islamic nations and among the Iranians. Oh, God! Sever the hands of the foreigners off Islamic countries. Oh, God! Grant us independence and freedom. Oh, God! Awaken Islamic nations. Oh, God! Guide the deviated ones. Oh, God! Guide those who want to sow seeds of discord among the nation. Oh, God! Bless

our martyrs. Oh, God! Grant patience and fortitude to the bereaved mothers and fathers who have lost their children (to this Revolution).

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

Letter

Date: March 10, 1979 [Esfand 19, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Banning the intervention of the (Imam's) relatives in state affairs

Addressee: Mahdi Bazargan

The Honorable Prime Minister:

It is necessary that you warn all the ministries and governmental offices not to attach any importance whatsoever to any of my relatives or kinsmen who approach the relevant centers to recommend, appoint or dismiss individuals. My relatives and those close to me have no right to interfere in matters of this kind whatsoever. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Telegram

Date: March 10, 1979 [Esfand 19, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Condolences on spouse's demise

Addressee: Sayyid MaHmud Taleqani

Tehran

Honorable Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Taleqani, may his graces last:

After offering my greetings, I wish to offer my sympathy on your bereavement. I pray to the Exalted and Blessed God for your well-being and the forgiveness of your deceased spouse of revered memory.

Khomeini

Decree

Date: March 10, 1979 [Esfand 19, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Formation of the relief committees

Addressee: Mahdi Karrubi

In His Most Exalted Name

Honorable Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Mahdi Karrubi, may his graces last:

You are hereby given the mission of taking the necessary actions for the formation of relief committees in Tehran and provincial cities and towns, with the assistance of Messrs. Haj Habibullah Askar Oladi and Haj Habibullah Shafiq, and to open an account in the name of the committee, deposit the funds allocated (for this purpose) in the abovementioned account and supervise the affairs of committees with prudence.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: March 11, 1979 [Esfand 20, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatch of representatives to the cities of Marand, Maku and their suburbs

Addressee: Muhammad Faqihi Marandi

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH

Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Mirza Muhammad Faqihi Marandi, may his graces last:

You are hereby assigned to go and inspect committee affairs in Marand, Maku and their suburbs and settle local affairs, and familiarize the respectable local inhabitants with their current social and religious duties. Moreover, you must call the people to solidarity and unity and warn them against differences and discord. I pray to God the Almighty for the grandeur of Islam and Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: March 12, 1979 [Esfand 21, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of representatives to the cities of Maragheh, Miyanduab, Bunab, and Malik Kandi

Addressee: Muhammad Fayd

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 13, 1399 AH

Thiqat al-Isam Aqa Haj Mirza Muhammad Fayd—may his graces last:

You are hereby assigned to go and inspect committee affairs in Maragheh, Miyanduab, Bunab and Malik Kandi and set local affairs in order, and familiarize the respectable local inhabitants with their current social and religious duties. Moreover, you must call the people to solidarity and unity and warn them against differences and discord. I pray to God the Almighty for the grandeur of Islam and Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 13, 1979 [Esfand 22, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 14, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Order to cooperate with individuals dispatched to the tribal districts of Iqlid

Addressee: Fars provincial governor

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 14, 1399 AH

Esfand 22, 1357 AHS

The Honorable Governor of Fars Province, may God always assist him:

Hujjat al-Isam Aqa Haj Sayyid Muhammad Baqir AbTaHi is being dispatched to the tribal district of Iqlid and has some needs and problems that require your attention and scrutiny. It is necessary that the aforementioned problems be looked into.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Discrepancies in the lunar dates are due to the discrepancy between the lunar calendar and the sighting of the new moon.

Speech

Date: March 13, 1979 [Esfand 22, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 14, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Conspiracies by foreign lackeys

Audience: Representatives of the Telecommunications company employees of the cities of Arak, Qum, Kashan, Mahallat, Khomein, Savih, Tafrish, Ashtiyan and Delijan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Faith in God, the cause of victory

Greetings to the heroic nation of Iran! Salutations to the nation, which rooted out all the bases of oppression, tyranny and discord with its bare hands through its reliance upon the Exalted and Blessed God, and with the unity of expression and unity of purpose. Greetings to you, the youth! Greetings to you, who have come from far away to commiserate with the local residents and me. You know that we have suffered. Our nation offered sacrifices and suffered afflictions. For fifty odd years, it endured so much suffering that it finally could bear it no longer. Oh, great nation, you, too, know that the key to your victory was the unity of expression and reliance on faith. It was your faith in God, which made you triumph. It was this faith in God which emboldened our youth into facing martyrdom. It was faith in God that shoved you forward in this struggle. We must safeguard this key.

We have now reached the halfway stage; our task is not yet fulfilled. The vestiges of those who committed treason and crimes remain. Foreign criminals and oil spongers have not given up. You should be vigilant and aware. You should thwart their conspiracies. Their lackeys now want to cause discord among the people. They want to stage anti-religious demonstrations.² They want to indulge in activities to separate you, the esteemed strata of the people and respectable brothers from each other, employing the same stratagems used by foreigners a few hundred years ago to separate Islamic countries and cause differences among individuals and groups in each nation. However, the unity of expression, which prevailed

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, this speech is dated Esfand 15, 1357 AHS [March 13, 1979].

² The National Front and Democratic Front announced holding of a rally on Esfand 29, 1357 AHS [March 20, 1979] at Azadi Square, on the pretext of absolute freedom of thought and opinions, in order to voice their official opposition to the Islamic nature of the revolution. In this, they were also supported by other splinter groups.

throughout Iran and the unity of purpose that arose all over the country showed that everyone wanted the same thing and that was an Islamic rule; the establishment of an Islamic republic in Iran was everyone's goal. Reliance on God and the goal to establish a divine rule, that is, an Islamic republic made you triumph. So far, you have been victorious. Now, when the time comes to hold a referendum, that is, in a few days, you should be vigilant. Guard yourselves against the ruses of the enemies. They are intending to install either a republic without Islam, or a democratic republic, which is also without Islam, or an Islamic democratic republic to give it a western tint by using the term "democratic." You should be on the alert and vote for nothing else but an Islamic republic.

You, who are responsible for telecommunications, must make this matter known, by communicating it, as much as you can and wherever possible, because if any instability sets into this state of affairs, or, God forbid, you show any weakness in this regard, the foreign agents might succeed (in the referendum). If, God forbid, foreign elements prevail over us in this affair, everything will revert to the way it was and even worse. Now, they (foreigners) have understood that the nation defeated them though Islam and its unity of expression. They have sensed this defeat. Now, if, God forbid, lassitude creeps in, the minions of the foreign powers will cut off our roots and those of Islam. Be alert, my brethren! Be united and of one voice. Vote for an Islamic republic, all of you together.

May God support you all. May God grant you success. May you all be healthy and sound. May God save our nation and country from the iniquity of foreign powers and make you all prosperous.

Decree

Date: March 14, 1979 [Esfand 23, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of a representative for the south coast provinces and harbors

Addressee: Ibrahim Amini

In His Most Exalted Name

Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Ibrahim Amini, may his blessings last:

Your honor, accompanied by the venerable Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Ali Akbar Masudi—may his graces last—is hereby assigned to look into committee affairs in the coastal province and Southern ports,¹ and to set local matters in order. While you are performing your mission, call the residents to unity and solidarity and warn them against discord and disparity. I pray to God the Most High for the grandeur of Islam and Muslims and everybody's success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1399 AH

¹ Hormozgan Province.

Decree

Date: March 14, 1979 [Esfand 23, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of a congregational prayer leader for the Narmak grand mosque

Addressee: MuHiddin Anwari

Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh MuHiddin Anwari—may his blessings last:

As the respectable residents of Narmak had requested in scrolls (of signatures) sent to me, you are hereby appointed to go there and lead the congregational prayer, manage the publications of the sacred religious injunctions and carry out propagation activities at the grand mosque of Narmak. It is hoped that the respectable local residents will cooperate with you and you will perform your religious and propagation responsibilities in the right way.

I pray to the Almighty God for the grandeur of Islam and Muslims and for everybody's success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 15, 1979 [Esfand 24, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Expressing thanks for the scrolls sent by the residents of Pushtkuh

Addressee: Muhammad Saduqi Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 16, 1399 AH

Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam wal Muslimin Saduqi, may his blessings last:

We are in receipt of the scrolls of signatures sent by the respectable residents of Pushtkuh in Yazd expressing their support for the government of Engineer Bazargan and the Islamic Republic. Kindly extend my gratitude to the respectable gentlemen (of Yazd) and remind them that, God willing, they should safeguard their solidarity until the ultimate victory is achieved and to refrain from differences and discord. I pray to the Almighty God for the grandeur of Islam and Muslims and everybody's success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time/Date: 5:30 pm, March 15, 1979 [Esfand 24, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah School, Qum

Subject: Continuing the movement until the establishment of an Islamic government

Occasion: On the threshold of voting for an Islamic republic

Audience: 2,000 representatives of the scouts of Tehran and the towns of the Markazi Province accompanied by supervisors and instructors

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

Efforts to sever colonial hands

May dear ones, you know what sufferings our nation went through during these fifty-odd years. Our people were killed under the yoke of colonialism and the boots of its contemptible lackeys, and while they (the Shah and his functionaries) were fleeing, they slaughtered our youth and carted off our reserves.

The criminals fled, but some of them were meted out their due punishment and others, too, will be duly punished. For the present time, we have reached half the way, and the other half remains. If, God forbid, any weakness or indecision creeps into this movement, the evil lackeys of colonialism will prevail over us in another grab and implement their sinister designs in another form. We are duty-bound not to let this movement be quelled. We are duty-bound to safeguard our movement until an Islamic republican rule is established. You should not let the nation's fervor wane. My beloved ones, maintain this ardor; safeguard your movement. The Iranian nation should protect the key, that is, its unity of expression and reliance on the Exalted God, which was its weapon in forestalling the realization of the sinister aims of colonialism and severing its hands. You can come out of your predicament by preserving this key.

Necessity of supporting the government in untangling snags

Our problems are many. The Islamic government has many difficulties. We should not expect the problems to be solved so soon. The entire nation must help the Islamic government. Everybody should be attuned with and support the Islamic government. You must stay by its side and assist it so that it can resolve its problems. The problems are not few; they abound. Our economy is bankrupt; we should remedy it and create a viable economy.

Farmers should carry on with their cultivation of crops to provide food such as wheat, barley, rice and the like for the people. The cultivation of other commodities and seeds must be abstained from as far as possible so that we do not become dependent on foreign countries. Our country has the capability of becoming an exporter, and it had been exporting in the past. In the name of the "White Revolution", this regime pushed our country backward in recent years. They did the same thing to our culture. They also ruined our farming and retarded our agricultural growth. With hands all joined and in harmony, we should build this ruined agriculture and make it flourish. If we show any weakness, we might be afflicted with the same old problems and difficulties. We should work in unity and harmony and keep our solidarity. We should realize that the key to our victory was the unity of expression and reliance upon the Exalted God. Those who have infiltrated the people's ranks, and are creating differences, and sabotaging governmental programs should know that they are serving colonial interests, whether they do it knowingly or not. If, God forbid, they do it knowingly, it is treachery, and if they are not aware of it, they should realize it and put an end to this ignorance. They should not make a different statement each day to cause agitation and dispersion among the people and segregate the factions from one another. All should be united and stay in agreement. We should have one single objective.

Augmenting Islam by voting for Islamic republic

All of us who want the best interests of Islam and our country, and want to shear the foreign interests (off our country), should vote for an Islamic republic. People from all the strata should unanimously vote for Islamic republic; not a word less, nor a word more. I, myself, will vote for it. I ask you to vote for it, too. Others are free to cast theirs in any manner they want. Those who love Islam and their country, and have gathered that Islam means prosperity for them in this world and in the hereafter, are better think deeply. I would like to request these people to vote for an Islamic republic and strengthen Islam, the Islamic country and the Islamic government; and they should not be in such a haste regarding reforms of affairs. The task is difficult and the government cannot do it alone, nor can the groups or some parts of the nation. This task will have to be carried out by all of us together.

It is my hope that if an Islamic republic is installed in Iran, the goals of Islam will be achieved and we can implement Islamic tenets. Of course, we need to do things gradually; we need time. The government is busy doing its task. However, there is much to be done. We should give it time to redress

the problems, so that it can overcome these many problems. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the prosperity of Islamic nations, in particular, the Iranian nation and you, the worthy youth.

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

Decree

Date: March 16, 1979 [Esfand 25, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Suspension of prosecution until the ratification of new regulations of the revolutionary court

Addressee: Revolutionary courts in Tehran and provincial towns

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Considering that expediting trials and enforcing verdicts, concerning criminals has been briefly suspended, it is necessary that from now on the trials take place under the supervision of the Islamic Revolutionary Council and the Islamic revolutionary government. For this reason, orders have been given to the Islamic Revolutionary Council to prepare and ratify a new set of rules. In this regard, it is necessary that Tehran's central court stop the trials from this date onward until the new set of rules is ratified. Provincial city courts may continue trials and hearings, but should put on hold the implementation of court verdicts, which should require from now on the approval of the central court based on the new set of rules.

It should be noted that all the revolutionary courts should only review cases involving anti-revolutionary crimes, and do not have any right to interfere in other kinds of offenses, such as robberies and other cases that require corporal punishment because the extraordinary revolutionary courts only concern the investigation of anti-revolutionary activities committed nowadays and during the oppressive regime.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: March 17, 1979 [Esfand 26, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Investigation of the condition of workers

Addressee: Daryush Furuhar (Minister of Labor)

In His Most Exalted Name

The Honorable Minister of Labor:

A letter has recently been received from the noble workers complaining about their condition. Nobody should forget the role of the strikes staged by both big and small factory workers and employees in the attainment of the aim of the Iranian nation, which is to destroy despotism and the ruinous colonialism, and to set up a just Islamic government.

You must look into their living and working conditions as soon as you can. The combatant workers should know that problems would be eliminated through revolutionary forbearance and patience. They should also realize that the investigation of the situation in factories and the status of their owners would take time in the course of which all the workers and employees could be paid their rightful dues. Inform factory owners who do not pay their workers' salaries of their responsibilities in order to make them realize that they are duty bound to look into their workers' affairs, or, they should leave the scene. You should also help the factory owners who have lost their ability to pay salaries due to the strikes. Eventually, all unpaid wages of workers throughout Iran have to be paid. I ask the brave laborers not to listen to malicious propaganda of some elements, because in a just Islamic government, workers' conditions will be taken care of in the best possible way and their rights will be granted.

Wages should be increased after an inspection of the conditions of factory so that workers will find relief from insufficiencies in life and be able to live in a free atmosphere and welfare like other citizens.

I want to ask all the workers to carry on with their work and get involved in gathering documents (evidence) that will facilitate the investigation of their problems, the factories and the factory owners. I shake the hands of all workers.

Mr. Furuhar, you know that Islam accords particular respect to working class. Islam wants to promote the welfare of the oppressed people so that

they can take hold of their destinies. I thank you for your efforts in this regard.

Another point is that there are women whose previous bad environmental and social conditions have deprived them of a life in a healthy environment. I hope that with the changes in Iran's social environment, injustices that resulted from the (previous) environment will be obliterated.

Rumors have it that these women have asked for jobs. It is necessary to look into their affairs in the best possible way and secure their welfare by giving them suitable jobs. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: March 18, 1979 [Esfand 27, 1357 AHS /Rabi ath-Thani 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Colonialists' efforts to sow the seeds of discord

Addressee: A group of the Air Force and Army personnel

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

Colonialism: cause of separation

We have hardly met before, my friends. We had been separated from you by the colonialists. Those who wanted to plunder our resources, retard our armed forces, place our military under their own command, utterly ruin all our national dignity, annihilate Islam and the Quran, and sow the seeds of discord among the people of this nation, separated us from you, who are both soldiers of Islam. But thanks God, this movement reached its goal and the oppressors' hands were severed off our country through the will of the Exalted God, the nation's uprising, your assistance, and the assistance of the airmen and some from the other branches of the military. I hope that the oppressors will not find roots in this country again or rule over you and us. I hope that this country will be yours and ours.

Causing discord and returning to oppression and dictatorship

Your endeavors in the course of the Islamic movement, (which endured) up until the victory, will always be appreciated. I am grateful to all of you. You and I, both of us, are all soldiers of Islam and must remain loyal to Islam and the Quran.

My brethren! We triumphed owing to our reliance on faith and Islam. We prevailed over all satanic powers barehanded through reliance on our lofty Islamic upbringing and our faith in (Islamic) principles. My friends! Be vigilant, because the adversary's ruses are still at work; the enemies are lurking. They are scheming to sow seeds of discord between you and us, and among you. Stay vigilant; if there is anyone among you that wants to, God forbid, cause disparity, remind him and make him aware that causing discord means a return to the time of suppression and despotism; it is returning to the time when our resources were plundered and which they want to plunder again. Foreign hands are at work to segregate all of us from one another. We, you and I, should stay vigilant and alert. You are our friends and we are

yours. You and we are with the nation. We are all of one nation; we are all from one country; we are of one religion. We must endeavor toward the advancement of Islam and our country, so that if, God forbid, the foreigners plot to sow seeds of discord among us, we will frustrate their stratagems with vigilance. We implore the Exalted and Blessed God for your health and prosperity, and that of the personnel of the Air Force and the rest of the nation. May God keep you steadfast and acquaint all of us with our Islamic duties.

May God's peace be upon you.

Message

Date: March 19, 1979 [Esfand 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Turmoil in Kurdistan

Addressees: Muslim people of Kurdistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To the Muslim people of Kurdistan:

It has been heard that some elements have been causing a commotion in beloved Kurdistan, acting against Islam and not letting Muslims have peace. This group has attacked and denigrated the armed forces, which have returned to the embrace of the Muslim nation and are now rallying behind them. Such acts are against Islam and counter to the interests of the Muslim people. The people of Kurdistan and other places (in Iran) must realize that any kind of aggression against the army and gendarmerie is rejected in our view. We have no disagreement with our Sunni brethren. We are all of one nation and Quran. The army, the gendarmerie and the police must also know that from now on they are the protectors of the Muslim people's peace and independence. Anybody who attacks them is not a Muslim and is an agent of the foreign (powers). The armed forces must defend the interests of the Muslim nation with all their might, and must thwart any aggression made against them, the women and the children.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 19, 1979 [Esfand 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Condolence

Addressee: Khatun Rahmanpur

In His Most Exalted Name

Esteemed Madam Khatun:¹

I share your grief. I beseech the Exalted God that your martyrs be resurrected with the Karbala martyrs and bestow upon you reward and patience.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ This letter is addressed to a woman whose husband and son were martyred while defending the Islamic Revolutionary Committee in Sanandaj. Martyr MuHammad Rahmanpur, who had been tortured several times by SAVAK, was martyred together with his 23-year-old son.

Statements

Date: March 19, 1979 [Esfand 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Diligence in education and learning the divine sciences

Addressee: A group of orphaned children and youngsters

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I do not know how to express my grief at the sight of you. I usually do not easily get affected (by such sights), but now I have been moved by the sight of this group. I am your father. I ...¹ and I am your servant, my children. You are my own children. I am aggrieved by the oppression done to our nation, all the orphans and human beings. I do not know how I can convey the grief that I feel at the sight (of orphans).

May God be your support. God willing, may you be competent soldiers of Islam and your country in the future. May God render you prolific for the nation under the aegis of Islamic and Quranic upbringing and that of the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him. I hold you all in high esteem. I am your servant and I hold you dear and in affection. You are of me and I am of you. God willing, you will be successful. Be diligent in studying and learning the divine sciences, as your diligence will edify yourselves. May God protect you. May you be in good health, God willing.

¹ In the 22-volume *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, the sentence, "I am the sign of God over this nation" which has been attributed to Imam Khomeini in this speech is erroneous and Imam Khomeini had denied having said it. The statement was made by one of those present after the Imam finished his words, and the following was made in response to the speaker.

Speech

Date: March 19, 1979 [Esfand 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Voting for the Islamic Republic

Audience: A group of revolutionary guards and various groups of people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Initial victory

I would like to thank you, respectable brethren, who have come to express your kindness and good wishes. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the prosperity of all of you. We have reached half of the way, that is, we have severed the hands of the foreigners and those of the oppressors (off our country) to a certain extent. However, we need a lot of time for the country's reconstruction. For the establishment of an Islamic government, we also need time and effort.

If we show any weakness at this sensitive time or think that we are triumphant, the very thought of victory can engender weakness. If you think that you have now gained victory and hence, must go after your trade and business and be negligent of your destiny, then I am afraid you will be met with defeat. We have not gained (complete) victory yet. We have triumphed over the Pahlavi dynasty and have thrown it out, but its roots might still be in place. We have triumphed to an extent that we could somehow sever foreign interests. But they (foreign powers) are still lurking. They will not sit idle; they have great interest riveted on Iran! They are after our resources. Iran means life to them. We should not assume that because we have gained initial victory, then everything is finished. The task is half-complete; perhaps more than half of our task is unfulfilled.

I will vote for an Islamic republic

We should preserve our unity with all our might. Make our intentions Islamic and vote for an Islamic rule, that is, an Islamic republic, in the referendum to be held in a few days. My vote is for an Islamic republic and I am asking all the gentlemen (here) to cast their votes for the same. Of course, everyone is autonomous in casting his vote. However, I am asking the nation to cast the same vote.

I hope that you, brothers, will advance through your unity of expression if you purify your intention solely for Islam. The victory, which has been achieved so far, was made possible by your unity of expression and the fact that everybody's goal was to establish an Islamic government.

The necessity of making efforts by people from all the strata

God willing, when the Islamic republic is installed, many of the problems will gradually be corrected, and I hope that all of them will be solved and the country will belong to you to run it yourselves. I hope that all the strata of the people will participate in (reconstruction) activities. Farmers should exercise diligence in farming, in particular, in increasing the cultivation of food crops; animal husbandmen must get involved in animal husbandry; merchants and traders should deal in correct trading activities and refrain from profiteering. Word has it around that certain individuals are overpricing and overcharging people unfairly. These individuals must realize that most of the nation has been weakened (economically) in the course (of the movement). Therefore, many of them incurred losses and were hard up. If merchants start overpricing and charging unfairly, the people may incur great losses. I am asking all the strata of the people to make fairness and God's pleasure their aim and motto and God will bestow graces upon them. May God make you prosperous and honored in this world and the hereafter.

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

Speech

Date: March 19, 1979 [Esfand 28, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The factors of victory

Audience: Representatives of Lorestan tribes

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

Refraining from discord

I welcome you, gentlemen, who have come from far away. You have come to commiserate with the residents of Qum and me and express your solidarity with the Iranian nation. I hope that with this solidarity between you and the rest of the Iranian nation, you will reach all your goals, namely freedom of the nation, independence of the country and the establishment of a just Islamic government, that is, the Islamic republic. I hope that you, the respectable people of Lorestan, wherever you are residing, will resolve the differences should they arise. My brethren! Today is not the time to entertain differences (among ourselves). Today is the day we should all be united. Together we should defend our country in a brotherly manner.

The demons are lurking

Demonic elements are lurking and are restless on their seats and wishing to return the affairs to the way they were before; these satanic minions want to hold us in captivity once again, bring back dictatorial rule and persecution and deplete our reserves. Up until now, they have done so through the monarchical regime, and later, perhaps through another means. You should stay awake and vigilant. You must defend the dear Islam and your country. If some deceitful individuals infiltrated your ranks and muttered words to cause discord, do not let them in. If some devious elements found their way into your ranks and indulged in adverse propaganda, you must know that these are devious individuals and are opposed to Islam. They are the hands of individuals who have held us captive up until now and have kept the country backward.

The importance of the working class and peasants in Islam

All of you must be united and friends of each other and of the nation. You must serve Islam. You know that you triumphed because of the unity of expression forged among you and the reliance you had on Islam. Hence, you should not forgo this unity and Islam. It is through Islam that we can make justice prevail in the entire society. The workers should know that Islam places great importance on them. Employees must realize that Islam holds all the strata of the people, in particular, the working class and the peasants, in high esteem. However, affairs will have to be carried out little by little. The government is concerned about this issue. We, too, are concerned about this, but unrest exists and there has been some sabotage causing damage that only time can heal. We have to be patient for a period; things cannot be carried out at once. It is not true that nobody is thinking of your welfare. We, as well as the government, are thinking of you, but we have to be a little patient. You were the ones that patiently bore up with life under the boots of worthless individuals and plunderers. Now, you must have patience until a home for the destitute is erected; tasks that need to be accomplished must be modified and those deserving praise will be carried out. You must be patient and tolerant and rely upon God. I hope that you will all be prosperous both in this world and in the hereafter.

Vote for an Islamic republic

In the referendum that will be held, I will vote for an Islamic republic and I am asking you to vote for it for the sake of Islam. Those who will vote against an Islamic republic are free to do so, but they should realize that this move is against the nation and Islam. I advise these people to desist from doing so; and all together, they vote for an Islamic republic.

May God make you all successful; I would like to thank you for coming here to commiserate with us.

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

Speech

Date: March 20, 1979 [Esfand 29, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Causes of victory; endeavor to reach the final victory; advice to the nation and government

Occasion: Advent of the (Iranian) New Year

Audience: Provisional government's cabinet

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A year of great efforts and benefits for the nation

At the end of this year, now that the New Year is approaching, I have to inform the nation of something. You know that the year we are in, which is about to end, has been a year of great endeavors and suffering; however, it was with benefits as well. The sufferings the nation went through during this year was perhaps unprecedented, or, if not, rarely equaled. Moreover, the strength that the nation had demonstrated and shown to the world has been peerless because the nation had been under intolerable pressure during the last fifty odd years. The regime had depleted the nation's strength and wasted the people's lives; however, in spite of all this, the nation rose up and forged a movement. I cannot call it by any other name but an Islamic movement, which has been achieved through the power of Islam and faith. Had it not been for the power of faith, a nation could not have prevailed over satanic powers with bare hands. It was the power of Islam and faith that united the people and it was this unity and power of faith that pushed the people toward victory.

Failure to achieve ultimate victory

The Iranian nation must safeguard this movement. If, God forbid, this nation predisposes toward lassitude, we should prepare for the return of the previous tribulations. If disparity is created among the nation, that is, if the criminal hands of anti-revolutionaries cause discord among the nation, then it has to be ready to undergo suppression, plundering and backwardness. The key of our victory was unity of expression and the reliance upon God and Islam. The nation should not let this key slip off its hands. Ultimate victory has not been achieved yet. At the threshold of the coming New Year, we have to express our sadness in one way and celebrate the feast in another. At the onset of this New Year, I would like to warn the nation, the government

and its machinery. I am forewarning the nation of the fact that it should not surmise that the task is finished now that we are at the threshold of victory and think that the victory has been reached. This thought can cause weakness to set in. Man is strong while he is invading; he is powerful while advancing. However, when he sees himself triumphant, he is weakened and the enemies may take advantage of this weakness. We have not achieved our ultimate victory yet. We have advanced our cause to a certain extent and, that is, we severed the criminal hands of the Pahlavi dynasty. To a certain extent, we have clipped its roots and branches, but its remnants may still be in this country, and the criminal hands of its agents whose wishes and aspirations are to plunder our treasury vaults and push us backward in order to loot the treasury may still be trailing behind. There are still conspiracies at work. If we consider ourselves victorious and think that we have gained ultimate victory, we may, God forbid grow negligent of this issue. We should not think ourselves victorious; we should think that we are at the threshold of victory, and this is the truth. We have reached the threshold of victory. (True) victory is the day when all the roots of the foreign (influence) and corruption are severed and this has not been done yet. Therefore, the noble nation of Iran is duty bound to safeguard this movement. It has been maintained up to this stage. By safeguarding the unity of expression, this movement and its goals, which consist of Islam and the Islamic republic, the nation should advance forward. Do not let lethargy set in to your ranks or let lassitude creep in. Do not imagine yourselves victorious. If this thought finds place among you, lethargy will also gain prevalence. You should consider yourselves only partially victorious and think that you have gone only half of the way. We must tread the rest of the way, which teems with difficulty, through the enterprise of all the strata of the people until we reach the ultimate victory.

Reconstructing the ruins with the cooperation of all the strata of the people

Another point I want to tell the nation is that we cannot expect the government alone to repair the damage that had been inflicted on the country in the last 20-odd years. The government cannot do it alone. We cannot rely upon the clergy alone to repair the damage; the clergy cannot do it alone. Nor can we rely on the government office employees or teachers to carry out this task, as they cannot do so. When we were advancing toward our destination and the victory that we have achieved so far, one single group could not take this movement to victory. Therefore, we and all the strata of the people got

united, set aside our own creed, moved forward together and reached this stage (of victory). Now, too, we should advance the cause together in the same way that we achieved this victory and trod this path.

If the construction of the devastation (wrought by the regime) is to begin, one single class of people cannot do it. Once more, we should be united but each in his own field: the farmers should be inspired in doing agricultural activities in the farming areas. Now, there are no more hands to coerce them into toiling for the corrupt elements, or skip over their benefits for their own advantage or give it to the foreigners. Now, nobody can ever do such a thing anymore. Farmers should carry on farming with zeal, and in this period farmers must cultivate crops consisting mainly of important varieties of crops, which make up the staple food of the nation such as wheat, rice, barley, lentils and so on. They should avoid cultivating crops that are harmful or worthless; they should cultivate opium less or refrain from doing so. Moreover, they should also refrain from sowing crops that are detrimental to the people's nourishment. They should make the cultivation of food crops the major part of their farming activities so that we will not find dependency on the foreign stuff, God willing. You know that presently we depend on foreign countries for foodstuffs. We should be relieved of this dependency and this can be achieved through the farmers' efforts and, of course, the government should assist the farmers and it will, God willing.

A warning to profiteers and hoarders

Similarly, our bazaar should be Islamic. As I have been informed repeatedly, there is now a gang of profiteers in the bazaar, who have overpriced commodities. This is an inhuman issue. It is an issue that individuals who are now hankering for profits should take note and realize that the nation, most of which belong to the low class of people who cannot financially run their lives, was the one that achieved this victory for us. Hence, those creditable merchants who did not play a role in this movement must not cause difficulties for these people. These days are New Year days. The people need clothes, food and other things. They should be treated with fairness and in a brotherly way. Profiteers should shun overpricing, hoarding, and stocking up commodities to sell them at higher prices later. Hoarding foodstuff is odious. Traders must treat the people in a brotherly manner like their own brothers, and must know that they brought about this victory. You have now been freed and emancipated from bondage. Are you now afraid that the security organization might persecute you and do things such as these? On the contrary, you should fear God or Islam. You must be

considerate toward weaker people; you should help the destitute; you should not go after profiteering, hike the prices of goods and cause difficulty for the people. This issue concerns this class. Of course, there are other issues, but it will take a long time to discuss them.

Expediency of educational change

Regarding the government, I can say that there are many problems in it now at the threshold of the New Year, and we cannot say that they (the government officials) are culpable. They (the government officials) are all busy working but problems abound. A lot of attention will have to be paid to issues the first of which is education. The educational system we now have should be revised. The colonial educational system should be transformed into an independent educational system. Teachers in this educational system or the entire class of professors should be chosen with carefulness and they should be righteous and virtuous individuals. They should be ones to bring up our youth as righteous and not parasitic citizens. In the past, our youth had been brought up in a western way to make them west intoxicated. You should be independent; you should be unaffected by what is happening in the West! Do not think that many (wonderful) things happen in the West. They themselves (western people) are saying, "Nothing exciting is going on in the West!" Events do take place, but events regarding intellectual and human growth are very few. You must be independent and enhance your human growth. You must raise the children and youth with a humane upbringing. Headmasters and teachers that the government chooses for universities and schools to teach will have to be purged of any previous (Western) inclinations. Teachers and instructors who were previously at the service of foreign individuals and the *taghut* must not be allowed to join (the teaching force) for the second time lest they push our children (educationally) backward once again. This is an issue of great significance in our educational system. Eventually, the educational system has to be transformed into a healthy, independent and humane system.

The government and army's responsibility

Regarding the army, I say that the nation is duty bound to support it. You should not undermine it. We need the army; the nation needs it. The army must be supported and buttressed by the nation, but in turn, the army, too, must be considerate. Military heads should care to identify certain individuals among themselves who had been at the service of the *taghut* and criminal regime and dismiss them gradually or in another way. They should

appoint in their stead honorable individuals as military heads and employ others for other positions. In appointing individuals, extreme care must be exercised to make sure that the right people are appointed. The same responsibility applies to the government when appointing governors, commanders, the courts of justice and all other appointments, which must thoroughly be evaluated. Those who had been serving the *taghut*, whose crimes are so conspicuous, and who incur the people's dissatisfaction must not be chosen lest it aggravates the people's dissatisfaction. These individuals should be at the people's service. The government must be at the people's service. Things should not be in a way that officials just give orders; it should be in a way that officials carry out orders for the people. It should be this way and we hope, God willing, it will be so. The government, justice department and the rest of the other offices will have to be purged. These offices have to find a way to make their choices in a way that treacherous individuals are brushed aside, likewise those who were on the (*taghut*) side before the Revolution, but who feign having changed hearts when they saw that victory was at hand. Identify these elements and brush aside these opportunists. Finally, the government will have to have full control and choose the right and suitable officials to head all ministries and carry out their tasks in the right manner. Of course, the government is performing its task, but it should make more efforts.

Correcting the workers' affairs and solving their problems

One important issue is the workers' conditions. I had a talk with the workers as well as with the government. The parley with the workers was to dispel their thoughts that we, or the government, are not concerned about their welfare; they should not think that we can do something for them, in reality or immediately, and we are not. This is not the case. More than any other issues, we are concerned about the working class, farmers and low-ranking government employees and we will act upon our word. Regarding their housing, the government is busy drafting a plan to construct houses for those who do not have their own houses. Regarding their salaries, God willing, they will be paid but it needs a little time. The workers should give the government some time and should not think that the government has the facility but is ignoring them. They should not think that we have a chest of treasure in our hands but we do not give them! This is not the case; the government does not have anything; nor do we have any treasure! The government, as well as we, is thinking of them, but a little time is needed until the economy gets under way. Of course, workers who had been laid off

will be recalled; those who are working and have a complaint about their wages and bonuses will have their problems corrected. All these issues will be resolved.

The government's paying more attention to the workers

However, regarding the government, it should favor the workers more, and consider their affairs properly. It should provide them more supporting order to alleviate their conditions. I am giving the workers my assurance that it is not the case that the government does not want to do something for them. It wants to do as much as it can for them and it is doing so. The Labor Minister is busy working out a suitable arrangement for them, but time is needed. I want the workers to give it more time and to be patient and consider the problems of the government. I also want the government to work a little faster in carrying out its affairs. It should progress a bit more quickly and accomplish its work a bit sooner. It should give employees the assurance and act upon it. This is what I can say regarding the employees and the government.

The radio-television network is a state university

I would also like to say something regarding propagation agencies such as the radio and television and the like. When these media were at the service of the *taghut*, they were utilized either in promoting the *taghut* that no sooner than you turned on the radio you would hear "His Majesty, Aryamehr", and then a hollow propaganda, and other issues which distanced the people from the stream of the main issues. Both the illiterate and literate people would learn about the country's affairs through media broadcasts by listening to the radio and watching television across the country, making the media very important (propaganda) machinery. Hence, it was extremely important to the system to stupefy the people and make them negligent so they could be easily looted. However, thank God, the system has now become Islamic and Islamic responsibilities will be carried out. Now, the radio and television have to be reformed. In this regard, some deliberation has already been done and further attention will be paid to them in order to identify and purge individuals who had been at the service of the *taghut* spreading corruption. We cannot take in people who had been against the nation, who used to make anti-revolutionary speeches, made a show and set the scene for such activities, and who now lay claim to Islam and religion. These will have to be eliminated as well. The radio and television are media to which great significance is attached for both positive and correct propagation as well as

negative and corrupt propaganda. Perhaps, those who invented these media of communication had educational aims when they first developed them. The entire press had been set up for the same purpose. However, the significance of the television is foremost of all, that is, the radio and television. These media are educational tools through which all the strata of the people will have to be educated. They are like public universities. Universities are located somewhere; but the mass media are public, that is, it is a university, which is scattered all over the country. Like other universities, they should be utilized to the fullest extent possible. This instrument (of education) should become an instrument that should enlighten all walks of the nation after a few years and bring up combatant and thinking individuals. Universities should develop independent and freedom-seeking individuals, purge them of their west intoxication and grant them independence. This is the most important of all the features these apparatuses have. It is duty bound to establish student-teacher relationship with the people. Discerning and well-informed individuals as well as writers and speakers should lecture in these centers. These individuals should be given the opportunity to speak there. Many individuals have suggested this idea and they should be given the chance to talk over there. They should provide the people with something beneficial and feed the people with food for the intellect so that they feed on healthy and correct ideas, not something that will be detrimental or useless. As they have promised to reform gradually, I hope that these universities will take greater strides, and be purged and modified sooner, God willing.

The great Islamic university

I would like to address those people of my own kind. We are of the same kind, but we are also of the same visage and I respect everyone, that is, the *ulama* and the clergy. The *ulama* and the clergy have more and heavier responsibilities than all the people. The Exalted and Blessed God has given them this responsibility. Now the Muslim nation listens to the words of this group more than those of others. Therefore, God can place us under question why we, whose words people obey and heed, showed shortcomings in this respect, or why we spoke so sparingly. God willing, there will no longer be anything like this, although, God forbid, a few might still show this weakness. Our responsibility is very heavy. Regarding the purging of this Islamic university, that is, the great Islamic university, this task will have to be carried out by the grand Religious Reference Authorities. Likewise, the purging and correction of education and training should be done by the great *ulama*, who should also consider education. In all humility, I am asking all

the gentlemen here, who should guide the nation, to be well-informed in all methods of guidance. People expect you to be well versed in all the methods of guidance.

The necessity of equipping theology centers in various dimensions

In the same way that Islam has various dimensions, it also has laws based on every human dimension. It has the Quran, which is a book of human development. Therefore, in the same way that the Quran is multidimensional, the *ulama*, too, should have knowledge on the multifarious dimensions of education based on the dimensions that Islam and the human being have. Of course, a single being cannot have all these dimensions. However, a seminary with 10,000, or, for instance, 30,000 members, can be divided into groups each of which could oversee each dimension: one group could supervise the intellectual dimension, one the political aspect and another ones for other dimensions that there are in Islam. All of these aspects exist in Islam. The theology schools should be the same, that is, they should be well equipped and in the same manner that Islam has various dimensions, theology schools, too, should have various dimensions, that is they should have individuals trained for the guidance of the people. If upright and competent individuals do not arise from these theology schools, then we cannot expect any other places to train the right people. Hence, in the same manner that they learn and get educated in Islamic jurisprudence and its methods, they should also learn all the rest of the Islamic subjects, study other dimensions of Islam, teach them and produce meritorious individuals to guide and lead the people.

A record of martyrdom in religion and Islam

I have to express the grief I felt over our martyrs at the end of this year. We are very much aggrieved by the great number of the martyrs we have. It seems that 160,000 wounded and martyred have been written (in the papers). Anyway, even one martyr is a lot; there should not be any casualty. Anyway, it has happened already. However, it was done for Islam and religion and not for worldly reason, therefore some individuals would come and ask me to pray that they become martyrs; this act had an Islamic and religious motive and this was the reason that we advanced. This was the kind of morale that pushed them into martyrdom, that is, they were undaunted by death. The progress of Muslims at the advent of Islam was due to the same reason. We have lost many valuable individuals, but because they died for Islam, God willing, their souls are in bliss and prosperity under the aegis of the Exalted

and Blessed God. We also pray to God to grant the bereaved families strength. And at the threshold of the New Year, we pray for their salvation and beseech God for the prosperity of all the nation.

My last request will be the same. Oh, nation of Iran! Safeguard your movement, your unity and preserve your Islamic direction. Edify yourselves and do not attach any value to those worthless human beings.

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

Letter

Date: March 22, 1979 [Farvardin 2, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Negation of ethnic inclinations among Muslims

Occasion: Sedition of foreign agents in Arabic speaking regions of Khuzestan

Addressee: Muhammad Tahir ash-Shubayr Khaqani, Khorramshahr

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Farvardin 2, 1358 AHS

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam¹ wal Muslimin Haj Shaykh Muhammad Tahir Khaqani, may his blessings last:

After offering my greetings, I would like to thank His Excellency's efforts in those regions, which are indeed among the most sensitive regions in the country. You are aware that in the noble Islam, there exists no tribal issue and Muslims are all brothers and are one hand against others. I am very sorry and aggrieved regarding the words spreading in some of the country's regions aiming to cause a rift among Muslim tribes. We love our Arab brethren from the depth of our heart and consider ourselves of them and them of ourselves. Our much-loved Islam is an immense blessing from the great messenger of God, may God's peace and blessings be upon him, who was the honor of the universe and who arose from the holy city of Mecca; therefore, we accord the Arab nation very great respect because of this fact. Islam has so commanded that Muslims, from any tribe they may be, are brothers. Being Arab, non-Arab, Kurdish or Turkish, is not an issue. All tribes in Islam and the Islamic Republic shall attain their legitimate rights. His Eminence, kindly extend my great respect and greetings to our Arab and non-Arab brothers in that region on my behalf. I am the nation's servant. And I am dedicating the rest of my life to the service of our Islamic brothers. I implore the Exalted God for the unity, unwavering faith of everybody, and I would like to express my gratitude to His Excellency.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In the Imam's manuscript the word "Ayatullah" was written above the title "Hujjat al-Islam."

Speech

Date: March 22, 1979 [Farvardin 2, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: A warning to the nation

Occasion: New Year's Feast

Audience: A group of Qum's Islamic revolutionary guards

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Enemies of Islam and the country are in the lurk

It is hoped that you will be guards of the nation and soldiers of the Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him, and that you will endeavor for the sake of Islam and promotion of the Quran. So far, we have reached a stage in which victory has not been completely achieved yet. I hope that this victory will be achieved with your determination; I seek your assistance for promoting Islam, Islam's power and the Quran. My brothers, beware that we are not yet truly victorious. Do not think that we have triumphed because such a thought will cause lethargy. When you think that you have won your battle, you may relinquish your task and will get busy with individual affairs. Victory has not yet been attained. The enemies of Islam are lurking, causing rifts and launching plots. This very night, I read in the papers that the SAVAK agents had conspired and wanted to create commotion during the New Year (feast). Do not consider yourself as having gained absolute victory. Victory is achieved when these corrupt roots are uprooted and such plots thwarted. And this shall be achieved through your efforts and determination, I mean you the young people who have so far endeavored greatly for the cause of Islam and the noble Quran. And you have all attained God's satisfaction.

Vote for the Islamic Republic

From now on, we, being coalesced as one unified power, will cast one and the same vote. If you are united, you can carry this burden of the Revolution to its final destination. And, if, God forbid, rifts emerge among the people's ranks, I fear that the same situation as before returns to the country. Unity of expression and reliance on the illustrious Quran, which were the keys to victory, must be preserved and we should advance united and set up an Islamic republic government in Iran. We should all cast our votes in favor of the Islamic Republic. I pray to God the Almighty for your

and the Iranian nation's health and prosperity. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you all.

Message

Date: March 23, 1979 [Farvardin 3, 1357 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 24, 1399 AH¹]

Place: Qum

Subject: Preserving unity and brotherhood

Audience: Soldiers and guards of Islam

In His Most Exalted Name

Farvardin 3, 1357 AHS

Rabi ath-Thani 24, 1399 AH²

O dear children of Islam! Devoted soldiers and guards of Islam, may God the Almighty support you all.

This New Year, I appreciate the efforts of the chivalrous and zealous youths, who have ended the nightmarish colonial rule in this country. I wish to express my gratitude to you, noble fighters, who have planted the sapling of freedom in this land. And I pray to God the Most High for your ever-increasing success in the path to final victory. At this sensitive juncture in time in which the remnants of our defeated enemy are lurking, you should keep your unity and brotherhood, and should not allow the enemies to reactivate and take advantage of disunity and rift among yourselves. I am not negligent in my prayers for the well-being of you, my beloved children.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, it was dated Farvardin 5, 1358 / March 25, 1979, and in *Ittilaat Daily*, Farvardin 6, 1358 / March 26, 1979 / Rabi ath-Thani 26, 1399.

² Discrepancies in the lunar dates are due to the discrepancy between the lunar calendar and the sighting of the new moon.

Message

Date: March 24, 1979 [Farvardin 4, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Active participation in the elections

Occasion: Referendum on Islamic republic

Audience: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To all members of this combatant and brave nation, may the Exalted God assist them:

At this crucial juncture in time, when the destiny of our beloved country and Islam will be determined, our beloved fellow citizens should participate in the referendum with greater fervor than before. Today, negligence, nonchalance and lethargy to participate in the referendum, which is a life-enhancing affair, means rendering the martyrs' blood futile and defiling the country and beloved Islam.

My vigilant friends! The day of the referendum is the time to reap the fruit of the efforts you have taken in several years. At this point, I deem it necessary to mention the participation of the brave and combatant women throughout Iran in the referendum. The women who fought and played a crucial role in the victory of the Islamic Revolution alongside the men, and at times even ahead of them, must take note that their active participation will guarantee further victory for the Iranian nation. Participation in this affair is one of the national and Islamic duties of both men and women. All of you are free to vote for anything you want. I myself will vote for Islamic republic and I want to make a brotherly request of you to assist me in this Islamic affair. It is necessary that the gallant youth thwart the plots and treachery against the casting of votes, and guard ballot boxes as a trust given to them. I implore the Exalted God for the victory of Islam and the preservation of the Islamic country.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: March 24, 1979 [Farvardin 4, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Refraining from lethargy in perpetuating the movement

Occasion: New Year's Day

Audience: A group of Islamic revolutionary guards

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

God the Exalted willing, you will be successful and you will become among the guards of Islam. Moreover, all of us are among the servants of Islam. May God protect you, the guards, for us. May God protect our beloved Iran for us. God willing, you will attain prosperity.

We have trodden the path to an extent and many difficulties have remained to be solved. Do not think yourself victorious yet; because those who think they are victorious will become lethargic. We have gone only half the way and enemies are lurking; we must preserve our unity and we should tread the path to the end in the same way that we have done so far. Do not let this movement lose its fervor and become enervated. Lethargy and enervation today may lead us to defeat, and if, God forbid, the nation meets defeat, it will be the annihilation of Islam. Stay united and friends of one another. All of us together want an Islamic republic.

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the health of all of you, the Iranian nation and all the Muslim nations.

Peace and salutations be upon you all and all the nation's youth.

Message

Date: March 25, 1979 [Farvardin 5, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Peace between Egypt and Israel (Camp David Accord)¹

Addressees: Muslims of the world

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

For over 15 years, I have mentioned the danger of Israel's usurping government and have declared this fact to the Arab governments and nations: Now with the colonial plot of making peace between Egypt and Israel, the danger has grown greater, closer and more serious. Anwar Sadat, by having accepted this peace, has made his affiliation to the US imperialist government more obvious. One cannot expect more than this from a colleague of the former Shah. Iran considers itself attuned with its Arab brothers in Arabic countries, and regards itself a partner to their decisions. Iran regards the peace made by Israel and Sadat a treachery to Islam and Muslims and the Arab brothers and supports the political stances taken by countries in opposing this Accord.²

May God's peace and mercy be upon you all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ 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.

² Among the Arab states, the Steadfastness Front was set up against this peace accord, including Algeria, the PLO, Syria, Libya, and South Yemen.

Speech

Date: March 25, 1979 [Farvardin 5, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Referendum on Islamic Republic

Occasion: New Year's Day

Audience: Propagation Group of Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Qum: center of all blessings

I am happy that after very long years I find myself among you, my comrades, the youth. I was, am and have always been thinking about Iran and my own hometown—Qum—and I always prayed for it. You know that Qum has been the center of Shiah approximately since the time of Hadrat Sadiq, may God's peace be upon him, and Shiism spread to other places from there. Likewise, the (religious) sciences also expanded from this center and, thank God, bravery, endeavor and sacrifice in the path of Islam also issued from Qum. Qum is the center of all blessings. May God protect you, the people of Qum for us, the whole of Iran and everybody.

Necessity of participation in the referendum

You know that we still have to tread a long path in which we should all be together so that we will be able to fulfill our tasks and reach our goals. You must propagate that everyone, all classes of people, women and men—from a 16-year-old youth to an old man—must take part in the referendum. Women should also take part in it. Nobody should neglect this (duty). In this referendum, our destiny will be fulfilled through Islam, God willing, or non-Islamic (systems), God forbid. That is, to have an Islamic republic, or, God forbid, another system devised by scheming evil forces. The people of Iran, in general, and you, the youth, must guard the ballot boxes, which will be posted in various locations to make sure that nobody tampers with them or cheat. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for your success.

The expediency of properly controlling audio-visual equipment

You should know that the equipment you have just mentioned and which some, or all, of you are working with, should be utilized as educational instruments. During the *taghut* regime, this equipment was used to stupefy the youth, advertise ways to drag the nation toward a futile course of life and

render everyone negligent of his fate. The cinema was designed for no reason except from achieving the regime's sinister goals. These things should be tools for educating (people). The radio and television are tools of education and the same is true with the cinema. Hence, they should be run and managed in a healthy, proper and appropriate manner.

I implore God to make Iran a purified Iran and an Iran whose material and spiritual aspects are rectified from now on. What is most significant in a country is its spirituality. However, the former regime distanced us from spirituality and did not allow us to grow spiritually. I beseech the Exalted and Blessed God to make our spirituality grow and increase our attention to Him.

Safeguarding the movement with all our might

Our victory was gained because we turned to God and wished for martyrdom. Islam made us victorious; otherwise, we were powerless vis-à-vis the (foreign) powers. Therefore, from now on, we should safeguard this key; we should protect the unity of expression and this key, which is the power of Islam. Do not think that our task has been fulfilled and that we can lead our lives as before. It has not yet been completed and hence, we should keep our unity. We should preserve this movement with fervor and all our strength. May God make you all prosperous. May God make you prosper in this world and the Hereafter. Peace be upon you!

Speech

Date: March 25, 1979 [Farvardin 5, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The treacheries of the Shah's regime; necessity of being united

Occasion: The New Year Holidays

Audience: Representatives of Lorestan tribes

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Treacheries of the Shah's regime and the devastation it wrought

Welcome (all of you)! May God keep you all under His protection. I know how much suffering you, like the other walks of life, have been through under the *taghuti* regime in the last fifty-odd years. We share the same sufferings under the oppression and other misfortunes that this *taghuti* regime had afflicted this nation with. However, thank God, with the help of all walks of the nation and the respectable Iranian tribes, we have gained victory up to this point. Of course, we have a lot of work to do ahead of us in order to rebuild the devastation the *taghuti* regime has bequeathed us.

The regime had depleted and plundered all our resources and deflated our dignity. They installed foreign (rule) in Iran. They constructed bases for the superpower governments and squandered our wealth. They had forbidden animal husbandry; in their own lexis, they nationalized the jungles and gave away our verdurous pastureland and woods to the foreigners. They paralyzed farming and agriculture, exhausted our treasury and kept our people backward. They patterned our schools and educational system after a colonial one. Now, we are facing a crippled and bankrupt economy and indecent universities. However, it is hoped that with the efforts of the entire nation, all the strata of the people and the respectable Iranian tribes, we will carry this heavy responsibility to its destination.

Preserving the unity of expression

I hope that you, gentlemen, will safeguard this unity of expression with awareness. Root out any discord that exists among tribes. The elders among you must take efforts to mediate among the tribes' youth and try to reconcile their differences. If, God forbid, a rift is created in the community, I fear for the return of new problems and, having tasted the bitterness of such a predicament, you should not allow the reactivation of such an adverse condition. Be united. All the strata of the people should be united. Protect the

places where you are residing from the evil of hooligans. If anyone among you starts whispering words of discord, ostracize him. Also, avert any adverse propaganda that is in favor of the foreigners.

Vote for an Islamic republic

Now, the country belongs to you and the government is of you. The government is at your service and I, as well. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to protect your honor and prosperity with all His might. You are our brothers and we yours. The entire nation is brothers to one another and they should tread this path and vote for Islamic republic. Later, God willing, you must know that everything will be based on Islam; they should vote. In addition, later on, the Islamic republic will be set up, God willing, and perhaps our problems will be remedied. May God protect you all.

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

Letter

Date: March 27, 1979 [Farvardin 7, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledgment of a received letter

Addressee: Muslim Ughur (of Turkey)

In His Most Exalted Name

Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1399 AH

Honorable scholar Mr. Shaykh Muslim Ughur:

Your Eminence's letter congratulating me on my arrival has reached Iran. I thank you for expressing your kindness and affection. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the grandeur of Islam and Muslims, for their unity and unanimity in the materialization of the sublime goals of the great Prophet.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: March 27, 1979 [Farvardin 7, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The key of Islamic Revolution's victory; necessity of the government and nation's unity

Audience: A group of people from Tabriz

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

Azerbaijan, always the vanguard of the uprisings

My Tabrizi brothers, welcome! My beloved ones, you have come to your own home! I am your servant. I consider you all dear to me. You are all my brothers. You are my children. I appreciate the endeavors you had taken in this movement. I deeply regret all the adversities our nation had gone through, in particular, those of the people of Azerbaijan. I know what sufferings the nation and you had been through during the previous regime. Thanks God, our nation rose up and Azerbaijan, as always, was at the vertex of the uprisings.¹ It was a vanguard of uprisings. In this movement, Azerbaijan, too, was a vanguard.² May God protect Azerbaijan for us. May God always unite our nation. We are all brothers and should stay together. The key of our victory was this very unity of expression and solidarity with one another. The secret of our victory was our attention being focused on the Exalted and Blessed God and on preserving Islam. Safeguard this key; safeguard this unity; safeguard this solidarity; keep this regard for Islam. May God render you victorious in all affairs.

We have not yet achieved absolute victory. We have gone halfway through our path. Now, the country is still in turmoil and disorder. Seditious elements are fomenting confusion. With your endeavors, you, the youth of Azerbaijan, each one of you, wherever you are, must defend the country's borders. Sever the hands of saboteurs. It was you, who brought the victory up to this stage and it will be you, who will take it to ultimate victory. Our government cannot do this task alone. Our clergy cannot do this task alone,

¹ Some of the most outstanding rebellions staged by the Azerbaijan people were the Constitutional Movement, the Anti-Rida Khan Movement, and the uprising against Russian agents after World War II (Pishehwari's rebellion).

² The Tabriz uprising of Bahman 29, 1356 AHS [February 18, 1978] led to the destruction of the *taghuti* centers in this city and the martyrdom of several local people.

either. Everybody should do it together: the government with the nation and the nation with the government. Now the government is Islamic; it is not like the previous one, which was a *taghuti* one. The government is Islamic. The government is of you and you are of the government. The army is of you and you are of the army.

The army should be your supporters and you must be its supporters. We should all remedy the deficiencies that now exist in Iran. We should all endeavor to take this movement so far created, to its ultimate victory. If, God forbid, lethargy sets in among us and we all go after our own personal business and grow indifferent toward our country's destiny, I fear that we will all retrogress back to all our previous predicaments. That is, all treacheries and crimes will, God forbid, again be prevalent. We should all be united and take this movement forward. Therefore, we should take this movement to its final fruition through our unity of expression, reliance upon the Exalted and Blessed God and the glorious Quran and completely annihilate the roots of corruption, whose vestiges might be remaining in our country. The country is in your hands and it is yours. Likewise, the country's destiny is in your hands and is yours.

Protecting the borders and frontiers

I beseech the Exalted and Blessed God for your victory. I would like to ask you to go back to your hometowns, defend your borders, protect yourselves from all sides, and do not let any corrupt elements among you emerge in the society to engage in adverse propaganda.

We hope that the Kurdish problem will be solved peacefully and in good way, and may we all become brothers. We are brothers of the Kurdish people; we are brothers of the Azerbaijan people; we are brothers of (people from) all provinces. Together we want an Islamic country, where Islamic laws will be implemented, so that nobody will be oppressed and tyrannized, where neither the government nor the army can tyrannize anyone. Let us all be together and advance forward united. May the Exalted and Blessed God protect you, the youth and keep you, brothers, for us. Peace be upon you all!

Speech

Date: March 27, 1979 [Farvardin 7, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The necessity of continuing the struggle and movement

Audience: A group of revolutionary guards, soldiers and women of Qum

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

The roots of colonialism

Thanks God, tyranny had been rooted out. Nobody will ever subject you to coercion again. There is no more security intelligence organization that you fear of and be disconcerted. The police forces are now at the service of the nation. The police forces are not supposed to bully the people anymore, nor will the people undergo any bullying. All (forces) are at the nation's service: the government and we as well are at its service, just the roots of colonialism have, which we cannot root out easily unless everyone safeguards this movement and this unity of expression.

If you think yourself victorious, lethargy will overcome you. Victory will bring about lethargy. While you are on the way, you are strong and firm on your feet, but once you reach home, you become sluggish and fall asleep. Now, we have gone half of the way. We have not reached home yet. We still have a long way to achieve our goal, which is to annihilate the putrefied roots of colonialism, God willing, and this cannot be facilitated and made possible unless this movement is preserved the way you have up to now. Safeguard this unity of expression; shun discord; let us refrain from differences. We are all brothers. The whole nation is brother to one another, As God said, "The faithful are all brothers".¹ A brother must protect his brother's peace and be his friend. We are from the same land and origin and one nation. Everyone is of one nation, men and women alike, under the banner of Islam. This movement in which women had a great share has to be preserved not only by the women but also by you. One blessing of this movement is the victory we gained up to this point. I hope that this movement will bless us with the ultimate victory.

¹ "The believers are but a single brotherhood", Surah al-Hujurat 49:10.

Malevolent elements and disturbances in the referendum

Now, we are facing the issue of the referendum. Malevolent agents want to sabotage it. Our youth should protect the ballot boxes and their surroundings and not let anybody meddle. Prevent anybody that wants to cause mayhem. If anybody plots to cause any disturbance, thwart it. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to grant us success in holding this referendum to its completion with His absolute power, make us establish the Islamic republic in Iran, and make Iran an independent and free country for you. May God keep you and make you prosperous and powerful.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: March 28, 1979 [Farvardin 8, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of the unity of all classes of people, and thwarting the conspiracies against the referendum

Audience: Physicians of Qum

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

Achievements of the Islamic Revolution

One of the blessings of this movement is that we became acquainted with those faces they (ex-regime) had kept us away from knowing. God willing, we will get to know them and we have already come to know them. Governments servile to colonial powers tried to separate the various segments of the people of Iran from one another. Rather they tried to separate the Muslims from one another, and Islamic governments from each other, and do likewise with all strata of the people in every region and separate the clergy from the other groups.

You, gentlemen, who are physicians and doctors, know better (than we do) what they did to us. You witnessed the afflictions of the people more than we did. However, we share the same grief arising from witnessing so many sufferings that befell the nation over the past fifty-odd years. The younger people may not remember the early years of this dynasty. However, they are aware of what happened in the last years of the regime. We (the elderly) who are aware of what happened at the beginning of this regime witnessed the affairs. We were in Qum then and saw what they did when they came to power and when Rida Khan came to power, and what he did to the people; to these very people of Qum; what he did to the women, to our *ulama* and the theology students. These are matters, which will have to be written as a whole book if anyone wishes to write them

Instances of the repressive measures undertaken by Rida Khan's regime

Sometimes I would be engaged in discussions at the Faydiyyah Madrasah with some colleagues. Once I saw someone who told me that they had to leave before sunrise and go into hiding in orchards because government agents (who were pursuing them) would come to arrest them. Therefore, they would go to the orchards in the city before the sun rose and return in the dead

of night, to our place. When we ourselves wished to have some private gatherings, we had to go separately from alley to alley to congregate and pour our hearts out. You have no idea what they did to the women of Qum. There was this police chief, who maltreated the women. I do not know whether he is dead or still alive, but, according to what was said, one day he was sitting in his office with his nose bleeding, when his eyes caught sight of a woman wearing a *chador* or it could have been a scarf. Ignoring his bleeding nose, he jumped at her and assaulted her. This was how they treated people. Toward the end of their rule, you witnessed what they did to this nation, what massacres they committed in all the cities and provinces and what crimes they perpetrated right here in Qum.

Iranian physicians in America

One of the afflictions they encumbered this nation with was that they made the people distrustful of one another. In other words, if there was a sick person in Tehran, they would tell us to seek treatment in England or Paris! This is a situation that they have created for us. That is, we have lost our confidence before them. You think the doctors over there are so good that anybody (ill) going there will be cured! It is not known if the patients who can be cured here with a little care, will be given proper (medical) treatment when they go abroad. It is not that the medical doctors there perform miracles and that our physicians are not capable. It is not true. It is because of such propaganda that we become suspicious of our own capability; that is, we have lost our self-aplomb. Do you think that our own physicians and Iranian medical doctors are less capable than their foreign counterparts? Presently, many physicians residing in the United States are Iranians. I have been told that there are more than 500 Iranian doctors there and if they return home, the American health system will be disturbed. It is not true that those Iranians who went abroad for education and those who were educated here inside the country are less competent than their foreign counterparts. No, they are equally good and even better than the foreigners. When I was in France and would sometimes become sick, foreign doctors would visit me. I did not see something extraordinary in them. People who have gone abroad for treatment have returned with the same ailment. Those who were pronounced as hopeless cases by the doctors here went abroad where the situation was the same. This is because the foreigners took serious efforts for long years to empty us of our brain. That is, to render us so Westoxicated that we become suspicious of what we have, which is superior to its foreign counterpart. They want us to believe that our ways and thinking are inferior

and that foreign ways and things are better, whereas that is not the case, and it is not true that they are far ahead of us when it comes to intellectual and medical issues. Well, they are advanced but not in the way we imagine.

An example of the blessings of the movement

Therefore, one of the blessings of this movement is that it has brought us face to face. We were estranged from each other and this was also the handiwork of foreign powers, which distanced us from each other. In that we are your peers—we are doctors of the spirit and you are doctors of the body, and both, doctors of human beings. We should join one another like a human body, which consists of the spirit, and body. The clergy and physicians are two parts of one body: the former takes care of the spiritual aspect and the latter the physical aspect. Nevertheless, we had never converged in a gathering like this except during these recent days in Tehran when physicians came and visited me. We had such gatherings neither with you, nor with academicians, judges, or lawyers. One of the blessings of this movement is that now we are facing each other and talking to each other.

Colonialism not uprooted

From now on, God willing, the tables will be turned in favor of our country, Iran, which has been trampled under the feet of foreign powers, whose reserves have been depleted, whose dignity had been crushed. Our human resources were kept retarded or we were made cynical with respect to our own capabilities. We curtailed the interests of foreign powers and those of the oppressors. Thanks God, the hands of this tyrant have been severed. Of course, he had depleted our resources; nevertheless, these hands were severed. I hope that we will be able to snatch back our wealth from his clutches. I want to bring up this point at the end of this meeting. This should be obvious to every one that we have not achieved the ultimate victory. We have gone only half of the way. We have not yet pulled out all the roots of colonial rule. The dictatorship has been dismantled, which means that there is nobody to bully us, or you. Neither is the Islamic government a bully nor do we have any security organizations such as the police and army, for fear of which some people would not sleep.

Now, everyone is at the service of the nation and Islam. Thanks God that we are now safe from these (despotic agents) and we are not afraid. However, the roots of colonial rule are still in place, that is, its agents are hatching plots.

Conspiracy against the referendum on the Islamic Republic

Now that we want to hold a referendum, which, God willing, will take place a couple of days from now, they (enemies) are hatching a conspiracy to cause a commotion, commit burglaries or perpetrate other untoward activities in order to forestall the holding of the referendum. You should all be vigilant and aware that you should thwart their plots. The young ones among you and other people in Qum and other cities, should all gather and make a pledge to safeguard ballot boxes and guard the voting precincts. Moreover, if any crooked individuals want to cause confusion, you must hit them in the mouth and do not let them cause any commotion so that the referendum will be held properly. If, God willing, the referendum is carried out, they (anti-Islamic elements) are few and are insignificant; you count (as majority): the Muslims carry weight and everybody wants Islamic Republic. I hope that the Islamic Republic will bring us tidings of freedom and independence and, God willing, we can be freed from these fetters. God willing, Iran will acquire an image other than what it has had up to now, which was a West-intoxicated image, a protégé of foreign powers as they said. God willing we will gain true independence and gain true freedom.

The consequences of lethargy and apathy

The main thing is to preserve this movement. How this movement could bring us up to this point, was due to the fact that it relied upon all the people, faith and on top of all this, it was Islamic. This means that all the people said they wanted Islam and not the regime of so and so. We should preserve this intention. If we safeguard this intention up until the end (of the struggle), we will be triumphant. And if, God forbid, we show lethargy and apathy in this matter, I am afraid that things will return to their previous situation and if they do, then it will be a point of no return. But, I hope it will not happen and God willing we will be victorious through the endeavors of you, gentlemen, and our services to our whole nation and the nation of Islam. God willing, we will triumph and up until the end (of the struggle), we shall be victorious. We will advance forward together, God willing.

May God protect you all and acquaint us all with our responsibilities. I thank you, physicians, for your activities in this movement, for the sufferings you underwent, and for the efforts you took for your comrades and the citizens of your own city. Obviously, those that witnessed the seriousness of wounds inflicted and the number of people injured, killed or under so much difficulty, suffered more than those who merely heard about these events.

You were witnesses (of all these) and we are aware of this matter. May God bestow honor and health upon you. Peace be upon you!

Statements

Date: March 28, 1979 [Farvardin 8, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Preventing infiltrators in the referendum

Audience: A group of tribes from Lorestan

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

...May all the gentlemen here be successful, God willing. I thank you for coming to express your kindness. I hope that the respectable tribes of Lorestan and the rest of Iran now feel that the country now belongs to them and that, unlike in the past there are no more security agents who will intimidate them. The government is an Islamic one and is their servant. We, too, are your servants. I hope that you will be in good health and prosperity. From now on, you should get involved in activities for your country. Keep the order in places where you live. Do not let any seditious elements infiltrate (your ranks). If anyone wants to cause any tumult in the referendum, you must take very serious measures to prevent them; and all of you and your tribes should go to polling precincts and vote in favor of the Islamic Republic. You must know that those who say "no" to Islamic republic are saying "no" to Islam. We, who are saying we want Islamic republic, want to say "yes" to Islam.

May you be in good health and prosperity, God willing. May you be successful.

Speech

Date: March 27 or 28, 1979 [Farvardin 8 or 9, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 29 or 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Islamic Republic referendum

Addressee: A group from various strata of people

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

The mission of the young generation

May God protect you, young people, for us. I hope that you, who were at the service of Islam and who had acted upon your responsibilities, will further be performing your own responsibilities from now on. We have reached half of the way. Up until now, the Iranian nation has taken many efforts, severed the hands of foreign powers, and flung out the plunderers to a certain extent. However, reconstruction of the country has been left to us. They (the Pahlavis) plundered all our resources and stole, looted out and made off with the nation's wealth and left us with a country drowned in misery. You are the ones who should run the country. You, the youth, should secure the country's future. I implore the Exalted and blessed God to acquaint us with our responsibilities. I beseech the Exalted and Blessed God for the success of all of you.

Recommendation to vote for Islamic republic

My brethren, awaken! Be vigilant! Those who have driven us backward are watchful. Countries, which want to plunder our wealth, are lurking. If you act lethargically and nonchalantly and do not perpetuate this movement, their hands will, God forbid, open to exploit the country again. We should now unite to sever foreign hands that have been curtailed to a certain extent. We should deracinate their roots and this should be carried out by the Iranian youth. You, the youth are our hope. May God protect you. In this referendum, which will determine Iran's destiny, everybody must vote. If you cast your vote for the sake of God, an Islamic government will be erected here. I advise and ask you to vote for Islamic republic, just like me, not a word more, nor a word less. Advise your comrades in your own neighborhood to vote for an Islamic republic and refrain from discord. You are brothers and should know each other; strengthen your brotherhood among yourselves, so that, God willing, you will reach your destination.

Preserve this movement; safeguard this unity of expression. Rely upon the Exalted and blessed God.

Establish relationships with the clergy and respect this class. They (clergy) should establish a relationship with you and accord you with mutual respect. May God keep all of you. Dedicate yourselves solely to Islam. Advance in unity to set up Islamic rule, which is the Islamic republic!

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Decree

Date: March 28, 1979 [Farvardin 9, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 30, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Attending to needs of the people of Sistan and Baluchistan

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Farvardin 9, 1358 AHS

His Eminence, Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Ali Khamene-i—may his graces last:

Throughout the 50 years of tyrannical rule of the Pahlavi regime, our Sistan-Baluchistan brothers and sisters had always been subjected to oppression and coercion. Therefore, His Excellency should go to that region, attend to the needs of the respectable local people, and report the expectations of the chivalrous people to the responsible individuals and me.

May God grant success to you and the brave local people of that region. Meanwhile, explain that Iran's Islamic Revolution has responded positively to their people's needs and encourage them to take part in the referendum. May the peace of God be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, this decree was recorded as being issued on March 31, 1979 [Farvardin 11, 1358 AHS].

Message

Date: March 29, 1979 [Farvardin 9, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Deviationists' conspiracies just before holding the referendum

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I have, most regrettably, received disconcerting news from Gonbad, Zahedan and Ardebil, saying that some deviated factions among the respectable people of those regions are involved in disseminating poisonous propaganda and seeds of discord. They have mongering rumors around that the clergy are depriving our Sunni brothers of their rights. I deeply regret to say that these deviationists, who are being instigated by America and who have presented themselves as pseudo-leftists, are intending to restore the rapacious dealings during the former regime in another form. We do not have any disagreement with our Islamic Sunni brothers. We assure our brothers that all strata of the people in the country, whether Sunni or Shiah, will be granted their rights and there is no difference among various Muslim tribes in terms of political, social and other rights.

I am asking all the brothers and sisters all over the country to ignore this poisonous propaganda disseminated by corrupt elements, go to polling precincts, and vote for anything that they want. I believe that it is in the interest of everyone to vote for Islamic republic in which the rights of all strata of the people and all tribes will be completely guaranteed. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to safeguard Muslim unity.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 9, 1358 AHS

Speech

Time/Date: Before noon, March 29, 1979 [Farvardin 9, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah School, Qum

Subject: Destiny-shaping referendum

Occasion: One day before the Islamic Republic referendum

Audience: Various strata of the people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Perpetuation of the movement

I would like to thank you, the zealous youth...¹ women and the army of Imam of the Time, may God's peace be upon him. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for your prosperity. The women had a great share in this movement. Our young brethren had a great share in this movement and helped achieve its victory and sever foreign interests. However, we have reached only half of the way and should not think ourselves victorious. The thought of victory can bring lethargy and we have gone only half of the way. Together we should all advance the cause of this movement and should not let it die down and lethargy overcome us. I fear that if, God forbid, differences creep into the ranks of the various strata of the people, we will revert to the previous situation. I am afraid that the (Shah's) henchmen will once again prevail over us. I fear that our resources will be plundered again and our human resources withheld from blossoming.

An affirmative vote for the Islamic republic

You, the youth and the Iranian nation, should safeguard your unity. Have reliance on the Quran and the Exalted and Blessed God. Advance forward armed with this reliance on the Exalted and Blessed God and the unity of expression. Tomorrow is the referendum day; it is a day when your destiny will be determined; it is a day when either Islam or unbelief will triumph. It is the day when a "yes" means Islam and a "no" means anti-Islam. It is the day when a "yes" will determine your prosperous destiny and a "no" will take you back to the starting point. Vote "yes." I will vote affirmatively. I will vote "yes" for Islamic republic from the bottom of my heart. I am asking you, brothers and sisters, to vote "yes." Go and cast the "yes" ballot into the

¹ The tape was garbled and incomprehensible.

box. Your prosperity lies in this “yes” vote through which your country will become independent. Through this affirmative vote, you will be free. God forbid, if you grow lethargic and lazy regarding this affair and desist from voting, I am afraid you will be met with defeat and the pre-Revolution situation will return. We are all duty-bound to go and vote. Do not sit at home tomorrow. Go out of your homes tomorrow. The Iranian nation should come out of their homes, go to polling precincts and cast their votes. I will vote in the affirmative and I ask you to vote “yes” too. May God grant you health, prosperity, and victory and establish an Islamic republic in Iran.

Speech

Date: March 29, 1979 [Farvardin 9, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah Theological School, Qum

Subject: A call to the masses to participate in the referendum

Occasion: At the threshold of the Islamic Republic referendum

Audience: The various strata of the people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Referendum: the determinant of nation's fate

At the threshold of the referendum, I deem it necessary to remind you that the referendum will determine the nation's destiny. This referendum will take you either toward freedom and independence or toward the previous situation with its suppression and bondage. This referendum is something that entire nation must participate in. I advise the whole nation to take part in this referendum, which will decide the fate of the nation, country and religion. Do not be negligent in this. Do not grow indolent. Do not occupy yourselves with other works to do. Tomorrow get out of your homes at the time designated for the referendum and rush to vote and determine your fate.

Vote for an Islamic republic

I shall vote for Islamic republic and I am asking you to help Islam, your country and nation and vote for Islamic republic. You are free, but you should decide regarding your fate with freedom. People from all strata must cast their vote for anything they want. All the sects will be granted with their rights. Our Sunni brothers are like us. There is no difference between you and us in terms of rights. Their rights will be granted. They should take part in this (referendum), which will determine their destiny. Do not heed the assertions made by those who want to sow seeds of discord and separate us brothers by bringing up the Sunni-Shiah issue among us and allow others to loot our interests straight into their pockets.

Rights of the religious minorities in Islam

Tomorrow, everybody, Shiah or Sunnis, should come and vote and deliver their country from this conundrum and unrest. All strata of the people enjoy equal rights and everybody will be granted their own rights. Religious minorities are held in respect in Islam and are entitled to certain rights, which will be granted to them. They are free to practice their religion, to choose

their own representatives. All strata of the people are free. You must be aware that words disseminated among you that the clergy would forbid you your rights are tantamount to a treachery to the nation. The clergy is at the top of the clique, which respect your rights. The clergy obey the Quran and Islam. You are held in esteem by the Quran and Islam, and Quran accepts you as brothers. Join the nation and us. Desist from killing (each other) and sowing seeds of discord. Cooperate with the police forces, the nation's powers and the government offices. Be your government's supporters. The government is Islamic; the army is Islamic. Be the comrade of your own army. The army is at your service. The government is at your service and we are at your service.

I beseech the Exalted and Blessed God to grant prosperity to you, the noble nation, whatever class you belong to, and may you be freed from suppression and foreign domination. Together we should preserve this movement. If, God forbid, we show any indecision in voting, I fear for the return of the previous tribulations. If you heed the declarations of the sowers of seeds of discord, I am afraid we will be afflicted by the same old adversities of the previous regime from which we were escaping, but in another form.

American agents donning leftist masks

Our brethren! Our dear ones! Stop sowing seeds of discord. Do not listen to the utterances of the discord-mongers. They are agents of America donning the masks of left-leaning groups. They are the same individuals who want to give away our resources to America! These are the same people who want to implement the same previous policies in another form. If they care for the nation's interests and well-being, their heart goes out to the nation or they sympathize with the nation, why are they causing disparity, especially now that the nation has risen up and wants to vote for the Islamic republic, which aims at reforming every aspect of life? Previously, you would say that there was suppression and you were opposed to it, that you would serve the nation. In the past, there were foreign powers here, we struggle against them, and we vowed to work for the nation. Now, there is no more oppression, nor any foreign powers. Now, you are standing before a nation all of which is pursuing one goal. Be in conformity with it. If you really want the nation's welfare, then join it. If you do not converge with the nation, then it means you are not aspiring for its well-being. Therefore, it is clear that you are wishing to cause dispersion and make foreign powers dominate us again.

General participation in the referendum

May God bless you with health and graces. Tomorrow, get out of your homes and vote for an Islamic republic. I ask you all to vote for the Islamic Republic. Of course, you are free to vote for anything you wish. You can mark that ballots on which “yes” and “no” had been printed in any manner you want. If you choose “no,” you may include anything. It needs not be a mere “no.” You may add “democratic republic” or a “monarchial regime.” You are free to write anything. But, of course, this referendum means choosing “yes” or “no.” It is not an election; it is a referendum to choose between “yes” and “no.” However, you are free to choose, or write down whatever you want.

May God protect the entire nation from the evil of the foreign powers and make the discord-mongers among Muslims to come to their senses. Whereas in reality, Muslims are friends to one another and are comrades and Islam has taken into consideration the rights of all strata of the people. To express your gratitude for being emancipated from suppression and being delivered from the *taghut*'s domination, you must take to the streets, get out of your homes, and cast your vote. You are free to vote for anything you want. However, a referendum means choosing between “yes” and “no”. However, you are free. Also, you should take note of this point that a “no” does not mean voting for a “monarchial regime”. A “no” vote means you do not want an Islamic republic. You may say “no” and want a monarchial regime; or you may want an absolute republic or a democratic republic. A “no” does not mean a monarchial regime from which you want to run away. Nevertheless, you are free to vote “yes” or “no”, or write on the ballot whatever your heart desires. Nobody is going to prevent you doing so.

The fulfillment of the nation's rights in an Islamic government

Words that have been spreading among people that Islam does not grant women any rights and what will happen after the referendum are also plots concocted by the cabals of foreign powers who are raising this issue. It is these foreign henchmen who are creating discord among the people in various ways and do not want to have this referendum to be held completely. Perhaps they are still hoping to keep the monarchy or set up another regime. In any case, Islam considers women's rights in the same way it considers men's rights. Islam looks upon women with a kinder attention than it does upon men. Islam regards women's more highly than men. And responding to that statement regarding what would happen after (the referendum), (I have to say that) in Islam women have a right of suffrage, which is superior over

that prescribed in the West. We respect this right of women. They have the right to vote, elect and be elected. All these rights are upheld. All negotiations then enter into are at their discretion and they are free. They are free to choose their own profession. Of course, in the East,¹ there are certain limits to be observed by men for their own good and these limits have been anticipated by Islam to prevent corrupt practices, namely gambling, imbibing, alcohol and consumption of heroin, which are all corrupting. There are limits that apply to certain groups of people and they are religious law and divine. These restrictions are for the interest of the society. There has never been any occasion that something was in the interest of the society and Islam restricted it.

We promise to you that in Islamic government, everyone will enjoy his legitimate rights. All these issues that certain groups are bringing up before the referendum and the activities they have launched are all serving the interests of the foreign powers. Come and rescue your country. Tomorrow, we shall all go to the polling precincts. I, myself, shall cast my vote and drop it into the ballot box. All of you should advance forward together, God willing, in building a free and an independent country, a country that belongs to us and a country in which we will work hard and reap the benefits.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ It refers to the Islamic East.

Speech

Date: March 29, 1979 [Farvardin 9, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of voting for Islamic republic

Audience: A group of people from Qum

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

Consolidating the Islamic republic is at the top of the agenda

...Issues that are at the top of the agenda are the stabilization of the Islamic republic, ratification of a new constitution and the formation of a consultative assembly. This government has been established only for these reasons. Of course, after a firmly established government comes to power, situation will be changed, God willing. And since the government is Islamic, treacheries will be on the rise and the country's funds will be wasted. God willing, they will not be wasted anymore and we hope that with the establishment of a just Islamic government these fundamental demands will be fulfilled.

However, we certainly need time and a gradual process. Now, affairs are in such a mess that we cannot expect the government to solve the problems this soon especially at this time that tumult prevails all over the country and the economy and other aspects of the country have been destabilized. Therefore, problems existing in Qum will not be resolved this soon.

Qum: the fountainhead of knowledge and courage

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to grant us the ability after you have voted for the Islamic republic, God willing. Also, remind your friends to vote for it, too. I hope that when the Islamic republic has been established, issues and problems will gradually be put to an end. Of course, the people of Qum have every right to expect us (to do things for them) because they were the vanguards of this movement. I have said previously that according to statements made by the Imams, knowledge spread to other places from Qum and, in like manner, bravery, too, proliferated to other places from Qum, and likewise, the movement originated from Qum.

General participation in reconstruction

Thanks God, all classes of people solved the problems with awareness and have brought the movement up to this level and I hope that from now on, you will carry on with this movement and later tasks that may arise, which are very crucial to the country's reconstruction. A country that had been abandoned after being destroyed needs to be rebuilt and this will call for the help of all classes of people. Neither the government nor some groups of people or the clergy can accomplish this task alone. Everyone must work together. As we have advanced the cause, we should make further strides together from now on. Together we will move forward, God willing. (May God) protect and endorse you and make you prosperous.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: March 29, 1979 [Farvardin 9, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: How to behave toward friends and enemies

Occasion: At the threshold of holding the Islamic republic referendum

Audience: A group of the Islamic Republic Armed Forces personnel

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

Being kind to friends and uncompromising toward enemies

It is an honor to have such prolific youths at the service of Islam. It makes me so happy that we are sitting together in one assembly with an ambience of affection. Yesterday, I told a group of men of the armed forces who came here about this matter and now, I would like to say it again. One of the differences between un-Islamic governments of *taghut* and Islamic government is that in an Islamic government, the environment is an environment of love and brotherhood, and certainly it should be the case. In it, the army is not estranged from the people or vice-versa, nor is there an atmosphere of fear. The Exalted and Blessed God had said two useful issues for the faithful believers who are at the service of Islam: one is that there exists an atmosphere of love between them; another is they are friends of one another and are compassionate among each other¹; everybody treats each other with kindness. However, when facing the unbelievers and infidels they are very harsh and firm, but friends and comrades among themselves.

A look at Imam Ali's (a) government

Just consider how Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him, who was the greatest man in the world after the Messenger of God, led his life while he was at the helm of a country several times bigger than Iran and was the caliph of an empire extending from Egypt, the whole of Arabia, Iraq, Iran and a portion of Europe. When we look at the way such a great commander, such a government head behaved toward and treated his people and the personalities about him we become aware that he wanted to lead a life more humbly than all the subjects did in his dominion. He said that perhaps somebody was hungry in Yamamah (at the borders). At that time, he would subject himself to such living conditions in a way that his own immediate

¹ Surah al-Fath 48:29.

family would get anxious of the way he lived. While he was the head of his government, his meal consisted of some very coarse food that he would put in a container, which he would then seal so tightly lest somebody would open it and add some oil or something to it.¹ Narrations reaching us shed light into how he treated his subjects. It has been narrated that at nights he would go on rounds alone, carry food on his shoulder and go to houses where orphans and the destitute lived and distributed food among them. This became known only after his death, that is, after his martyrdom. Only then did it become public knowledge.

Another narration tells that in one of those homes he would visit were some small children who were crying and were hungry. When he wanted to leave, having fed them, the children would cry, so Hadrat Ali would do something to make them laugh. He even aped, for instance, the sound of a camel to amuse them. He said that when he came there the children were crying so he wanted to leave them smiling.

Security of the *Ahl adh-Dhimmi* during the rule of Ali (a)

In his everyday life, he would treat people in such a humane way that one time he became so distressed that a Jewish woman, who was living in a territory under his jurisdiction, had been robbed of her anklet by an army soldier apparently sent by Muawiyah. He was quoted as having said something like, "If a human being died of grief over such an incident, he should not be blamed and there is justification for him from me,"² or something close to this. Among themselves, the early Muslims were compassionate, friends and comrades and no fear existed in that environment. If someone would enter that setting, there never was any feeling of meeting him (Imam Ali) with fear. There was no fright of him among people. Justice prevailed in that environment. In a just government, each person should be afraid of his own self lest he may violate the law. Otherwise, nobody should be afraid of a soldier, army, or the police in a country where a just government rules because they treat people with kindness.

Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him, would treat his subjects with kindness and sometimes would do chores as a simple worker. At the time after people pledged their allegiance to him, he took his tools and went to dig an artesian well he was digging before, he later donated and endowed it (for public use). However, when faced with his enemies, this very same

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 40, p. 325.

² *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 27.

(compassionate) person would instill terror in their hearts when he would cry out (his battle cries). When he drew his sword such a compassionate Ali, who was famous for his unique, would hit his enemy so hard he would halve him into two and another blow this side would split the enemy into two. He was very harsh toward his enemies.

Absence of fear in an Islamic system

Affection prevails among the soldiers of Islam. The atmosphere is an atmosphere of affection. Likewise, in the atmosphere we are there rules an atmosphere of love. Before now, no brigadier general would ever attend a gathering like this in Paris, but no such person¹ would participate in it with you or you with that person in such an assembly. They (ex-regime) separated everybody from one another so that each person had become cynical of the other. When one (military) person would enter the bazaar, the people would cower with fear. They had frightened the people. Why? Now, however, in an Islamic environment and country no fear exists as it had been in a *taghuti* environment. Now, no top official or commander can behave in a way as to intimidate people. Officials will treat people in kindness; officials who are the people's servants treat all people as brothers. People will serve the officials in the same manner that officials will serve the people. There will not be any fear in such an environment, because there is no need to cause fear. On the contrary, in a *taghuti* environment, the government is afraid of the people because it had treated and harassed people so harshly and looted their wealth. What could they have done to be delivered from this fear they had of the people because they were afraid that the people would do something against them! They created an environment of terror and fear lest someone (would do something against them...)

When de Gaulle² came to Iran, apparently he and the Shah went to the bazaar together. The Shah did not dare get out (of the car), but de Gaulle did and mingled with the people because he was not afraid and the people did not have anything to do with him. However, the Shah himself was afraid. Why was he afraid? It is because he maltreated the people. When someone maltreats another, the former fears the latter. This is a general truth and a lesson for all of us that the people of the country, its citizens and subjects should be treated in a brotherly and compassionate manner: "People are

¹ Referring to an army officer

² Charles de Gaulle, President of France, came to Iran in 1963 for a visit; people demonstrated against the Shah when he visited the bazaar.

compassionate among each other.”¹ They exchange kindness with one another. One treats the other with kindness and vice-versa one extends his affection toward the other and the other the same; and if this same crowd of people stands against their enemy, they will be firm and harsh: “...they are strong against unbelievers.”² It is a general rule that if you want to go home in peace and tranquility and have your night pass through the next day, one must do people good. If you have done good to people, have shown them kindness and were their servant, when you go home at night there is peace in your heart and your conscience will not be troubled. Those who bother people have a perturbed conscience and cannot go about with ease; when they kill somebody, it is not the case that they sit peacefully. Their conscience is perturbed. However, in certain cases, when this act is done more often, they develop the habit; they become savage and are no longer human. They wish for a life of welfare. Life is not for a person to have a multi-storey mansion³. Many a man has lived in a multi-storey park but lived a life of hell. How do you see Muhammad Rida’s life now? He has all the comfort and luxuries of life, but does he have peace of mind? Does he live in peace? He does not.

Spiritual tranquility through Islamic training

Human tranquility means that his spirit should be at peace. When the human spirit is at peace, he can tolerate and does not understand any discomfort. Human spiritual peace means that man must establish a spiritual state for himself in such a way that his soul attains serenity. If the human being becomes Islamic, that is, he brings himself up based on the Islamic codes of behavior, the armed forces train themselves to become the servants of the people and not to cause fear among them, to engender compassion, no one will fear each other and no fear will exist among us and there will be an atmosphere of affection: that is, neither am I afraid of you,⁴ nor you of me. Nobody has any fear of the other.

Iran: an environment of compassion

Safeguard this environment of compassion. Make Iran an environment of compassion through yourselves, the revolutionary guards, army,

¹ *Surah al-Fath* 48:29.

² *Ibid.*

³ Until the middle of Rida Khan’s reign, the term “park” was usually used instead of the word “villa” to refer to a large house or mansion.

⁴ It refers to a military commander in the audience.

gendarmarie, police and everybody. If everyone creates a humane and Islamic situation, the environment will grow into an environment of compassion, where everyone will be at the service of one another. In this movement, when people were still preoccupied with their opposition to the regime, you all saw so clearly that a humane situation had emerged; some sort of marvel occurred that when a soldier would come to street, people would strew flowers before him, who would burst into tears and show his affection to the people.

This spiritual development was bestowed by God the Most High. Preserve this spiritual change; safeguard this affection among yourselves and the strata of the people. However, be harsh against the opponents, enemies and corrupt elements; be unyielding against them like a dam. Be soft with your compatriots and brothers as this is an edict of Islam. The Quran commands so. Leaders of Islam lived this way. The Messenger of God, may God's peace be upon him and his household, would not enter the battlefield in order to kill. He was compassionate with everyone that he did not have the heart to kill even one person. However, Imam Ali, may God's peace be upon him, with all his valor in wars, has been quoted to have said that when the wars would grow so intense, he and his men would take shelter in him.¹ Such a great warrior who knew no peer in the world, according to a narration relayed on his authority, said that in the adversities of wars, they would seek refuge in the Messenger of God. That was how powerful the Prophet, may God's peace be upon him and his household, was. It was the divine power in him. This is a general decree followed by early Muslims, who attained prosperity and caused others to prosper through such obedience.

The necessity of maintaining discipline and hierarchy in the armed forces

At present, if we wish to prosper and achieve prosperity, we must act. Everyone should be friendly toward everyone else. Soldiers, enlisted men, officers and higher-ranking officers must be each other's friends and at the same time be obedient to their senior officers. Obedience is one issue and comradeship is another. Senior officers must look upon the junior-ranking men with kindness, and the junior officers must obey their seniors. If they wish to safeguard the country, the armed forces' discipline must be maintained. The army personnel should act upon the order and discipline that exist in the army. If this order is neglected and every soldier tells himself "I am free now, and so I no longer obey anyone," this runs counter to the kind

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, something close to the wordings of Sermon 9.

of freedom that God wants. Freedom has limitations. If one says, "I am free now and so, I am free to slap this guy on the face," he is not free to do so. If he says, "I am free to disobey my commander," this is not freedom. It is within the framework of the laws and regulations that freedom exists. That is, in the place where you are sitting now, you are not afraid of anyone. In the past, you would not dare to fold your legs, nor could you gather here. Even if you would come here, you had the fear that once you left this place, you might be arrested and taken by SAVAK agents. And indeed, they were there to arrest and take you away. It is this sense of the word that we are free now. However, freedom does not mean that I can do whatever I want. I have said it repeatedly that God the Most High is trying us with this freedom. He is testing us now with this grace, which is above all graces and wants to see what we do with this grace of freedom and to see if we use it in a way that pleases Him or we misuse it. If we abuse freedom, we have failed the test, and if we use it correctly, this will be pleasing to God. God willing, He will protect the grace of His for us.

My brethren! Beware that you should preserve the grace that God has bestowed upon you. He has granted you a blessing by the name of "freedom" and "independence". Protect this grace and this may be achieved if you are all friends and compassionate toward each other and among yourselves, and if you are harsh to the enemies. Punch those who want to plunder your wealth in the mouth. To those who are friendly with you, stretch your hands in friendship and kiss their faces. May God support you all and may you all be in the ranks of Imam of the Time's army. May God protect him.¹ May peace, mercy, and blessings of God be upon you.

¹ It refers to the commander of a group in the audience.

Speech

Date: March 29, 1979 [Farvardin 9, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The government forces are at the service of the nation

Occasion: Just before the holding of the Islamic Republic referendum

Audience: Officers and agents of the Tehran Police Department

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The government is at the service of the people

I thank you all. May God keep you. I thank all the strata of the nation. I thank the police forces. I would like to thank you, the esteemed police officers, who are now at the service of Islam and not of the *taghut*. May God keep you. We must all be at the service of Islam and we must be at the service of the country. They (ex-regime) retarded the development of our country and so, we have to compensate for it. You, the police force, are now the police of Imam of the Time and hence must perform your Islamic responsibilities. Do not treat people as you would in the previous regime. Today is not the same as before. Now, the country is an Islamic one, all customs and rituals must be Islamic. The country must be one whose government is at the people's service. The police must be at the people's service and should not be an imposed one.

I implore God, the Blessed and Exalted, to acquaint us with our responsibilities. You are all brothers. I am at the service of the nation. I hope that all walks of the nation will vote for the Islamic republic in this referendum because the Islamic republic will assure us of prosperity in this world and the hereafter. May God keep you, the youth of this nation. May God protect you, the policemen, who are now the policemen of Islam under His care.

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

Speech

Date: March 29, 1979 [Farvardin 9, 1358 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The *taghut* regime's goal in causing discord between the nation and the clergy

Occasion: At the threshold of Islamic Republic referendum

Audience: Officers, enlisted men and technicians of the ground forces' computer center

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Conspiracies of the Shah's regime

Salutations to you, the powerful youth! Peace be on you, the soldiers of Islam. I thank you for joining in the ranks of Islam and paying for your debts to Islam. Why did they (ex-regime) distance you from us? In these fifty-odd years, why should not we see you, or you should not see us? It was because we wanted you to be independent, free, and run your own country, that is, to hold the reins of power in your own country. They did not want this to happen. Thus, they separated the clergy from you and you from the clergy. Why did they want you not to be acquainted with Islam? Why did they want you not to encounter the clergy? It was because they considered Islam to run counter to their interests. They regarded the clergy to be opposed to what they wanted to say (to the nation.) They wanted to loot out our resources. Islam and the clergy were opposed to these. They wished to have our army subservient to foreign forces. Islam and the clergy were against this and the satanic regime itself. Ever since the inception of this regime, the successive clergy uprisings from Isfahan, Azerbaijan, Khorasan and other provinces of Iran, were indicative of the clerics' opposition to this regime. Why was it so? It was because that regime was a satanic one and wanted to keep our country backward. Why did they not let the country progress? Why did they not allow our manpower to flourish? It was because they feared (true) human beings. Foreign powers did not want countries such as ours to have noble human beings. They knew that if someone was committed, he would not let them do as they wished and let everything we had go with the wind. Foreigners would not allow our universities to blossom. Neither did they allow our theology schools to follow up their tasks for Islam and the Muslims.

The necessity of purging the country

You, the youth, have so far been participating in this movement. I praise you but we are still half the way. There is still a distance to tread. You, the young people, and young forces should tread the other half of the way with all your might. You have come up to this point with your unity of expression, Islam and faith, and you should advance from this point in the same way. You must uproot dictatorship and colonialism in this country. You must purge this land. This nation has remained backward; its economy is bankrupt. It is in turmoil and it is with the strength of you, the young people that it should be reformed. We are all responsible and should follow up the affairs so that we may reach our final destination.

Voting for the Islamic Republic

The referendum will be launched tomorrow. All of you are duty-bound to vote. You are free in voting. But I will cast my vote for the Islamic Republic. And every Muslim's vote has to be for the Islamic republic. You, the young Muslims, too, will vote in favor of the Islamic republic. Go and cast your votes in the ballot boxes. I hope that with the establishment of the Islamic republic, we will get rid of all our problems. I hope that God the Most High, grants you, the youngsters, dignity, health and prosperity. I pray to God the Most High for our country's independence and freedom. You, the young people, have made great efforts all this time, and you have responsibilities to carry out. You are assets to this nation and I am your servant.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: March 30, 1979 [Farvardin 10, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Voting for Islamic republic

Occasion: At the threshold of holding the Islamic republic referendum

Audience: Various groups of people

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

Freedom and independence, the gifts of the Islamic Republic

Today, I went to a place where the martyrs of Qum had dedicated their lives for the sake of Islam and the Islamic republic. In order to encourage the Iranian nation, I cast my vote for the Islamic republic. I hope that the entire Islamic community and the Iranian nation will be successful. And, I hope that our nation will vote for the Islamic republic. The Islamic republic will bring us gifts of a free destiny, fortune and independence. The enemies of Islam want to sabotage the affairs and our nation must be preserved and give their votes to the Islamic republic.

Of course, after this stage, we are going to have another stage and that is to set up the Constituents Assembly that will ratify the new constitution; subsequent to this, elections will follow and people will send their representatives to the Parliament. These stages will constitute the ultimate stages of the movement. Afterwards, Iran's reconstruction will begin concurrent with the emergence of Islamic laws in all aspects of life in the country. This is what we wish for and I hope that with the support of the whole nation, we will have our wish materialized. Before anything else, I request the nation to cast their votes today and tomorrow in favor of the Islamic republic. Their prosperity lies in this vote. The people would cast their votes in the ballot boxes and must be on guard lest saboteurs succeed in their destructive measures.

Freedom in voting

However, if something happens that not everyone is able to cast his vote, that is, if the number of voters is so great that there will be difficulty for all the people to get a chance to vote, the government will announce an extension of one day, so that everyone may cast his vote. The entire nation must go to the polling precincts and are free to write whatever name they wish to write and cast their ballots. If, in case, they want to vote "no", they

are free to do so and select the kind of government that they want and write it on the ballot. However, I recommend that people obey God's command and try to vote for Islamic republic. May God make you all prosperous and grant our nation independence, freedom and welfare.

Message

Date: April 1, 1979 [Farvardin 12, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Declaration of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and thanking the people for their extensive participation in the referendum

Occasion: The holding of the referendum

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*“And we wish to be gracious to those who were being oppressed in the land, to make them leaders (in faith) and make them heirs.”*¹ I would like to congratulate the great Iranian nation, who had been humiliated by the monarchical despotism throughout the course of its history. The Exalted God has blessed it with an able hand, the power with which the oppressed people crushed the despotic regime and made our great nation the leader and guide of the oppressed nations, and with the installation of the Islamic republic, it will be endowed as the legitimate inheritance (of this nation). On this auspicious day, which is the day of the (Islamic) community’s leadership and victory, I would like to proclaim the Islamic Republic of Iran. I would like to announce to the world that in the entire history of Iran, there has never been such a referendum in which people swarmed into polling places to cast their votes affirmatively in ballot boxes and bury the regime of *taghuti* in the dustbin of history forever.

I am thankful for this unique solidarity by which all people, except a handful of adventurers and God-ignorant elements, responded almost unanimously in the positive to this Divine call *“...and hold fast, all together, by the Rope which God stretches out for you and be not divided among yourselves,”*² and gave their votes to the Islamic Republic and demonstrated their socio-political growth to both the East and West. Blessed be this day when you ripped to shreds the ghoulish and Pharaoh like adversary after the martyrdom of your youths leaving bereaved mothers and fathers nursing unbearable pain in their hearts and announced the setting up of the just Divine Islamic government with your decisive vote, a government in which all strata of the people are considered equal and the light of divine justice

¹ Surah QaSaS 28:5.

² Surah Al-i Imran 3:103.

shines upon all the people with no discrimination and where the graces of the Quran shower on everyone. Auspicious be a government in which there is no discrimination against any ethnic groups be they white or black, Turk, Persian, Lori, Baluchis, etc. All people are equal and are brothers. Nobility may be achieved only through piety, and superiority derives from righteousness and moral deeds.

Blessed be this day when all strata of the people attain their rights. There is no difference in implementing justice between and among men and women, religious minorities. The satanic regime had been interred after which insurgence and rebellion against God will also be buried. The country will be emancipated from the claws of domestic and foreign enemies, looters and plunderers. Now, it is you, the brave nation, who are the guards of Islamic republic. Now, it is you, who should safeguard this divine heritage with might and decisiveness and allow not the lurking putrefied enemies, who are the supporters of international thieves and oil spongers to infiltrate your closed ranks. Now, it is you, who should take the reins of your fate and give the opportunists no chance. Take the next steps with the divine might, which is manifested in the community of people who will have ratified the constitution of the Islamic republic by sending erudite individuals and those whom you trust to the constitution parliament. You should give your votes to those whom you trust with the same love and enthusiasm with which you voted for the Islamic republic.

The dawn of April 1, which is the first of Allah's government, is among our religious and national holidays. Our nation should consider this day a cause of celebration and keep its flame alive and burning. This is a day the parapets of the 2500-year palace of the satanic (monarchial) rule collapsed and Satan's domination left this country for good, and a government of the oppresses, which is a divine government, replaced that of the *taghut*.

Oh, dear nation, which reclaimed your right, endear this right and safeguard it, and implement divine justice with your support under the banner of Islam and the Quran. I shall be at your service with all my might and this is serving Islam. This is how I will spend the rest of my days. I expect the nation to defend Islam and the Islamic republic with all its power. I ask the government to purge the country of the remnants of the *taghuti* regime whose stigma has tainted every aspect of the nation with an independent thought and determination and transform the country's education, justice administration and other departments and offices, which have been set up based on Western concepts and westernization, into a

system of an Islamic nature, and demonstrate to the world social justice, educational, economic and political independence.

I implore the Exalted God for the grandeur and independence of the country and the Islamic community. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: April 1, 1979 [Farvardin 12, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointing a representative to look into Ardabil's situation

Addressee: Ali Mishkini

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Mirza Ali Mishkini, may his graces last:

It is necessary that your honor go to the city of Ardebil to attend to the activities of committees and look into the local affairs there, and after setting the situation right, call the people to unity and oneness and dissuade them from discord and causing differences. In this connection, some gentlemen bearing a letter from me had been dispatched there. Their responsibilities as representatives will not interfere with your mission in any way. You must act according to the orders and your responsibilities. I implore the Exalted God for the continuation of your success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: April 1, 1979 [Farvardin 12, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Akbar Qurayshi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may God's peace be upon the noblest of all prophets and messengers, Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.

After thanks and salutations, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Ali Akbar Qurayshi—may his graces last—is hereby granted permission to take charge of the financial and religious law affairs, and to attend to the social matters in the Urumiyyeh region. He is also permitted to collect the religious dues, spending the same in the necessary cases, and to collect the blessed Share of the Imam, spending one-third of this on local consumption whenever the need for it arises. He should also take charge of all the religious affairs.

I implore God for his continued success and that of all the world's Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH

Radio-Television Message

Date: April 1, 1979 [Farvardin 12, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The nation's decisive vote for the Islamic Republic

Occasion: Conclusion of the referendum and announcement of the vote¹

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Exalted God's promise is nigh

God, the Exalted has promised that the oppressed shall inherit the earth and they will overwhelm the oppressors with His blessings and assistance and appoint them as leaders and guides. The Exalted God's promise is nigh. I hope that we will witness the fulfillment of God's promise and may the oppressed triumph over the oppressors as it has until now. The path that we have trodden up to this point has been in obeisance to Islam and its commandments and we should introduce Islam to the world. If Islam is introduced to the world in its real context, the world will catch its attention. The Muslim commodity (i.e., Islam) is very precious, but it should be presented (sold and marketed).

An analysis of the referendum's results

I would like to thank the whole nation for participating in this referendum and casting its vote so decisively, which could be considered one hundred percent vote, and for having given their approval for the Islamic republic in the same way that they had done before (through their massive rallies.) We did not see any need for holding a referendum, but in order to prevent certain critical remarks and pretexts, it was decided to hold it. Those who are looking for pretexts understood that the issue was not the way they thought it was and that the nation was with Islam and with Islamic clergy. The nation wants the Quran to be implemented in Iran and thanks God that

¹ In his future speeches, Imam Khomeini would talk of conspiracies hatched regarding the referendum. The following are but a few of the newspaper headlines regarding these conspiracies: "Saqqiz: Ballot boxes set on fire," *Ittilaat* newspaper, March 31, 1979; "Conspiracy revealed," *Ittilaat*, March 31, 1979, pp. 1-2; "Turmoil in some polling precincts," *Kayhan* International, March 31, 1979, pp. 2-8; and news reports about boycotting the referendum in *Ittilaat* newspaper appeared on March 27, 1979, p. 8; *Kayhan*, March 20, 1979, p. 3 and March 29, 1979, p. 8.

all strata of the people voted for nothing else but the Islamic republic with enthusiasm, happiness, passion and love. It is the Islamic republic, which can achieve Islamic objectives. It is an Islamic republic whose progressive laws take precedence over all the laws existing in all groups or other schools of thought.

Doubts raised by the so-called human rights defenders

We see that claimants for democratic system, or democracy, engage in talks and are alleging all sorts of things. However, their Eastern schools of thoughts are one thing, and the Western schools are yet another. In the East, as well as in the West, people stumble upon great dictatorships. We see that some individuals claim that they respect human rights. However, where were these human rights societies during the fifty years that the usurping Pahlavi king and his son's government imposed themselves upon this nation and looted everything that it had? Why did they not say anything when our youth were languishing in prisons during these fifty years and what agonizing life they experienced when their legs were sawed off and they were burnt on (hot metal) pans? These youths remained in prisons and have been tortured until recently by the Shah's henchmen, who deprived them of their natural life. During this period, we did not see any of the human rights defenders say a word either to deny or confirm these. We have seen how the U.S. leader, that is the US president supported and commiserated with this wretched, tyrannical ex-Shah and his henchmen, who had decimated our whole existence. And, we did see that during all these tribulations, this human rights group denied them to the US president. However, now that these henchmen have been trapped by the nation, which wants to seek revenge, they are raising clamor.¹ I cannot imagine anything but them being puppet henchmen; they are the superpowers' lackeys; they are not really working for human rights. If these human rights societies are really speaking the truth and are human rights supporters, I expected them to protest why we have kept them (those executed) alive; these henchmen should have been killed the very day they were arrested! They should not have been detained in prisons. Of course, our prisons are not the same as the previous ones. Nobody gets humiliated in our prisons. They are not even there to ask us why we have

¹ The *Amnesty International*, Judges' Union of France, Amnesty International-West Germany Chapter, the French lawyers association known as "the Historical Champions of Human Rights", and the (Roman) Catholic Jurists' Movement were among the first organizations, which claim human rights and protested against the revolutionary executions in Iran.

tried these people. It is meaningless to put them on trial. Is trying a culprit something against human rights!?

Those executed were offenders and criminals, not merely accused

Human rights necessitate the killing of these people right on the very day (they were arrested) because they are criminals and it is obvious that they are condemned criminals. The person for whom a lawyer should be hired and whose claims should be heeded is the accused, not the criminal. Those executed were not the accused; they are proven criminals. They were individuals who killed people on the streets, tortured them, plundered our resources, and destroyed everything through treachery. Were those people killed on the city streets all over Iran not human beings? Did they not have any right? Why are those claimants for human rights not taking the side of those who were killed? Why are they not supporting the victims? Why are they finding faults in us because we executed the henchmen (of the Shah)?

Since we consider these people criminals, they must be executed as soon as their identity is established. Nasiri¹ must have been killed as soon as his identity was recognized. Yet, the authorities held him in prison for a few days, tried him, his confessions were recorded and then he was killed. Do these human rights groups not think that a criminal has to be killed to safeguard human rights in order to restore the rights of human beings whom they had killed, tortured and destroyed? We, however, will put them on trial and we did, although we believe that criminals need not be tried and should be immediately executed. I am sorry to say that there are west-intoxicated elements among us. We are afraid that lest Western newspapers and magazines write something.² Of course, these were opposed to justice and reason and are not in agreement with human rights. These groups protect rights of the superpowers in the name of human rights!

Necessity of radical transformation in the Islamic Republic

Anyway, thanks God, we emerged victorious in the referendum, and the reports printed by foreign magazines and statements being said here and there proved to be wrong. Thanks God, our nation cast almost 100 percent of

¹ Nimatullah Nasiri was one of the agents in the August 19 coup d'état and Tehran's military commander during the June 5 massacre and the most notorious of SAVAK heads.

² Imam Khomeini was referring, in particular, to Mr. Mahdi Bazargan's interviews with the French television network, during which he made statements regarding the executions without sufficient information and his consent. Refer to the complete text of his interview published by *Kayhan* International on February 25, 1979.

its vote for the Islamic republic. From now on, it is the nation's duty to set up the Islamic republic.

All affairs must undergo transformation in an Islamic republic. In an Islamic republic, universities must become independent ones. Our educational system must be changed; colonial education must be an education of independence. Westernized judiciary must be an Islamic one. Our economy must be transformed; a dependent economy must become an independent one. All the things, which existed during the *taghuti* rule, which were subservient to foreign powers in this weak and servile country of ours and were implemented, have to be totally transformed with the establishment of an Islamic rule and an Islamic republican government. The people should reform themselves. Those oppressive individuals who would oppress their subordinates should not do so anymore. Various classes of people should no longer oppress people who belong to the lower echelons of the society. The rights of the poor and destitute must be granted. All these will have to be carried out in the Islamic republic. In the Islamic republic, the nation is duty-bound to support the governments, which are at the service of the nation. If the nation observes such an autocratic regime, it should file a complaint against it and courts should indict it. If the courts do not try it, then the nation should put it on trial and smack it in the mouth.

Strengthening the oppressed people

There is no oppression in the Islamic republic. Issues tainted with coercion regarding the rich and poor do not exist in the Islamic republic; the rich cannot exercise coercion upon the poor or exploit them; they cannot force the poor into doing heavy tasks for a meager payment. Issues must be resolved in an Islamic way and Islamic rules be implemented here. The oppressed people must be supported and strengthened. Things have to be turned upside down: the arrogant power should be demoted to the oppressed class and the oppressed promoted to the position of the arrogant power. By arrogant power here does not mean being despotic; rather it means that everyone must be brother to one another in this world, in this country and everyone should be united.

The Islamic Republic and the protection of the rights of all strata of the people and the minorities

I would like to tell all walks of the nation that in Islam there is no distinction between the rich and poor, black and white, individuals and groups, Sunnis and Shiah, Arabs and non-Arabs Turks and non-Turks. No

one has a privilege over another. The holy Quran regards piety and justice the only criterion (for distinction.)¹ Whoever is pious is accorded distinction; whoever has good morals is given distinction. However, no distinction is awarded based on material considerations; distinction is not based on wealth. Such basis for distinction must be destroyed. All people are equal and the rights of all strata of the people will be granted to them. Everybody enjoys the same rights as the others. The rights of religious minorities will be observed because Islam accords them with respect. Islam regards all classes of people with respect. The Kurds, other tribes of different languages and other ethnic groups are all our brothers and we are one with them and they one with us. We are people of one and the same nation and belong to the same religion. I hope that the people themselves should be vigilant and do not let these evil doers in some areas in Iran where some of them have gathered and are disseminating adverse propaganda and forcing the poor people to raise a commotion and commit fratricide. The people should stop these traitors from perpetrating these vicious activities there. We are all brothers. We are brothers with the Sunnis. No one from among us should lord over the others. We should not neglect the rights of other people. We have equal rights. In law, which, God willing, will soon be ratified by the nation, the rights of all strata of the people have been stipulated and the rights of the religious minorities, women and other classes of people have also been considered. There is no distinction between groups and other groups in Islam. It is only in piety and faith in the Exalted God that people may be differentiated as better ones from another.

April 1: the nation's day of celebration

We hope that the Exalted God will grant us success. We were able to take the movement up to this point and proclaimed the Islamic Republic; I consider this day a feast, and I hope that every year April 1 will be a national holiday for our nation, who achieved national sovereignty and will grab the reins of destiny in its own hands. We congratulate the whole nation and I myself would like to congratulate our beloved nation and all the people. Congratulations to you on this holiday. May the Islamic Republic be an auspicious day for you. But all of us are duty-bound to abide by the Islamic tenets. Our bazaar should be Islamic. Our bazaar should be rinsed of its unfair practices. Our government and all successive governments to come in the future must govern based on Islamic laws. Ministries and government offices should be founded based on Islamic laws. A (*taghut*-stained) country

¹ *Surah Hujurat* 49:13.

discolored by the *taghut* must be color-washed with Godly color tones. A *taghut* country must be transformed into a divine country.

Western democracy, Islamic democracy

We are not worried if the West and anyone who claims that he respects human rights have a discussion with us and say something to us. We must act according to justice. Later we will make these people understand what the meaning of democracy is. Western democracy is corrupt, likewise Eastern democracy. Later, if we get the opportunity, we will prove to the East and West that the democracy we have in Islam is the true democracy and not the one that they have, which is a democracy advocating big-time capitalists and superpowers, which have subjected the people to oppression.

Criteria of virtue in an Islamic society

No suppression exists in Islam; there is freedom for all the people in Islam: for both men and women and for the blacks and whites. From now on, the people themselves should fear their own actions and not that the government. People should be frightened lest they commit a wrongdoing. A government of justice will avert and punish wrongdoings. We should all be afraid of our own selves lest we do any mischief because an Islamic government will not commit any wrong actions. There will not be any more security intelligence related issues, or tortures perpetrated by it. Police officers can no longer coerce our nation or us. The government cannot intimidate the nation anymore. An Islamic government is, and should be, at the service of the nation. If a prime minister oppresses the people, the nation can file a complaint against him in the courts, which will duly put him on trial and appropriate punishment will be meted out if he is proved culpable. In an Islam, there will no longer be any differences between a prime minister and a civilian. At the advent of Islam, the Muslim caliph appeared in the court to face charges filed against him by a Jew and a tributary infidel, during which the judge decided against the caliph, who obediently abided by the court ruling.¹ Islam is this way. In Islam distinction is accorded to a person not because of his status, say for instance, one from the scholastic echelon. The pious ones are definitely above others because his humane virtues are superior. Islam grants merit based on a person's humanitarian nature, which is rooted in his piety and knowledge. The pious and knowledgeable one will be superior over others, and anyone that possesses wealth but lacks piety and knowledge will reap no spiritual rewards.

¹ *Al-Kamil fi 't-Tarikh*, chap. 3, p. 201; *Kanz al-Ummal*, chap. 4, p. 6.

Nevertheless, I would like the nation to transform itself. The morale that the people had during the *taghuti* era should be permuted to an Islamic one. At the present time, we have many destitute and wounded citizens; there are many who have been put out of existence during the course (of the Pahlavi regime). The affluent clique should help these people and provide a life of welfare for the needy. The government and the nation should think of these people, build homes for them and give them a decent life. Employees should be given proper living conditions. I told a group of factory owners and managers, who came here, to rectify the workers' situation; I asked them to leave and have a meeting, consult one another and put up some capital to build housing for their workers and employees and provide them with a life of prosperity. If they do not, these workers and employees, God forbid, may stage a mutiny; in which case, there is nothing that factory owners can do to stop them.

I promise to employees, workers and other classes of the oppressed people that Iran will create jobs for them. Islam will create felicitous life for them, and will make homes for them. Islam cares for the destitute more than anybody else.

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to grant all Muslims success on this propitious day, which is a day of victory of the nation. I hope that the Islamic countries will unite and sever the *taghut*'s hands off their countries.

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

Speech

Date: April 2, 1979 [Farvardin 13, 1358 AHS / Jammadi al-Awwal 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Iran's situation during the Shah's regime; the way to Palestine's freedom

Audience: Bishop Hilarian Cappuchi¹ (honorary member of the Al-FataH Organization) and Hani al-Hasan²

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A look into Iran's situation during the *taghut* era

I would like to thank you for having come to Iran to commiserate with me, and express your kind affection to the oppressed nation in order to see our movement's situation at close range. If you had come at the time of the *taghut*, you could have seen a different picture: our streets were littered with dead bodies; our prisons were teeming with oppressed people, the *ulama* and intellectuals; our press was subject to censorship, repression and tyranny. The Shah's henchmen were interfering in all aspects of the country and they were commissioned by the foreign powers and the superpowers, particularly America, to browbeat the people, which they did. These father and son (the Pahlavi kings) massacred our nation during these fifty odd years. If you had come to Iran at that time, you would have seen it as a human abattoir and the entire country was a penitentiary. Now, thanks God, you have come to see a vigilant nation. Reliance on the Exalted and Blessed God, unity of expression triumphed over the *taghut*, which was backed by all powers and was armed to the teeth. It was trusted by the foreign powers, which supported it, and our nation had nothing except its power of faith and an iron will. Through our unity of expression, power of faith, we prevailed over the superpowers and pushed them backward. You have come at a time when we have set up an Islamic Republic through the public vote. You have come at a time when the majority of people, almost unanimously, voted for the Islamic republic: everybody from that eighty-year-old man, the handicapped, people on wheelchairs from hospitals were taken to polling stations, voted for the republic of Islam. This is all because our nation considers Islam to be the

¹ Hilarian Cappuchi was the head of the Lebanon's Orthodox Church and one of the founders of the Divinity Liberation Movement. During his lifetime, he had always pursued and defended the Palestinian ideals and internationalized the Palestinian issue.

² Hani al-Hasan was a member of Al-FataH Organization's central committee and Palestine's first ambassador to Iran.

base of freedom and independence, hence. It cast its vote with love and zeal. In the world, such a referendum is unprecedented; it was one wherein all classes of people cast their votes with love and enthusiasm. You entered our country at a time when every trace of dictatorship has been erased. If you had come at that time (of the Pahlavi rule), you would have seen something bizarre. Now, that you have come, you are among your brothers in safety and none will harass you. During the previous regime, it was impossible that you or the other brothers could have a meeting with me. It was impossible for us to have a gathering; it was impossible for us to even raise our voices or let the world know our grievances. Therefore, we informed the world of our grievances from a foreign country. Then, events turned in such a way that we could let the whole world learn of our plight, in Paris, although I did not want to be there, and undermined our enemies. You came at a time when, thanks God, we have already triumphed and proclaimed the Islamic republic.

Islam: a religion of politics and spirituality

In the Islamic Republic, all freedoms exist. Islam came for the salvation of human beings, just as Jesus Christ and the rest of the prophets who came to save humanity. In addition to enriching man's soul, Islam enriches man's material life as well. Islam is a religion of politics, before being a religion of spirituality. In the same way that Islam takes spirituality, morality, religious education, spiritual development and edification, it also considers the material aspect. In this world, Islam educates man how to benefit from this material life and how to have an insight into his material existence. Islam creates a balance in man's material life in a way that it leads him to the divine. Islam looks at the material life from the divine point of view, and the divine from the material viewpoint. Islam integrates every aspect of life. You have arrived on a day when we have established our government. In the same way that Islam was characterized by spirituality and was established as government during its advent, we, too, are presently face to face with the spirituality it possesses and are in obeisance to it as the Exalted and Blessed God has willed. We are obedient to Islam both in material aspects and the mode of government, that is, a kind of order in which governments are at the service of the people and not the people at the service of the people. An Islamic government is a government that is a servant of the people, and it should be the people's servant. In Islam, there is no discrimination between various classes of people. In Islam, the rights of all nations are observed. The rights of Christians, the Jews and the Zoroastrians have been considered. Every person is looked upon as a human being. It grants them their human

rights; it looks at humanity with kindness. It wants the oppressed to find salvation. It wants the whole world to be spiritual and the whole world to get close to the divine kingdom. Islam was revealed to save humanity and deliver it from material servitude in order to attain spirituality.

The secret of victory

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to enable all oppressed people to acquire all their needs. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to awaken the arrogant and oppressive powers because if they do not, the oppressed people will destroy them. May God grant us all success. I beseech the Exalted and Blessed God to rescue our Palestinian brothers in the same way that He made our nation triumph through our unity of expression and reliance on the Exalted and Blessed God and emancipated itself from bondage to the (Pahlavi) family and its promoters and supporters. However, what is of major importance is the unity of expression and reliance in the Exalted and Blessed God and the power of faith. The nation's power of faith was so powerful that it looked at martyrdom as attaining bliss and so, it was wishing for martyrdom and was fearless of death. Hence, fists prevailed over tanks. Other nations, the Palestinian nation should forge a unity of expression and have reliance on the Exalted and Blessed God. When this secret of our victory prevails everywhere, then victory will be gained. Our beloved nation of Palestine should have unity of expression and reliance upon the Exalted and Blessed God, heed the clergy, attain spirituality and turn their attention to the Exalted and Blessed God to make all the oppressed nations victorious.

For many long years, perhaps twenty years ago, I have always expressed my views regarding Palestine and Israel. Israel is a usurper and it had occupied its (present) territory by usurping it. Quds should be emancipated and Israel must leave. Arab governments must unite and kick Israel out of their lands and sever the hands of colonial powers. I beseech the Exalted and Blessed God to make us achieve our goals and we will meet each other in Quds.

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

Letter

Date: April 3, 1979 [Farvardin 14, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Thanking tribes for their support for the provisional government and the Islamic Republic

Addressee: Muhammad Karami, Ahwaz

In His Most Exalted Name

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Karami, may his graces last:

We are in receipt of your respectable letter and informed of its contents. Your educational record at Qum's theology school and the religious services you have done after your migration to Khuzestan are distinctive and instantly recognizable. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the continuation of your success.

Kindly extend my gratitude and greetings to all the venerable tribes of Khuzestan and their chieftains, who have endorsed the provisional government of Mr. Mahdi Bazargan and the Islamic Republic. I have always considered the region's problems, and the oppression that the noble and respectable people of that region underwent during the iniquitous rule of the Pahlavi family has always aggrieved us. It is hoped that, God willing, all these problems will gradually be resolved with the complete establishment of the government and the formation of the Islamic Republic.

What is of utmost importance and surely, you, too, are mindful of it, is the maintenance of the unity of expression and avoidance of differences and discord because it was this very same unity and solidarity, which engendered our victory and, God willing, we will safeguard it with total awareness. I implore the Exalted God for the grandeur of Islam and Muslims and the success of all of you, respectable gentlemen

Speech

Date: April 4, 1979 [Farvardin 15, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The nation's vote for the Islamic Republic; necessity of preparing for the Constituent Assembly elections

Audience: Various strata of people from provincial cities

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

Establishment of the Islamic Republic through the people's consensus

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for your success, gentlemen. The Islamic Republic was established after garnering the consensus of twenty million people voting in favor, with only 150,000 or 145,000 against, which was because of cheating in some polling precincts, namely in Qum, where one woman forged ballots half an hour before polling began. Moreover, some people coming from Kermanshah reported rigging of balloting. If the rest of the country's people, even those deviated from Islam, know what Islam is and what its agenda is, all of them will turn their attention to it, unless they are lackeys of America and other superpowers. Those elements, which are involved in seditious activities, are ignorant of Islam and, as I understand, they are in connection with America even though their names are (apparently) contrary to their affiliation. Our nation should reject these people and should heed them not, and eventually they will merge with the multitude of (faithful) people.

Constituents Assembly elections

In the upcoming elections for the Constituents Assembly, which is to ratify the Islamic Republic Constitution, you, the youth, along with the men and women, should cast your votes with zeal and passion, in the same way you had done when you voted for the Islamic Republic in your respective cities. Likewise, in every city and province, you should identify and choose qualified individuals who are honest and religious, as they will constitute the Constituents Assembly, which will ratify the Islamic Republic constitution.

May God grant the whole nation good fortune, prosperity, and God willing, we will be able to enforce Islamic programs. Now, the "Islamic Republic" is merely a phrase; its true meaning is yet to be understood. We have to tread the paths toward the implementation of the "contents" of the

Islamic Republic. I pray that, God willing, you will succeed in reviving Islam and its edicts. May God bestow success and prosperity upon you.

Speech

Date: April 4, 1979 [Farvardin 15, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The discord-sowing danger of colonialism; extraordinary and unique votes of the people for the Islamic Republic; lack of a committed workforce

Audience: Principals and deputy principals of Qum's high schools

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

Sabotage by the hirelings of colonialism

I thank you, gentlemen, who have come here to greet me. Our meeting with you, gentlemen, is a blessing. For long years in the past, we were separate from each other and the dirty hands of colonialism tried to sow seeds of discord among the nation's classes of people. They fear our unity and now that they have realized what it means when we (Muslims) unite, a greater danger is threatening us. In the past, when they considered the possibility that the unity of the people was harmful to their interests they worked diligently to separate the clergy from the people, university professors from the clergy, the businessmen the bazaar from professors. They tried to cause a rift among the nation, a kind of rift that would make everyone cynical of one another, so that the university people became suspicious of the clerics and the clerics suspicious of academicians; all people became suspicious of others; the bazaar people suspicious of clerics and vice-versa. Therefore, when they thought it a possibility that the unity of the people would endanger their interest, they seriously worked to separate the various strata of the people from one another. Now, that in this movement, they understood how the nation's unity, reliance on the Exalted God pushed them back and severed their hands from our interests, there exists a greater danger for us. That is, they are now concocting greater mischievous plots and their agents, those who are their lackeys, are working to create rifts among the nation in different guises and various ways. You see now that among all classes of people, there exist hands belonging to their lackeys who are involved in ruses to keep this government unstable and disunited.

The referendum from the qualitative and quantitative points of view

Following the referendum, the enemies have suffered such defeat that it has driven them mad! There has been no precedence over our referendum in the world. There is no record of such a referendum across the globe. With

only people of 16 years of age up to vote out the 35-million population of Iran, there would be 20 million or a little more voters. We had over 20 million positive votes and 140-thousand-odd negative ones. When we were in Qum they informed me that a woman had cheated in voting and perhaps there has been some cheating in the 80 negative votes cast in Qum because the people of Qum are one hundred percent for Islam. These 80 votes must have come from outside of Qum. Well there are people from outside of Qum (living in that city) and either these corrupt outsiders cast the negative votes or the cheating similar to that woman's cheating must have been perpetrated elsewhere too. Today they came from Kurdistan as well as Kermanshah and reported to me that cheating was done in these provinces too. Otherwise, the positive votes in these two provinces would have been more, too. We expected a hundred percent positive votes. In actuality the positive votes are hundred percent, hundred percent! It is only in appearance [that we have had a few negative votes]. Among all these, I have read in one newspaper, which reported the story of a person who was crying, and when asked why, he said that he made a mistake and voted no while he actually wanted to vote in favor and for this I am doomed to hell! Anyway, there are other issues involved. Firstly, the number (of votes) garnered (in this referendum) is unprecedented. No such incident has ever been recorded before which showed that 20 million out of 30 million population voted in favor. Secondly, it is quality, which takes precedence (over quantity). On the one hand, people rush to vote, and on the other, they vote with enthusiasm and love. Some 16 year-old youngsters and younger ones came over so upset about why they are not permitted to vote! They were upset because they could not vote and should not vote. The people cast their votes with love and enthusiasm in such a mode that is also unprecedented. Therefore, our referendum is without precedent with respect to both quality and quantity.

Keeping the Revolution's flame burning

If this love and enthusiasm is maintained in us, we will be the same regarding the rest of the issues. However, if, God forbid, we allow this love and zeal to weaken and fail to maintain it, then we do not know what will happen! Of course, we have to go through another stage and that is the formation of the Constituents Assembly. We have the election stage ahead of us and it will not be imposed on us as it was in the previous regime. We are on our own; we will go and vote. Nobody will impose on us; nobody will coerce us. (We will vote) with love and enthusiasm! If we nourish this love and enthusiasm with which we took part in the referendum, that is we keep

the movement's flame burning and not let it be extinguished, we will also triumph in the other two stages. Moreover, the representatives that we will be sending to constitute the Constituents Assembly and later to the parliament will be deputies who are nationalistic and pious completely and not affiliated to the left, or to the right. These deputies must be individuals of our own kind and who bear our well-being in mind.

But, if God forbid, weakness creeps in, a perilous situation will be created and the dishonest deputies will be imposed on us, That is, they will be seated in the Parliament. Anyway, what is of import to us is that the (movement's) flame is burning and it was God who ignited it; a human being could not have done it. It is a flame that God had ignited and we should keep it ablaze. For as long as this flame is kept alive and burning, we are victorious. And if, God forbid, this flame starts waning and gradually cools off, then we dread the return of the iniquitous stage like the previous regime. God forbid such a day's arriving. God willing, it will never come. May God approve all of you.

Our responsibility and yours

When we get things a bit settled, my duty is, of course, to take up teaching and counsel theology students with whom we are working. And gentlemen, your duty is to educate the youth in such a way that they become edified (and not merely learning school subjects).

In the previous regime, there was only formal education, not (spiritual) edification. That is, they (regime) would not allow it. They had created such a situation that they would not allow the youths' knowledge to improve and grow and at the same time would not allow them to be edified, preventing from acquiring correct education. They had created so many corruption centers for the (so-called) education and development of the youth; they transformed (schools) into centers of corruption! Let us take, for instance, the cinema, or the radio and television; the cinema is supposed to be a place for education and development, but when all these came (Iran's) shore and fell into the hands of these people who were foreign agents commissioned to transform the country into this mess it is now and who had the "mission for his country" to transmute it into something dreadful. From now on, the schools must be changed into machinery for the (spiritual) development as well as education; likewise the radio and television, the theater and all these.

Islam is not opposed to all these; Islam wants to edify these places to be used at the service of Islam and the education of the youth. We are designated to give the youth, who are in our care and with whom we are in

contact, Islamic and religious education and make them aware of today's current affairs. This should be done in such a way that these children and youngsters be abreast with the current situation (in the world) and know what they should do in the future. They should be educated alongside science, and you, gentlemen, are certainly duty-bound to perform this task. All teachers and scholars in every nook and corner of the country must perform this task and after sometime, Iran will be transformed onto something else.

Training a committed and solid workforce

Take this thing into consideration. Now, we (want) to create an upright government, however, we cannot find any (qualified) individuals in spite of searching everywhere. Three or four individuals could be found, who are eligible but not in all aspects. Why is it so? It is because they (regime) did not allow any human being to gain the right qualifications and develop righteous discerning dignitaries during these fifty-odd years. The situation was not like this before,¹ but now it is. Now, we find ourselves in a situation wherein we are divested of not only any righteous and proper manpower but also a proper economy and other (aspects of the society). And more important than anything is we are short of human resources. Slackness prevails in every office you go. Ministries are no different. It is not because the people there want it to be so; it is because they are not able (to do anything)! Of course, everyone wants to put things right in their respective ministries and improve the situation. These personnel (in ministries) are honest people; nevertheless, they do not have (qualified) personnel and lack (committed) staff. This is why everything is in a confused order. Moreover, some individuals turn out to be unqualified. (Correct manpower must be created) through the efforts of all strata of the people, in particular, those who are teachers and professors at universities. From the very first day that primary and high schools admit students, the school authorities are duty-bound to educate them in a correct and Islamic way, which embodies all (the right characteristics). That is, if a Muslim grows up the way Islam wants, it is impossible that he will ever betray his country. It is impossible that he commits any treason against his brother, neighbor, his fellow citizen or a stranger. Treachery will be eradicated. We should make an effort to bring up righteous individuals. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for you success, and everyone's health.

¹ It refers to the period prior to the Pahlavi rule.

Speech

Date: April 5, 1979 [Farvardin 16, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The nation's warm reception of the Islamic Republic referendum

Audience: A group of people in charge of carrying out the referendum in Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

People's sacrifice for the sake of Islam

I thank you, gentlemen, and the prolific youth. You have remained steadfast during the course (of the movement) in Qum, which, like all over Iran, has been damaged greatly. And thanks God, you could drive the enemy back. Thanks God, the referendum, which was unparalleled, was held in a prestigious manner through your efforts. It is unique in the world. There is no country where twenty-five million out of thirty-five million went to the polling precincts to vote. They (ex-regime) used to say that in all the referendums so far held in Iran all this time six million people had participated. We immediately sent (a group) to conduct an inquiry to find out what these people had to say. Nevertheless, it was found that only two thousand people (took part) in them! There were other referendums, but they also were insignificant.

This referendum is an Islamic one; it is not a political one. People sacrificed their blood for Islam, not for politics; it was for Islamic politics. Our nation advanced the cause of the movement by means of their reliance on Islam. Our nation was enamored of martyrdom and pursued the movement by love in martyrdom. Had it not been for this love and zeal, we would not have triumphed over all those powers. Victory was with us because you were all Islamic and all your attention was focused on your religion. In the referendum, everybody was zealous to cast his vote in ballot boxes. Those who were not able to vote, those who were under sixteen years of age and did not get the chance to do so, were upset. They also wanted to vote. Your votes were (predictably) one hundred percent (yes). We should say that is was one hundred percent. Out of twenty million, 145,000 voted against or abstained. This success is one hundred percent. And I thank you, who have strove to protect the ballot boxes and made efforts for Islam and your country. May God grant you success. May God bestow prosperity upon you.

Constituents Assembly and Consultative Assembly

Of course, we have to go through another stage and for this we pin our hopes on you, the youth, that is, the electing the representatives for the Constituents Assembly and the consultative assembly. We have these two stages ahead of us, after which still another is coming. I also pin my hopes on you, the youth, the Iranian youth, the youth all over the country. I also hope that with your lofty efforts, we will emerge victorious in those two stages and the representatives we will be sending to the Constituents Assembly and the consultative assembly will be Islamic, honest, and learned. After this stage,¹ there is the Constituents Assembly (election) to legislate on the constitution. And in this, you gentlemen must again make the efforts as it concerns your own parliament, your own country and your very own Islam and for this, you will earn our gratitude.

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

¹ It refers to the referendum.

Speech

Date/Time: Night of April 5, 1979 [Farvardin 16, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The expediency of electing committed representatives to the parliament; building up Iran and the young generation

Audience: A group of employees of banks all over the country and the Social Security and Health Organization

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A unique referendum

I also congratulate my own friends and you gentlemen for this referendum, which thanks God, was held in Iran and which is unique in history both from qualitative and quantitative aspects. Quantitatively, twenty million out of thirty-five million population voted affirmatively, and qualitatively, people were all willing and were enthusiastic to vote. These two aspects have been unprecedented in the world so far and will prove rare in the future. I congratulate you for this blessing and great feast. Yet the point that I should bring up is the fact that our task will have to be continued. At this stage, we have to hold our Constituents Assembly, which has to be convened, and the nation's representatives must gather there to pass the new constitutional law. This is an issue of the same importance that was attached to the voting to the Islamic Republic.

Electing committed representatives

You, gentlemen, and all the people of this nation should safeguard this movement in the same way that it has been protected so far. You must maintain the same degree of fervency and zeal in order to pass through this stage. All of us should in reality elect those deputies who we wish for the parliament. We must elect those who are learned, trustworthy to the nation, those who have no leftist or rightist leanings and those who respect Islam and love their country, those who have no shortcoming regarding the issues of Muslims and Islam. We must choose such people for the Constituents Assembly to ratify the Islamic Constitutional law. After that, we have another stage ahead of us that has to be handled by this provisional government. That stage concerns the setting up of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. God willing, that parliament will not be similar to the parliament

in the past fifty years, which had no bond to the people. The nation did not know anything about it. It did not know its representatives. All those deputies were in fact deputies of one single person. That is, the president of the United States, or the incumbent king in line with foreign embassies. The former king himself once said that, "The list of deputies would come from the embassies and we would elect deputies the way they wished."¹

God willing, such issues will no longer take place or recur and this will be achieved with the determination and solidarity of the entire nation. You yourselves witnessed how you triumphed over all satanic powers with the solidarity, unity of word and your consensus in wanting an Islamic republic. From now on too, if you maintain the power of yours and this unity of expression, God will be with you. If you safeguard this unity of expression and dependence on God, you will emerge victorious with both the Constituents Assembly, and the Consultative Assembly. Do not let the ill wishers of the nation to interfere in the affairs of these two parliaments. Do not let people who wish ill for the nation and who wish the good of tyrants to be elected to the Constituents Assembly. Do not allow those who are affiliated to the superpowers to be elected to this parliament. With its own discretion, determination and making use of its own privilege, the nation should designate individuals who are competent, pious, and who will work for Iran and for the benefit of Iran so that these three stages will be completed.

On the road to build Iran and the young generation

After this stage, we have still another task and that is the reconstruction of Iran, the whole of it. There exist among these classes of people, individuals who are *taghuti* in appearance and in essence. The banks too, have a *taghuti* form; usury is practiced in banks. You may also assume that other classes of the society, other institutions, the judiciary, and educational institutions are also patterned after the east and western systems. Of course, they (Pahlavi regime) had exerted many efforts to deviate the people and the youth from their own (right) path in these last fifty-odd years and even before this dynasty. Now, we should make efforts to transform this young force, to transform them into learned, Islamic and virtuous human beings who will be useful to their country, and this is expected from all strata of the people. One single stratum cannot accomplish this task alone. The confusion existing in

¹ This statement appeared in the first edition of the book, *Mission for my Country*, attributed to Muḥammad Rida Shah, which in later editions, according to repeated statements by Imam Khomeini, was omitted.

the country now among the people and, and the ruins, which was bequeathed to us, has to be rebuilt through everybody's efforts. You, the young people should advance this cause and safeguard this movement. Of course, regarding the banks, there should definitely be a transformation and God willing, it will gradually be done.

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

Decree

Date: April 6, 1979 [Farvardin 17, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of a religious law judge for Kashan's Islamic revolutionary court

Addressee: Jafar Saburi

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Isam Aqa Haj Shaykh Jafar Saburi, may his graces last:

It is necessary that you attend as the religious law judge of the Islamic revolutionary court that will be set up in Kashan and issue the order to execute divine limits regarding criminals. I implore the Exalted God for the continuation of your success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Reply to a Query

Date: April 6, 1979 [Farvardin 17, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Decree on dealing in smuggled commodities

Addressees: Businessmen

In His Most Exalted Name

Act according to the Islamic government regulations.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: April 6, 1979 [Farvardin 17, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to combat the corrupt roots of the Shah's regime

Addressee: A group of Air Force personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Not achieving the ultimate victory

I thank the entire Iranian nation, particularly you, the enlisted men and soldiers of the Air Force. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for your health and prosperity. We must understand and feel the reality that we have not yet achieved the ultimate victory. We have to tread a long path before we can achieve it. If a human being thinks he is victorious, he will meet with defeat and victory will bring lethargy. If he sees himself halfway through and moves toward the final destination, this movement will empower him. We are halfway through our path and, of course, we are victorious in the sense that we have severed the hands of the oppressive powers out of our country. Now, we are independent in our country but the confusion and disorder, which exist in the country, are caused by a group of corrupt elements, which have infiltrated the people's ranks sowing the seeds of corruption, these are the putrefied roots of the (ex-) regime and the foreign powers. The people who are working to save foreign interests are causing the nation hardship and tribulation.

We should resist steadfastly against these elements and throw them out of our country with all our might and strength.

Efforts by Iranians for Iran

My brethren! You must take note that Iran is of you and Iranians must make efforts for Iran: All classes of people must be friends of one another. It should not be like it was during the previous regime that people were aloof from each other, that there existed separation between the military forces and the people, or the people did not think well of them and the military thought badly of the people. It is high time that all forces became Godly and Islamic and may God rule over this nation and we advance with God's helping hand. Together we should all be united and all speak the same language and you should eliminate the confusion created by foreign powers and their lackeys

around the country. Eliminate this confusion together and with the God's assistance, and gain control of the situation. The country belongs to you, and the nation consists of you; the army is of you, we are all brothers. We should all move forward together and deliver this country from anarchy. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the health and prosperity of all of you.

Speech

Date: April 6, 1979 [Farvardin 17, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to confront the roots of corrupt

Addressees: Pupils of Kashan's Imam az-Zaman Elementary School; a group of pupils from Aligudarz and Khuzestan's Islamic Youth Association

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Giving no opportunity to traitors

Greetings to you, great nation of Iran, and you, the zealous and vigilant youth. Peace be upon you all! May God render you prosperous. Through the lofty efforts of you, the youth and all classes of people in Iran, this movement has reached this stage. It is through your sublime efforts that we gained victory and clipped the corrupt roots off our country to a certain extent. God willing, from now on, through the same lofty endeavors of the youth, the remaining corrupt roots will totally be uprooted. You have sacrificed your blood, dedicated martyrs all over the country and all places in Iran, and brought this movement to fruition. You should undertake other issues in Iran, which will come up later, and take them to fruition through lofty determination and by keeping this movement alive. You rescued Islam from the hands of foreign powers and enemies by making sacrifices. And it was you who have rescued Islam from the evil hands of foreigners and enemies. And it is you who will save Islam from the hands of traitors who are sowing seeds of hypocrisy. Do not give these beasts donning a human face any opportunity. Do not give these elements any chance to take roots among you. May God confirm you.

Participating cheerfully in various stages of the Revolution

In the next stage, we have to elect representatives for the Constituents Assembly and through your lofty efforts, you must elect people who are learned, scholarly, loyal to Iran, and committed to Islam to occupy the constitutional assembly and the legislative body in order to ratify the Islamic constitution.

Subsequent to this, we have the consultative assembly (to set up) and with the lofty enterprise of you, the Iranian youth, honest and trustworthy persons will constitute it, and with your intellectual discernment according to God's will. And in the same way that you have achieved your tasks with zeal

and enthusiasm, the Exalted and Blessed God willing, you should endeavor to reconstruct Iran and from now on foreign powers cannot interfere in the country's affairs, or any other organization or do you injustice, nor can these (institutions) ever materialize (in this land). Do not let the flames of the movement be extinguished; do not let the zeal and enthusiasm that emerge in the nation for the crystallization of their rights wane (into) lethargy. May God confirm you. May God grant you prosperity in this world and in the hereafter. Implementing Islamic decrees have benefits in both this world and the hereafter. The Islamic republic was set up with almost the unanimous vote of the nation and God willing, Islamic decrees, which it entails, will also be implemented for the welfare of all social strata, particularly the workers, farmers, and the (lower) weak classes and everyone. Islam considers the rights of these classes above others. I beseech the Exalted God to acquaint us with our duties.

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

Speech

Date: April 6 1979 [Farvardin 17, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sabotage done by the so-called supporters of the nation

Audience: Tehran's military industry personnel; thousands of Qum's citizens

Divine Hand in the Islamic Revolution

About the end of my stay in Paris, I came to notice something that made me very hopeful of the advancement of this movement. I brought this to the attention of all the persons and gatherings in Paris. That point which had been very rare in revolutions here and there in the world or has probably never occurred anywhere was the fact that whatever was said in a country's center would be repeated in the remotest villages as well; or what is said by the country's intellectuals, the same is also wanted by the people in the streets and the farmers and agricultural hands. I was informed at the time, and some of whom who came from Iran would also brief me that the Iranian nation's demand had spread around in the remote towns and villages which are apart from each other in every possible way. During the last days someone came to me saying that he had roamed around in the villages of Kamareh (around Khomein) and Chaplaq (around Isfahan) and also in Lorestan and saw that every morning the clergyman in the village leads the way and the people of the village follow him in a demonstration (against the regime). He also named a village called Hasan Falak around Kamareh which I remember that at the time I saw it myself there lived only 10-15 families and it was located beside a mountain and was distant from other villages; he told me that he had visited the place and found out that the people there were saying things that the people in the capital were saying. This is the way the Revolution has spread everywhere across Iran. Another aspect of the spread of the Revolution concerns the groups of people; even schoolchildren and younger ones would repeat the same motto that adults would say. Workers, employers, teachers, Justice Ministry employees, clerics, theology students, intellectuals, all were saying the same thing and were united. I understood this point as a sign that there is Divine Hand at work. No matter how one wants to enlighten others and no matter how earnestly one wishes to realize it, one will not be able to do so to that extent. I understood that God The Most High has an eye on the entire thing. And based on this I had confidence that victory lay ahead. Of course, I could not guess it would be so soon and

so easily. When the ex-Shah left the former government of Bakhtiyar was formed, I advised him and he did not listen, and I set out to return to Iran when I saw the Americans became active.

Spiritual transformation of the Iranian nation

They would come to us where we were residing- saying, "It is too soon. Do not go back to Iran!" From the Iranian government's side too they were telling us the same! The Iranian government also sent a message to me by the French President that it was too early to go to Tehran and I had better wait! I guessed that they want to do preparations. They wanted to keep us there (in France) and do what they wished to do (against the Revolution) so that we might lose our control over the affairs. I stood fast that I should return to Iran and you witnessed that they closed down the airport. I said I would go back whenever the airport was open. They closed it down again. I said that we would fly back whenever it would be opened. Finally, we came. Throughout all this time and since I had begun to understand the situation that way, I would consider the whole issue a Divine one. And at present, too, the situation is the same. A suffering nation that had nothing in its hands, a nation that was plunged in a situation in which it did not believe in its own right to protest, had risen. You know that when a low-ranking policeman go to the Tehran Bazaar and order the people to hoist flags at their shops on the occasion of the birthday anniversary of the Shah, none would dare oppose him. One could not say, "No" to a policeman! No one allowed oneself to say no! But this spiritual transformation emerged among the people, so that within a year or so, the nation was transformed into a nation that took to the streets and cried out: "Death to the Shah." The people who did not believe in their right against a police officer, all began shouting the slogan of "Death to the Shah" in unison. Even a friend of mine told me that once he was in a street in Shiraz when he saw an official there around whom children had gathered shouting: "Death to so and so and long live so and so!" The official was transfixed there and when he saw the friend of mine, he asked him to save him from those children! Then he, facing the *qiblah*,¹ raised his hands to his ears and saved himself from the children by shouting what they wanted him to say. This is not something that one individual or a single group can achieve. God did this.

¹ *Qiblah*: the direction where the Muslims face in times of prayers, which is the Kabah the Mecca.

Source of victory: spiritual transformation and desire for martyrdom

This was a Divine work and this happened because our society, our populace had changed and undergone a transformation. This was an Islamic transformation. People had changed in such a way that they regarded martyrdom a great achievement for themselves. I was in Najaf when a very handsome young man, aged 20-30, came to me and made me take an oath to pray for him to become a martyr. This was the morale of the mothers who had lost two or three of their children. When they would meet us, they said their children had been sanctified for Islam, and that they had another son to dedicate to the Islamic cause. Such was the sacrificing mood, that is the same morale prevailing among the people at the time of the Holy Prophet, and which gave domination to Muslims over almost the entire world at the time within only half a century. The same morale had emerged in our nation with which it wanted to sacrifice itself with so much zeal and enthusiasm. What brought us victory was such a morale, not philosophy nor world-view, nor Islamology, none of such issues. This morale and this dynamism, which emerged in the nation, was a Divine issue, which over a short period brought about such a spiritual transformation among people. It was because of such a spiritual change that we reached this stage; and the referendum that you observed, and the defeat of the superpowers were all acts of God. These we must regard as something extraordinary. A nation, which had no means and no weapons (now you see a few guns at the hands of people), this nation with no arms and no equipments, overcame an armed-to-the teeth power backed by America, which had announced it would back up the regime. Britain had openly voiced its support. The USSR was also among its supporters but acted more sensibly. Therefore, a power backed up by all superpowers was toppled by the hands of this very population, which shouted slogans here and there in the bazaars and streets. Of course, the Armed forces too helped. However, after the people shouted their slogans it transformed the army and the people pulled the Armed forces from their support of that wretched man, Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, to their side. Regrettably, though, some of the high-ranking officers some of whom ran away and a great number of them were corrupt. Others too were transformed. They turned to the side of the nation. The Air Force and other forces including the Army's aviation force as well as the warrant officers were all transformed. This transformation among these forces was not an ordinary issue because it transformed the whole armed forces so that they could turn against the Shah who was their so-called supreme commander. These issues, which all took place against ordinary consideration, were of an extraordinary nature.

Maintaining the Islamic morale

For as long as the nation keeps and safeguards this unity of expression and unity for Islam, and this Islamic dedication owing to which they sacrifice themselves for Islam, and consider it as everything, we can rest assured that we are victorious and all of us must maintain this morale. You should strengthen this morale among workers and the deprived stratum, which we hope will no longer be deprived. Strengthen this morale and make them understand that it was God who crushed the superpowers and the unity of yours emboldened you into sacrificing your own blood. Safeguard it (morale).

If, God forbid, we let this morale fizzle out, and think ourselves victorious and go after our personal business, we will face defeat; we know that man is powerful for as long as he is moving in the path. These caravans moving along the path have power, but once they reach home, their power will be exhausted. The human morale is the same: if you got into a car and drove to a city and if a human being's destination is 30 kilometers, when he has traversed 27 kilometers he starts getting tired, after reaching the destination he will be exhausted. If we believe that we have triumphed, we will tend toward lethargy and we have not yet achieved (ultimate) victory. We have removed some of our obstacles, but their roots have remained.

The (foreign) powers are lurking

You are now witnessing that all the powers, which have left (the country) and been defeated are now back into action. America will not give up this soon. Britain is the same, as well as the USSR. All of these powers are now lurking to find our weak point with which to browbeat us through their lackeys and those who have affiliations with them. I believe that most of them are American agents and among these, there are a few groups from the other side.¹ All these elements are the working of the Americans in order to infiltrate the population and the ranks of the working class and launch such and such propaganda, and what not. If, God willing, we are able to implement Islam, that is, the Islamic decrees, and gain enough power, we will implement Islam the way it is in reality, and then you will see there is no nation in the world that is as freedom seeking as an Islamic nation. No school of thought is as concerned about the poor class as Islam intends to ameliorate their condition and create a monotheistic class.

¹ That is, from the Eastern Bloc (USSR and its allies).

Dictatorship under the guise of democracy

The kind of democracy that exists in Islam does not exist in other schools of thought. The name of democracy is there around the world with clamor and propaganda. You see that the same lip service about a democracy everywhere from the United States to Britain as well as in the USSR. Yet when we look carefully, we find that in all those countries dictatorial approaches are in practice. The dictatorship in the USSR is not less than that of the United States and not lesser than that of our Shah. All of them are dictators but want to bamboozle the masses and they are just using deceptive embellishments (such as democracy) on their deeds in order to toy away with the people.

Opposition of the so-called Fadaian-e Khalq with the nation

You just consider what their agents want now. They are raising a lot of outcry saying that we want to sacrifice ourselves for the people. What do they want? The entire nation says that it wants an Islamic republic. Now if they are truly “immolators for the people” and claim to be advocates of the nation’s cause, let them come and join the people so that the people’s life will be improved. Well, all branches of the government are endeavoring to put out the commotions in order to improve the people’s life and make them prosperous. The establishment of an Islamic Republic is what the people, this very nation, want. Just consider the referendum, which was held very recently. Is there any record anywhere in the world where over 20 million people go to vote out of a population of 35 million, with only 140,000 casting negative votes out of over 20 million voters? Has there been any precedence to such an event in the world? Even in future, without such an Islamic enthusiasm, can there be such an event? Just consider the fervor with which the people cast their votes, the zeal with which they went to the poll, such a fervency and eagerness are unprecedented, too.

What do they want of us anymore? If they are after the people’s interest, well, they should give us a respite to set things right. Nevertheless, they are not going to allow us. Now these very groups, who pose under the names of Fadaian-e Khalq; etc., have thrown themselves in the people’s ranks and cause obstruction in the people’s way to have a decent life!__It is so because they wish to create commotion, and are ordered by their superiors whom I believe are mostly Americans. They are instructed to cause discord among people by such tactics and prevent the implementation of Islamic decrees with their real contents among people. They fear that if Islam is implemented in its true sense they shall have no role to play in Islamic nations. They fear

this and wish to prevent it. Otherwise if the elements who are active in Iran and who create commotion at present and obstruct the way to peace and tranquility, really wish to make sacrifices for the people, they must come forwards and assist. If they desire freedom, we are granting freedom and there exists no repression, everyone is now saying what we want. If they truly are after the people's welfare they must give us time and come and help us so that all of us together endeavor to create a prosperous life for the nation. Moreover, if they wish to cause disturbance, and of course, they do, it is not for the nation. Causing commotion does not serve the people's interest and will cause nothing but bloodshed. It is to the nation's interest that all of us are together. The whole population should be united and build the devastated nation the ex-regime bequeathed to us. If they want to pave the way for the Americans to come back to Iran by creating disturbance and commotion, then, all Iranians and we are duty-bound to fight them.

An example of an Islamic ruler's behavior

We advise them. We are interested in seeing all our people in prosperity. We give them advice to join us. What do you want? Ask them what they want? What you seek is found in Islam to a greater extent. What you claim to have (for the nation), Islam has all the relevant plans for them. Islam has crystallized these ideals. Islam once had a government of its own in which a judge would summon the ruler because of a petition filed against him by a Jew. The ruler would go to the court sitting beside the Jew in the most respectful manner and when the judge addressed him as "O Abul-Hasan" (showing his respect to him), the Imam asked him not to address him by his eponym and that the judge should treat him and his accuser (the Jew) equally.¹ Are you informed of such an example of democracy anywhere else in the world in which a government-appointed judge summons the head of government and the latter attends the court and the judge metes out a decree against him and he (the head of government) abides by the judgment and yields to it? What do you want to say? Are the bosses in the Kremlin Palace like this? Are the American heads of state like this? Are the British heads like this? Or, is what they say only a claim? Is it possible for someone to summon one of these heads of state to attend a trial standing against a plaintiff? Or, bringing up such a claim against them will be equal to the execution of the plaintiff?

¹ *Ibn Athir*, vol. 3, p. 201; *Sunan Bayhaqi*, vol. 10, p. 136; *As-Sawaiq*, p. 78.

Aryamehr's futile propaganda

What do they want? They wish to create commotion. Their intention is ill and they are not after the good of the people. Their intention is corrupt. They wish to return the country to the same situation in which foreign masters come and loot out our everything, leaving us nothing. You are now observing that the power that this wretched man¹ had with the propaganda of the regime was only a cover and when the cover was removed, you saw that Iran had no content and power. Now, to whatever institution you point your finger, you find it hollow! They destroyed our agriculture and we have nothing now unless people

Work hard to achieve something for the country. It is said that the agricultural situation this year is better than what prevailed over the last 15 years only because people were given a chance to work. We have lost everything. The former regime, with a lot of noise and sensationalism, loaded the radio broadcasts with futile propaganda whenever you turned on the radio, its programs were replete with propaganda and slogans Aryamehr (ex-king), and everything was but hollow propaganda: "A mission for my country." Yes, he was right, but his mission was to reduce the country to this deplorable state and he fulfilled his mission to the hilt!

The danger in tending toward apathy

If we safeguard the unity of expression, this characteristic, which is the movement's all-encompassing Islamic nature, we will always be victorious. And if, God forbid, they (anti-revolutionaries) cause sabotage and disturbance and we act lethargically and fail to stop them and the nation fails to stop them and if we think we are victorious and therefore tend to apathy, I fear that, God forbid, they will afflict the country with the same old problems but in another form. Of course, they will not talk of a monarchial system because it has proved a failure. They know that this cannot be implemented. They will call it by another name. They know what to do as they have done studies on this. If we remain steadfast and maintain this unity of expression and the power is now in our grasp, which is the nation's power, we will all triumph. If, God forbid, this unity of expression is not maintained and is shattered, we fear for the return to the previous (miserable) situation. God forbid, they will defeat us because this time they have understood Iran's unity and the power of Islam, whereas earlier they would say it was a mere possibility. Earlier, it was mere knowledge, but now they have understood that Iran advanced through its unity of expression and power of Islam and

¹ MuHammad Rida Pahlavi.

this time, they (foreign lackeys) will cut off everything we had; this time they will curtail all our power; they will not let the intellectuals or anybody exist in the world or in Iran. They will suppress everyone. We should be vigilant! Do not let this take place. By this, we mean we should all help each other; all of us together: workers should help employers and everyone should treat one another with fairness and humaneness; everyone should act with compassion and gallantry and not allow the flame of this movement to be extinguished so that our main objective will be achieved, God willing. May God make you all successful and grant you prosperity.

Statements

Date: April 6, 1979 [Farvardin 17, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Guidelines for the Polisario Saharan Liberation Movement

Audience: Representatives of the Saharan (Polisario Liberation Movement)¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Of course, all things you said² were crimes committed. The Shah had committed more crimes in Iran than those committed there (Sahara). Here (in Iran) the weapons, tanks and cannons were used to kill the very same people whose money was used to purchase them! We are aware of all these crimes and the things you have mentioned were also crimes committed by the Shah's government. Presently his government is not at the helm any longer. And, if there had been some degree of involvement previously, it had been perpetrated by the Shah. We know all about these crimes and you are aware that more crimes had been committed in Iran than in other places, (e.g. in the Sahara). However, now, thanks to God, his hand has been severed off and the nation emerged victorious. Our nations now are facing many tribulations, and we commiserate with all the world's oppressed nations in their sufferings and we condemn all the arrogant powers. If we had power, we would destroy all oppressors. I hope that Iran's Islamic movement will serve as a paragon for all the oppressed nations to win their cause. I also hope that this key which opened doors to victory in Iran, which consisted of the nation's unity of expression and reliance on the Exalted and Blessed God, be also found among all nations, who will also eventually emerge victorious, God willing.

[In response to other statements made by the Polisario representative, Imam said:]

¹ The Sahara region, known as Western Sahara, was a Spanish colony until 1976. As per agreement signed by the governments of Spain, Morocco and Mauritania, the Spanish forces withdrew from the Sahara, and the control was split to two-thirds by Morocco and one-third by Mauritania. After the withdrawal of the Spanish colonizers, the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic declared its independence but was never given world recognition. However, subsequent to the expulsion of Mauritanian forces in 1979, the above-mentioned territory was occupied by Morocco. After 15 years of sporadic conflicts between Morocco and the Sahara (republic), both sides accepted the UN proposal for a plebiscite, which was held in January 1992 but it ended in an impasse. The Saharan government now controls territories, which are mostly in the desert.

² Referring to the statements made by the Polisario delegate.

Tell them (addressing the translator) that I thank them for coming over here to find out about our nation's well-being. I always pray for not only all Muslims but also all the oppressed people as well. I hope that wherever you are, your nation will be in welfare and those who are oppressing people be destroyed. I pray that God grant His approval on you and I implore God to grant you victory.

[In response to the requests made by the above-mentioned organization for Iran to recognize it, the Imam said:]¹

Well, this issue is something that is relevant to the government.

¹ To date, 70 nations, including the Islamic Republic of Iran, have recognized the Sahara Democratic Republic.

Speech

Date: April 6, 1979 [Farvardin 17, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Women's role in Iran's Islamic Revolution

Audience: A group of women from Kermanshah and Dezful

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I welcome you, women, who have come from a far distance. I am grateful to women, that is, the women all over Iran, who have the right to the Islamic Republic. They have a share in this movement. I must say that they are at its frontline, because the men acquired their courage from them, and were emboldened by their endeavors. You, too, served Islam and God willing you will persist in serving (Islam). You bring up lion-hearted men and women in Iran. Your bosom (where young people are raised) is the bosom of chastity, virtue and grandeur. You are duty-bound to educate your children well; train them in an Islamic and humane way to be crusaders. We advanced this movement up to this stage through the crusading efforts of you women and all social stations and we proclaim the (establishment of) Islamic Republic. And from now on, we need your further help; we need you to set up the Constituents Assembly for which you should elect Islamic and committed individuals and not with left or right leanings, and those who want to endeavor for Iran. After this, (we need you) for the formation of the consultative assembly for which you will vote in a free atmosphere, where men and women will have freedom to vote. It is not like in the past when the words "free men and free women" were merely words but everyone would find himself under suppression (Shah would claim that he has made Iran a country of free men and women). Islam has freed you; Islam had decreed that men and women are free. However, choose individuals whose actions will bear fruit and be useful for Islam and the country. They should not be treacherous.

May God bestow honor and prosperity on you in this world and the hereafter. Greetings and peace be on you lion-hearted women who endeavored at the frontline of the struggle. May God keep you.

Speech

Date: April 6, 1979 [Farvardin 17, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Secret of victory: the desire for martyrdom

Audience: A group of political leaders of Palestine, Muslims from Libya, Iraq and Egypt, Iran's combatant Arab-speaking people

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

The secret of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

I thank you, gentlemen, who have come from a long distance to commiserate with us. Our nation's movement is not merely humane, but both Islamic and humane. Islam has respect for this very same humanity. It was not by means of natural (i.e. human) power that we overcame (the enemies); because our power based on norms of nature, is insignificant before enormous powers like those of America and the Shah with all the sophisticated weaponry that is in their hands. That we overcame them and our nation emerging victorious was simply due to the reliance on God. Our nation underwent a transformation, which was unprecedented. This transformation resulted from the fact that they considered martyrdom a great blessing. Young people who come to me, some of them ask me to pray that they become martyrs! This key to our victory was the same key that advanced the Muslim cause in the early days of Islam and our nation advanced with the same key; with this very key nations can advance (their cause).

The path to the nation's freedom

You should not wait for your governments to do something for you. More than 15 years ago I advised Arab governments to unite and rescue Quds but to no avail because they were thoughtless of such an issue. If ever they had talked about issues, it was in the same way as the ex-Shah used to say about the progress he had made and the "great civilization"! Not even one of them ever thinks of their nations; the nations should think of themselves. If we had waited for governments to do something for us, we would have had the same backwardness and the ex-Shah ruling over us. The power of faith was cultivated in our midst and with this power of faith, we opposed the superpowers, and thanks God we triumphed and severed their hands (from our country). If you wish to prevail over your difficulties, if you

want to emancipate Quds, and if you want to liberate Palestine, if you want to save Egypt and the rest of the Arab countries from the claws of these lackeys and the foreign powers, nations should rebel; the nations themselves should carry out something. They should not sit idle waiting for their governments to get involved in these issues. They will act only on those issues that will serve their interests.

Martyrdom: the key to victory

Nations should rise; nations should understand this “key” and that this “key” to victory is to wish for martyrdom. They should not put any value to this life, this material, worldly, and animalistic life. This the key through which nations can move ahead: This is the key that the Quran brought and made the Arab nations prevail over great powers while they were in the nadir of weakness. Quran builds a human being. A divine human being and with this divine attribute he advanced and in less than half a century this divine being overcame empires. We should find this key; we should follow the Quran, a “Quranic” type of man should be generated. The nations should acquire a “Quranic image” so that they can be prosperous. If nations want to advance only through affiliations with political groupings, ordinary social categorizations and formal societies, they will never prosper until the end. Everyone should unite and become a divine being, a human being ready to sacrifice himself for God. If he becomes so, then he will prosper. I am advising all classes of people, Muslims and Arab people to follow an Islamic upbringing if they wish to overcome their difficulties; they should act according to Islamic plans; the Quran should be their guide and “Imam”. If they acquire this characteristic, they will prevail over all issues. However, if they fail to do so and want to be conventional to ordinary norms of life or political norms and the like, governments will have the upper hand and (nations), will not prosper, either.

Emulating Muslims of the early days of Islam

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God—may God so will—to awaken all of us and transform us into Muslims like those in the early days of Islam and our nations to be like the early Islamic community when Muslims were of pure faith and their power emanated from their faith and Islam; who making a populace of a few thousand overcame an Empire whose population was more than all the Muslims who wanted to go to the war. Their vanguards were double the number of the Muslim combatants plus the great force in the rear ranks. And it was because of nothing but faith that it was able to prevail.

This same phenomenon was engendered in Iran; this means that Iran was a vanguard and it prevailed over the superpowers. May the Exalted and Blessed God grant us success and bestow on us the opportunity to be able to fulfill our religious and human duties. Once more I would like to thank you for coming, and for granting us this honor.

[In response to the gratitude and congratulations expressed by one of the foreign guests, Imam Khomeini said:]

God willing, you will be successful. Certainly, all Muslims must be united. All Muslims must act as a single hand and must consistently perform their Islamic and human duties. May God grant everyone success. May you all be successful and triumphant, God willing.

Speech

Time/Date: 5 pm, April 6, 1979 [Farvardin 17, 1358 AHS /Jamadi al-Awwal 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The share of children and youngsters in the movement

Audience: A group of students from the southern part of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Taking pride in the young generation of Muslims

From one point of view, I am worried and from another, I am happy. According to the contracts among governments, and, if they want to find faults with the movement, they may say that people under sixteen should not be allowed to vote. From this point of view, I am sorry. And because they have not allowed such youths to vote, I am sorry. But I am happy because from one viewpoint I see so much enthusiasm, zeal and your interest in your social affairs and this attachment that you have to Islam and to your Islamic country. Not allowing you to vote does not mean that you, dear children, are not being valued. That is only due to certain practices in the world and inevitably, we, too, have to abide by them so as to avoid faults being found with the referendum... Do not say that, God forbid, you have not been accorded value. You are dear to us; you are the resources of this country for the future generation. We are proud of you for showing such enthusiasm and zeal in your social and political affairs. We apologize to you for having to abide by this prohibition because of certain necessities and expedencies.

The role of children and youngsters in the Islamic Revolution

Do not be worried. You participated in this movement. You gave your blood. You attended the demonstrations in this movement and shouted slogans. You are contributors to this holy movement, which belongs to you. Perhaps, we should say that the share of little children or those who have not yet reached puberty, or are very young, is much greater! These dear children, in spite of their physical weakness and diminutive statures, took part in this movement; they attended this movement shoulder to shoulder with the adults and advanced the movement hand in hand with them. Your share is greater than that of others. I have pinned my hope on you to take the rein of our country's fate in your hands in the future, God willing, and be the heirs of this country.

May God grant you health, honor and prosperity, and God willing, you will be partners in the social affairs in the future. Do not worry; we look to you exactly the way we look to adults, and our sentiments for you should be more. I pray to the Exalted God for the prosperity of you all. Hail and praise to you all.

Decree

Date: April 7, 1979 [Farvardin 18, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Attending to the affairs of the cities of Saqqez, Qahramanshahr,¹ Islamabad, Ilam, etcetera

Addressee: Mr. Muhammad Yazdi

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1399 AH

Honorable Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Muhammad Yazdi, may his graces last:

It is necessary that you take a trip to the cities of Saqqez, Qahramanshahr, Islamabad, Ilam, and other cities in the western provinces to which you have recognized as necessary in order to control the affairs, guide the people of those areas, and judge according to the religious laws. While you are performing your assigned duties, call the people to unity and solidarity, warn them against discord, and acquaint them with their important responsibilities at this sensitive period.

I implore the Exalted God for the grandeur of Islam and Muslims and the general success for everyone.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Kermanshah.

Speech

Date/Time: 9 pm of April 7, 1979 [Farvardin 18, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of electing discerning and committed individuals, to the Parliament

Audience: A group of the workers of Isfahan's Steel Mill

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Reconstruction through unity and reliance on God

Tonight we are in the presence of the glowing faces of the prolific youths of Iran, who are making efforts at the steel mills. I would like to thank you, respectable youths and women, who have come to see me and express your kindness and I implore the Exalted God for the prosperity of all of you. We hope that, with the lofty endeavors taken by you, the youth and women and other youths, we will be able to complete our journey in this path. You have witnessed that we reached this point through unity of expression and reliance on the Exalted and Blessed God and you have taken this movement to this stage; you must traverse the path up until the end. May God grant you success to be able to maintain your unity of expression and reliance on the great God. It is through reliance on the great God that we can traverse this path, which teems with afflictions and chaos. It is through reliance on the great God that we can get rid of the chaos in the country and rebuild the ruins.

You participated in the referendum and took it to fruition, the Islamic Republic was erected, and the (Shah's) treacherous government and the tyrannical monarchy are buried forever. However, we are still halfway through our path. With your endeavors, unity of expression and reliance on the great God, we should take (this movement) to its final destination. After this stage, we have the elections for the Constituents Assembly. You must have the will power and elect committed individuals who will work hard for Iran and not for foreign powers, someone that has faith in God, not a leftist or a rightist, but one that treads the straight path. After this stage, there will be the Consultative Assembly to which righteous, committed individuals who are gifted with insight and are not deviated, should be elected through the determination of all people of Iran and the laudable will power of Iranian men and women; so that Islam will be implemented in its true sense and its

absolute truth, the Islam the way it was implemented in its early days and not the Islam which was suppressed during the time of these father and son and none of its aspects could not be introduced. We should introduce Islam the way it is and present the Quran the way it is. If Islam and the Quran are introduced to the world the way they really are, everyone will embrace them. Deviation arose because people had not known Islam. If they know Islam and understand Islamic decrees, they will all accept them.

Poisonous propaganda of American agents

I would like to bring this to the attention of you, the young people, not to let unity of expression slip off your hands. Individuals who come to factories and spread poisonous propaganda are foreign agents; most likely, they are American agents. Defy these people; take no heed of them. They want to sow corruption; they want to return Iran to its previous situation. Their interest is in thievery being a prevalent practice; they find their interest in the existence of plundering. If Islamic justice exists, plunderers' hands will be severed and they do not want to see the plunderers' hands cut off. They go to the factories and launch propaganda in such a way that seems acceptable to the people, but in fact, they are after the revival of previous issues. You should carefully take heed and confront them with vigilance. Do not let them infiltrate the ranks of the youth. May God protect you from the evil of Satan and may He safeguard our country from evildoers and foreign powers, so that, our country will remain independent and free for us, and so that we work in it and benefit ourselves. Peace be upon you dear friends and may God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Message

Date: April 8, 1979 [Farvardin 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Warning against over-charging and profiteering

Addressees: Guilds and shopkeepers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

It is most regrettable that I often face torturous issues and at times, I have to bring them to the attention of the noble nation. One such issue is price hiking and profiteering on which there have been repeated complaints. It is even said that commodities, which are distributed by the government to be sold at a certain price, are being sold at exorbitant prices to the poor people and caused inconvenience and distress for their brothers and sisters.

I would like to ask sellers, in particular, those selling foodstuffs to desist from price hiking and oppressive practices and return to Islamic ethics and practices. I advise them to treat the nation, which sacrificed its blood in the path of Islam and gave its youth (to the cause) fairly. I fear that, God forbid, we will be stricken with His wrath and fury and both the innocent and the guilty will burn together (in hell).

I am warning that if they do not stop price hiking and their defiance of Islam, they will be treated according to codes of Divine justice, religious law rule, and the Islamic and religious law code of punishment. My brethren! Come to your senses before the divine lash is meted out to you and cease doing these oppressive practices. May God amend your ways. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 8, 1979 [Farvardin 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment and introduction of religious law judges for the Islamic Revolutionary Court in Khorramshahr

Addressee: Muhammad Tahir Al-i Shabir Khaqani

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH

His Eminence Ayatullah Haj Shaykh Muhammad Tahir Khaqani, may his blessings last:

We were in receipt of your esteemed letter, and have noted the contents therein. Regarding the dispatch of a religious law judge to Khorramshahr, which you mentioned in the letter, it was expected that Your Eminence designate somebody for this post yourself. For this purpose Thiqat al-Islam wal Muslimin Haj Shaykh Hasan Shariati and Muqtadai, may their graces last, will be going there. It is hoped that the Exalted God willing, with His Excellency's leadership, duties and responsibilities will be carried in a commendable manner. I implore the Exalted God for your success.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: April 8, 1979 [Farvardin 19, 1358 AHS / Jammadi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Tribes in the former regime; parliamentary elections

Audience: A group of tribesmen of Chaharlang Bakhtiyari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Pahlavi dynasty's treachery against the tribes

One of the treacherous acts committed by Rida Shah against our nation was that he was commissioned to suppress our tribes. I wrote about this issue in a book, but they (ex-regime) censored that sentence. The tribes of ours around Iran were backers of Iran's independence. Because the foreigners could not bear up with these tribes, they commissioned Rida Khan, the father of Muhammad Rida, to suppress them. He did his services to foreign powers by betraying our nation. After him, this one, too, acted upon the same scheme. You, the tribesmen, were the backers of this nation and God willing, you will remain so. Your fathers served this country and safeguarded the independence of this country. You, too, must follow the same course of action and safeguard your country's independence.

Severing the hands of the traitors

Up until now, when the corrupt regime was in power and the treacherous regime was still installed, our country never had independence or freedom. All of you have tasted the bitterness of this predicament; we were all subjected to repression and no one was free. Thanks God, with the uprising of the nation and all strata of the people, whether tribesmen or urban people, you and we could drive away the icon of corruption (Shah) from our country, who is now denied entry everywhere and he is now wandering in such a way that he does not know what to do! He now tastes the consequences of his treacheries and crimes. However, you, respectable tribesmen and the rest of the other respectable tribesmen of Iran, must be vigilantly aware that treacherous hands are at work behind the curtain. They (foreign lackeys) do not want an independent Iran. They want to give away all its resources to foreign powers gratis as the Shah had done. They had given away our oil and in exchange for this, they built a military base for Americans. These weapons, which sent to Iran, were useless for the country and were weapons

for America's own use. They took away our oil and, in return, a military base was set up for them. From now on, such kinds of betrayals must end. You, zealous youth, must be vigilantly heed the fact that treacherous hands are now actively at work and you must sever them.

Electing righteous representatives

God willing, now, you just observed such a prestigious referendum, which has no precedence in the world; no such referendum has ever been so powerful as ours has been. The Iranian people voted with enthusiasm for the Islamic Republic. From the quantitative point of view, more than twenty million people voted for the Islamic Republic and gave their endorsement for Islam.

May God grant you longevity. From now on, we need you and the nation. Later on, learned individuals who are abreast with the times and do not have any left or right leanings, who should be nationalistic, independent and independent in their thought must be elected to the Constituents Assembly. We need to preserve this unity so that, God willing, when the Constituents Assembly is set up, you will send competent representative to it. Perhaps, at that time, I will introduce competent people to you.

After this, we need to set up the national consultative assembly. The previous national consultative assemblies were so called "national", but had better be called monarchial consultative assemblies. You have always known that they were set up without your consultation. The authorities (ex-regime) never informed you that you were free to vote for anyone you liked. That situation is now history and, God willing, will lose ground, and you are free and independent to choose representatives to the Parliament. However, you must take care not to let satanic elements enter (the Parliament) and mislead you. You must elect freedom-seeking, nationalistic, pious and learned representatives to the Consultative Assembly.

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the health and prosperity of you, the tribesmen of Iran, the tribesmen of Chaharlang clan, and I am informed of their condition. You are the support of this country and, God willing, you should avert the (spread of) corruption with might and safeguard the independence of your own country. Peace be upon you all, my friends.

Speech

Date: April 8, 1979 [Farvardin 19, 1979/ Jamadi al-Awwal 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The nation's power; devastation in Iran; on the road to reconstruction

Audience: Telecommunications' employees

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Role of telecommunications employees in the Islamic Revolution's victory

I know that Telecommunications Organization had helped us a lot. When I was abroad, they (telecommunications employees) helped us and correctly received our messages and disseminated them although everything would be censored (by the regime.) I am grateful to all of you, gentlemen. You have a share in this movement and I hope that with your participation, gentlemen, and the rest of the nation, this movement will reach its ultimate destination.

This movement is halfway through its path, meaning that we have severed the hands of the foreign powers to a certain extent and foreign lackeys spearheaded by Muhammad Rida had fled abroad, and with the nation's determination and the will of the Exalted and Blessed God, we have reached this point. From this point onward, there are the issues of reconstruction and the uprooting of this clique, which is the remnant and the corrupt roots still remaining in our country, most of which are agents of America, but which have a different face.

Superiority of the nation's power

We should all be united, and we should not think that our task has already been completed and that we have reached the end of our struggle. We should consider ourselves to have reached just half of the way and that we must traverse the other half of the path with strength and power up to its end. We should all (advance) together and, as you have witnessed, in the same way that we have trodden the path up to this point, and that is, through the unity of expression and an eye to Islam and religion. When they (ex-regime) had the power in their hands and the nation had nothing but its fist and blood, reliance on God and unity of expression were engendered among all the various strata of the people in such a way that superpowers could not keep him (Shah) in power. Whereas in the past, they (superpowers) used to say

that “he has to stay in power!” Britain used to say, “This man is loyal to us”; America would say the same but in another way; the USSR would not say it so explicitly, but they were all supporting him. However, although they were all propping him up and he, himself, possessed satanic power, organizations and accoutrements, the nation’s power, which was superior over everything, came to the fore.

How was the nation’s power engendered? It was created because everyone had one united goal, which was Islam! If everyone had been together but with a goal other than Islam, this movement would not have endured. You saw our youth, who were martyred, welcomed martyrdom; this was the power of Islam. From now on, this power has to be preserved; this faith and unity of expression have to be maintained, so that we can achieve ultimate victory, God willing. I hope we will be able to traverse the path up to its end through unity of expression and the power of faith in the manner we want.

The ruination of the economy and educational system

Now, the whole system bears the mark of the *taghut*. For many long years, the ex-regime habituated offices and all strata of the people to a *taghuti* system and it will take an equally long period before these can be changed into an Islamic and humane system. On the other side of things, they wrought destruction in Iran and just about reduced it into ruins. From the economic aspect, Iran is so retarded that it will take ages to acquire a proper and decent economy. Similarly, the education, too, is backward. The ex-regime never allowed a single righteous human being to be produced in schools properly. Now, if we want to form a parliament, that is, a Constituents Assembly and a Consultative Assembly, we should grab a lamp and look here and there to find a man who is trustworthy, nationalistic, having no western or eastern inclination and who will serve Islam and the country. Why? It is because since many long years ago, and, recently, in the last fifty years, the ruling machinery made efforts not to have a single true educated human being. One after another, they killed people who were proficient and productive individuals. They did not allow one single individual who is trustworthy, pious, patriotic with no leftist or rightist proclivity, and hindered the growth of our youth. They impaired our educational system and ruined it to such an extent that it could not produce one single correct human being.

On the road to reconstruction

From now on, we should begin the building of true human beings. A rich country like ours has everything, but, regrettably, its people have to languish starving! All this was because they (foreign powers) never allowed this country be run according to human rules. Now, we should all sit and think together and with everybody's participation; one single group or the government alone cannot do the task; the nation must work together with the government and vice-versa. With concerted efforts, they must think of a way; thinkers must find a way, and design a plan, so that after a few years, we shall be able to produce upright human beings to manage this country.

I hope God will protect you, who are the workforce of this country. May God protect our youth, awaken everyone and fulfill the tasks that God has designated for us, so that the Islamic power we have all witnessed be maintained and, likewise, the unity of expression. God willing, country will be ours and we will run it in its both material and spiritual aspects.

May God grant you success and make you prosperous. May you be healthy and successful. May your reward rest with God. May you be successful and be supported.

Message

Date: April 10, 1979 [Farvardin 21, 1358 AHS Jamadi al-Awwal 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Opening of Bank Account Number 100 for building homes for the deprived people

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Beloved nation! Brave and combatant brothers and sisters—may God the Almighty assist them:

Now, we have reached a sensitive stage in the course of the Islamic Revolution. The reconstruction period is a period in which the oppressed and deprived people of Iran should benefit from the fruits of our Revolution and experience the glory of a just Islamic system. It is a period when everyone should join hands and uproot poverty and deprivation. You, the noble people of Iran, who were active in the course of the struggle against colonialism and exploitation gained great victory, and could overcome the *taghut* of the time through your reliance on the Exalted God, unity of expression and the participation of all strata of the people, and made the superpowers tremble. Today, you should mobilize to combat poverty and deprivation through self-help and cooperative efforts and, with Divine approval, deliver the oppressed people by being firm in your determination.

During the rule of the abject Pahlavi regime, the housing problem was one of the worst social tribulations of the people. A great number of people led a life in captivity of banks just to procure a small piece of land or a “nest” to perch on, and in what deplorable condition they had to spend their lives indebted to banks and profiteers and plunderers, so that they could acquire a shelter for themselves and their children. A huge sector of the society’s oppressed people was also totally deprived of a home, and was dwelling in slum areas in cramped, dark and dilapidated cubicles. And what was worse was a major part of their meager income which had to be spent on paying the rents. This ominous heritage has remained for our nation. Today our society is grappling with such a dilemma. The Islamic system will never tolerate such oppression and discrimination and it is the least (of rights) that every individual should have a home. The problem (of acquiring) land has to be resolved and deprived slaves (of God) should be able to benefit from this divine grace.

All deprived people must have homes. Not one person in the country should be deprived of a home. It is the Islamic government's duty to think of an alternative solution to this important problem and all the people are duty-bound to cooperate.

I have opened Account Number 100 in all branches of Melli Bank and am calling on everybody that can afford it to remit their financial assistance to this account for housing projects. Trustworthy and competent people in every locality, at least a group of three civil and city planning engineers, a clergyman, and a representative of the government should be selected to build low-cost housing with the utmost care and economical means and put them at the disposal of the poor. No money should be charged in these projects for the land. I hope that all those who own vast pieces of land will help in this Islamic and humane venture and lay at the disposal of this project their high valued residential estate. Moreover, all those who are capable of providing various kinds of construction materials should assist in this Islamic service. Labor and man power must also be extensively employed for this project and the government, too, should make all necessary decisions to furnish the related water, electricity, asphalt, means of transportation, schools, dispensaries and other public utilities.

The Foundation of the Oppressed should also rush to the aid of this project and make use of the property confiscated from the Pahlavi family and its cronies. Meanwhile, the government must prepare basic and long-term projects to settle such problems at the national level. Now, mobilizing the power of faith for Islamic cooperation and struggle against deprivation in the society is a new experience out of which the nation must emerge proud with the Divine assistance. I, in all humility, beg the nation to help in this vital issue, and I pray to God for the health and prosperity of all.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: April 10, 1979 [Farvardin 21, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Women's great share in the furtherance of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Women and female students from Kashan

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

You respected women and dear girls are welcomed. You Iranian women proved that you were in the vanguards of this movement. You have a great share in our Islamic movement. You are an asset to the future of our country. You raise great men and women. Great men and women are brought up in your laps. You are very dear to the nation. You make efforts in [your] education to become endowed with moral values and practical virtues. You raise capable youths for the future of the country. Your laps are like a school in which noble youths should be trained. You acquire virtues so that your children achieve (correct) education in your lap.

I pray to God The Most High for your prosperity and hope that you, shoulder to shoulder with men, vote for the Constitutional Majlis and Islamic Consultative Assembly so the Islamic Republic, its constitution and Islamic Constitutional Assembly be set up and we achieve what we are after.

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

Speech

Date: April 10, 1979 [Farvardin 21, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Iran's condition during the Pahlavi Dynasty

Audience: Representatives of the Bakhtiyari tribes from Izeh¹ (township)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Tribes and clans during the Pahlavi era

Welcome, you chivalrous men from the Bakhtiyari tribe are welcome. One of the greatest treacheries committed by the Pahlavi dynasty against Iran was the destruction of our tribes and clans. The Pahlavis were given the mission to suppress those who were supporters of the nation. Tribes and clans including the Bakhtiyari tribe, with which I have relations, were supporters of our country. Among the missions of Rida Shah, was to destroy all tribes around Iran and suppress them in the guise of urbanizing them. They did not want Iran to have such support so that they could commit whatever acts of treachery they wished. Therefore, they destroyed and suppressed the supporters of ours and gained what they were after. They betrayed us considerably. They looted our resources and oil and in return, brought in weapons, which were of no use to Iran. They brought those weapons in order for them (Americans) to have a base in Iran but they did this under the name of the oil revenue. It is not you, the Bakhtiyari tribe alone who suffered in the time of that father and son. All the respectable tribes and clans suffered and not only they alone, but also all strata of the people suffered including all religious people and clerics, and every single person in the nation was under pressure.

A glance at the performance of the Pahlavi dynasty in Iran

The situation was aggravated to the point where neither women nor men had any freedom of choice. Neither clergymen nor university people could fulfill their duties. The Pahlavis lost all the luminaries of Iran and had a mission not to leave any source of pride for Iran. Our tribes and clans were a source of pride and they suppressed them. The Armed forces were our pride

¹ As an opening remark, the representative of the visiting delegation congratulated Imam Khomeini on the establishment of the Islamic Republic and announced the Bakhtiyari tribes' readiness for guarding the Revolution.

and they subjugated them to foreign advisors. They destroyed all our culture and economy. Now they have run away. The father (Rida Shah) took some of our national jewels, and a great deal was taken by his son. They have stashed away our assets in foreign banks. And presently huge debts are registered in Iran's name in foreign countries. Thanks God, our nation rose at a certain time and with the will of God severed their hands from our resources. It was with the will of God the Blessed and Exalted that foreign hands were severed from this land.

Freedom and independence under the aegis of Islam

I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the success of the Iranian nation, in particular the venerable tribes of Iran, especially you, the respectable Bakhtiyari tribe and I hope that you will always be safeguarding this movement with the same zeal that you have been commiserating with it up until now. My brethren! Under the aegis of Islam, you will be able to attain prosperity in this world and the hereafter; under the aegis of Islam, you will be able to return your (lost) glory; under the aegis of Islam, you will be able to be free and independent. Safeguard this Islam, preserve this Islamic movement and in the same way that you have cast approximately 100 percent of your votes and favored (Islamic Republic) in the referendum, you should be earnest in casting your ballots in favor of vigilant, trustworthy and pious and patriotic Muslims to occupy the seats of the Constituents Assembly which will be created later. Subsequent to this, you should choose upright, patriotic, nationalistic individuals who do not have Eastern or Western leanings, but who tread the straight path of humanity and Islamic nature to send to the Consultative Assembly. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for your health, prosperity and I thank you for coming to express your kindness in person. May God grant you all prosperity.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 10, 1979 [Farvardin 21, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Achievements of the Islamic Republic; Expediency of confronting satanic propaganda

Audience: A group of Lorestan's tribal members

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I also congratulate you, the respectable and loyal people of Lorestan and the rest of the Iranian nation for the (election of) Islamic Republic. May the Islamic republic be auspicious for all of you. With the establishment of the Islamic Republic, there will be prosperity, well-being and peace for the entire nation. If Islamic decrees are all implemented, the oppressed people will gain their rights, all classes of people will gain their de facto rights, and tyranny, oppression and injustice will be uprooted. There is no coercion under the Islamic Republic, there is no oppression, and there will be freedom and independence. All classes of people in the Islamic republic will live in welfare. The welfare of the poor will be taken care of; the needy will achieve their rights. In the Islamic Republic, justice will be brought about; divine justice will be meted out on the entire nation. It will overshadow the evil that existed during the regime of *taghut*, which will not be found in the Islamic Republic. I congratulate you for (the establishment of) the Islamic republic. I hope that, under the aegis of Islam, all of us will live in welfare and prosperity. You the local residents of Lorestan should be aware of and repel adverse propaganda by satanic elements that might come there. These satanic elements are individuals servile to the great satans;¹ they are servants of the great powers. Do not let them infiltrate your ranks. Stop them and thwart their propaganda; they aim at disseminating anti-Islamic propaganda. You must obstruct them. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the prosperity, health, dignity and grandeur of all of you.

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

¹ That is, the superpowers.

Speech

Date: April 10, 1979 [Farvardin 21, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Supporting the armed forces

Audience: Personnel of Infantry Division 1

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

Necessity of supporting the Army

Hail to the great nation of Iran! Peace be on the youth whose sacred Islamic goals are to struggle (for a holy cause)! Hail to the martyrs who gave their lives to the Islamic goals! I thank all the strata of the nation; I am at the service of the nation. I thank you, the youth who are endeavoring in the oath of our Islamic goals in order to bring these Islamic goals into fruition. You are the battalion of Islam and the Quran. It is incumbent on the nation to accord you with respect. The nation is duty-bound to support you. Islam and we are your support. Let hope be in your hearts. Do not be distressed. Some agitators are making impudent statements.¹ We consider you our own and we consider ourselves yours. We are with you and we shall be with you, and you shall be with us up to the end of the movement.

Islam: a religion of freedom and independence

If we succeed in implementing Islam and its decrees, the way they truly are, prosperity will be yours and the entire nation's. Islam is a religion of freedom and independence; Islam is a religion in which everybody will attain their rights and everybody's rights will be respected. An Islamic army is under the protection of Islam, an Islamic army is for the nation and Islam, today the "*taghut*" has been decimated and God willing, it will never return.

You should be the protectors of your country's independence; you should be the protectors of your country's freedom. All classes of the nation are duty-bound to support you. You are the ones that should protect this country's independence, and I thank you and we are your support. The whole nation is duty-bound to support you. If anyone affronts you, he has affronted the Imam of the Time's army. I assure you that you will attain tranquility and stability under the aegis of Islam, and you will lead a life of health and prosperity.

¹ *Ittilaat* Daily, February 17, 1979; February 20-24, 1979.

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

Speech

Date: April 11, 1979 [Farvardin 22, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of confronting conspiracies; cooperation with the government

Occasion: Martyrdom anniversary of Hadrat Zahra¹ (may God's peace be upon her)

Audience: A group of people from Bandar-e Langeh (port) accompanied by Sayyid Jawad Rukni²

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Iran's situation during the Pahlavi era

I would like to thank the gentlemen, who have come from a long distance to commiserate with us. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for everybody's prosperity and health. You are aware of the plight of your people; all Iranian people were deprived during the era of this father and son. They were deprived of freedom, independence. Our youth from all over Iran were in jails, under torture and deprived of freedom and independence. Iranian *ulama* were deprived of freedom and many of them were in exile or in prisons. Some people of Tehran, who are living in places called shantytown, or are tent-dwellers are perhaps more deprived than people in your locality. Together with several dependents, they are living in huts made of clay or in tents like a hole where animals live! Iran was a prison for all its respectable citizens, thanks God, this prison was shattered, freedom was returned to you, and you gained independence.

Hand in hand with the government in confronting conspiracies

It is high time that everybody spoke in unison and one idea, and be united, and everybody together take this movement to advancement. If there is commotion at the borders where you are residing and opportunists want to

¹ It refers to Hadrat Fatimah (a) the daughter of the Holy Prophet MuHammad (s) who was better known as Zahra. Her mother was Khadijah, the daughter of Khulayd. She was born in Mecca in 605 AH and passed away at the age of 18 six months after her father's demise. She is considered to be among the greatest women of the world. She was married to Hadrat Ali ibn Abi Talib, the first infallible Imam and their children were Imams Hasan and Husayn the second and third infallible Imams. She also had two daughters called Zaynab and Umm al-Kulthum. See Ibrahim Amini and Sayyid Kazim Qazvini, *Fatima the Gracious*, trans. Abu Muhammad Ordoni (Qum: Ansariyan Publications).

² In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the audience has been referred to as "a group of people from Babol."

perpetrate heinous acts, hinder them. Of course, the government will also take action in this regard. I ask you to help the government and all the gendarmerie. You should not just expect the government to do all the work. The government cannot do all the work alone, you must bolster it, the army, gendarmerie, police forces, and police stations, and obstruct the corruption-mongers who want to push you back to the previous tyrannical rule and plunder your resources. We hope that with the establishment of the government of Islamic justice and the capability of implementing Islamic decrees in Iran, all classes of people will achieve prosperity both in this world and in the hereafter. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the health and prosperity of all Iranians and you, the youth, who have gathered here. Peace and salutations to you!

Speech

Date: April 11, 1979 [Farvardin 22, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The greatness of Islam; the Prophet's household; the army and the nation

Occasion: Death anniversary of Hadrat Zahra (a)

Audience: Air Force personnel of Qaleh Morghi Base

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The great lady of Islam: a paradigm for all human beings

I also would like to offer my condolences to the entire Iranian nation, and you, gentlemen, the brave youth, on the death anniversary of the world's greatest lady. We must make a paragon of this Household. Not only should our women take example from their (Household's) women, and our men follow examples set by their men, but also everyone must emulate all of them. They dedicated their lives to supporting the oppressed and reviving the Divine tradition. We must follow suit and dedicate our lives to them. Those who know the history of Islam, know that each member of this household was like a perfect human being and even higher; That is, a divine and spiritual human being. They rose for the cause of nations and the oppressed against those who were after destroying them.

Quran: A book that builds man

Islam has come to save the oppressed and for building man. Islam's holy book, i.e. the illustrious Quran, is a book for the upbringing of man: Islam has come to promote man in all his dimensions, such as spiritual, corporeal, political, social, cultural and military aspects to show us the right path. We too must bring up our youths and women in line with Islamic teachings so that so that our women raise their children in such a way that when they grow up, they shall be productive for Islam and humanity.

The army: guarantor of the country's independence

In the early days of Islam, its army, though a weak one in terms of equipment, with every group of soldiers armed with only one sword and horse, overcame all the existing powers of the time in less than half a century because of their power of faith, and they subdued all powers. If our great army, which is of us, as we are of it, enhances its power of faith, the Exalted God willing, it will solve all problems that exist, and those that lie ahead of

us. Our army is the support of our nation. It is the guarantor of our country's independence. Our army is of us and we are of it. The nation and the army are not separate. It was in the era of the *taghut* that they caused discord among the different strata of the people: They separated the army from the people and the people from the army. They separated the educators from the clergy and vice versa. They separated merchants from political parties and the latter from the former, so that they themselves could take advantage of and benefit from our deficiencies.

Today is a day of vigilance, a day of awareness. You overwhelmed and triumphed over powers, and the satanic power of the ex-Shah through your unity of expression. Preserve this unity of word; protect your power by faith. You are all brothers and should safeguard Iran from any danger. In addition, Iran and we must support you and the nation should back you. All of us should advance together.

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

Statements

Date: April 11, 1979 [Farvardin 22, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Contracts signed during the defunct Shah's regime

Audience: Czechoslovakian Ambassador in Tehran

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

Because the former Shah had a mission to sell out the country to alien powers and always preserved their interests, many of the contracts entered into during his regime were to the detriment of the Iranian nation. Of course, the Islamic Republic government will honor the contracts, which stipulated the interests of the Iranian nation and we will establish friendly ties with all countries. However, we will never allow any country to interfere in Iran's internal affairs.

Iran's movement was not Iran's alone, it was the movement of all the oppressed against the arrogant powers and in support of anyone that respects humanity and human rights, and will continue.

Speech

Date: April 12, 1979 [Farvardin 23, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The country's need for young forces

Audience: A group of members of the IRGC (Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps) from East Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I thank you, vigilant youth for paying me a visit and I am delighted to see your glowing faces and I take delight in this visit. I would like to shake hands with each one of you, but my health condition and so many businesses to attend to do not give me the opportunity to do so. I would like to thank you because you are the guards of Islam, are serving Islam and the country and are making great efforts. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God to reward you and grant you health and prosperity.

We need you from now on. We will always need you and likewise, we shall need the activities of you, the creative youth, and I hope that you will support us in all stages with gallantry and advance this movement. Today, the country is yours to run, so you should safeguard your wealth. No longer is it the era of the *taghut* when you would toil and others pocketed the benefits. I hope that with the implementation of Islamic decrees, the country will be yours to run and you endeavor for your country and reap the benefits in your own country. I implore the Exalted God for the health and prosperity of all of you.

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

Speech

Date: April 12, 1979 [Farvardin 23, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of a transformation in the society

Audience: A group of representatives of the employees of Iran's Sadirat Bank

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Colonialism's role in the discord among the masses of people

I thank all the gentlemen who have come here to meet us in person. We should have had a rapport previously. The various classes of people should relate with each other. The disparity that had existed among strata of the people during all this time was a problem that the colonialists had created; that is, their lackeys had engendered this separation among the people through propaganda. From now on, we should stay together in the same way that we have been together and became victorious up to this stage aiming for the same goal, which is Islam and Islamic Republic. We should all be together until the total dominance of the Islamic decrees in the country, and we should not be separated.

Islamic banks concurrent with Islamic transformation

In the country where the *taghuti* elements had lived for long years and the people had been transmuted into corrupt beings, everyone must be transformed into Islamic and Godly human beings, and in Islam, an Islamic being will never commit any treachery; nor will he heed Eastern and Western thoughts. These banks in Iran must be transformed from their *taghuti* orientation into something with an Islamic character, one that will not practice usury, God willing.

I thank you for the fact that you have declared it your intention to transform the *taghuti* character of banks into an Islamic entity and establish Islamic banks. However, I am waiting for action to be taken in this regard. Will your words be put into action? Will affairs that used to be carried out in the previous regime take place again or not? Transformation must take place in the content; we are not so concerned with names; we are interested in the content. The content should be Islamic. During this recent period, you have seen and heard statements made in the propagation regarding social justice,

Islam, Quran, but they were devoid of any substance or reality.¹ It is the same way now. If what these gentlemen, who have come here, said is true that banks will acquire an Islamic substance and they materialize, then their statements will be right and (we can say banks) have undergone an Islamic transformation. However, if they are mere words, and there have been such words before, then a different situation will be created.

I thank you, gentlemen. And I hope that you will achieve prosperity all together, transform, and reform Iran together, and everyone, in whatever capacity, should support the government and be with the nation until the fulfillment of all our Islamic goals, that is, prosperity of all of you and humanity, God willing.

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

¹ Referring to the Shah's and his regime's hollow claim to uphold Islam, printing the Quran, etc.

Speech

Date: April 12, 1979 [Farvardin 23, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The role of the guards in the Islamic Revolution

Audience: A group of Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps of East Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The guards and the Islamic Revolution

You, the Islamic Revolutionary Guards have gained a right to Islam. You are like the soldiers of the early days of Islam, who used to serve Islam with all body, soul, passion, and zeal; you, beloved Islamic guards, too, have served, and are serving Islam. I hope that the Exalted and Blessed God will grant you the same reward granted to the Islamic guards of the early days of Islam. You have a significant share in this Islamic Revolution and movement. You have protected the security of the region and this is a great service that you have done to your brothers and sisters. I hope that the Exalted and Blessed God will grant you prosperity and dignity. I am grateful to you. We expect that, God willing, Islamic decrees find prevalence (in the country) and we all become servants of Islam, abiding by Islamic decrees and the nation becomes independent and free and the hands of traitors be severed off this country forever. I implore the Exalted and Blessed God for the grandeur of Islam and Muslims.

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