



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

SAHIFEH-YE IMAM

**An Anthology of Imam
Khomeinis
Speeches, Messages,
Interviews, Decrees,
Religious Permissions, and
Letters**

Volume 7

April 12 – May 29, 1979

[Farvardin 23 – Khordad 8, 1358 AHS]

**The Institute for Compilation and Publication
of Imam Khomeinis Works
(International Affairs Department)**

Transliteration Symbols

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا, آ	a, a, ()
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	s
ض	d
ط	t
ظ	z
غ	
ف	gh
ق	f
ك	q
گ	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ة	ah

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

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

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

Persian Letters



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

4/12/1979	Speech to a group of staff of the banks of Qum and Kashan: Necessity of bringing about changes in the government offices, reforming the state banking system and omitting usury in transactions <i>Necessity of wiping out traces of the taghuti regime from the government offices</i> <i>The defeat of the schools of thought by correct presentation of Islam</i> <i>Stooge agents</i> <i>The defeat of the schools of thought by correct presentation of Islam</i> <i>Attempts to solve the problems</i>	1
4/13/1979	Letter to Bahauddin Mahallati: Sedition of plotters	4
4/13/1979	Decree to Ali Tehrani: Appointment of the religious judge of the revolutionary courts of Khorasan	5
4/13/1979	Speech to female students of the National University; female students of the Shahmirzad Institute; female high school students of Dezful and Qasr Shirin: Necessity of safeguarding unity and presence in the scenes <i>Pioneer role of women in struggles</i>	6
4/13/1979	Speech to Islamic Revolutionary Guard forces and people of Gonbad Kavus: The disgraceful crimes of the US agents and foreign mercenaries in Gonbad Kavus and the need to counterattack them <i>Gonbad Kavus disaster, conspiracy of foreign mercenaries and US agents</i> <i>The need to resist the saboteurs</i>	8
4/13/1979	Speech to families of Gonbad martyrs: Expressing sorrow for Gonbad catastrophe <i>Your youth were ours</i>	10
4/13/1979	Speech to a number of physicians, nurses and medical staff of Tehran hospitals: Responsibility of physicians and nurses	12
4/14/1979	Letter to Muhammad Hashimian Rafsanjani: Religious alms and answering an inquiry on the agents ordering the massacre of the people (during the Shahs regime)	13
4/14/1979	Letter to Sayyid ASghar NaZimzadeh: Approving way of spending religious alms in Gilan Province	14
4/14/1979	Decree to Muhammad-Ali Gerami: Investigating the public affairs and committees of Shahr-e Kord	15
4/14/1979	Speech to personnel of Division 92 Armored Forces of Ahwaz and a number of railway staff members: Conspiracies hatched by the United States agents and other foreign mercenaries	16

	<i>The need to continue the movement</i>	
	<i>Wakefulness against foreign conspiracies</i>	
4/14/1979	Speech to a number of university students of Hamedan, Revolutionary Guards and specialists of administrative and management sciences: Sabotage of US adherents in factories and labor centers	18
4/15/1979	Message to the people of Garus and Bijar: Supporting the Islamic Revolution	19
4/15/1979	Message to the Iranian nation: Bilateral duties of the nation and the army	20
4/15/1979	Letter to Jawad Gharawi Aliyari: Replying to a congratulatory telegram	22
4/15/1979	Speech to a group of Air Force personnel and officers of Lashgarak barracks: Islamic Revolution and previous movements; Role of army	23
	<i>Collapse of evil</i>	
	<i>Difference of the Islamic Revolution with the previous movements</i>	
	<i>Teachery in the guise of sympathizing with the laborers</i>	
	<i>Army, the protector of national independence</i>	
4/16/1979	Speech to laborers and representatives of the bakers guild of Qum: Problems of the oppressed and their required remedies	26
	<i>Post-Revolution disorders</i>	
	<i>Uprooting the problems of the deprived and oppressed</i>	
	<i>Uprooting disgraceful class distinctions</i>	
4/16/1979	Speech to a number of Revolutionary Guards of Yaftabad and other districts of Tehran: Need to gain readiness to neutralize conspiracies and reconstruct of the country	28
	<i>Consequences of the Revolution</i>	
	<i>Secret hands at the threshold of reconstruction</i>	
	<i>Cut the hands of the United States and its agents</i>	
	<i>Warning the Iranian nation</i>	
4/17/1979	Message to Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr (President of Iraq): Responding to a message of congratulations	30
4/17/1979	Speech to the representatives of Bani Kaab tribes from Shadegan, Khuzestan: Deplorable state of Iran during the Shahs regime; anti-revolutionary conspiracy	31
	<i>Deprivation all over Iran</i>	
	<i>Sabotaging and preparing atmosphere for coup</i>	
4/18/1979	Speech to the Commanders and officials of the 14 committees of Islamic Revolution in Tehran as well as Messrs. Mahdawi Kani, Maliki, Morvarid, Mufatteh, Muhammadi Golpayegani, Jalali Khomeini, Haqqi, Baqeri Kani, Khosrushahi, and Zanjani: The need for existence of committees and purification of them	33
	<i>The philosophy behind the committees existence</i>	
	<i>Disorders and obstinacies in some committees</i>	
	<i>Need for the presence of committees and Revolutionary Guards</i>	
	<i>Refinement and reformation of committees</i>	
	<i>Opposing the referendum means opposing the nation</i>	

	<i>Sabotage in agriculture and in the factories</i>	
	<i>Riotous opportunism</i>	
	<i>Contrivance of SAVAK</i>	
	<i>Paving the ground for return of imperialism</i>	
	<i>Subversive propaganda against clerics</i>	
	<i>Messengers, flag-bearers of masses in their fight with the powerful</i>	
	<i>Flag-bearers of liberation movements</i>	
	<i>The masses vote for Islamic Republic</i>	
	<i>Contrivance against forces and organs</i>	
	<i>Warning the misconceived friends</i>	
	<i>The need to reform and refine the committees</i>	
	<i>Disarmament of small groups</i>	
	<i>Heavy duty of the clerics</i>	
	<i>Fulfilling the religious duties and accompanying hardships</i>	
	<i>Oppositions out of caprice or overthrowing</i>	
4/18/1979	Speech to a number of educational staff of the city of Rafsanjan: Factors for victory; sabotage of the small groups; importance of culture	49
	<i>Allahs invisible grace in Revolution</i>	
	<i>Attention to God and inner transformation, the key to victory</i>	
	<i>Attention to God, the key to victory</i>	
	<i>Real image of the pretending supporters of the people</i>	
4/19/1979	Speech to the tribal people of Dasht Moghan, Arshaq, Ajarud, Ardabil, and Khalkhal; employees of the Still Industries of Shiraz: Treacheries and obstructions of the small groups	53
	<i>Gods blessings in the transformation and victory of the nation</i>	
	<i>A glance at the numerous treacheries of the small groups</i>	
4/19/1979	Speech to the Representatives of the employees and laborers of Shiraz and Naft-Shahr refineries; business guilds of Shahr-e Kord and other residents of Chahar Mahal and Bakhtiyari province; technical students of Abadeh Technical College; students of the pre-university colleges of Kermanshah and Mehran towns; students of the Isfahan Medical College; teachers and students of the towns of Qasr-e Shirin and Sar-e Pol-e Dhahab and a group of residents of the towns of Turkmandeh and Sorkkeh-HiSar towns: Shunning discord and safeguarding unity of expression	55
	<i>The need to analyze the victory factors</i>	
	<i>Warning to the anti-Revolution</i>	
4/20/1979	Speech to the members of a high-ranking Saudi Arabian delegation of theologians headed by Muhammad as-Sabil (congregational prayer leader of Masjid al-Haram), the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, and NaSir Minachi (Minister of Information and Propagation (Ministry of Guidance) and head of the Endowment Organization): Role of Islam in the triumph of the Muslims; recommendations to the Saudi Arabian delegation	58
	<i>The mosque, the epicenter of the movement</i>	
	<i>Role of Islam in the triumph of the Muslims</i>	
	<i>The danger of Israel</i>	

	<i>Advice to the Saudis</i>	
	<i>Taking a lesson from history</i>	
4/20/1979	Speech to thousands of tribal people and their representatives; staff of the police department of Ilam and Poshtkuh towns; the Khavari tribes of Khorasan Province; inhabitants of the border towns of Turbat Jam; workers of Qum factories; employees of Bella Shoe Company; scouts and teachers of the towns of Varamin, Qazvin and Takestan:	
	Danger posed by the small groups and the need to confront them	61
	<i>Islam has yet to be practiced in Iran</i>	
	<i>The obligation to confront small groups and other conspirators</i>	
	<i>The small groups and inspiration from America</i>	
	<i>Warning to the nation regarding the tumults</i>	
4/21/1979	Decree to Mr. Sayyid Kazim Nur-Mufidi:	
	Appointment of a religious judge for Gorgan and its environs	64
4/21/1979	Decree to Sadiq Ihsanbakhsh:	
	Investigation of Rasht town and its environs committees	65
4/21/1979	Speech to the representatives of the Kurdish clergymen:	
	Impoverishment all strata of the nation at the hands of the Pahlavi regime	66
	<i>Creation of impoverishment by the Pahlavi regime</i>	
	<i>Two reminiscences from the reign of Rida Khan</i>	
	<i>Unmentionable facts from the Pahlavi era</i>	
	<i>A prison of 35 million people</i>	
	<i>Cooperation of the nation in reconstruction</i>	
	<i>Absence of discrimination in Islam</i>	
	<i>Provisional government</i>	
4/21/1979	Speech to the groups of teachers and students from Kermanshah and Hamedan; a number of residents of Hamedan and sixty representatives of clerics community of Tehran (Association of Clergymen of Tehran):	
	Stress on the main problems of the Revolution; the need to crush the internal enemies and small groups	72
	<i>Stress on the main problems of the Revolution</i>	
	<i>Obstructionism by the small groups at the instigation of America</i>	
	<i>Unity in order to sever the hands of traitors</i>	
4/22/1979	Speech to a group of personnel of the ground forces and gendarmes; a group of residents of Tabriz: Holy struggle of the people of Iran:	
	conspiracy against the clergy	75
	<i>Islamic Revolution of Iran on the path of salvation of mankind</i>	
	<i>The clergy, impregnable fortress of Islam</i>	
	<i>Warning to the nationalists</i>	
4/22/1979	Speech to four-hundred personnel of the gendarmerie accompanied by students of the officers training institutions of the gendarmerie: Bond between the nation and the law enforcement forces; as well as the need to shun discord	78
4/22/1979	Speech in the presence of Shamsuddin Amir Alayi (First Ambassador of Islamic Republic of Iran to France): Reason for the overthrow of the 2,500-year-old regime; airing of grievance and gratitude to France	79
	<i>Overthrow of the 2,500-year-old regime by the divine will</i>	

	<i>Desperate moves</i>	
	<i>The alleged defenders of human rights</i>	
4/22/1979	Speech to six-hundred commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the artillery center of Isfahan: The honor of mutual bond between the military and the nation announcement of general amnesty in the armed forces and the police forces	81
	<i>An auspicious day</i>	
	<i>The military at the advent of Islam</i>	
	<i>General amnesty</i>	
	<i>Invitation to steadfastness and resistance</i>	
4/22/1979	Speech to a group of personnel of the Second Central Infantry Division: Need to safeguard the bond of the army and the nation and to uphold chain of command in the army	84
	<i>The plot to separate the military from the nation</i>	
	<i>Upholding the chain of command in the military</i>	
4/22/1979	Message to women of southern Tehran:	
	Women at the forefront of the Islamic movement	86
4/23/1979	Speech to the logistics commanders of the army:	
	The sinister plots of the enemies	87
	<i>Mischief making of colonialism</i>	
4/23/1979	Speech to a gathering of personnel of the naval base of the North:	
	Holding fast to the Rope of God	89
	<i>Clinging to the Rope of God</i>	
	<i>Role of the military and police forces in the Revolution</i>	
4/23/1979	Speech to a gathering of the police personnel; representatives of the people of Saveh town: The unbreakable bond between the law enforcement forces and the people	91
4/23/1979	Speech to the members of the Revolutionary Guards Corps of Tehran (Khorasan Square region): The need for Revolutionary Guards	92
4/24/1979	Statements to the Cuban delegation headed by the Minister of International Cooperation: Need to support the Islamic Revolution and solidarity of governments and nations	93
	<i>A revolution that has sprung up from beliefs and faith</i>	
	<i>Governments at the service of nations</i>	
4/24/1979	Speech to the heads of marriage and divorce registration offices of Tehran and suburbs, and the board of directors of this association: Spiritual transformation of the nation	95
	<i>Mobilization of the nation for the development of the country</i>	
	<i>Deeds of epic proportions</i>	
	<i>Attention to spirituality, the key to success</i>	
	<i>The great responsibility of the heads of the marriage and divorce bureaus</i>	
4/24/1979	Speech to the representatives of the Foreign Womens Association residents of Iran (Organization in support of the Islamic Revolution); Publisher and editorial board of Laleh Publication: Claimants to human rights; media imperialism	98
	<i>Lack of accessibility to the extent of the Shahs crimes</i>	
	<i>Lie spreading of the broadcasting corporations of colonialism</i>	

	<i>The claimants of human rights, in the service of the superpowers</i>	
	<i>Disgracing the apparatus of the rumormongers</i>	
4/24/1979	Speech to a gathering of women of the cities of Kermanshah, Sanandaj, Dezful, Borujen and Tehran: Blessings of the Islamic Revolution; hands that sow the seeds of discord	102
	<i>Severing the hands that sow the seeds of discord</i>	
4/24/1979	Speech to the Air Force personnel of Dezful; representatives of the people of Aligudarz: Invincibility of the divine forces	104
4/24/1979	Speech to a group of elected members of various governmental organizations: Safeguarding the unity of expression	105
4/24/1979	Speech to the members of the Libyan delegation headed by Mr. Abdus-Salam Jallud: Delivering the oppressed in accordance with the teachings of the Quran; the case of Mr. Sadr and Libya	106
	<i>Quranic ideals</i>	
	<i>The Revolution of Iran, a role model for the oppressed of the world</i>	
4/25/1979	Letter to Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi: Congratulations for the establishment of the Islamic Republic	109
4/25/1979	Decree to Muhammad Ashrafi: Need to continue congregational prayers and propagation activities in Khuzan HodayunShahr	110
4/25/1979	Letter to Habib Bourguiba (President of Tunisia): Answer to the telegram of congratulations for the victory of the Islamic Revolution	111
4/25/1979	Statements to the Ambassador of Tunisia to Iran: The reason for the incapability of Muslim nations; factors responsible for the victory of the Islamic Revolution	112
4/25/1979	Speech to a gathering of army personnel: Lives of the heads of government at the advent of Islam; advice to the army	114
	<i>Head of government at the advent of Islam</i>	
	<i>Triumph of divine power of the army and the nation over the superpowers</i>	
	<i>Advice to the army</i>	
	<i>Revolutionary patience for solving difficulties</i>	
4/25/1979	Speech to families of martyrs and a gathering of the local businessmen of the city of Amol: Gods favor; safeguarding the secret of victory	117
	<i>Divine graces</i>	
	<i>Safeguarding the secret of victory</i>	
4/25/1979	Speech to the teachers of the Quranic school of Paveh town and residents of the town of Uramanat: Independence and freedom under the auspices of the Quran	119
4/25/1979	Speech to the women of Chahar Mardan district of Qum: Women and the Islamic Revolution, invalidating the subversion of the discord-mongers	120
	<i>Women at the forefront of the movement</i>	
	<i>The need of Islam for devoted men and women</i>	
	<i>The danger of repetition of the conspiracy at the time of Constitutionalism</i>	
	<i>The difference between freedom and conspiracy</i>	
4/25/1979	Speech to the representatives of the customs employees of Iran: The reality of light; the Islamic Revolution and global equations;	

	servitude to God	122
	<i>Reality of light</i>	
	<i>The light of freedom and independence</i>	
	<i>The youth in quest of martyrdom</i>	
	<i>Everyone together on the path of reconstruction</i>	
4/26/1979	Statements to Masud Rajavi, Musa Khyabani and some members of their organization: Emphasis of Islam on freedom	125
4/26/1979	Statements to members of the National Front of the Union of South-West Africa (SWAPO) headed by Robert Mugabe: Islams fight against racism	126
4/27/1979	Message to the theologians of Sari: Return of the theologians to the city of Sari, supervision over the committees of the Revolution and propagation of religion	128
4/27/1979	Interview and reply to queries by educational radio-television broadcaster, and a kidney patient: Decree of Islam about the transplant of organs	129
4/27/1979	Speech to the workers of Tehran Textile Mills: Workers and farmers from the viewpoint of Islam	130
4/27/1979	Speech to high school students of Shemiran: The Islamic Republic and its constituents	131
4/27/1979	Speech to the college and high school students of Sanandaj: Inadequacies and disorder in the country and the ways and means to rebuild the destruction; regional councils	132
	<i>Deprivations of Iran in the Pahlavi era</i>	
	<i>The Pahlavi regime, cause of the poverty of the nation</i>	
	<i>Rebuilding the destructions with the will of the nation</i>	
	<i>Proliferation of small groups in the shadow of the disturbances</i>	
	<i>Reconstruction plans</i>	
	<i>The question of councils</i>	
	<i>Implementation of the commandments of Islam</i>	
4/27/1979	Speech to a delegation from Dubai: Transformation in society; toward realization of genuine Islam	138
	<i>A miraculous transformation</i>	
	<i>Backwardness with the slogan of "great civilization"</i>	
	<i>Objective: Realization of the true Islam</i>	
4/27/1979	Speech to the representatives of the Islamic Association of the Oil Industry Employees: Role of the oil industry employees in the Islamic Revolution; negating the plots	141
	<i>Participation of the oil industry employees in the Islamic Revolution</i>	
	<i>Fear of the enemies of the power of Islam</i>	
	<i>Message to the workers and staff of the oil industry</i>	
	<i>A piece of advice to the nation</i>	
4/27/1979	Speech to the teachers of Tajrish area; Islamic Revolutionary Guards of the town of Sarab; a gathering of the residents of Tabriz, Shiraz and Isfahan: The Islamic Revolution and global Calculations; status of the teacher and his mission	144
	<i>The great Revolution</i>	
	<i>The Islamic Revolution, a stamp of invalidity of worldly equations</i>	

	<i>and calculations</i>	
	<i>Small groups obstacles on the way to the progress of Iran and Islam</i>	
	<i>Eradication of the roots of oppression and exploitation through</i>	
	<i>unity and perseverance</i>	
	<i>Teachers great status and his grand mission</i>	
	<i>O teacher! Wake up!</i>	
4/28/1979	Letter to Sayyid Ahmad Wahidi: Reply to a letter	148
4/28/1979	Speech to a gathering of the residents of Varamin and Qasr-e-Shirin; workers of the Water Department:	
	Participation of all sections in the Islamic Revolution	149
	<i>Participation of all strata in the victory of the Revolution</i>	
	<i>Discord-mongers</i>	
	<i>Unparalleled unity</i>	
4/29/1979	Decree to the Islamic Revolution Council: Preparation of the executive charter of the city and town councils	151
4/30/1979	Letter to Ibrahim Yazdi (Foreign Minister of the provisional government): Discontinuation of diplomatic relations with Egypt	152
4/30/1979	Letter to Muammar Qadhdhafi: Unity, the key to victory	153
5/1/1979	Radio-Television Message to the laborers and other strata of people: The dignity of labor and laborer; the reconstruction of the country	155
	<i>Every day is labor and laborers day</i>	
	<i>The veneration and respect of labor and the laborer</i>	
	<i>Almighty God, the origin of work</i>	
	<i>Commemoration of labor and laborers day</i>	
	<i>Workers and peasants, managers of the human society</i>	
	<i>Workers: Agents of growth and decline of the countries</i>	
	<i>Role of workers and farmers in the reconstruction of the country</i>	
Unknown	Letter to Mr. Ruhani: Expression of regret for the events that have occurred and the need to be patient in the face of adversity	160
5/1/1979	Message to the Iranian nation:	
	The personality and academic position of Murtada Mutahhari	161
5/1/1979	Message to Dia ar-Rahman, the President of Bangladesh: Reply to congratulatory message on the victory of the Islamic Revolution	164
5/4/1979	Letter to Jafar Saburi: Real estate donated for housing	165
5/4/1979	Speech to the various strata of people: Status of martyrdom in Islam; the role of the martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari in strengthening the Islamic Revolution	166
	<i>The philosophy of martyrdom in Islam</i>	
	<i>"Kill us; our nation will become more awakened"</i>	
	<i>The martyrdom of Mutahhari and the new wave in the world of Islam</i>	
5/6/1979	Speech to the representatives of the liberation parties of Islam: Problems of the Islam world	169
	<i>Problems of the Muslims</i>	
	<i>The dominance of foreigners, the greatest evil</i>	
	<i>Key to victory</i>	
5/6/1979	Speech to the Revolutionary Guards of the Islamic Revolution	
	Committee of the Haj Abul-Fath Mosque of Tehran:	
	Safeguarding religion and sacred struggle with the carnal soul	172

5/6/1979	Statements to the five-member delegation on behalf of Zifar Liberation Front: Islam and other schools of thought	173
5/6/1979	Speech to city and traffic police personnel; the exemplary Revolutionary Guards of the Zone 9 Committee of Tehran City: The Islamic Revolution and worldly calculations	174
	<i>The Islamic Revolution, crossing out of the material calculations and transactions</i>	
	<i>Victory belongs to the nation</i>	
5/6/1979	Speech to the women of southern Tehran: Manifestations of faith in the hearts of the people	176
	<i>Manifestation of the light of the Quran in the hearts</i>	
	<i>America and other conspirators being in error</i>	
5/6/1979	Letter to Sayyid Muhammad Khatami: Acknowledging telegram of condolence	178
5/7/1979	Letter to Board of Directors and Trustees of the Imam of the Time Mosque: Jamkaran, Mosque of Imam of the Time (a)	179
5/7/1979	Statements to the Ambassador of Somalia: Martyrdom in Islam; the question of establishment of justice; conflicts in the world of Islam	182
	<i>Martyrdom in the path of the objective</i>	
	<i>The insoluble puzzle</i>	
	<i>Unity of the Islamic world</i>	
5/7/1979	Speech to tribes (Representatives of the Bahmani, Tayyibi, Doshman Ziyari, Karami, Yusufi clans and tribes of Kohkiluyeh province) together with the faithful of Behbahan: Steadfastness and inflexibility of the people of Iran in relation to conspirators	185
	<i>The path of the nation, an irreversible one</i>	
5/8/1979	Message to the President of Libya, Muammar Qadhdhafi: Desperate attempts of the enemy and the stronger determination of the Muslim nation	187
5/8/1979	Decree to Sayyid Abdus-Sattar Muhammadi Miyanji: Holding congregational prayers and propagation of religious law	188
5/8/1979	Speech to the employees of the Central Relief Committee: Expression of sorrow on the sudden demise of a cleric engaged in holy struggle; warning to the remnants of the Shah and America	189
	<i>With one voice on the path of advancement of the Islamic Revolution</i>	
	<i>Remnants of the Shahs regime and America</i>	
5/8/1979	Decree to Murtada Muqtadai: Appointment of the religious judge of the Courts of the Islamic Revolution of Malayer and Zanjan	191
5/9/1979	Letter to Sayyid Ibrahim Haqqshenas: Acknowledgement of telegram of condolence	192
5/9/1979	Letter to Ali Ansari: Reply to the telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari	193
5/9/1979	Letter to Ataullah Ashrafi-Isfahani: Reply to telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Mutahhari	194
5/9/1979	Letter to Afqahi Sabzevari: Reply to telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Mutahhari	195
5/9/1979	Speech to the students of the University of Medical Sciences of	

	Tehran: The struggles of the theologians; some achievements of the Islamic Revolution; martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari and its reverberation	196
	<i>The religious scholars at the forefront of the struggle against the Pahlavi dynasty</i>	
	<i>A calculated plan to divide the seminary and the university</i>	
	<i>Americas plan</i>	
	<i>Sensitive situation</i>	
	<i>Duty of all sections of the people</i>	
	<i>Step by step policy, the Shajs ploy</i>	
	<i>Freedom and unity, among the achievements of the Revolution</i>	
	<i>Display of public unity</i>	
	<i>The Islamic Revolution and other revolutions</i>	
	<i>Brotherhood and affection instead of oppression and fear</i>	
	<i>Faith and unity, secret of victory</i>	
	<i>The tragedy of the martyrdom of Mutahhari and the nationwide mourning</i>	
5/9/1979	Statements to a group of women of the Dar al-Muminin Madrasah of the city Sari: Women at the forefront of the Islamic Revolution	204
5/9/1979	Statements to the Revolutionary Guards of the Mawlawi District Committee of Tehran: Sincerity of the youth	205
5/9/1979	Speech to the women of the towns of QaSr-e-Shirin and Sari: The turmoil after the Revolution	206
	<i>Rebuilding the destruction of the Shajs regime</i>	
5/9/1979	Speech to the representatives of the Zarasvand Bakhtiyari tribes of Chahar Mahal and Khuzestan provinces, army personnel of the barracks of Fars province: The oppressions and irregularities of the Pahlavi era	208
	<i>Plunder of the resources and assets of the nation</i>	
	<i>The worst of betrayals</i>	
	<i>Get-togethers under the protection of the power of Islam</i>	
	<i>Oppressions of the Pahlavi era</i>	
	<i>An epic and spiritual transformation</i>	
	<i>Rebuilding requires time</i>	
5/9/1979	Speech to the students of Ayatullah Taleqani College of Medicine; soldiers of the barracks of city of Shiraz: The gifts of the Islamic Revolution; terrorist activities	214
	<i>Blessings of the Islamic Revolution</i>	
	<i>Desperate moves of the small groups</i>	
5/10/1979	Speech to the personnel of the police forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Differences between Islamic government and other governments	216
	<i>Behavior of the rulers and commanders at the advent of Islam</i>	
	<i>Punishment and pardon in an Islamic government</i>	
	<i>The arrogance of Johnson and the submissiveness of the Shah</i>	
	<i>Islamic government and evil governments</i>	
	<i>Fear of the law</i>	
	<i>The ideal Islamic government</i>	

5/10/1979	Speech to a gathering of the women of Qum: The prominent role of women in the Islamic Revolution	222
5/10/1979	Speech to the Air Force personnel of Tehran, students of the Intermediate Teachers College of Isfahan; group of teachers; Kalhor tribes of the border areas; trainees of the National Oil Company of Abadan; students of the womens Elementary Teachers College of Abadeh; Women of Husayniyyah al-Irshad; Employees of the Meat Organization: The Islamic Revolution and the movements of the prophets	223
	<i>Our path, the path of prophets</i> <i>Martyrdom, the eternal honor</i>	
5/10/1979	Letter to Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi: Acknowledgement of the telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. MurTada Mutahhari	225
5/11/1979	Decree to Sadiq Ihsanbaksh and Sayyid Abdullah Diyai: Sacred shrines of Gilan Province	226
5/11/1979	Speech to the tribes of Mamasani region; students and professors of the Teachers College of the city of Yazd: The manner of the prophets uprisings	227
	<i>Uprising and resistance; the characteristics of leadership</i> <i>The cry of Revolution from the Faydiyyah Madrasah</i> <i>The nation, unafraid of the desperate moves</i>	
5/12/1979	Message to Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al-i Nahyan (Head of the United Arab Emirates): Acknowledgement of the receipt of telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Mutahhari	230
5/12/1979	Message to Kim Il Sung, President of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea: Acknowledgement of the telegram of congratulations	231
5/12/1979	Speech to physicians and staff of Dr. MuSaddiq Hospital, Board of Directors of the Red Crescent Society of Arak: The manner of the coming to power and coronation of Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida	232
	<i>Review of the era of Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida Shah</i> <i>A popular movement on the path of construction</i> <i>Chicanery of the small groups</i>	
5/13/1979	Messrs. Abbas Bashir, Sulayman Ahmad Hamid (President of the Students Union of the Islamic University of Sudan) and their companions: Dialogue with a group of university students from Sudan	236
5/13/1979	Speech to the teachers and students of the teachers training centers of Gilan province: Role of the theologians and intellectuals in the salvation and corruption of the society	237
	<i>Status and mission of the student and teacher</i> <i>The destinies of the country, in the hands of the educated</i> <i>The role of leaders in the salvation and corruption of society</i> <i>Administrative features of Imam Ali (a)</i> <i>Revolt against injustices and class differences</i> <i>Corruption of the arrogant elite and the capitalists</i> <i>Resistance of educated human beings in the face of threat and decadence</i>	
5/13/1979	Speech to a gathering of members of the national squad and	

	delegation of the Weight-Lifting Board of Tehran: Outstanding characteristic and distinguishing features of Hadrat Ali (a)	243
	<i>A model human being</i>	
5/13/1979	<i>Sportsmen, following Hadrat Ali (a)</i>	
	Speech to the judges of Isfahan: Factors responsible for the triumph of the Islamic Revolution; problems and expectations; radical changes in offices and judiciary; the question of confiscation of assets	246
	<i>Spiritual transformation of the nation: The cause of the victory of the Revolution</i>	
	<i>Religious zeal in the referendum for an Islamic republic</i>	
	<i>Party supporters, nationalists and the Islamic Revolution</i>	
	<i>The process of the Revolution and unending expectations</i>	
	<i>Conspiracy of the global plunderers through the small groups</i>	
	<i>The necessity for a radical change in the offices and judiciaries</i>	
	<i>Islamic unity: the biggest global power</i>	
	<i>The question of confiscation of properties</i>	
5/13/1979	Decree to Mahdi Hadawi (Prosecutor general of the Islamic Revolution tribunals): Conditions for the death penalty in the courts	255
5/13/1979	Statements about the necessity to bring about spiritual-Islamic transformation	256
5/13/1979	Speech to the Islamic Revolutionary Guards of Qum: The subject of martyrdom	257
	<i>Martyrdom, transfer to a loftier world</i>	
5/14/1979	Statements to Qasim Ali Zahirnezhad (Commander of the 64th Army Division of Urumiyeh) and a gathering of military commanders: Constancy in the face of responsibility; case of the small groups in Kurdistan province	259
	<i>The great responsibility of guarding the borders</i>	
	<i>Evading responsibility: Contrary to the spirit of Islam and the Revolution</i>	
	<i>The players behind the front</i>	
5/14/1979	Letter to Sayyid Muhammad Hadi Hashimi: Invalidation of the plots with an Islamic approach and sagacity	263
5/14/1979	Speech to the women of Tehran and women of Shahzadeh Ibrahim from Qum and Shahrivar: The heavy responsibility of motherhood and teaching	264
	<i>The foremost classroom of children</i>	
	<i>The heavy responsibility of motherhood</i>	
	<i>Dearth of good leaders in Iran</i>	
	<i>A healthy society governed by healthy rulers</i>	
	<i>The mission of motherhood and teaching</i>	
5/14/1979	Speech to the members of the Jewish Society of Iran: Islam and the religious minorities	268
	<i>Education of human beings, the aim of all divine religions</i>	
	<i>Islam and the religious minorities</i>	
	<i>Zionists are non-Jewish</i>	
	<i>Hatred of the Jewish people for the Zionists</i>	
	<i>Religious minorities in the Islamic Republic</i>	

5/14/1979	Speech to a group of Indian and Pakistani Muslim residents of Iran: The world belongs to the downtrodden <i>Awaiting the revolution by the downtrodden of the world</i> <i>The ultimate objective of the Revolution</i>	273
5/15/1979	Speech to the students of Isfahan: Lack of necessity for discussing secondary problems in the present condition <i>Existence of problems in the period of transition</i> <i>Freedom to vote</i> <i>The need to combat troublemakers</i> <i>The main duty, to safeguard the movement</i> <i>The necessity to replace existing laws</i>	275
5/15/1979	Statements to the members of the society of the handicapped: Felicitations for the establishment of the Islamic Republic and condolences on the martyrdom of Professor Mutahhari <i>Reaping benefits and being losers from the viewpoint of Islam</i>	280
5/15/1979	Speech to the workers and owners of brick-making kilns of Tehran and its suburbs: Conspiracies of the deviant small groups <i>A talk with the deviant small groups</i> <i>Identifying the traitors</i> <i>Victory with the help of the oppressed</i> <i>Mudarris, the only hero to challenge Rida Khan</i>	282
5/15/1979	Speech to members of the Board of Iranian businessmen: Treason and collusion of the claimants of human rights; oppressing the downtrodden <i>Human rights, a weapon in the hands of the enemy</i> <i>Silence in the face of the Shahs crimes</i> <i>Trickery of the claimants to "human rights"</i> <i>Trampling upon human rights</i> <i>The Shah, a faithful servant of America</i> <i>Our prisons and the Shahs prisons</i> <i>Conspiracy in the guise of "human rights"</i> <i>What had Mutahhari done?</i> <i>Material upbringing and Islamic upbringing</i> <i>Divine laws for safeguarding human rights</i> <i>Islamic government and human aspirations</i> <i>The Islamic Revolution, a divine gift</i> <i>Why go slow at work?</i> <i>Warning to over chargers</i> <i>Society problems</i>	285
5/15/1979	Speech to a group of employees of <i>Kayhan</i> Daily: The press and its functions <i>Difference between freedom and treachery of the pen</i> <i>Newspapers, manifestation of the ideals of the nation</i> <i>The media, the educators of the nation</i>	297
5/16/1979	Speech to a group of employees of <i>Kayhan</i> Daily: The mission of the popular press <i>The role of newspapers</i> <i>The popular newspaper in the direction of the nation</i>	300

	<i>Conspiracy, being intolerable</i>	
5/16/1979	Letter to Sayyid Husayn Khadimi: Thanking for the telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari	302
5/16/1979	Letter to Muhammad Karami: Message of thanks for neutralizing the treacherous plots in Khorramshahr	303
5/16/1979	Speech to the residents and tribes of the city of Khorramabad, the capital of Lorestan province: The oppressed in history; treasons of the Shahs regime, affiliated small groups	304
	<i>The oppressed in the company of prophets</i>	
	<i>Treachery of the Pahlavi regime against the tribes</i>	
	<i>Invincible and steely determination of the nation</i>	
	<i>The lackeys of America and the claimants of democracy</i>	
5/16/1979	Speech to the women of the city of Mashhad: The cultural and economic corruptions of the Pahlavi regime; the role of women and the deprived in the Islamic Revolution	307
	<i>Corruption in the name of civilization and reforms</i>	
	<i>Slavery in the name of freedom</i>	
	<i>Prevention of the development of the country by decadence and deviation</i>	
	<i>The main proprietors of the Revolution</i>	
	<i>Those who pretend to be revolutionary, and vain thinkers</i>	
	<i>The need to attend to the deprived and slum-dwellers</i>	
5/16/1979	Speech to Sunni sisters from Uramanat region; employees of the Central Bank: Fraternity among the Shiah and Sunni; expectation from banks	312
5/16/	Message to the Muslim nation of Iran:	
	The true position and status of women	313
	<i>Fatimah Zahra (a), a complete paradigm of humanity</i>	
	<i>Two historical instances of the oppression of women</i>	
	<i>Woman and Islamic training</i>	
5/17/1979	Speech to the people from various cities; women: Struggles of the Iranian women	317
	<i>Woman, manifestation of mans ideals realization</i>	
	<i>Iranian women forerunners in jihad</i>	
	<i>Maintaining uprising for God and unity of expression</i>	
5/18/1979	Speech to a group of the tribes of Jawanrud and Uramanat: Necessity of brotherhood and fraternity among the nation and need to confront the small groups	319
	<i>Pahlavi regimes oppression against Iranians</i>	
	<i>Unity under the banner of monotheism</i>	
	<i>Creating discord by religious, racial means</i>	
	<i>Brotherhood and unity, sign of gratitude for the divine revolution</i>	
	<i>Two vital points</i>	
	<i>Knowing the secret hands at work</i>	
	<i>Avoiding differences, secret of preserving the Revolution</i>	
	<i>The heavy responsibility of border inhabitants</i>	
5/18/1979	Statements to the new ambassador of Bangladesh to Tehran and the staff of Bangladesh embassy: Necessity of the solidarity of Muslim	

	nations and governments	324
5/18/1979	Statements to a group of women from the city of Ahwaz: Lack of differences and discrimination among Muslim nations	325
5/19/1979	Speech to the representatives of the tribes; people of Neyriz of Fars province; representatives of the Air Force Command Headquarters: Treacheries of the period of Rida Khan; the plots of the US and superpowers	326
	<i>Rida Khans missions in Iran</i>	
	<i>Creating dissatisfaction through negative propaganda</i>	
	<i>Unreasonable expectations from the United States</i>	
	<i>Yearning for cutting relations with the US</i>	
	<i>World nations are beside the Islamic Revolution of Iran</i>	
	<i>Nations, victims of the governments</i>	
	<i>Iranian nation has Islamic training</i>	
	<i>Materialists, unaware of intellectuality and humanity</i>	
	<i>Humanity is condemned in the United States</i>	
	<i>Iran's resistance against the United States</i>	
	<i>Call for being alert</i>	
5/19/1979	Speech to the Revolutionary Guards of Tehrans Masjid ar-Rida: Necessity of preparedness and alertness; the duties of the period of the Islamic Revolution	334
	<i>Iran's need for arrangement and construction</i>	
	<i>In the way of renovating and reconstructing</i>	
	<i>People hold the country's destinies</i>	
	<i>Endeavor, working, tolerance</i>	
	<i>Freedom: Gods best blessing</i>	
	<i>Creating dissatisfaction</i>	
	<i>Satanic methods</i>	
	<i>Warning to the youth</i>	
	<i>Continuing the movement, uprooting colonialism</i>	
	<i>The enemy is alert</i>	
5/20/1979	Speech to Ahmad Sadr Haj Sayyid Jawadi (Interior Minister) and governors of the country: Refraining from weakening of the peoples morale; attempts to wipe out deprivation	340
	<i>Why weakening the morale?</i>	
	<i>Iranian Revolution and international miscalculations</i>	
	<i>The nations reconstruction ability</i>	
	<i>Do not weaken the peoples morale</i>	
	<i>Words are not enough; it is time for action</i>	
	<i>The responsibility of the governors</i>	
	<i>The role of Islam in the victory of the Revolution</i>	
	<i>Islam without the clergy means medicine without physicians</i>	
	<i>Freedom of the press or plot?</i>	
	<i>Plot underway to separate the clerics from the people</i>	
	<i>Committees, security guards of the country</i>	
	<i>The problems of agriculture and the army</i>	
	<i>The issue of the borders and border guards</i>	
	<i>Necessity of decisiveness in dealing with the problems</i>	

	<i>The plotters must not be given opportunity</i>	
	<i>Unsullied, responsible officials</i>	
	<i>Elimination of fear of SAVAK and the Americans</i>	
	<i>Deprivations and expectations</i>	
	<i>Necessity of tolerating the post-Revolution disorderliness</i>	
5/20/1979	Speech to representatives of the people of Bahrain and Pakistan: Conspiracy against Islam and clerics; role of the clerics in Islamic movements	351
	<i>Researches and studies of experts of colonialism</i>	
	<i>Propagating against Islam and the Imams</i>	
	<i>Islams war against the rich</i>	
	<i>Pahlavi dynasty, most treacherous of all kings</i>	
	<i>Half a century of struggle and resistance</i>	
	<i>Dividing the vast Islamic country</i>	
	<i>Wishing to awaken the Muslim nations</i>	
	<i>Islamic society and one-dimensional Islam</i>	
	<i>Iranian nations similarity with Muslims of early Islam</i>	
	<i>Fall of Shah, the paper tiger</i>	
	<i>Freedom, most valuable achievement</i>	
5/20/1979	Speech to personnel of Civil Status Registration Department: Gods assistance to the victory of Islamic Revolution	358
	<i>Victory belongs to God</i>	
	<i>Wrong anticipations of spy organizations</i>	
	<i>Triumph of spirituality over materialism</i>	
	<i>The world, manifestation of God</i>	
	<i>Salvation and welfare under authentic Islam</i>	
5/21/1979	Speech to students of the Faculty of Law, University of Tehran: Roots of the Islamic Revolution; heavy responsibility of the university and seminary; SAVAK agents	362
	<i>Islamic Revolution, an intellectual and ideological revolution</i>	
	<i>Victory under the light of Islam</i>	
	<i>Critical period of the Revolution</i>	
	<i>Military base at the cost of plundering oil</i>	
	<i>Cutting short the hand of world powers</i>	
	<i>Opposing nation's vote</i>	
	<i>Conspiracy to return colonialism</i>	
	<i>Working for development of Iran</i>	
	<i>Blessings of the Islamic Revolution</i>	
	<i>Devices of SAVAK for raising opposition</i>	
	<i>America, our archenemy</i>	
	<i>We are all accountable</i>	
	<i>A word with students and clergies</i>	
	<i>Failure of the movement, no future for the country</i>	
	<i>Sweeping deprivation</i>	
	<i>Islamic government and materialistic governments</i>	
	<i>Islams attention to all human aspects</i>	
	<i>How to reestablish authentic Islam</i>	
5/22/1979	Decree to Sayyid Rida Burqai:	

5/22/1979	Dispatching representative to Persian Gulf and Qatar	372	
	Representatives of the laborers and personnels syndicate of the oil company: Special role of the personnel of oil industry in the victory of the Islamic Revolution	373	
	<i>The importance of the strikes of the oil industrys personnel</i>		
	<i>Worthlessness of life without freedom and independence</i>		
	<i>Independence in the light of Islam</i>		
	<i>Corruption and sabotage by anti-revolutionary Groups</i>		
	<i>Blessing of the Revolution</i>		
1979	Letter to Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Sadr:		
	Decision of Mr. Sadr to move from Iraq	376	
1979	Message to Dia al-Haq (Pakistans president):		
	Unity of Muslim nations	377	
5/22/1979	Speech to the board of founders of the Islamic bank:		
	Prohibition of usury in Islam; interest-free banks	378	
	<i>Usury, the worst form of exploitation</i>		
	<i>Need to close usury banks</i>		
5/22/1979	Educational staff of ISfahan:		
	The social standing of teacher and his rank in Islam and the Qur'an	380	
	<i>The most respectable and accountable professions</i>		
	<i>Teaching, occupation of the prophets</i>		
	<i>Prosperity and wickedness come from schools</i>		
	<i>Culture, a shade of prophethood</i>		
	<i>Heavy responsibility of teachers</i>		
	<i>Materialistic man vs. religious man</i>		
	<i>Independence of country depends upon committed people</i>		
	<i>Key to salvation and damnation of the nation</i>		
	<i>Satans sense danger</i>		
5/22/1979	Speech to Army commanders:		
	Problems in the army; accepting responsibility and serving the nation	385	Post-
	<i>Revolution crises and need for public help</i>		
	<i>Need to be alert against conspiracies</i>		
	<i>Forgivable and unforgivable crimes</i>		
	<i>Cutting short the hands of the exploitative countries</i>		
	<i>All should accept responsibility</i>		
	<i>Respecting the army of Islam</i>		
5/22/1979	Speech to employees of the Wireless Department of the Communications Ministry: Role of the Pahlavi dynasty in deterioration of Irans ideas and moral; sacred mission of motherhood	386	
	<i>The Ministry of Communications staff at the service of the Revolution</i>		
	<i>More venues for debauchery and licentiousness than those for education</i>		
	<i>Colonial powers fears of enlightened men and women</i>		
	<i>Disappearance of human values, the main objective of the past taghuti regime</i>		
	<i>The sacred mission of motherhood</i>		
	<i>"Land reforms" and the consequences</i>		
	<i>Motherhood responsibility as the most blissfully honorable</i>		

- responsibility*
- 5/23/1979 *Efforts to eradicate corruption*
 Speech to police personnel; employees of the Communications Ministry; people of Tabriz: Half a century of crime; small groups blocking Irans development 396
The province of Azerbaijan, a pace setter for the rest
Witnessing half a century of murderous crimes
Wishing for a fully developed and free Iran
The signs of treachery on the part of small groups
- 5/23/1979 Speech to tribes of Kermanshah (Guwaran, Sanjab and Qalaman):
 The issue of truth and followers of truth 399
Distinguishable facts of righteous ones
Our agonies ending under the auspices of unity
- 5/23/1979 Speech to the students of the Faculty of Literature and the employees of the Ministry of Education of Ahwaz: The danger of the pseudo-intellectuals and the communities, which are alien to Islam 401
Long-term and short-term plans
Evaluating political associations and groups
Realization of Islam, the cause for overthrowing the Shahs regime
Selfless sacrifices, for the establishment of Islam
Devious plans to change the nations way
Freedom and independence under the auspices of Islam
Freedom minus Islam, a colonial powers' conspiracy
Clerics oppose conspiracy, not freedom
Islam minus the clergy, the view of the people against Islam
People's duty, countering the so-called intellectual
Long-term plans
Saving the country and the nation through spirituality
The need for the young people to become familiar with spirituality
Choosing representatives who believe in the Islamic Republic
- 5/24/1979 Message to the noble nation of Iran: Formation of Committees to investigate the offenses of the pretended clergy 412
- 5/24/1979 Speech to Ali Shariatmadari (Minister of Culture and Higher Education); chancellors of universities and institutes of higher education:
 Profession of clerics and academicians; creation of discord between the seminary and university; role of culture in the declination and amelioration of the society 413
University academicians and the clergy, following the same path
Corruption among the clergy and the academicians: corruption of the whole nation
The differences between committed and depraved individuals
Inciting disputes between universities and religious seminaries
Dangers of education in the absence of purification
Universities and seminaries on the way to create a monotheistic society
The role of science and faith in the fate of the country
The role of culture in bringing servility or dignity to a nation
- 5/24/1979 Speech to the personnel of the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps,

- and staff of the Justice Ministry:
 Necessity of confronting the plots of the enemies, purging the
 Justice Ministry and administrative offices 420
The victory of the Revolution, by hands of the deprived class
The roots of taghut in Iran
Efforts to reach the final destination
The great responsibility of the nation
The need for the promotion of spiritual values
Abiding by the law and order
The vital need for changes in the justice department and
administrative organizations of the country
The major task, to eradicate the lackeys of the Taghuti Regime
- 5/25/1979 Decree to PM Mahdi Bazargan: Preparation and approval of the
 Constitution and the establishment of the Assembly of the Experts 426
- 5/25/1979 Speech to the women of the Organization for Protection of
 Families (from Qum) and people of the city of Bunab:
 Enemies plot to exclude the clerics and eliminate Islam 428
In praising the Revolution
Concerns regarding the remaining rotten roots of the taghuti
regime
Groups, alienated to Islam
“Islam minus the clergy, a treachery”
Keeping an eye on a great danger
- 5/25/1979 Speech to representatives of various classes of the people and tribes:
 Elaborating on the concept of the “deprived” and “arrogant” 432
Unity of the masses, a blessing originated by the Revolution
A description of the deprived and the arrogant
A divine test
The true worth of the country's border dwellers and tribal groups
Justice and compassion for subordinates
The guardian of the Imam of the Time
Islamic fraternity
- 5/25/1979 Speech to the teachers and students of the Female Teachers
 Training Institute of Tabriz; physicians of Kashan and the blind
 people: Resistance, endurance and spiritual change, the key to victory 437
Call on the Islamic nation to continue their resistance
Spiritual change, the source of victory
- 5/26/1979 Message to Ali Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani:
 Awareness of the people and officials vis-à-vis the plots 439
- 5/26/1979 Speech to medical technicians of the emergency medical services of
 Tehran: Complete retribution of good and evil deeds in the hereafter 441
A feeling of danger from plots to overthrow
The negligible worldly punishment of the crimes of the Shah
The appearance of deeds in the supernatural world
The virtues and vices in the behavior of human beings
Spiritual love and physical well-being
- 5/26/1979 Speech to women and families of the theologians of the Qum seminary:
 The responsibility of mothers in training pious offspring 446

	<i>An honorable message and a heavy responsibility</i>	
	<i>The mission and responsibility of the pious believers</i>	
	<i>The honor of motherhood</i>	
5/27/1979	<i>The assassination of individuals, not the assassination of the movement</i>	
	Speech to members of the Aid Group of Burujerd: Importance of aid	449
	<i>The need for aid group</i>	
	<i>The anxiety of the enemies with regard to the advancement of the Islamic Revolution</i>	
5/27/1979	<i>Removal of difficulties, tied to public aid</i>	
	Speech to personnel of the Kashan city police:	
	Striving toward creation of a national base	451
	<i>Shenanigans and chicanery of the Rida Khan type</i>	
	<i>Intransigence of Muhammad Rida Shah</i>	
	<i>Lesson from history</i>	
	<i>Role of the nation in supporting the government</i>	
	<i>Popular base; the secret of stability of the system</i>	
5/27/1979	<i>Ruling over the hearts, the only means to power of governments</i>	
	Speech to students of Tehran Medical College; employees of the Telecommunications Company: Being worried about trivial matters and neglecting the ideals and aims of the Revolution	456
	<i>Role of telecommunications in the leaders communication with the nation</i>	
	<i>Concentrating on the main objectives</i>	
	<i>The struggle of the slum dwellers</i>	
	<i>Poisoning the atmosphere and deception</i>	
	<i>The Islamic Republic from words to action</i>	
	<i>Sabotage and trouble making</i>	
	<i>Greater need for unity and resourcefulness</i>	
	<i>General mobilization for construction</i>	
	<i>The miscalculations of the CIA</i>	
	<i>The duty of the nation in negating plots</i>	
	<i>The need to identify the seekers of corruption</i>	
	<i>The need to safeguard unity</i>	
5/29/1979	Telegram to Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi:	
	The necessity to safeguard unity of expression	466
5/29/1979	Telegram to Sayyid Hasan TabaTabai Qummi:	
	The need for unity of expression	467
5/29/1979	Speech to Muslim Iranian women residing abroad:	
	The main objective of the struggle against the Shah and America	468
	<i>The lofty objective, establishment of an Islamic government</i>	
	<i>Joy of the people at the collapse of the Pahlavi regime</i>	
	<i>Signs of a popular government</i>	
5/29/1979	Speech to women (Southern Tehran and the Wali ASr Old School); Revolutionary Guards; inhabitants of the outskirts of Moghan plains: Molding human beings: main objective of the mission of the prophets	471
	<i>The ultimate goal of the prophets from the prophetic mission and movement</i>	
	<i>Ultimate objective, the establishment of a Quranic rule</i>	

	<i>Freedom, independence: Preliminary steps toward the final objective</i>	
	<i>All round training of the human being, the main objective</i>	
	<i>The long way to building an Islamic country</i>	
	<i>Success of mankind due to spirituality</i>	
5/29/1979	Speech to female employees of Kayhan Daily Institute:	
	Freedom and its limits	475
	<i>Explaining freedom of the press</i>	
	<i>Freedom or unrestrained behavior</i>	
	<i>Warring to the mass media and the small groups</i>	
5/29/1979	Speech to clergymen and a gathering of the people of Yazd:	
	The great responsibility of the scholars in guiding the society	479
	<i>Model cities</i>	
	<i>The mission of the scholars</i>	
	<i>Message to the religious scholars</i>	
5/29/1979	Speech to athletes of traditional sports: Islam, the main objective	481
	<i>Strengthening the physical and spiritual powers</i>	
	<i>The whole objective, the implementation of Islam</i>	
	<i>Cooperation for building a divine country</i>	
	<i>In the hope of implementation of the Islamic aspirations</i>	

Speech

Date: Afternoon, April 12, 1979 [Farvardin 23, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of bringing about changes in the government offices, reforming the countrys banking system, and omitting usury in transactions

Audience: A group of the staff of the banks of Qum and Kashan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Necessity of wiping out traces of the *taghuti* regime from the government offices

I thank you for your coming here to talk to each other and together find a solution to the problems besetting our country. Thus far, we have been kept apart from each other, because they did not want the various strata of the people to be close to one another and have mutual understanding. Fortunately, now, thanks to God, we have succeeded in closely exchanging views with you, friends and brothers, and discussing our problems. Not only the banking system but also all the other things and institutions of the country have become devilish. During the *taghuti* regime the culture, the justice ministry, and the other government offices were such that they bore no relation to Islam, nor were useful for the country. Fundamental changes must be made. If not all the foundations are changed and if they are not transformed from the satanic forms to monotheistic and Islamic forms, once again we will be inflicted with the same problems and will face the same difficulties; and God forbid, the situation may even turn worse. All the strata of the country must endeavor to make reforms and changes.

The current banking system of Iran is satanic. Usury is unlawful in Islam; the Holy Quran has announced its unlawfulness. According to the Quran the person who takes usury or the usurer, wages a war against God! This system must be changed. The banking system must be changed. We hope that these sorts of problems will be solved through the efforts of all the workers and employees. If the problems are not solved, if our culture remains the same culture, the ministries remain the same, the personnel of the ministries remain the same, the offices remain the same, and our people still retain the same ideas they had during the evil regime, I am afraid such a defeat will be inflicted on us that we will never be able to compensate. We are all duty-bound—it is a divine duty—to rescue Islam and the country.

The defeat of the schools of thought by correct presentation of Islam

For many years, they have tried to hide Islam; in order to do so they have tried to prevent the presentation of the real Islam to the outside world. If Islam be presented as it is, other schools of thought will take the back seat; they will be defeated. Nevertheless, those who wanted to plunder our country, who wanted to take everything away from our country, and who wanted to take our resources away, planned for long years to conceal the real Islam; they hid Islam even from the Muslims. Even our youth are not informed about Islam and do not have any information about it except its surface. If God willing, we succeed and establish the Islamic Republic with all its principles—all its illuminating principles sent by the Almighty God for the salvation of man—and if we implement these principles with the efforts of all the strata of the people and the courageous youth, we will become prosperous.

Stooge agents

Our country has everything; our country has rich subsoil reservoirs; more than what it needs. It is a rich country, but the hands that wanted to take our assets away do not allow Iran to be governed as it should be; and at every stage, they appoint an agent to make the people ignorant or to take them backward. We ourselves witnessed during the past fifty-plus years that Rida Khan¹ destroyed all our memorable deeds and suppressed all the strata of the people that could serve this country, and after him his successor,² who truly followed him as he was a traitor and a criminal too, was catapulted to power, and for several years they kept our affairs backward and took away all our assets; and you must preserve the remnants.

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

² Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.

Attempts to solve the problems

Iran has been turned into a state of ruin. They destroyed and took away everything, and we must preserve the remnants for our future generations. These issues can be solved through the efforts of all the strata of the nation, through the efforts of you, the youth. Anybody in any position must make efforts to serve the country and Islam in order to eradicate the problems. You, the staff and the managers of the banks, must reform the banks; those in the cultural sector must reform the culture; and those in the ministries must purify the ministries. Likewise, all of us must join forces so that the country, which they have ruined and taken away whatever we had, returns to its original state, rather to a better situation. May God assist all of you. May you be successful and prosperous.

Letter

Date: April 13, 1979 [Farvardin 24, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sedition of plotters

Addressee: Bahauddin Mahallati

In His Most Exalted Name

Shiraz

His Eminence Ayatullah Mahallati, may his blessings last:

Now that, thanks to God, the Islamic movement is on the threshold of victory, some corrupt elements are trying to hatch plots and sow seeds of discord. They are the anti-revolutionary elements who try to prevent the success of the movement in the name of revolution. It is hoped that Your Eminence through insight and firmness will prevent the plots of the malicious elements, and will not resent the deeds of anti-revolutionary corrupt groups. I beseech the Almighty God to grant health and prosperity to you. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: April 13, 1979 [Farvardin 24, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the religious judge of the Revolutionary courts of Khorasan

Addressee: Ali Tehrani

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Aqa Shaykh Ali Aqa Tehrani, may his blessings last:

You are hereby deputed to attend the Islamic Revolution Courts set up in the holy city of Mashhad and other cities of the Khorasan Province and to supervise the rulings issued there, and to assume the position of the religious judge of those courts. I beseech the Almighty God for the continuation of your success. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: Morning, April 13, 1979 [Farvardin 24, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of safeguarding unity, and presence in the scenes

Audience: Girl students of the National University; girl students of the Shahmirzad Institute; girl students of the high schools of Dezful and Qasr-e Shirin

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Pioneer role of women in struggles

May God preserve you all. More than owing this victory to men, we owe it to women. Our respected women were in the forefront. Our dear women caused men to gain courage and gallantry. We are indebted to the labor of you respected women and always pray for you and the entire nation. You witnessed that you overcame the great powers through unity of expression without having any equipments. Why did you achieve victory? Because it was for the sake of God. The uprising was a righteous one, the uprising of truth against falsehood, the uprising of divinity against the rule of the *taghuti* regime, the uprising of humanity against savagery, and the uprising of civilization against slavery. We overcame them in this uprising despite the fact that we did not have anything, and they had everything. This victory was bestowed upon us by the Almighty God. Why? Because we were united and God is with the congregation: "Allahs Hand is with the congregation."¹ God is with the congregation. And you all together through unity of expression, a true word not a false one, uttered the truth, demanded the right, asked for your own rights, asked for freedom, independence and Islam—the Islamic Republic. Thanks to God. You gained the freedom.

Now you do not fear anybody, but we must fear ourselves. We must fear God, and fear ourselves not to disobey and not to commit offenses. Otherwise, the past troubles do not exist anymore, the Security Organization does not exist, and the police forces that could oppress the people do not exist. The police forces are now Islamic, the government is Islamic, it is a government that obeys the law; obeys Islam. One who is a follower of Islam cannot commit inequity and would not do it so. We are grateful to you all for

¹ Prophetic tradition, *Sahih at-Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, *hadith* 2256, "Gods Hand is with the congregation," p. 316.

your participation in the referendum that led to an unprecedented victory in the world. It was unprecedented for a nation with a population of 35 million to cast more than twenty million positive votes, and to go to the ballot boxes and participate in the referendum delightfully, happily and excitedly. May God make you successful in the coming stages as well. Cast your votes in the elections of the constituent assembly and in the election of the consultative assembly for the committed and trusted Muslim representatives. Send trustable deputies to the Parliament. From now on, your parliaments are controlled by yourselves; your will is at your own hands; you are free and you should take control of the fate of your country into your own hands... May God make you successful. May God make you prosperous in this world and grant you salvation in the hereafter. Greetings to all of you, all the Muslims, and all the righteous servants of God.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 13, 1979 [Farvardin 24, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 154 1399 AH] 1979¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The disgraceful crimes of the US agents and foreign mercenaries in Gonbad Kavus and the need to counterattack them

Audience: Islamic Revolutionary Guard forces and the people of Gonbad Kavus

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Gonbad Kavus disaster, conspiracy of foreign mercenaries and US agents

I was somehow aware of some of the points that you mentioned. I feel sorry for all the happenings that are taking place, and have already taken place.² Those plotting conspiracy and doing mischief there, want to disturb the situation to return their masters to this land, because we are seeking freedom, independence, and public welfare but these seditious people are not. For this reason, we condemn them as anti-revolutionaries and mercenaries of the internal and the foreign enemies. If they are supporters of the nation as they claim, then why do they obstruct the works we do for the welfare of the people? Why do they oppose the referendum whilst the entire nation agrees with it? What is this referendum, that all the people agree with it but these groups of saboteurs do not? Are they really supporters of the people? Are they really supporters of the nation? If they are supporters of the nation, all the people want Islam, and they voted for the establishment of Islamic Republic in Iran, then why do they oppose it? Why do they open fire on our brothers who want to vote for the Islamic Republic? Is it not true that they want to sabotage the country? They wanted to impose defeat on the people by preventing them from voting for the Islamic Republic, and prevent us from establishing the Islamic Republic system in this country. They want to either return the previous sinister regime to Iran, or bring into existence any other form of government, to work for them, to work for the foreigners. These are enemies of Islam, these are enemies of the nation, these are

¹ In *SaHifeh-ye Nur* the date of the speech is noted as Farvardin 23, 1358 AHS [April 12, 1979].

² Referring to the terrorist acts perpetrated by anti-revolutionary forces, especially the Fadaiyan-e Khalq guerrillas in Gonbad Kavus, and the representatives explained all about it prior to Imam Khomeini's lecture.

enemies of freedom, and they are enemies of independence. They want to pave the ground for the return of the same system and the same situation of the past regime, however in a different form. What is happening in Gonbad, has taken place in many cities of this country and all of these sabotages are caused by the saboteurs who are mercenaries of the United States or other enemies.

The need to resist the saboteurs

I am thankful to the courageous and noble people of Gonbad for their resistance. I will inform the government of what you have said; I hope they will do something about it, and will restore security in that region. However, you must also help and support the law enforcement forces. If these forces set up their encampments there, you must go and help them to defeat the saboteurs. It is religiously obligatory to thwart them who attack the Muslims and kill them if necessary. He who persists will enjoy heavenly rewards and he who is killed in this way, will enjoy the same heavenly rewards of those killed in the cause of God. I warn these saboteurs to put an end to their sabotages; otherwise, we will deal with them differently. I am thankful to you and sorry for the disasters befallen you. These disasters have befallen us; your tragedies are our tragedies and your discomfort is our discomfiture. I ask the Almighty God to protect you under His shelter and under that of the Imam of the Time, may Gods peace be upon him. Live with one another brotherly and help this movement reap the anticipated fruits. May God bestow you all further success.

Speech

Date: April 13, 1979 [Farvardin 24, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Expressing sorrow for the Gonbad catastrophe

Audience: Families of Gonbad martyrs

[In this visit, first a martyrs mother spoke about the atrocities in Gonbad, a summary of which is presented hereunder:

“O Imam! We have no security in Gonbad. Our chastity and possessions are in danger. I have left my 14-year-old girl in Gonbad to come to your presence. When I was about to leave her, she said: “Take me with you to see the Imam, mother. Whom do you leave me for protection? How can I defend my chastity and my life?” O leader! I am shameful to say that a mother told me while crying that those murderers raped and beheaded her daughter before her eyes.”]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your youth were ours

O mother! It was better for me to die than to listen to these catastrophic words. O mothers and my sisters! Your youth were ours. The Commander of the Faithful, may Gods peace be upon him, learning about the robbing of an ankle from a Jews foot, said that he would better be dead than to have heard that.¹ I had better be dead than to hear these calamities. O mothers and my sisters. My brothers! Islam has had many martyrs of this kind. The Prophet (s)² has offered many martyrs to Islam in his wars; The Commander of the Faithful, may Gods peace be upon him, lost a number of his dear companions in his wars; the Doyen of the Martyrs, may Gods peace be upon him, has sacrificed himself and all of his dear family in the cause of Allah. God willing, your martyrs will be associated with these martyrs. There will be no sorrows if we offer martyrs in the cause of Islam. All of us must be martyrs in the cause of Islam. Islam is the dearest of all things. I am so

¹ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 27. For the full text of the sermon, see Syyid Ali Rida, *Nahj al-Balaghah: Peak of Eloquence* (Qum: Foundation of Islamic Cultural Propagation in the World, 1995) and also available online at: <http://www.al-islam.org/nahjul/27.htm>.

² The abbreviation, “s”, stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *sallallahu alayhi wa alihi wa sallam* [may Gods salutation and peace be upon him and his progeny], which is used after the name of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (s).

deeply saddened by all the calamities and catastrophes befallen you that I cannot speak any longer.

I will reflect what you have said to the government and I am hopeful that there will be the establishment of security in that region. Join hands with your brothers, the soldiers, and the Revolutionary Guards, to repel the saboteurs. May God bestow you eternal salvation, bless your martyrs, and grant you patience. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 13, 1979 [Farvardin 24, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Responsibility of physicians and nurses

Audience: A number of physicians, nurses, and medical staff of Tehran hospitals

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I am thankful to you brothers and sisters who have come here for greetings and I wish you health and success from the Almighty God. You physicians have a very important responsibility. Physicians, nurses... hospital staff members have all great responsibilities, i.e. taking care of the patients, nursing, and doctoring. Like a father curing his child and like a mother caring for her child, cherish your patients like your children, and do give your compassion and care, like a mother caring for her child. The patients are like your own children, like your own brothers and sisters. They must be taken care of in a deserving way. In the hospitals, they must be treated and cared for as Islam prescribes. I hope that God willing, the establishment of the Islamic Republic will uproot our problems. Problems, everywhere and in every class of society, must be uprooted. May God protect you. And I wish you success in serving your country, in serving your Islam, and in serving your brothers. God willing, you will be successful and assisted by God. I pray for you all and I am a servant of the nation. I hope that given the opportunity, I can finish my service. I ask you, my friends, my brothers, and my sisters, to pray for us in order to enable us to take this path to the end. It is difficult and problematic. However, we have reached this stage at the Almighty Gods willingness and God willing, will reach the final stage with the assistance of all strata of the people. I extend my greetings to you all, and I wish you all success.

Letter

Date: April 14, 1979 [Farvardin 25, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Religious alms and answering an inquiry on the agents ordering the massacre of the people (in Shahs regime)

Addressee: Muhammad Hashimian Rafsanjani

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH

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

I received your respectful letter, and your three million rials of aid in cash through Sepah Bank. Your Eminences efforts and attempts during the recent months will be acceptable and appreciated by the Imam of the Time, may Gods peace be upon him. The requested receipts are enclosed. I wish Your Eminences further success from the Almighty God. In regards to your inquiry, I have decreed that those who have issued an order that has inadvertently led to murder are not recognized as murderers, however, if it was their regular job to issue orders and knew that they would lead to the murder of the people, they must be sentenced.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 14, 1979 [Farvardin 25, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Approving way of spending the religious alms in Gilan Province

Addressee: Sayyid ASghar Nazimzadeh

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam and Thiqaat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid ASqar NaZimzadeh, may his blessings last:

You are kindly informed that the alms you have collected out of the holy shrines and spent in Gilan Province, as well as the religious taxes you have received and spent from the Department of Religious Endowment and Charities, are religiously approved. I beseech the Almighty God for the continuation of your success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: April 14, 1979 [Farvardin 25, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Investigating the public affairs and committees of Shahr-e Kord

Addressee: Muhammad Ali Gerami

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Ali Gerami, may his blessings last:

You are hereby commissioned to take a trip to Shahr-e Kord and the neighboring cities and investigate the public affairs in that region and make arrangements in the activities of the committees. Invite the citizens to unity, and withhold them from opposition and disunity. Remind them of the important responsibilities that they have undertaken in this crucial situation. I beseech the Almighty God for the continuation of your and all the respected mens success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: Morning, April 14, 1979 [Farvardin 25, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Conspiracies hatched by the United States agents and other foreign mercenaries

Audience: Personnel of Division 92 Armored Forces of Ahwaz and a number of railway staff members

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need to continue the movement

Greetings to you courageous and zealous youth! Greetings to the Iranian youth who did their best to open the gates of victory to this Revolution! We are thankful to you, the staff members of the railway and personnel of the Division 92 armored Forces of Ahwaz, and we pray for you.

At this point, we have just gone part of our way. Do not think that we are victorious today. We have only covered half of our path. We have cut short the hands of the foreign mercenaries. With the help of you, young people, we have repelled the major deceitful mercenaries. However, we still have much to go, and we have to go this path to the end.

Today, our regime is an Islamic Republic and we must be loyal and truthful to the ideals of the Islamic Republic. The Islamic Republic secures all sorts of freedom, independence... Islam assures human salvation in this world and in the Hereafter.

Wakefulness against foreign conspiracies

You must be wakeful and know that many of these persons among our people, making black propaganda, want to impose defeat on our revolution. My brothers and my friends, be wakeful and on alert, and do not let the saboteurs establish a foothold in your lines. These people intend to revive the past system in this country. They are agents of the foreigners. It seems to me that they are mercenaries of the United States who want to publicize and return the past misdeeds, plundering, lack of freedom, and lack of independence. If you and all the strata of the people are not aware, I am afraid we will, God forbid, be defeated.

We hope that you will protect your unity of expression. I announce this to the Iranian nation, that they are obligated to strengthen their unity of

expression and to repel disagreements among themselves. Now that we are at the threshold of freedom and victory, do not let the deceivers sow the seeds of discord and return the past misdeeds. We are all obligated to be loyal to Islam and to publicize Islam; and we must be all soldiers of Islam.

I wish that the Almighty God grants you unity of expression and I beseech the Almighty God to grant health and prosperity to you all. I wish you all health and salvation in this world and the Hereafter.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 14, 1979 [Farvardin 25, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sabotage of US adherents in factories and labor centers

Audience: A number of university students of Hamedan, Revolutionary Guards and specialists of administrative and management sciences

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The *taghuti* regime faded away; however, there are dangers ahead. Foreign mercenaries are at work to return the past regime and sow the seeds of discord among the Iranians. It is our duty to guard this movement, stick to the unity of expression. By your unity of expression, you managed to defeat the greatest powers bare-handedly.

Powerful countries of the world could not keep Muhammad Rida in power. Powerful countries, like United States and Britain, did their best to keep him in power but it was all in vain in the face of the nation's will. Be wakeful! They are still at work to destroy you. Their mercenaries publicize everywhere, especially in the factories where they show themselves as proponents of laborers. If they go to the factories and tenderhearted laborers receive them open-heartedly to go on a strike, you must be wakeful enough to repel their sabotage and corruption. May the Almighty God protect you all.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Message

Date: April 15, 1979 [Farvardin 26, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Supporting the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: People of Garus and Bijar

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1399 AH

Respected people of Garus and Bijar, may God Almighty assist them:

I received the long and comprehensive letter of the respected gentlemen on supporting the Islamic Revolution and appreciating the attempts of Hujjat al-Islam Rahmani, may his blessings last long. Please extend my thanks to the respected people of the region. I beseech the Almighty God for the continuation of everybodys success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: April 15, 1979 [Farvardin 26, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Bilateral duties of the nation and army

Occasion: Announcing April 17 as Army Day

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1399 AH

The noble and heroic nation of Iran, may Almighty God bring them success:

Extending my sincere greetings for your indefatigable struggle that led to the threshold of victory of the Islamic Revolution and cut short the hands of the domestic and foreign mischievous agents, you are kindly asked to attend to the following:

1. Wednesday April 18 is hereby announced as Army Day. The Islamic Republic of Iran's Army is requested to carry out military parades in the big cities with their ammunitions, announce their support of the Islamic Revolution and the great nation of Iran, and express their readiness for devoting their lives for independence and defending the frontiers of the Islamic Republic, on this day.

2. The Iranian nation is obligated to welcome the army and give it brotherly respect. Today, the army is at the service of the nation and Islam, and the army is Islamic. The nation should recognize the army officially and announce its support of it. Today, opposing the Islamic army, which is the protector of independence and Iranian frontiers, is not allowed. The army, you, and we should do our best to protect and restore security in the country and put an end to the sabotages of the saboteurs and corruptions of the corrupted.

3. The army men are obligated to observe discipline, hierarchy, and regulations in the army. Neglecting these will weaken the Islamic army and will bring about the collapse of the Islamic system. Soldiers, commissioned and non-commissioned officers are asked to observe the hierarchy. The senior officials in turn, are obligated to treat their subjects brotherly with

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, vol. 6, p. 24, the date of the message is noted as Farvardin 28, 1358 AHS [April 17, 1979].

compassion and to avoid dictatorship that was popular during the *taghuti* regime. The Islamic army should protect the system of hierarchy, observe Islamic provisions, and superior and inferior in rank should observe their discipline. Neglecting these will be considered as anti-revolutionary act and deserves punishment.

4. Civilians are not allowed to interfere in the affairs of the army and arrest an army man inside or outside the army headquarters. If they have complaints or want to inform of the criminality of an army man, it will be investigated legally and religiously. Unnecessary interference in army affairs will weaken the army and it is contrary to the ideals of the Islamic Revolution.

5. The present staff of the army that serves Islam and the nation, have proven their loyalty to the Islamic Revolution. If, God forbid, they have committed a sin or crime of minor importance in the past regime, they will be forgiven by the Almighty God and the nation in their return to Islam, and I also forgave them. It is hoped that by putting their trust in God and the noble nation they continue their service sincerely and settle with full power in their barracks. I ask the Almighty God, for the dignity of Islam and the Muslims, and guidance of the deceived youth who want to sow the seeds of discord among Muslims. I also hope that the nation becomes alert against non-Islamic conspiracies. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 15, 1979 [Farvardin 26, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Responding to a telegram of congratulation

Addressee: Jawad Gharawi Aliyari

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Javad Qaravi Aliyari, may his blessings last:

I received your congratulation telegram on the victory of the Islamic Revolution and I was very grateful. I beseech the Almighty God for your success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, 11:30 am, April 15, 1979 [Farvardin 26, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Islamic Revolution and previous movements; role of the army

Audience: A group of Air Force personnel and officers of Lashgarak barracks

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Collapse of evil

You are very welcome, courageous youth! Greetings to you all! Greetings to you that have come today to visit us and I observe the power of your courage up-close. My dear youth! Today, I congratulate you twice: once on the collapse of the tyrant regime to which there is no return; all-out strangulation is over now and has no way of returning either; dependency on foreign countries is cut and will never return. My second congratulation is due to the victory of the Islamic Revolution. This Islamic system will provide public welfare for all the strata of the people and will bring freedom for all; it will make us free; it will safeguard our independence; it will empower the weaker classes of society, and it will be a supporter of the oppressed. I congratulate you for this Islamic system; however, we all must be loyal to this system and be soldiers of Islam.

Difference of the Islamic Revolution with previous movements

The key to our victory was our reliance on the Almighty God. The key to our victory was this that it was not merely political in nature, it was not for oil and the like; it was for spiritual ends, for Islamic ends. Our youth sought martyrdom; our youth welcomed martyrdom, as did soldiers of Islam in the advent of this religion. Our soldiers have no fear of being martyred; this is because death does not mean destruction to them. Martyrdom for our soldiers is eternal salvation and they do their best to reach this end. The keys to our victory were reliance on Quran and the sacred belief in welcoming martyrdom. There was no fear [of death] in their hearts. They welcomed the firing of machine guns and tanks, and they feared not. Fists gained victory over tanks, fists defeated machine guns, and fists overcame global powers. Safeguard this key [to victory]. As long as you safeguard this key to success, you are victorious. Our nation is always victorious as long as it is with God. Our nation is victorious as long as it seeks refuge in Islam. Our nation is

victorious as long as the flag of Quran is hoisted on its heights. Safeguard this key to victory. Pay attention to the point that the previous movements¹ were chiefly political or quasi-Islamic. This movement is purely Islamic. Today's movement is in the cause of God. All the people call out for Islam; all chant Islamic Revolution. This was the key to our victory and you are asked to safeguard it.

Treachery in the disguise of sympathizing with the laborers

I call your attention to this point that the satans have been scattered among all strata of the people to open ways for their masters. They want to promote the previous system. Do not let them within your ranks; repel them. Know this for sure that you can be independent and free by Islam. The Quran has made you free and it has assured your independence. Those, who seek to establish a foothold among you and want to make subversive propaganda, either in disguise of sympathizing with the laborers or any other guises, are betrayers of this nation. They do not intend to sympathize with the laborers; they want to create disorder in the country, they want to disturb the nation and fish in the troubled waters. These are mercenaries of the United States or others; and these people want to return us to the previous strangulation, and dependency. Be wakeful my brothers! Be wakeful and be on alert!

The army, the protector of national independence

You military men, you army men, you are from us; you are our dear brothers; you are our dear and courageous children, and we are from you. Our nation is your supporter and you are supporters of the nation. You are protectors of the national independence and he, who opposes you, has opposed the independence of the country, has opposed Islam. I reiterate that he who opposes the army has opposed Islam, has opposed the Prophet of Islam. Today, the army is not the army of the previous *taghuti* regime; it is an army of Muhammad.

Moreover, I recommend you my brothers, to observe discipline in your barracks. Safeguard the system as you did in the past. Be obedient to those above you in rank, do not commit sabotage, and do not give way to those who want to commit sabotage. These are opponents of our country's nobility; you must safeguard the nobility of your country yourselves. Moreover, you can do this by safeguarding this system, and you must safeguard whatever is

¹ Such as the Constitutional Movement, the Forest Movement, Pesyan Uprising, the Nationalization of Oil Industry, etc.

in the Constitutional Law of this system. We must be your supporters and you must be our supporters, and the nation must be supporters of both. We have covered half of this path and God willing, we will cover the rest and will not allow interference of other countries in our internal affairs. We must nail those who want to make us subordinate to the foreigners to the wall.

May God protect you all and bestow you salvation in this world and the Hereafter.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 16, 1979 [Farvardin 27, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Problems of the oppressed and required remedies

Audience: Laborers and representatives of the bakers guild of Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Post-revolution disorders

You gentlemen should know that after the revolution, disorder is on the way. We have thus far been busy establishing the revolution, as we are today. This is the nature of revolutions. It is something like the imprisonment of a nation, which when the doors are opened and 30 million people want to pour out, such a revolution comes forth, and such a disorder will follow that much time will be needed to overcome it. You people are now in a revolution. Today, freedom is available for all strata of the people. Thanks to God, independence is available, to some extent, to the country. All strata of the people need what you look for today. Deprivation is not exclusive to you. It is my opinion that in Iran there are many people more deprived than you are. You at least have a job, and have something to do. A great number of the people are unemployed and live in poverty in the shantytowns. Take a visit to the suburban shantytowns around Tehran; see how they live. We are thinking about everyone; the government thinks about all strata of the people, but it is not an easy problem to overcome.

Uprooting the problems of the deprived and oppressed

A corrupt country, a destroyed country, a country whose entire resources have been pilfered wants to start from the beginning, wants to start reconstruction. The reconstruction needs time to bear fruit. The needy have not been forgotten, nor have been the laborers. Not at all! We are thinking about your welfare. Moreover, God willing, after we establish the Islamic system in this country, Islam will take care of the employees, laborers, and the oppressed more than it takes care of others. I assure you that if we

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22-volume set), vol. 6, p. 19, the date of the speech is noted as Farvardin 26, 1358 AHS [April 15, 1979].

assume power and enforce Islam as it is, you and all others living in worse conditions will enjoy better attention and better lives.

As regards houses, I know that most of you do not have a house to live in, but this is not exclusive to you. See how they live in the shanties. If you see them, you will sympathize with them. Of course, you must have your own houses, all must enjoy living conditions, and labor should be distributed fairly among you, but this needs time. It is impossible to make a heaven out of a plundered and destroyed land in a matter of a day and a night, it is impossible.

Uprooting disgraceful class distinctions

Moreover, you see that there are some people among all strata of the people who are corrupted to the core, that do not allow the establishment of the Islamic system. They perform acts of corruption and want to return the past regime. They intend to fix shackles and chains on us, mar our independence, and destroy our resources. You gentlemen and all strata of the people are obligated to ignore their subversive propaganda and give time for the establishment of the Islamic system. It has no strong foothold at present; our law¹ is yet to be approved. Our (Islamic) Consultative Assembly is [yet] to be formed. We are still in the midst of our path and they cannot solve all problems at this stage. In addition, I hope your problems, as well as the problems of all laborers and problems of all strata of the people, the oppressed ... would be solved. Let us pray together, support one another to materialize this religious duty; God willing, welfare will be available to all and the disgraceful class distinction will be eradicated.

I beseech the Blessed and Exalted God to restore health to you, and I should thank you young people who worked and supported the movement when needed. May God protect you all, we pray for you all, and we are your servants. In addition, we are hope to serve you one day.

¹ It refers to the constitutional law.

Speech

Date: April 16, 1979 [Farvardin 27, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Need to gain readiness to neutralize conspiracies, and reconstruction of the country

Audience: A number of Yaftabad Revolutionary Guards and other districts of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Consequences of revolution

The revolution has one path and one post-victory period. Before the victory of the revolutions, all the people head toward their goal and activities, and movements are very valuable and enthusiastic. After the victory, frailties appear and oppositions emerge. Until the time that you and we all had been in entanglements, we were in suppression of our beliefs; Some 35 million people of the Iranian population were in jail; Iran was a large jail; so, you were all suffering tortures, mental tortures. Other brothers were suffering physical tortures, and we heard all about these tortures; we were suffering mental tortures. Thanks to God, you rose against the regime and cut short the hands of the criminals from this country and repelled the professional plunderers from this land. Today is the day of victory for you. It is like opening the gates of a prison and setting free 30 million people. It is like setting free 30 million trapped pigeons from a cage. Today you have a revolution. Today, there is opposition; there is a drastic change. However, you must control the post-revolution period by your initiatives, by firm determination and by perseverance.

Secret hands on the verge of reconstruction

Today, you see corrupt people working in our country, in our land, who wish to sow the seeds of discord among you. They could not have done it in the past, when you were on the path, busy with fighting and challenging; and there was no way for anyone to penetrate into your lines. Today, when the challenges are over, we have to reconstruct the country; make Iran developed. Today, secret hands are at work and they sow the seeds of discord among all strata of the people. You, Revolutionary Guards of Islam, you, soldiers of the Imam of the Time, may Gods peace be upon him, you must thwart these conspiracies by your wakefulness, by firm determination, and by

strong fists. Do not assume that we have reached the final victory and the end of our path; we are still in the midst of the path and we have many steps to take. Today, they want to prevent us from advancing and taking steps ahead, toward reconstruction. They rise and start marches in various guises,¹ under different pretexts, and with many ill purposes; and they want to break the unity of expression of our nation, and cause suppression.

Cut the hands of the United States and its agents

You courageous youth! You guardians of Islam! You must resist these conspiracies firmly and rigidly and do not let them finish their mischievous deeds. I am thankful to you for rising against the regime at a time when we needed courageous and zealous men like you, and thank you for advancing the movement and protecting it. However, your service has not yet ended, your service to Islam has not finished. We are still in the midst of our path and must prevent these conspiracies, these satanic plots that are masterminded and advanced in our country by the United States and its agents. We must cut their hands and not allow them to make any plots. They perform their acts of conspiracy in various guises and under various pretexts, and sow the seeds of discord among our nation. My brothers, my dear men, you must face them with your strong fists and thwart them; frustrate their words. They are carrying out deceitful plans across the country and intend to return the past regime to the throne or if not possible, bring into existence something like that, then suppress us again, jail our youth, and plunder our resources. We are obligated—all of us—to prevent the advancement of these satanic plans.

Warning the Iranian nation

I warn the Iranian nation, I ask you to be wakeful, and do not allow the penetration of these Satan in your lines. They do not believe in Islam, they have no faith, they do not believe in God, and want to break your lines apart and penetrate your monotheist, humanistic, and Islamic front, and prevent us from meeting our goals. The goal is to revive and implement Islam, to be precise, the universal provisions of Islam, and all the people enjoy public welfare, be free, and be independent. I beseech health and salvation for the nation and for you courageous youth, from the Almighty God.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

¹ It refers to the anti-revolutionary groups that summoned the tribes for protest in the guise of supporting the nation.

Message

Date: April 17, 1979 [Farvardin 28, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Responding to a message of congratulation

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Jamadi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH

His Excellency Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, President of Iraq:

I would like to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's message of congratulations for the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran, and it was greatly appreciated. The bursting revolution of Iran caused by the dictatorship and suppression of the Pahlavi regime was a warning for all the oppressors imposing pressure on the oppressed. I hope that all governments will have peaceful behavior with their nations. Governments should serve their nations and nations should be supporters of the governments to establish public welfare for all. All suppressions end in explosion and it is neither in favor of the nation, nor in favor of the government. May the Almighty God bestow salvation for all. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* the date of the message is noted as Farvardin 30, 1358 AHS [April 19, 1979].

Speech

Time/Date: Afternoon, 6:00 pm, April 17, 1979 [Farvardin 28, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Deplorable state of Iran during Shahs regime; anti-revolutionary conspiracy

Audience: Representatives of Bani Kaab tribes from Shadegan, Khuzestan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Deprivation all over Iran

The nation has many preoccupations. Everybody thinks that only his region lacks electricity and water, whereas in Tehran, the people of 30 districts or more live in a deplorable state, and are deprived of all the advantages of civilization and life. Bakhtiyari tribes have nothing; such is the case everywhere, because the Shahs regime has plundered resources of this nation; they have built military bases for the United States by our petrodollars; they have bought arms in the name of Iran but have built bases for themselves against the Soviet Union. Iran did not need arms to be a superpower and these arms were for the American bases in Iran. You are only aware of the Khuzestan suburbs but everyone who comes here claims that he has come from the most deprived region; all regions of Iran suffer from this deprivation.

Sabotaging and preparing the atmosphere for coup

However, the most important thing to know is this, that we must join hands and repel those who walk among the people and want to mar their unity. These people deceive a number of our youth and sow the seeds of discord in the guise of helping the people, and they want to return the past regime. While the country is in disorder, dissatisfactions arise and these will end in a coup. They want to return us to the previous state and deceive our youth with deceitful words. I have repeatedly said that if they really sympathize with laborers and the oppressed, they ought to help in the development of the country instead of committing sabotage. They burnt the ballot boxes in that way that you saw! Why did they oppose balloting? Every individual in his capacity is obligated to prevent the penetration of these people among the youth, and prevent them from causing disorder. They want to stop production in the factories, but we are responsible to the coming

generations. Enlighten the youth that the biased people intend to prevent children from attending their classes. They want to initiate disorder in the country and return the past condition, but we have to join hands to keep this movement advancing. May God protect you all.

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, 9:00 am, April 18, 1979 [Farvardin 29, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need for existence of committees and their purification

Audience: Commanders and officials of the 14 committees of the Islamic Revolution in Tehran as well as Messrs. Mahdawi Kani, Maliki, Morvarid, Mufattih, Muhammadi Golpayegani, Jalali Khomeini, Haqqi, Baqiri Kani, Khosrushahi and Zanjani¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The philosophy of the committees existence

I cannot go into details in these issues; I should mention some generalities. Both we and all of the people know that after the victory of the Islamic Revolution up to here and the repelling of the satanic forces, there are disorders, and revolts; every revolution is such. And all know that when these disorders appeared, there was no sign of the law enforcement forces, but the Revolutionary guards controlled the situation and impeded the corruptions as far as possible. In all cities, the committees and Revolutionary guards performed these useful works. Of course, today the law enforcement forces have been formed to some extent, but the Revolutionary guards and committees should accompany the law enforcement forces until they gain power to disarm all the corrupt people and groups committing sabotage. Disarmament of these groups is a sign of gaining power. After they disarmed the groups that commit corruption among the people, make sinister propaganda against the Islamic Revolution in the factories, do not want agricultural development, and do not want the opening of the governmental schools. They want to establish disorder in order to let the foreigners claim that Iran is unable to safeguard itself, pave the ground for corruption, and God forbid, stage a coup and justify it in the world; these people who commit corruption and make subversive propaganda against the Islamic system are always there and we need committees and Revolutionary guards. This can

¹ Before Imam Khomeini's lecture, Mr. Mahdawi Kani, the head of Islamic Revolution Committees, reviewed the ways of formation of the committees and their existence, then gave a report of the vast activities of committees along with his proposals for reformation and empowerment of the committees.

neither be denied by the government, nor by the nation; no one denies this need. Until the government gains power to disarm these corrupt people and repel them, we will surely need to reinstate the committees and Revolutionary guards. It is not clear whether the government can deny any part of this concept, if we talk to them. They also believe that the country needs Revolutionary guards.

Disorder and obstinacy in some committees

The problematic thing with the committees all over Iran—do not only consider Tehran—throughout the country...is that some impious people have been seen in some committees, or some committees have been formed by the impious altogether, all in the name of revolution and in the name of the committee of such and such; these carry out anti-revolutionary acts, carry out works contrary to the Muslim code of the religious law. Thus, they mar our revolutionary image, both locally and abroad, to show that though the Revolutionary guards and committees exist these misdeeds are committed; therefore, Islam is such and wants disorder! When the enemies observe wrongdoings in one or two places they do not pay attention to the fact that right conduct has been carried out in other five hundred places, and a few wrongdoings have been committed elsewhere. They pinpoint the same wrongdoings and slam all: they slam clerics, slam Islam, and slam the revolution. The problem will be changing this way of thinking and finding a way for the reformation of the committees formed by obstinate persons without any permission or the committees which have not been formed by such people but have been penetrated into by enemies because of the ignorance of the pious people, and those enemies have gradually imposed the invalid matters on the others. We should think about how and in what way we can make reformations. We do not mean reforming the committees in Tehran; little complaint is made about the committees here, we have to reform the committees all over the nation. In some cities, there are committees as many as the number of the influential people, cleric, or non-cleric, and each of these committees opposes another, seeks its own advantage, and criticizes the others. There are some works being done contrary to the revolution, contrary to Islam. Despite all our efforts, we could not settle all the disputes among some people. For instance, we could not settle the problem of the necessary number of the committees and Revolutionary guards in each region, and place; and we could not make them settle their disputes, restore discipline and peace, and avoid violating the

peace. Unfortunately, this has not been achieved yet. We must remove these faults.

Need for the presence of committees and Revolutionary Guards

The committees and the Revolutionary Guards are necessary. They should be active until the government gains enough power and the sign of the governments full control of the situation is the disarming of all the opponents of Islam, and all the enemies of the revolution. Until that time, we deem it necessary to keep the committees and Revolutionary Guards active. And we are thankful to all [officials of] the committees and gentlemen for the time they have spent on such an issue and this of course is for the benefit of themselves and everyone and we thank the Revolutionary Guards for the very hardships they tolerated, and for the many martyrs they gave. This is appreciated by all the people and by Islam. The core of the matter is this that they should be in force, and we need their presence, but the main matter has not been considered. There must be more attention paid to this matter.

Refinement and reformation of committees

The question is how to reform these committees. Imagine for instance, some things happen in a city; for example, they break into the house of someone who, they say, was a member of the former intelligence service (SAVAK) and who has escaped. Well, this is neither religious nor logical to break into his house and annoy his family. It is neither religious nor logical to arrest, beat, and torture someone for non-religious causes. These actions should be prevented. Somehow, these committees need refinement, not dissolution. These committees must be refined and not canceled. Certain people or delegations should inspect the performance of each one of these committees, they should ask about what they have done, and find out who is responsible for the actions. They must find the one who has committed the harsh deeds and fire or punish this corrupt man and replace him with a pious one. The painful part of the matter is thinking of a solution for refining the committees and replacing the corrupt members with pious ones. This can also be found in Qum itself. Sometimes violation of the law takes place here. At any rate, what you say as the core of the matter is the problems that exist in the committees; however, there should be reformation, and they should be refined. So, do the refinement. This refinement should be carried out by themselves and by the delegations, and if these reformations are made, there may be no complaint.

Complaints are made because there are ill intentions. Ill intentions about committees are many. There is sinister propaganda, otherwise, these people who staged a demonstration in the case of Mr. Taleqani whom we respect, was it really for him?¹ Do they really like Mr. Taleqani? Does he, who does not believe in God, stage a demonstration for Mr. Taleqani, who is a committed clergyman and a believer of Islam? Or was it to disturb the society's peace?

Opposing the referendum means opposing the nation

Those sympathizing with our nation! Was the referendum really contrary to the policies of the nation? Was the referendum, which all the people agreed with wholeheartedly, contrary to the nation's expedience that they set fire to some of the ballot boxes? Somewhere they used guns to prevent the people from casting their votes. Why did they boycott the referendum? Do they want this nation, and want to develop Iran? Well, this is the nation; the nation that you all witnessed that went to the ballot boxes enthusiastically and as a religious duty, and voted, and these five or six groups, opponents of the Islamic republic, who altogether hardly make up one percent of the nation, were defeated. They wanted to prevent the referendum because they knew that they have no foothold among the people, and their masters would only support their benefits if they try hard, cause tumult, and take peace away from the nation.

Sabotage in agriculture and in the factories

Well! Is agriculture contrary to the nation's expedience? Why do they go to farms and prevent farming? Why do they go to the farms, tempt the farmers to stage demonstrations, and prevent agricultural work? Do they have good intentions for the nation? Do they want to help the oppressed and improve the standards of their living? They want to serve their masters who were cruel to the nation. Do they really want to do something for the nation and support them? Do they really want to improve the state of affairs in the country? Do they want to organize the affairs? If yes, then what is wrong with agriculture that they prevent the agricultural work in the farms? We turn to factories. Is it contrary to the national interests to reactivate the factories? Is it contrary to the nation's expedience? Why do they go to factories, make anti-revolutionary propaganda, and prevent reactivation of them?

¹ Following the arrest of the two sons of Ayatullah Taleqani, and his having left Tehran for a few days in protest against the behavior of the arrestors, the MKO and other anti-revolutionary groups misused the situation and staged a demonstration to confuse the society.

Riotous opportunism

All these issues suggest that certain persons are commissioned by the foreigners—and I guess by the United States—not to let Iran be healthy and peaceful. If they can, they accomplish their mission in the factories, if they can, they do it in agriculture, they do it in the universities and these people; though, they are educated or are pursuing an education, are simple-minded and young, and are easily affected and deceived. They offer a few persuasive and tempting words and deceive them; otherwise, they [students and academics] have no bad intentions. These people gather together women, children, and adults from everywhere for an affair they themselves strongly oppose.

They themselves oppose Mr. Taleqani. They will behead him and the likes of him any time they find them. However, they have found the pretext that he had left the capital for objection! They have made this pretext to disturb our schools and our streets and they staged anti-revolutionary propaganda for the committees. These groups are organized and tomorrow they will come up with another conspiracy.

Contrivance of SAVAK

I had said previously in the time of the *taghuti* regime that at times we would see some disturbances. Those specific times are sometimes before the month of Ramadan and some other times before the month of Muharram. The month of Ramadan was dangerous for the former government lest the clerics—in the mosques where the people gather for supplications—stage subversive propaganda against the government. They used to stage a tumult before the holy month of Ramadan. For example, the issue of the book *Shahid-e Javid*¹ caused another tumult. For a month, we were heedless of our mistakes. In a blessed month, we challenged one another on a trivial matter. The pulpit people divided into two groups: one group took that side, and another group took the other side. Our clerics and so called seminary students fell into two groups: one group here, another group there. We wasted a holy month to punish the government, to say something. They made the disturbance and kept us busy with the issue of *Shahid-e Javid*, for a month, for two months, or for three months! When the tumult was about to lose its fervor and Muharram was approaching, they planned for another one, the issue of the late [Sayyid Abul-Hasan] Shamsabadi. It is probable that Shamsabadi himself helped in the formation of the disturbance; or maybe he was not directly involved and there were certain groups who divided the

¹ *Shahid-e Javid* [“The Immortal Martyr”]: a book written by Mr. Salihi Najafabadi.

people into two groups. At a time when our forces and our power had to be mobilized in the cause of Islam, they wasted energy for this matter until it lost its fervor. Then it was time for another issue with the approaching of, for instance, the month of Ramadan..., and that was the issue of Dr. Shariati.¹ On the one hand, they chanted slogans against him and at the other hand chanted slogans for him. All the energy used to be spent on this. They are at work even now. Still certain people want to prevent the establishment of Muslim provisions. There are still such problems. When this issue fades away, there comes another one. You will see that when this disturbance subsides—and actually, it has subsided, as Mr. Taleqani himself was annoyed about the slogans and the disturbance when he visited me in Qum—there will come another. Now, they may send someone to kidnap someone, for instance kidnap my son² to cause another disturbance. Although, if they kidnap Ahmad and kill him, I will never object. Or they may kidnap the son of an influential cleric and maltreat him, then another disturbance arises again. Then they sympathize with the family before the family itself expresses its sorrow. The families do not say anything but these people mourn for the kidnapped.

Paving the ground for the return of imperialism

What is this? This is because they do not want to see our country under our control. They have been commissioned to return the former government—not the monarchy because it is impossible, but another form—then there will be the same plundering, cruelty and stampeding on public rights. They will seek their share in the course of this transfer of power, however menial it may be! We must mobilize all our power to neutralize their conspiracies. Of course, they staged these disturbances themselves and they arrested someone to generate it, then make ballyhoo before the one to whom the matter is concerned can make an objection!

¹ Dr. Ali Shariati was someone who was very active in Husayniyyah Irshad (an institution of religious learning in Tehran) from 1971-1976 (1350-1355 AHS), and whose speeches and books were widely published. Certain *ulama* and clergymen objected to the views and beliefs held by this man. The younger members of the society who thought highly of this person could not tolerate opposition to his views, hence much controversy and debate arose with regard to Shariatis opinions, and certain people in supporting the latter, either knowingly or unknowingly became engaged in a campaign against the clergy. Moreover, a number of clergymen, again either knowingly or unknowingly, aggravated the situation in various ways during their sermons. Meanwhile, SAVAK benefited to the full from this embroilment.

² Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, Imam Khomeinis son.

At any rate, useless noise about the committees is not something new. This is what they are seeking, i.e. their thesis is slamming everything, and any region where there is something happening in favor of this nation. As I said, preventing the referendum was a major proof of their ill wills. Can they claim that the referendum was not national? Can they say there are destructive elements at work here? They cannot say this. No one can utter these words. However, they did their best to prevent the referendum. They set fire to ballot boxes, wherever they could. They bothered some people and prevented their voting. They boycotted the referendum. These are clear evidences for the fact that they do not want the establishment of this revolution in Iran and a special form of government. They know this, and foreigners have grasped this meaning.

Subversive propaganda against clerics

Formerly, there were some scientific matters that when the people unite, when a nation gathers, it is impossible to control them. Due to their very knowledge and for their political notions, they prevented proximity of different strata of the people and kept us away from university students. They opened such a wide gap between them and us [clerics] that we used to blame them; they used to call us fools. They used to say this group are court clerics, cleric means courtier, cleric means English mercenary! One day, in the time of Rida Shah, I was accompanying Mr. Hairi [founder of Qum Theological School] and that Hairi over there¹ in an automobile, large automobile it was, along with a number of people; we were going to Tehran. One of those people started speaking. He said, "it was for long years he had not seen such "big figures". The British brought them to Iran, or apparently, he said in Najaf, they made clerics to prevent our development in Iran. These are British agents"! He spoke for the entire time that we were in the car. They were such. They made sinister propaganda that any turban-wearing man and all clerics are courtiers.

Messengers, flag-bearers of the masses in their fight with the powerful

The core of the religion, they said, he who has brought religion, was for narcosis! These powerful nations have created the religions! In addition, the religion they, the powerful governments, have created was to spell the people into drowsiness to establish their power and to prevent the uprising of the nations. Such people promise paradise and the like to keep the people calm. They lull the people! They make the people unconscious! These powerful

¹ Pointing to one of Ayatullah Hairis sons sitting among the audience.

governments plunder public possessions. If any fair and just man refers to the history of the prophets, he will see that the prophets were the only ones who tried to awaken the people, and to mobilize them against governments. Well, it was Moses (*a*),¹ a shepherd with a stick, who enlightened the people to rise against Pharaoh. Pharaoh did not make Moses to lull them. Moses mobilized the people to oppose the powerful government. According to the history of Islam, which is available, and you read it; you know that the Qurayshs² influential figures did not make the Prophet of Islam to lull the general public. The Messenger of Islam awakened the masses, awakened the beggars, awakened the poor, awakened the needy, and rose against these things, against the powerful. The Prophets wars were all against the powerful; on one side, a number of unarmed people, the masses, the poor, the weak, and the oppressed, and on the other side, the oppressors with such and such. Their propaganda was so vast that perhaps among us and perhaps among our youth, there are some who are convinced that nay, the authenticity of religion is for such a thing. The truth was otherwise, however. In the foreign countries, they know that the truth was otherwise. The struggles of the prophets have always begun with the masses lined set against the oppressors, and against the powerful.

Flag-bearers of liberating movements

On the one hand, “these clerics are patrons of governments, they are courtiers, and are the supporters of the governments”! You do not remember the past; however, I remember the time of Rida Shah until the present. I was aware of this and I knew all about it. You may not recall from the beginning—perhaps a few can remember this—that it was the clerics who opposed the satanic power from the beginning of these fifty odd years. All political parties were inactive. They said something abroad and out of the country, but the scholars of Tabriz were the first ones to rise against the monarchy of Rida Shah inside the country. Another time the clerics of Khorasan rose, then there were the clerics of Isfahan who gathered in Qum; and we were always with them³. He who voiced opposition in the Majlis was

¹ The abbreviation, “*a*” stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *alayhis-salam*, *alayhimus-salam*, or *alayhas-salam* [may peace be upon him/them/her], which is used after the names of the prophets, angels, Imams from the Prophets progeny, and saints (*a*).

² Quraysh: name of the prominent Arab tribe of Mecca to which Prophet Muhammad (*s*) belongs.

³ Including Ayatullah Mirza Sadiq Aqa and Haj Mirza Abul-Hasan Angaji from Tabriz, Aqa Yunus Ardebili and Aqazadeh from Mashhad, and Aqa Nurullah Ruhani along with a hundred scholars and jurists from Isfahan. Refer to the book, *Kauthar*, vol. 1 pp. 308-310.

Mudarris,¹ not the “National Front”.² It was not the “Freedom Movement”,³ it was Mudarris, who resisted and opposed there. They were not influential at that time, and paid no attention to these things. When it was finished, well, there they were. We have nothing to do with them. However, the fact is this that subversive propaganda against clerics was extensive and this propaganda was to create a gap between the people and the clerics in order to prevent the union of the two, and to prevent the abolition of their own interests. This was their thesis, political tendencies and scientific views.

Masses vote for Islamic Republic

Today, they grasped these realities; meaning that in foreign countries, they literally saw that the nation united and neutralized whatever they had

¹ Sayyid Hasan Mudarris [1859-1938] was one of the greatest religious and political figures in the recent history of Iran. He received his elementary education in Isfahan and then traveled to the cities of the holy shrines (the cities of Iraq where certain of the imams are buried: Najaf, Karbala and Kazimayn, and to a certain extent some others) where he received further education from such scholars as Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khorasani and, after graduation to the level of *ijtihad*, he returned to Isfahan and began teaching Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and principles [*usul*]. In 1909, at the time of the Second National Assembly, he entered Parliament having been chosen by the *maraji at-taqlid* and the *ulama* of Najaf as one of the five *mujtahids* who were to oversee the law-making procedures. At the time of the Third National Assembly, he was chosen as a Member of Parliament. When Rida Khan carried out his coup d'état, Mudarris was arrested and sent into exile, but after being freed he was again chosen by the people and again entered Parliament. In the Fourth National Assembly, he headed the opposition majority against Rida Khan. At the time of the Fifth and Sixth National Assemblies, he opposed the proposal for the establishment of a republic, which Rida Khan was in favor of, to replace the constitutional government, and he dissuaded the Parliament from approving it. He was resolute in his stand against the stubborn Rida Khan, such that the Shah hired an assassin to kill Mudarris and when he escaped the attempt, he sent him first into exile in the remote town of Khaf near the Afghan border, and later in Kashmar, where eleven years later in Ramadan 1938, the agents of the Shah poisoned him. In this way, one of the greatest political and religious personalities of Iran was martyred in the way of Allah. Mudarris possessed outstanding qualities, and even though he was a man of great political and religious influence, he lived very simply. Imam Khomeini always spoke of him with a great deal of respect. The Leader of the Revolution, on the occasion of the renovation of Mudarris grave, wrote: “At a time when pens were broken, voices silenced and throats gripped, he never ceased from revealing the truth and abolishing falsehood...this feeble scholar, weak in body but strong in a spirit joyful from belief, sincerity and truth, and possessing a tongue like the sword of Haydar Karrar (Imam Ali), stood in front of them and shouted out the truth and disclosed the crimes, making life difficult for Rida Khan and blackening his days. Finally, he sacrificed his own pure life in the way of dear Islam and the noble nation, and was martyred in exile at the hands of the oppressive Shahs executioner and joined his virtuous forefathers.”

² National Front [*Jebheh-ye Melli*]: one of the nationalist fronts that opposed the Shahs regime.

³ Freedom Movement [*Nahdat-e Azadi*]: a splintered group of the National Front.

done in Iran. This nation, when its clerics, its academics, businessmen, its farmers, gathered together, chanted “Death to this monarchy” and unanimously said they wanted an Islamic Revolution, no power could prevent their movement. Unity of expression was a danger they grasped well, not any of the worlds powerful nations could stand in the way of the movement of this nation, and this nation defeated them bare-handedly. It was only in the cause of Islam and because people sought martyrdom, it was only because people were with one another, from the small child to the 80-year-old man, and all said the same thing. They grasped the meaning. In the referendum, they understood what the reality was. They understood it when they saw someone—I cannot recall whether I heard it on the radio or read it in the newspaper—was crying when he had cast a vote mistakenly believing that it was an unforgivable sin, and saying that he would be sent to hell. He thought of his mistake as the cause. Alternatively, another sick man was carried on the peoples shoulders to vote for the Islamic Revolution in the city of Khomein. He voted and then passed away. They brought an 80-year-old man in a wheelchair to vote or handicapped people on wheelchairs. Where else in the world can you find such a thing? Where in the world can you see 20 million people of a 30-35 million-population cast votes, positive votes? In contrast to four hundred or so ... 140,000 people or so? Where in the world can you find such a thing? You cannot find it anywhere.

Contrivance against forces and organizations

This is a danger of conscience for the foreigners. They cannot forget our oil in such a short time, they cannot forget our uranium, and they cannot forget our copper. They cannot leave them so easily. They understand that if this power is united, and if this movement is kept on the move, they will not be able to change anything. The Iranian people have undergone a basic transformation, and God has done this. They have been revolutionized spiritually. The spiritual transformation means that, in the past—a few years ago—a police would go to the bazaar and ask the people to either hang a flag in front of the shops or close them down. No one dared—or reserved this right for himself—to say no. Who said no? None of the strata of the people considered any rights for themselves. A humane and spiritual metamorphosis was made by God, the Blessed and Exalted, in these unarmed people, who feared a police officer, and enabled them not to fear artillery or tanks and instead they rushed [to the government] and chanted “Death to ...” foreigners fear the unity of expression and this mighty change. They intend to break it. How? By slamming committees when they establish discipline, by slamming

clerics when they can guide people, by going to factories and making disturbance, and by creating disorder in the agricultural sector. They want to make our country disordered and confused. They are ignorant. These big guys are ignorant in that they do not want discipline, they do not want peace, they do not want a right way of life for the nation. You must know that if a proper way of life is established in the society, they will make more black propaganda. Not that they see the examples for the time being, then they should do something for the employees, for the factory owners, for the needy, and for the homeless too. These people now see that this work heralds the future peace in the country, people have been revolutionized, and they do not want others to remain in the previous state, and all are, for example, followers of the clerics, but they want to destroy this concept.

Warning the misconceived friends

In addition, there is no other way but to refine the existing affairs, and purify the people and expel some of them from the country or punish them. If the government can do it, it is all right, and then does it. We all want this. On that day people are not that much unoccupied to amuse themselves with committees, are they? For sure these gentlemen had something to do; these gentlemen have left their education, their studies. They have left everything to come here. Are these Revolutionary Guards unoccupied to stand here day and night and expose themselves to the risk of death, and of assassination? If peace is established and when they see that all the corrupt people are destroyed, they will also look after their own affairs. They are busy; they are occupied. He was a shopkeeper, who has come here to do the job, and he is doing this for no money or anything else. These people must be reinstated, and it is an instance of ignorance to understate their role. Enemies do this. If the unaware friends do this, they will be also among those misconceived ones and are making a mistake. They are fools to attack Revolutionary Guards and these committees.

The need to reform and refine the committees

The responsible officials must of course do the reform. We must pay attention to both sides of the matter. That useful part—free from fault—we all believe must exist and no one is allowed to interfere with it. The committees must be formed; some groups must be formed in order to refine the useless part, and refine what is corrupted. If one day you became unable to refine, then the question will come that whether these people should be in that place or not? Then it is the time for these talks. You must search for

pious people. Investigate the committees one by one. If you see someone suspicious in the view of the people and they consider him a SAVAK member or if you have made sure that he wants to violate the law, you must fire him. Put him aside and replace him with a pious one. Not just in Tehran, this should be done everywhere. This should be practiced everywhere.

Disarmament of small groups

The committees must be refined; they should keep on working. They should be kept active until the government has gained enough power. In addition, the sign of governments powerfulness is disarmament of the opponents of Islam. They should be at work until that time. If the enemies were disarmed and the committees still kept on working, then you would have the right to complain.¹ As long as our enemies are armed, as long as they have the control of one district in Tehran, have formed an independent authority there, have got their own nightly newsletters, and do not allow commuting in the streets,² is it wise to dissolve the Revolutionary Guards? It is unwise. It is either foolishness or treachery; it is either ignorance or treachery. We do not tolerate this. We empower the Revolutionary Guards; we empower the committees until the day—as I have said previously—the government gains power to control the affairs. In addition, a sign of the governments powerfulness to us is disarming the enemies. When there are no communists in any part of Iran or Mujahidin-e Fadai-ye Khalq members, or political wings harmful to Islam, harmful to our revolution, all the people will look after their own affairs. Gentlemen, here no one is working to gain any advantage, there is no distribution of posts here; no posts are available here for the gentlemen. It is a demotion for these gentlemen that he who must be somebody in his own locality, has turned into a servant here. This is the nature of Islam, which has made them to do so. The Islamic nature has made the Revolutionary Guards to do this; otherwise, the material world cannot motivate them to give their lives for nothing. Islam has motivated them. Those who want to mar the image of Islam, those who oppose the clerics, oppose Islam, are anti-revolutionaries, whatever they may be called.

Heavy duty of the clerics

At any rate, this is the generality of the reality that one side, which is free from fault, is necessary; while, the other part needs to be refined free from

¹ Referring to Mahdi Bazargans lecture on TV, who attacked the committees and accused them of interfering with the governments affairs.

² Armed organizations had captured a number of streets and prevented transport activities.

any fault, and we must think about its refinement. I cannot say what we should do for the time being about the dispositions you recited now¹ and the programs you have at hand, lest I study the matter and tell you what to do. However, the first step before the refinement will be attending to the point that, no matter how good you yourself are, no matter if the fourteen-section committees are good in nature, if there are just four committees or ten self-autonomous committees at work in Tehran, who have made corruption in the general public, who are unaware of the realities, and have broken into their houses, have plundered their possessions, have drunk wine and have done all corrupt things, then the people will attribute all these misdeeds to all the committees. In the past, if a grocer was a short-charger, they would say that grocer was a short-charger, but if a certain cleric did something wrong, they would say that all the clerics are wrongdoers. I do not know where it originated from that they attributed the wrongdoing of a single cleric to all the clerics. In the case of other careers, they attributed the mistake or the wrongdoing only to an individual. Therefore, it is hard for the learned people to understand. It is a heavy duty. They must not allow a cleric to, God forbid, do something wrong in the committees, because they would say there are many of them. I do not know whether it is right or wrong; however, do not allow a corrupt cleric, a SAVAK member in clerics clad, who has been dressed in the organization with turban to enter the committees then they will say that all the committees are corrupted. Committees! They do not say that the committees protected the country, these committees made this nation; these Revolutionary guards protected this country. They do not think of this. Moreover, everybody comes to us and says they cannot correct them. All the armed forces that seek official recognition must be recognized officially, the government must recognize them officially, but we do not need their approval. I myself approve of these forces. We approve of them; they must be active; however, they must be refined. It is impossible to continue without the refinement. This allows those who want to harm the clerics and who want to make subversive propaganda, to work easily. They must be reformed. This is what I can say for the time, and the rest I will continue at another time, God willing.

Fulfilling the religious duties and the accompanying hardships

However, there are some problems that we disapprove of; there are some affairs which are hard for us to listen to. There is no doubt that there are such problems, but it is a religious duty. One problem concerns a number of

¹ It refers to the remarks made by Ayatullah Mahdawi Kani.

people, for instance, who do this for material gain; when they face hardships of life, and see that there is no comfort in it, will they still work day and night? Well, is this the case with us, too? No, it is not; because if it was for material gain you would never devote yourselves to challenges and contacts that were not useful for you. This is for Gods sake. Therefore, we have a religious duty and we will fulfill it. If we could not fulfill this religious duty, at least we would have done our best. Imam Ali¹ could not defeat Muawiyah² either, but carried out his duty. We will carry out our duty if we

¹ Hadrat Amir: Imam Ali (a), the leader of the Muslim world was born in 600 CE to a mother by the name of Fatimah and a father by the name of Abu Talib (Prophets uncle), and from the age of 6 he grew up in the Prophets 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 Gods 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 Prophets life, Ali (a) slept in the Prophets 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 Prophets 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, Alis disciples and a group of people swore allegiance to Ali (a) and elected him as the caliph. The Imams 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 Caliphs 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 Muhammad (Imam Ali)*, (Qum: Ansariyan Publications); George Jorda, *The Voice of Human Justice*, trans. M. Fazal Haq (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1990), and visit: <http://www.al-islam.org/faq>.

² Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan (607-680 CE), the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, accepted Islam on the day Mecca was conquered (630 CE). He was the commander of the army during the caliphate of Abu Bakr and at the time of Umar he was first the governor of Jordan and then governor of Damascus, and at the time of Uthman he was responsible for the entire principality of Syria. After the death of Uthman, Hadrat Ali (a) was proclaimed caliph and issued orders for Muawiyahs dismissal. However, Muawiyah did not comply with Imam Alis 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 Muawiyahs troops and those of Hadrat Ali, Amr ibn al-As, Muawiyahs army commander, on seeing the battle going in Alis 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 Alis followers, the battle was ended and Muawiyah remained in his principality. After Imam Alis 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. Hittis *History of the Arabs* and S.H.M. Jafris *The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam*.

could not finish the work, well, we are not superior to the Prophet in fulfilling our duties; we are not superior to the Commander of the Faithful Imam Ali; we are not superior to Imam Husayn, the Doyen of the Martyrs, who fulfilled his responsibility and was killed. We will fulfill our duties as well. Therefore, we must not [tend to laziness] when we face disapproving things, especially when there are confusing matters that, for example, in such and such tribe they do not believe in God but in support of their Ayatullah they make so much noise! This is obvious and all know that it is a conspiracy and I hope that they will not be able to do anything.

I expect you to rely on God, pay attention to God, because attention to God will remove the problems and it has already removed many of them. Safeguard your unity and do not get disappointed, and carry out your duties and of course you must do the refinements. These people themselves should start the refinements. After the refinements, there will be no one who will not accept it. You also believe that when peace appears in a country, we will have nothing to do with them. We want to bring peace and tranquility, and when peace is established it will be the end of our service and we will go after our own affairs; I as a seminary student will continue my studies, and these gentlemen will go and continue their own affairs. This is what I mean for the time being. Then I must read this [report.]

[Mr. Mahdawi Kani: There comes a question here that some revolutionary elements accept Your Excellency's leadership, but in practice, they do not accept the by-laws and regulations of either the Revolutionary Courts or the Central Committee.]

Oppositions out of caprice or overthrowing

Well, sometimes these are among those people who have carnal desires; and are not among those who want to overthrow the revolution. Sometimes the carnal desire makes them yearn for something for themselves. Sometimes it is such. They must be made to understand that now is not a good time for such things. It is not a proper time for a man to go after his carnal desires. There is enough time ahead. However, sometimes, they are crafty and cunning and want to make disorder in the country. He may be one of the SAVAK members, or one of the Mujahidin-e Fadai-ye Khalq members, who

wants to confuse the condition of the country. In addition, they must be taken as anti-revolutionary and be given the due treatment.

[Mr. Mahdawi Kani: There are some Revolutionary Guards in the state-run departments that if not to say violate discipline of departments, at least do something that associates the repetition of the past conditions, and the employees cannot tolerate this. They warned that there are disturbances in this regard. I want to know if it is not worrisome.]

Yes. These are the specifications of the matter but it is late and I am tired.

Speech

Date: April 19, 1979 [Farvardin 29, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Factors for victory; sabotage of the small groups; importance of culture

Audience: A number of educational staff of the city of Rafsanjan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Allahs invisible grace in the Revolution

This is a reality that we must confess that it was a strong and impregnable citadel that we conquered. It was a huge stronghold, which was hard to destroy, but it was destroyed. A barehanded nation defeated the superpowers that were armed to the teeth. However, I was not the one who gave you the victory. It was the Almighty God. When I was in Paris, I heard about the union of all the people in all cities, far and near, from the villages to the big cities, chanting "Down with Pahlavi monarchy and yes to Islamic Revolution". There, I grasped that this is done by the Hand of the Unseen. Man cannot acquire this unity all by himself. The scope of the activities of the human beings is limited. There may be unity of expression in a city or at the most in a province, but its establishment in a country with a population of 30 million people or so, with all the oppositions in ideals, understanding, and insight was only the Act of God and the Hand of the Unseen. The Almighty and Blessed God made such a change in the minds of the people through the Imam of the Time, may Gods peace be upon him. Since that time, disappointment has found no way into my heart. I became very hopeful that the victory was ahead. Of course, I never expected the victory to be achieved so easily and so soon. A nation who had nothing to fight with against the satanic powers, such as the United States and United Kingdom for sure, and USSR as a supporter, [became victorious]; all the satanic powers had united their forces to fight the nation. However, the Divine forces were at work. No one can fight the Blessed and Almighty God. There were the Unseen Hands of the Blessed and Almighty God, and as long as these Hands support you, you are victorious.

Attending to God, spiritual transformation, key to victory

Do your best to safeguard this movement as is. Keep it as active as it is if you want to be an independent and free country standing on its own feet and

administering its own affairs, and finish the path of victory, you must safeguard the key to victory. The key to victory was attending to God. People from brought up youth used to come to me and ask me earnestly to pray for their martyrdom. This was the Grace of God. The human being could not bring about this change. A spiritual transformation happened in our people, a spiritual change took place, and this was an Act of God, a Grace of God. A nation who feared to oppose a police and defend its rights when he appeared in the bazaar and ordered either installing flags or closing down, grew so much spiritually well in such a short time, that they poured onto the streets and chanted "down with such and such." They neglected artillery and machine guns and the satanic forces. It was a Divine transformation. Do something to prevent its annihilation. Do not allow the disappearance of what the nation took hold of. Safeguard your unity of expression; increase your attending to God, direct your spirits toward God. Repel the Satan among you who want to sow the seeds of discord. Guide them if they deserve otherwise repel them. The United States is still coveting Iran, the Iranian oil, the Iranian oil reservoirs. It cannot renounce, nor can the other nations.

Attending to God, the key to victory

If you want to make these eyes blind and cut these hands short, you must keep this key to victory and safeguard it. The key is attending to God. All of you say one thing unanimously; seek Islam, not polytheism, and only Islam. If we lose this key, God forbid, these Satan among the people who are agents of the United States and other nations, will start a tumult and will prevent the agricultural work, and the production of the factories. They do not permit the opening of schools. If these agents get among in your lines and you become inactive and listen to them, and if our youth become ignorant and follow them in their marches and demonstrations against the Revolution at a time that they must not if, God forbid, these active agents who want to push the people astray by their satanic aspirations succeed in their mission, I am afraid that the previous conditions will return; I am afraid that the suppression of the nation will return again, and we will lose the independence we have acquired.

Real image of the pretending supporters of the people

My dear ones! Wake up and identify those who have entered among all strata of the people. If they are really sympathizing with the pains of the nation, then why do not they let the people enjoy peace? Why do they prevent the referendum? The referendum was a national issue, why did they

set fire to the ballot boxes. Why did they prevent the people from voting? Why did they boycott the referendum?¹ The referendum belonged to the nation, it was not related to the *taghuti* regime, and it was not related to the foreigners; it was related to this nation. Why did they prevent it? Why do not they want the agricultural section to work? They are wandering around the villages, making corruption, and preventing the agricultural section from working. Why do not they let the factories work? This is because the agricultural work and the factories will bring about peace and when peace is enjoyed in the country the hands of their masters will be cut short. They want to have the hands of their masters in this country. They want to return the past situation, yet in another form, because monarchy has no way to return, however in other satanic forms. Pay attention to this; anyone in anywhere should repel these elements.

Culture, the basis for independence of the country

God willing, when the Islamic government is established, we must join hands to remove the shortcomings, the most important of which is culture. Culture is the cornerstone of the nation; it is the basis of the identity of a nation, the basis of the independence of a nation. However, they have tried to make our culture colonial. They did their best to prevent the emergence of humanity. They feared human beings and they feared learned man. They did their best to prevent the appearance of the elite during their 50 and so years of monarchy. They did such harm to education such that there was neither education nor humanistic growth. They frightened us, they frightened us by their subversive propaganda such that we feared one another and did not trust one another. If someone fell sick, we would send him abroad while we had physicians here in Iran. They frightened us, shook us, and emptied us so hard that if we wanted to asphalt a road we used to send for foreigners. We had everything but the foreigners were the ones to manage the affairs of our army. The foreigners were the ones to exploit our oil, at a time that we had everything at our disposal. This was because they emptied us from what we were, they brainwashed us, and destroyed our self-reliance. Brothers! Bring up your youth by self-trust and by spiritual independence. Teachers! Train the youth to be independent and free. Make them self-reliant. We have everything but they made us to make believe we have nothing. We repelled them bare-handedly; therefore, we have the ability. We feared a colonel, we feared a police officer, but you saw that our youth did not fear artillery and

¹ It refers to footnote 1, Imam Khomeinis Radio-TV message on April 1 (Islamic Revolution Day).

tanks. Thus we have ... we have God. As long as there is reliance upon God, as long as there is attending to God, as long as you keep the spirit of courage, you will be victorious. I beseech the Almighty God for success and happiness of all of you and all strata of the people. I pray for you and I am a servant of you all.

May Gods peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 19, 1979 [Farvardin 30, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Treacheries and obstructions of the small political Groups

Audience: The tribal people of Dasht-e Moghan, Arshaq, Ajarud, Ardabil, and Khalkhal; Employees of the Still Industries of Shiraz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Gods blessings in the transformation and victory of the nation

I thank all the gentlemen and various tribes who have come here to meet closely. I beseech the Almighty God for the prosperity and success of all of you and the entire nation of Iran. You know that the victory has been achieved, but it was not I through whom the victory was attained, rather the Almighty God made us victorious under the protection of the Imam of the Time, may Gods peace be upon him. Islam and the Holy Quran made us victorious. We all wanted Islam and the Islamic Republic. It was the Islamic power and the profound faith of various strata of the people that made us victorious. We were the same as we were a couple of years ago. Iran was the very same Iran and the nation was the same. What happened that in a short span of time these changes were made? Earlier, they used to take everything away, but we were dumb; they used to torture and execute our youth in the prisons, but we did not make a move; the plunderers used to take everything away, but we were dumb. What happened that this nation changed in such a manner? Was it not except for the grace of God? Was it not except for the fact that the Almighty God, with the grace of Islam and the Holy Quran, helped you to transform from a weak nation to a strong nation, from a nation with weak will to one with strong will, from a weak belief to a strong belief? The Hands of the Unseen brought about this transformation.

A glance at the numerous treacheries of the small groups

Now, which is the most sensitive stage in the history of our country, if we commit any negligence, we will be held responsible. If we consider our personal advantage and traverse this path in accordance with the advantage, we will be held responsible. If we listen to some devils who try to sow the seeds of discord among the nation, we will be offenders. The masters of these people took away all our assets, and now, that we have severed their hands, they have become terrified, and wish to restore the previous issues. Beware

and be alert! For they have infiltrated into your ranks under various names! They must not infiltrate into your ranks through superficially charming statements; they should not deceive our workers and our respectable tribal men. If they come to the tribes, the latter must reject them; also, if they go to the factories, they must reject them. They want to hatch plots, they are the agents of the foreigners, and they are the agents of the United States. They did not allow and do not want the Islamic Republic to take shape; they wanted to prevent the referendum; they boycotted the referendum and set the ballot boxes on fire.¹ They did not want the nation to implement a national and Islamic cause by the nation's own votes. Excommunicate them. Expel them from amongst your ranks. They want to destroy our agriculture with a new excuse everyday. They also want to destroy our industry under various pretexts. They do not want our culture to grow. They close down our schools everyday. If they agree with the Iranian nation, with our nation, with Islam, and with you people and if they want you to grow and attain your rights, why do they not allow the tranquility to prevail so that you achieve your rights? Why do they not let the government take its time to act and take certain measures so that you all achieve your rights? Since we want to build houses for the people², they are trying to hatch plots so that they do not allow this to be materialized. All of these are signs that they are not sincere, they do not want this nation to be peaceful; they do not want this nation to develop; they want it to remain in this very weak state and be as it was in the past so that they can plunder our resources; so that our culture remains backward; so that they can prevent the emergence of the true human beings in Iran. Be alert and render this abased and wayward clan impotent. Do not allow them to infiltrate your ranks. Do not allow them to lead your youth astray.

God willing, if we succeed in establishing a true Islamic government in the manner that we want it to be, and if this name attains its true meaning and its outside and inside become one, there would be welfare for all; there would be happiness for all, both in this world and in the hereafter. Strive to safeguard your unity of expression; strive to safeguard this monotheistic and Divine belief, for it is with the faith that you will be able to reach your destination.

May God bless you all, May God sever the hands of the forces of evil from this nation.

¹ See footnote 1, Imam-Khomeinis radio-TV message on April 1 [Farvardin 12], the Islamic Republic Day.

² It refers to the establishment of the Housing Foundation, and the announcement of Imam Khomeinis account No. 100.

Speech

Date: April 19, 1979 [Farvardin 30, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Shunning discord and safeguarding the unity of expression

Audience: Representatives of the employees and laborers of Shiraz and Naft-Shahr refineries; business guilds of Shahr-e Kord and other residents of Chahar Mahal and Bakhtiyari province; technical students of Abadeh Technical College; students of the pre-university colleges of Kermanshah and Mehran towns; students of the Isfahan Medical College; teachers and students of the towns of Qasr-e Shirin and Sar-e Pol-e Dhahab and a group of residents of the towns of Turkmandeh and Sorkheh-HiSar towns

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need to analyze the victory factors

I thank you all who have come here from far away in order to express your sympathy and show your solidarity with the people of Iran. It is necessary for me to mention some points and to remind you that by the Grace of God we have come to this stage triumphantly. We need to understand that with what power we have attained this victory. If we are ignorant of what the power was, then it could be dangerous for the future; and if we come to know, what the power was, and do not strive to safeguard it, then it would be again calamitous for the future of our country. The power that was decisive in our triumph was the power of Islam; it was the power of faith of our youth in Islam and in God the Blessed, the Almighty; it was the attention to a single goal which was Islam and the Islamic Republic and the tenets of Islam; the self-sacrifice of our nation for the cause of Islam and regarding martyrdom as the ultimate triumph was the key to our victory. If we did not have unity of expression, if each one of us had a different goal, if each group moved in a different direction, then it would not have been possible to triumph over the satanic force, which was being backed by the great powers.

Foreigners came to know that we became victorious through a single power, which was the power of faith, unity of expression and the solidarity of diverse groups that congregated in a show of unity. And they are fearful that their hands would be severed till eternity; hence, they decided to rob us of this secret key and disarm us of this great Islamic weapon. Their agents have infiltrated the ranks of our nation and are sowing the seeds of discord, they are closing down the universities; they are indulging in conspiracies to close

down the seats of learning; they will not allow the agriculture to takeoff; they will not permit the culture to take an Islamic appearance; they will not let the industry to keep going. These are the same people who wanted to prevent the referendum from taking place; these are the ones who set fire to some of the ballot boxes of the referendum and attacked some others and boycotted the referendum.¹ They knew that they had no foothold among the people. Our nation has overcome all the obstacles so far by their own unity of expression, Divine power, and faith. They do not want us to attain victory. They do not care for the nation; they do not want to serve the peasants and the laborers; in fact, they are the enemies of the peasants and the laborers but feign to be their friends in order to prevent any positive steps from being taken for them. Was the referendum against the interests of the nation that they opposed it? Is agriculture against the interests of the nation that they are opposed to it? Is getting industry to move against the interests of the nation that they oppose it? Is building houses against the interests of the nation that they spread false rumors among the people? You should understand from their deeds that they are corrupt and are agents of the foreigners and the colonialists and wish to derail us from our path. The colonialists literally saw how we became victorious only by unity of expression, and how they were not able to sustain the corrupt regime with all of their efforts in Iran.

Warning to the anti-Revolution

From now onward, you must be alert; you must be awake. You should not allow these people to infiltrate your ranks and thereby prevent you from reaching your destination. They do not have a proper perspective; they are not sympathetic to the people; they are the agents of the foreigners who have joined the ranks of the people in deceptive forms and do not want to allow Iran to be at peace, so that all sections of the masses can live in prosperity. They want to make hay while the sun shines for the benefit of the foreigners; they want to perpetuate plunder once again; they want to bring back the suppression and destroy our everything. You the gentlemen! You the youth! You, the various segments of the nation, should safeguard the secret that was the key to your victory, which is to safeguard your unity of expression. Put aside your differences and move ahead together in fraternity and with one voice toward the establishment of a government of Islamic justice for everyone—justice for all. These corrupt people must know that this is harmful for both our nation and themselves. If they succeed in sowing the

¹ Refer to footnote 1, Imam Khomeini's radio-TV message on April 1 [Farvardin 12], the Islamic Republic Day.

seeds of discord, God forbid, our nation will be destroyed. However, they must know that we shall deal with them in kindness as long as kindness is expedient and when our duty urges us, we shall deal with them differently and will settle some old scores with them.

I ask you the gentlemen; the whole nation of Iran; all the sections of the people of Iran; the respected students, the businessmen, the workers; the employers and all the nation to safeguard the unity of expression and not to permit these people to sow the seeds of discord among your ranks. Be aware that they are the agents of foreigners and wish to create chaos through various excuses. In the past few days, you witnessed how they poured on to the streets and closed down the schools and tricked the people by extremely flimsy excuses [While Mr. Taleqani himself was against it]¹ in order to create disturbances. They should note that they do not have the capability to sow the seeds of discord between us and the other gentlemen and that these gentlemen shall prevent these seeds of discords from being sown. With your sagacity, you the nation are duty bound to prevent this divisiveness. Our beloved youth in the universities and other schools are obligated to prevent these conspiracies from being hatched.

My beloved people! These conspiracies are against the Revolution, and those who plan them are anti-revolutionary. The slanderous allegations that they level in order to sow the seeds of discord are anti-revolutionary.

Safeguard the Islamic Revolution and keep this movement alive. May God bless you all and bless our nation with happiness and prosperity.

¹ For more information on Imams reference to Mr. Taleqani refer to the footnote 3 of the Imams speech of Farvardin 29, 1358 AHS in the presence of Mr. Mahdawi Kani and other committee officials of Tehran.

Speech

Time/Date: Friday morning, April 20, 1979 [Farvardin 31, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Role of Islam in the triumph of the Muslims; recommendations to the Saudi Arabian delegation

Audience: Members of a high-ranking Saudi Arabian delegation of theologians headed by MuHammad as-Sabil (congregational prayer leader of Masjid al-Haram), the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, and NaSir Minachi [Minister of Information and Propagation (Ministry of Guidance) and head of the Endowment Organization]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The mosque, the epicenter of the movement

I would like to thank this political delegation, and the respected congregational prayer leader,¹ and the nation of the Two Holy Shrines, Riyadh and the magnanimity of King Fahd² who sent you to meet us here. In Islam and at the advent of Islam, the mosque has always been the center of Islamic movements and uprisings. Islamic propagation would begin from the mosque; and the movement of the Islamic forces for the suppression of the infidels and bringing them under the flag of Islam would begin from the mosque. At the advent of Islam, the mosque was always the starting point of the movements and uprisings. You, who are from the residents and scholars of the mosque, must follow in the footsteps of the prophet of Islam and the companions of that great man, and must place the mosque in the service of the propagation of Islam and the Islamic movement, and for the amputation of the hands of the infidels and the polytheists and in favor of the oppressed in relation to the arrogant.

Role of Islam in the triumph of Muslims

Although we were devoid of any tools, and our nation had no firearms or weapons to fight with, by the Grace of the Almighty God we nevertheless managed to defeat the forces of evil through the force of faith and the unity of expression. In addition, I hope that all the Islamic nations arise, and with

¹ Muhammad-as-Sabil, then congregational prayer leader of Masjid al-Haram and head of the visiting delegation.

² King Fahd ibn Abd al-Aziz of Saudi Arabia.

the unity of expression and with regard to Islam and the power of faith, defeat the foreigners and those who want to subjugate these nations for all times and perpetuate their hold over them. The secret of the triumph of the Muslims at the advent of Islam was in their unity of expression and the power of faith. It was the power of faith that caused a weak army to overcome the great empires, and caused thirty people led by Khalid ibn Walid¹ to defeat an army of sixty thousand soldiers of the Roman Empire. It was the power of Islam that advanced them, and we Muslims must surge Islam ahead with the power of Islam.

We must fight with the forces of infidelity using Islamic power, and must sever the hands of the criminals from our respective countries. If there was Islamic unity of expression, and if the governments and nations of Islam were joined hand-in-hand with each other, it would have been absurd for approximately one billion Muslims to be subjugated by the big powers. If this power—the divine power—is augmented with the power of faith, and if all march together in goodwill, in the path of Islam, then no power will be able to defeat them.

The danger of Israel

With the differences that are noticeable in the regions—and especially in the Arabic regions—it is no wonder that a small nation like Israel is able to stand up and confront the Arabs with their large populations and facilities. If this source of immorality is not challenged, it will covet the whole region and will not be content only with Palestine and the Al-Aqsa Mosque.² It wants to annex the entire whole region.

It is imperative for the Muslims and Islamic governments to unite and exterminate this source of corruption from its roots and do not allow those who support them to do so. I beseech the Blessed and Almighty God to sustain the power of Islam, the glory of Islam and the Muslims, and their unity of expression.

Advice to the Saudis

¹ Companions of the Prophet (s) and the conquerors of the Byzantine Empire during the reign of Umar ibn al-Khattab.

² Masjid al-Aqsa: the site in Jerusalem where the Prophet ascended to heaven in the eleventh year of his mission (Quran, 17:1); also the complex of mosques and buildings erected on the site. The chief of these was extensively damaged by arson in 1969, two years after the Zionist usurpation of Jerusalem.

Our previous regime, in order to please its masters, brought disaster here; and especially with regard to the pilgrims to the Sacred House of God, created certain problems and occasionally said some things about the Saudis governmental officials that caused anxieties for the Iranians. Moreover, after his departure and the severance of his usurper hands, we are keen to see how the Saudi nation shall handle the Iranians who go on a pilgrimage to the House of God. Iranians are anxious to know how their brethren will treat them. And I hope, now that the hands of oppression have been shortened from this country and the obnoxious propaganda that they would indulge in has been eliminated, we should treat each other as brothers and act in a brotherly manner and provide the needed facilities for the *hajj* pilgrims. I beseech the Blessed and Almighty God for success in this regard.

Taking a lesson from history

We must learn lessons from history. When we review the history, we notice that in the course of the changes that have taken place in Islam and in Muslims, wherever the power of faith has been at work and the people and Muslims have relied on it, victory has been on their side. In addition, wherever the objective has been attaining worldly materials, victory has eluded them.

The teachings of the prophets and the Holy Prophet (S) are that you can move ahead with spiritual powers. Those spiritual powers, which were supporting the Muslims, and Gods angels that were also spiritual powers resulted in the domination of Muslims over all the cities of the world in less than half a century. We must learn from history. At the time when we had a strong government, such as the Ottoman government, it could resist the Soviet Union; it could resist Japan and sometimes defeat them. When our enemies prevailed, they cut this vast country into pieces, gave each one of their stooges a piece, and sowed the seeds of discord among them. This resulted in the weakening of Islam and the Muslims, and resulted in the prevailing of the colonialists. We must take a lesson from this fact; and our governments should take a lesson from this historical incident and resolve their differences. If they unite with one another, they will become so powerful that no power will be able to challenge them, of course, provided that they have complete faith. In addition, I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God to strengthen our faith and the faith of our governments and the faith of our nations and to help us to prevail over our problems. Moreover, I thank you and your friends. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 20, 1979 [Farvardin 31, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Danger posed by the small groups and the need to confront them

Audience: Thousands of tribal people and their representatives Staff of the police department of Ilam and Poshtkuh towns; the Khavari tribes of Khorasan Province; inhabitants of the border towns of Turbat Jam. Workers of Qum factories; employees of Bella Shoe Company; scouts and teachers of the towns of Varamin, Qazvin and Takestan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islam has not been practiced in Iran yet

I thank the youth and the pious people in whichever part of the country you are for your fervor and enthusiasm. With this zeal and fervor, you have carried the Islamic movement forward. In addition, I beseech the Blessed and Almighty God to sustain this zeal and fervor and to take this movement to its destruction. You, the youth of the nation and the strata of the society, have been faithful to Islam and have severed the hands of the foreigners who had prevailed over your country. Moreover, I implore the Blessed and Almighty God to exterminate some rotten vestiges that have remained from the previous regime with the capable hands of our prolific nation and youth. We have not reached our destination; we have not yet introduced Islam the way it should be. We have come to the point where we have only been able to sever the hands of plunderers and foreigners from our country and our resources to some extent, and have driven away the thieves from our country. Whereas the conspiracies are still in place, the corrupt roots are still there. With the efforts and the determination of you the youth of the nation, these conspiracies must be defused and these seditious hands must be severed.

The obligation for confrontation with the small groups and other conspirators

Wherever you are, wherever the people of Iran are, in every town they live; in every village and district, they should be fully alert to the activities of the conspirators. These have infiltrated the ranks of the people and now would like to put us under suppression and tyranny, and once more place us under the domination of their masters. We all have a divine-Islamic duty to safeguard this movement and not to allow this divine power to be plagued

with discord, and we should sever the hands of those who want to sow the seeds of discord among us. We all have an obligation because of the Islamic tenets, to drive away the conspirators from our country and not to let them infiltrate our ranks. You, brothers and sisters, be alert to the conspiracies of these individuals who wish to sow the seeds of disunity among you under various guises and pretexts. You should make sure to diffuse their treasons.

The groups and inspiration from America

Everyday, on one pretext or the other they drive a wedge among the people; everyday, they sow the seeds of discord among the ranks of the people by means of a machination. They go to the universities and by inhuman tactics in humane form organize the students to launch demonstrations against our movement. They are not sincere in these matters, they are not sympathetic to Islam, they are not in agreement with the theologians of Islam; they do not support the farmers; they do not support the workers; under no circumstance are they in favor of the nation and therefore they are against all the progressive forces. They do not want to allow this nation to attain welfare; they do not want to permit this country to be peaceful so that the government can perform its job—its development—its work. They do not want to let our agriculture to develop; they wish to make us always dependent on Americans aid so that all our things come from America. They do not want to allow our culture to grow and do not want the people who diffuse their treasons to grow; they do not want our economy to become healthy; they do not want to permit our army to become independent. These are the plots being hatched in Iran with inspiration from America and the likes of America. You must be alert. It does not suffice to vote for an Islamic Republic. They found out how weak they were in the referendum, and are so terrified that they are now thinking of plotting conspiracies that are more exact. You must keep an eye on their plots with total awareness. Our university youth should not be fooled by this corrupt and immoral section; they should not be fooled by their enticing words; they should not be influenced by their outwardly correct, but in reality, scheming words. All our youth have a duty to safeguard this Movement and to counteract the conspiracies of the traitors.

Warning to the nation regarding the tumults

All our tribes—from those of Poshtkuh to the others—have a duty to safeguard this movement. If God forbid, there is a flaw in this movement we must be prepared, God forbid, for greater suppression, for greater

dependence, greater hardship, humiliation, and for the torment of our youth and more killings of our youth. Beware! Brothers! Beware; O my brothers! Be alert and do not allow a bunch of ungodly individuals to drive a wedge among you and to wreak havoc in your ranks; do not allow them to wreak havoc on our agriculture in the name of support for the farmers and thereby create a market for America; do not allow them to subvert our culture under the guise of statements in favor of the culture and thereby prevent your growth and make our culture colonial; do not allow them to undermine the Islamic committees, do not allow them to weaken the Islamic Revolutionary Guards; do not permit them to weaken the Islamic military; do not let them weaken the Islamic Gendarmes; do not let them weaken the police forces—all of these are at the service of Islam and these devils want to weaken them. I am warning you, the people of Iran, that there is a danger lurking somewhere. Take preventive action! These devils create disturbance everyday; strangle them.

May God grant all of you health and happiness. May God sever the hands of traitors. May God sever the hand of the foreigners from our land.

Decree

Date: April 21, 1979 [Ordibehesht 1, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of a religious judge for Gorgan and environs

Addressee: Mr. Sayyid Kazim Nur-Mufidi

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 23, 1399 AH

His Eminence Mr. Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Kazim Nur-Mufidi, may his blessings last:

You are hereby appointed to the post of the religious judge of Gorgan and its environs, and for the execution of the divine punishments in accordance with the defined limits. I pray to the Almighty God for the continuation of your success and the glory of Islam and the Muslims. At the same time, it is imperative for you to exhort the people to maintain unity and discipline and to prevent them from differences and discord. May Gods peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: April 21, 1979 [Ordibehesht 1, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Investigation of Rasht town and its environs committees

Audience: Sadiq Ihsanbakhsh

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 23, 1399 AH

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Sadiq Ihsanbakhsh:

It is necessary that you with the cooperation and help of Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Abdullah Dīyai—may his blessings last long—investigate the workings of the committees of the town of Rasht and its environs and make refinements, and take steps to solve their financial difficulties. At the same time, exhort them to unity and solidarity and to shun differences and disunity; and cooperate and consult with the most learned religious scholars of the region—may their blessings last—I pray to the Almighty God for the continuation of everyones success. May Gods peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: April 21, 1979 [Ordibehesht 1, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Impoverishment of all strata of the nation at the hands of the Pahlavi regime

Audience: Representatives of the Kurdish clergymen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Creation of impoverishment by the Pahlavi regime

Since the time we have established some communications with the various tribes of the nation and various sections of the society who come to visit us, we have noticed that every section in whichever part of the country they reside, says that they were treated worse than all other places. The Bakhtiari tribesmen have come and told us that the worse treatment was meted out to them and they are more impoverished than all others are. From every part of Iran that they come from, from towns and villages—especially from the various tribes that are present in Iran—all of them mention that there is no place worse off than their own region. Moreover, this is because each individual sees his own region. All the regions are in the same situation. You consider Tehran, which is the capital of Iran, and the best of everything should be available there, about thirty neighborhoods—or perhaps a few more—are present in Tehran and on the outskirts of the city, who are slum-dwellers, who live in tents and are more than five persons to a family; they live in dungeons and have neither water nor electricity or asphalted roads. I have been told repeatedly that they are housed in dungeons that are fifty or more mud stairs below the street level. In those places the poor, wretched womenfolk who live in the dungeons must climb fifty to sixty steps in winter to fill their earthen pot with water and then climb down fifty to sixty more steps to take the water home and slip several times in the process until they are home with the water. There are no signs of civilization such as water, electricity, or asphalt in those places. This is how the situation of their homes that you see. That is in Tehran. Other cities are also the same. Towns, villages, and tribes are worse. Do not think that it is only you who were and are deprived; the regime of Shah brought deprivation to everyone. All cities, towns, villages, and districts were under pressure; everyone was under pressure; everyone lived in hardship. Do not think that these city and town folks have homes and so forth and were living in comfort in those times; no,

they too were under pressure; they were faced with problems; imprisonments and tortures. In the prisons, they would saw off the limbs of our clergymen! Our clergymen who we can point out who had their feet saved off. Do not presume that only your clergymen were in trouble. They roasted some of the prisoners alive in huge frying pans and gave them electric shocks.

They did this to human beings who were alive. This is how the regime behaved. Moreover, they tormented you, the whole nation, and us for fifty years and more in this way. Prior to being the source of your miseries, we were ravaged by their all-out troubles.

Two reminiscences from the reign of Rida Khan

I have two reminiscences of my own experiences of these troubles. One of them was narrated to me by my friend—God bless his soul—the late Haj Shaykh Abbas Tehrani when he was in the town of Arak and wanted to go to Qum. He recalled that he went to hire a cab but was told by the driver that they had pledged not to transport two types of passengers, namely: prostitutes and the clergymen. This was during the reign of the foremost evil—Rida Khan Pahlavi; that is how he treated the clergy. The second one was when I myself was sitting in a car in which several passengers were sitting. The car ran out of gas on the way. I was a Sayyid and another Shaykh cleric was accompanying me. The driver remarked that the car had run out of gas because of the presence of the Shaykh cleric. He regarded the presence of a cleric in his car as ominous and blamed the running out of gas on the presence of a spiritual cleric. This is how the situation was gentlemen.

Unmentionable facts from the Pahlavi era

Do not assume that you, our Sunni brethren were only affected; we too were afflicted. The city, the villages, the hamlets everywhere was afflicted. There are so many unspeakable facts. Pay attention! Pay attention! We had some shocking information. Our women had knowledge of information that was a disgrace to the history. You do not know what events have taken place here. Here in Qum itself—the center of spirituality—you cannot imagine what they did and how they brought out the women to celebrate on the streets. And forced them to celebrate the abolition of the veil. You cannot imagine what they did to us!

Now it is by the grace of God, by the Divine power and with the courage of all sections of the people that nobody can say, “It was me” alone; everyone was present, everyone hand in hand. Nor can everybody say, “it was us”; it was faith; it was the power of God. If the power of God were not

present, it would not have been possible to smash the big powers. The nation had nothing; it had blood and fists, and nothing else. Thus, it was the power of faith that caused the people to regard martyrdom as a great victory. This power, which regards martyrdom as a great victory, was responsible for Iran's triumph over the superpowers of the world. All the powers of the world supported him. I was aware of things. I received a continuous stream of messages from America, and everyone was fully behind him. However, it was the power of faith of the people that triumphed.

A prison of 35 million people

Now the nation of ours, our nation of 35 million people, has been set free from a prison. Moreover, if there were a prison of 35 million people whose doors were closed and had walls of such and such height and construction, if this cage was to break open and people were to rush out, what would be the situation like? It would be a situation of anarchy and chaos. This is how Iran is now. It is a situation of anarchy; it is a situation of chaos. They destroyed our everything and decamped. In other words, they emptied the treasury. They emptied all the banks and departed. Now every bank is each owed a few hundred million dollars by this family. They took away everything. They took away our culture; they weakened our spiritual institutions and left; they destroyed our culture; they ruined our economy and departed; they destroyed our agriculture and went away; they took away our everything. Now that they have decamped with our everything, we like prisoners who have suddenly broken free from the cage and have come out and each is running in a particular direction, and in a particular place, we have become aware of our own predicaments.

Cooperation of the nation in reconstruction

We should note that such a problem could not be solved immediately. It is not possible to solve such a problem that was created in a century, half a century, fifty or more years by them who ruined our institutions, in one, two, or four months. It is not that they are not thinking about you; rather it is because right now they cannot think of anybody. You perceive that they did something for other lands and did not do anything for you. No, they cannot, the issue is an important one; we must all unite hand-in-hand; we must give ourselves some time; we must cooperate with one another. If I, a cleric, do not co-operate with these respected theologians, with you gentlemen and do not support the government and do not unite together, then we cannot rebuild these ruins. It is a ruin now; it is all in ruins.

The major subject of Iran was agriculture. In the name of “Land Reform”,¹ they completely destroyed our agriculture and Iran became a market whose hands are perpetually outstretched toward the foreign governments—especially America—to give us wheat, barley, and whatsoever. While, if Iran itself engages in agriculture, it should be in a position of exporting product to other countries and not buying from them. They destroyed everything of ours. They destroyed our animal husbandry; our pastures, pastures that in the opinion of the foreigners themselves, were supposed to be the richest pastures for animal husbandry; and the very best pastures for animal husbandry that are located in a place whose name I cannot recall were given to the Queen of England and some of her friends, and I do not know... in what condition they are in now. They destroyed all our pastures in the name of nationalization. They deprived the people of their own rights, plundered everything, and left the country. Likewise, they sold our forests, in the name of nationalization, to the foreigners and earned huge profits. Regarding crude oil too, you all know how they took all our oil and gave us nothing in return. Now our government has not received the payment for the oil it has exported. Oil has been exported but the money shall be received later.

It is not that the government is not thinking about you now and is concerned about us; or, it is not for example thinking about Baluchistan province but is only concerned about Tehran; or is not concerned about Kurdistan province. No, they are thinking about everywhere but the issue is still premature; it requires patience. We were patient for more than fifty years in relation to these catastrophes and grinned and bore it. Now also we must

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.

bear in patience, and allot time spans and help to set things right. Labor should be set right. Now they pour into the factories and prevent the labor from being corrected; they invade our agriculture and subvert it; and they pour into our schools and prevent them from re-opening. They have ruined every place. Now also, the last vestiges that have remained are not leaving us alone in peace so that the government can carry out its duties in peace.

Absence of discrimination in Islam

You should know that Islam is not for a single stratum; Islam is not for a single clan; Islam is universal; Islam is for humankind, for the human being, for all. Do not think that there is discrimination in Islam; in Islam, there is no discrimination. Do not presume that those who are at the centers or theologians who are at the centers of learning are discriminative. It is not so at all. We all are together and are brothers. Moreover, this uprising offered the scope to you brothers and we brothers to be all seated together and present our various points of view. However, you should not think that we are not concerned about you and are sitting down and doing something for ourselves and not for you. Not at all! Such a thing is absolutely out of the question in the Islamic Republic. However, the situation is one of chaos and anarchy that needs time to resolve.

Provisional government

I assure you that when our government comes to office, all of you will ascertain your own fate; at present we are in the midst of our path and do not have a government in office, right now it is a provisional government¹ that is in power. We should seek an independent government in which you all can vote; all of you should ascertain your own destiny. After we have ascertained our own destiny by voting for individuals of our own choice then they will form a government comprising of individuals who have been elected by us; a government that belongs to the whole nation. The government of the whole nation is one that is legitimate and God willing, Islamic. God willing, it will incorporate Islamic power and Islamic tenets. Then you will see that the question is not at all a question of discrimination, separatism, and so forth. This was not an issue at the advent of Islam and neither will it be now. If someone entered this country illegally for some days and made sabotages, it should not be associated with us. God willing, when the Islamic government comes to power, then God willing, all of us, all of you will live in welfare. Moreover, I send my greetings to the brothers on whose behalf you have

¹ It refers to the provisional government of Mahdi Bazargan.

come here, and I ask them to be a little more patient. May God bless all of you.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 21, 1979 [Ordibehesht 1, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Stress on the main problems of the Revolution; the need to crush the internal enemies and small groups

Audience: Groups of teachers and students from Kermanshah and Hamedan; a number of residents of Hamedan and sixty representatives of clerics community of Tehran (Association of Clergymen of Tehran).

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

Stress on the main problems of the Revolution

I pray to God for the success and happiness of all sections of the nation as well as you the men and women present in here.

At present, you have attended to the secondary issues before attending to the principal issues.¹ The principal issues that are amongst us need to be resolved prior to resolving the secondary problems. It is like when we cry out for the need to unite together in order to break down the firm barriers that the foreigners and their stooges have erected for us, you instead talk of setting right the universities or setting things right at the seminaries. This talk is inopportune at that instant. Now too it is the same. At present, you are faced with such problems that if those are not resolved, these problems cannot be resolved. At present, you are faced with deviations that they are inciting in order to lead our country astray and revert it to its previous condition. Unless these deviations and these betrayals are not stopped and destroyed, the secondary issues will not be resolved. The issues that you now mentioned and explained are for a time when we have triumphed over the outsiders and have driven them out. Now we are in the middle of our way; we have not reached our destination, the poison still lingers; separating the nation from religious scholars is one of them. The issues that you mentioned are useful at the appropriate time but for now they are harmful. If we pursue these issues now, some of them will result in conflict among the people. We want to solve these issues at the appropriate time. Now, it is the time for us to resolve the main issues, which is to sever the hands of the stooges of the foreigners who are present in large numbers among the nation. We must now think on

¹ It refers to the words of the students representative.

this issue. Other than that, to ponder on other issues is nothing other than reflecting on a secondary issue that will not be settled until the main one is settled.

Obstructionism by the groups at the instigation of America

You can see that they are creating difficulties now that we wish to correct all the problems that we inherited from the era of the corrupt former regime. They are causing disturbances in schools; they are preventing our youth from pursuing their education. Everyday on one pretext or the other they take them to the streets. They will not allow farming; they will not allow the agriculture to realize its potential; they cause trouble and prevent farming. They do not allow our economy to remain healthy. They do not let our workers to work and our factories to hum with activity; who are these people? Are they being sympathetic to our nation that they do not wish to see the restoration of peace in this land? Is development possible without peace? Is it possible to solve our affairs and difficulties while being in a nervous strain and fighting an alien power and turmoil? Is it possible to engage in development with all the corruption and destruction that these people have wreaked all over the country, at times in Kurdistan, sometimes in Baluchistan and at times in other parts? Is it possible to set right an issue that has been a problem for fifty odd years? Or is it possible for a country that has been on the path of destruction for the past fifty-plus years to be rectified immediately? Is it possible to settle these problems in an instant? They, the stooges of the foreigners, do not give us time; they will not give us the time to find the intellectual individuals to accomplish the tasks. In various guises, with negative propaganda, they hinder the restoration of peace. And unless there is peace, no development is possible; unless there is peace, our factories will not hum with activity; unless there is peace, our agriculture will not improve; unless there is peace, our culture will not be reformed; unless there is peace, our clergymen will not be reformed. Putting forward these issues at this stage will only cause disunity and nothing else. Try to put forward the main issue.

O my dear youth! O my beloved! Ladies! Gentlemen! Be aware that the hands of conspiracy are at work. They get their inspiration from outside and are hell bent on not allowing this country to live in peace, and on not allowing reforms to take place. In your opinion, is the construction of homes for farmers and workers an anti-national activity? They are even opposing this. They are opposed to this house-construction. Was the referendum an anti-national matter? Was it a concept related to foreigners? Was any

government involved in it? Was the hand of any power involved in it? Why were not they allowing the referendum to take place? Why did they boycott the referendum? Why did they set fire to ballot boxes in certain places?¹ Because they do not want the nation to be in peace, they do not want the nation to decide its own fate. If the nation was to decide its own fate it would not allow America to plunder all its resources; the Soviet Union on one side, America on another side, and England on the other side. The nation would not permit the power of our youth to be wasted, whereas they want this to happen.

Unity in order to sever the hands of traitors

Now, all our thoughts must be concentrated on severance of the hands of these traitors; and the activities they are engaged in around the country under different names, under different excuses—these are what we must remove. After we have redressed this, it would be the time for us to redress the secondary issues and engage in other activities. As long as the roots of foreigners are present here, and as long as the corrupt roots of the former regime are present here, you cannot undertake any revolutionary activity. We are in the midst of the Revolution and we must exterminate the roots of these people. We have not attained victory; and only after we have attained it those issues will crop up. We are now in the middle of the path; we are at present engaged in a struggle. Moreover, gentlemen, be aware and take care that your minds are not misguided by them toward secondary issues under the pretext of working for the benefit of the laborers or schools. These are the things that they do not want to see happening, but now they would like to expound them in various forms deliberately to prevent peace from being restored in Iran. Otherwise, we want to start house-building, but they hinder it; the government wants to set agriculture in motion, and to start the factories, but they are a hindrance. You must first destroy these obstacles. First, the enemy must be wiped out and then plans must be put forward.

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God to help all the men, all the students, and all the respected women of the country. I request everyone to desist from sowing the seeds of discord and do not allow such individuals in their midst; individuals who show a reformist face, whereas in reality seek to sow the seeds of discord among them.

May Gods peace and mercy be upon you.

¹ Imam Khomeinis radio-TV message on April 1, 1979 [Farvardin 12], (Islamic Republics day).

Speech

Date: Morning April 22, 1979 [Ordibehesht 2, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Holy struggle of the people of Iran; conspiracy against the clergy

Audience: A group of the personnel of the ground forces and gendarmes, a group of the residents of Tabriz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islamic Revolution of Iran on the path of salvation of humanity

I thank the various strata of the people of Iran for their indefatigable holy struggle. Not only has it enhanced the image of the Shiah school but also enhanced the image of Islam, rather it enhanced the image of mankind. Those who chant slogans in favor of human rights have done nothing for mankind. Those who shout slogans in favor of “freedom” just in words have done no service to human beings. These different fronts¹ did nothing for the people. Those who did something and are the source of salvation for mankind are the holy struggles of the people of Iran. The holy struggles of the people of Iran with trust in Islam and will of God the Almighty rescued us and will rescue us henceforth, too.

The holy struggles of you, the youth and the prolific Muslims of Iran—of all strata—who with the unity of expression severed the hands of foreigners, are a role model for all the oppressed. I hope that all the oppressed people, who are subjugated by the arrogant oppressors, will be awakened because of your struggles and liberate themselves. You are the guardians of Islam; the people of Iran are the guardians of Islam. And just like the advent of Islam, that the companions of the holy prophet and the army of the honorable prophet were the guardians of Islam and the Quran, today the people of Iran have been bestowed with this honor. Everyone cried out for Islam; everyone cried out for an Islamic Republic, everyone wanted Islam; and the nation severed the hands of foreigners from this country with the cry of “God is the greatest”. Without having any weapons of war, they annihilated the huge army of the *taghuti* forces—both the *taghuti* army as well as those of the foreigners that supported them—with the cry of “God is the greatest”.

¹ Such as the National Front of Iran, Irans Democratic Front, etc.

Those of our military personnel, who were pure and were not tainted with the filth of the *taghuti* regime, returned to the fold of the people, and joined them. Right now, our military, our gendarmerie forces—all of them—our police forces, our security forces are at the service of Islam; and all that was related to the *taghuti* regime has been buried and shall be buried. Today, you are free and have no fear of the tyrants or of the government, because the government is Islamic and it neither commits treason nor engages in tyranny.

The clergy, impregnable fortress of Islam

Today, those individuals, who saw that it was the clergy who led the uprising—the clergy from all sections of the nation were at the forefront and the rest of the nation followed behind them—and rose in revolts for the sake of Islam and for the sake of the glorious Quran, seek to challenge the clergy. Those who had no role in this movement are today critical of the clergy and say that the clergy should not be involved. This is a vain expectation of vain individuals or of treacherous individuals. The clergy is present at the forefront among us and we are their followers. Our nation follows the clergy; and if the clergy were not involved, this uprising would not have attained fruition. I advise all those who wish to work for their own country and love their country, not to break up this divine line. The break-up of this line is the break up of the Quran; the break up of this line is the break up of Islam. If the banner of Islam is not present in the midst of our nation, then until the very end our nation will be the slave of others and at their service. Those who love their own country should not demolish this fortress—and will not be able to demolish it. The nation is with the clergy; those who are in favor of Islam are also in favor of the servants of Islam¹. If certain persons have entered the realm of the clergy illegitimately and are immoral it is not the fault of the clergy, those persons are ostracized. Whereas those who, because of taking inspiration from others or because of their own foolishness, presume that they can smash this solid stronghold are mistaken. This stronghold is a divine one; this fortress is a Godly one. The patron of this is the Imam of the Time—may Gods peace be upon him. They should set aside these irrelevant talks. The nation cannot tolerate it... do not constantly call the clergy reactionary. This is wrong; the treacherous individuals will take away your country if these Clergies are not present. We all saw that in all lands the clergies—the devout clergies—were at the forefront and urged the people to join the uprising and the people also obeyed. Do not assume that

¹ The clergy.

you can demolish this fortress. Do not demolish Islam; do not demolish the Quran. Be careful of what you say; be reasonable; do not betray Islam. I humbly thank all the sections of the people. I am at your service. The clergy are at the service of Islam and at the service of the nation. Protect this citadel so that your country be saved.

Warning to the nationalists

I enjoin all the sections of the people to believe in themselves and to take care of not becoming tools in the hands of the others. Those who talk of “human rights” should not do something that eliminates our rights. Those who talk of “democracy” should not do something to eliminate our freedom—and they cannot do so. I warn them to remain in their places. Do not indulge in something that will cause us to exercise our divine obligation.

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the health and prosperity of the whole nation, and hope that with unity of expression, with consensus and with safeguarding divine ideals, we can be at the service of the Quran, and with the help of God, we shall triumph over our problems.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 22, 1979 [Ordibehesht 2, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Bond between the nation and the law enforcement forces; the need to shun discord

Audience: Four-hundred personnel of the gendarmerie accompanied by the students of the officers training institutions of the gendarmerie

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I thank all the branches of the police forces and you the honorable young men of the gendarmerie. From now on, you are Islamic forces; you are the gendarmerie of Islam. You are of Iran and Iran is of you. We are all the guardians of Islam; we are all the guardians of the country. On behalf of the nation, I announce my solidarity and the solidarity of the nation with the security forces. The law enforcement forces are from us, and we are from them. The police forces are the protectors of the independence of our country, we are behind them, and our nation is behind them. If the enemies sow the seeds of discord among us, it would be to the detriment of the country. You all must be vigilant and should not allow discord to take place. The nation should be alert that there is no disunity between them and the law enforcement forces. The law enforcement forces should be alert that there is no division between them and the nation. They must maintain discipline and the chain of command among themselves. If they want to serve the nation and Islam, they must maintain law and order and observe the chain of command.

We all are from you and you are from us. Moreover, we are all the guardians of Islam and all are brothers. It is not like during the era of the *taghuti* regime when they had created a rift between you and us. They were the outsiders who wanted to separate the law enforcement forces from the people. They made the people afraid of the law enforcement forces; Law enforcement forces are from us. We should not be afraid of them, and neither must they be afraid of us. There is no fear at work; we are brothers. Brothers do not fear one another; they are all at the service of each other, and we all are at the service of Islam. Moreover, it is hoped that you will protect the frontiers and boundaries of the country with power, strength, and glory; and the maintenance of law and order in the society be indebted to your services.

May Gods peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 22, 1979 [Ordibehesht 2, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reason for the overthrow of the 2500-year-old regime; airing of grievance and gratitude to France

Audience: Shamsuddin Amir Alayi (First Ambassador of Islamic Republic of Iran to France)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Overthrow of the 2500-year-old regime by divine will

This (Revolution) was not an act of human beings; it was the work of God. Humankind can free a city or a region, but it cannot set into motion a society in such a manner that it overthrows a 2,500-year-old monarchy with bare hands. On 25 November—the birthday of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi—in the grand bazaar of Tehran, nobody could dare not to hang a flag out of fear of the police! So how is it possible to regard such a massive uprising as a work of human beings? It was a divine did; it was the work of God. All the sections and classes of the people united and exterminated this criminal regime from its roots and began a struggle against colonialism. In addition, because the Great God was behind this nation, the task was completed and the Revolution triumphed.

Desperate moves

This land belongs to you; it is your own country. Today every person must act and perform his duty according to his share. You did not take a step backward and with resistance and help, managed to rid your country of the evil of the treacherous Muhammad Rida. With all the power, money, and backing of the aliens, he could not offer resistance vis-à-vis the faith of the people who fought with their bare hands against the tanks, guns, and bayonets.

Still, colonialism does not leave these people alone, and in every nook and corner of the country, we hear of ominous problems. However, because the Great God is the guardian of the people of Iran, these conspiracies too will be nullified. These are desperate moves. They are nobodies; they are insignificant. At the time, that they had weapons and were being supported, they did not do anything worthwhile and the people got rid of them; whereas now, when we are armed and the nation is our defender, we have no fear.

Who is this minor person¹ to incite trouble; he does not have the talent for these sorts of things. God is always with the oppressed, and right has always prevailed over wrong, and faith has always triumphed. Our genuine Revolution—that advanced with bare hands in the face of weaponry and force—triumphed with the help of the benevolent God, and our Revolution overthrew the *taghuti* monarchy. With trust in God, unity of expression, and the effort of the sons of this soil, we shall together rebuild this country. The foreigners are nobody.

Claimants of the defenders of human rights

The foreigners talk of human rights. Which humans do they mean? They (those who were executed) killed humanity, they are criminals, they were not the accused; they killed human beings. We thank our French friends for treating us hospitably during our stay in that country, and they gave me the opportunity to send my messages to the dear people of Iran. However, I did not expect our French friends to lecture us on human rights for the sake of a few criminals, traitors and thieves, and to criticize us on the pretext of human rights.² In addition, rebuke and censure us in the name of defending human rights in the genuine Revolution of Iran, in which by Gods will, an oppressed nation said “Yes” to the call of truth. It would have been good if they had come to the defense of human rights when the corrupt Pahlavi regime was trampling it and torturing and killing thousands of the youth of this country; it would have been good if they had come to the help of the oppressed people of Iran and defended human rights, and not to attack us for the sake of a few criminals and murderers, the like of whom have been rare in the history of mankind. We executed a few inhuman persons. What else are human rights then?

I thank the people of France for the opportunity they gave me to relay the cry of the people of Iran to the world; and to relay my messages from the free country of France to a nation that has been struggling with oppression for 2,500 years in order to free itself from the long years of oppression.

¹ Shahpur Bakhtiyar.

² It is a reference to the “Union of French judges” and French lawyers as “Historical Heroes for the Defense of Human Rights,” who along with some other organizations protested against the revolutionary executions in Iran. See: footnote 1, radio-TV message of Imam Khomeini on the occasion of the Islamic Republic Day (April 1, 1979 [Farvardin 12, 1358 AHS]).

Speech

Date: Evening, April 22, 1979 [Ordibehesht 2, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The honor of the mutual bond between the military and the nation; announcement of general amnesty in the armed forces and the police forces

Audience: Six-hundred commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the artillery center of Isfahan

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

An auspicious day

I regard today as an auspicious day; I regard it as a happy day. Before noon, a large number of our friends, our military brethren, our brothers in the gendarmerie came to meet with us. Now, my dear friends and the respected military personnel of Isfahan have come to visit us. I regard this day as auspicious and happy for the reason that the military has managed to win the hearts of the people and is well respected and warmly welcomed by the people. I regard this day as auspicious from the point of view that previously and in the era of the *taghuti* regime, our military was distanced from the people and even more distanced from the clergy. Today, the military is in the heart of the nation and alongside the clergy, such that they were received here at the instance of Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Jalaluddin Tahiri—may God Almighty assist him. It is unprecedented for a cleric to participate in the army and a military parade. The military was separated from the nation and the people were separated from the military. Moreover, this was a great treachery that the previous regime committed and divided us—the brothers—from one another. Today is an auspicious day that the army has embraced the nation and sees itself submerged in the sea of humanity and the people receive them like brothers. Neither are they disgusted with the people, nor are the people disgusted with them. Unlike previously, when the people were made to fear the military and the rest of the law enforcement forces such that the people felt uncomfortable at their very sight. In addition, they had reared the military in such a way that their sentiments in relation to the nation were other than the sentiments of today. Today, you feel happy to be in the embrace of the nation; and the nation feels happy to be in your embrace; and both feel happy to be in this fraternal gathering together. In addition, I feel

proud that this army is mixed and bonded with the people just like two brothers. This is cause for pride.

The military at the advent of Islam

This is precisely what Islam wants. At the advent of Islam, the army of Islam and the people were united and had no conflict. They were from the people. Later on, the tyrannical kings and especially recently, because of the propaganda that they launched—propaganda done by the foreigners and the agents of that decadent regime—divided you from us and divided the nation from you. They divided the people from one another; they divided the university students from the seminary students; they wanted to divide the business class from both of them. By the grace of God, an opportunity was created whereby all are now united by the blessings of the Almighty God, and all are gathered together in fraternity and in a friendly atmosphere; in an atmosphere fraught with joy and celebration. This day is an auspicious day; this day is a happy and a great day.

General amnesty

And with regard to the subject of amnesty that Mr. Tahiri mentioned, it is exactly as he stated... those that were criminals; those who were traitors; they have been and will be punished. And with regard to the army, gendarmerie, and likewise the rest of the echelons of the security forces, the police, all over the country if ... God forbid, they have committed a minor crime, a minor sin we will forgive this, and God the Blessed and Almighty has pardoned them because of their return to the fold of Islam and the embrace of the Imam of the Time. May Gods peace be upon him. And we as followers of the Imam of the Time—may Gods peace be upon him—have granted a general pardon and have forgiven those individuals who have committed minor crimes and indulged in, God forbid, certain lesser sins. May God grant all of you honor, glory, and strength.

Invitation to steadfastness and resistance

My brothers! Be alert to the fact that at this point of time, at this moment of time; the devils want to drive a wedge between you and us; between you and the rest of the law enforcement forces; between the various strata of the nation and to exploit this division. Moreover, in their own figments of imagination the devils facilitate the return to the previous situation even if it is in a modified form. However, you must with sagacity and awareness, negate their treachery and stand-up against them like a mountain and not

permit them to create disorder in your society; in the great barricade that you have erected; and in this society; and in the unity of expression that you have, do not let them infiltrate your ranks for, if, God forbid, they infiltrate your ranks it can perhaps create a problem and difficulty for us.

May God grant all of you honor, health and happiness and cause you to become brothers and companions with the nation and the nation with you so that nobody can create a rift in this relationship of friendliness.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 22, 1979 [Ordibehesht 2, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Need to safeguard the bond between the army and the nation and uphold the chain of command in the army

Audience: A group of the personnel of the Second Central Infantry Division

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Plot to divide the military from the nation

Greetings to you the gallant soldiers of Islam. Today, we all are the guardians of Islam; the whole nation is the custodian of Islam. You the armies are from the nation and the nation is from you. I thank you for helping us in our hour of need; and we expect you to help our nation in the time of hardship because the nation is from you. Negate the plots of the conspirators in the same way that the nation does.

Those who want to drive a wedge between you and the nation are not of Islam; they are anti-Revolutionary. Today, you are the soldiers of Islam; you are the army of Islam. It is obligatory for all of us to accord you, the prolific young men, our respects. The nation must support you and you should support the nation. Elements of the army and the nation are not distinct. The *taghuti* regime wanted to drive a wedge between you and us. Thanks to God, the *taghuti* regime is not in power anymore. Moreover, the military is an Islamic military, and you are our offspring.

I implore the Blessed and Almighty God to grant our nation awareness and you, our young men, sagacity. And I hope those who want to drive a wedge between the nation and our army do not succeed in their plot. Neither are they of us, nor are we of them; the army is of us and we of the army.

Upholding the chain of command in the military

I request the non-commissioned officers, the officers, and the troops to maintain discipline and uphold the chain of command. Because if the chain of command is not upheld the military will slide into weakness and if, God forbid, our military becomes weak the whole country will be weakened; Islam will be weakened. Uphold the chain of command. The military personnel and those of rank should be compassionate vis-à-vis the soldiers. They should be lenient and the soldiers should obey them—with observance of the chain of command.

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for your success and happiness and a strong military power. All the armed forces are from us, and we the nation are from them. We are not separate from one another; we are brothers. May God grant all of you success. Peace and salutations of God be upon you. Salutations of God be upon you soldiers of the nation and upon the whole nation.

May Gods peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Message

Date: April 22, 1979 [Ordibehesht02, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Women at the forefront of the Islamic Movement

Audience: Women of southern Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

On Sunday, April 22 [Ordibehesht 2 AHS], a large gathering of women from southern Tehran came to see me as well as to help in house building in the provincial city of Qum for which I thank them. And because, prior to them, other groups had also come and I had gotten tired after my meeting with them, and the large gathering had also resulted in my inability to talk with the respected ladies; therefore, I apologize to them.

I humbly respect all strata of the people and especially the women who had and have an important role in this sacred struggle. I regard the women to be at the vanguard of this movement, and I have repeatedly said that women have a greater claim over Islam—especially the women of southern Tehran. They are the inspiration for the Islamic uprising and the leader of the rest of the strata. I pray to the Almighty God for the health and happiness of all. I hope that Almighty God and the Leader of the nation, the Imam of the Time—may Allah expedite his advent—will note the outstanding contributions you have made towards house-building. I express my salutations to the great people of Iran and the great women.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: April 23, 1979 [Ordibehesht 3, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The sinister plots of the enemies

Audience: Logistics commanders of the army

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mischief making of colonialism

Previously—at the beginning of the Revolution way back in 1962—our business was with the theologians of the land and we were kept well away at a distance from you gentlemen—and this was done deliberately. They wanted to make sure that there was no realization of unity among the various strata of the nation; they were fearful of this unity. Now too, they feel that if the people were to unite; if the various factions should become one; even the superpowers would not be able to confront them. For this reason, we must now be very vigilant; and with utmost sagacity and with utmost vigilance be alert to any event that may, God forbid, take place. Now again, the foreigners are not at rest and they have fixed their eyes on our resources avariciously. Now that they are seeing that their hands have been severed, they want to create disturbance from various fronts. Just as we are witnessing, they create one mischief after another, every time with a different name they create turmoil. You and we must be careful of these tumults and not let them grow.

Now, Iran belongs to you; it belongs to the Iranians. Just as previously it was not of ours, each one of our resources was plundered and taken away by a clan, and we were very dependent. I hope that this movement reaches its final destination with the support of all strata of the people. In other words, now the situation is far worse than what it was before the victory. Now, the people have reverted to their normal circumstances, and now they are concerned about their own lives such that some disturbances have occurred in the country—in all parts of the country. On the other hand, treacherous hands are at work to prevent this movement from reaching that ultimate point of destination. We must strive with all our powers to maintain this movement at its peak strength, and to carry it forward with the zeal and fervor that the people have so that the next stages take place and the government of the Islamic Republic be installed, and the people have control over their affairs, and all the various powers be installed in their own positions, and order be

restored in this country; a country that has vast resources, and is wealthy; a country whose agriculture must produce far greater than its needs and must be export-oriented, a country that must have everything—now we are seeing that it is in a mess from every aspect. Moreover, these unjust rulers of the Pahlavi era created a mess of Iran from every aspect and were charged with keeping this nation backward, and with keeping it backward in every way. Moreover, I hope that with the brave efforts of all the strata of the people—a single section cannot perform all the tasks—this country will move forward. All the sections must unite; the clergy must be united; the armed forces must also be united; the nation must unite with the army and the clergy—all must be together and perform this task together.

I implore and beg the Blessed and Almighty God to awaken all the sections of our nation and make them focus on the main tasks; and that Islam retains its glory; and the nation of Islam and the country of Islam attain an exalted status; and we are totally liberated from the subjugation of the stooges of our enemies. And that these rotten roots that remain are also exterminated so that Islam and the country can belong to us and we ourselves work within it and we ourselves use the God given bounties. In addition, your expressing your readiness to solve these problems is gratifying and I thank you. Of course, all of us must take action to solve these problems, especially regarding the weak and the downtrodden, every one according to his capacity. May God grant you health and glory.

Speech

Date: April 23, 1979 [Ordibehesht 3, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Holding fast to the rope of God

Audience: A gathering of the personnel of the naval base of the North

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Clinging to the Rope of God

This is the command of Islam; Islam has ordained and commanded in the Quran: “*Cling to the Rope of God together and do not disperse.*”¹ All together—all the sections together—cling to the rope of God and heed the call of the Great God. With faith in God, we must all move ahead together. Disobeying this divine command is a crime, is a sin. We must all be together. All our forces must be united; the naval forces, the air force, the ground forces, and the nation—all are from one another. The armed forces and the national forces are a unit force. All must hold fast to the rope of God. By clinging to the rope of God, we have advanced and we will advance.

Role of the military and the police forces in the Revolution

You the law enforcement forces also played a big role in this movement. They had given you a bad name and had alienated you from the nation. You revealed your true self in the course of the uprising and showed that you are with the nation and with Islam. The nation too, has welcomed you warmly, and shall do the same now. You were never part of these groups that you are now witnessing and never saw yourself among your own brethren. It is by the blessing of this movement that you are seeing yourself in the midst and in the embrace of your own brothers. We have achieved a great success; this is a great blessing that we have reaped from this great movement that brothers have found each other; one line, one closely bound line of the armed forces and the force of the nation. We are all from a single line and must stay the same. It is a commandment of Islam that, “all must cling to the rope of God”. We must not be scattered; we should not be alienated from one another. The very thought of division is wrong; do not destroy this unity, do not quell this movement; do not betray Islam. All the forces must join so that they can show resistance in the face of the forces that are from Satan—from the

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103.

foreigners. You saw how you were able to rout the great powers with your unity of expression; safeguard this strength. If God forbid, there is a breach in this strength, we should be prepared for a catastrophe. May God be with all of you. May God be with our country. The Imam of the Time, may Gods peace be upon him, is behind this nation. I thank all the respected residents of Gilan and all the strata of the people of Iran and the residents of the town of Bandar Anzali, and I regard the personnel of the naval force as my own brothers.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 23, 1979 [Ordibehesht 3, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The unbreakable bond between the law enforcement forces and the people

Audience: A gathering of the police personnel; representatives of the people of Saveh town

In the Name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful

You the gentlemen, who have been kind enough to visit me, are welcome. The religious scholars of Saveh, the rest of the sections and the police personnel are welcome. These are the days when all the sections must be brothers and equals. Formerly, the police was alienated from the theologians, the people, and from us. Nevertheless, today, the police forces are in the midst of the people and are from amongst them. In addition, the people want the law enforcement forces to protect their city and are from among them. The religious scholars regard them with a positive view, and the rest of the sections, regard them as their own brothers. I hope that this unity of expression—that is present among the various sections of our nation—will stay, and with reliance on unity of expression, the movement of Islam will be driven forward; and with the establishment of a government of Islamic justice, all the sections will attain their respective rights.

The foreigners should not assume that they can create a breach in our national solidarity. This national solidarity is a divine one; the hands of the Blessed and Almighty God have created it. Islam is our leader; the Glorious Quran is our leader. The Glorious Quran has urged us to be united; Islam teaches us to be united. We are the followers of Islam. The nation of Iran advanced this movement with this solidarity and faith in Islam; and our people will not give away this secret. Do not sow the seeds of discord; be brothers and equals together. I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God to cause this whole nation to surge forward in peace and with unity of expression, and that which the Almighty God wants and that is the general welfare and overall happiness of mankind—the general health of mankind; the spiritual happiness of mankind—shall, God willing, be realized. I pray to Him for the health and happiness of all of you.

May peace be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 23, 1979 [Ordibehesht 3, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need for Revolutionary Guards

Audience: Members of the Revolutionary Guards Corps of Tehran (Khorasan Square region)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I thank the people of Iran in general, and the Revolution Guards in particular and you the Revolutionary Guards of Khorasan Square of Tehran. It was you the Revolutionary Guards who guarded Iran in difficult times and prevailed over those people who wanted to crush the movement of ours. I must express my thanks to you. May God protect you. May you be protected in the realm of the Imam of the Time. After this too, we still need them great Revolutionary Guards forces. Islam has set its eyes on these young men and has expectations of them; expectations of victory and help; expectations of the defeat of the plots of conspirators. May God grant all of you health and happiness.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Statements

Time/Date: 9:30 pm, April 24, 1979 [Ordibehesht 4, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to support the Islamic Revolution and solidarity of governments and nations

Occasion: Intimation of the congratulatory message of Fidel Castro (Leader of the Revolution of Cuba)

Audience: Cuban delegation headed by the Minister of International Cooperation¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A Revolution that has sprung up from beliefs and faith

I thank him² and his government for coming here to get first hand knowledge of the condition of the people of Iran and for lending support to our uprising. This uprising in Iran is an uprising based on beliefs; based on faith; based on Islam and it has progressed by the power of faith and Islam. Otherwise, the people of Iran had no weapons in their hands to fight with, whereas the enemy was armed with various weapons and was backed by the super powers. Even though at the same time that the powerful forces were behind the Shah and were supporting him; the power of faith of our nation from which the unity of expression sprang up, and everyones wanting the same objective prevailed, and the superpowers could not sustain the evil power. Moreover, because this movement was humane and was for humanity, all human beings that are endowed with humane qualities must support it.

Governments at the service of nations

In addition, the governments should note that they must be at the service of their nations and the nations must support the governments. Moreover, the reason why the former Shah was not able to sustain himself was that the nation was not behind him; the nation turned its back on him because he too had betrayed the nation. Governments must take note of the fact that they

¹ After the translation of Mr. Castros message and the speech of the head of the delegation, the interpreter of the group interpreted Imam Khomeinis speech sentence by sentence, but here we have reproduced them together.

² Head of the Cuban delegation.

must be at the service of the people. If they are at the service of the people, the nations will support them.

Moreover, I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the happiness of all the nations of the world and all the oppressed people; and that all governments be at the service of the nations so that the happiness of all humankind is ensured. In addition, I pray to God for the happiness of all nations and your nation. Convey my greetings to your nation, the head of your government,¹ and the government.

¹ Fidel Castro.

Speech

Date: April 24, 1979 [Ordibehesht 4, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Spiritual transformation of the nation

Audience: Heads of the marriage and divorce registration offices of Tehran and suburbs, and the board of directors of this association

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mobilization of the nation for the development of the country

I thank you gentlemen for coming here and meeting with me. The past is gone and today we must think of the future. In the future, there will be problems whose solution is the responsibility of the whole nation. The destructions that have occurred so far in the course of these fifty or more years and prior to that also for 2500 years, have left us a ruined country in every respect; ruins from the point of view of culture, economy—all are the legacy that have remained for us.

And no section can single handedly rebuild these ruins; just as one or two strata of the people were not able to obliterate the great barrier of evil. When all strata of the nation united and acted based on the tenets of monotheism and Islam, this impossible feat—in the view of individuals—became possible and happened. Many thought it was impossible to smash the *taghuti* monarchy that was armed with the most modern weapons and was supported to the hilt by the superpowers such as America and others. It was considered an impossible task under normal circumstances, but this was a disregard of Divine will. It was a total disregard because every impossible event in our view can be realized by the will of the Almighty God; and I do not regard this matter to be the work of an individual, or the work of the nation. A transformation occurred in this nation with the Hand of the Blessed and Almighty God.

Deeds of epic proportions

It was the spiritual transformation that even now some young men come to me and tell me to pray for them to be martyred. At that time also, the noble young men made the same request to me. Some of them would plead with me to pray for them to be martyred. Mothers who have lost their sons, when they come to me, they express their gratitude. A few nights ago—two or three nights before—I met with a father who had lost his young son; I was not

aware of the fact that he had faced this tragedy; I enquired about his health; I noticed that he was being excessively thankful and he said that he was feeling fine. Then someone told me that one of his sons had been killed and this gratitude was for that reason! The spiritual transformation that has occurred in the nation—a nation that was frightened of the shadow of a police officer—caused them to pour onto the streets and chant, “Down with Shah”! This transformation was a divine one and not one of humans. A human being could do such a thing. Any person who fancies that so and so person¹ has accomplished this feat is not correct; God accomplished this feat. The invisible Hand cast a shade over this nation, enabled an oppressed nation, a nation that had no tools and weapons to triumph over a big power, and in the process smashed the barrier.

Attention to spirituality, the key to success

By the grace of God, this barrier has been smashed, but there is still work to be done. We still have work to do ... we need everybody. We need all you gentlemen; we need orators; we need writers; we need all the strata of the nation; because a single group alone cannot rebuild a ruined country. All must work hand in hand so that this ruin is rebuilt.

Everyone must work according to his own capacity; he should not think that he is a single person. A single person has the strength of one person. When this one person is placed alongside other persons, they create a crowd; just as when a drop of water joins other drops they create a flood. When the floods also join, a sea is created. These drops and in other words these human beings should not assume that well; I alone cannot do any thing. Not at all, you and I can each work according to our respective capabilities; equal to one person, and we are responsible to work to our own capacity. In other words, today, the situation is such—the situation is so sensitive in our country—that if we fail in our duty we are responsible to the extent that we have failed. Everybody must work together; all the strata of the people must work together and should not sit and wait for the government to improve the things. The government alone cannot do the job. Do not sit and wait for the clergy to do the job, the clergy alone cannot do it.

The clergy should not sit and wait for other sections to do the job. They too cannot work single-handedly. All should work together. When all are united, then in accordance with the narration of the prophet “The Hand of God is with the congregation.”² When a congregation unites, the Blessed and

¹ Imam Khomeini pointing himself.

² Prophetic *hadith*, *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316, *hadith* no. 2256.

Almighty God supports it; and when the objective is divine—and here it is important that the objective be divine—and all are focused on Islam, the work will progress.

You noted that in the movement, from the child who had just learnt to speak to the aged men who were on the verge of dying, everyone chanted together “Islamic Republic”. Everyone wanted Islam. All this interest in Islam; all the focus on spirituality; the attention of everybody to God and the religion of God enabled you to triumph. Do not lose this focus; this is the key to success; it is the key to victory; hold on tightly to this key. Seek unity with your objective being God. When these two matters are discovered, it will resolve all the problems. In addition, we must all strive to reach all the divine objectives.

The great responsibility of the heads of the marriage and divorce bureaus

Of course, you gentlemen who run the marriage and divorce bureaus have a huge responsibility. If previously, a satanic power was governing you, now no power is ruling over anybody. The powers are present but they are not governing; in other words, there is only the rule of law; there is only Divine law. Nothing must govern other than divine law. You gentlemen who are responsible for such a big issue, have a great responsibility between yourselves and your God. Of course, you have observed the conditions, and from now onward too, you should thoroughly observe the conditions, especially with regard to divorce where you must pay careful attention to the conditions for its performance. May God grant all of you good health and happiness; and may God grant all of us the blessing to serve the cause of Islam—all of us.

Speech

Date: April 24, 1979 [Ordibehesht 4, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Claimants to human rights; Media imperialism

Audience: Representatives of the Foreign Womens Association residents in Iran (Organization in support of the Islamic Revolution); publisher and editorial board of Laleh Publication

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Lack of accessibility to the depth of the Shahs crimes

I thank the respected ladies who are sympathetic to us and in these tragedies that have befallen the people of Iran have expressed their support to us; but I remind you the respected ladies, that neither you nor we and nor those who were close to the Shah, have complete information of the crimes of the Shah. Their crimes had levels and degrees some of which were obvious and all have seen them. The news of these crimes and murders and imprisonments and tortures has reached the outside world from within the prison walls. One level of the crimes and treason were those that the ministers of the Shah and his coteries knew about and the likes of you and I had no information about them. Some of these horrible crimes were just known to the Shah; the treasons that he committed were not known to the others. We cannot know the depth of the crimes and treasons of this father and son. At the most, one of you has lived here for twenty-two years¹, while we, who were here all our life and were informed of the events, cannot gain information of the depths of these crimes. History too cannot record the depths of these crimes and treasons. History can know only as much as it has information of. The crimes perpetrated by the Shah are mostly concealed and only he and the likes of Jimmy Carter know about them.

Lie spreading of the broadcasting corporations of colonialism

I thank you for organizing an association in support of us and for wishing to convey our viewpoints to the world. We are the oppressed of the world because the world sided with the despotic Shah; and all the foreign governments—except a few of them—sided with him and supported his

¹ One of the foreign women present in the session.

cruelty and oppression. Even now, our nation is oppressed because the foreign writers showed this Revolution in a different light abroad, and spread lies and rumors so that our nation was portrayed other than what it is and other than what you are seeing in the foreign newspapers. One of the things that they wrote was that those who were killed and executed were being dug out from their graves by the people and were cut to pieces! You check all over Iran and see whether a single dead person has been treated in this manner; if so then they will have the right to that say such a thing has occurred. Nevertheless, I know that most of the foreign writers are financed by these very news media. They have seen that the people of Iran because of the power of their faith started an uprising because of which the hands of the masters were cut off and the hands of those who passed on these interests to them were cut off too. They undertook this propaganda in order to take revenge, or to return the country to its previous situation in order to secure their interests.

All these propaganda, are contrary to the truth. You can see for what type of individuals the death sentence is being issued here. It would be good if you look at these individuals, go through their files, and see whether these individuals, for whom the death sentence has been passed and carried out, had killed one person or ten persons? Or have they brought misery to a single nation? These individuals brought misery to the whole nation; and in a span of fifty years subjugated everybody. They committed such crimes that had there been no court of law, then the nation themselves would have caught hold of them and lynched them. The courts of law were able to control the sentiments of the nation; a nation that has seen its youth being butchered in the streets on the orders of the likes of these; on the orders of this same Shah; and on the orders of this very Amir Abbas Howeyda;¹ and on the orders of this very Nimatullah NaSiri²—head of the dreaded secret police SAVAK and their likes. People cannot bear to see them alive.

The claimants of human rights, in the service of the superpowers

These who claim to be the champions of human rights and show their support for the likes of Amir Abbas Howeyda and express their sorrow and condolence;³ are they in fact the supporters of human rights or are the supporters of the countries and the governments of the superpowers?

¹ The prime minister of Muhammad Rida Phahlavis era.

² One of the agents of the 28th of Mordad coup.

³ It refers to footnote 3, Imam Khomeinis radio-TV message on Farvardin 12, 1398 AHS.

If they are the proponents of human rights then how is it that for fifty years these human beings here were being tortured; were on the brink of execution; these humans that were being roasted alive in the frying pans here and the human beings whose legs were being sawed off, why did they never breathe a word about them? Why are they breathing today and are indulged in propaganda today? Were not those who were killed human beings? Did not these have human rights? Is it not the right of a human being to seek retribution if a person kills another person? This is the right of a human; it is the right of an individual who is the off spring or the family of the killed person to seek retribution from them. However, the fact is that these human rights groups are at the service of the superpowers in the name of “human rights”. The groups who clamor for human rights wish to trample upon the human rights. These presses and journalists who produce falsities in the name of service to humanity are at the service of the superpowers. They in fact, trample upon human rights.

Disgracing the apparatus of the rumormongers

After expressing my thankfulness, I would like the association that you have now organized in Iran to probe the conditions of our nation and the situation in the country, to analyze the situation in Iran and report it as it is. Find out whether the people here are massacring. Are these people digging out the graveyards and chopping the corpses into pieces? Are the people indulged in arson? Should not you investigate this and see whether the issue is one of seeking revenge in an inhuman manner? Or no, that there are courts of law that after their guilt has been proven—and all of them were guilty of a large number of crimes—they are condemned to death. And if these courts were not present and if it was not because of the courts that the people were being restrained, then the people themselves would have revolted and taken the law in their own hands because those who are being executed are those who committed public killings of the people; those who were responsible for the burning alive of more than four-hundred people in a cinema hall in Abadan;¹ these are the ones that are being executed and not ordinary people. Ordinary people numbering about six-hundred or seven-hundred people as you observed have been freed so far, because their crimes were few. Those who are sentenced to imprisonment or condemned to death are those individuals who have committed serious crimes. This is how it has been portrayed in the foreign newspapers and this has resulted in the people of

¹ It refers to the catastrophe of Rex Cinema in Abadan.

Iran becoming cynical of the foreigners, because of these newspaper articles, and because of these claimants of human rights.

You should enlighten them, and inform the people of Iran, that these people are not the supporters of human rights; rather they are the supporters of the rights of superpowers. They are not from among the noble people of Europe; rather they are a bunch of paid hirelings. In any case, I thank you for intending to help our nation to resolve this difficult problem. Propagandistic help are the greatest help that you can give us now. May God be with you.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 24, 1979 [Ordibehesht 4, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Blessings of the Islamic Revolution—hands that sow the seeds of discord

Audience: Gathering of the ladies of the cities of Kermanshah, Sanandaj, Dezful, Borujen, and Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Severing the hands that sow the seeds of discord

What a great movement was the uprising of Iran, and what a bountiful movement it was. It was a movement of Islam. It was a movement that the women, shoulder to shoulder with their brothers, took and shall take it to its climax; a movement of the oppressed against the oppressors; a movement in which all strata of the people together and with one voice, eradicated the root of tyranny.

What blessings were derived from this movement; the blessing of Islam; the blessing of the Islamic Republic; all happiness is from Islam; the happiness of the world and the hereafter is in Islam. However, weak and wretched individuals cannot bear to see this movement succeed, and intend to sow the seeds of discord. These are the individuals who want to drive a wedge between the sections of the nation, and want to divide them, because by sowing the seeds of discord they can secure their own interests; by sowing the seeds of discord, they can make room for their masters here. Nevertheless, they should rest assured that the hands that sow the seeds of discord will be severed. These hands that wish to sow the seeds of discord among brothers, among sisters, among the sections of society will be buried. In the same way that the evil monarchial regime was buried, the roots of corruption remaining from it shall also be buried. Certain individuals who at the time were opportunists and wanted to secure their material interests by propping the *taghuti* regime are now thinking of sowing the seeds of discord among the Muslim brothers. They should know that they are misguided, and are making a mistake. That evil regime and the likes of it are not going to return any more.

I thank you the respected women who were shoulder to shoulder with your own brothers—rather in the forefront—of this movement and I hope that once again you will be the forefront of this movement and will take this

movement to its final destination. And that with the establishment of an Islamic government, all the strata of the nation—all the oppressed—will secure their true rights. May God be with all of you and may He protect you for the sake of Islam and the Muslims.

May Gods peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 24, 1979 [Ordibehesht 4, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Invincibility of the divine forces

Audience: Air Force personnel of Dezful; representatives of the people of Aligudarz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

You the air force are today, a heavenly force; you are an Islamic force; you are the supporters of Islam, and Islam and the nation are your supporters. We all support you and all of us together—all together—must take this great Islamic-humane force forward, establish an Islamic government, an Islamic Republic, and Islamic justice. With Islamic justice, all and everyone will have freedom, independence, and welfare. Those satanic powers separated you from us and us from you and exploited this division. Islam is for all and is with all.

The “Hand of God” is with the congregation; the Hand of God is with you. As long as all are united and all want Islam, God is with you and as long as God is with you, nobody can challenge you. The devils who sow the seeds of discord among the people should know that they cannot defeat this human power. Their attempts to sow the seeds of discord and to make mischief are doomed. Their hopes and wishes will not be fulfilled. God has willed that the oppressed should prevail over the Oppressors—and they will. My friends! My dear ones! All be together; be brothers, shun discord; all should strive for Islam, in the way of God, all for the divine forces. You the air force are a divine force. All the forces are divine forces; the nation too is a divine force. Gods Hand is with you. May God protect all of you. All together—all together—advance for the cause of Islam.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: Afternoon, April 24, 1979 [Ordibehesht 4, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Safeguarding unity of expression

Audience: A group comprising of elected members of various governmental organizations

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

It was the safeguarding of unity among all sections and groups as well as the Islamic nature of the Revolution that enabled us to achieve the desired result. However, attempts are being made through various incitements to show utter disregard for this unity of expression and solidarity of all the people of Iran.

The printing of an article in a certain newspaper¹ must not be the cause of provocations in the society, because it was with unity that we were able to triumph over the enemies. And no dispute must cause this unity of expression to be destroyed as it will be to the benefit of our enemies.

¹ It refers to the article written by Mr. Sadiq Khalkhali against the establishment of "Islamic people of Irans party" and Mr. Kazim Shariatmadaris political position, printed in *Ittilaat* newspaper on the second of Ordibehesht 1358 AHS. Following that, a big demonstration arranged by the mentioned party took place in Tabriz and Qum by the followers of Mr. Shariatmadari.

Speech

Date: Afternoon, April 24, 1979 [Ordibehesht 4, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Delivering the oppressed in accordance with the teachings of the Quran; the case of Mr. Sadr and Libya

Audience: Members of the Libyan delegation headed by Mr. Abdus-Salam Jallud¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Quranic ideals

I express my gratitude to God for His will to favor the oppressed against the oppressors and to clear the earth of the existence of oppressors and enable the oppressed to rule the earth.² Islam came into being for this very purpose, and the teachings of Islam are for this very premise that there be no oppressor on earth who can colonize and exploit the weak. On the basis of the sublime teachings of the Quran, and from what we know of Islam and the personality of the benevolent Prophet and the Leaders of the Believers and the behavior of prophets—as narrated in the Glorious Quran—it is that the downtrodden should congregate and revolt³ against the tyrants and not allow them to take away their rights. We advanced with these teachings and our nation welcomed martyrdom with open arms to attain this objective. And because Martyrdom was an avowed aim, it was able to prevail over all the hellish forces, over tanks and guns, over the superpowers who were lined-up behind the former Shah with fists and blood. We want this secret to be present among all governments and nations. Governments must be the servants of the people; just as it was traditional in Islam that government be at the service of the people and the army at the service of the people. Governments were sourced from the people and so was the army from them. And had the governments and nations acted on the traditions of the prophet and the Leaders of Believers, peace would have prevailed all over the globe and these conflicts and bloodshed would not be present.

¹ Then Libyan Prime Minister.

² *Surah al-QaSaS* 28:5-6.

³ Revolution or popular revolt.

The Revolution of Iran, a role model for the oppressed of the world

We pray to God that this Islamic movement and human movement becomes a role model for all the oppressed and a warning for the oppressors. The oppressors should not assume that they must rule over the downtrodden and colonize and exploit them. The oppressed should not regard government as rulership but rather as a servant. They should be brothers; brothers that serve the other brothers; and both of them back one another. If the tenets of Islam be observed by nations and by governments and the behavior of governments and nations be Islamic, neither will the governments think of encroachment of the rights of the people, nor will the people oppose the governments.

I thank you for coming here on behalf of Muammar¹ and bringing his greetings to us. Also, convey my greetings to him and to the people of Libya. I implore God to awaken all the nations and governments and to unite all the Islamic people and governments together so that the superpowers would not be able to prevail over them and take away their resources.

Muslims are a population of approximately one billion, but unfortunately because of the disunity that exists among them and because of the lack of foresight that is present in their governments, they have not been able to achieve the power that Islam has foreseen for them. I implore God to cause the oppressed in all parts of the world to prevail over the oppressors, and the oppressors be put in their rightful place, and that governments and nations have fraternal ties.

[Meanwhile, the Prime Minister of Libya, representing the Libyan delegation gave a speech² to which Imam Khomeini responded as follows:]

The issue that has become a riddle for me and the theologians of Iran and the rest of the people is the tragedy of Mr. Sadr.³ The theologians of Iran and I have been deeply affected by this tragedy. And this has become a puzzle for us; and this puzzle will not be resolved except at the hands of the Libyan government. We want our brother Muammar and the government to solve this riddle and end our anxieties. I have repeatedly stressed the importance of this issue and now I emphatically stress that this issue has a bad reflection upon the people and the theologians, and I do not want a misunderstanding to

¹ Muammar Qadhdhafi, Libyan leader.

² The text of his speech was published in Iranian newspapers on April 25, 1979.

³ Musa Sadr (leader of the Lebanese Shiah) disappeared mysteriously on a trip to Libya.

exist between our nation and your government. I ask you to solve this puzzle and help to remove our anxiety.

[After the statements of the Imam, the representative of the delegation gave some explanations to which Imam answered:]

Say¹ I did not intend to level false accusations against you or your government. What I meant is that you have it in your power to take action in this country that is close to you and—according to you²—he has gone there to solve this puzzle for us. We will never slander our own brothers and go against Islam, but we ask you to solve this issue because you have the power to solve this problem and to take up an investigation with the governments of the countries he has gone to and inform us of his whereabouts.

[After listening to the speech of the representative of the Libyan delegation,³ Imam Khomeini stated:]

Yes, I too know this reality, but it is important that there be no misunderstanding among Islamic nations and governments and the Islamic Unity be always safeguarded and that all Muslims be brothers of one another. And that with regard to this issue of Mr. Sadr, I mentioned it in order that this very misunderstanding—because of the activities you undertake for the investigation of this subject—be removed and a correct understanding arrived at among the governments and nations. And you must negate these false accusations that the foreigners would like to level in order to create a rift between governments and between nations, and also their propaganda. My attempt has always been to unite the Muslims against the enemies in accordance with the commandment of Islam and that these should be a single entity just as Islam has wanted. But our main objective was that this misunderstanding be removed and for the fraternity of Iran and Libya to be safeguarded so that the hands of the foreigners who wish to sow the seeds of discord between two brothers—the two governments, the two peoples—be severed off.

¹ Addressing the translator.

² The Libyan government had claimed that Musa Sadr had gone to Italy.

³ Jallud spoke of the abuse of the enemies of Islam and the colonialists of the differences between Iran and Libya and the accusations charged against Libya, see *Kayhan* April 25, 1979.

Letter

Date: April 25, 1979 [Ordibehesht 5, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Congratulations for the establishment of the Islamic Republic

Addressee: Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi, may his blessings last:

I have received a scroll containing a large number of signatures on behalf of the respected business guilds and workers of the town of Kashan felicitating the establishment of the Islamic Republic. In this regard, kindly convey my thanks to all the respected gentlemen and remind them that God willing, they should strive to safeguard this solidarity and unity. I pray to the Almighty God for the success of all. May Gods peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: April 25, 1979 [Ordibehesht 5, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Need to continue congregational prayer and propagation activities in Khuzan Homayunshahr

Addressee: Muhammad Ashrafi

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Muhammad Ashrafi, may his blessings last:

I have received a scroll containing the signatures of the respected residents of Khuzan HomayunShahr wherein they have requested that you should stay for a few more months in that region, in order to impart spiritual instructions to the residents. You are requested to accept the invitation of the respected gentlemen and convey my greetings to them and preach.

God willing they should strive to safeguard this solidarity and unity in the path of attainment of the lofty ideals of Islam. They should desist from differences and disunity and with their revolutionary sagacity, negate the conspiracies of the enemies of Islam. I pray to Almighty God for the success of all. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 25, 1979 [Ordibehesht 5, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Answer to the telegrams of congratulations for the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Habib Bourguiba (President of Tunisia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH

His Excellency Habib Bouguiba, President of Tunisia:

I express my gratitude to Your Excellency for the kind telegram felicitating the victory of the Islamic Republic in Iran. I pray to the Almighty God for the happiness and success of the co-religionist and brother nation in the path of advancing the lofty ideals of Islam; and I hope that our Islamic Republic will play an effective role in the solidarity and unanimity of the Muslims of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Date: April 25, 1979 [Ordibehesht 5, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The reason for the incapability of Muslim nations; Factors responsible for the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Occasion: Intimation of message of Habib Bourguiba (President of Tunisia)

Audience: Ambassador of Tunisia to Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I express my gratitude to your president for the telegram and am grateful for your sentiments and the sentiments of your nation. I hope that all Islamic nations and all Islamic governments will awaken and put aside their differences and personal opinions and personal desires and congregate under the banner of Islam and the Quran; and through this congregation attain a power that is far superior to the existing powers of the world. Muslims have a population of about one billion, and are endowed with huge resources and have vast territories in their possession; and unfortunately, because they were not able to come to a consensus among themselves, and the hands of treachery has prevented them from being united and having unity of expression, their resources were taken away and they were able to dominate and rule over them. You witnessed that a population of 35 million people—which is nothing compared to one billion—and without having any weapons of war in hand, but because of the power of faith and leaning on the Quran and Islam, prevailed over this evil power that was supported by even bigger evil powers and in the process, severed their hands from Iran's resources. If all the Islamic people and governments put aside their personal grudges and all together place their faith in Islam under the banner of “there is no God save Allah”, they shall become the foremost power in the world, because the spirituality of Islam is their aid and God Almighty is their supporter.

And we triumphed with this power of faith, as all the sections of the nation cried out in unison for Islam, and not by numbers and weapons of war. We had nothing whereas they had every kind of weapon. But we were armed with the power of faith and our people longed for martyrdom. Like the companions of the messenger of God at the advent of Islam, those very few numbers that defeated the great empires, we too with a small number and without having weapons of war smashed and defeated an oppressive 2500 year old empire that was backed by the superpowers, and in the process

removed this great barrier from our nations way. And of course, they left behind a host of problems for us; many deficiencies, many ruins were left behind by them and we have inherited these ruins. But with the power of faith and the backing of Islam, we shall overcome these difficulties.

And I am hopeful that Muslim nations and Muslim governments take notice. And take notice of this secret of success that was achieved by Iran. And God willing, everyone should hold this key to success and spread Islam everywhere.

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the glory of Islam and the Muslims and glory of the Quran. Convey my greetings to your government, people, and your president.

Speech

Date: April 25, 1979 [Ordibehesht 05, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Lives of the heads of government at the advent of Islam; advice to the army

Audience: Gathering of army personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Head of government at the advent of Islam

... The head of the government was not different from the rest of the individuals of the nation. The head of government at the time of the Prophet of God (s) was the Prophet himself. His behavior and style with the people was such that when he held audience in the mosque and people were present too, if someone had to enter the meeting from outside, and was a stranger, he would not know which one was the head of government and would ask which of the persons was. The formality present in the *taghuti* regime never existed at that time. The head of government at the time of Hadrat Ali (a) came to the court of law and while the dispute he had with that Jew or the Jew had with him was being discussed, the judge wanted to pay his respects to the commander of the faithful who promptly told him that he had no right to grant him special respect, as in the presence of the law, all are equal, and then he gave his verdict against him—against the commander of the faithful—and he submitted to it. Islam has such instances: Islam possesses such a freedom; such a democracy. Where else can you find such an instance? Where else will you find that the head of government is summoned to a court of law by a judge who was appointed by himself, attend a session on the petition of a Jew, and submit to the verdict of the judge. In which country—these countries that claim to be free and democratic—can you find such a thing? Bring something comparable to this.

Triumph of divine power of the army and the nation over the superpowers

The army in the era of the Prophet of God and in the era of the rule of the companions of the Prophet of God was for the people and the people were for the army. Now also it should be the same role. The army for the nation and the nation for the army and both of them must sacrifice themselves for

Islam. We all are in the sacrifice of Islam and we all are for one another; we are behind one another and are at the service of Islam.

I am thankful and grateful to you the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of Imam of the Time (a). You joined the oppressed masses of Iran; and with your joining the oppressed masses of Iran; and with your joining and linking with the downtrodden masses we prevailed over that evil power. It was you who when our nation was giving blood, responded to our call and joined ranks with the nation and thereby severed the hands of the tyrant. The army of Iran has a claim on us; it has a claim on the people of Iran. The people of Iran too have a claim on the army. These two divine powers—the power of the people and the power of the military—prevailed over the satanic powers behind whom were the other great evil powers, and broke this barrier in the process. It was the people of Iran, who smashed this barrier; the army of Iran broke this barrier; both are indebted to one another and both are indebted to Islam.

Advice to the army

Islam has respect for you. From now on, you must also be united and bury those evil plots. All should be together; be brothers but sustain the chain of command. If the chain of command is not honored, weakness will set in; and with the weakness of the army, the country becomes weak. All together in a single voice, single vote, and all united together for Islam; all united together for the commandments of Islam. With the enactment of the tenets of Islam, all of you will attain your respective rights. In this sensitive time for us and for Islam, you must seriously strive to prevent the devils from sowing seeds of discord. Negate the mischief of the devils. Strive for the realization of the Islamic Republic; strive for the realization of the modern law of Islam. With the establishment of the law of Islam; with the realization of divine laws and with the realization of the progressive laws of Quran, all of you will attain your rights; all sections of the oppressed will attain their respective rights. Plundering have been buried and shall be buried; oppression and cruelty has been buried and shall be buried.

Revolutionary patience for solving difficulties

We shall God willing, look into your needs, and shall communicate them to the places that must be notified. I hope that with patience and forbearance these matters are resolved. You must have revolutionary patience; the nation must have revolutionary patience. People who bore patiently more than fifty

years of suppression, oppression, torment, and excesses must have revolutionary patience; must be calm.

These who provoke the people in and around the country and do not allow the country to be calm so that serious consideration can be done for everyone, are traitors. Workers and farmers should not listen to these people. They do not want agriculture to develop, these do not want the factories to start working, because if there is peace and the nation attains its objective, their hands will be severed; the hands of their masters will be cut off. Our nation will not permit these devils to infiltrate; our nation will chop off their hands. Conspiracies shall be buried.

May God grant all of you happiness, and awareness to all of us so that at this point of time, all of us together, march forward with a single voice for Islam, for the revival of the traditions of the Prophet, for the revival of the glorious Quran, for the independence of the country and for the freedom of the nation.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 25, 1979 [Ordibehesht 5, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Gods favor; safeguarding the secret of victory

Audience: Families of martyrs and a gathering of the common businessmen of the city of Amol

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Divine graces

I thank the people of Iran. Everybody had a share in this sacred struggle. All the people of Iran with one heart and one decision wanted the establishment of an Islamic Republic and the downfall of the ominous monarchical regime. I thank all sections of the nation. I am a servant of the entire nation. God has done us a favor... in giving us Islam; God has done a favor to the world in sending down the Quran; God the Almighty has done us a great favor in assigning to us the last Prophet as our prophet; God has done us a favor in assigning to us the Infallible Imams; God has done us a favor in sending down to us the progressive tenets of Islam. We are indebted to the Almighty God for the favors he has done to us. God did us a favor that this nation went through a spiritual transformation and with one heart, one objective—the objective of monotheism—moved towards Islam, and this sacred struggle materialized. It was a favor of the Almighty God that you the noble youth—from wherever you are—reverted to Islam and revived Islam in his era; in this era of darkness; in this era when all values have been wasted away.

Safeguarding the secret of victory

Salutations to you the people of Iran! Death to those who want to destroy this unity of expression. Those who thought they could destroy this unity of expression are mistaken. Iran has discovered the secret of victory; that secret is attention to God, and unity of expression. Safeguard this unity of expression; safeguard this faith in God so that you will be victorious. So do not allow traitors to infiltrate your tight ranks; do not let those who sow the seeds of discord to drive a wedge between you on absurd pretexts; put a stop to these disputes. Serve for Islam; Islam has enjoined us be united in our expression. Those who sow the seeds of discord are not from Islam. May God protect you all; all sections of the nation; you the senior residents of the

city of Amol; and may we all march forward with unity of expression and with Islam, and take this struggle to fruition.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 25, 1979 [Ordibehesht 5, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Independence and Freedom under the auspices of the Quran

Audience: Teachers of the school of Quran of Paveh town and the residents of the town of Uramanat

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

God willing, you will all be successful. You are the teachers of the Quran and have a great vocation and a great responsibility. The Quran is for everyone and insures the happiness of everyone. It was under the protection of the Quran that in fifty years Islam prevailed over the empires of that era. And so long as we are under the protection of the Quran, we shall overcome our enemies. And if, God forbid, the enemies of Islam separate us from Islam and the Quran, then we must sit down and watch our lives lived in subjugation and misery.

Independence and freedom follows the teaching of the glorious Quran and the honorable Prophet. We are all disciples of the Quran and the honorable Prophet and we are all brothers with each other. Together, we all have the one objective, one stance, one religion, and one glorious Quran. And I am hopeful that you will sever the roots of discord with your own strength and divine power, and not allow them to infiltrate our closely knit ranks. I am a servant of all sections of the people and am at your service. May God bless you all and grant you happiness in the world and the hereafter.

Speech

Date: Evening, April 25, 1979 [Ordibehesht 5, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Women and the Islamic Revolution; invalidating the subversion of the instigators of discord

Audience: Women of Chahar Mardan district of Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Women at the forefront of the movement

The great name of the people of Iran has been recorded in the realm of political development. The great name of Qum among the people of Iran has been recorded in history for its political maturity, activity, and self-sacrifice. The great name of Chahar Mardan¹ has been recorded in world history for self-sacrifice and devotion. The great name of the women of Chahar Mardan has been recorded. The women of Qum and the women of Chahar Mardan have been at the forefront of the Islamic movement and have proven their political maturity; they guided the movement. You are the leaders of the movement. Women are the leaders of our movement; we are their followers. I accept your leadership and am your servant. May God protect you for the sake of Islam.

The need of Islam for devoted men and women

Islam is in need of devoted men and women. Today the need is greater. Today, more than before the victory and culmination of the movement, the need for the people of Iran, the need for unity of expression, the need for the honorable women, the need for Chahar Mardan is greater. It is today that the hands of treachery and crime—those whose interests are in jeopardy—are working to prevent this movement from blossoming. It is today that these treasons and these hands of treachery must be chopped off. It is today that the hands of those that sow the seeds of discord and wish to instigate disunity in the ranks of the Muslims must be severed. Our honorable women must chop off the hands of traitors; our strong men must chop off the hands of the

¹ Chahar Mardan: one of the famous districts of Qum, whose inhabitants were forerunners in combat against the Shahs regime.

traitors; the clergy—wherever they are—must with sagacity cut off the hands of these traitors and invalidate their plots.

The danger of repetition of the conspiracy at the time of constitution

The opportunists who have entered the arena today; those who were not in agreement with this uprising; those whose destinations were contrary to that of this uprising; have entered the arena for opportunistic goals. Parties, that were quite unknown and groups whose names were unheard of in this movement, want to be at the forefront today. You women; you brothers, you sisters must remain alert. The people of Iran must be alert. Do not let the blood of our martyrs be wasted. So do not allow the blood of our youth to be squandered, squandered for personal grudges. Throw away personal grudges. Treacherous hands should not form various groups. Variety of groups becomes instruments of disunity; this is not political growth. At the beginning of the constitutional crises, they also prevented the fruition of constitutionalism through the creation of various factions. They drove it away from its intended course. Today also, those same devils and those same people that were opposed to this uprising want to prevent it.

The difference between freedom and conspiracy

O the people of Iran. Be alert! O the Muslims! Be awake. If, God forbid a gap is created in the close-knit ranks of the Muslims; in this close-knit rank of the people of Iran; there will be danger looming ahead. Cast out divisiveness from among yourselves. We will not permit this divisiveness to grow; we will nip them in the bud. Freedom is different from conspiracy. Freedom is the freedom of speech; they can say whatever they want to; but not conspire; do not commit murder. We will bury these murderers and conspirators.

My brothers! Be awake, beware, the forces of evil are hatching conspiracies from their hideouts. We must together—together with one voice—march ahead and take this movement to its fruition. May God grant all of you sisters and brothers honor, success, health, and happiness.

I thank everyone, especially these respected women who have always been sacrificing themselves, and have taken and shall take our movement to its success. May God grant all of you honor and favor Islam with glory.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: Evening, April 25, 1979 [Ordibehesht 5, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The reality of light; the Islamic Revolution and global equations; servitude to God

Audience: Representatives of employees of the customs of Iran

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

Reality of light

“God is the supporter of the believers, and takes them out from darkness to light. And those unbelievers are supported by evil, who takes them from light to darkness.”¹

Those who are with God; those who focus on God and who believe in God, then God will bring them out from all darkness; from all gloom and make them reach the reality of light. Faith in God is a light; faith in God causes all the gloom to be removed from in front of the Muslims; faith in God causes the Muslims to be submerged in the light of God. The gloom of tyranny; the gloom of suppression, the gloom of dependency on others, the gloom of oppression—the Muslims are delivered from these glooms. Those who focus on God, and their objective is a divine objective will attain salvation from all sorts of gloom—be they material be they spiritual—and will be immersed in a sea of light.

The light of freedom and independence

You the people of Iran because you have turned to faith, heeded the call of God, have all together focused your attention on Islam and asked for Islam's tenets, God granted you salvation and now shall deliver you. He rescued you from this great barrier of tyranny; the barrier of tyranny has been destroyed, moved aside darkness, and entered the light of freedom. You smashed the barrier of dependence on others—by means of faith—and entered the light of independence; you crushed suppression and dependence and entered the truth of Islam. Islam is light, and other than Islam is darkness. You destroyed these barriers with your recourse to God; with your

¹ Surah al-Baqarah 2:257.

recourse to the infallible Imams of Islam and with your recourse to the Quran. Barriers, that everyone thought were impossible to break; powers that everyone thought were impossible to break. World calculations did not come true; materialistic calculations did not come true.

Those who had no faith in God, in their calculations it was unthinkable that a nation that had nothing, could overcome the powers that had everything at their disposal! It was unthinkable that the hands of foreigners, who were armed to the teeth with every kind of weapon, could be cut off from their resources! They made material calculations; and with materialistic calculations it would have been as they surmised; on materialistic principles and calculations we could not have attained victory, but they had not calculated spirituality. Islam has always moved a head with spirituality! At the advent of Islam, although the Muslims had not enough equipment—every few persons had a horse in the battles and every few of them had a sword whereas the Roman and Persian armies were armed to the teeth and their numbers were hundreds of times more than that of the Muslims, yet with few numbers and lesser equipment but with the power of faith they smashed the Roman empire... and the Persian empire.

You the soldiers of Islam, you the pious young men, broke this great barrier with your faith; you destroyed this *taghuti* power; this satanic power. You advanced with your faith and the calculations of all the materialistic arithmeticians were invalidated. God granted you victory, and so long as you seek recourse to God, He will make you victorious.

The youth in quest of martyrdom

My brothers! My dear ones! Do not give up this secret; the secret of recourse to God; the secret of recourse to Islam. Martyrdom is bliss for a Muslim, for a pious believer. Our youth regard martyrdom as the ultimate bliss; this is the key to victory. Those who are materialistic or inclined toward the material, never want martyrdom whereas our youth regard martyrdom as their own salvation, they regard it as the beginning of their ease. This was the key to victory. Those who thought they could create a rift among my youth, among our youth; among our beloved at this point of time are mistaken. Our youth are all turned towards Islam; all of them march forward with unshakable faith.

Everyone together on the path of reconstruction

We still have many steps to take. We must all together—all strata of the people together—rebuild the ruins that they have left for us. These wretched

people destroyed Iran. In the name of “great civilization”, they moved away all the signs of civilization from Iran. In the name of “Land reform”, they destroyed our agriculture; they destroyed our culture; they caused our army to become dependent; they weakened our nation; they plundered all our resources and built parks for themselves in foreign countries; and God willing we shall take them back from them.

These traitors left behind forces a country in turmoil, a ruined country. A country whose worker is poor, whose farmer is poor, whose trader is poor, a country where on the outskirts of its capital Tehran these are slum neighborhoods; that has wretchedly poor people—these are the things they left behind for us.

No one person, no one section can rebuild these ruins all alone. The government cannot; the clergy cannot; the bazaar businesspersons cannot; the farmer cannot; the worker and the employees cannot but all can, all together, we can. “The Hands of God are with the congregation.”¹ When congregations come together then work will be accomplished. You saw how with unity of expression, togetherness, and trust in God you broke this great barrier. Now too, with trust in God and unity of expression you must rebuild these ruins.

You who are at the borders, who are in the customs, must work to your capacity; and those who are in the centers must work as much as they can. Neither must you expect that a section—the government—will do the work and nor should the government expect that the people must perform. The nation and the government altogether, everyone together, God willing, Everyone together for Islam, for the republic of Islam; for the commandments of Islam, march forward.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

¹ Prophetic *hadith*, *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 3, p. 316, *hadith* 2256.

Statements

Date: April 28, 1979 [Ordibehesht 6, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Emphasis of Islam on freedom

Addressees: Masud Rajavi, Musa Khiyabani and some members of their organization

[In a part of his pronouncement, Imam Khomeini while stressing the importance of constructive efforts for the salvation of the country from returning to the previous situation stated:]

More than anything else, Islam emphasizes freedom, and in Islam there is nothing against freedom except those things that are contrary to public morality.

Statements

Date: April 28, 1979 [Ordibehesht 6, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Islams fight against racism

Audience: Members of the National Front of the Union of South-West Africa (SWAPO) headed by Robert Mugabe (Leader of the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe—Formerly Rhodesia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I would like to thank you and your leader¹ who has sent a message for me. In Islam, which we are following, the question of race and racism is not of consideration. Islam is unconcerned about the color of the face; it measures a persons worth based on his piety. The fact that you have a grievance against America and other governments that are criminal and oppressive is not confined to you alone; this America and its gang behave in a similar fashion with the common people wherever they are. For fifty years, our nation was under the yoke of the ominous regime because of America and England. So many crimes were perpetrated by the government of this father and son that it defies description. Our country was totally ruined in the reign of this father and son and that which was made habitable was the graveyards. Because of the killings that they masterminded, they made our graveyards populous and our land bare. They squandered our resources and gave them to foreigners, and made us totally dependent on America and others until by the grace of God, our nation woke up, and by placing its trust on the Blessed and Almighty God and unity of expression and without having any weapons and equipment revolted, started a movement and pushed aside all the forces of darkness.

I hope that the secret that became the key to victory in Iran will be a model for all downtrodden peoples. That secret was unity of expression and trust in Islam.

If in a nation the conviction in spirituality is found, then can they overcome their problems. We went through the same miseries and oppression that you went through—or perhaps more. However, today we broke this great barrier and it is hope that this movement will finally culminate in triumph and we can put the progressive tenets of Islam into action. I pray to Almighty God for the victory of the oppressed over the oppressors. Convey my

¹ Robert Mugabe.

greetings to that section that are oppressed and have revolted against the tyrants, and inform them that with unity of expression they can attain victory.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Message

Date: April 28, 1979 [Ordibehesht 7, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Return of the theologians to the city of Sari supervision over the committees of the Revolution and propagation of religion

Audience: Theologians of Sari

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1399 AH

Respected theologians of the city of Sari—may God always assist them:

The respected gentlemen are hereby requested to return to Sari, and in the same manner that you have imparted spiritual instructions to the residents up to now, to continue with the performance of your duties. And under the supervision of Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh MuStafa Saduqi and with the cooperation of the honorable and pious people of the area, oversee the current affairs and the Committees of the Islamic Revolution of that place. Make all such efforts that are needed so that with the help of divine power, all the problems are redressed; and it is expected that all the residents, especially the beloved youth do not shirk from co-operating with the respected gentlemen.

I call upon them to observe piety, and endeavor to guide the people, and impart to them the religious instructions, and observance of caution in all affairs and situations.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Interview and Reply to Queries

Date: April 28, 1979 [Ordibehesht 7, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Decree of Islam about the transplant of organs

Interviewer: Educational Radio-Television broadcaster and a kidney patient

[Question: From the point of view of Islam, what is the decree on transplant of organs?]

Answer: In the case that the transplant facilitates saving a person from death, there is no objection from the point of view of religion.

[Q: What is the ordinance with regard to the transplant of a kidney of a person who dies in an accident, and the transplant of the kidney of a person who donates it while he is alive to another kidney patient?]

A: In the case of one who has died and his kidney is usable, it is allowed to use it to save the life of another human being with the permission of the parents, and to transplant it to a sick human being who has no healthy kidney.

[Q: Does the Imam have any suggestions to make to the people regarding these types of kidney patients?]

A: Of course, in case the life of a human being can be saved, while the health of the kidney donor is safeguarded there is no objection and is an extremely good thing to do. I hope that philanthropic individuals undertake this self-sacrifice and save the lives of their brothers. I hope that God grants them good health and all of them become prosperous and healthy. And this is allowed provided their own health is safeguarded and with the donation of a kidney, in the same manner that we have seen, they survive. Therefore, those who have two kidneys if in case they undertake this good deed and this self-sacrifice for their sick brothers will be doing an extremely good thing and God shall reward them.

Speech

Date: April 28, 1979 [Ordibehesht 7, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Workers and farmers from the viewpoint of Islam

Audience: Workers of Tehran Textile Mills

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islam has a high regard for all strata of the people and for all the bondsmen of God and for all the oppressed. It has even a higher regard for all workers and classes of farmers. Workers and cultivators are of the valued strata of the people in whom Islam is interested. Those who want to sow the seeds of discord between workers and agriculturists are corrupters of the earth. These do not want the objectives of our agriculture to be realized or our factories to start operations because if these begin operations, the country will attain calm and the hands of traitors will be cut off.

My workers brothers, be alert! For Islam is at your service and not at the service of these people. They are opposed. They want that with the strife that they create—and on some pretext or the other, and by creation of disturbance among the people—there be no peace in the country so that others may have a free hand. Do not let them enter your factories for they are like termites and will destroy your factories. May God cripple the plots of traitors. May God sever the hands of traitors. May God enable the Muslim nation to move forward with unity.

Speech

Time/Date: 5:00 pm, April 28, 1979 [Ordibehesht 7, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Islamic Republic and its constituents

Audience: Students of the High School of Shemiran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I pray to God for the health and happiness of the people of Iran and you those who are present here in this gathering, and those who took the trouble of coming here from Shemiran. May God grant success and health to all of you. You—all strata—have a share in this victory of Islam and God shall grant a reward to all of you. However, you know that we still have stages to go through ahead of us and we must reach those stages so that the Islamic Republic is established in its true essence in Iran. Now, although the basic republic has been formed and now our regime is an Islamic Republic regime, it again is in need of a series of activities and analyses so that the constituents of Islam and the Islamic Republic and the commandments of Islam be administered in Iran—rather, God willing in all other Islamic countries—we need you; we are in need of the honorable people of Iran; we are in need of the men and women of Iran. All of us together must strive equally so that the true commandments of Islam are put in practice.

And I implore the Blessed and Almighty God to grant you and all the people of Iran and all the nation of Islam the blessing to serve in the cause of Islam and in the cause of the Islamic countries. May there be health and happiness for our nation, God willing and may we all be healthy and prosperous.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 28, 1979 [Ordibehesht 07, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Inadequacies and disorder in the country and the ways and means to rebuild the destruction; Regional Councils

Audience: College and school students of Sanandaj

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Deprivations of Iran in the Pahlavi era

Of the consequences of this uprising and its blessings are that we have come across various groups of the Muslims of Iran and air our grievances together. Needless to say, with whichever group that we meet – with Kurds, with the Baluchistanis, with Bakhtiyaris, with Qashqayis and the rest of the tribes that are all over Iran and some of their groups who come to us—we notice that they have more or less the same grievances that you have. The Bakhtiyaris come to us and say that no place is as bad as the Bakhtiyaris province and that they are deprived of all that civilization has to offer. The Baluch come and tell us the same thing that they are deprived and none of the people is deprived like them. You gentlemen also say the same thing. I must say that the matter is exactly as you say it; which is that the whole nation is deprived of all means and facilities. You should take a look at Tehran where all the efforts of the previous governments were directed—and needless to say, other places were ignored or shown little attention—in this very Tehran there are about thirty or more neighborhoods where people are living in tents or in slums, or in straw huts; they are the neighborhoods of shanty houses and slums. They are deprived of all the essentials of civilization; they have no water. They must climb a large number of stairs from the pits that are their homes, and they themselves and their children climb up to fill a cask with water from the taps at the street sides. There is no asphalt, there is no hospital; there is no school; there is no electricity—they have nothing. This is the condition of Tehran, which is the capital and in their opinion must be more developed than all other places.

The Pahlavi regime, cause of the poverty of the nation

When you look around Khuzestan, around Fars, we have been told by some people of places where they do not have any water at all and have nothing else either; not even a drop of water. And in winters and springs,

when it rains, there are big pits where water collects and women walk one furlong in order to carry water for their children. When I was in Najaf, some of the philanthropists from Kuwait, who were acquainted with me, urged me to do something to help and that they would help in the building of a water reservoir for the rainwater to collect in the reservoir so that these wretched folks would have water whenever they wanted. You should not presume that you are the only ones who were deprived; these destroyers ruined the whole of Iran. All were deprived. Even those sections that on the surface look affluent, in that era they too suffered and their predicament was worse than lack of water. These long prison terms, and these extraordinary sufferings, these crippling tortures of a group of intellectuals, a group of theologians, a group of teachers, of the attorneys of the courts of law; of the judges of the courts and so forth—they were being tortured. And by the Grace of God, and after God willed and gave His blessing, our nation awoke and got together, and under the banner of Islam broke the barrier; this barrier that was an obstacle to the growth and progress of our culture; of our economy; of our military; of our everything was lifted. But behind this barrier, what remained for us? Behind this barrier a whole lot of miseries has remained. The government treasury is empty; from every bank—what we have been told by the government and that is how it is—they borrowed as much as they could. Hundreds of millions of dollars from various banks in Iran they borrowed and fled. Do not presume that they left empty-handed; some of the crown jewels were taken away by the father while some of it was taken away by the son. They emptied our banks and left; they left our nation impoverished and went away; they gave away our oil to the Americans for years without taking money—in other words, they established bases for America, and Americans gave us armaments in exchange for the oil money that they owed to us. Armaments that are only of use to the Americans and not for our use. This was a plot between this man, this evil man, this traitor who gave the oil to the Americans—and in such large quantities—and in exchange, instead of paying us money or weapons that would be of use to us, they sent us such armaments that would be used to make bases for themselves against the Soviet Union. And in order to keep the Soviet Union quiet, they did it in the name of giving us these armaments in return for petrodollars. The armaments were of use only for themselves! In other words, the Iranians were not able to operate these weapons, as they did not have the training. They thus built bases for themselves. Their bases are still present in Iran.

Rebuilding the destructions with the will of the nation

Now that you have smashed this barrier with your own determination and with the blessing of Islam, behind this barrier is a ruin. Not only is Kurdistan a ruin; Lorestan too is a ruin; Khuzestan also is ruined; Baluchistan is also ruined; Khorasan is also ruined; all are ruined. Who must rebuild these destructions? Can the government alone rebuild them? No, the government does not have such a budget: it cannot. Can each section of the nation do? No. But the will of the nation, all together, the society together and all with trust in God and recourse to the glorious Quran. We all must arise together. We all should strive together in order to rebuild this ruin. You should not assume that the government is not attentive to the needs of Kurdistan; the government cannot. Now they have left behind so many problems for the government that whichever part of the country you observe, they too have the same problems that you have. The case is not that the government does not want to look into them; the government does want. They are working day and night; they are toiling day and night and want to rebuild this ruin, but the extent of the destruction is such that it needs time, otherwise, it cannot be done.

Proliferation of small groups in the shadow of the disturbances

Regretfully, these traitors will not give this chance, they will not allow. Factories must run so that the county gets moving; gets going. They go and prevent the factories from working. Agriculture must get moving so that this country prospers. The traitors who are remnants of that corrupt regime and are servants of the Americans and non-Americans do not allow agriculture to take off; they even forestall agriculture. Schools must continue with their work; culture should be managed; also, they go and bar the teachers; they shut down even the schools. Any thing that you would like to have any thing that they perceive to be useful for the country and of benefit to the people of this country, these stooges of the Americans—whose remnants are still remaining here—thwart them. Everyday somehow they manage to mobilize the people to demonstrate on the streets and shout slogans for and against this and that because they do not want this country to be at peace. If the country returns to normal, it can manage its affairs, if it can manage its affairs and peace is restored, then their hands will be chopped off. When a country is not in turmoil, their hands are be cut off. Whereas, if the country is in chaos—and they are creating chaos—they will again have the avarice to rule over this country with another face, with another form, and perpetuate the same problems and sufferings of the past.

Reconstruction plans

You, our brothers, should not assume that your plight is not being attended to or that they do not want to attend to your problems, the fact is they cannot set things right so quickly. They are busy planning; they are busy studying them. Problems must be solved gradually, systematically. Yesterday, which was Thursday, Mr. Bazargan came here—and for the plans they had for road construction; they brought along a large number of maps and showed them to us. In addition, said that they all wanted to construct roads throughout the country and now they shall begin with them. I recommended that work should begin in villages and out of the way areas sooner than other places and they agreed. About the workers, they are working on schemes to generate work and get the workers to start working. When they get back to work, it would be both to their benefit as well as the country will get moving, but both you and I need to exercise revolutionary patience. We all have problems but we must have a bit of patience; we must bear a little. Do not be under the impression that we are favoring one section over another section of society. God is aware that Islam and that which we want—and we all are followers of Islam—does not discriminate between any one, and everyone has an equal right. Muslims are all a single entity. Muslims are all brothers. No one group of Muslims has preference over another. The right of all, all Muslims, rather any person who lives in an Islamic country has rights, and Islam ensures that right. These religious minorities, such as Zoroastrians, such as Jews, such as Christians that are numerous in Iran, even for them Islam has respect and wants that they too attain their respective rights. But there should not be any illusions; and I suspect that God forbid, there are invisible hands at work who go to our Kurd brethren and tell them that, “Look, the government has become Islamic and nothing has been done”; or who go to our Baluch brothers and tell them the same thing; or go to our Bakhtiyari brothers and tell them the same thing; or go to the Qashqayis and say the same thing in order to create strife and so that our country can be administered in a sensible and just manner. Those who come and say these things do not intend to reform; they intend to make things go wrong. You yourselves know too, that they want to make mischief. Now too you mentioned that those who foment trouble are still present. We must be a little patient, be a little circumspect.

See whether the government has done anything in any other place that it has not done for you? Has it developed any region and ruined your region? Now the problem of housing construction is being resolved for all sections of the people—especially for the poor and homeless—by building new housing.

When roads are to be built, they will be built for the whole country. When they can provide and provide medicine, and doctors, and when they can build universities they will do it for everywhere. These require time. Yes if these wreckers of the country had gone away but had left the treasury of the country intact, then we could tell the government that, "Well, you have money and resources, why are you not doing the needful?" But they emptied the treasuries, and took away whatever was there with them. They robbed, they looted them, and their dependents emptied the banks and took away everything leaving us in this miserable condition. But I hope, with Gods willpower and His favor with respect to this country, to this Islamic country, and with the determination of all brothers; all sections of the people; these problems will be resolved over a period of time. We must all be patient and give ourselves a chance.

The question of councils

However, the issue is that the task of each person... must be performed by himself. Everything should be in its proper place. This is among the programs of Islam and is the basis of our way of doing things. Not only you, every place, in every province, in whichever place it is, just as it was from the beginning of law, the councils must be guardian councils. This is what must be done and will be done, and is in the process. Now, they are busy preparing blueprints whereby you yourself manage your own affairs. The elections will be your own and you will undertake it yourself. Your tasks will be delegated to yourself. Not only your province, but also the same will apply to Khorasan, and similarly for Isfahan and everywhere else too it shall be the same. These councils must be everywhere and in every place, they must be autonomous and self-governing. This will also be for the benefit of the people as well as the government. The government cannot exercise control and supervision in every place. When it hands the job over to the people themselves, the people will show more sympathy for the needs of their own region and have better knowledge of their own needs. These are plans that are in the offing. You should not assume that these plans have been put into action somewhere else and you have been deprived of them; do not get this impression.

Implementation of the commandments of Islam

I plead with you not to be skeptical of your brothers. Just as we are not skeptical in relation to you, you too should not be cynical in relation to your government and with regard to us that we wish to elevate a certain group.

This was of the *taghuti* regime to create a class of servants for themselves and form their own groups and...

The whole nation is from us and we too are from the whole nation. And we are all your servants and of the rest of the nation. I assure you that all the problems that you have shall be solved. The issue is that there should be peace and security over there. Of course, we will communicate with the army staff and with the gendarmeries and advice them on these matters. May God willing all of you become happy and prosperous.

May God give His blessings to all of you, and all of us; and you under the banner of Islam and for the cause of God and for the Quran, all join and safeguard this movement and carry it to where we see the commandments of Islam in place exactly as it should be. Those teachings that give no person superiority over another except in respect of his piety; except in respect of his proximity to God.

Speech

Date: April 28, 1979 [Ordibehesht 7, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Transformation in society; toward realization of genuine Islam

Audience: A delegation from Dubai

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

A miraculous transformation

I must thank this gathering for having come here under the leadership of this gentleman. I am fond of this man for two reasons namely: one, because he comes from a great family and I am fond of that family, and two, for the liking I have for the persona of this gentleman who over a long period has encountered dangers in the path of Islam. These dangers are an honor for you and a source of pride for us.

Our nation has been afflicted with extraordinary catastrophes over a long period of years; afflicted by foreign domination; afflicted by the oppression of an ominous regime; afflictions that defy expression; troubles and treacheries that even history cannot record because most of these were hidden and have not been discovered by anybody yet and may not be discovered at all. But, by the grace of the Blessed and Almighty God and thanks to Him for availing this favor on the nation and abetting this nation for the realization of justice—and this would not have been possible except with the guidance of the Blessed and Almighty God and the assistance of the Master of the Age, may Gods peace and salutations be upon him, and with the assistance of Master of the Age and the guidance of the Divine Essence of the Truth, a great transformation was achieved by our nation; a spiritual transformation; a transformation for which I cannot put a name except to call it a miraculous transformation. It was a miracle in that within a short period a nation that was frightened of the shadow of a police officer, pushed back the Shah, and everyone together—big and small—challenged his power, and with clenched fists cried out “death to the Shah”. Those who are familiar with the environment of Iran over the past fifty years and know what this nation has faced, and what deals have been struck with foreigners and what plight this nation was caught in, and what state of mind they have had, must admit that a miracle had occurred for this great upheaval to have been taken

place. This very upheaval drove our nation ahead and caused it to triumph; an upheaval in which our youth wished for martyrdom and even now, they crave it. An upheaval in which old women—who had lost their children—felt honored and were ready to sacrifice their other children too. This transformation resulted in our nation being intimidated at all, and advancing—in spite of not having anything—in the face of the satanic power that was backed to the hilt by America and other big governments and superpowers, until it was able to smash this barrier. Now the barrier that hampered the movement has been obliterated; but we have extremely difficult stages ahead that must be overcome with the participation of the whole nation and the supplication of all nations.

Backwardness with the slogan of “great civilization”

They—these atheists—destroyed our country and fled. In the name of “great civilization” they wreaked such havoc and drove back the country to a place that it will take long years for it to come back to its own magnitude. They destroyed our economy; they destroyed our agriculture ... in the name of “land reforms”; they caused our military to become dependent on others; they had pushed back our culture; and worst of all they did not allow our human resources to develop. We now need manpower for reconstruction; and for tasks that require manpower we need to search to find them because for centuries they—and of late it is some fifty years—endeavored with all their strength to destroy our manpower resources.

Objective: Realization of the true Islam

Nevertheless, I am hopeful that the Blessed and Almighty God, who by His favors caused this weak nation to prevail over the arrogant people, will cause it to overcome its problems. Moreover, we should reform our culture, and to revert all those things that we have in mind—that are in non-Islamic mould—into Islamic mould. In addition, introduce Islam in the manner it should be and as it was at the advent of Islam, not the manner in which it has been introduced by foreigners and our youth have accepted and have been taken in by them.

If the Blessed and Almighty God grants His favor to us and our nation safeguards this secret, we are hopeful to be able to install an Islamic government and apply the commandments of Islam; However, we are in need of unity of expression, our nation should have unity of expression. Our people who are in different lands must join us in our efforts. Everyone together with one voice and one call forward march toward an Islamic

republic and application of the sacred Islamic principles. And I thank all the gentlemen. May God protect all of you, and under His shelter and protection, honor us with your existence.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: April 28 1979 [Ordibehesht 7, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwa 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Role of the oil industry employees in the Islamic Revolution; negating the plots

Audience: Representatives of the Islamic Association of the Oil Industry Employees

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Participation of the oil industry employees in the Islamic Revolution

All sections of the nation have a share in this movement. All have made efforts; all have sacrificed; all have given blood; but the employees of the oil industry have a prominent share. They have cut off the vital artery of the foreigners; it was they who by their strike, and cutting off the supply of oil, caused the movement to triumph; it was they who were burnt to ashes in the Rex Cinema at the hands of criminals and traitors; but attained eternal life—divine life at the divine court. Our martyrs have eternal life. I am thankful to all sections of the nation; more so especially to the oil industry employees. I pray for all and for you; but you must know that from here onward too, we must move forward with the same strength with which we have come to this stage.

Enemies fear of the power of Islam

Islam showed its devastating power. With the devastating power of Islam, the hands of the criminal were chopped off. At the hands of Islam, the traitors were banished. The foreigners felt the massive power of Islam and want to create trouble in its constructive dimension. With the devastating dimension of Islam, we have reached to this stage; and at the hands of the nation and with the support of God, the Blessed and Exalted, we must start on its constructive course and take it to its end. The ill-wishers do not want to see the display of the constructive dimension of Islam in the world so that it succeeds in burying the other schools of thought. Ill-wishers do not want to allow the wheel that has started to twin to continue its journey and engage in constructing. You the people must be alert and with revolutionary patience, get busy with reconstruction.

The country is in turmoil. The country is in a post-Revolution period; and after a revolution, there is turmoil. And praise be to God, the Revolution of Iran was a great revolution that had limited losses and abundant rewards.

The reward was the severance of the hands of the stooges of the foreigners, and the amputation of the hands of the local and foreign traitors; and there are bigger rewards to be in reconstruction. The traitors do not want to see this reconstruction, and the prosperity of the nation. They see their success and happiness in our poverty and backwardness; and for this reason, their filthy hands are at work to sow the seeds of discord among workers, state employees, agriculturists and among the various sections of the people of Iran.

Message to the workers and staff of the oil industry

You the representatives of the workers, please convey my message to the workers and staff of the oil industry. My dear ones. It is Islam that cares for you; it is Islam that gave its dear ones for your sake; it is Islam that gave the Doyen of the Martyrs for your sake. Islam has come for the sake of your happiness. These that sow the seeds of discord among you are afraid of Islam; are afraid of the lofty teachings of Islam. They are afraid that if the lofty teachings of Islam are applied, it will block their way, and it will block their way. Negate their plots, their big conspiracies, among all sections and in all instances.

I had said before that the devils are creating strife—everyday in a different name. We must put a stop to these disturbances; we should be alert, pay careful attention to these disturbances, and negate them. May be after a few days, another disturbance will arise. May be one of my offspring or myself would be assassinated. These people must know that our movement is not founded on an individual; our movement is all-encompassing; all the nation are its leaders; all have been awakened. They should not assume that they can achieve anything by assassination. Our people have found their way. We are not afraid of these conspiracies.

A piece of advice to the nation

I counsel you, the people of Iran, that if in a newspaper or in the Media or in any other place, they criticize or abuse me, no one has the right to speak a single word. I have made it illegal for you to reply, because it is a plot. Nullify the plots with your silence. And should the plots become too many then we shall nullify them with our fists.

Be fraternal with one another; do not be spiteful, do not hold a grudge; move ahead with your eyes wide open. Undertake useful works wherever you are, work for the good of your own society; regard the society as your own; regard the country as your own; work for yourself, work for your

Islamic country; work for the Quran. The whole of Iran and all the Islamic countries are an Islamic association; a single association and that is a divine association. We must all be together for the sake of Islam and congregate together. Each one of these respectable associations is a branch of that great Islamic association under the leadership of the Imam of the Time—may God's peace be upon him. We are grateful to these Islamic associations.

May God grant you honor, health, and the favor to propagate the Islamic aspirations and the commandments of Islam among all sections of the people. You can attain happiness with Islam; you can march forward with Islam. May God grant happiness to all of you.

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

Speech

Date: April 28, 1979 [Ordibehesht 7, 1358 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Islamic Revolution and global calculations, status of the teacher and his mission

Audience: Teachers of Tajrish area; Islamic Revolutionary Guards of the town of Sarab; a gathering of the residents of Tabriz, Shiraz and Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The great Revolution

This great Revolution of our nation; this great, historical Islamic movement of Iran has reached thus far that we have come till the overthrow of the corrupt regime; till the severance of the hands of stooges of the foreigners; till the attainment of freedom; till the attainment of independence. These who circulate statements among our people questioning the ability of the Islamic movement at this halfway mark must know that what the people did was unparalleled in history. This movement has not reached its final destination; at this halfway stage, it accomplished a great feat that nullified the calculations of the calculating experts.

The Islamic Revolution, a stamp of invalidity of worldly equations and calculations

Materialistic calculating experts had not been able to foresee how a nation with bare hands could achieve victory over satanic forces who were armed with all sorts of modern weapons; with all modern ships—none of which our nation possessed and was all in the hands of the enemies of the nation. It was impossible and they regarded it to be impossible to smash this evil power and this huge barrier. Now that they have seen that with divine power—which is contrary to all material balances and has stamped the seal of invalidity on all materialistic doctrines; now that they have witnessed how a nation that had nothing managed to defeat the powers that had everything—and this is itself a negation of materialism—have fallen on their feet asking “what happened?” What more could have happened than this?”

Today, all of you are here, and say whatever you want in absolute freedom. What a blessing has been given to you; who other than Islam gave this to you? Those who question what Islam has done are aware of what Islam has done; they do not want Islam to progress. It is not that they do not

know what has happened. They know quite well that all their plots have been in vain; they know that the great powers have been crushed; they know that this great satanic barrier has been smashed until eternity, but they want this movement not to go further and are therefore asking what happened. What do you wish to happen?

We assume that nothing else will happen; what more do we want to happen? We have cut off the hands of the devils; our nation chopped off the hands of plunderers from its people and its country. What could be greater than this? It has broken the chains of subjugation; it has thrown out the American and others too. What else do you want to happen? What do you mean by what happened?

Small group obstacles on the way to the progress of Iran and Islam

We would like to go forward by God's will. We want to push forward this movement so that welfare, in this world and the hereafter can be realized for this country. These devils do not wish to see the realization of these objectives.

These devils are afraid of Islam, they had perceived the strength of Islam...; they have understood the power of the people; they know the meaning of unity of expression. Now, they try to tarnish the image of the Islamic republic in the eyes of the people. They ask what happened? What do you want to happen? You do not let us take the next steps. You move among the people—among the peasants—and sow the seeds of discord so that the objectives of agriculture are not achieved. Our government wants to get agriculture on the right track and so do our nation, but you do not allow it to happen. You traitors do not allow. Our government wants to get the factories to operate so that welfare is realized, so that the wheels of the country begin to move, but you devils do not allow. We want this unity of expression to be maintained until the very end.

We want this movement to bear fruit in a manner that befits Islam; in the manner, that God has ordained. You devils indulge in sowing the seeds of discord. Everyday, on one pretext or the other you create infighting among the people, and compel them to stage demonstrations. You prevent the realization of that which must be realized. What do you mean by “what happened?” Let us to do our job and see what will happen.

Eradication of the roots of oppression and exploitation through unity and perseverance

My brothers! My brothers from Tabriz! My brothers from Fars! My brothers from Isfahan! Other brothers who have come to this place from various parts of the country. While I am thankful to you, I must caution you to be alert, to beware. Nullify the cunning plans of these people. Do not permit these discord-mongers to infiltrate the ranks of the people and cause them to disperse. Be a single rank. *“God loves those who fight in His cause in ranks as if they were like a solid structure.”*¹

Safeguard this great barrier that destroyed that big barrier. Safeguard these drops that turned into a colossal flood; these units that obliterated all the obstacles from their path like a great flood. March forward with this great flood and destroy all the roots of oppression and tyranny.

Cut off the hands of traitors. Do not let these traitors enter your factories. They have no pity for your condition, they are afraid of Islam. They have felt the power of Islam; they realized what Islam really is. Moreover, they realized that none of the superpowers could resist the power of Islam; while they want to prevent this movement from fruition.

But the devils and the discord-mongers should know that they are wrong in their thinking! These devils and evil ones should realize that they do not have such power.

The power that devastated that big barrier will nullify these trivial drops too. We will give complete freedom but not freedom for conspiracy, corruption, or sabotage. Conspiracies must be nullified. Saboteurs must be stopped; the remaining rotten roots of the evil regime and its filthier supporters must be eradicated. We will uproot them all.

Teachers great status and his grand mission

I thank you the sons of Islam, who gathered here, and all strata of the people; and I pray for all. I should accentuate that the teachers status is very lofty; there is no greater status than that of the teacher; it is so great that even the Blessed and Almighty God has respected it much. Therefore, it is very great responsibility; and the higher the status, the greater will the responsibility be.

The responsibility of educating the youth is not an insignificant one. The whole nation must be teachers—teachers of their own children. All the individuals of Islam must be teachers, and all its individuals pupils. Women too must be teachers for their children and educate them just like masters and

¹ *Surah as-Saff* 61:4.

teachers. Fathers must be teachers to their own children. Your family must be a school teaching the tenets of Islam, and polishing the behavior of the young ones. You must present refined children to the teachers and the teachers must refine them further.

O teacher! Wake up!

The teachers have a lofty position and a very great responsibility. If our teachers are negligent in their imparting of education, they are answerable. It is the teachers who can safeguard the country, who can safeguard the independence of the country.

Our youth who are to hold the future of the country in their hands must be trained under the guidance of teachers. If they are trained into righteous individuals then a righteous country will be inherited by us; and if God forbid, the education becomes non-spiritual, then our country will perish. O teacher! Wake up!

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the success, health, and happiness of all of you and all sections of the people and all Muslims in all lands.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Letter

Date: April 28, 1979 [Ordibehesht 8, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to a letter

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Wahidi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Jamadi ath-Thani 1, 1399 AH

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

Your honored letter and the beautifully written verses that flowed from your gifted poetic talent have been received. I pray to the Almighty God for your health and happiness. I thank you for the hardship you have borne in the path of the Islamic ideals of the people of Iran and shall bear God willing from now onward.

It is hoped that by the will of God and the efforts of the people, we will attain our main objective, which is the establishment of an Islamic government based on the sacred commandments of Islam. I hope for your good wishes and prayers. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: April 28, 1979 [Ordibehesht 8, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Participation of all sections in the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Gathering of the residents of Varamin and QaSr-e Shirin; workers of the Water Department

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Participation of all strata in the victory of the Revolution

Whichever strata of the great nation of Islam and the magnificent people of Iran I come across; I see that we have a moral obligation towards them. Whichever stratum I meet, I notice that we have a specific moral obligation towards them. The respected gentlemen and the honorable youth of Varamin have special prerogative on us; they bore hardship on Khordad 15, 1342 AHS [June 5, 1963] and suffered the loss of their youth¹ and were active for Islam and have continued with their activities. The employees of the water department have a right over us, over Islam; they have a worthy share. They worked for Islam and the Muslims. All strata of the nation have a share in this privilege. Was it not because of the great strength of the nation, together with unity of expression and trust in the Almighty God, I do not know in what state we would have been now; we would either be in prisons or in exile.

It was this great courage of you the youth, and the steely determination of our nation, that with trust in God, took this movement forward, brought us honor in this world, and elevated Islam. You have a right over Islam; in the same way, that Islam has a right over all of us. Islam has a right of guidance over all. We are servants; and you who have served Islam; Islam is indebted to you.

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

Discord-mongers

However, you must take note that victory has not yet reached its conclusion; we have stages that we must pass through. That is possible with the brave efforts of you, the youth. You the youth of different sections of the nation must carry this movement to its conclusion. Those who want to sow the seeds of discord among us are misled—there will not be discord among the people. The ill-wishers want to obtain some evil results from this division and push you back and not allow this movement to bear fruit. You must negate this plot. These individuals that engage in plots must be put in their rightful place. I implore the Blessed and Almighty God to sustain the unity of this nation. And with the unity of the people and trust in Islam and the doctrine of Islam, we must all march forward and establish Islam abroad and make it a conspicuous reality.

Unparalleled unity

May God grant all of you happiness and health. I also thank the residents of QaSr-e Shirin—who have come here from such a long distance. All of Iran has a right over us. All the individuals, all the regions have a right over Islam. Praise be to God, the unity that has been initiated in Islam, in Iran such a unity has never been recorded throughout history. With this unity of yours; with this referendum that you undertook—which is unparalleled throughout history—you all have brought glory to Iran and to Islam. May God grant His favors to all of you. And may you all live in happiness and health.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Decree

Date: April 29, 1979 [Ordibehesht 9, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 2, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Preparation of the executive charter of the city and town councils

Addressee: Islamic Revolution Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islamic Revolution Council:

With regard to the establishment of a popular government in Iran and sovereignty of the people over their destiny, which is among the essentials of the Islamic Republic, I deem it necessary to immediately take relevant action for the preparation of the executive Charter of the councils for the administration of the local affairs of towns and villages all over Iran; and after its approval, communicate the same to the government so that the government takes immediate action for its implementation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 30, 1979 [Ordibehesht 10, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Discontinuation of diplomatic relations with Egypt

Addressee: Ibrahim Yazdi (Foreign Minister of the provisional government)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi, Minister of Foreign Affairs:

With regard to the treacherous treaty of Egypt and Israel and the unquestionable subservience of the Egyptian government to America and Zionism, the interim state of the Islamic Republic of Iran should discontinue its diplomatic relations with the government of Egypt.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi ath-Thani 3, 1399 AH

Message

Date: April 30, 1979 [Ordibehesht 10, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 3, 1399 AH] ¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Unity, the key to victory

Addressee: Muammar Qadhdhafi (Leader of Libya)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Colonel Muammar Qadhdhafi, Leader of Libyan Revolution:

Your honorable letter that included your kind words about me and referred to the problems being faced by the oppressed nation of Iran and the tragedies inflicted on the noble Muslim people, was received through Major Abdus-Salam Jallud for which I am thankful to you. The nation of Iran, after the dark eras of suppression and after having to bear a horrific destiny and losing their independence and Islamic and national identities at the hands of criminals—at the head of whom was the treacherous Pahlavi dynasty—and after being witness to the plundering and innumerable betrayals of the religious and national sanctities and the huge resources of the country, and above that of the human resources and their cultural heritage, have by the will of the Almighty God and reliance on Islam and the glorious Quran, came into their own, and with their Islamic uprising, smashed the great barriers of exploitation and tyranny, and thereby wrapped up the scroll of the traitors and the dictatorial regime of the 2,500 year-old despotic monarchy and its remnants.

The noble people of Iran, like their Islamic brethren at the advent of Islam and the period of revelation, triumphed with their bare hands and without any armaments but armed with the power of faith and self-sacrifice for the cause of Islam, and by resorting to martyrdom, thereby buried the despotic, exploitative and imperial enemies in the dustbins of history. It was Islam and our ideals that made us victorious. If nations and governments want to attain victory and attain the Islamic objectives in all their dimensions, which is for the happiness of mankind, they must cling to the rope of God² and hold fast altogether by the rope which Allah stretches out for you, and to shun differences and division and obey the command. Turning ones back to

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22 volume edition) vol. 6, p. 122, the date is mentioned as Ordibehesht 17, 1358 AHS which is not correct according to the handwritten document.

² *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103.

the lofty teachings of Islam and looking toward the East and West has resulted in the subjugation of about one billion Muslims despite their huge wealthy resources and has squandered their resources and traditions. You saw and we bore witness of how the unity of expression of a brave but weak nation by trust in Islam and the Almighty God resulted in the defeat of the international giants and severed the hands of all the colonialists. Thus, in order to achieve independence and freedom, Muslims must get hold of this key to victory and try hard for unity of expression. You the leaders of governments must pursue this Islamic objective and shun hostility and antagonism with your brothers. The responsibilities of Islamic governments at the court of the potent God and at the court of nations are very great. Islamic governments must cut off relations with Egypt for the great betrayal of it of Islam and the Muslims and put it in its rightful place. The nation of Egypt must sever the hands of this traitor from their country, and thereby, wash away the disgrace of subservience to America and Zionism from their nation. I have ordered the government to discontinue relations with Egypt. We shake the hands of all Islamic nations in brotherhood and seek their help for achieving the Islamic objectives. May peace, mercy, and blessings of Allah be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi ath-Thani 3, 1399 AH

Radio-Television Message

Date: May 1, 1979 [Ordibehesht 11, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The dignity of labor and the laborer; the reconstruction of the country

Occasion: Universal day of labor and the laborer

Addressees: Laborers and other strata of the people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Every day is labor and laborers day

The allocation of a particular day to workers is perhaps in consideration of formalities and respect, otherwise every day is labor and laborers day. In fact, the universe is made up of work and workers. To allocate a specific day to workers is like allocating a day to light; allocating another day to the sun. Everyday there is light and is day of light, everyday is a day of the sun; but maybe these are formalities and out of respect, for this reason it is not inappropriate, but if viewed realistically, work and the worker have been present everywhere in all the worlds pre-natural and the natural worlds and the supernatural worlds—and all the creatures of the world whether they are pre-natural creatures or whether they are natural creatures or whether they are supernatural ones—have all been born from the worker, and work is likened to existence and plays a role in all activities of the universe.

The veneration and respect of labor and the laborer

The universe has been created from actions of God. The constituents of the universe have been created by the activities of certain creatures. You can never find a creature where the laborer and labor does not exist in its being, and is not itself labor. Laborers also are labor; they have been born out of work.

Particles of creatures in the world—in the natural world—are actively engaged in the creation of all the creatures that exist in this world; even solids, even trees; all are living; all are workers, for work rules over the entire world. From the beginning, the world was created with work and the workers are the origin of all creatures. The Almighty God is the source of labor and is a worker. He is active. The creatures of the invisible world, who have attained reality by means of invisible actions, are workers. The creatures of the natural world are the same, too. Whichever place and strata you observe; whether there are creatures that from our viewpoint are at the

lowest rung of creation such as minerals, earth, and solids and whether they are at the next level of creation such as plants, trees, and whether they are after these in creation such as animals, and whether they are superior to all these such as the human being—all are reflections of work and all are workers. The workers have made them. Labor has command over all creatures.

The supernatural world—heaven and hell—too has been built by work and the worker. Heaven and hell have been created because of the work of human beings. It is by the work of a human being, that is, either a good deed or good work which is the source of realization of paradise, or immoral and corrupt deeds that are the origin of hell. We must not allocate a special day for the worker on the ground that this is the very day of celebration of the worker. Yes, it is not improper that we choose a day for the worker in order to make the world realize that it is labor and the laborer from whom everything is created.

Almighty God, the origin of work

Work is like the manifestation of the Exalted Truth that has penetrated all creatures. Work is inherent in all creatures, and they have been fashioned by work. All particles are created by the laborers. Even atomic particles that are present in this world of nature are workers have intelligence. All particles in the universe are active and intelligent, but we think they are not intelligent, *“And there is no creature except that hymns His praises; but you do not comprehend their hymns of His praise.”*¹ All are in praise of the truth; all are the workers of God; all are obedient of the Exalted Truth; and work is present everywhere and throughout the universe it is “Labor and laborers day” and not just one single day is of labor. Throughout the universe, it is labor and laborers day; throughout the universe there is laborer; through out the universe there is work. In other words, the particles of creation that—by the will of God—create human beings and other animals are workers and thus a human being is work; he is the result of their work. All creatures that you see in the world are the consequences of the active work of the workers of God. All the army of God is laborers. The Almighty God is the origin of work.

Commemoration of labor and laborers day

¹ *Surah al-Israh* 17:14.

We regard this as a big day because it has been assigned to the worker. In Islam, the worker, when we observe in a more limited environment meaning in this lower creature, on this earth; in this small star which is insignificant vis-à-vis the infinite universe, vis-à-vis the material universe it is of miniscule matter. In other words, the material universe is so vast that what humankind has discovered so far is very little. It is said that some stars are more than six billion light years away and their light takes six billion light years to reach us. And this is what has been discovered and only God knows what lies on the other side and beyond. The earth in comparison with such a vast expanse is an insignificant thing, rather our sun and all our solar system is a mere speck in relation to the universe and the whole universe is a mere speck in comparison to the supernatural world. The whole world of matter is as a speck vis-à-vis the supernatural world; and the entire supernatural world both pre-natural and post-natural are insignificant in comparison to the will of God.

Workers and peasants, managers of the human society

Now, we are discussing this small star, which is very insignificant in the universe, and we are engaged in a debate; and about the worker—in a manner that has been understood by others—we have a lot to say, perhaps we must shorten the scope of our discussion and make it more understandable. These, our workers are managers of the human society. The administration of the affairs of countries and lands are in their hands; in the hands of peasants, in the hands of factory workers and farmers and rural workers. It is they who manage the territories and the countries; and in this respect, they are managers of this world—the world of nature. In other words, on this small planet; on this earth, that is a small planet, the administration of the affairs of this earth is in the hands of workers. Their hands at work manage, and revive this world; and revive the country. Therefore, they shoulder a heavy responsibility; they are highly respected but have a lot of responsibility. Any person, who is more respected in the world, has respect for the Almighty God and is a greater source of inspiration, his responsibility is correspondingly greater. All the actions, and all the things that are in the country, the bounties that are present in the country are indebted to the existence of our workers, whether they belong to the class of farmers or laborers or the class of the rest of the factory workers; and therefore, they are privileged over all others. However, the things they are burdened with; the responsibilities that are on their shoulders are higher than all responsibilities.

Workers: Agents of growth and decline of countries

If a country inclines towards growth, it is with the hands of you the beloved workers that it inclines towards growth; and if a country tends towards decline, again it is with you that it tends towards decline. It is because of not working or being lethargic at work or not being interested to work that a country slides into decline. Today, the country is you; the country belongs to the workers. There is not more interference of foreigners in the affairs of the country; there is no more suppression; there are no more pressures; there are no more plunders. Today, the country belongs to you and you have direct responsibility for it. You are answerable if you do not strive in the affairs for which you are responsible; if you do not endeavor in your duty and do not repay the debt that is owed by you to your country and to Islam. Moreover, should you strive and get the wheels of the country to move, you have a great honor with God. Islam has great respect for you; Islam regards you as the safe-keepers of the earth; you are the treasurers of the earth so that you must make the earth habitable and it is your duty to make it habitable, and it is for yourself that you make it habitable. You must accept this responsibility in the manner that you think is befitting and the way you want it to be; and not lend ears to the words of those who want to prevent these wheels from getting started. They are not interested in you; it is Islam that has respect for you and secures your rights and gives you what is your rightful due. Let Islam be realized; let the rotten roots of tyranny and exploitation wither and be eradicated; let those individuals who want to work for others be crippled.

Role of workers and farmers in the reconstruction of the country

You are our brothers. You are dear to us, you must manage this country; it is you who can carry this load to its destination; it is you who can get the wheels of industry in the factories moving and get them started and save the country. It is you the farmers, who can get the wheels of agriculture to move; and it is your efforts that can cause agriculture to be undertaken in the proper way. You know that they brought our agriculture to a standstill and destroyed it; now that the hands of the outsiders are severed and this country has become yours, it is up to you to continue with your agriculture and give the government time to help you and it will help to the extent that it can. You are our worker brothers; let the wheels of industry move in the factories so that this country becomes habitable for you and for all. You should allow and give time so that these factories start to work and the wheels of the country get moving. You are all our brothers and we are all at your service. You can manage the country, and get rid of these unrests.

You know well that they caused unrest in the country. You know well that they looted and went; and left our treasuries empty and fled. Now we all must together, and not a single stratum of the people alone, all together strive to get the wheels of this country to move so that our country gets into shape. Islam acknowledges your rights, and Islam will give everyone his due. Islam reserves rights for all workers, men and women; for all men and women peasants, and regards them with respect and shall give them their due. You should allow the realization of Islam; you should allow the republic of Islam with the enlightening tenets of Islam to be realized. You should not allow the individuals, who want to prevent these wheels from moving; who wish to prevent the realization of our agricultural objectives and prevent our factories from operating; to work. You should not permit them to engage in such activities and deceive you. They want to deceive you in order to plunder the resources of this country; to take away the riches of this country; and to give a free hand to those who want to take away the wealth of this country. You must prevent this from happening; all of us must prevent this from happening.

I pray to the Exalted God for the health and prosperity of the whole nation and for the glory of Islam and the honor of the nation and for the freedom and independence of this nation. All of us together, the peasant, and the worker with us; and all of us together, forward march.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Letter

Date: *Unknown*

Subject: Expression of regret for the events that have occurred and the need to be patient in the face of adversity

Addressee: Mr. Ruhani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Ruhani:

I received your letter which caused me sorrow. Considering my present condition, it is long after that I am informed of the problems happening, and sometimes the problems that arise are cause for regret. About your migration, I believe that human beings must be patient in the face of events that occur in these circumstances and not vacate their posts. I hope that God willing, the problems will be resolved as desired.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: May 1, 1979 [Ordibehesht 11, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The personality and academic position of Murtada Mutahhari¹

Occasion: Martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari

Addressees: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Verily to Allah we belong and to him we shall return.”

I express my condolences and congratulations to Islam, to its exalted prophets, to the nation of Islam and in particular, to the combatant people of Iran for the sorrowful loss of the honorable martyr, thinker, philosopher, and esteemed theologian the late Haj Shaykh Murtada Mutahhari—may his soul rest in peace. Condolence on the martyrdom of a personage who spent his noble and precious life in the cause of the sacred objectives of Islam and who struggled ferociously with deviations and perversions; condolences on the martyrdom of a man who was peerless in Islamology and various Islamic studies and the glorious Quran studies. I have lost a very beloved son and mourn him, for he was among the personalities that were considered to be the achievement of my life. With the martyrdom of this honorable son and immortal scholar, in a blow has been dealt beloved Islam that nothing can

¹ Professor Ayatullah Murtada Mutahhari (1298-1358 AHS) was born on Bahman 13, 1298 AHS [February 3, 1920] in the village of Fariman near Mashhad to a family of clergymen. At the age of 12, he went to Mashhad where he learned the basics of Islamic sciences and then moved to Qum where he attended the class sessions conducted by the great authorities of the theological center. From 1319 AHS [1940] Mutahhari had taken part in the sessions led by Imam Khomeini and other famous teachers of the time. Moreover, he himself conducted lessons in subjects like Arabic literature, logic, *kalam* [scholasticism], jurisprudence, and philosophy. In 1331 AHS [1952] Mutahhari was transferred from Qum to Tehran and in 1334 AHS [1955] he was invited to teach Islamic sciences at the Faculty of Islamic Sciences, Tehran University. He was arrested at the midnight of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS [1963] and spent 43 days in prison. After Imam Khomeini's migration to Paris in France, Mutahhari went to meet him and His Eminence assigned him the responsibility of organizing the Revolutionary Council. On the night of Ordibehesht 11, 1358 AHS [May 1, 1979] Mutahhari was martyred by an agent of the Furqan terrorist group. He wrote more than 50 books and tens of articles, and delivered scores of speeches. Imam Khomeini said of Mutahhari: “His written and spoken words are, without exception, educational and enlivening... I recommend that the students and intellectual group not to let Mutahharis words be forgotten by non-Islamic tricks...”

substitute. And felicitations on the possession of these self-sacrificing personalities who spread and are spreading light with their appearance, both in this life and the here after. I congratulate the great Islam, the trainer of human beings and the Islamic nation for rearing such offspring, who with their luminous light give life to the dead and spread light in darkness. Although I have lost a beloved child who was a part of my being, I am honored that such self-sacrificing children had existed and exist in Islam. Mutahhari who was peerless in purity of soul and strength of faith and power of oratory, has departed and joined the exalted souls, but the malevolent people should know that with his departure, his Islamic, scholarly, and philosophical personality has not gone.

Terrorists cannot assassinate the humane personality of the men of Islam. They should know that by the will of the powerful God, with the departure of great individuals our nation will become more determined in its resolve to fight against immorality, tyranny, and oppression. Our nation has found its way and now will not rest until the obliteration of the decayed roots of the former regime and its evil supporters. The beloved Islam proliferated with the sacrifice and martyrdom of its most beloved ones. From the age of revelation until now, Islam has thrived on martyrdom interlaced with moral heroism. Fighting for the cause of God and the cause of the down trodden has been at the head of Islam's plans. *"Why do you not fight in the way of Allah and for the sake of weak men and women and children?"*¹

These people, who have tasted their defeat and death and by means of this inhuman behavior wish to take revenge or in their own wishful thinking, frighten the holy warriors of Islam are wrong in their thinking. From every strand of hair of a martyr from us; and from every drop of blood that pours to the ground, determined and combative human beings are created. Unless you assassinate the whole courageous nation, the assassination of a single individual; however, great he may be, will be of no benefit for returning to your plundering. A nation that with trust in the great God and for the resurrection of Islam, has risen, will not turn around by these desperate attempts. We are ready for sacrifice and are prepared for martyrdom in the cause of God.

I announce Thursday, May 3, 1979, as a day of public mourning for paying respects to a self-sacrificing and holy warrior of the path of Islam and the nation; and I shall be in mourning on Thursday and Friday at the Faydiyyah Madrasah. I implore the Almighty God to grant blessings and

¹ *Surah an-Nisa* 5:75.

forgiveness to that beloved son of Islam, and honor and glory to Islam.
Salutations to the martyrs of the path of truth and freedom.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: May 1, 1979 [Ordibehesht 11, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 4, 1399 AH] ¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Dia ar-Rahman, the President of Bangladesh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Jamadi ath-Thani 4, 1399 AH

His Excellency Dia al-Rahman—President of the people of Bangladesh:

I would like to thank you for your kind message regarding the victory of the honorable people of Iran and the establishment of an Islamic Republic in the beloved country of Iran. I pray to Almighty God for happiness and success of the co-religionist nation of Bangladesh. And it is hoped that our Islamic Republic, which is founded on the basis of unity and unanimity of the Muslim nations of the world, will play an effective role in the advancement of the lofty ideals of Islam and the glory of the Muslims of the world.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye-Nur*, the date is noted as Ordibehesht 16, 1358 AHS. The date Ordibehesht 11 is correct.

Letter

Date: May 4, 1979 [Ordibehesht 14, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Real estate donated for housing

Addressee: Jafar Saburi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Jafar Saburi, may his blessings last:

Your respected letter indicating that you are in good health has been received. In addition, an amount of fifty thousand tumans was received and the receipt for which has been sent to you. With regard to the real estate being donated by the respected believers for the purpose of house—construction, for the time being accept the ownership documents of the lands and issue receipts to them, till God willing, the plan of action for the whole country is soon announced. I pray to the Almighty God for your continued success. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 4, 1979 [Ordibehesht 14, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah School, Qum

Subject: Status of martyrdom in Islam; the role of the martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari in strengthening the Islamic Revolution

Occasion: Ceremonies commemorating the martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari

Audience: Various strata of the people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The philosophy of martyrdom in Islam

One of the differences of the school of thought of Islam, the school of thought of monotheism with the deviant school of thought of atheism; is that the men of this school of thought, consider martyrdom for their own selves as a great victory. “*O how I wish I too had gone along with them to do jihad and achieved the great success.*”¹ They welcome martyrdom because they strongly believe that after this natural world there are more sublime and spiritual worlds than this one. The Muslim is a prisoner in this world and is freed from this prison on attaining martyrdom. This is one of the differences between our doctrine—the school of thought of monotheism and the rest of the doctrines. Our youth are seekers of martyrdom. Our devoted theologians lead the way to martyrdom. Those who do not believe in God or the Day of Judgment are those that must be afraid of death; they must fear martyrdom. The pupils of the doctrine of monotheism and us are not fearful of martyrdom, we are not afraid. Let them come and test us, as they have tested us. One of the points that was realized in keeping with the narrative was the narration that “*The religion of God will always be affirmed by lewd men.*”² The lewd Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, whether you like it or not, this religion was affirmed because of him; because the greater the oppression; the more is the religion of justice affirmed. The tyrant corroborates the religion of justice with his acts of tyranny; and it has been so since eternity. Pharaoh affirmed the religion of Moses with his tyranny and rebellion; and so did Abu Sufyan with his revolt affirmed the religion of the honorable prophet; and Muhammad Rida corroborated the religion of Islam with his rebellion, mutiny, tyranny, and oppression. In the same way that from the class of

¹ *Surah an-Nisa* 5:73.

² *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 1 p. 170.

intellectuals and the theologian God is affirmed ... likewise, the Blessed and Almighty Gods commands are affirmed by the corrupt classes; from coarse men too, the religion of Islam and the religion of God are affirmed, and this is the same meaning that I have mentioned: not that they affirm, but it is affirmed (by them). "The religion of God will always be affirmed by lewd men."

"Kill us; our nation will become more awakened"

This coarse man who spilled our blood onto the ground, has corroborated the religion of God. In other words, God validated his religion to him. With the spilling of the blood of our beloved, our Revolution was validated. This Revolution must remain alive, this uprising must remain alive; and its remaining alive depends on these bloodsheds. Spill the blood; our lives shall be perpetuated. Kill us; our nation will become more awakened. We are not afraid of death, and nor will you profit from our death. It is proof of your helplessness that you murder our intellectuals in the darkness of the night. Because you have no reasoning. If you had logic, you would engage in talks; you would have engaged in discussions. However, you have no logic; your logic is assassination. Whereas, the logic of Islam regards assassination as wrong. Islam has logic; however, with the assassination of our important personalities, our great individuals, our Islam is validated.

The martyrdom of MuTahhari and the new wave in the world of Islam

Our movement was resurrected. All sections of the people of Iran started life all over again. If it had developed lethargy or a weakness, it was resurrected. Was it not because of the martyrdom of this great man; and had this great man died in his bed; this would not have been substantiated; this wave would not have arisen. Now a wave, all over the world; the entire world; all the world that is interested in Islam has arisen. My brothers in the rest of the countries be not afraid of this wave.¹

Dying is not perishing; dying is life. That world has life; this world is dead. Do not be afraid of dying; and we are not afraid. Those must be afraid who regard dying as perishing; who regard it as loss and destruction. Why should Muslims be scared of death? Why should the theologians be scared of death? This doctrine is perpetual, the doctrine of Islam is eternal; this uprising will endure until these decayed roots are also buried, until these rotten roots are also exterminated; until these feeble conspiracies are also

¹ *Mathnawi Manawi*. Referring to *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:195: "Do not put yourselves in danger by your own hands."

neutralized. May God aid you. May God aid our brothers and our sisters; who have all been useful for Islam and have all carried this movement forward. Now too, all of us together, forward march!

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 6, 1979 [Ordibehesht 16, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Problems of the Islamic world

Audience: Representatives of the liberation fronts of Islam

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Problems of the Muslims

Before anything else, I would like to thank all of you of this respected group who are in the service of Islam and have come here to meet me. And I pray to God for your success and the success of all the Muslims for the realization of the aspirations of Islam; and I implore God to enable us to succeed in what the Quran, the honorable Prophet, and the Imams of the Muslims have wanted us to practice.

We have certain problems ... one set of problems concerns Iran, one set of problems concerns all the Muslims and yet one set of problems are with regard to the governments who rule over the Muslims. The problems of Iran are concerned with the obstacles that were placed to hinder the spread of Islam and the salvation of the Islamic nation. By the will of God and the valiant efforts of all believers, we smashed the barrier and cleared all the obstacles. However, we now have other problems, because all the organizations of those who went away were un-Islamic and evil; and with a lot of effort we need to convert, these organizations into Islamic structures. I pray to God to grant us success in our efforts to establish Islam the way it is.

More important than these are the problems that are faced by Muslim nations and governments. Throughout history, there has been concerted propaganda to create division among the Muslim nations who are spread far and wide in various territories. In order to cause disunity among Muslims, who are spread all over the world and number about one billion, there has been publicity in order not to allow the creation of unity of expression. This propaganda has resulted in the alienation of brothers and establishment of various nations; and things that were inconsequential at the advent of Islam are to be propounded in order to divide and weaken them. Worse than this, is the problem of governments. During the Ottoman era, when Muslims had a relatively strong government, and were a power that would sometimes take on Japan and the Soviet Union and defeat them, and the Muslims were the

cause of fear for foreigners, unfortunately, because of the very fact that the foreigners were afraid of this unity, when they triumphed in the first World War, they carved the Ottoman empire up and appointed a person for each place and made efforts to make these governments become inimical with each other, because they knew that if the Muslims, with these resources and populations, were to unite, it would not be pleasant for America and the West and perhaps the Muslims would have threatened them. For this reason, they created conflicts among the governments; and these people were their agents.

The dominance of foreigners, the greatest evil

Today, there is a bigger danger. Previously, they were afraid of the unity of Muslims; but this was a hypothetical problem not a real one. Today, with trust in God, Iran has revolted, and they discovered and felt and at the same time witnessed, how a nation having no weaponry, armed with the power of Islam and faith and unity of expression, defeated the devils who were fully equipped and in possession of modern weapons and who were fully backed by the great powers such as America and England, who were not able to keep the Shah in power. They sensed the power of unity of expression. Previously it was theoretical but now it is conscientious and palpable. For this reason, now they have mobilized their forces even more in order to create disputes in Iran. In Kurdistan, in Baluchistan, all over Khuzestan, they want to sow the seeds of discord on various pretexts. And, this is the very reason that they strive to ensure that no unity of expression is attained among the Muslim brethren, and the reason that they compel governments even to fight each other, and they install their supporters in Islamic countries. The big problem is that our governments do not let unity be realized, and want to secure their own interests.

For the reason that you want to obey the commandments of God, you should undertake to prohibit evil, the greatest evil, which is the domination of foreigners over us. You must forbid this evil. You should warn the governments to desist from conflict with one another and with the nation, and instead not show kindness toward the enemies of Islam whom God has commanded not to befriend. Now, there is no greater evil except for the one that has jeopardized the interests of the Muslims. This is the duty of all of you who want to serve God; all of us must condemn this enmity and make Islamic unity our slogan. With unity, and being under the banner of "*There is no god, save Allah,*" we shall triumph.

Key to victory

Until the Muslims do not discover the secret of what happened in Iran, they shall not become victorious. The nation of Iran became united, and together with one voice, wanted Islam and the Republic of Islam. Moreover, when all became united; God granted them victory. If only the Muslims discover this secret, and if this great nation congregates together, they are a power above the powers; because in addition to natural resources, they have the spiritual power that includes faith in God and the Messenger which if combined will become a power above them. However, unfortunately, admonitions are rarely effective.

It is almost twenty years since I have been advising the Arab countries to get together and banish this source of corruption. If Israel becomes powerful, it will not be content with Bayt al-Muqaddas alone; but unfortunately, advice does not seem to work on them. I implore God to awaken the Muslims.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 6, 1979 [Ordibehesht 16, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Safeguarding religion and struggle with the carnal soul

Audience: Revolutionary Guards of the Islamic Revolution Committee of the Haj Abul-Fath Mosque of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

May God protect you the Revolutionary Guards, the Revolutionary Guard of Islam, the army of the Imam of the Time for us. May you succeed, God willing. The service that you are now undertaking is service to Islam in confrontation with the *taghut*. Service to Islam is supported by God; by the Imam of the Time, may Gods peace be upon him, and the Glorious Quran. With faith in the miraculous Quran, with faith in the sacred nature of the Sublime Truth, and with faith in Imam of the Time (*a*) guard and guard well.

Protect the people and protect them from the satanic power that exists, by means of its elimination. Human beings are always afflicted by evil forces; sometimes the evil forces are in the form of a Muhammad Rida; and sometimes the evil forces are within human beings. Engage in a sacred struggle; you are now the sacred warriors of Islam; engage in a sacred struggle with your inner carnal soul. Take care lest you commit a blunder in this guardianship. Take care lest—God forbid—people are harmed in any way by you. You are revolutionary guards; a guard must protect. Give protection to your own brethren, your own country; to the extent that you can. And protect your soul from the forces of evil. I pray to the Almighty God for the health and happiness of all of you. And convey my regards to Mr. Langrudi.¹ I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for his success and the success of all of you.

¹ Muhammad Husayn Langrudi is the congregational prayer leader of the Haj Abul-Fath Mosque.

Statements

Date: May 6, 1979 [Ordibehesht 16, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Islam and other schools of thought

Occasion: Congratulations on the establishment of the Islamic Republic

Audience: Five-member delegation on behalf of Zifār Liberation Front

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

If nations get to know Islam better, they will become victorious. These foreigners did not let the Muslims get to know the real Islam. Islam consists of all the happiness for nations, whereas, the other doctrines eventually lead to dictatorships.

Speech

Date: May 6, 1979 [Ordibehesht 16, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah School, Qum

Subject: The Islamic Revolution and worldly calculations

Audience: City and traffic police personnel; the exemplary Revolutionary Guards of the Zone 9 Committee of Tehran City

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Islamic Revolution, crossing out of the material calculations and transactions

The calculations of the experts turned out to be wrong and yet they were not awakened. Our divine movement nullified the calculations of the experts, and yet they do not take a lesson. The calculations of the materialists who assumed that it was impossible for our nation to crush the great powers with bare hands turned out to be wrong. Those who questioned how a bunch of youth working in the bazaars and teachers without having anything could defeat a regime that had everything at its disposal, realized that their materialistic calculations were void. Here, it is a divine calculation; here the Hand of God is at work. Individuals cannot create such a movement and such a force. Mankind cannot awaken all the sections in this manner; mankind cannot enable the men and women of a country; the child and adolescent of a country, to become self-sacrificing. It is the Hand of God and it is the divine will, which caused all sections of the nation to become brothers and invalidate all the calculations of the material pundits. It is the Hand of God and the will of the Blessed and Almighty God, that our elders such as Mr. Khosrushahi—Hujjat al-Islam Khosrushahi—along with this child would chant the same slogan. This is the power of God; human beings cannot. It is the power of God, which gave everybody the desire to be sacrificed and to regard martyrdom as a victory for him or her and be at the forefront. A nation for whom martyrdom is a glorious victory; a nation whose small child and aged man yearn for martyrdom, again the calculations of experts turn out wrong. By killing an individual however great, this nation shall not retreat. Once again, the Hands of the Blessed and Almighty God revealed itself and in the martyrdom of a martyr, it created such a wave in Iran and in other countries that it resurrected us; it revived Islam. If because the thought of victory had made us lethargic, it converted that lethargy to hardship and then turned it into a great barrier and resulted in all the people of Iran revolting

with divine power, and for all of you to get together here—the personnel of the police forces, the Revolutionary Guards, the elders of religion. It is the Hand of God at work that we are all congregated together here with a single will. My brothers! So long as this movement is in place and so long as this divine power is present, you shall move ahead. Safeguard this divine movement, safeguard this unity of expression; safeguard this sanctity; this Islamism. So long as this divine will, and this unity of expression and this inclination towards Islam is present, you are victorious.

Victory belongs to the nation

America is wrong to think that it can achieve anything by killings and assassinations. The phony communists are wrong in their thinking; the deviant school of thought are mistaken in their thinking; the rotten roots of the former regime are wrong to think that with assassination they can hold back the sentiments of our people: instead, they have increased the sentiments—and again their calculations became wrong.

The divine calculation is other than material calculation. These that you take into account are material calculations; it is materialism. We regard martyrdom as life for ourselves. Our friends regard martyrdom as living. The doctrine of Islam is like this. The doctrine of Islam regards martyrdom as life. It is the doctrine of Islam that seats this child beside me and we hear him shouting from deep inside his throat that he is prepared for martyrdom. This is the doctrine of Islam. Do not fight with the doctrine of Islam—you cannot win. Our nation is wide-awake. If we are assassinated, our nation is present; our great nation is alive; our movement is alive. Victory be to this life. Victory be to this nation. May God grant victory to all of you, and lead all of us on the path to righteousness.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 6, 1979 [Ordibehesht 16, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Manifestations of faith in the hearts of the people

Audience: Women of southern Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Manifestation of the light of the Quran in hearts

This is a miracle; it is a great miracle that you sisters and brothers with one voice and with clenched fists resisted the evil powers. It is a miracle of Islam; it is the power of Islam that has manifested itself in you. It is the power of faith that caused you to triumph in this struggle. This is a miracle that with the martyrdom of a beloved, a wave arises all over the world. This miracle places women in front of tanks and guns, and in front of machine-guns without any fear. It is the light of the Quran and Islam that is manifested in your hearts, and in the hearts of all the people of Iran. It is the light of faith as a result of which you women too have no fear of martyrdom.

America and other conspirators being in error

The enemies should not presume that with the martyrdom of our important personalities, this movement will come to a standstill. This movement has been ignited; this movement will endure until all the decayed roots of immorality are eradicated. This movement will endure until final victory; and whenever there is the possibility of its lethargy and weakening, the Almighty God by some means will rekindle it. Our enemies are mistaken in thinking that with killing us, the ominous regime or its likes will return. There is no chance of a return of that situation; the people of Iran will not accept that situation any more. America has made a mistake: the conspirators of America and England and those besides them are mistaken; these conspiracies have no effect. We have demolished the great barrier and these droplets count for nothing.

I thank my dear sisters who are assembled here, and with their demonstrations support this movement. May God protect you and maintain you for Islam. You have had and have a big share in this movement. You must take and shall take this movement to its fruition. I express my greetings

and salutations to you dear sisters and to all the sisters and brothers of the nation; and to all the Muslims.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Letter

Date: May 6, 1979 [Ordibehesht 16, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledging telegram of condolence

Occasion: Martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad Khatami

In Hid Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 9, 1399 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Khatami, may his blessings last:

I received your telegram of condolence for the sorrowful martyrdom of the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Mutahhari—may his soul be sanctified—for which I thank you. Other telegrams on this occasion were also received from the Students Islamic Association of Europe and the Iranians resident in Germany, England, France, and other European countries. You requested to convey my deep gratitude and greetings to all of them. I pray to Almighty God for everyones success. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 7, 1979 [Ordibehesht 17, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Jamkaran, Mosque of Imam of the Time (may Allah expedite his advent)¹

Audience: Board of Directors and Trustees of the Imam of the Time Mosque

[In His Most Exalted Name

On 7 May 1979, after negotiations and holding meetings that the members of the Board of Trustees and Directors of the sacred Mosque of the Imam of the Time in Jamkaran had with Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Shaykh Muhammad Yazdi and other religious authorities of the Qum Theological School and exchange of views, for the following issues, the below mentioned decisions were proposed and approved for action:

1. Considering the daily increasing popularity of the sacred mosque of the Imam of the Time with the people, the security and well-being of the pilgrims must be given greater attention than in the past, and attractive and reformatory plans that are very complete and are under the consideration of the Board of Trustees and Directors be implemented with immediate effect.

2. Peoples contributions in the form of donations for the construction and renovation operations and in the form of gifts and charities must be paid into a single account in the name of the mosque; and there should be only a single office in the mosque for the receipt of these funds. The account that was recently opened about six or seven months ago, in the name of the former staff of the mosque must be closed; and the office that was opened for receiving the donations in the mosque—other than the existing mosque office, must be closed down.

3. Considering that the sacred mosque of Jamkaran is a great memorial to the honorable Master of the Age—may souls be sacrificed for his school of thought—and that great man had ordered the construction of that mosque and drawn the attention of the Shiah to it, according to the narratives of the late Shaykh Saduq, may Allah be pleased with him; therefore it is regarded as a public trust and the person responsible for its trusteeship must be of the religious authority and its administration must also be under the supervision of the religious authority with a board comprising of a group of pious

¹ Jamkaran Mosque: an old mosque located in the rural area of Qum, which was reported to have been built under the instruction of Imam Mahdi (a).

believers and knowledgeable and trustworthy men who are followers of that honorable Imam (a). All the wealth and donations received must be spent—safeguarding of the interests of the mosque—precisely for reconstruction, expansion, and meeting the needs of that site by the previously mentioned board. Apart from love for service in the cause of Islam, it is advisable that the members of this board serve on an honorary basis; and just as it was honorary in the past, in this period of time also when the sacred sapling of the Islamic Revolution is beginning to grow, they should, with greater zeal continue with this honorary service of theirs, and be answerable to the religious authority with respect to big and small accounts and operations undertake. Meanwhile, administrative liaisons with the Islamic Republic trusts will be undertaken by this board, and vis-à-vis administrative issues, whether of trusts or of other offices of the country, this board too will be answerable.

4. The earlier plan of the Board of Trustees in the line of expansion and reconstruction of the mosque, part of which has been accomplished and the rest includes the following: A) Building of a hospital in the name of Master of the Age, may God expedite his advent, for the treatment of the poor. B) Construction of a three-hundred-room pilgrims quarters around the open areas for the comfort of pilgrims. C) Complete expansion of the mosque from the northern and eastern sections that does not in any way damage the old structure of the mosque in accordance with the existing plan. D) Completion of the existing buildings and expansion of the ablution house, in accordance with the same plan to be rapidly implemented and steps must be taken for arranging the budget in the same previous manner by attracting the attention of donors.

5. Two persons from the former Board of Trustees by the names of Haj Muhammad-Ali Zandiyyah and Haj Mahdi Iqbaliyan have tendered their resignations and the new members of the Board of Directors and Trustees—after the resignations—are as follows:

Messrs. Haj Sayyid Ali-Akbar Musawi Yazdi, Haj Sayyid Abdul-Husayn Mir-Hijazi; Haj Qudratullah Latifi; Haj Mahdi Jafariyan and Haj Ghulam Rida Tajalli.

6. Because no misconduct has been observed in the behavior of the staff and workers, they should continue with their services, and only the accountant by the name of Mr. Sayyid NaSrullah Burqai be replaced; and the number of employees be increased as required as per the approval of the Board.

The Council for attending to the affairs of the sacred Jamkaran Mosque of Qum: Haj Sayyid Ali-Akbar Musawi Yazdi, Haj Sayyid Abdul Husayn Mir-Hejazi; Haj Quدراتullah Latifi; Haj Mahdi Jafariyan, Haj Ghulam Rida Tajalli, Muhammad Mahdi Gilani, Husayn Rasti Kashani, al-Aqal¹ Ali Mishkini, Muhammad Yazdi, (and an illegible signature.)]

In His Most Exalted Name

I hereby endorse whatever the respected theologians have ratified.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Al-Aqal*: a title literally means, the most humble, used by the person writing the letter.

Statements

Date: May 7, 1979 [Ordibehesht 17, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Martyrdom in Islam; the question of establishment of justice; conflicts in the world of Islam.

Occasion: Martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari

Audience: Ambassador of Somalia

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Martyrdom in the path of the objective

I would like to thank you for the communication of condolences on behalf of the President, government and the people of your country with regard to this great tragedy that has befallen us and our country—rather to the nation of Islam. Nevertheless, we must give such martyrs, for the cause of Islam. From day one when Islam was born, it has propagated this righteous religion with martyrdom. Islam has had great martyrs and it is honored to have given great martyrs in the way of God and in the path of its objective. We too are honored to give martyrs in the cause of Islam and in the path of our objective—and this man is not the last of our martyrs. We may again have to give martyrs; and for us the life of this world is inconsequential. The objective is important and we shall strive in the path of the objective. And whatever happens in this regard we welcome it because it is for the attainment of the objective.

[**Interpreter:** In the second stage, he announced his government and nations endorsements of you.]

And regarding the endorsement of this movement. Of course, all Muslims had a share in this movement, this movement was for an Islamic objective, and not only for Iran; however, the starting point is from Iran and Muslims share in this objective. And the movement is for the establishment of justice, that I must say all mankind have a shared interest in it. And because it is for the establishment of justice, all Muslims participate in it. Therefore, it is necessary that all Muslims together, with one voice participate in this great Islamic movement and God willing, that objective which was realized in Iran—which is the reality of self-sacrifice for the cause of Islam and the unity of all sections of the nation for the advancement of the objectives of Islam—these should be achieved in all nations. And if such a unity of expression with such a great aim which is the establishment of

justice—is achieved in these countries and in the large countries of Islam, it will become such a great power that no power and superpower can withstand opposing it.

[Interpreter: With regard to your endorsement of the Palestinian government and wanting to secure their rights.]

However, concerning our endorsement of Palestine and our aversion of Israel; this is not something new. Since about twenty years ago up to the present, we have discussed and debated on this issue and have advised the Arab governments and the rest of the Muslims to co-operate on this issue. If ... the Arab governments—who have a large population and large number of groups—were in agreement with each other, these tragedies would not have occurred for Palestine and Quds. However, unfortunately the Arab governments did not listen to our admonitions and paid no attention to the differences that the hands of foreigners created among them, and even now, these differences exist and are increasing daily. In addition to the difference that arose because of the treaty between Egypt and Israel at the hands of foreigners,¹ it fanned the differences among Muslims and among governments of Islam. And because there is no political maturity among them, they could not solve the problem and thus submitted to such an important affair; such a treason that pursuant to that, the differences among Muslims and among Islamic governments increased and it caused our deep regret.

The insoluble puzzle

But with regard to Mr. Sadr (Leader of the Shiah of Lebanon); from the time I was in Najaf and this incident took place, until I left for Paris and then arrived in Iran, I was in touch with this issue. Mr. Sadr was born in Iran, and he is originally an Iranian. We were together for a long time and then he went to Lebanon as an Iranian. And we are interested both because he is an Iranian, and because he was the Leader of the Shiah Council of Lebanon. We are interested in solving this puzzle and repeatedly got in touch with Libya.

Moreover, we sent our Foreign minister, Mr. Qutbzadeh² once to Libya to pursue this matter. And after I came here, I spoke with the Ambassador of Libya who had come over to meet with me about this problem as well as I asked the Prime Minister of Libya who came here, to solve this mysterious puzzle. But unfortunately, this puzzle has not been solved for us until now. I

¹ Reference to the Camp David Accord.

² Sadiq Qutbzadeh.

hope that with the efforts of the government of Iran and the rest of individuals who are interested in Islam, this puzzle be resolved.

Unity of the Islamic world

However, with regard to our relations with Islamic governments—rather with all governments—there is a special relationship. Nevertheless, with all governments there is a political relationship that, of course, our government either establishes or strengthens. Moreover, our relations with Islamic governments must always be strong. Islamic governments must be like a single government; as if they are a single society, they have a single flag; they have a single holy book; they have a single prophet. They must always be united; they should have multilateral interests together. In addition, if ... these aspirations are fulfilled and among the Islamic governments, and there is unity from all aspects, then there will be hope that they can overcome their problems and become a bigger power than the other powers in relation to the rest of the powers.

At this moment, I thank your President, government and your people; and I hope that all Muslims achieve happiness and health and be delivered from the evil of outsiders.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 7, 1979 [Ordibehesht 17, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Steadfastness and inflexibility of the people of Iran in relation to conspirators

Audience: Tribes (Representatives of the Bahmani, Tayyibi, Doshman Ziyari, Karami, Yusufi clans and tribes of Kohkiluyeh province) together with the faithful of Behbahan

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

The path of the nation, an irreversible one

May God, protect you the tribal people from the evil of Satan. May God grant you good health and the favor to endeavor for Islam and the Islamic movement. We are all brothers with each other, and together we must be prepared to sacrifice ourselves in this path, which is the path of the Quran, and the path of Islam.

Our detractors believe that with these cowardly conspiracies, they can push back the people of Iran; the detractors think that by killing one or two persons or a few of our important personalities, we will retreat—this is a mistake.

We are determined. Our nation is determined not to rest until all the roots of colonialism and corrupt dictatorship are eradicated. These decayed roots—who are busily involved in corruption around our country—must know that if we determine and our nation determines, and I give the nation permission to proceed, they will eradicate and exterminate you in half a day.

Put aside your treacherous plots; put aside your crimes; leave our nation alone. You do not have the strength to return our nation to its past. We are determined to sacrifice our lives and our nation to the last drop of blood for Islam. We will give freedom of expression, for speaking and for writing; but we will not allow it to be used for conspiracy. And we will bury you and your conspiracies if you dare to engage in conspiracy. Wherever they are, our tribes are duty bound; wherever they are, the sections of our nation are duty bound not to allow these conspirators to continue with their existence and with their plots...you the tribes, wherever you live, you are the backing of Iran. May God protect all of you and grant you success; and may He favor all of us with martyrdom.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Message

Date: May 8, 1979 [Ordibehesht 18, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Desperate attempts of the enemy and the stronger determination of the Muslim nation

Occasion: Martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari

Addressee: The President of Libya; Muammar Qadhdhafi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Colonel Muammar Qadhdhafi, President of Libya:

I received the telegram of condolence of Your Excellency, which was transmitted on the sorrowful martyrdom of the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Professor Mutahhari. I thank you for the expression of your sympathy. The martyrdom of one of the greatest scholars of Islam was a loss for the world of Islam and all the Muslims. And our enemies have once again proven their antagonism and hostility towards Islam and the Muslims but they are ignorant of the fact that these desperate attempts make our Muslim and the awakened nation more determined to tread this path, and these satanic plots can never stop them in their path. I pray to the Almighty God for the success and happiness of all Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: May 8 1979 [Ordibehesht 18, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 11, 1399 AH] ¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Holding congregational prayers and propagation of religious law

Addressee: Sayyid Abdus-Sattar Muhammadi Miyanji

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 11, 1399 AH

Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Abdul-Sattar Muhammdi Miyanji—may his blessings last:

You are requested to hold congregational prayers and conduct religious affairs and propagate the sacred religious canons in the town of Miyaneh. Go there and in cooperation with the religious scholars and respected local residents, perform the assigned duties, God willing in the best possible manner. I pray to the Almighty God for everyones success of everyone. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (the new edition) the date is mentioned as September 1, 1979, but as recorded in history and in Imams own handscript it is mentioned May 8, 1979.

Speech

Date: May 8, 1979 [Ordibehesht 18, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Expression of sorrow on the sudden demise of a cleric engaged in holy struggle; warning to the remnants of the Shah and America

Audience: Employees of the Central Relief Committee

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

With one voice on the path of advancement of the Islamic Revolution

For me too, it is a source of regret as I knew him¹ closely and was optimistic for his future. It was expected that in the future, he would become a good servant. Now too he was busy serving when this accident took place. May God bless him and grant you the favor to perform your duties. Whether we die in these accidents and depart from this world or whether we are martyred, in any cause it is in the path of service. And I hope that God grants all of us health and happiness and the favor to serve in this movement. We must all serve and carry this movement forward and nothing should become an obstacle in our path on this question; be it the difficulties that they have caused for us and intend to cause later; and be it things similar to accidents that occur and are in the same category as these kind of activities. In any case, we all have a moral obligation to carry this movement forward in this period that is a sensitive period and Islam is in trouble and our country is in turmoil, with one voice and uniformly and God willing, take it to the final victory and we will.

Remnants of the Shahs regime and America

And these weaklings that are now remnants of the previous regime and of America and their likes; and are in various forms and various disguises are nothing significant and cannot become obstacles for this great event of Iran. They may writhe and struggle. At the time when that great barrier was in place; Iran demolished it; whereas these are droplets and small particles whose conspiracies if a person grasps, will be destroyed in half a day. And I hope that they awaken and stop indulging in mischief; and those of them who can be guided, may God willing be guided.

¹ Husayn Imlayi (member of the Imams Relief Committee) was killed in a road accident.

May God protect all of you and may you succeed. Both our brothers and our sisters—all—are soldiers of Islam; and I hope that in that book where they write the names of soldiers, they will also include our name as one of them.

Decree

Date: May 8, 1979 [Ordibehesht 18, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the religious judges of the Courts of the Islamic Revolution of Malayer and Zanjan

Addressee: Murtada Muqtadai

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 11, 1399 AH

His Eminence Thiqaat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Shaykh Murtada Muqtadai—may his blessings last:

It is necessary that you travel to the cities of Malayir and Zanjan and participate in the Islamic Revolution courts that are to be organized in these two cities and take charge of the post of religious judge and execute the issued verdicts in accordance with the standards laid down. I pray to God for everyones success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 9, 1979 [Ordibehesht 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledgement of telegram of condolence

Occasion: Martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari

Addressee: Sayyid Ibrahim Haqqshenas

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ibrahim Haqqshenas, may his blessings last:

I received the telegram of condolence on your behalf and that of the rest of the sections of the respected residents of Jahrum on the sorrowful martyrdom of the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Professor Murtada Mutahhari—may his soul rest in peace.

I thank the gentlemen for their expression of sympathy, and pray to God the Almighty for the success of all of you. May peace, mercy, and blessings of Allah be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 9, 1979 [Ordibehesht 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to the telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari

Addressee: Ali Ansari

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Ali Ansari, may his blessings last:

The telegram of the condolence on your behalf, the rest of the religious scholars and the various strata of the people of Ahwaz on the sorrowful martyrdom of the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Professor Murtada Mutahhari has been received. Convey my sincere thanks and best wishes to all the gentlemen and especially to your respected nephews. I pray to God for the success and happiness of all of you. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 9, 1979 [Ordibehesht 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Mutahhari

Addressee: Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Ataullah Ashrafi Isfahani, may his blessings last:

I acknowledge the receipt of the telegram message on your behalf and that of the rest of the religious scholars of Kermanshah—may their blessings last long—regarding condolence on the martyrdom of the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Professor Mutahhari Murtada—may his soul be sanctified. I thank you gentlemen for your expression of sympathy. I pray to the Almighty God for the success and happiness of all of you in the path of service to Islam and the Muslims. May peace, mercy, and blessings of Allah be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 9, 1979 [Ordibehesht 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Mutahhari

Addressee: Afqahi Sabzevari

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Afqahi Sabzevari, may his blessings last:

I acknowledge the receipt of your telegram message regarding condolence for the martyrdom of the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Professor Mutahhari—may his soul be sanctified. I thank you for your expression of sympathy. I pray to the Almighty God for the success and happiness of you. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 9, 1979 [Ordibehesht 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The struggles of the theologians; some achievements of the Islamic Revolution; martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari and its reverberation

Audience: Students of the University of Medical Sciences of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The religious scholars at the forefront of the struggle against the Pahlavi dynasty

... From Khorasan the religious scholars revolted, they revolted but they had no power and were defeated. They arrested all the spiritual leaders of Khorasan. With the Goharshad Mosque incident and what followed, they arrested all, brought them to Tehran, and imprisoned them. The late Aqazadeh,¹ who was the head of the theologians of that time, was brought on to the streets with the agents, bareheaded and was taken to the court there to be prosecuted. In Isfahan, the spiritual leaders of Isfahan revolted against Rida Shah.

Any person who pays the least attention to these issues and puts aside that propaganda which they were engaged in, and thinks for himself about what the issue was, will know that it was the clergy who always fought with them. Of course, they would also create pseudo-clerics. They had clerics in their pockets. They had several of them in the SAVAK security organization too. These were those who, as clergymen, would go to welcome the Shah whenever he went somewhere. They had these too. However, the genuine clergymen were those who would challenge them. In recent times also, as you know, at the time of this same human being—Muhammad Rida Pahlavi—with the situation that he created, again, it was they who resisted, and again it started from the Faydiyyah Madrasah of Qum. And they demolished the Faydiyyah and what disturbances they created.

A calculated plan to divide the seminary and the university

What I mean to say is that one of the blessings of this movement was that it gathered us all in a single place. We all were so far away from one another that we were never prepared to sit down together, discuss our issues with

¹ Muhammad Najafi Khorasani (Aqazadeh).

each other, and discuss what problems we had. You were separate and we were separate. If, for example, we were very lenient human beings, we would not engage in a fight. If we were a bit harsh, then there would be demonstrations against us at the universities; there would be protests against us at the theological center. All this was a calculated plan meant not to allow us to come together and come to an understanding with each other. Now Iran is in a most sensitive period than ever. In other words, previously they had in a scientific manner understood this matter that if we all were to be united, they would be the losers; now they literally feel this. They have literally seen it, they have felt that Iran had nothing and they had all the equipment at their disposal, and we had only our fists. But when we came together, congregated and discovered the power of faith and were all transformed; and when these drops collected together, a massive flood that destroyed their foundations was created, which demolished that great barrier they had erected. It broke through that dam and demolished it, at the same time that all strata of the people, some more openly, and some more covertly, were giving assistance.

Americas plan

Repeatedly—during my stay in Paris—they would come in different guises on behalf of the Americans, make suggestions, and give comments saying “what about this? Let him be, we will give him our backing.” Recently also, when I was coming, the plan was that we should not move from there and that “Now it is early and you cannot” or “Do not come now.” This was both from the government of Iran at the time of Shapur Bakhtiyar as well as from their side. They would comment, “Now you should wait a bit, it is too early.” I understood that it was a plan to buy time so that they had time to finish their job. Therefore, we too put our foot down and said “no, we will go, come what come may.”

Sensitive situation

What I mean to say is that now they have felt and seen that a nation has united and a power has come into being. A power of faith and transformation has been born in them that they regard martyrdom as a victory for themselves and they cry out that they wish to be martyred. They stand opposite the tanks, and give their lives and shout nothing can deter us anymore, machine-guns will not deter us.¹ This is a reality, which they have literally felt. Now we are in a very sensitive situation because after what they have felt, they are now

¹ It refers to a slogan of the revolutionary era: “Cannons, tanks, and machineguns do not work any more; even if day and night bullets are showered on us more and more.”

hell bent on destroying this movement, with all the power at their disposal. They enter the universities to create mischief; their agents come to stir trouble. In my opinion, a majority of them are agents of America in Islamic guises¹ and in the guise of Communists. In whatever guise that they come out from—from underground or on the ground—they are mostly their stooges. They² also have a hand but mostly they are in these forms. All of them interfere.

Duty of all sections of the people

Now, we—all of us—any person who loves Iran, any person who loves Islam; any person who wants this nation to become strong, we—all of us—have a duty to be together in the same manner, as together we demolished this barrier. If a single stratum had said that we want to accomplish it, it would not have been possible for them, but when everyone got together, they broke this barrier. If now we show indifference and—God forbid—lose this Islamic congregation and this national congregation, and our movement be defeated, then this country will not see the face of happiness anymore. Because, such a movement that has no parallel in history will not be realized any more.

Step by step policy, the Shahs ploy

Those who came to me, whether they were from among the class of theologians who would send me messages and—let us assume—wished to do good, and whether from other strata who, even recently, came to see me in Paris, had despaired that such a task could be accomplished. They would out of good intentions, say that we must move very gradually and that we should let Muhammad Rida Shah Pahlavi stay, but that he should not govern but simply be a nominal monarch in accordance with what the laws would specify for him and so forth. And that later on they would set up a consultative assembly and get rid of him on the basis of legislations. He too wanted to play this trick; these people had become negligent. Out of deceit and mischief, he sent for me repeated messages saying, “You let me stay here, all of Iran be in your hands, everything will be in your hands, I will only be a nominal monarch.” I knew this was not the case. I would tell the gentlemen that well, if this movement which is going on at present should be weakened then can you recreate such a movement all over again? They

¹ It refers to such groups as Furqan and Mujahidin-e Khalq.

² Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc.

would say no. I said what if this man goes against his word—now he says I will only reign and not govern but tomorrow when the movement dissipates, he draws out his sword—then do you have sufficient power to control him. Can you guarantee that he will keep his word? I said, now that we have founded such a movement the likes of which cannot be founded anymore, then why should not we state our objectives? Our main objective is not to allow these foreigners to swallow our wealth; that these foreigners should not take away our everything; that these foreigners should not push back our culture, that these foreigners should not make a parasite of our army.

Our objectives are mostly them; these people are a branch of him. Why should we now give him time so that—should he—gain strength, he cut our legs and cut them to pieces. And this should follow when he comes to power while now he claims that “O nation ..., O people ... O the *ulama*....” Well, he is the same person who called the *ulama* “filthy animals.” How is it that now he calls them, “O *ulama*, give me time. I was wrong!” He shall always commit these wrongs.

Freedom and unity, among the achievements of the Revolution

In any case, now we have a situation where things were moving, but the people were becoming indifferent to problems. They broke this barrier, and now that things have changed, these decayed remnants and the people too are turning to their own well-being, and are looking to their own needs and are moving aside a little from the main objective. They are looking at their own wants. On the other hand, those roots that have remained from them have invaded the factories and universities; and in each place, they engage in a particular kind of propaganda saying, “Hey look, nothing happened.” Nothing happened. What did you want to happen, then? We say until now—later on too, nothing will take place—we are now sitting together and talking freely. Before, neither would you dare to meet with us, nor would we dare to visit you. Next day, they would catch us and put us in prison, torture us, burn our bodies, roast our youth in huge pans in those underground cells. Well, what could be better than the fact that now we are sitting freely? Even if we have nothing to eat, at least we are free. What could be better than the fact that the foreigners who would come and rule over us cannot rule over us now? They have gone to mind their own business. Now they engage in mischief; at that time, they with arrogance prepared a list of those who had to be appointed as lawyers and gave it to this puny Shah and made sure the appointments were made in accordance with the list. In the book *Mission for my country*, he himself has mentioned this fact perhaps for his own eulogy.

He says now it is not like that anymore and that he has put everyone in their own place. While writing about his father and saying “my father is such and such”, he was forced to confess that the consulate of England and then the consulate of America, would bring a prepared list of appointees to the post of lawyers; and they would appoint the same persons. Our people were kept in complete darkness about these issues.

Now, what do you want to happen? Now what could be better than this referendum in which all the people freely—there was not a single person to pressurize them that they must or must not go—everyone freely, and every group freely, went to the ballot boxes and cast their votes? We want a country to have freedom. However, they took away all our things. What they left behind for us was a huge debt burden that they borrowed from banks and fled. They borrowed billions and ran away—in addition to taking away the jewels and our everything else. Before that, they had also stashed money in the banks of Switzerland and other places and America. Also at the time of leaving, they again took away as much of the jewels as they could. What remains, is that which they could not carry with them, and you can see how much that is; these they could not take away with them. Now, this is what is left: They took away everything and made the government go bankrupt.

Display of public unity

Now, all sections must toil and with the help of one another help to solve these problems. Can the government alone manage and set right—a country that was devastated in this manner—with all the present weaknesses? The university must come forward and straighten things out; they must themselves straighten out the mess. The farmers must themselves make efforts. The workers must themselves endeavor. In addition, we must all be aware that the rotten roots that are their remnants are not allowing peace and calm to return. Because these people know if there be calm and this country be left on its own, these sections that are now present—and are united—will not become disoriented any more and they will not be able to ever lay hands on them. Therefore, these people pursue the objective of not allowing restoration of peace and calm. They want to separate you from us again, and separate us from others and separate all from one another. For example, previously—the way they would narrate—these army personnel were regarded in the opinion of the nation as an extremely corrupt lot. Those people also wanted this lot to indulge in bullying and so on; and both of them (the nation and army) were such deadly enemies of each other that if a group of these army men would go to a place, the people would shun that place.

Now, the situation has become such that today in the Faydiyyah Madrasah various sections of the people had gathered; one group was from Shiraz—the barracks of Shiraz; another group was the group of teachers and another group, likewise was that of the doctors from the outskirts of Qum who had all collected there. I told them, look, we were all repelled by each other before, but now we are sitting together and are talking. Tribes had come here; tribes who had never spoken to us before had come; all had gathered. Well, these are the things that have happened. Of course, the reconstruction after the Revolution is a far more strenuous task.

The Islamic Revolution and other revolutions

By the grace of God, Irans revolution was better than all the revolutions. This Revolution was White and not the revolution that they engineered. The White Revolution¹ was that in other countries such as in the Soviet Union, in France, the revolutions that occurred in those places were bloody revolutions in which millions of people were killed and destructions were wreaked; worse of all was the Soviet Union. The late Waliyyullah Qarani—the first chief of the army staff of the Islamic Republic who was martyred by Furqan group—said that the resistance of the Shahs regime in confrontation with the people lasted a mere three hours and a half. Well, we thought it might have been two or three days or perhaps one night, but he said it lasted only for three hours and a half. Well, these people engineered a coup, they revolted, and mutinied: first, they went after the air force to suppress the revolt there and then deployed soldiers to kill all of us and, thereby end the problem and the revolt once and for all. The nation took to the streets and demonstrated and some cadres of the soldiers also joined with the people ... the late Qarani told me that the whole matter was resolved in three hours and a half and these fellows were defeated. This was because the people revolted; the people became aware of their duties; they woke up and brought about this revolt and this progress.

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

Brotherhood and affection instead of oppression and fear

Now once again we need to safeguard this movement in order to be able to rebuild, otherwise these destructions will remain and will cause problems for all of us. You who are at the universities must all—all sections of the university must reform the universities; those who are in the bazaar must reform the bazaar; those who are peasants must reform agriculture. All of us hand-in-hand should endeavor, to God willing, put an end to this chaos and make our country independent and free. It should not be such that we are afraid of the government. Now we are not afraid of the prime minister, neither you nor we, because there is Islam. At the advent of Islam, nobody was afraid of the Prophet. There was no fear involved. Affection was involved. The commander of the faithful, who was the leader of a huge country that stretched from Hijaz (present-day Saudi Arabia) to Egypt and up to Iran as well as some parts of Europe was not feared by the people; there was no fear involved. They sat down together; they would eat together; they would work together. He too was a laborer like the rest of the laborers. He himself—when people had just sworn allegiance to him—picked up his pickaxe and went after that subterranean canal that he built with his own blessed hands—and later he donated it to a trust. There is no more fear involved that we should be frightened of a security organization to come, take us away, and neat us up. What better than this could we ask for?

Faith and unity, secret of victory

I hope that this unity is safeguarded for us; and with the unity of expression of all of us together, we safeguard that true secret, which is faith. That true secret which gave us— we the insignificant people— victory over everything was the faith of the people. Even now, some individuals come to me and ask me to pray for them to be martyred. A mother who has lost her child comes to me and thanks me and tells me to pray that her other child too be martyred. The transformation that has occurred in the spirit of the people and the inclination towards faith that has come about in people were instrumental in carrying this issue forward. Our youth are no longer afraid of the tanks. This holy city of Qum was the center of battle. This neighborhood of Chahar Mardan was the main arena of battle. A battle between the youth who had no weapons but gradually learnt to make them and fought valiantly with tanks and guns and those intimidating weapons that were present, and praise be to God, marched forward.

The tragedy of the martyrdom of Mutahhari and the nationwide mourning

Now the country belongs to you; no one interferes in its affairs. You are free. Nevertheless, for the reconstruction of this country, everyone wherever he may be, must toil. In other words, no individual—none of us—should assume that he is not capable of doing anything. This individual is one person. It is right that he cannot do alone, but every individual with another individual when they work together can get things done. Just as this barrier would not have broken by the efforts of a single individual, nor a single group could possibly have been able to demolish it, but when everyone joined in, they demolished it. May God protect all of you.

In addition, we must not be in the least anxious that our people are being killed. This Islam has been founded in this manner right from its inception and it has marched forward while giving martyrs; it has constantly given martyrs and moved forward. It was the same in the era of the Holy Prophet too. In the Battle of Uhud,¹ so many people were killed and in the other battles, so many Muslims were killed but they were not worried at all. They would give martyrs and move one step forward; again they would give martyrs and move one step forward; And, praise be to God, now the situation is such that by giving a single martyr an upsurge is created all over Iran and outside Iran. Outside Iran also, the incident of the death of the late Mr. Mutahhari—which justifiably was a great loss for us and for the whole of Iran—as you are aware was a loss too, they broadcast on the radio stations that in Pakistan or in such and such place—everywhere—it has created a wave. These people too are making a mistake by killing Mr. Mutahhari. They must understand that the question is not that with the killing of a single person the people will retreat, when one is killed the whole lot comes forward and their cry becomes louder; the disgrace of the enemy also becomes more. And I hope that this spirit stays with us and with our nation. May God assist all of you and may you all succeed.

¹ Uhud is the name of a mountain near the city of Medina in the Arabian Peninsula. One of the battles between the Holy Prophet (s) and the polytheists took place near the said mountain in 3 AH. During the battle, Hamzah, the Prophets uncle along with 70 other Muslims was martyred. The reason for this defeat was that the Muslims failure to heed the Prophets instructions in their greed to get war booties.

Statements

Date: May 9, 1979 [Ordibehesht 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Women at the forefront of the Islamic Revolution

Occasion: Martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari

Audience: A group of women of the Dar al-Muminin Madrasah of the city of Sari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Welcome to the honorable women who have come to meet with me from faraway places and to express their condolences on this sorrowful tragedy. I would like to thank all of you very much; and pray the Almighty God for the health and happiness of all of you. You dear women had a major share in this movement; rather you were at the forefront. Islam is proud of you honorable ladies, and we too are proud of you. May God protect all of you; you who in your own time rear great personalities; you who have to fulfill the duties of motherhood, which is the greatest duty that Islam regards with respect; mothers who bring up children who safeguard the future of the nation.

You—the mothers—yourselves had a major share in this movement; and women had a share in this movement as well as in this struggle. Now, also, you have a share. From now onward, also, we are in need of you, and we are proud of you for the fact that you with your decision and your firm determination gave your support to Islam and the Muslims in that fashion. May God protect all of you. And I thank and pray for all of you.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Statements

Date: May 9, 1979 [Ordibehesht 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sincerity of the youth

Audience: Revolutionary Guards of the Mawlawi District Committee of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

You are all aware in what situation we are right now, and in what situation our country is in. These are the post-revolution conditions. Always, after a revolution there are problems; all of you gentlemen must be a little patient so that God willing, the problems are remedied... but you should not despair. When I see you the young men with this strength, with this sincerity and transformation that is found in our nation and especially in our youth and all strata of the nation, I feel honored and optimistic. And you have the same reward that the martyrs of the Battle of Uhud had.

Speech

Date: May 9, 1979 [Ordibehesht 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The turmoil after the Revolution

Audience: Women of the towns of QaSr-e Shirin and Sari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rebuilding the destruction of the Shahs regime

Yes, they would repeatedly come to me in different batches, and tell me that in their area, there is a lot of unemployment; that they have nothing; that they have no water and electricity; that they have no schools; that they have no hospitals and so forth. Well, people come from every place they belong and tell me, mainly, that no place is as backward as their place is. We ask these people “well, has this happened recently?” Or was it present from before? Has the Revolution caused them? Or no, this was present from before and now we have come to a place where none of these was present. If you say that the Revolution has brought this poverty and misery upon you, well you yourself accept that it is not so. Therefore, this was present before the Revolution ... this unemployment was there; this poverty was there; and this absence of water and electricity and asphalted roads and so forth was there before. Now, we have come to a country where everything in it was in this manner. The Bakhtiyari tribes say that they were the most deprived people; the people of Sistan province say that they are more deprived than all; the people of Baluchistan province also say the same thing and so do the people of Kurdistan province—everybody. And, everybody is speaking the truth when they say that they were deprived. However, the deprivation that exists has existed from before; it has not come into existence now that you should come now and cling to the government and ask it to grant you assistance and facilities. Because, this has not happened at this time; it has not happened in the time of the Bazargan government that Mr. Bazargan should be its guarantor. This has happened in the time of the previous governments and during the time of the former regime. Now they have arrived and we have arrived in a country that was in chaos and must be set right. Therefore, workers, office staff, farmers, and the unemployed, all were the same in the past and were in a worse situation. Now at least ... you are free ... at that time this too was not there. Well, these people must be a little patient and

reflect on what they must do. They should not be under the impression that now that they are unemployed, then they should be given assistance right now. I have not done this; this was done in the past. They deprived you. Now, we have arrived on the scene to bring out the deprived from their deprivation; but this is no miracle such that it can occur instantly. Well, this must be done gradually. We must tell those people that this is how it is; that you were living in a regime from which you got all these deprivations. All the destructions existed there; we have now arrived at the scene of the ruins; we want to rebuild them. The ruins that we want to rebuild needs time; needs a bit of patience. There must be time so that it is set right. An established government must be formed; there must be a budget allocated for the government so that the work is done; it cannot be set right on its own.

In any case, it is a revolution; a revolution necessitates the occurrence of such problems. What revolution better than this Revolution has happened until now? This is a “white revolution” and not the revolution of Mr. Aryamehr—Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi. “The White Revolution”, is that a revolution that has taken place and such a huge barrier has been broken. While at the same time that the losses have been minimal, what has been achieved has been a lot. Now, we again are in a revolution situation, as we have not come out of the Revolution; now is a condition of revolution. A condition of revolution is chaotic, after a revolution there is turmoil; everybody must bear with this turmoil. You should bear it in your own capacity; a worker should bear it according to his own limit; the university youth should bear it in their own capacity. Because now is not a situation of comfort and a time to relax. It is the time of the Revolution; at the time of a revolution and after a revolution, these problems and these troubles are there for all. It is there for the government; it is there for the nation; it is there for the youth. It is there for the peasants; it is there for all; but every one of us must join hands together and get the job done. May you all be successful, God willing.

Speech

Date: May 9, 1979 [Ordibehesht 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The oppressions and irregularities of the Pahlavi era

Audience: Representatives of the Zarasvand Bakhtiyari tribes of Chahar Mahal and Khuzestan provinces; army personnel of the barracks of Fars province

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Plunder of the resources and assets of the nation

This is by the blessing of Islam that we—all of us—are all gathered together. Non-commissioned officers, officers, soldier, Bakhtiyari tribes, and the learned—all—have gathered in the Theological School premises. In the course of approximately three hundred years—from the time when the foreigners found their way to the East—hands have been at work to divide the sections of our country, or rather the East, from one another. They separated the Islamic countries from one another and installed one of their own servants at the head of each in order not to allow nations to pay attention to their own issues.

We are witness to certain issues, and have been a witness since these fifty and some years. Of course if you do not remember that period, perhaps among you there are some who remember, but I do remember well, we were witness to the missions that was delegated to this Pahlavi dynasty—of which Rida Khans arrival on the scene in Iran was the first and was a plot hatched by Britain—and after he had gone away by their own hands, Radio Delhi—which at that time was in the hands of the British—announced that we brought Rida Khan to power and because he betrayed us, we have taken him away. The day when Rida Khan went away, Radio Delhi announced the same thing that he was brought to power by us, but he betrayed us and because he betrayed us—for this reason—we took him away. They took him away. But, the suitcases that contained the crown jewels of Iran that he gathered and packed in suitcases in the course of the few days that he learnt about his departure, were taken away and loaded on to the ship that they had arranged for him. They put them on the ship and in the manner described by an important official—who was accompanying them on the voyage—to one of the theologians, who in turn narrated them to me, that they loaded the ship with the suitcases and set sail with Rida Khan on board. In the middle of the sea, they brought another ship that was specially designed for carrying live

animals; they placed it alongside this ship and asked Rida Khan to board it. He went onboard the ship that was of course meant to carry live animals, and how well they transported him! Then he had asked about the suitcases and they promptly told him that they would arrive later. They took him away to that island while the suitcases, which belonged to this nation and contained the riches of this nation, were taken away to England. An identical incident happened in our era—of course that too occurred during our time, but this happened in this period which all of you remember. When these people in despair became aware that they would not be able to remain in power here anymore, withdrew the money that belonged to this nation from the local banks—massive amounts; stupendous amounts—and each of them borrowed as well as the jewels as much as they could, and things which they had to take with them they took away with them from here and deposited them in foreign banks such as in Swiss banks, American banks, and others in their own names or in his own name which is lying in those banks. Most of it is in his own name or in the name of his relatives and acquaintances; and all of it belongs to this nation. They plundered the country and left.

The worst of betrayals

They have gone, and worse, the things, the treason that they committed at the behest of foreigners, was that they separated us from each other. They divided the clergy from the university. They portrayed the university in the eyes of the clergy as a source of immorality and a source of immoral acts. They portrayed the clergy to the university as being courtiers, backward, and so forth. They portrayed the nation to the clergy contrary to what it was like. They created animosities between brothers. In other words, they created enmity—to the extent that they could—among the clergy, teachers, university students and their likes as well as hostility between the armed forces and the nation. The nation was afraid of the army; the army thought that it had to behave in a different manner with the nation. This was the worst treason that they committed against our nation and to Islam.

Get-togethers under the protection of the power of Islam

This is the power of Islam; and now it is the power of the Islamic teachings ... that I a clergyman and these learned gentlemen have got together with you, the soldiers and non-commissioned and commissioned officers and with these tribes in the Faydiyyah Madrasah; that Faydiyyah Madrasah which in the era of the *taghuti* regime was plundered and its gates were closed until quite recently. This is the power of faith and teachings of

Islam that brothers who had lost each other—or even if they looked at each other, it was as enemies and strangers—are now seated together like brothers and are airing their grievances to each other. You air your grievances and say that the barracks were like prisons and that you were not allowed even to recite your prayers in congregation—as one of the gentlemen mentioned.

Oppressions of the Pahlavi era

Even those gentlemen who are seated over there and are of the tribes—even they—were deprived in the era when they came to power; and their deprivations were many. But, they are under the impression that it was only they who were deprived and that other places were prosperous and well looked after. Not at all, whichever section that we came across in this period, would mention the same themes that this gentleman mentioned just now—that we have nothing there; that there was no freedom whatsoever at that time and that they had none of the signs of civilization at that time—every section that comes to visit us mentions the same subjects; and all of them are speaking the truth. But, this is because you have information of the Bakhtiyari and the Bakhtiyari clans and are seeing with your eyes the condition of the Bakhtiyari clans and those things and problems that are present in that place; and the Baluch also are informed about the Baluch; and the people of Kurdistan also have knowledge about Kurdistan; the gentlemen also know about the situation inside their own barracks; we too have information about our own theological school. Each of us knows about the area in which we lived and which we consciously saw and felt; and the rest of it we heard. However, seeing is other than hearing. To feel it is other than to assume what is happening somewhere. You felt among yourselves what problems you had; the biggest of which was that the outsiders should come here; that foreign advisors should come here and dictate to us. For an army that must be independent that must not be under the influence of anybody it is very hard that foreigners should come; a handful of foreigners come and dictate to them, give orders and be commanders. And this is the biggest insult which bears heavily on the shoulders of our non-commissioned and commissioned officers; and this is what they did.

For us too, they imposed all sorts of restrictions. Our mosques, our schools, our seminaries, all of these were under their influence; and they would not permit us to continue with our work. In this very Faydiyyah Madrasah, I, who at that time had classes ..., one day I came and saw that there was just one person. I asked what had happened. To which he replied that just before sunrise, all the theological students had fled to the orchards

out of fear of the policemen. At the break of dawn, before sunrise, these students of religious learning must decamp into the surrounding orchards and return at night to their chambers. They returned late at nights to their chambers. You cannot surmise what we had been through in those times. We cannot mention all of them.

I had a chamber in the Dar ash-Shifa seminary in Qum. Our friends were a nice group who would gather there, sit around, and air their grievances. A few days later when this group had come together, a person came,—May God forgive his sins—and sat down and said in a soft tone that it would be good for them not to get together there. Our friends joked with him and he went away. The next day a detective agent came and stood outside the door and warned that the gentlemen should not gather there or else such and such would happen. From the next day, there was no gathering of the small group of seven or eight people. We a group of five, six, seven, or eight persons who were in the Dar ash-Shifa seminary were not able to stay in the chamber. When dawn would break, we would go to the house of one of the gentlemen of that area and gather there to discuss our problems.

We all had a bad time and a hard time; it was not only for you, our Bakhtiyari friends. You have seen your own plight while we too have seen our condition. The resident of every neighborhood also has seen his own situation and now assumes that the problems were only his; others were not in a situation as theirs. Everybody had a bad time, everyone had been to prison; everybody had suffered.

An epic and spiritual transformation

God willed that this transformation should occur with divine power; a miraculous transformation. A transformation should occur so that we gather here in fraternity and discuss our problems. A transformation should take place by which men and women, children, and adolescents stand face to face in front of guns and tanks and shout slogans in defiance saying that machine guns have no effect anymore. The machine guns would kill them; but the morale was such that they would clench their fists and chant slogans saying, “They have no effect anymore.”

The spiritual transformation that God, the Blessed and Exalted, blessed this nation with; and this transformation occurred in you gentlemen too, so that you joined with the people; was by the grace of God. God caused us to become friends, to get together, and strengthened our hearts such that we did not fear all that turmoil and they could not oppress us anymore. The great blessing that has been bestowed upon us has been bestowed in the form of a

miracle; in other words, all the calculations of the experts turned out to be false. All the experts calculated that a big power backed by several bigger powers could not be toppled. The whole world had based their calculations on this matter.

The worldly calculations were such. They were ignorant of the will of God. The will of God is such that it causes a weak nation to revolt with empty hands; it cries out “God is the greatest”; gradually all the strata of the people join it; great rivers of the people connect to it in a continuous flow; the army joins it; the gendarmerie forces join it; the police forces join it. It was an act of God that a congregation was composed of these sections, all of whom were at odds with one another, became friendly with one another such that the army works for the people and the people work for the army and all work for Islam. The Blessed and Almighty God performed this miracle. And we must safeguard this miracle; we must safeguard this unity.

Rebuilding requires time

You should not become anxious because so far nothing has been done for you; so far nothing has been done for us either; nothing has been done for these people either. God willing; it shall be done; you all should be a little patient. As you are quite aware now; you suffered in patience under these heavy boots for fifty odd years; you bore every kind of pressure. I am aware of the sort of pressure that the tribes were under; I am somewhat informed about the tribes. I know the sort of pressures that you had to bear; but you bore patiently these hardships for more than fifty years; now it is the post—Revolution period. There is anarchy after a revolution; there is a troubled situation. These unscrupulous people made a mess of our everything and went away. Our economy is in a mess ... the government wants to take care of every place and to co-operate and help to develop it; but it needs time. Now also, some corrupt remnants of theirs do not let this government find the time. Everyday in some place or the other, they cause a disruption; everyday somewhere or the other, they create a situation that hampers agricultural activities; that hinders the working of factories; that prevents the reopening of schools. These must be done in stages, and you should all pray that God willing, calm be restored; and the Islamic Republic be established in a manner that we want, and in a manner that the Blessed and Almighty God has commanded. Every strata stands to benefit from it; both the happiness of the world and the Hereafter of everyone is insured.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted for the happiness, health, and honor of all of you—you the officers; you the non-commissioned officers

and the soldiers of Islam. Of course, all of us together are now soldiers, and are soldiers of Islam. I once again implore God, the Blessed and Exalted to grant happiness to all of you.

Speech

Date: May 9, 1979 [Ordibehesht 19, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah School, Qum

Subject: The gifts of the Islamic Revolution; terrorist activities

Audience: Students of the Ayatullah Taleqani College of Medicine; soldiers of the barracks of the city of Shiraz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Blessings of the Islamic Revolution

They broke the classrooms of the Faydiyyah Madrasah; they looted there.¹ That day was the day when the gathering in this seminary was engaged in a struggle between the *taghuti* and satanic army and the divine army. The *taghuti* regime is gone, and today we, the various groups, who would never get together and no one thought it probable that we would congregate, have gathered in this sacred place. The honorable soldiers of Shiraz have come here from their barracks. The students, the rest of the sections; the clergy; the honorable women and ladies have all gathered together. This opportunity was given to us by the movement. Islam has placed this obligation on us by which all sections of the nation have gathered at one location. In the era of the *taghuti* regime, the sections were divided from one another. If we grouped, it was to fight. In the streets, they would gather to fight; they would come to shed their blood. With the blessing of Islam, the sacred Islamic movement placed the honorable soldiers beside us; it grouped the teachers with them; it gathered the women with them in a single location. We must repay this debt to the Blessed and Almighty God.

The blessings of this movement were many. The biggest blessings of all were the demolishing of the huge barrier of the monarchial regime and the banishment of the thieves and plunderers from our country as well as the amputation of the hands of the agents of infidelity and discord and chopping off the hands of the plunderers and pillagers of the oil resources. We have achieved these blessings until now. Freedom is the greatest of the divine gifts that our nation now enjoys. You have come here freely, whereas yesterday you could not.

¹ It refers to the attack of the Shahs commandos on the Faydiyyah Madrasah on March 22, 1963.

You reminded us that you were imprisoned. The barracks were prisons, Iran was a prison; Iran was a prison of 35 million people. We were imprisoned in the seminaries, while you in the barracks, the traders in the bazaar; the administrative staff in the offices—all of you were imprisoned. Today, the Blessed and Almighty God has placed an obligation on us and has blessed us with the gift of freedom so that we all have gathered in this place freely and are discussing our problems. From now onward, we need such gatherings.

Desperate moves of the small groups

Our movement has not reached the end. We are at the halfway stage. So far, we have removed a large number of obstacles from our path; and God willing, we shall eradicate these rotten remnants from their roots. These servants rightists and leftists—these parasites, these plunderers and their deputies—they must know that they cannot continue with their desperate moves, and with the assassination of a personality the way will not be opened for them. Our nation is all fighters; our nation is all soldiers; the men and women of our nation are soldiers. These parasites of society; these who wish to pour our crude oil in the pockets of America, these who are either leftists or rightists—they must know that their era is past and over. They can no more bring back that regime or a regime similar to that. Remain seated in your own places! Do not come out of caves like bats. Assassination is of no use to you. All our youth are prepared for martyrdom. Our men and women are all prepared for martyrdom.

My brothers! We have come half of the way and must reach the final destination. You must safeguard this movement. You must make this burning fire burn with greater intensity. If God forbid, any harm comes to this movement, it would mean subjugation to the very end; and it will not happen. This movement will reach fruition. And, an Islamic government and an Islamic republic—that is a protector of all happiness, and a protector of the independence of our country, and also is a protector of the freedom of our nation—will be established. May God grant all of you, all the men, women, the soldiers and the students health, prosperity and honor. May God fan the flames of this movement that it burns with greater intensity. May God cut off the hands of the criminals.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 10, 1979 [Ordibehesht 20, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Differences between Islamic government and other governments

Audience: Personnel of the police forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Behavior of the rulers and commanders at the advent of Islam

One of the differences between a government of Islam and other governments is that in the government of Islam the atmosphere is an atmosphere of tender attachment. There was no basic worldly difference between the topmost personalities of the country, such as the Messenger of God, who was the foremost person; or of the time of the rule of the Commander of the Faithful, who was also the foremost individual, was an individual who was regarded, in the opinion of the people, to be a commoner. It was not that the messenger of God—when he was positioned at the top and become the leader of the nation—would govern like the rest of the governments. He would come and take his seat in the mosque; his companions and followers also would be in the mosque such that when an outsider would come in, he would not be able to distinguish which one among them was the Prophet. He would have to ask who the Prophet was. The seating arrangement was not such that one would sit on a throne and the rest would stand opposite him and give him a military salute. It was the same with the Commander of the Faithful. This is how it was at the advent of Islam. It was not such that the commanders of the army—they also had very distinguished commanders among them—would distance themselves from the people; the atmosphere was one of affection. They would live in an environment of friendship and fraternity and love. They were *ruHama* [merciful] toward one another; meaning they were good friends with each other ... they behaved in a compassionate manner. And when they would confront the infidels, then they would be *ashidda* [harsh],¹ meaning very harsh. This same person —this very Hadrat Ali—who when he would come to the mosque would sit side-by-side with the rest of the people and talk with them. When he had gone to a farm and the peasant who was there, had

¹ See *Surah al-FatH* 48:29. .

brought food with him, Hadrat Ali asked, “Do you have food?” He replied, “Nothing that is worthy of you.” Hadrat Ali asked, “What is it? Bring it.” He brought the animal fat with which he had fried gourd; and he was under the impression that in the house of Hadrat Ali there was a banquet table laid out and now this measly food was insufficient. Whereas Hadrat Ali had perhaps never eaten such a delicious meal maybe throughout his life. They sat down together—one a peasant; and he the leader of all. They sat down and ate together. After having eaten, Hadrat Ali got to his feet, crossed over to where he had a stream of water, wiped his hands with the sand, drank the water and thanked God.

Punishment and pardon in an Islamic government

This very human being who behaves in this way, and this very human being who visits homes of the destitute to distribute food without being recognized; and who when he goes to the home of one person and finds that his children are hungry, gives them some bread and feeds them with his own hands; thereafter, in order to make them happy, plays with them and mimics the voice of a camel so that the children laugh. The very person who is the head of a nation and does those things, is so loving, and is so warm-hearted, when facing the enemy, draws out his sword and strikes at the part of their heads, thereby slicing the enemy in to two.

Seven hundred of the Jews of Bani Quraydah,¹ who had not sworn their allegiance and were of the corrupt—these Jews were immoral from the very beginning—were in this manner struck by his sword and killed by him in a single day. Among themselves, they were friendly, affectionate, lenient, and compassionate, but when confronted by others, there was severity. Severity was shown at the proper time; mercy was shown at the proper time. This is the condition of a government of Islam.

The arrogance of Johnson and the submissiveness of the Shah

Non-Islamic governments take notice of certain subjects. I would really feel sorry; I would feel badly about this subject and it would trouble me. I saw that MuHammad-Rida Shah—the former Shah—was standing like a child in front of President Johnsons desk,² and that man had put on his

¹ Bani Quraydah: one of the Jewish tribes of Medina which violated their agreement with the Holy Prophet (s) by conspiring against the Muslims.

² Lyndon Baines Johnson (known as 'LBJ') (1908-73): American Democratic political leader, and 36th President of the United States (1963-9).

spectacles and was looking the other way. Johnson was standing on one side and he was standing opposite his desk like a peon. I felt so disgusted that we had reached the situation where this individual—who was the head of a nation—was standing opposite him in this fashion. Then, when he, the Shah, would come in front of you what had he done? For sure, it was completely the other way round. Whereas in the rule of Islam, it was such in those days that among themselves there was friendship and brotherhood but when they stood opposite others the severity was in their manner; whereas non-Islamic governments are not in this fashion. You see how needy they are. The one whom the President of US sees is in need of him, and has gone to visit the president is the king of a nation. However, the king goes to visit him like a peon. I saw the photograph with my own eyes. He was standing just like a peon. Actually, he, when he arrived in his own country and was among his own so-called subjects; among his own soldiers; was severe to that extent. This was the opposite of how those people were at the advent of Islam. This man would show severity among his own people, with those subordinate to him but was humble in front of foreigners. But in accordance with the verse of the Quran: *“They were severe with the infidels and friendly among themselves.”*¹

Islamic government and evil governments

This is one of the differences between Islamic governments and non-Islamic governments. It has never been such that when a person enters the realm of an Islamic government, he should be struck with fear. At that time, when a person wanted to enter a government office, a ministry, even when he wanted to enter a police station, he would be fearful of the outcome!

In an Islamic government, when you go to meet with its prime minister, or even go to its president or head, there is absolutely no fear involved. When that aged woman, was horrified by having to meet the Prophet, His Holiness stated ... “I am the son of that woman who ate dried meat; who placed the meat on stone; I am her son; so for what reason do you feel ...?” He lowered his esteem in front of her lest she should feel fearful of him.

In the evil governments, they behaved in such a manner with the people that they felt frightened of them. One is placed on one side while the other is on the other side—just like two sworn enemies. The tradesmen of the Tehran bazaar were on inimical terms with the police stations—two enemies. Because their behavior was hostile, they would deal with them like enemies,

¹ *Surah al-Fath* 49:29.

whereas they should have been friends. He is a policeman meaning he has to guard these people. All the security forces are for the welfare of the people. It must not only be in words; it must be in deeds. The system is in place in order to arrange for the welfare of the people. Yes, the security forces must take severe action against those individuals who break the law; but with the ordinary people and common folks, they should behave in a friendly and warm manner. But exactly opposite to the Islamic governments, in non-Islamic governments they behave harshly with all the people. For what reason do they want to create fear in the hearts of the people? They would behave with the people in this fashion because they did not enjoy the trust of the people. Why they do not represent the people, they want to ensure their own security by striking fear in the hearts of the people. Quite the opposite to a system ..., or a government that enjoys the confidence of the people; when the head of such a government goes to meet with the people, they all gather around him and kiss his hands, kiss his face. Such a ruler has nothing to fear among the people.

When you see that their plan is to create fear among the people, it is because their position in society is insecure—and for this very reason, they create fear. On the contrary, if they be warm and friendly with the people, well, the people have no enmity towards them, they are of them.

Fear of the law

There must be understanding; there must be friendship; when a person is going to the police station, he must feel as if he is going to his own home. He has work over there; he is going to his own house, secure, without having to be afraid of anybody. In Islam, each person must be afraid of his own self. Every human being of itself; what does this mean? It means that if he does wrong, he will be punished; if he does not; he will not. But if he himself is not the one to commit the wrong; then he must not be afraid of the gendarmerie; he must not be afraid of the army; he must not be afraid of the police; he must not be afraid of the policeman; he must not be afraid of the prime minister; he must not at all be afraid of the president. Because, they will not trouble him; it should be such that they must not trouble him. He must be afraid of himself lest he commits a wrong. When he violates the law, he shall be punished by the law. This is how our situation must be; this is how your situation should be; it matters not how it has been until now. Experience it yourself and see whether your heart is at peace when you behave with affection with the people, or God forbid, when you behave with

harshness. Harshness brings anxiety and tension. If you behave in a friendly manner with the people, your heart will be at peace.

At night, when you return home, you will feel at peace and go to sleep; neither is your conscience disturbed for having caused trouble to any person—after all, the conscience of a human being does get disturbed—nor is your conscience disturbed for having been mean to anybody, and done a wrong; and neither are you afraid that somebody may for example take revenge at sometime. When you behave kindly with the people, regard the people as your own; that we must be the servants of all; the government should be the servant of all, then this conscience is itself at peace, and at night the person goes home and sleeps peacefully, and is ready to serve the next morning. His service also is serving the people. From the time he leaves for the office, it is to get the peoples work done; it is to serve the people. Not like the offices of the bygone days when everybody would wake up in the morning and would go to the offices with plans on how to trap the people. And how to get something out of them.

The ideal Islamic government

The situation of a government of Islam is something like this; its offices are for the well-being of the people; its military is for the well-being of the people; its president is for the well-being of the people; its prime minister is for the well-being of the people; and the environment is an environment of love, an environment of affection. If we succeed in establishing Islam in its true definition; in the definition on which the pillars of Islam were founded, then both the army and the police will be at ease. There will not be any need for them to oppress the people. Both the gendarmerie and the army; everyone will be friends and everyone will be comrades and will be friends and brothers of each other. And I am optimistic that something such as this will happen and such a government will be established. It should not only be a dream; it should be a reality.

Now, what we have from this republic is its vote and nothing else. The same vote that we cast. However, the Islamic republic, which we would like to establish, has unfortunately not been realized until now; and it must become one gradually. This means you must reform yourself; we too must reform ourselves. All, all of us must undergo a transformation from the state of *taghuti* to a state of God, compassion, friendship, and love. We should come out of the environment of fear and intimidation and enter an environment of love and friendship and camaraderie. And I hope that we succeed in such a definition, and all of us become friends and comrades and

acquaintances with each other. May you, God willing, become happy and prosperous and may God assist you. May you be successful.

Speech

Date: May 10, 1979 [Ordibehesht 20, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The prominent role of women in the Islamic Revolution

Audience: A gathering of the women of Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Hail to the residents of Qum; praise be to the worthy women and ladies of Qum. You the women, both engaged in a sacred struggle in the cause of our movement and our triumph, and engaged in a sacred economic struggle. You are in the same category as the soldiers of Islam and equal to the ladies at the advent of Islam. In the same way that the women at the advent of Islam assisted Islam and were supporters in the movements and in the wars of Islam; you the women, the women of all over Iran—and the women of Qum in particular—participated in this movement; and in our struggles against arrogance and imperialism you assisted with them shoulder-to-shoulder.

May God protect you under His own shelter. And God willing, you women are precious in the presence of God. Purify your own children. Educate your own children; train them in the Islamic way. Islam wants that you should educate your children in your own laps; and brighten your own bosom with the light of these Islamic children who are the children of Islam and in whose hands the destinies of Islam and your own country shall be. I thank you for not having spared any effort in the movement; and for having revolted shoulder-to-shoulder with the men; and for having helped the poor. May God favor you with happiness and health in both the worlds.

Speech

Date: May 10, 1979 [Ordibehesht 20, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 13, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Islamic Revolution and the movements of the prophets

Occasion: Martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari

Audience: The Air Force personnel of Tehran, students of the Intermediate Teachers College of Isfahan; group of teachers; Kalhor tribes of the border areas; trainees of the National Oil Company of Abadan; students of the womens Elementary Teachers College of Abadeh; Women of Husayniyyah al-Irshad; Employees of the Meat Organization

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Our path, the path of prophets

Following the example of the honorable prophets—may Gods peace be upon them—we started from zero. The prophets (*a*) embarked on their mission of calling the people to rise against *taghuti* from naught; and their great calls would begin from a single unit until groups would be formed. On that day, when we started the uprising against the *taghuti* regime we were nil. The Muslim groups and various sections of our nation did not dare to breathe and were under a great repression. We started from naught and bid the people to an Islamic calling; and this single drop turned to drops, and the drops to a flood and the flood into a sea. This great sea, with the power of faith, destroyed all the powers that were against Islam and against the Revolution. Our Islamic calling reached the stage that all the sections of the nation responded positively to it; university students, traders, farmers, workers, police forces, the military—all joined with us. Because the call was a divine call, the call was for the cause of God, the uprising was an Islamic uprising, the people were and are attached to Islam; it reached the stage where now, in this very gathering, various groups from different lands, have come together in brotherhood, and all of them have announced their backing for the Islamic movement and the Islamic Republic. Our nation, containing all the sections that it has from the center to the farthest border areas, are unanimously and single-mindedly happy at the victory of Islam and have announced their total support for it. And, we shall move ahead with the support of the great nation of Islam, and we will sever the hands of the criminals and their rotten remnants.

This power of Islam, the power of the faith of the nation, and the awakening of the nation has arisen under the protection of the glorious Quran and the teachings of Islam. The oppressed arose and confronted the arrogant oppressors; in the same manner that throughout history the prophets with the oppressed had arisen and fought with the arrogant oppressors and had defeated them. Our oppressed nation, following the teachings of Islam and the honorable Quran, have responded positively to the Islamic call; and the more toil and trouble that they suffered, the more determined they became and the more martyrs they gave, the more determined they became.

Martyrdom, the eternal honor

Today, that you have gathered here to express your condolences on the death of one of our beloved, and for the assassination of a scholar, knowingly and determinedly you are resolved to continue the struggle against the *taghuti* regime, colonialism, and arrogance. My brothers! My sisters! My dear ones! Be resolute, do not be afraid of assassination; do not be afraid of martyrdom, and for sure you are not. Martyrdom is an eternal honor; it is immortality. Those people should be afraid of martyrdom and be afraid of death who regard death to be the end and human beings to be ephemeral. Whereas why should we, who regard human beings to be immortal and the eternal life to be better than this worldly life, be afraid? I thank all the various sections of the people, the tribes, the army personnel, the ladies and the teachers, who have gathered together here, and pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the health and happiness of all.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Letter

Date: May 11, 1979 [Ordibehesht 21, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledgement of the telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari

Addressee: Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Mahdi Yathribi—may his blessings last:

Your telegram and that of the Association of Clergymen of Kashan on the occasion of the sorrowful martyrdom of the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Professor Mutahhari—may his soul be sanctified—has been received. Please send my sincere thanks and greetings to all the respected gentlemen.

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the success of all in the cause of service to Islam and the Muslims. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: May 11, 1979 [Ordibehesht 21, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sacred shrines of Gilan Province

Addressees: Sadiq Ihsanbaksh and Sayyid Abdullah Diyai

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1399 AH

Their Eminences Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Ihsanbaksh and Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Diyai—may their blessings last:

It is necessary that the gentlemen accompanied by a few of the trustworthy local people and with their co-operation and supervision, attend to, record and collect the assets and charities belonging to the sacred shrines of Gilan province; and to spend whatever amount is needed for the repair and renovation of the aforesaid shrines. The surplus amount is to be disbursed for the affairs of the poor local people, in whatever way you deem it advisable. I pray to the Almighty God for the success of all of you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 11, 1979 [Ordibehesht 21, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The manner of the prophets uprisings

Audience: Tribes of Mamasani region; students and professors of the Teachers College of the city of Yazd

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

Uprising and resistance, the characteristics of leadership

Initially, the prophets were one in their propagation. Moses (a) was one person; the honorable Prophet (S) when he was first appointed; was appointed alone—just himself. “*Arise and call upon the people.*”¹ The call initially started from the Prophet himself. The day that he announced his prophetic mission, a woman and a child (Hadrat Khadijah (a) and Commander of the Faithful Hadrat Ali (a)) accepted his faith; but resistance, which is the essential requirement of leadership of the honorable prophets, was present in a perfected manner in the honorable prophet: “*Arise and persevere.*”²

These two qualities were influential in the advancement of the lofty ideals of the Prophet of Islam; uprising and resistance. This resistance resulted in that, although he had nothing and all the forces of the powerful were opposed to him—such that in Mecca, he was not able to call upon the people openly—he did not despair of not being able to call upon the people openly. He was not one to despair. The invitation was covert. He attracted the people towards himself one by one until himself journeyed to Medina, and was given the mission to call on the people to arise. “*Say, I advise you one thing and that is rise in the way of God.*”³ Here, it is a call to uprising. The call to the gathering is to arise together; and more importantly is to rise in the way of God. The secret of the victory of the army of Islam at the advent of Islam—although you could say that they almost had no weapons of war with them—was the uprising in the way of God. Movement in the way of God and faith in God enabled the messenger to triumph. Not despairing

¹ Surah al-Mudaththir 74:2.

² Surah ash-Shura 42:15.

³ Surah as-Saba 34:46.

and preserving in the way of God brought victory to the Messenger. The companions of the honorable prophet at the advent of Islam had the power of faith, and with the power of faith, they managed to march forward such that with a very small population and without having weapons of war, they defeated two of the great empires of the world in that period, Rome and Iran. They revolted and revolted in the way of God, and persevered.

The cry of Revolution from the Faydiyyah Madrasah

You the people of Iran, you the great nation of Iran have realized the very objectives of the advent of Islam. Initially, the cry arose from the Faydiyyah Madrasah; and they demolished the Faydiyyah Madrasah; they martyred some of our youth; but resistance caused us not to be overcome, not to be defeated spiritually. This resistance was the cause of the coming together of the sections and their acceptance of the Islamic call; of their listening and obeying the Islamic calls at the cost of their lives; and of the bonding of these drops and the creation of a great flood. It was a general uprising for the sake of Islam; it was an uprising for the way of God; it was an uprising for a republic of Islam. This uprising spread its roots in all the sections of our nation and bonded together all the strata; and faith manifested itself in everybody; it was a spiritual transformation, a mental transformation backed with a strong will. From small children to elderly men; from small girls to elderly ladies; all strata of people rose up together and persevered, collectively and individually, for the cause of God. As long as this uprising is for the cause of God; so long as this unity is present, you are victorious. So long as these gatherings are held and the people from all corners of the country gather here and raise their voice together—from the tribes to the provincial towns—you are victorious.

The nation, unafraid of the desperate moves

They have come from Yazd—may God bless them; tribesmen have come; they have come from Mamasani; may God bless them. University students and non-university people should unite, school goers and businessmen should come together, tribal people and town-dwellers should gather together—all of us together shall carry this movement forward. With this strong will that our nation has, and with the will that demolished the great barrier of the ominous regime, these feeble mosquitoes cannot make an impression. Our nation is not afraid of assassination. Our nation regards martyrdom as a great victory.

Brothers! Safeguard this movement. Be direct; “*We advise you on one thing and that is to rise in the way of God.*”¹ One admonition; just one admonition the Blessed and Almighty God has given to you through the honorable prophet; which is that you should arise and arise in the way of God. If the uprising is for the sake of God, there is no fear of martyrdom. There is no such thing as a defeat in an uprising that is for the way of God. Muslims of the time of the advent of Islam said “if we kill, we will go to heaven, and if we are killed, we will go to heaven” You too are like this.

May God favor all of you, all the people of Iran, and all the Muslim nations with happiness and health. May God protect your gathering for Islam. All of us together must march forward.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

¹ *Surah as-Saba* 34:46.

Message

Date: May 12, 1979 [Ordibehesht 22, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledgement of the receipt of telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Mutahhari

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid ibn SulTan Al-i Nahyan (Head of the United Arab Emirates)

In His Most Exalted Name

Your Majesty Shaykh Zayid bin SulTan Al-i Nahyan—Head of the United Arab Emirates:

The telegram of condolence of Your Highness on the sorrowful martyrdom of the late Professor Mutahhari, the esteemed Islamic philosopher—may his soul be sanctified—has been received. I thank Your Highness for the expression of deep sympathy. I pray to the Almighty God for the glory of Islam and Muslims, and the severance of the hands of the outsiders and enemies of religion.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini Jamadi ath-Thani 15, 1399
AH

Message

Date: May 12, 1979 [Ordibehesht 22, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Acknowledgement of the telegram of congratulations

Occasion: Triumph of the Islamic Revolution of Iran

Addressee: Kim Il Sung (President of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea)

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 15, 1399 AH

Your Excellency Kim Il Sung—President of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Korea:

I received the cordial telegram of Your Excellency on the victory of the Islamic Revolution of these honorable people for which I am thankful to you. I pray to the Almighty God for the happiness and salvation of the people of Korea, and I am hopeful that our Islamic Republic which has been founded on the basis of unity of expression, the esteemed Islamic revolution, and annihilation of the *taghuti* regime, will be able to play an effective role in the solidarity and consensus of the nations of the world and the welfare of the people.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 12, 1979 [Ordibehesht 22, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The manner of the coming to power and coronation of Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida

Audience: Physicians and staff of Dr. MuSaddiq Hospital, Board of Directors of the Red Crescent Society of Arak

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Review of the era of Rida Khan and MuHammad Rida Shah

First, I would like to thank you gentlemen for taking the trouble of coming here to meet with me and for your condolences on this tragedy of the martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari. I hope that God grants all of you gentlemen and ladies the favor to be at the service of Islam—which in fact is service to mankind—and that all of you and we, God willing be successful.

You all are aware of what passed over in Iran in the course of more than fifty years. Certainly, not all of you have witnessed it, considering that most of you are young; but right from that time, from the coup of Rida Khan, until today, I have been a witness to all the events. Rida Khan arrived on the scene, and initially by resorting to chicanery, pretending to be religious, chest beating, organizing mourning sermons, and going from one religious theater to another in the mourning month of Muharram, deceived the people. After his government consolidated its hold on power, he started to oppose Islam and the clergymen such that it was impossible for us to organize a mourning ceremony.

If some mourning ceremonies were going to be organized, they should have been held before the call to prayer of dawn and would be ended on the stroke of the *adhan* [call to prayer]. The secret service agents would roam around in order to make sure that no religious gathering was held. They either imprisoned the clergymen wherever the clergy were and got rid of some of them, or killed them. And yet in that very period, those who revolted against Rida Shah were the clergymen, when all of a sudden there was a revolt in Mashhad and the incident of the Goharshad Mosque took place where the tragedy of the massacre of the general public took place in the Goharshad Mosque; and then all of a sudden the revolt in Tabriz happened and following it, they arrested the great religious scholars of Tabriz and sent them into exile—and apparently they were deported to Sunqur; and next it

was the turn of the religious scholars of Isfahan to revolt. In this uprising, the rest of the religious scholars of the land gathered in Qum from all over and made Qum the center; but again with the chicanery and coercion, they silenced this too and stifled it; and you saw for the period of several years that he was in power and reigning, what he did to the people and what he did with our resources that perhaps, history may never be able to account correctly. And when it was the time for him to go, and he went, the British went on the air and announced on Radio Delhi, which was at that time under their control, that it was Britain who brought Rida Shah to power, and later because he betrayed them, they took him away. When they took him away, they packed the crown jewels of Iran in suitcases and shipped them with him. And he too himself collected the jewels and filled the suitcases with them. And, they put him on a ship for a destination outside Iran. In the middle of the sea—the way we were informed at that time—another ship came and was placed alongside this ship and they asked him to board the other ship. After he had boarded, he asked for his suitcases and was told that they would also reach later. They took him to the island of Mauritius while the suitcases containing the jewels went to England.

And after him, his son MuHammad-Rida has written in one of his books *Mission for my Country*:¹ “The allies entered Iran and thought it expedient that I—Muhammad-Rida—should stay.” He has confessed that the allies imposed him, but later on, I was told that it was deleted from the book...and you all are well aware of the treasons and crimes that he has committed—especially in these last few years. It is not possible for everybody to know of all the crimes that he has committed because some of these crimes were perpetrated in such a covert manner that nobody except himself knows about them, and perhaps some of the individuals who were close to him. And, nobody knows of all he has done except himself and for example, Carter or the likes of him.² He too when he wanted to go, collected the jewels and in addition, has left behind in Iran large amounts of debts to banks. These people borrowed as much as they could and fled.

A popular movement on the path of construction

However, with the will of the Blessed and Almighty God, and the supreme efforts of our nation, this wall was demolished. And the traitors

¹ The book, *Mission for my Country* written by Muhammad Rida Pahlavi. After being published some parts of the book were censored on his own command.

² Jimmy Carter, then President of the United States.

went away, and many of them were given their due punishment; and he too will receive his due punishment. And, these people went away and plunged the country into chaos and left. In other words, it could be said that almost nothing has been left for our country; its economy is in a bad shape; its culture is in a bad shape and it is in need of rebuilding, and that must be done with the efforts of all. In others words, no single section can rebuild it ..., in the same way that if a single section wanted to carry this movement to its peak it could not do it; it was when all the sections joined hands that this barrier could be broken. From now onward too, all sections must be together in order that they be able to carry this burden to the end, and the movement to its destination. Each person must not place it on the shoulder of another. Each individual is responsible and is obliged to work according to his capacity; wherever he is, to the extent that he can, he should assist; and this unity of expression must be safeguarded because if God forbid, this unity of expression is lost, and God forbid, we revert to defeat, then Iran shall not see a bright day any more. Therefore, we all are duty bound to safeguard this unity of expression and to safeguard this movement and an important key to it is that it should be for the cause of God. It was because this movement was Islamic that it bore fruit so quickly, reached its destination, and smashed these great barriers.

Chicanery of the small groups

May God willing, all of you be successful, and all of us be successful and determined to take this movement to its conclusion; and, this country becomes your own; and the resources belong to you; and the agriculture be of yourself; and you manufacture all its things for you. Now, that some of the remnants have remained and some of the agents who are present under various names in Iran are not allowing these problems to be solved and calm to be restored in Iran, we are duty bound to prevent them in whatever way we can, and at least not to allow them to infiltrate the sections of the people; not to allow them to infiltrate the secondary schools. For example, you should instruct your children, that if these people come into their primary and secondary schools and..., they should block their way and prevent them from entering. If you know anybody in the factories, you should tell them and the workers not to allow the corrupted people to infiltrate. These people do not want peace to be restored in Iran; they want Iran to be in disorder and turmoil so that it be circulated abroad that Iran has no progress and cannot govern itself; and then God forbid, they bring about a coup, and once again things go back to the former situation. You must be alert to these various groups who

cause these troubles, who sometimes kill the people; who sometimes go to the factories and do these sort of things ... you should be aware that they have ill intentions and their aim is to revert this circumstance to its previous condition so that their masters could come and gorge on the resources of this country and also give some to them.

And I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the success and health of all; and I hope that all of you be successful in your service to Islam, in your service to your country; and may God willing, these remnants be exterminated and that we once again move this caravan to its final destination. May you all be successful, God willing.

Dialogue

Date: May 13, 1979 [Ordibehesht 23, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dialogue with a group of university students from Sudan

Occasion: Felicitation on the triumph of the Revolution by the representatives of the Sudanese Muslims and Students

Audience: Messrs. Abbas Bashir, Sulayman Ahmad Hamid (President of the Students Union of the Islamic University of Sudan) and their companions

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

[Interpreter: They are saying that they have come to congratulate you on the victory of the Revolution and likewise, for the establishment of an Islamic Republic, and have also sent you a telegram in this connection.

The people of Sudan have no trust in most of the information that is reflected in the foreign newspapers and magazines concerning the Revolution of Iran because most of them are not true. And for this reason, we are in need of a series of correct and genuine information about the Islamic Revolution to be placed at our disposal.]

Imam Khomeini: Well, in this regard you have to contact the other gentlemen and not me; I do not have the time for such works. You should get in touch with the religious teachers of this seminary and ...

[Interpreter: “These gentlemen would like to know that after the establishment of an Islamic Republic what will follow next.”

Imam: This also is not something that I should answer; they can get in touch with Mr. MuntaZiri and talk with him. I do not have the time for this job.

[Interpreter: On behalf of the students as well as on behalf of the people of Sudan, we would like to congratulate you on the victory of the Revolution and likewise, for the establishment of the Islamic Republic.]

Imam: We must thank you for having come to Iran. Convey my greetings to all the students and the people.

Speech

Date: May 13, 1979 [Ordibehesht 23, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Role of the theologians and intellectuals in the salvation and corruption of the society

Audience: Teachers and students of the teachers training centers of Gilan province

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Status and mission of the student and teacher

I would like to thank you gentlemen for having come from far away to sympathize with me and to express your condolence for this great event of the martyrdom of Professor Murtada Mutahhari. I pray to God for the health and happiness of all the gentlemen.

With regard to the status of students and then the status of teachers; the students are the wealth of this nation; the destiny of our country in the future is in the hands of the students of today. In other words, in every field that they are in, in the field of law for example, and in the other fields of study in one way the destinies and the various affairs of the country lie in the hands of the students. They have to manage the future affairs of the country. In the same way the teachers are the ones who educate the individuals who are going to run the affairs of the country; in other words, the key to the prosperity of a country lies in the hands of the teacher and the student. Foremost, the teacher must educate the young and next the youth must run the country. Therefore, every country in the world, the existence of every country in the world is tied to the hands of the students and the teacher. The key to prosperity lies in the hands of the teacher; and to the same extent that the status of the teacher is great; so is his responsibility. To the same extent that the learned is great, so also is the responsibility of the learned big, and it makes no difference whether that learned person is of the modern universities or of the religious sciences.

The higher the status of a human being; the higher his responsibility is; and because the teacher has a great position, his responsibility is great, because he educates the youth and because the youthful force is trained by the teacher.

The responsibility is great, because if these youth and this youthful force are trained properly by the teachers, the future of the country is secured and bright, and if the teachers be deviant and import deviant training, the country

will be corrupted. Therefore, your vocation is great because you are learning and are students, and will, God willing, become teachers later on; to the same extent that you are great and your occupation is noble and great, so is your responsibility a great one.

The destinies of the country, in the hands of the educated

From the universities and the schools ... begin the prosperity of nations. It is the universities and the schools wherein lie all the destinies of a country. The prosperity of a nation lies in the hands of the learned of that nation. If the intellectuals of a nation be not deviant, have perseverance, and be on the right path, the nation too will be drawn on the path of righteousness, and the nation will also attain happiness. Whereas, if God forbid, there be deviations in the universities, in the colleges, in the traditional religious schools and in the modern institutions of learning, it is from there that the deviation of the nation will come into being.

Nations have focused their attention on the learned. Should the learned become corrupt, then the world will be corrupted; because the world has focused its attention on the learned. The eyes of the masses are focused on the intellectuals of a country; on the learned scholars of a country. If God forbid, they become corrupt, then the whole country will be dragged down to the path of corruption; and if they be righteous, then the whole country will be brought on the path of righteousness and morality. Therefore, you the student community who want to, God willing, become learned—and God willing you will become—are great and honorable and are also responsible, and should take care that this responsibility that has been placed on your shoulders be performed well—and whether you like it or not it is on your shoulders and is placed on the shoulders of everyone. And the Blessed and Almighty God expects you to educate the society, and this is a great service which if performed well, has so much value that we cannot describe it in normal terms. And if God forbid, it is performed badly, its power of corruption will be such that it can engulf the whole world. If a man of learning becomes corrupt it is not like the corruption of an ordinary person who if he becomes corrupt is restricted to himself; this is like an infectious disease, it spreads; the corruption of a man of learning spreads to all strata. Previously, when I used to go to visit some towns and cities, I would come across some towns whose people were pious and righteous. When I would enquire as to the reasons why all the people there were morally upright and good, I was told that the religious scholar of that town was a very good

person, and the people there had followed in the footsteps of that learned man.

The role of leaders in the salvation and corruption of society

Wherever the men of learning are, the people take notice of them. If they are righteous, they will inevitably draw the people towards morality; whereas, if they are corrupt, they will again inevitably draw the people towards corruption.

Moreover, you are part of the strata of men of knowledge of the nation, and you too have the same responsibility. When you go to an office, you will notice that every person and perhaps the whole office pay attention to the head of that office. If the head of the office is a righteous man and a trustworthy man, inevitably because he is the focus of attention of the rest of the individuals, he has influence on them, too; and even if they want to do something wrong, they will do it in a discreet manner and without anyone else knowing about it, and gradually they also will be reformed. Nevertheless, if God forbid, the boss of this office be a thief, then it will automatically spread to all other places, and everyone will become a thief. If the head of a state to whom the people look upon becomes a thief, it will infect all the people.

The immoral behavior of the Pahlavi regime corrupted large number of individuals of our country. Those who had close connections and were witness to their actions were all corrupted. It was not such that all who went there were corrupt; perhaps most of them in the beginning were upright and correct human beings, but when they entered the oppressive system; the unscrupulous system, they saw that the person to whom everyone paid attention, took notice, and before whom everyone bowed, was the ringleader of the thieves. Inevitably, this stealing and this treachery infects the individuals who are close to them and all around them; therefore, one of the biggest treasons that these people committed against us, that perhaps is at the head of the list of treasons, was that they corrupted our manpower resources.

They ruled this country for more than fifty years, and in these fifty odd years, they sought destroy our elites, except a few of them. The leaders of the Majlis, the leaders of the legislators of the Majlis all turned out to be corrupt because the very corruption that was rampant in the ruling class had spread to them.

The one of whom the masses take notice, the greater the scope of the attention, the greater his corruption spreads, much in the same way his righteousness will spread more. A just ruler draws a country to justice.

Administrative features of Imam Ali (a)

If for example, a person like the Commander of the Faithful Hadrat Ali (a) governs a country, when the nationals of that country take notice of his characteristic traits and see how he himself is living; how he subsists; how he behaves with his own kith and kin; how his children are; how the life of his offspring are; how his followers are; how his relatives, close friends and acquaintances are; when the masses see that the condition of the food and clothing of the head of their country is worse than that of their own; when he comes to lead the Friday prayers, on the basis of historical accounts, he is wearing a wet shirt that he has recently washed because he has only one shirt; when he goes to the pulpit to sermonize, he keeps on moving his shirt so that it dries; when he buys one pair of shirts he gives the more expensive one to Qanbar, his servant, as recounted in history, and wears the inferior one himself; when his shirts sleeves are long, he cuts them short and does not pay attention to the look of their brims. When the people see such a human being ... governs over a large number of countries; rules over Iran; rules over Egypt; rules over Hijaz; rules over Iraq; over Yemen and so many other countries, but when they see his lifestyle they cannot help taking notice and remarking on its simplicity. A human being whose rule extends over so many lands, as recounted in history, when he goes to a judge, whom he himself had appointed, for a dispute between himself and a Jewish individual, does not take his position as a caliph for granted; he does not say, "I am a ruler and you are my subject and appointed judge on my behalf..." He arrives, sits down opposite the judge, and when the judge pronounces him as "O Abul-Hasan." He promptly reminds him of not calling him by his name and not showing any favor to him and discriminating. Moreover, when the judge gives the verdict against him, he promptly accepts.

When such a person is at the head of a country, it is reformed. Islam wants that kind of person. When we cry out for an Islamic government and an Islamic republic—of course we cannot find such a human being as Hadrat Ali, as he himself stated that we do not have such power, but we can take lessons in piety from him; we can take lessons in righteousness and abstinence from him—it has to be followed with good deeds.

Revolt against injustices and class differences

When the people see that the head of a country has this sort of lifestyle, foremost the poor feel good. The reason that the masses rebel is because they see that so and so man has a lavish lifestyle such as for example, he buys a mansion. When I was in Paris I was told that one of the sisters of the

“Aryamehr” king had bought a villa abroad in Paris for a sum which I cannot recall; but I remember this because it was amazing that five million dollars was spent only on the landscaping of this mansion meaning 35 million tumans was spent on the landscaping of this villa. When the nation sees that this is how the ruling class lives, they revolt; they rebel. Whereas, if there is a government whose lifestyle is similar to that of these people there will be an end to the revolts—I do not say that their lifestyle should be like that of Hadrat Ali (a). Such a thing is impossible, as he was an exceptional specimen, an exceptional human being—but if the government and the governmental organizations live a lifestyle that the people see it as being close to theirs with a minor difference, the people would be satisfied; they would be content and the revolt would end.

Corruption of the arrogant elite and the capitalists

All the corruptions that you are observing, and have been spread among the masses are from the upper class. In other words, when these upper classes are right up there and even own a limousine costing more than fifty-thousand dollars even for their dogs; it is natural that this weaker class will not tolerate it any more. For this reason, if the upper class wishes to make the nation content, they must come down a little from the top. People also do not mind if they are a little above but they are not satisfied if it is like this, it simply cannot be in this manner.

You gentlemen who will also God willing, hold good positions later on must pay attention to these matters. If you hold a job in an organization; if you become the head of an organization; if you become the director-general of an organization, you should know that you are liable; not only liable for your own actions; but also liable for the actions of others. If it were such, that you yourselves were corrupt, and it was restricted to you alone, the liability for this would still be lesser; but if the responsibility of the society rests on your shoulders, the higher you go, the greater would be your responsibility.

Resistance of educated human beings in the face of threat and decadence

You must right from now that your souls are near to God; are souls that have not got involved yet in the ways of the world; and are less contaminated with corruption, think of reforming yourself, and you should refine yourselves for the future of the country. If you be purified; if the university genre, if the men of knowledge be purified, the country will be purified. If the country is purified it will not submit to oppression; it will not submit to colonialism. All these immoralities are because some sections are corrupt and

submit to the will of others because of for example, the promises made by them or because of the power that they have. If these sections are purified, then neither the promises of others, nor their threats will have any effect on them.

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the health, honor, and glory of all Muslims as well as the happiness of you the talented youth, on whose shoulders, God willing, in the future shall be placed the responsibility of a country.

Speech

Date: May 13, 1979 [Ordibehesht 23, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Outstanding characteristic and distinguishing features of Hadrat Ali (a)

Audience: Gathering of members of the national squad and delegation of the Weight-Lifting Board of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A model human being

A healthy mind is in a healthy body. In the same way that it trains the body and make it healthy, also make the mind healthy; and if the mind becomes healthy, the purification of the soul must follow. In the same way that you engage in sporting activities and strengthen your nervous system, and God willing you will turn out to be useful for the country and its future; it is essential that you bring all aspects of your existence under physical education. Hadrat Ali (a) we hear of his name wherever we go; when we go to the jurists—*fuqaha*—it is the jurisprudence—*fiqh*—of Ali; when we go to the devout it is the devotion of Ali; when we go to the mystics, they too talk of the mysticism of Ali; when we go to the sportsmen also, they also take the name of Ali and begin their sports with his name. Ali is everything. In other words, he is number one in all aspects of humanity. Therefore, every household brings themselves close to him. Moreover, he has the characteristic feature of every class. He has the distinctive strength of sportsmen in an abundant manner. They say that the arms of his holiness were like iron. And the power of his swordsmanship was such that the blows he dealt with his sword were famously known as being singly fatal. Every blow in whichever direction that he swung his sword would slice a person into two halves. This Ali is everything. And, as our everything, we must all be his followers. In worship, he is above all worshippers; in piety, he is above all the pious; in battle, he is the greatest of all fighters; in strength, he is the strongest of the strong.¹ In addition, he is a phenomenon who is an enigma that combines contrasting features.² A pious man cannot be a sportsman anymore; a worshipper cannot also be a fighter; a religious

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar* vol. 143, p.41: "Alis blows cut in half."

² It is obvious that in this context Prophet Muhammad (s) is not included as he is beyond any comparison with anyone else.

custodian cannot have anything to do with these matters—he is an exemplary human being—at the same time, everyone regards his devotion to be superior to all. His food, as you all have heard and it is there everywhere in history, was such that he had a vessel in which he would put whatever he wanted to eat and would seal the lid so that his offspring, his son, his daughter would not add anything nourishing such as oil, meat etc. to the food out of pity for him. And he would seal the lid so that they would not have access to it. On the very last night, which was the last night of his life, it is narrated that he was the guest of Her Holiness Kulthum and they brought milk and salt for him to break his fast. It is said that he said; “When have you seen me eat two types of complete food?” Her Holiness wanted to take away the salt but he protested, “No, take away the milk.” And they broke their fasts with only the salt. And he himself says that it was amazing that with such a diet, he had this strength. Later he states that the trees in the wilderness are stronger. These trees that grow in the wilderness, consume less water and so their wood burns more strongly and are tougher. And it is not that a human being becomes strong by eating.¹

Sportsmen, following Hadrat Ali (a)

In any case, this Ali ... is everything to us. He is everything. And I hope that you the sportsmen in the same manner that you strengthen your bodies—and praise be to God, you are seated here with those robust arms and I praise them very much—in the same way follow in the footsteps of Hadrat Ali (a) in those qualities that he had; in the devotion that he had; in the piety that he had. Of course, none of us has the power to be like him; we can to an extent that is within our power, follow the example of that man, and purify our inner self. In addition, I hope that you will be useful for your country and be a source of honor for your country. May God, grant you more strength, power of faith, power to purify your inner self and power of control over your inner self. Peace be upon all of you the honorable youth.

[In the end, after brief verbal exchanges between Imam Khomeini and the sportsmen, in reply to one of the audiences, who demanded that the national anthem of Iran be changed, he stated:]

Previously, everything was determined by foreigners; by the English; by the Americans. Now with the efforts of everyone we must free ourselves from dependence. The imperial anthem cannot be played anymore. It is over

¹ *BiHar al- Anwar*, vol. 42, pp. 226, 238.

now. The anthem of “Islamic Republic” must take its place. May you all be successful, God willing.

Speech

Date: May 13, 1979 [Ordibehesht 23, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Factors responsible for the triumph of the Islamic Revolution; problems and expectations; radical changes in offices and judiciary; the question of confiscation of assets

Audience: Judges of Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Spiritual transformation of the nation: The cause of the victory of the Revolution

I am thankful to the gentlemen for having come here and meeting with us up close. One of the blessings of this movement is this very fact that we were once distanced from each other and now, by the grace of God, we have come together to meet and are close to each other and are able to discuss our matters up close. I would also like to thank Mr. Jannati¹ for having accompanied you to this place. Of course, he is among the great personalities of this place and has the qualifications to tackle all issues. I hope that with his guidance, all the gentlemen will perform the services delegated to them in an appropriate manner.

You all know that it is because of the unity of expression of all strata of the people and more importantly, the focus on Islam that this movement has reached until here. In other words, a spiritual transformation has come about in society, that I am at a loss for words to name it except to say that it was a miracle; divine will. People who if a policeman would come in the great bazaars—like the Isfahan bazaar—and tell them that they must all hang flags and decorate their premises for the birth anniversary of MuHammad Rida Pahlavi on October 25, and to celebrate, not only would they not, but also it would not even dawn on them to oppose. It would simply not occur to them that one could oppose a policeman. Within a short period, these very same people—not of another generation—who previously were in awe of a policeman, poured out into the streets and said that they did not want that dynasty. They opposed the individual who considered himself to be the number one personality of the country. This was a radical change that cannot

¹ Ahmad Jannati.

be gauged in ordinary terms; and there was such a great training that, other strata of the people joined it and underwent this transformation, this was a divine transformation; in other words, this event occurred by the will of God. Yet another transformation that occurred was the humanity that was born among the societies; and that blossomed in the course of the Revolution. The sense of cooperation surfaced among the people; such that in the demonstrations that took place—which you all are better aware of—the people came to the assistance of the demonstrators wherever they passed by. They would give them water, they would give them sandwiches to eat, and also do other things. One of my friends told me that in the demonstrations that took place in Tehran, he saw an old woman holding a bowl in her hand in which there was money. At first he thought that perhaps she was a beggar who wanted alms; but when he investigated the matter and spoke to her, she said that since it was a public holiday on that day, and the people who would pass that place may perhaps want to use the telephone to call and may not have small change with them, for that purpose she had kept the bowl containing small change there for those who needed to telephone—and there was a telephone booth right there—and they could use the change to call. Of course, this is a small instance; but the matter is one with great magnitude. Such a spiritual transformation has come over the people and the transformation has reached the crescendo that many people, particularly the youth came to regard martyrdom as a great personal triumph. I was in the city of Najaf when a young man came to me and asked me in all earnest to pray for him to be martyred. Now too, sometimes they make the same request. I received a letter yesterday, in which parents had asked me to pray for their children to be martyred. This too is a spiritual transformation; that these people like those who were present at the advent of Islam, would seek martyrdom, and would take the initiative, are now to be found among our nation. Such spiritual transformations have occurred among the people and there is no appropriate term to describe it, except to say that there was an invisible hand at work. And it was these things that caused them to confront the tanks and the guns—and all these things—with bare fists and to resist, sacrifice their lives and move forward; an advancement that appeared impossible on natural parameters.

Therefore, the foreigners—even the CIA of America—announced that this subject was not based on orthodox rules and admitted that their calculations had not turned out to be right. What they said was quite correct. It could not have been right on the basis of worldly calculations, that a nation which had nothing confronted these big powers who were backed by the

power of America and the power of Russia and the power of England that were always present and supporting them. Nonetheless, the very nation that had nothing in its possession moved forward and with the power of faith managed to demolish this barrier. This secret must be safeguarded. If you want this uprising of yours to reach its conclusion, and in the manner that the Blessed and Almighty God has willed Islam be established, then this movement must be sustained with the same passion and fervor that is present now.

Religious zeal in the referendum for an Islamic Republic

As you yourself observed, there was so much fervor and enthusiasm in the people for the referendum, and they so zealously went to cast their votes. One such incident that was narrated to me—they narrated many such things, but one of them that they narrated and I think it was also there in the newspapers of which I am not sure right now—was that a man was crying and saying that he had committed a sin which he thought would not be forgiven; and that God would not forgive him, and that sin was that he had mistakenly cast the no vote instead of the yes vote. Or about some who were wheelchair bound and would come to vote; and the patient who in that state of acute illness had demanded to be taken to the polls and had died immediately after having cast his ballot. Such fervor and enthusiasm is unprecedented in the world. It is unprecedented in the world—wherever you may think of; for the people to cast their ballots with such fervor and excitement. Everywhere presidents engage in so much election campaigning when they want to be nominated; they spend a lot of money; they do so much promotion and advertising. They spend huge sums of money a month or two before elections and campaign a lot in order to gather a group of people to vote. Here, there was none of these issues. The issue was Islam, and based on their Islamic beliefs, the people themselves went with that zeal and excitement to cast their votes. Out of a population of thirty-five million, more than twenty million cast yes votes. This is unprecedented that so many people of a population, who are eligible to vote, cast votes. On the other hand, children aged nine and ten who as per the rules were not eligible to vote, were extremely upset. Some of them came to me and were quite upset while a group of them, the same children—gathered in that front yard and expressed their displeasure at not being allowed to vote. These matters have no precedent anywhere in the world. It is for this very reason that it is an Islamic issue; and has no precedent in the world.

Party supporters, nationalists and the Islamic Revolution

The question is not the question of being “nationalists”; the issue is not the issue of being “party supporters”. The same nationalists and party supporters were all defeated. We have managed to reach up to this place with the help of pure spirit and clean conscience; the people have reached to here with faith in Islam and with emphasis on piety and have moved forward. If this spirit is God forbid, taken away from the people and differences crop up we will face many problems. Right now, various individuals continue flaunting their power; and this is among the mistakes that they are making, or their saying that the people should become for example, nationalists or party supporters. They are making a mistake in creating certain fronts or various sorts of parties. These varied parties can never accomplish anything. They are not able to accomplish any task except for creating discord and causing dispute. And if, God forbid, they have bad intentions, they have come with a well calculated plan to sow the seeds of discord, then we must be wide awake, and be careful not to allow them to do their job, and this is an important matter right now. In other words, we are now in a very sensitive situation, which is worse and more sensitive than the time we were attacking for the destruction of this barrier. At that time, everyone had a single purpose and was on the move. When a person reaches the point where he is convinced that he has become victorious...lethargy and emphasis on material needs gradually begin to take shape.

The process of the Revolution and unending expectations

Now you are seeing the very persons who were poor for fifty years or more all around Iran; various clans; various tribes; in Tehran itself; in the cities; everywhere people have expectations. Well, poverty was widespread among the people. Poverty is not something that has happened because of the Revolution; this poverty has existed from before. However, some of it is of the Revolution; but those who complain that we have nothing—well, they had nothing from the past. Now a group has infiltrated among them and is asking, “What has happened?” Is this what an Islamic republic is like? What has been done by the Islamic republic? They do not account for the accomplishments at all. Those who question, “What has been done until now” are not counting the achievements. They do not take into account that if it was the former times, it would have been impossible for them to come here, and to sit and talk with me. It was impossible for Mr. Jannati to go to Isfahan and get in touch with you; it was impossible for you to be able to speak a word, or ask for justice. They would instantly arrest you and put you

in prison—and in those prisons and those circumstances. Well, these prisons have been demolished. What else do they want to happen? These prisons have all been destroyed; and now, except the traitors who have committed treasons, there is nobody else in the prison. What do they mean by asking, “What has been done?” Well, this, itself is an achievement that we are now seated together freely and are engaged in discussion. You are free to talk wherever you want and say whatever you please; the newspapers also even if they write nonsense but are writing freely; and the gates of the prisons are completely locked; except for these traitors who have looted the people until now. They do not take into account these accomplishments at all. Well, yet another accomplishment is regarding our oil which they would take away and what would they give us in return? In return, we would get armaments. The fact of these armaments was that it was meant for them to be used because we did not know how to operate those weapons. The weapons were meant for themselves so that if by chance the Soviet Union wanted to launch an attack on this flank; they would be able to retaliate. They took away our oil, pocketed the revenues from it...and instead of petrodollars gave us armaments for their own use in Iran. The door on this was shut, and now the oil is at the disposal of the government itself. Whoever pays money gets the oil, and if they do not pay, they do not get the oil. This is also one of the things that have been done. That which has been accomplished must be taken into account while time is needed for tasks that “must be accomplished.” Poverty was there from the past. At those times nobody would talk about it; now that a transformation has taken place and things have reached this point, they shout at the top of their voice that” look what has been done now. Why is there no end to our poverty?” Is it possible to eradicate the poverty that has been around for fifty years in a couple of days or a month or even two months? Well, they must give us time until the factories begin to operate, which they will not. They must give time for the agriculture and farming to get moving; but they prevent this from being done too, by going to the farmers and causing problems.

Conspiracy of the global plunderers through the small groups

In any case, now there are certain groups that do not want this movement to attain its final objectives. One such grouping—which is a major one—is the same remnants of the former regime that in different guises want to prevent this movement from progressing and wish to bring back the previous problems and God willing cannot. But they want this to happen. They want to create disturbances and so forth so that there be no peace in the country.

And gradually, when there is no calm, the way will be opened for them, to in their own words, stage a constitutional coup and God forbid, the situation reverts to its former self; and God willing, this shall not happen. But we must be alert; we must take care that those who get inside the factories and promote go-slow tactics and idleness and shunning work, are not sympathetic toward the workers; rather their sympathies lie with America or the Soviet Union. They feel sorry for them, in other words, for their own interests, which are inextricably linked to theirs. They are the hirelings of foreigners, because they are on their payrolls. These people come and prevent any job from being done. They should not be allowed to enter the factories. You go after the workers and tell them not to allow these people inside the factories; and warn them that these people want to return them to the same previous condition.

You should work and perform your job faithfully, while the government is engaged in attending to the affairs of the people. It will build houses for workers, for everybody; it will create a welfare state, but it needs time. Not all these tasks can be accomplished at once. It needs time for factories to begin to operate, and for agriculture to get started. They ruined everything and decamped, and now it must be rebuilt. And I am optimistic that with the brave efforts of all the gentlemen, and each person of whatever section he belongs to, all the problems will be solved. Those sections and those individuals must do their jobs and work in the very area that they are located, in accordance with Islam.

Just today, I was told that in many of the offices they are not working hard enough and are being lax in the performance of their duties. Well, the individuals who are now engaging in go-slow tactics at the workplace—that is perhaps a habit carried over from their past—it is not lawful for them to receive a salary from the administration; salary is paid in return for work that is done. And we shall ask the government to deduct the salary of those persons who are indulging in go-slow tactics at work, at the extent of their remission and they should not be paid their salaries in full. A person who arrives at the office, takes his seat behind his desk and passes his time smoking cigarettes and demands several thousand tumans at the end of the month—must not receive his pay. They must note that now the country belongs to them; they must work hard. Every person wherever he is, must work hard so that the wheels of the country get moving.

The necessity for a radical change in the offices and judiciaries

A radical change must come about in these administrative offices; in the judiciary especially, there is a need for a sea of changes. I have previously mentioned this, but well, when it is established and the consultative assembly is formed, these radical changes must take place so that the trials do not take so long, because the prolongation of the trials results in the wastage of the time of the people. A person walks to and from in the corridors of the courts of law for ten years without knowing whether ultimately he will attain his right or not. Tasks that would not take an Islamic judge more than one or two days to arrive at a decision when referred to our courts, take just one year for the lawyer to begin the proceedings. At the beginning, the first thing he does is to challenge the competency of the court to conduct the trial. How long should it take until you prove the competence of that court and saying that, this court is competent indeed. Then he comes several times to prove his case. Once, a witness—one of the religious authorities had attested that such an such person is “guilty”. It took him a long time simply to arrive at this verdict of guilt and deliver the verdict of guilt of the *al-Athim*.¹

Lawyers are such that they do not let the case progress, first the initial trial then the appeal and then so forth. It returns several times for reviewing. This is nothing except wasting the time of the people. The trial must be of one grade; there should be one qualified judge to finish the job of the people so that they can get on with their lives. Do what our judges would do before which was to make the parties sit down and listen to their argument and statements, then call the witnesses and then within two days, three days, a single day and sometimes in an hour or a couple of hours the case would be settled. The time of people is precious; it must not be consumed for a single trial.

There was this person who was a high court lawyer whom I knew; I had seen him; his name was Shaykh Rida, he was famous at that time. He was quoted to have said about a particular trial, that from the time the trial started it would outlast his lifetime, and after his death, his son would continue with it but would not let it to reach a conclusion. The situation of the courts of law is such that a lawyer can prevent a trial from ending swiftly. These things must undergo a radical change; it must be such that if we cannot make it one-hundred percent Islamic, at least we should bring it close to Islam. And God willing, I hope we can do it. Now let us assume we cannot, at least it should

¹ *Al-Athim* means sinner. In the past the clerics and scholars used to sign as *al-Athim*, *al-Jani*, *al-Fani*, *al-Ahqar*, *Al-Faqir*, etc.

draw near to it. It should not be such that we should forget about it and in imitation of the west, do whatever is done in the west and all our administration becomes westernized. This is one of the mistakes that is made ... it was because of the weakness of the Muslims that they assumed that whatever they would see in the west was good and they should emulate it. They did not even evaluate to see whether an action was proper or improper. When they saw them manufacturing airplanes they assumed that their moral aspects were also correct whereas it is not so.

Islamic unity: the biggest global power

In any case, radical changes are necessary; radical changes are required in individuals for their purity, for their piety, for their being nationalists and serving the nation. With the guidance of the various strata and the elders, this must become possible. There must also be changes both in the qualitative aspects of the offices and in their forms. And God willing, I hope that these matters be realized and it becomes an Islamic state; and loftier than that, it should God willing, spread to the rest of the Islamic countries and it becomes a great Islamic state opposite the super powers. If the Islamic countries, with a total population of approximately one billion people, and with the huge resources that they possess, somehow unite, they shall become the biggest power. May God grant all of you happiness and health.

The question of confiscation of properties

What I would like to say—and I have said right from the beginning—is that the courts must not operate based on previous methods. The courts of law must be Islamic in the fullest sense of the term; and should be careful that God forbid, no innocent person be somehow inconvenienced, or one whose sin is not too big be punished more than he deserves—these are among the important issues. The question of confiscation of properties is also an issue that in my opinion needs to be weighed very carefully; and should be applied only in exceptional cases where it is ascertained that all the properties owned by the individual have been accumulated through stealing and robbery, and through treason and plunder and so forth; otherwise, if someone was for example of the SAVAK secret police, or a person was for example, a legislator in the assembly; it is possible that he already possessed his wealth; this must not be confiscated because they have wives and children; they have a life to live. Just in these last few days, I received a letter

from the wife of Allamah Wahid Kermanshahi¹—who has been executed—complaining that their properties have been confiscated and that they have nothing left. And I told them to get in touch with the confiscators and say that such a thing should not be done. Now let us assume that so and so person was a traitor and they deserved to be killed—we assume all of these—but well what is the fault of his family and wife and children? These gentlemen here are saying that regarding the confiscations, it is not such that they confiscate everything; rather they leave behind a sufficient quantity so that they can continue with their lives. But this woman had written a letter in which she had complained bitterly that they had left nothing for them and the family could not continue living. Her needs must be taken care of. In any case, this is one of the problems that you cannot confiscate the property of the people—with good reason. Just because he was a legislator in the assembly and has now been killed does not imply that his wealth should be confiscated. Being a legislator in the assembly is no license to kill. Of course, they have committed offences; they must return the salary that they have received; but this salary does not mean that all their properties must be confiscated. The privileges that they received from the government were against the norms. They must give them back and punitive action must be taken.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

¹ A senator of the Pahlavi era who was found to be a “corrupt on the earth” and was executed by the Islamic Revolutionary Court.

Decree

Date: May 13, 1979 [Ordibehesht 23, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Conditions for the death penalty in the courts

Addressee: Mahdi Hadavi (Prosecutor general of the Islamic Revolution tribunals)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1399 AH

Prosecutor General of the Islamic Revolution tribunal:

Except in the following two instances: (1) It is proven that a person has killed a human being and (2) that a person has given the order for public killings or has indulged in torture resulting in death, no court of law has the right to issue the order of execution, and except in the above-mentioned two instances, no person must be executed. Violation of this matter is a crime which if proven will be punishable by retribution.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Date: May 13, 1979 [Ordibehesht 23, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The necessity to bring about spiritual-Islamic transformation

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

Now you must consider your country as your own home. In the same way that every individual when he wants to view his own home, views it with a distinct look, you must now have such a view with regard to your country. I pray to God for the success of all of you; and I hope that in whatever position you are, you undergo a spiritual transformation; in other words, an Islamic transformation. When a spiritual-Islamic transformation is achieved, then a human being will no longer betray his country; and he will be kind towards his own brethren; and he will perform the tasks that are delegated to him with interest. And may God assist you, so that at this moment, when we are in need of unity of expression, we safeguard it. And it is hoped that these remnants are defeated one after another and are banished; and the country becomes an Islamic country in the fullest sense of the term; and the commandments of Islam be God willing firmly put in place. May God assist all of you.

Speech

Date: May 13, 1979 [Ordibehesht 23, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The subject of martyrdom

Audience: Islamic Revolutionary Guards of Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Martyrdom, transfer to a loftier world

If a path becomes a path of justice, then a human being must not be afraid of martyrdom in that path. When we have risen to our feet for the cause of Islam and for the implementation of the traditions of the Prophet and the establishment of justice, then we must not be afraid of giving martyrs, martyrdom; or of our offspring being martyred or we ourselves being martyred. This has been a feature of Islam from the beginning. The Prophet of Islam and our Imams were self-sacrificing from the beginning.... They were blessed with martyrdom; their children were martyred. Hadrat Ali ibn Husayn¹ (a) asks his father whether they were of the rightful, to which he replies that we are the rightful. Then we are not afraid of death. Only that person must be afraid of death who believes there is nothing after death and everything is this animal life. One who clings to this animalistic belief that life is only the life of this world and there is nothing else to it, well, he must safeguard these few days that he is going to live and he must fear his departure from this world. But Muslims, those who believe in the Quran, who believe in Islam and who believe in the existence of another world and a loftier existence and regard the life of the world as an animal life; who believe that human life is in another world loftier than here, are not afraid anymore; they have no fear. A human being is transferred from this location to another location that is far better than here. Therefore, this fact has existed from the time of the advent of Islam also when the companions of the Messenger of God... would welcome martyrdom and take the lead from each

¹ Ali ibn al-Husayn: the fourth Imam from the Holy Prophets Progeny, Ali, known as Zayn al-Abidin and as-Sajjad (658-712 CE). The son of Imam Husayn by the daughter of Yazdgerd, the last Sassanid king of Iran, he was not able to carry arms at Karbala because of illness, and thus he was saved the fate of his three brothers. For most of his life he lived in seclusion in Medina, having contact with only a few select followers. His piety—which is reflected in his collected prayers, *Sahifah as-Sajjadiyyah*—is proverbial. He is buried in the Baqi cemetery in Medina.

other for martyrdom. The companions of Hadrat Ali, Imam Husayn—the Doyen of the Martyrs—welcomed martyrdom with open arms; they would take the lead. This was based on the unshakeable belief that martyrdom was not the total obliteration of a human being and that it was not the end. Martyrdom is the transference from this world to a more exalted world, to a more luminous world, where everything is better than here.

Therefore, now it is the duty of all of us to be the guardians of Islam, to be the soldiers of Islam; and in this period when various groups have infiltrated among the people and are making mischief and want to bring a halt to our movement or push it backward, all of us have a duty to strive hard to push forward this movement so that God willing, Islam become implanted the way it should be, and all the flaws be eliminated by means of Islam.

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the health and happiness of you, the youth; and I thank you for this strength of will, for this strength of body and for the hardships that you suffer in the path of Islam. May God protect all of you and grant you the happiness of both the worlds.

Statements

Date: May 14, 1979 [Ordibehesht 24, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Constancy in the face of responsibility; case of the small groups in Kurdistan province

Audience: Qasim Ali Zahirnezhad (Commander of the 64th Army Division of Urumiyyeh) and a gathering of military commanders

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The great responsibility of guarding the borders

... Is the remedy that responsible persons should be set aside; or should responsible persons have a greater role in promotions? Those who believe in Islam, have faith in the country ..., and want this country to settle down, can help in this matter. All persons must in such serious circumstances, enter the arena, otherwise when the situation is normal, there is no need... The solution is not that you should step aside, because the people regard it necessary for you to stay on. The remedy is in solving the problems.

Yesterday—probably it was yesterday—I asked the ministers of economy, the minister of defense, the commander of the gendarmerie forces, and others to come here.¹ And I cautioned them that the frontiers must be made secure so that weapons are not imported from abroad into the country. This is the responsibility of the army. The gendarmerie forces must also have the capability to deal with all such cases. I was told that the robbers and bandits are involved in this trade. If these things happen, you are responsible, and those of you who are capable of work should stay on; any of you who cannot, should get on with his own job and someone else should come and take his place. I have said this to all of them, and they expressed their desire to stay and said that they would take action in all earnest. But, they also asked us to boost the morale of the army, gendarmerie, the police and these security forces which I intend to do.

¹ One of the participants says that it was the day before yesterday, and Imam Khomeini acknowledges his remark.

Evading responsibility: Contrary to the spirit of Islam and the Revolution

In any case, you must come to an understanding with this very chief of staff, with the commander of the gendarmerie and these people, and propose to them to resolve the problems the way you want it. Stepping down in the hour of need of the country is contrary to the spirit of military service. The soldiering spirit is that when it is the hour of need of the country, you must come forward. This applies for me too, who am a soldier; it applies for you who are also soldiers; and the same applies for the gentlemen. If we decide that when a revolution occurs, the gentlemen go and sit inside their homes and keep busy with reading; I also go and lock myself in my home and get busy with my own work, and you also step down, and every person steps aside, this again, is contrary to the spirit of the Revolution, and also is opposed to Islam as well as the soldiering spirit which must be present in all of us.

In any case, the solution to the problem is not in your declining to go there. Because if you do not go there, then will that place be reformed? No, it will become worse. The solution to the problem is that, you should serve to the extent that is possible for you. To the extent that it is not possible, you are excused. Like the entire world over, a human being works to the extent that is possible for him

These problems also, must be talked over with them and resolved. The gendarmerie wants that its morale be strengthened; the army wants its morale to be strengthened; the barracks also want their morale to be strengthened. These whom I called have promised that they will do their job. But, they have asked me to boost their morale in a speech, which I intend to do.

In any case, before the gentlemen arrived here, I was informed that the gentlemen had indicated that Zahirnezhad is a useful and capable person and he must not step down. Capable persons must not say that now because the situation is a bit abnormal they will step aside. Will you leave your country in distress and step aside? Well, it cannot be done ... until there is a need you must serve; stepping aside from service is contrary to the military service spirit. A person must step forward and go to the places where the country needs, where the nation needs and Islam has enjoined. Therefore, none of us has the right to step down now. Well, I too, in this old age would like to go and rest; but now the duty is not this. Now, I am constantly busy; I take very little rest; I am not feeling so well either, but this is what is required of me right now. Each of the gentlemen who likes to go and take a rest, can do it. Resting is better. But this is not what is required of them.

In any case, now is the time to sit down together and solve the problems, and not turning your back on the problems. Should I go now that there is a problem? No, we cannot say this. You must make your proposal to those same gentlemen that I mentioned; they are at the army headquarters; you must go there and discuss it with them. In any case, what was in my power was to give them instructions, which I have done. They came here and I frankly told them that whoever cannot continue, should step down, and whoever is staying must work. From now on, if we see that weapons are entering the country again, or are being stolen on the way, that part which pertains to the gendarmerie will be answerable by the head of the gendarmerie forces, and that which pertains to the army will be the responsibility of the chief of the army. And this I said very openly; and this is how it exactly is.

The players behind the front

Today, all of us must join hands together to push back the groups who are opposed to the movement; who are opposed to the country and who are opposed to the interests of the country. I do not agree with what you said at the beginning of your speech that all these groups agreed. These Communist groups, these supporters of the Tudeh Party were behind the front; they would never come to the frontline to reveal which of them have been killed. We will show them if they ask for it; we have graveyards filled with those that were killed—these are our dead. They cannot show their dead, because in times of battle they run away so that others do the fighting; the moment things calm down a little, they come forward in order to cause disturbance or to exploit the situation. This is how they are. They have not come forward ... they were never at the forefront; in fact right from the start, they were never involved in these matters. Now that they have seen that some progress is being made, and maybe they can profit from the situation, they have raised their heads. This is how these political parties are too. The Democratic Party and such and such front ... none of them are popular. The people have done the job alone. The people revolted, and this very third classes; not those of the first classes, the first classes stayed put in their respective places and did nothing. These third classes are the same people who took action. Gradually, the military realized that it must join with them. They joined ... that same class in the military. The movement was not carried by the top class who plundered everything and decamped. These third class people carried the movement forward. Now in much the same way it must be carried forward by these very people of the lower classes. We must also discuss the problems

with them. Whatever problems you have you shall refer to them and I will talk with them so that they are resolved. And you too should be at your jobs; while we too are busy with our jobs.

[In reply to the query of a member of the audience, in which he had referred to the situation at the borders of the country, the Imam stated:]

“I have told the chief of staff about the borders problem, and instructed them to safeguard these borders so that others do not enter the country anymore.”

Letter

Date: May 14, 1979 [Ordibehesht 24, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Invalidation of the plots with an Islamic approach and sagacity

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Hadi Hashimi

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 17, 1399 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam Haj Sayyid Muhammad-Hadi Hashimi, may his blessings last:

With peace and best wishes, your thoughtful letter indicating that you were in good health and containing kind words about me, was received through the honorable Imad al-Alam Mr. Kermani, for which I thank you. I am trying my best to safeguard the fraternity that exists among Islamic brethren and which was responsible for the fruition of the sacred Islamic movement on the basis of the teaching of the Quran and to sustain the unity of expression of the Islamic brethren for safeguarding the overall interests of Islam to the extent that is possible. Of course, it is not hidden from you that unclean hands are at work to sow the seeds of discord among the Islamic brothers, and the Muslims must, with an Islamic approach and with sagacity invalidate the conspiracies. I would like to express my sincere thanks for the interest that you have shown for these subjects and for having announced your solidarity and your honorable family's solidarity with the common people. It is hoped that God willing, with this auspicious solidarity, calm be restored all over the country and the hands of criminals is cut off. The honorable Mr. Kermani shall come to meet with you in order to enhance this understanding. I hope to have the best wishes and prayers. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 14, 1979 [Ordibehesht 24, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The heavy responsibility of motherhood and teaching

Audience: Women of Tehran; women of Shahzadeh Ibrahim from Qum and Shahsavar

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The foremost classroom of children

You women have the honor of motherhood, and in this respect you are ahead of men; you have the responsibility of rearing a child in your bosom. The foremost classroom that a child has is the bosom of the mother. A good mother rears a good offspring and if the mother is a deviant one the child comes out deviant right from inside her bosom. Because the children have such an attachment to the mother that they have to no one else, and are reared in the bosom of the mother totally ... and the aspirations that they have are manifested in the mother, and they see everything in their mothers; the words of the mother, the behavior of the mother, and the actions of the mother, all have an effect on the children. For this reason, a child reared in the bosom of his mother which is the first classroom, if this bosom is a clean and pure and refined one, then right from the beginning he grows with that correct behavior and with that refined soul and with that good deed. When the child is in the bosom of its mother it watches the good behavior of the mother, her correct deeds, and her agreeable words, so that this child right from that place, imitates the mothers actions and words which is in fact, the highest form of imitation; the child is trained with the inputs of the mother which is the most effective of all inputs.

The heavy responsibility of motherhood

You have this great responsibility of bringing up your children who are infants and whose souls accept training very quickly; who accept good and bad quickly. Right from the beginning when these children are being reared in your bosom, you are also responsible for their actions and deeds. So that if a child is brought up well, it is likely, that he may ensure the happiness of a whole nation; whereas, God forbid, if even a single bad child is reared in your bosoms, it is possible that it can be a source of immorality in society. You should not assume that it is only a single child, sometimes when a child

enters society, he may be placed at the head of the society; it is possible for the child of a poor family to be placed at the head of the society. If a child that you have trained is trained properly and then that child happens to be placed at the head of society, he will bring happiness to a whole nation, and the honor will be yours. In other words, you have insured the happiness of a nation. Nevertheless, if God forbid, the contrary be true and the upbringing of a child in the bosom of its mother be not an Islamic upbringing; is not a humane upbringing and one with flaws, then it is quite likely that later on it will drive a whole society to moral corruption. Do not think that it is only a human being. Sometimes a single human being destroys a whole village; sometimes, a single human being destroys a whole city; sometimes a single human being destroys a whole country.

Dearth of good leaders in Iran

You should take a lesson from the individuals who exist, and the individuals who have existed throughout history in the world. When an individual comes to be placed at the head of the society, like Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, he corrupts a whole society; not that his corruption is limited to having plundered our resources; not that it is only limited to his having handed Iran over with both hands to others and to having given away to others whatever we had, rather it is higher than this. Such as the fact that he has corrupted the sections of this country in this manner and he has trained them as thieves so that now when we want to find an untainted person, we must search to find him. In other words, we should carry a torch in our hand in order to search for an incorrupt human being. To find a person who is not a thief. To find a person who is trustworthy; who will not betray the country. Now they are rare. why? Because, they were at the head of this country for more than fifty years and wreaked havoc everywhere. Because they themselves were corrupt, those who were close to them were corrupted. The next batch of those who were close to them was also corrupted. In the same manner, the rot started from the top and reached the lower strata—they corrupted every place so that now there is a dearth of honorable leaders in our country. We cannot find an upright individual except a few. They are rare, and this is because in these fifty odd years, the amount of harm they caused to our human resources was so much more than the harm they did to our national and territorial resources. In fact, they stole everything, but this matter was of more importance.

A healthy society governed by healthy rulers

If a human being, a king, a head of state is pious and upright, those around him will all become upright, and their right conduct shall pervade the lower echelons. At times, you will notice that if a just ruler be present among the people for 20 years, a just country will be created. The reason why we cry out for an Islamic republic is that Islam rears upright human beings and the Quran is a book, which rears upright human beings. That also is the very reason that the prophets came and they were not concerned with anything else. In the course of their lives, the great prophets and immaculate saints (*a*) were concerned with educating the people. The Blessed and Almighty God had sent the prophets to cleanse the people of moral corruption; to reform the people. Should an individual, who is at the head of the society, be reformed, if a *mullah* who is living in a society; is an upright one then the society will become upright because everyone takes notice of him. If an upright government rules over a particular place, then because the people take notice of it, they too shall become upright.

The mission of motherhood and teaching

This education also must begin from the bosom of you the women. This matter of training the children in the correct Islamic way must start from your bosom. When the child is in your lap, or is accompanying you and his eyes and ears are focused on your words and deeds, he should not hear a lie from you so that he turns out to be a liar later on. If he sees that his mother is lying, and then sees his father lying too, he will become a liar. If it sees that the mother is an upright human being, and the father is an upright human being, it will grow up to be upright. When he has grown up into an upright child, you hand him over to the school. There, if the teacher is an upright teacher, these individuals will come out of school as upright individuals and a society will become upright.

God willing, you will become teachers, later on. Now, who ever of you who is not a mother will become mothers, and God willing, will become teachers. In your motherhood, you must purify your children; in your tutorship, also you must refine them, and hand over upright individuals to the society so that the society becomes upright. If, God forbid, it is contrary to this, then their ill training too will be your responsibility; in the same way that, if they do a good deed, their good deed will also accrue to you and you will be rewarded, because you were the source of their good deeds. Nevertheless, if, God forbid you hand over immoral individuals to the society

and they engage in immoral behavior, you too shall be affected by the consequences of their misdeeds.

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God for the success of all of you women and all the men, and implore the Blessed and Almighty God to grant health and happiness to all of you.

Speech

Date: May 14, 1979 [Ordibehesht 24, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Islam and the religious minorities

Audience: Members of the Jewish Society of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Education of human beings, the aim of all divine religions

When we were in Paris, a propaganda was unleashed; this all out propaganda was making the rounds that if in Iran the Muslims become victorious, they shall massacre the Jews and Christians and that the Muslims are bent on massacring all the Jews. In the statements that I made there, I spoke of the reality on which Islam is founded, repeatedly. The representative of the Jewish society also came there and I spoke with him too, and told him of what the traditions of Islam were based upon. All the religions that have been revealed by the Blessed and Almighty God, and all the prophets that were commissioned to spread them, came for the comfort of mankind and for training human beings. With His revelations to the great prophets, the Exalted God wanted to guide the people and all of mankind, and to make them good human beings—in all the aspects that he has. While the rest of the powers and the rest of the doctrines have nothing to do with spirituality. None of the ideologies that are present in the world—except the doctrines of monotheism—is concerned with what a human being is in his essence and what his inner soul is. He is free to do whatever he desires secretly. They are only concerned about safeguarding his worldly affairs, and safeguarding his security. They are only concerned with establishing law and order. And if law and order is in place, then a human being is free to do as he wishes. Behind the closed doors, he is free to engage in any unlawful activity he wishes and the governments have no business to interfere. There is no law—of the laws of non-monotheism—to prevent a human being from engaging in certain things within the confines of his home. They are not concerned about what is happening within his inner nature, in his home, or undercover. They have absolutely nothing to do with this. Only that he should not come out on the street, create a ruckus, and disturb the law and order. This is something, which is common among all non-monotheistic ideologies, in sharp contrast to the doctrines of monotheism and religions that were

revealed to the great prophets from the heavens. Religions are concerned with all aspects of human beings, his self even before he is born; what sort of a marriage it should be; what are the conditions for marriage; what sort of a woman he must choose; what sort of a man a woman must choose ... because well, this marriage is a vehicle for the birth of a human being. Before there is any marriage involved, the prediction that when this child is born he should be healthy in body as well as in spirit is done; therefore, due attention is given to this aspect before the marriage, the conditions of marriage; later during pregnancy. It also gives instruction about before pregnancy, at the time when intercourse is to take place—it must occur under what conditions and what religious tenets must be applicable to it. When the mother becomes pregnant, what things are good for her to eat; what things should she avoid eating; how should she live her life. What are the requirements at the time of pregnancy; after the child is born, what sort of a woman must the person who wants to breastfeed the child be. If a surrogate mother is required to breast-feed the child, then how should she give milk to the child; what should be the timings; what should be the conditions. How should the mother communicate with the child in her bosom? And after it has been weaned from the bosom of the mother, how must the communication be with the father; how should the family bring up this child; how should the teacher be. When it enters the mainstream of society, what sort of place must he have in society? All these are for this reason that this particular human being who wants to attain recognition outside should to be a pious person; an upright person; should possess the correct behavioral and ideological attributes; and perform the right deeds. How should he interact with the people, how must he interact with society; how must he behave with the neighbors; how must he behave with the fellow citizens; how must he conduct himself with his coreligionists; how must he conduct himself with those of other religions. Since God has created all aspects of a human being and has regard for them, all religions that are revealed by the Blessed and Almighty God want to educate the human being with all his dimensions. Thus, in this regard there is no difference between various religions, as all the religions have come into being for the education of mankind.

Islam and the religious minorities

Islam is pertinent in the very meaning that was mentioned—in its teachings; in the Quran, in the narratives; and in all these issues some of which I explained. Islam has the highest concern for the welfare of the

people; for the comfort of the people and such affairs and in this regard, makes and has made no distinction between one stratum and other strata.

Religious minorities who from the advent of Islam and after the triumph of Islam lived among the Muslims were differentiated from those polytheists who were conspirators or some other sections that would plot and wanted to throw mankind into chaos. These who were the religious minorities were all respected by Islam ... In one of the instances—perhaps it was one of the armies of Muawiyah—a soldier came and stole an ankle-ring from a Jewish woman. On the basis of the narration, the Commander of the Faithful Hadrat Ali (a) stated that he had heard of the robbing of an ankle-ring of a subject and said that it was better to die than to do such a thing. This is how he regarded the protection of the interests of all the strata.

Zionists are non-Jewish

We regard the society of Jews to be distinct and separate from the Zionists. The latter are not at all connected with religion. The teachings of the prophet Moses—may Gods peace be upon him—which were divine commandments are valuable teachings and in the Quran the name of prophet Moses has been mentioned far more numerously than any other prophet, and the history of prophet Moses has been narrated in the Quran, and the manner in which prophet Moses, being a shepherd with a world of power and determination, conducted himself in front of the Pharaoh and revolted against the great power of the Pharaoh, and destroyed him. Reliance on divine power and paying attention to the interests of the needy vis-à-vis the arrogant; the foremost of whom was the Pharaoh, revolting against the arrogant was the characteristic feature of prophet Moses—may Gods peace be upon him—and this is quite the opposite of the plan which this group of Zionists have in mind. These have joined with the arrogant; they are their spies; they are their servants; and act against the interests of the oppressed. This is contrary to the teachings of Prophet Moses who gathered these same common people of the streets and bazaars and their likes and revolted against the Pharaoh and the power of the Pharaoh. The oppressed led an attack on the arrogant in order to rub the nose of the arrogant in the mud, in contrast to the methods of these Zionists who are on the side of the arrogant and act against the interests of the down trodden.

Hatred of the Jewish people for the Zionists

These number of Jews who were taken for a ride and who gathered there from all parts of the world are perhaps now repentant because that they are

Jews and do not wish to act against the lofty teachings of prophet Moses, and for having emigrated to that place because a person who goes there and sees what plans these people have, and how they engage in useless killings, and how they are connected to America and other powers, cannot tolerate that a section should claim to be part and parcel of Jewish society and act against teachings of prophet Moses. Jewish society is quite distinct from their (Zionist) society. And we are opposed to the Zionists. Our opposition to them is because they are opposed to all religions. They are not Jewish. They are a political people that engage in nefarious activities in the name of Jews. And the Jewish people are also disgusted with them; and all human beings must be disgusted with them.

Religious minorities in the Islamic Republic

But concerning the society of Jews and the rest of the societies that exist in Iran and are a part of this nation, Islam treats them in the same way that it treats the rest of the sections of the people. Islam does not consider it at all permissible to oppress their rights. It is not at all right to assume that it wants to place them in a tight spot. This is against the principles of the teachings of Islam; it is against the revelation; it is against the wishes of the Blessed and Almighty God who wants that all of mankind live in happiness and prosperity. Islam follows the divine commandments and in the same manner that the Blessed and Almighty God accords respect to all categories of nations, Islam too accords this respect—you should be sure about that Islam does not intend to put any particular section in difficulty. I stressed this point in Paris too, before the victory of this Revolution and the triumph of this movement, to that person who had come on behalf of the Jewish society as their representative to see me: Islam is for all and desires that everyone should live in happiness; and that everyone should live in peace and security. And this question that is often raised that Muslims will do so on and so forth to the Jews is nonsense, and you saw that when they triumphed they neither caused any problem for the Jews, nor did they cause any problem for the Zoroastrians, and nor for the rest of the communities. You saw it with your own eyes ... When we triumphed, did anybody attack the Jews? Did anybody attack the Christians? Did anybody attack the Zoroastrians? There were no attacks involved. Later on too, after God willing, the Islamic government is established in the manner that the Blessed and Almighty God has wanted, you will see that Islam is better than all other doctrines in respect of the consideration it gives to all sections of the nation, and it will perform better than all others. I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God to grant prosperity to

all the people and all of mankind; and may all attain happiness; and may all be guided. May God guide all of us on the path to righteousness; may God grant happiness to all. And, you should all be convinced that there is no oppression in an Islamic republic. We will neither oppress and nor will we be oppressed. This is something that Islam has taught us; that you should not indulge in oppression and you should not be oppressed either. To the extent we can, we will not be oppressed and will never oppress. May God willing, you all continue to be successful; and you all participate fully in this uprising together and remain united until God willing, this movement reaches fruition. And this movement is a humanistic movement so that all human beings must be in agreement with this movement. And I hope that all are prosperous.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 14, 1979 [Ordibehesht 24, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The world belongs to the downtrodden

Audience: Group of Indian and Pakistani Muslim residents in Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Awaiting the revolution by the downtrodden of the world

We are hopeful and we expect that all the oppressed sections of nations will unite. We pray to the Blessed and Almighty God to awaken the Muslims all over the world; and that Muslims desist from disunity and dispute. I hope that you the Pakistani youth, who have come to see me and announce your solidarity with our movement, all succeed and be healthy.

This movement, the uprising of the oppressed against the arrogant, must spread to all parts of the world. Iran should become the source and focal point and a model for all the oppressed nations. The oppressed nations should see how Iran, with bare hands and with the power of faith combined with unity of expression and recourse to Islam, resisted the great powers, and defeated them. The rest of the people of the nations should follow suit with regard to this Islamic secret; to this religious secret. Muslims must arise in all parts of the world; rather the oppressed should rise to their feet. The divine promise that pertains to the weak commands that, "*We have granted the weak the favor to become the inheritors of the earth.*"¹ Leadership is the right of the weak; inheritance belongs to the weak; the oppressors are the usurpers and must leave the field. We drove away the arrogant from the arena in Iran and the oppressed sat in their place.

A small number who are busily engaged in conspiracy, will, God willing be eliminated very soon. They are under the wrong impression that they can plot against a nation that has risen to its feet; their conspiracies will be buried provided that the oppressed do not forgo their unity of expression, and the people remain together. In the same way that they were all together up to this stage, carried the movement this far with their unity of expression and trust in the Lord of the universe, and in the process demolished the great barriers; from now onward, too, they should stay together and safeguard this secret,

¹ *Surah al-Qasas* 28:5.

which is the key to their victory. If this secret which is unity of expression and trust in the glorious God and recourse to the great Islam is maintained; if this secret is safeguarded by them; then victory will be theirs—the ultimate victory.

The ultimate objective of the Revolution

The final victory will be achieved when Islam—in all its aspects and with all its tenets—is established in Iran. And the higher victory is that Islam should rule all over the world. Islam is the source of happiness of mankind. Islam has come into existence for making us better human beings; it has come in order to take the human beings—mankind—away from darkness and bring them to light. God is “the trustee of the believers” and will take them out of darkness and enter them into a sea of light. Those who are infidels are led by the devil. Who takes them out of light and plunges them into a sea of darkness. You the believers, you the Iranian youth, the Pakistani youth, and the rest who are of the faithful, you all have been promised by God that He will take you out of darkness; out of all troubles and bring you into light, which is the divine light, “*God is the light in earth and heavens,*”¹ “*The Almighty God will remove you from all darkness, from all troubles, and take you to the divine light;*”² that light which is the illuminator of all dimensions of human beings; that light whose radiance has created the whole of the universe. You should take keen interest in Islam and in the Islamic teachings. Those sections who wish to sow the seeds of discord among you should be shoved away. They are the agents of evil; they want to take you away from light and plunge you into darkness; they are opposed to God; they are the devils; they are the agents of evil. Eradicate these rotten roots.

May God assist all of you. May God enable the Muslims to be acquainted with their Islamic duties. May God make the Muslims lead the world.

May Gods peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

¹ *Surah an-Nur* 24:35.

² *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:257.

Speech

Date: May 15, 1979 [Ordibehesht 25, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Lack of necessity for discussing secondary problems in the present condition

Audience: Students of Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Existence of problems in the period of transition

Although my time is over, as I have also given a speech earlier; however, there are certain warnings that are necessary for me to mention.

This period which we are in right now, is a period of transition. In other words, it is the transfer of that evil power to another power. And our government is an interim government; it is not an established government. We now have the need for a founder's assembly in order to ratify the constitution. And after that, we require a consultative assembly so that it can look into the affairs of the country; as well as an established and permanent government. In this period of transition, we must not expect every task to be performed in this period of transition. At no time has such a thing been ever possible. This is how the period of transition is. Right from the very beginning, we gave Engineer Bazargan the mission to accomplish these three tasks namely, to arrange, and accept the responsibility to hold a referendum, and later the founders assembly and after that the consultative assembly. When he has completed the tasks, he too will resign. Then the primary tasks must be done, and is not confined to what you have mentioned. We have a lot of confusion; in other words, there should be an overall transformation in all sections. Now, this government—meaning the manner of governing and not the government itself; the type of ministries, the sort of government offices—is again remnants of that same era of the *taghuti* regime. These need to be transformed; however, transformation will occur only when we have an established government. At present, the government is a government that wants to transfer this power to an established government so that it can get busy with its job. In other words, a government must be formed which the people themselves have established. We have not had such a government that was of the people up to now—it was only in name. There has not been one after the constitutional period. It was only in name—I do not know—that the nation should elect their representatives themselves; to introduce their own

legislators ... but you know quite well that your votes had never been decisive. In that period of history, they themselves would select them. And how I wish they had done it themselves. In one of his speeches, the Shah said—this very second Shah—that the embassies would give them the lists and force them to act on those lists. They who would give a list of the legislators to be appointed by the Shah, and he would do it. However, he wanted to say that now it was not such anymore, although during his reign it was even worse.

Freedom to vote

Now, the situation has reached the stage where you yourself – without anybody pressurizing you—voted in the referendum. You cast your vote yourself. In other words, the people big and small—who at the time of election were eligible to vote—men and women, the sick in hospitals, all of these people voted with zeal and fervor. Nobody, brought pressure on them, and nor it was at the point of a single bayonet—it was the power of faith. They had faith in that an Islamic government is good. This faith carried the people to the polling booths. And, those who could not go on their own were assisted or taken by wheelchairs to cast their vote. And later on, in order to hold the destiny of your country in your own hands you will vote for the founders assembly if it is agreed that a founders assembly be formed, or if we do not form it by referendum, you will yourself go and appoint your legislators and no one will bring any pressure on you to appoint so and so legislator. If, for example, we do say a word in favor of anybody, it is because it is good for you and nothing more. We shall say this is good for you, just as we said that it is good to vote in the referendum. I, myself, voted in the referendum. There was no coercion, and each person was allowed and was free to go and cast his vote whatever that vote may have been. Now too, after this, you, yourselves, must appoint your legislator, and later on, the legislators of the consultative assembly will be elected by yourselves. Everything is in your own hands. You must search yourself to find a good legislator so that the destiny of your country is placed in the hands of your parliament.

The need to combat troublemakers

Many issues are similar to the issues that you are now mentioning. There are many issues. These are for that period when the government is established. Now, we all must follow this issue of those who have fallen out of favor, and who at times go to the factories and create trouble there; or at

other times go to the farmers and cause trouble and sometimes go to the schools and make trouble. We must all open our eyes wide and not let them make mischief. If the trouble making of these miscreants ends in their favor, then we shall not see the period of settling down and we shall return to the starting point. Now, it is the duty of all of us—you the respected students and the rest of the classes—to convince whichever individual you have access to, and whichever person who listens to your words to sustain this movement with the same momentum with which it has come to this point so far. In other words, with the same passion that is present; with the same zeal and enthusiasm that caused them to go to the polling booths and cast their votes in favor of an Islamic republic. This should be maintained so that next you cast your votes for the founders assembly and then for the consultative assembly so that the government is formed. We must now prevent these disturbances from taking place. Now is the time we put a stop to these troubles. After the government has been formed and settled down, then these demands that everyone has—and we have too—of course will be met later. We also are aware that there are many irregularities at present. In other words, they all went away and messed up everything in this country—everything. Now, we do not have a healthy economy. They robbed everything that this country possessed. They borrowed and fled. Now, all the banks are owed money by them. They borrowed in millions and ran away. They took away everything with them. Look also, at what they did to our agriculture such that we have no agriculture remaining. Now the factories; these people have infiltrated the factories and are sabotaging work. From what I have heard, the staff and workers themselves who are employed there either are refusing to work or are engaging in go-slow tactics and such things. These things are happening because they are hindering work. We must now all of us together join hands and not allow this movement which is a divine movement; which was for the cause of God, and was for Islam to be extinguished. We must sustain it until these issues are resolved. Then we shall come to the secondary issues, which are next in importance.

The main duty, to safeguard the movement

We should be careful not to be negligent even for a moment of these principal issues that are the basis of our government, and we should not divert our attention to who does not own a house or such and such person has not been treated well or for example, they do not teach well in the schools, and how our teachers are. This is not the time for all these things. Now is not the time; in the same manner that if at that time when everybody was busy

putting pressure to push back the tanks, a person would appear out of nowhere and tell you that he does not own a house and you would reply that it was not the time to discuss this issue, as there were more important things to do. Now, this is how it is. In my opinion now is the most sensitive period of our country, and not the time when we were all bringing pressure to demolish this barrier. After this dam was destroyed, the people on the other side of the barrier noticed that this one said he does not have a house; that person said that he was sick and someone else remarked that my school is not a good school and such and such person remarked on how the teachers were; yet someone else mentioned how it was to be in the army; and another mentioned how it was at the office; and consequently the thinking was confused. I am apprehensive that this confusion in thinking will cause us to become neglectful of the main problems that we have; and God forbid, the devils that are closely following these problems, will come suddenly and fan these confusions and we suddenly realize that we have been defeated. And you are aware that, if God forbid, we are faced with defeat, then this nation will not be able to raise its head anymore. If we take this victory to its final destination, we have succeeded in cutting off the hands of these people until the very end—and I hope we will take it, God willing we will take it, and God willing we will take our destination. We will reach God willing. But, we all must endeavor. In other words, you the beloved students, and those workers inside the factories who are beloved as well, and those farmers who are engaged in agricultural activities and they too are beloved; and the whole nation; traders, university students, students, teachers and everybody else must focus our attention on the objective that we have. Pursuant to that, we can raise these issues. We should not be negligent of the main issue, go after the secondary issues, and thereby lose sight of our main objective.

The necessity to replace existing laws

What I understand is this; and what I want from you is that all of you should join hands and carry this burden to its destination. When the established government is formed, the established government must do this job. This issue is an issue for which laws must be formulated. The laws that have existed so far are of all devilish; all of them are destructive. A law is needed for every individual, and this necessitates the formation of a consultative assembly; your own consultative assembly; not the consultative assembly of Aryamehr or for example, of the Americans, your own consultative assembly. You should elect your own legislators. Reliable individuals, patriotic individuals, individuals who would be at your service

should be elected by you. And to the extent we can, we will also relay the matter to them; and God willing, the establishment and the period of settling down will take place. When the period of establishment occurs, at that time agricultural plans will be fulfilled, of course the relevant plans must be presented. Schools must be, basically the culture must be transformed. Culture should undergo a transformation. The administration of justice must undergo a transformation. All of these are in need of change. However, each one of us pays attention to that specific position on that we are in. Each person from wherever he comes mentions the very problems of his own region—and they are right about the existing problems. Now, when we are seated here, the people come here from the surrounding areas; the Bakhtiyari tribes come here and remark that no place is worse than their province; they say they have absolutely nothing. They are right. People come from the province of Baluchestan and say the same thing; they come from Khorasan and say the same thing; you also come to discuss your problems, which I consider correct, but the thing is that each of you look at your own regions and your own problems. The whole nation is in trouble. These destructive evildoers in fact destroyed the whole nation. It is not that it is true about one place and untrue about another—all are in a mess. But, it needs time. Sometimes, they come, tell us that there is so much poverty and backwardness in so and so places, and so forth. I ask them whether this poverty has come into being now or it was there from the past. They reply that no it was there from the beginning. Therefore, I tell them now you have suddenly become aggressive. Well, this poverty has been there and that you had it from before.

At that time, you did not dare to raise your voice but now are talking about it and saying, “Give us right now. Give us right away.” This is not possible. Well, it must be rectified. Agriculture should be reformed; factories should start operations; the economy of the nation should be reformed for which petroleum revenues are needed—whereas now even petroleum revenues have not been received by them. Well, now they have delivered the crude oil, and will later receive the money. The economy must be reformed; and the situation of the country must return to normal and attain stability; there must be a return to law and order—all these problems shall God willing be resolved. And because I am now indisposed ...

Statements

Time/Date: 10 am, May 15, 1979 [Ordibehesht 25, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Prosperous human beings

Occasion: Felicitations on the establishment of the Islamic Republic and condolences on the martyrdom of Professor Mutahhari

Audience: Members of the society of the handicapped¹

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

Reaping benefits and being losers from the viewpoint of Islam

“All human beings are losers except that group of the people who are pious and perform good deeds and enjoin the people and nations to be patient and righteous.”² These verses do not imply a person is to lose an eye or another person his hand—no—all are losers except those who are true believers. In Islam, the body is irrelevant; and the soul is relevant; it is faith that is of relevance. You who are like my own children should not be in the least concerned that your legs are deformed; based on these same verses that you recited that is not the measure of humanity. What is in fact, a measure of prosperity is none other than for a human being to be pious and a believer and have patience and enjoin others to be patient and speak the truth and enjoin others to speak the truth. When you have faith and patience and enjoin others to be patient and enjoin others to justice, then you are successful. Those who have all the material things of the world, have both bodily health as well as material goods, but have no faith are the ones who are the greatest losers—the spiritual losers rather than material losers.

Happiness has nothing to do with possession of a hand or possessing legs; possession of wealth does not imply happiness. Happiness is something that is related to the soul of a human being; it is related to the heart of a human being. You, my beloved children, whose souls are healthy and whose hearts are healthy and God willing are believers and, who enjoin the people to patience and justice, are the fortunate. And I pray to the Blessed and

¹ One of those in the audience recited the *Surah al-Asr* from the Quran and after congratulating and expressing condolences, he requested more attention to be paid to the conditions of the injured.

² *Surah al-Asr* 103:1-3.

Almighty God to grant you happiness. And this request which you have made, I hope that God willing, when the situation calms down a little, all the matters will be attended to, and the government will pay attention to them. May God protect all of you. I regard you like my own children; all of you are most dear to me. May God grant you good health and cure you of all illnesses.

Speech

Date: May 15, 1979 [Ordibehesht 25, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Conspiracies of the deviant small groups

Audience: Workers and owners of brick-making kilns of Tehran and its suburbs

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A talk with the deviant small groups

Now, we ask these groups who have infiltrated the ranks of the people in various guises and are hindering you from doing your work, that well we, too, like to build houses for the downtrodden, for those who are homeless, for those who cannot afford to own houses and for these slum—dwellers on the outskirts of Tehran—who are living in appalling conditions. You gentlemen would also like to help by giving discounts to the extent you can. What do these people have to say? Are they sympathetic with the nation? Are they the *Fadaiyan*¹ devoted servants of the people as they claim? Do they wish to serve the nation? Well, if they want to work for the people; we are working for them, so why do you not come and help us?

The brick makers are coming forward and giving discounts; well, you also can help, you can do publicity work; you come forward and tell these workers that well, now that they wish to work for the poor, they should work more for fewer wages.

Identifying the traitors

They are traitors. Their hands—the hands of their masters—have been cut off from this country, and they want to give them a free hand again. As otherwise a national issue, an issue that is for the weak classes—housing construction is for the deprived class, nobody builds houses for the wealthy; it is for the slum-dwellers on the outskirts of Tehran or other provincial cities; it is for the workers who are homeless, and wretched; housing construction is for these classes, and so instead of coming forward and being helpful, doing publicity, and co-operating so that these helpless people can have houses, they do not allow work to be done. Of course, they do not want to allow, but they are mistaken. This work will be done. But, my intention is to introduce them for what they are. You too should ask them why they go

¹ Fadaiyan-e Khalq guerrillas.

into the factories and tell the workers not to work and even pay them not to work. Yes they pay them not to do their job. The money for this is not from their pocket. This money comes from either America or the Soviet Union. They have filled the money into your pockets that you are paying them from. You do not have the money yourself. You are toiling for the sake of money. You do not have the money or else you would not have done these things. This is the money they are giving you so that you sabotage the work of these factories; to prevent these poor people from owning houses so that they raise their voices; so that there be a revolution; so that they can come back again and take away all your petroleum, and all your jewelry, and all your underground resources, and your forests and your pastures and take away your everything.

Victory with the help of the oppressed

They are traitors. They are worse than those traitors who slaughtered people; they are destroying the honor of this nation. But, if you have a feeling of empathy; if the feeling of cooperation exists in you to have sympathy with the poor, then imagine the day you are sitting comfortably in your home; think of that man who with seven or eight children is sitting inside this slum, what he is going through in the cold of the winter; what he is going through in the heat of the summer and think a little on this subject and for their sake and for the sake of the Blessed and Almighty God give them a discount; toil for their sake, God willing, by sustaining this humanitarian and co-operative spirit, you will become victorious.

I hope that God willing, the movement of ours and this spirit of co-operation be safeguarded. Now that things have calmed down a bit, the profiteers should not engage in profiteering, raising their prices and—I do not know—smuggling and ... and they should act on the Islamic ideals, on the humanitarian yardstick and based on justice. I am hopeful that the government of Islamic justice—the way we want it, the way the Blessed and Almighty God wants it—be realized so that for everyone, for all, welfare and happiness both in this world and in the hereafter is ensured.

Mudarris, the only hero to challenge Rida Khan

The photograph that you are seeing¹ is of a person—I do not know whether that gentleman is present here or not. [One of the audiences: I am the nephew of the deceased.] Imam Khomeini: “Yes—about whom Malik ash-

¹ It refers to a photo of Martyr Hasan Mudarris brought to the meeting by his nephew.

Shuara¹ has remarked that since the time of the Mongols up to the present, no one like him has come into this world. This personality is the late Mudarris. The way we saw him ourselves, he was the only man who challenged the bully, Rida Khan. This personality, a cleric who wore fewer garments than the rest—and was the butt of a joke about his underpants which that immoral man had narrated in the form of a verse—he was the only man to resist the great power of Rida Khan. The person who had launched an attack on the parliament to bring the parliament to its knees in defiance to chants of “long live Rida Khan.” stood up and shouted “Down with Rida Khan, May I live long.” He was such a powerful figure. This was because he was a man of God; he wanted to serve for the cause of God and was not afraid. May God bless his soul and grant you the favor to beat back these miscreants.

¹ Malik ash-Shuara (Bahar): Muhammad ibn Malik ash-Shuara Muhammad Kazim Saburi was a great contemporary poet who lived from 1866 to 1951. He was a poet, a researcher, writer, university teacher, journalist and politician all at the same time. Bahar has turned the former approaches to poetry into a beautiful manner and has employed the commonly used language to arrive at certain interpretations and terminologies applied in his poetry. The contents of the book of his poems were printed in two magazines. He has such research works as the history of Sistan and a brief account of all history and tales [Mujmal at-Tawarikh al-Qisas] and a review book on styles.

Speech

Date: May 15, 1979 [Ordibehesht 25, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Treason and collusion of the claimants of human rights; oppressing the downtrodden

Audience: Members of the Board of Iranian businessmen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Human rights, a weapon in the hands of the enemy

Of course, those whose own interests or the interests of their masters are in jeopardy, have a grievance against this movement in whatever form it may be; and they want to extinguish this movement by means of any conspiracy. Sometimes on the pretext of “human rights”, they criticize the death sentences that are carried out in Iran, and consider this as an act of violence. They were not present in Iran to see what has happened here, what Iran has gone through in the course of the past fifty years or more, and what has befallen our youth in recent times. But, they know about it; it is not that they are uninformed. They are aware of what the former Shah and the Shah before him did to Iran; and what crimes were perpetrated by these two cowardly men in Iran. They are aware of the treasons committed by them. The gathering that claims to represent human rights group and are taking up the cause of human rights and protesting that “these numbers that have been killed so far were killed for what reason? This is an act of violence.” They have overlooked the violence that took place during the reign of the father and son. Those killings that took place at the hands of their agents and sometimes even at the hands of Muhammad-Rida himself—they have totally overlooked them. Neither at that time when the people of Iran were afflicted in that manner and they were looting and killing, did they speak a word about “human rights”; and nor toward the end of their reign when all the atrocities were being perpetrated in Iran within the last couple of years of which all the nations were informed and the people of Iran were in such distress and our youth were being massacred on the streets did they utter a word of protest.

Silence in the face of the Shahs crimes

They do not mention the events of the fifteenth of Khordad at all. On 15th of Khordad [June 5, 1963] the way it is said—I was in prison but the way I was told after I was released—approximately fifteen thousand people

were massacred, and informed sources again told me that Muhammad-Rida himself flew in a helicopter and directed the killings. These people; these supporters of “human rights” apparently do not regard the fifteen thousand people who were killed in a single day to be human beings. Or they regard them as human beings but do not accord them any rights. If they are human beings and have rights, and these sixty-thousand or more people that were slaughtered in these few months in Iran—the best of our youth were killed, of all strata, the clergy, the university students, the businessmen class, administrators, every sort of people, farmers, workers—and these people who claim “human rights” pretend as if nothing has happened.

We have not witnessed any protests from these people or heard them cry out “No, why are you not observing human rights. Why are you killing so many people?” Now that we are punishing some criminals each of whom have killed several persons or have tortured them to death or have sawed off their feet, or have put them in large pans and burnt them, from all strata, in the prisons they acted in that manner, they caused such a commotion. One night when I was in prison, I could hear the sobbing and moaning sounds of persons who were being tortured. Later, when the prison guards came to me, I protested and told them that prisons must be a place for training and not a place for such savagery. They replied that it was not anything important. Just a runaway conscript was given a slap; whereas, perhaps for more than an hour he was being tortured, and I could hear his cries.

Trickery of the claimants of “human rights”

These supporters of human rights, these tricksters, who want to hand over all our resources to their masters, were suffocated on that day; their pens were broken. Now that we have caught some of them and killed them after they were put on trial and have confessed to the crimes they have committed and their files reveal what they have done, now they are raising their voice. Although this is how it has been, and those that were put to death were corrupt and immoral, besides the fact that many of them were killers, murderers, and corrupters of the earth; nevertheless, we recently scaled down their sentences. Only those who it was proven were killers or have tortured the people to death or those who gave orders of mass killings of the people, from now onward will be sentenced to death. Others who have tortured will of course not be sentenced to death but will be punished according to the severity of their crimes; to imprisonment and fines and such things. A person who has sawed off the foot of a prisoner, but the one whose foot was sawed off has not died, we cannot simply tell the offender “please, go away, you are

free.” Well, this person must be meted out punishment. If the person who has sawn off the foot is caught, then according to religious law his foot must also be sawn off as retribution. If we find that person who was tortured in this manner now, and we see that he seeks retribution, we will permit him to go ahead and retaliate.

Trampling upon human rights

This is for human rights. Well, this human being has a right and so has that human being. This person has endangered the health of that person, and then it is the right of that person to endanger the health of this person. This man has killed someone, so it is the right of the heirs of the one who was killed to kill this man. If we could not find the heirs, then justice will have the right and he has to be killed. Until now, this number—and they were quite few and not too many—have been sentenced to death by the revolutionary tribunals. They have been killed for the administration of human rights. The people who are claimants of human rights and who raise a clamor for the likes of Habib Ilqaniyan¹ or for Amir Abbas Hoveyda² are precisely the same people who trample upon human rights.

This man Hoveyda, was the prime minister for fifteen or thirteen years approximately, and all the crimes are the responsibility of the prime minister. If we find any of the prime ministers of that era such as Sharif Imami³ such as Shapur Bakhtiyar,⁴ they would be condemned to death. Bakhtiyar himself confessed that the killings were ordered by him. They directed the killings by inciting the massacres. Their whole group is immoral; they are corrupt. We are doing this for the sake of human rights. And, this group that raises their voice shouting “human rights, human rights.” are the stooges of the colonialists. The origin of these groups was founded in America or in other places under the name of “human rights groups” and so on and so forth were created by them in order to destroy human rights. So many crimes were committed by this ignoble man in Iran and so many killings and pillaging that they now say he must be put to death. However, no verdict has been passed for the death of Muhammad Rida, but it will be issued. If we find him, he must be killed. The people who talk of human rights are now raising their voice and expressing regret.

¹ Habib Ilqaniyan, notorious capitalist and Zionist who was executed by the Islamic Revolutionary Court on the charge of spying for Israel and assisting the Quds-occupying regime.

² Amir Abbas Hoveyda (premier of the Pahlavi regime), his last position was Court Minister.

³ Jafar Sharif Imami (Pahlavi regimes prime minister) from 1339 to 1357 AHS.

⁴ Shahpur Bakhtiyar, the last prime minister of the Pahlavi regime.

The Shah, a faithful servant of America

Of course, America must express regret because Muhammad Rida was a very good servant for America who gave away all our resources to America to eat. He made Iran poor and gave away everything to America and its friends. They must of course express their regret. Israel must of course express regret for the death of Ilqaniyan; because Ilqaniyan was a man who committed so many crimes here and committed so much treason, and gave away so much of the wealth of this nation to Israel, that they must of course express regret. But, we must see what the fact is. Is it a fact that we are violating human rights?

Throughout this period that this government of ours, this government of Iran that is now in power, throughout this period of its establishment, and throughout the period after the Revolution—although in revolutions so many would be slaughtered—bring a single instance of a person who was killed without being guilty of a crime. They should come forward and say that this person was innocent ... although they would arrest our youth in droves for the crime of finding a book in their homes, on the charge of finding a circular in their home, on the charge of being acquainted with someone who was in possession of those circulars; or on the charge of finding a banned book or a religious treatise in a bookstore—on these charges they would take them away, torture them and then kill them.

Our prisons and the Shahs prisons

Throughout this period that this prime minister—the Islamic Prime Minister—has taken charge, you will not find a single person in this court of revolution, in the prime ministers office, in the army or in any other place in this government who has been arrested by them without criminal charges or having been imprisoned by them for a single day, and there has been no filthy language used against a person. Do not these human rights groups pay attention to these things? Or they know it but pretend to be deaf? They are traitors. They want to subjugate us like before. We do not listen to these words. The group that has been put to death until now was for the administration of human rights. Our courts have done their job with precision, have taken the opinions of every sort of reliable individual, and then have taken a decision. From now onward, again some rebates have been made, so that it would not be too severe. Later on, more rebates will be given too. But with the same individuals who committed such tortures, and killed human beings in that manner, we nevertheless directed that, not even a single

word of abuse must be said to them in the prisons. I announced this; I issued a circular that in an Islamic government prisoner—however, serious his crimes—nobody has the right to starve them; nobody has the right to slap them; nobody has the right to torture them; nobody has the right to use a foul word against them. He should be prosecuted only to the extent of his crime and be meted out punishment in accordance with that crime; not more than this; not in excess of this. In the prison of these torturers if they would arrest any one of us and if we dared to utter an indecent word to them, they would behave with us in that cruel manner. These torturers are now in our prisons, right now in the prisons of Iran—these people are imprisoned. Those who came from abroad to report on their condition attested to the fact that the prisons are in keeping with civilized standards.

Conspiracy in the guise of “human rights”

Let them come and see. They are sitting there abroad and getting paid and are holding their pens and keep on writing something under the title of “human rights.” These are persons who wish to trample upon human rights—not that they want to exploit human rights. These people do not reserve any right for our youth who were slaughtered in such large numbers and who were tormented so much—they say these are not human beings. As if they do not consider us as human beings. And, when we sentenced to death a few persons because they have tortured, they have killed, they have massacred, they have poured on to the streets and have killed indiscriminately in the course of fifteen or ten years, they raise a clamor; everyone witnessed these incidents; all of you saw these things happening. They are aware of these events—not that they are ignorant of these facts. In the same way that they are informed of the details of the present, they were knowledgeable of the details of the past too. They are knowledgeable, but they are traitors; they are unjust; they are not humans. They are mercenaries who wish to trample upon human rights. This is how it has been up to now.

And, praise be to God, some of them have been meted out their due punishment—but of course, some more are still there. Now there are conspiracies. Now, those same individuals who were engaged in this work, some of them are still there, are busily engaged in plotting, and wish to start all over again. Those who are engaged in hatching conspiracies, those who want things to revert to their former condition, to subjugate a nation again, to oppress a nation all over again; to throw the rights of a nation to the wind of destruction all over again—if we find these people, we will of course bring them to justice—and God willing, we shall find them.

What had Mutahhari done?

Those like Mr. Mutahhari who would not hurt a fly—I knew this man for approximately twenty years—a man of such morality, a man of such grace, of such humanity was condemned to assassination.

Why? What had Mutahhari done? Whom had he killed? What was his crime? Was he not a human being? This man of philosophy, knowledge, religious scholar, and scientist—was he not a human being? They kill this human being in this fashion without having committed a single crime. What was the crime of Mr. Mutahhari? What had he done? What was the crime of Waliyullah Qarani?¹ But what were they guilty of that they deserved to die?

Now too they have prepared a list of those who are to be assassinated. Are they under the mistaken impression that with the killing of Mr. Mutahhari or the killing of those like Mr. Mutahhari, this movement will die out and once again, the rights of our nation will be trampled upon. Once again, these human rights activists did not write a word about Mr. Mutahhari or say a word. At least we have not heard them utter a word. Was he not a human being? They did not protest, they said nothing; they did not condemn the person who killed him.

Now they claim not to know him. Well, why did not they condemn the group who committed this act? Now, if we are to find Mutahhari's killer and punish him for his crime, in retribution, then they will raise their voice that it is an act of violence. Is it not violence to kill an innocent man for no reason? Sometimes, a person may have done something, whereas this man had no vocation other than to teach and to study. He was a person whom I had known for about twenty years, and I was informed of his condition and status, and I know that he has not hurt any person; a man who had toiled for this nation; a man who was an author of books; a man who was a philosopher and an intellectual deserved to be killed that they assassinated him? Where are the human rights groups that they are not uttering a single word? Now, if we find the person who has killed him and sentence him to death, then all of a sudden the pens of the human rights activists will begin to write and publicize it as an act of violence. That Iran is a violent country that does not respect human rights. What sort of a group are these people? I do not know what kind of an upbringing they have had; what sort of animals are they?

Material upbringing and Islamic upbringing

¹ Martyr Waliyullah Qarani, first post-revolution Chief of Joint Staff of the Armed Forces.

This is the situation of the world of materialism. This is the condition of these material human rights groups. This is the condition of the material world, which has no regard for anything other than its material interests, and the interests of their masters, because they have no knowledge of anything. They overlook everything as long as it does not jeopardize their own interest. And only when their interests are endangered they raise a hue and cry. This is a feature of material upbringing. And this manner of administration that is now present is characteristic of Islamic trainings; it is spiritual and teaches that not a single person should be imprisoned or sent into exile without being guilty of a crime. Humanitarian Islamic rights are this that there must not be injustice and the rights of the oppressed must not be violated. Neither any person must oppress any other, nor must we be unfair with the oppressed, and nor must we overlook and say that the oppression has been finished and it is all over.

Society must be trained. The divine laws are for the training of society and not for seeking revenge. If the murderer is not killed, homicide will increase. There is life in retribution.¹ If we close the door to retribution, and have nothing to do with anybody who kills, killings will increase; the lives of the people will be destroyed; any person who desires will kill another person. Retribution is for ensuring the life of human beings. It is training and is for the good of society.

Divine laws for safeguarding human rights

All the divine laws are for the good of society. If that person who commits that act and the law has ascertained punishment for the crime, if there is no punishment, then such crimes will rise. If for example, a person has gone and committed an act of adultery with the wife of some other person, if the punishment is not meted out to him, well such sins will increase. Promiscuity must be checked. They would catch the robbers and put them into prison. There, they would teach them to rob. They would hold classes for them on how to pick pockets easier and better. Whereas, if a few thieves are caught and meted out punishment on the basis of the existing religious laws, then the hand of thieves will be severed from Iran and the world for ever. In the manner the religious judge orders—the religious judge who is loathe that the rights of even an animal be oppressed let alone that of a human being, if it be proven that a few thieves who are caught, have committed this crime, he orders that they must be punished in accordance with the law. This is because he judges on what is good for mankind, for the

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:179.

safeguarding of human rights. Divine laws are for the protection of human rights. Human beings—all of them—have a right to live. If they do not kill this psychopath and this person, who has committed murder, then homicide will increase. If for the crime of committing robbery, a few persons who have stolen and entered peoples homes and destroyed their property are not given punishment, crimes will increase. Catching a few thieves, taking them to prison, and then teaching them a few more tricks on how to pick pockets will cause robberies to increase. These thieves must not be imprisoned but given the very punishment that has been mentioned, and then let go. Then it will not increase. If the person who commits adultery with the wife of another, and if he is brought to justice and killed in accordance with the conditions, this will not increase anymore. Islam is protecting the rights of human beings.

You who are claiming “human rights” want to violate and trample upon human rights. So many human beings have been killed ... do they not have the right to punish a couple of persons who have slaughtered many. Now is killing in retribution against human rights? Is this the logic?

Islamic government and human aspirations

We are optimistic that a government of Islamic justice can be established. Pray that God willing it be done. Only then will the people of the world understand what is the meaning of a government of Islam and what it is. Now, it is an unknown quantity, now they do not know what a government of Islam will be like. They are under the impression that if Islam arrives, it will put all the women in a room and close the doors on them. Then all the people ... well this is propaganda.

A couple of days ago, a group of Jews had come here. They had told these Jews—I do not know, whether they had said these to the Jewish population—that should this movement go forward and an Islamic government be established, they will exterminate all the Jews. They will kill all of them. I told them, that well, the movement has advanced and continues to move on but has anyone shown you Jews the slightest disrespect? Has anyone troubled you? With this talk and these nonsensical allegations, they want to prevent this movement from reaching its destination and an Islamic government to be installed; because if Islamic rule be established, then the hands of the foreigners will be cut off from the Islamic country—and they want to have a free hand. Then, the likes of MuHammad Rida Pahlavi will not be able to reign and provide leadership, and they want that he should stay so that they can act as they like. God willing, this rule will be installed so that

the people will know what an Islamic rule—that lasted only for a limited period at the advent of Islam as even at that time they did not allow it to be realized—is like and what it means.

The Islamic Revolution, a divine gift

Now, what is our duty? Until now, it has been these complaints that we have heard from the human rights groups. What is our duty now? We have many duties now. Various classes have various duties. There is one duty that is common, and which is that we must all with all our strength and power at our disposal strive to safeguard this movement; to sustain this unity of expression; to protect the divinity of the movement so that everyone works for the cause of Islam. The very thing that brought us to the present situation and made us victorious—because it was for Islam—is the unity of expression. All of the nation revolted for the sake of Islam and triumphed. The great God has approved it. Now, it is the duty of all of us to strive with all the strength that we have—every individual in his own capacity—to safeguard the unity of expression and Islamic character of this movement. If it is safeguarded, we will be victorious; you should have no doubt about it. We will destroy all these decadent garbage that are now engaged in corruption and conspiracy—we will destroy all of them. But on condition that all the people, the whole nation, join hands with each other to safeguard this movement. This is the gift, which the Blessed and Almighty God has presented us. If we safeguard this gift and trust, and do not betray it, we will be victorious. But if God forbid we betray this movement, then there is the danger that God forbid, our condition reverts to the initial circumstance and even worse.

Why go slow at work?

Various strata of the people have different duties. Now, we hear it is being said that there is go slow at work in the offices, there is go slow in the factories; this is betrayal of a country. Now is the time to do more work and not lessen the work. We are now faced with certain problems in this country; our economy is a weak one. Right now, they looted and plundered our wealth and went away. At present, our agriculture is not a robust agriculture; now is the time that this nation—that until now has been tormented and has received this divine gift by undergoing hardship—must work more and not work less. Why go slow in the offices? Now the country belongs to you; you must work. Why go slow in the factories? Why laziness? Why idleness? The country belongs to you; you must work. Why go slow in farming? Those who are engaged in these activities must work as much as they can. If they

can work harder than before, they should not refrain. The country is in need of hard work, it is in need of agriculture; the ministries need to work; work should be done and the people should not be made to wait ...

Warning to over chargers

Now, we come to the traders, businessmen and shopkeepers and this class of the people. Today is the day that we must serve this nation, that throughout the period of history of this father and son and after that in the course of the Revolution, has suffered immense hardships. The bazaars were closed for almost a year and half and very many poor people have become poorer. Today is not the day for profiteers to get moving and taking advantage; today is the day of support. They must be supportive of their brethren; and it is not the time to sell goods worth ten tumans for one-hundred tumans. Today, overcharging is betrayal to an Islamic country. They should not commit this treason; they should be a little lenient with the people. They are your own brethren. With the brothers who have given their blood ... you, respected businessmen were not in these arenas. I know that you were not present, those who were present were the smaller shopkeepers, and these porters, and these workers; and these clergymen and I should say, the university students—all of whom are poor. These classes carried this movement forward, and gave their own blood and the blood of their youth in order to carry this movement forward. Now, is it fair that a reputable businessman who owns such and such factory, has so and so assets, and is seated right on top only as a spectator, now not co-operate with these people who have given their blood in order to carry this movement forward to its destination? Should they be unjust towards the poor? Should they raise their prices so much that these poor people are unable to pay for them? Should their lives be thrown in disarray? Well, they must get along with their brethren; with those who have toiled in the path of religion; who are their fellow countrymen; who are their coreligionists and not indulge in profiteering. Do not create a situation whereby we have to act based on our divine duties with them. They should themselves prevent these problems. One day, if we decide to act based on our divine duty, they will be in a pitiable condition. Do not allow this to happen. This was a speech about the group of over-chargers.

Society problems

Yet, one group is the smugglers, the heroin peddlers, and those smugglers who are engaged in smuggling weapons. This too, is an affliction and pain, which is now threatening the lives of the people. These are the first-degree traitors to this country. To bring opium and distribute it among the people, to bring heroin and distribute it among our youth will destroy our nation. Before they are whipped by the whip of God, before they face the wrath of God, they should themselves be careful and refrain from doing these things. They should give up this trade; this is treason; this is forcing our honorable youth to their doom; this is the corruption of our race; it corrupts the generation. Is there a shortage of trade that a person should resort to selling heroin? Engage in some other business. Go and do some other work. You call smuggling your job. Let alone smuggling heroin, opium, and weapons from abroad. It may fall in the hands of the enemies, and throw the country into chaos. It was another topic I wanted to mention.

Yet, another topic is the question of agriculture. Those persons who were engaged in farming and have now because of some reasons left their farms and have been tricked into coming to the cities and been housed on the outskirts of the cities must return to their farms, to their lands. They are now free to engage in farming and the government will buy their produce at good prices.

We are now in such a situation that all of us must help to build this country. We must all have sympathy with this nation. It is a nation like a war-ravaged nation—it is in fact war-ravaged—a nation that has fought on the streets. Is war other than this? With the only difference that they had tanks and guns, and we had fists and a steely determination. It is not fair that now the various strata who are in a position of affluence again do the same things with this nation—a war-ravaged nation; a nation betrayed; a nation hit with crime; a nation that was reduced to poverty and deserted—what those before them have done in another form. To commit the same treasons that they did, except that they would take them away and kill them in prisons and such places, whereas these people kill with heroin. This is worse than murder.

Gentlemen, we must be awake. We must act in accordance with the teachings of Islam; we must be human; we must be fair. There are many pains to discuss; and I hope in the same way that the Blessed and Almighty God has helped us by His compassion, He will help us once again so that we can carry this movement to its conclusion and liberate our country from the claws of the foreigners, and bring the traitors to justice.

May God protect all of you. May you be prosperous and healthy and serve your own country.

[In reply to the question of one of the audience regarding establishment of an organization for serving the poor, the Imam replied:]

Everything else is on the gentlemen to organize anything that is useful for the country and the people. Now, all the strata are in need of help, I mean all the sections. The weaker sections are in need of help. You should help in whatever way that you can. May you succeed, God willing.

Speech

Date: May 15, 1979 [Ordibehesht 25, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 18, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The press and its functions

Audience: A group of employees of *Kayhan Daily*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Difference between freedom and treachery of the pen

At the same time, that the newspapers are respectable and extremely effective institutions; however, they must conduct themselves based on journalistic standards and service to the nation. Freedom of the pen and freedom of speech do not imply that a person is free to write against the interest of the country and against a revolution at the altar of which people have given blood. Such a freedom is not correct. The pen is free to write about the problems, but not that it should plot against the Revolution. The Speech is freedom to write on any subject; and that too on subjects that are given to it. It is free to write on all individuals without scheming. When we saw that some subject matter was written in a daily newspaper about persons who were stooges of foreigners and who wanted to once again ruin our country, and on the other hand, articles and subjects that pertain to the problems of the movement, pertain to the issues of Islam, are either censored or not written about at all, then we cannot accord respect to such a newspaper. We do accord respect to the journalist provided he understands what the meaning of freedom of speech and freedom of the pen is. It is said that people are free, in other words, does it mean that he is free to hit the people on the head and break their skull? Is he free to break the rules? Is he free to act against the course of the nation? Is he free to plot against the nation? These are not freedom. He is free within the bounds of the law, within the bounds of sanity. In addition, we notice in certain newspapers—now I will not name the newspapers—that they take undue advantage of freedom on the assumption or under the impression that they want to wrest the freedom away from the people. These people with the hardship that they have suffered in these long years and the blood that they have given in the past two years want to be free. Some of the newspapers want to take away this freedom from them and in the name of “freedom of the pen”, act against

¹ This speech is printed in *Sahifeh-ye Nur* as part of the May 14 speeches.

the direction of the nation. Some of the newspapers are giving an open hand to certain individuals who wish to stifle the nation, who want to indulge in looting and plunder; and this is not the meaning of freedom, this means treason; what is given to the nation is freedom not treachery. It is freedom of the pen and not treason of the pen. It is freedom of expression, not the expression of treachery.

Newspapers, manifestation of the ideals of the nation

The newspapers must be in the service of the country not against the revolution of the country. Newspapers that are against the country's revolution are traitors. Newspapers must reflect the hopes and wishes of the nation. They must reflect on those issues which the nation wants. However, they are also free to mention other subjects also that someone talks about, but they are not free to plot. From some of the newspapers we perceive plots, because we see that they write on issues that go against the Revolution with exaggerations and lengthy analysis, whereas they fail to either write or make passing references on matters that are in favor of the Revolution. These sorts of newspapers are not acceptable to our nation. People do not buy such newspapers. Moreover, if the people are told that this newspaper is such, they themselves will not buy it. These people are free not to purchase it, and after they stop purchasing it, the newspaper will be closed down; just as some newspapers were closed down, because the people did not purchase them.

It is to your benefit that from now on, you pay attention to this point that you should move in the direction of the nation. Move along in the same direction that the nation is moving, and do not go against the objectives of the nation in the name of freedom of the pen. Some of these people are members of the editorial board and you know that they cannot be reformed, and they will not reform; they are agents of outsiders; they want to open the hands of foreigners on our country. We must remove them from their posts. There are plenty of writers; another writer can take over the job.

The media, the educators of the nation

In any case, all the mass media are the educators of a country; they must educate the country; the individuals of a country; and they must serve the nation. The newspaper is of the people and for the people; and should it want to go against the direction of the nation; the nation itself will oppose it. It is not necessary that their opposition be in entering the premises, and smashing and breaking things, no. They will not do such a thing, but the newspaper is for the reader and if there is no readership, then there is no newspaper. The

radio is for the people to listen to; when they turn their radios off and there are no listeners, there is no radio. In any case, the media is to serve the nation, not to go against the direction of the nation. Every writer who wishes to write against the line of the nation will earn a bad name for the newspaper; and it will be accused of not being a nationalist newspaper and being in the service of foreigners. And this of course, is against the interest of the newspaper, and against the profession of journalism. A journalist must maintain his self-respect; to maintain self-respect is to move in the direction of the nation, to be at the service of the nation. Should they act against the direction of the nation and against the wishes of the people, then they will no longer be respected by the nation. This is the advice I am giving to those of you who have come here. And of course, I am thankful to you for your previously calling a strike and striking together and performing your job despite the strike. May you be successful, God willing.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 16, 1979 [Ordibehesht 26, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The mission of the popular media

Audience: A group of employees of *Kayhan* Daily

In the Name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful

The role of newspapers

The role of newspapers in countries is to reflect the ideals of the nation. Newspapers must be like teachers who educate the country and its youth, and reflect the aspirations of the nation. In a country, in which so much bloodshed took place and so much blood was sacrificed by our nation so that an Islamic republic that had the approval of an almost unanimous majority was established, and the hands of criminals and traitors were cut off and the hands of plunderers were severed, if the newspapers ... again want to write something in support of the criminals and traitors, this will not be the way of our newspaper; this will be treachery. The newspapers must write what the people want and not what is against the course of the nation. Unfortunately, in some newspapers, subjects that are against the direction of the nation and against the aspirations of the society are reflected, and we have behaved nonchalantly until now. I hope that the newspapers owners will correct their newspapers themselves.

The popular newspaper in the direction of the nation

I thank you the staff and employees of *Kayhan* daily newspaper who with sincere determination and with decisive resolve, blocked the individuals who wanted to go against the direction of the nation. You said that perhaps the *Kayhan* daily of today might not be in agreement with the wishes of the nation; the *Kayhan* daily of today is in fact, in agreement with the wishes of the nation. The nation prefers that newspaper, which behaves in conformity with its own opinion, behaves in conformity with the vote of the nation, is in conformity with the wishes of the nation. It does not want article pieces; it does not want story writing. It wants those subjects that conform to the

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, Imam Khomeinis speech on May 5, 1979 follows this speech, but in this book they are printed separately.

course of the nation. You must seriously engage in writing on issues that are in agreement with the trend of the nation.

Conspiracy, being intolerable

Do not squander the blood of our nation. Our nation has given blood; our nation has worked hard. Returning the nation to its previous condition again with these falsities cannot be tolerated; we will not tolerate it. We will be patient to the point where there is no conspiracy, and if, God forbid, there is a conspiracy then we will not wait, we will not tolerate it. They must reform themselves. All the means of mass publicity must reform themselves, so that God forbid, they do not go in the opposite direction of the nation. They should not be under the impression that it is possible to bring back the former administration. Those issues are past and they have been buried.

May God grant success to all of you. And I thank you for coming here and meeting with me from close. I am optimistic that you will be able to manage the newspaper yourself; and print it in a manner that is desired by the nation.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Letter

Date: May 16, 1979 [Ordibehesht 26, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Expressing thanks for the telegram of condolence on the martyrdom of Mr. Murtada Mutahhari

Addressee: Sayyid Husayn Khadimi

In His Most Exalted Name

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

Your telegram of condolence about the martyrdom of the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Professor Mutahhari, has been duly received. Yet, another telegram on this occasion has been received from the respected business guilds and the rest of the strata of the people of Isfahan. Convey my profound thanks and greetings to all the respected gentlemen. I pray to the Blessed God for the success and happiness of all of you. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 16, 1979 [Ordibehesht 26, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Message of thanks for neutralizing the treacherous plots in Khorramshahr

Addressee: Muhammad Karami

In His Most Exalted Name

Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Haj Shaykh Muhammad Karami—may his blessings last:

Your respected letter mentioning that you are in good health was received. Your efforts and the steps you have taken to restore calm and neutralize the conspiracies of the enemies of Islam is commendable; and it is essential that from now on also, you be on full alert so that the plotters and enemies of religion and the country be not to be carry out their treacherous plans in that region and not bring about bitter incidents such as those that occurred in Khorramshahr,¹ which caused grief and discomfort to all. In addition, it is hoped that the respected inhabitants of the region and our tribal brethren are also alert and not be tricked by their propaganda, and offer their fullest cooperation to you in negating their treacherous plans. I pray to the Blessed God for the glory of Islam and Muslims and the amputation of the hands of foreigners and the enemies of religion. May peace, mercy, and blessings of Allah be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Following the divisive propaganda of the anti-revolutionary groups and those depended on the foreign powers in Khuzestan under the name of “Arab People” and creation of riot and sit-in in this region on May 13, 1979, the said elements under the pretext of the distribution of a statement against Mr. Shubayr Khaqani attacked the cultural centers and the Islamic Revolution Committees in Khorramshahr, set some places on fire, destroyed others and disarmed the committee.

Speech

Date: May 16, 1979 [Ordibehesht 26, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The oppressed in history; treasons of the Shahs regime, affiliated small groups

Audience: Residents and tribes of the city of Khorramabad, the capital of Lorestan province

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

The oppressed in the company of prophets

All the heavenly religions have arisen from among the masses and with the help of the oppressed, have attacked the arrogant oppressors. Throughout history, the oppressed have arisen with the help of the prophets and placed the arrogant oppressors where they belong. In Islam, the honorable Prophet rose from the ranks of the weak and with the help of the downtrodden, either he enlightened the oppressors of his own era or he defeated them. The oppressed have a claim on Islam; the oppressed have a claim on all religions; because this group assisted the religion of Islam, throughout the 1400-year history of Islam; they propagated the religion of Islam.

The path of the monarchial and oppressive regimes affiliated to that regime, was always other than that of Islam and by fighting with Islam, they would carry on with their inauspicious lives. It was the downtrodden who followed the prophets, who followed the theologians, who followed the custodian. Our movement too, advanced with the help of the oppressed. The arrogant either fled or sat in their homes. Where were the ones, who now illegally want to make use of the situation, on the day when the oppressed were giving their blood? They were either in their secluded dwelling or abroad. The oppressed have carried our movement forward, and they have shed their blood. It was the university youth, the youth of the bygone theological schools, the youth of the bazaars, the respected tribal people—it was these classes with their uprisings that pushed back the ominous regime, and chopped off the hands of the parasitic petroleum plunderers.

Treachery of the Pahlavi regime against the tribes

Of the treasons that the royal Pahlavi regime committed to Islam and to Iran was the prevention of the traditional migration of the tribes and forcing

them to live in particular settlements ... they wanted to take away this supportive pillar of Islam. They wanted to break-up our tribes and clans so that our national unity would be destroyed so that our Islamic unity would be destroyed. Throughout the despotic reign of this father and son you the Bakhtiyari tribes were not the only ones who suffered from cruelty and oppression and were overcome with inadequacies; all the tribes of Iran; all strata of the people of Iran were suffering, and with toil and hardship managed to survive. They destroyed not only your agriculture; they destroyed the agriculture of the whole of Iran. Not only were you oppressed, all of Iran was oppressed. Iran was one big prison with a 35 million-prison population. Now, praise be to God, all of you have been freed from this prison, and in gratitude for this favor, you must have revolutionary patience. Give time for the republic of Islam to be firmly established, and then all of you will, God willing, attain your due rights.

Invincible and steely determination of the nation

Islam has not given preference to one class over another. Islam does not have materialistic tendencies. Islam has regarded all classes to be equal; and has given preference to one people over another only in respect of piety. Now we are suffering from many problems and vast destructions that must be remedied with the powerful hands of all the strata, and especially the tribes. Strive to restore calm in your country. The remnants of the former regime, with various names, do not want calm to be restored, because they think the return of calm will enable the people to attain their due rights and consequently, their hands will be cut off. Now that they have witnessed their defeat in the referendum—their convincing defeat—and felt the attraction of the nation to Islam; and tasted their own defeat, they have resorted to desperate actions; to desperate moves. They have assassinated our important personalities, and they perceive that with their assassinations, things will go their way. This assassination of martyr Murtada MuTahari has proven that the more blood the people of Iran see and the more hardship they suffer, the stronger they are. The steely determination of our nation is not in a manner that you can defeat it with these desperate moves. Our nation has found its course, and now will not rest until it has implemented the beloved Islam, until it has chopped off the hands of all traitors, and until it has put a stop to the plunder of the parasites.

The lackeys of America and the claimants of democracy

You, O my brothers! O my tribal brothers! Beware, do not let the poisonous propaganda of these people influence your youths. Do not let them in your midst so that with their propaganda they pave the way for the return of the previous problems and enable America to plunder our resources. They are the lackeys of America in any form that they are.

Those who in the name of democracy¹ want to defeat our movement are the lackeys of America. And, they must know that with these words they cannot attain their aspirations. Those who in the name of the masses² want to make the impoverished masses more impoverished and give foreigners a free hand in Iran must know that it is all over with these moves; they cannot bring back the former regime. Our nation, has with its unity and focus on the beloved Islam, carried the movement forward, and will carry it forward. Our uprising ... will not settle down until all the Islamic aspirations have been realized.

I express my greetings and salutations to the entire nation of Iran, to tribesmen of Iran, and to all the Bakhtiyari tribes.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

¹ Such as the National Democratic Front.

² Such as Irans Tudeh Party.

Speech

Date: May 16, 1979 [Ordibehesht 26, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The cultural and economic corruptions of the Pahlavi regime; the role of women and the deprived in the Islamic Revolution

Occasion: On the eve of the birth anniversary of Hadrat Fatimah Zahra¹ (a) and Womens Day

Audience: Women of the city of Mashhad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Corruption in the name of civilization and reforms

First I must thank you and apologize to the respected women who are sitting in this heat, under the scorching sun. When I was abroad and likewise when I was here, I would hear of the valuable activities of the women of Mashhad. And I must feel proud of such women; of such ladies. Because I am seeing you under the hot sun, I will be brief. We are able to find out those things that may appear to be shrouded in ambiguity, which the governments or those in power are engaging in. Rida Shah, led a coup, overthrew the government of Iran, and installed himself as the successor. Then later, Muhammad Rida took over. They engaged in activities some of which initially, perhaps appeared to be positive in the opinion of unaware individuals. And, they did other things in the name of reform and in the name of civilization; things whose immoral purposes were discovered. For example, “land reforms”; Land reforms! Initially, there was a lot of hullabaloo that we want to do this and that for the farmers, and property ownership is over with. All property owners are finished. They broadcasted such statements on the radio, mentioned them in speeches, and printed them in newspapers in order to deceive the people. But now, we know—also knew before hand—now too the nation has come to know that the matter was not reforms; they did not want to liberate the peasants; they did not wish to enable the peasants and the impoverished class to prosper, rather the aim was

¹ Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet, shared in the exalted states of the Prophet and the Twelve Imams in that she possessed the same quality of *ismat* (divinely bestowed freedom from error and sin) that they did. As daughter of the Prophet and wife of the first Imam, she served, moreover, as a link between the Prophet and his successors. See Ibrahim Amini and Sayyid Kazim Qazvini, *Fatima the Gracious*, trans. Abu Muhammad Ordoni (Qum: Ansariyan Publications).

to make Iran a market for America, and to destroy Iran's agriculture so that Iran would become dependant on America for all its needs—and this dependency on foreign countries still persists. They spoke of “land reforms”, but we understood that it implied the corruption of the country.

Slavery in the name of freedom

For example, take notice of the so-called freedom for all strata, for women, for men. “Free women, free men.” You and we saw that the suppression that prevailed in the era of this father and son was perhaps, unprecedented in the history of Iran. No man was free; nor was any woman. All were kept under strict control; everyone was suffering. One fine day, they would organize celebrations for the abolishment of capitulation. At the time of Rida Khan, there was talk in newspapers and in speeches that the country had progressed; suddenly the same word would be reinvented and the Americans would be granted immunity.¹ It all depended on what the powerful would do. Whatever that powerful class did, the others would raise a clamor in pursuit. In the handpicked Majlis, there would be outcry and eulogizing.

Among the things that were done at the time of Rida Khan in emulation of Kamal (Kemal) Ataturk² was combining the parties into a single party and another was banning the Islamic dress code of modesty. At that time, they trumpeted aloud, showered praises from their loudspeakers and eulogized this unification of parties and banning of the Islamic dress code. The clergy whom were opposed to these issues were denied and mocked in verses of poetry. Perhaps you may have heard some of them. What disparaging verses were recited that are unmentionable! Then we saw that the question of banning of Islamic dress code of modesty was not the matter of wanting to do a favor to women; it was that they wanted to destroy this section too with force and compulsion. The potential that women had; the service that this section could render to the nation; the valuable services that our women were responsible be snatched from their hands, and they would be prevented from rendering for those noble services that they must; and that the rearing of children in whose hands lay the destiny of the nation later on; they would not let this service be undertaken lest the children be reared as pious individuals in their bosom; that in their bosom they be imparted Islamic training; that they be trained as patriots; and later when they attend primary schools and

¹ Reference to the revival of capitulation and Americans immunity, in the year 1343 AHS

² Mustafa Kamal (Kemal) Ataturk (Turkey's President at that time) who organized the secularist school of thought which later gained power in Turkey in 1302 AHS

then high schools, with the propaganda that they did there, and the teachers that they hand-picked, and the propagandists that they had there, they could not change them.

Prevention of the development of the country by decadence and deviation

In this way, the plan was to push aside these women from the dignified position that they enjoyed; and in their own imagination liberate half of the population of Iran. You saw how they “liberated” them. I saw—perhaps most of you do not remember—what they did with these respected women of Iran; what pressures they brought on them; they did this work at the point of the bayonet. Then later on, they wanted to ensure that the women did not perform their noble task and were not able to rear their offspring.

If they get into other occupations, subsidiary occupations, they cannot behave in a noble manner. Of course, employment for women, the right occupation for women—holds no objection but not in the manner that they wanted. They did not hold the view that women should find an occupation. They were of the view that men and women should be brought down from their lofty position, and thereby prevent the natural evolution to occur for the women or a natural evolution for the men. They wanted to prevent our children from being brought up correctly. Therefore, they nipped it in the bud from the start. Children were deprived of the blessing of the bosom of mothers, which is the focal point of the rearing of infants. Then the children went to the primary schools, and there too with the negative propaganda, with deviant textbooks, they misguided them. Next, when they entered the universities, their own agents did not let them develop properly. They did not let righteous scientists be educated. They did not let true patriots, true Islamic personalities to be trained. From what they did, we saw that they were against our nationality, they were against our national interest, such as the issue of “capitulation”, such as the issue of agriculture; such as the rest of the issues; we came to know that the fundamental objective was to make us deviate. The objective was not reforms the objective was to not let a country develop. Therefore, from all this we understand and conclude that the banning of the Islamic dress code that Rida Khan was commissioned to do in compliance with Turkey and the West, was against the interests of our country.

The main proprietors of the Revolution

We saw that the active members that got things done and the ones who did service to this movement were you all. It was you who in this very condition that you are present here, with this same condition took to the streets and assisted our movement. Those who were trained by them, even if they were involved again there was a section of them who were close to what you are. Those, whose upbringing was that way, had nothing to do with these matters, as some men had no role in this movement, now, they have come to make the best of the situation. Now that these oppressed strata, this strata that were regarded as weak by others, praise be to God, were strong. The strata, whom they call the third class, whereas this stratum is the first class and they are the hellish third class rather the seventh class, were the ones who toiled for the country; this stratum demolished this big barrier. This class opened the way. Now, the gentlemen from America and Europe have come down here and want to reap the benefits. Some women also, who were not involved in these matters are now thinking of making the most of the situation. Even now, you the class whom are under the protection of God, and may God grant you happiness have no expectation at all. You were the same servants of Islam and still are too. None of you have any expectation for yourself. You are the ones who served and will also serve later on. Those who have wild expectations and had nothing to do with these matters, and did not give a single martyr, have now come and want to become ministers and lawyers and so forth. They are under the wrong impression. It is good if they review their own deeds. This way of thinking is wrong that others should toil and you lived in comfort in your own neighborhood or outside and abroad, and now come and want to reap the benefit that is that the outcome of the hard work of others.

Those who pretend to be revolutionary, and vain thinkers

The foremost people who can have a claim to this nation are these very group that are now seated here and the group that represent of the women Mashhad and the rest of the women of Iran. Among the men also are that same class of workers and that same class of peasants and those same small businessmen and those very individuals who are in the universities and are deprived, who are of our strata and deprived. These ones carried this movement forward. Now their expectations are not as much as of those people. Those having expectations are the ones who had not done anything at all. Now, they have come and want to for example, become the president; now, they have arrived and want to be appointed as prime ministers. Those

who were the loudspeakers of that apparatus now wish to engage in something; they want to come here once again.

They all have become revolutionaries just today. Everyone comes to us and says that he was a combatant. I can see; I know that he is lying to me; but well, what can I tell this person. They say, "We were fighters in that period, we have been imprisoned," and...these sorts of exaggerations. They think I am uninformed. Well, I know that at that time all of you or most of you were lackeys. Most of you worked for them. Now, you have come and turned into revolutionaries. No, you are not revolutionaries and will not be. On any day, if God forbid, something goes wrong, and God forbid there is a setback, you will be of those people who will immediately come forward and shout "long live so and so." We know you all well. Reform yourselves. Be a little more careful.

The need to attend to the deprived and slum-dwellers

We must work for this stratum of workers and staff that are the weaker classes; they are the strata whom you regard to be low, whereas they are superior to all of you and higher in status; governments must work for these classes. You who have wealth and riches in the banks and abroad and inside the country, and own companies and businesses, what are you all saying? These who have nothing were involved in these affairs. God is aware of that day that I saw on the television it was showing these slum-dwellers of Tehran, when the reporter asked one of them what he was doing there, he replied that in the morning he would go to the rallies with his children. These wretched slum-dwellers took part in these rallies and brought about this victory. Governments must do something about the plight of these slum-dwellers. Whereas you who were sitting on the sidelines have now come and want to reap the benefits. Opportunists must mind their own business. May God protect these weaker classes. May God protect you the honorable women. May God grant you happiness. Convey greetings on my behalf to all the women of Mashhad whom you are representing. I am the servant of all of you.

Speech

Date: May 16, 1979 [Ordibehesht 26, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Fraternity among the Shiah and Sunni; expectation from banks

Occasion: On the eve of the birth anniversary of Her Holiness Fatimah Zahra (a)

Audience: Sunni Sisters from Uramanat region; employees of the Central Bank

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I am thankful to you. May you be successful, God willing. God willing, tonight we shall speak on this subject, points on these same problems ... will be mentioned. I hope that God will assist us in order that we can realize Islam abroad the way it is, so that all will know that Islam is for all; and that our Sunni brethren know that the propaganda that is done concerning on what we think of them is not true. All of us are brothers, the right of everybody is secure, and all are equal.

In the same manner, the honorable women should know that the amount of benefits that the women have been given in Islam has not been given to others. Tonight, God willing, perhaps I may engage in a discussion on this subject.¹ May God willing, you be successful. May God willing, all of you be successful. And these banking systems operate in the manner that is Islamic and the way Islam wants it to be. It is hoped that the roots of usury be eradicated soon from this country, and a proper economy be put in place instead; and it should not be in a manner that the capitalists suck the blood of the weak. Islam sets down rights for all strata and it places more emphasis on the oppressed. We hope that you our brothers of the banking sector also help the rest of your brothers on the path of the very ideals that Islam wants from the banks, from the businesses, from the trades, and from the lives—those same ideals be realized. May God enable all of you to be successful.

¹ It refers to the radio-television message on Ordibehesht 26, 1358 AHS.

Radio-Television Message

Date: May 16, 1979 [Ordibehesht 26, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The true position and status of women

Occasion: The auspicious birth anniversary of Her Holiness Fatimah Zahra (may Gods peace be upon her) and Womens Day

Addressees: The Muslim nation of Iran

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

Fatimah Zahra (a), a complete paradigm of humanity

Tomorrow is the birth anniversary of the immaculate and pious Fatimah Zahra (a); it is Womens Day. All the dimensions that are imaginable for a woman and are imaginable for a human being are manifested and was present in Fatimah Zahra (a). She was no ordinary woman; she was a spiritual woman; she was a celestial woman; she was a human being in the complete sense of the term, she was a complete paradigm of humanity; a total reality of woman, a total reality of human being. She was not an ordinary woman; she was a heavenly being that had appeared in the world in the form of a human being; rather a divine, majestic soul had taken the form of a woman. Therefore, tomorrow is Womens Day. All the marks of perfection that are imaginable in a human being and are imaginable in a woman—all of them—were present in this woman. And tomorrow is the birth anniversary of such a woman; a woman in whom all the characteristics of prophets are incorporated. A woman who if she had been a man, would have been a prophet; a woman who if she were a man would have been in place of the messenger of God. Therefore, tomorrow is Womens Day; all the honor of a woman and all the personalities of a woman came into existence with her birth. Spirituality, heavenly manifestations, divine manifestations; glorious manifestation, manifestations of splendor and human nature—all—were gathered in this human being. She is a human being in the complete sense of the word. She is a woman in the complete sense of the word. There are various dimensions prescribed for a woman, in the same manner for men and for human beings. This face of nature is the lowest rank of a human being, as well as the lowest rank of women and the lowest rank of men, but from this very base rank is the movement towards perfection. A human being is a mobile creature; from the position related nature, to the within the

invisible world to annihilation in divinity. For the pious and immaculate one-Fatimah Zahra, these matters, these meanings hold true. She had started from the rank of nature, has moved spiritually; with divine power; with invisible help; with the upbringing of the Messenger of God (s) she had passed through the stages until she reached the stage to where no hands reach her. Therefore, on a day such as tomorrow, all the manifestations of a woman found meaning and a woman in the true sense of the term found true expression. Tomorrow is Womans Day.

Two historical instances of the oppression of women

Unfortunately, women were oppressed in two instances, one in the period of ignorance. In the period of ignorance, women were oppressed, and Islam has done a great favor to human beings; which was to extricate women from the oppression they faced in the period of ignorance. The age of ignorance was an age when women were treated on par with animals—and perhaps worse than them. Women were oppressed in the age of ignorance. Islam pulled out women from the marshland of ignorance. In yet another instance, women were oppressed in our Iran; and that was during the reign of the former Shah Rida Khan Pahlavi and the latter Shah Muhammad Rida. On the pretext of wanting to liberate women, they oppressed the woman, they committed atrocities on women; they pulled down women from the lofty position of honor and dignity that she enjoyed. They degraded women from the spiritual status that she possessed to that of a material good—all in the name of liberation of free men and women. They took away freedom from both men and women. They made our women and youth morally corrupt. The Shah had this regard for women that he would say that women must be enticing. Of course, with that bestial view that he had; with that lowly physical, material, bestial opinion that he had of women he was justified in regarding them as enticing.¹ He dragged down women from the loftiness of humanity to the base rank of an animal. On the pretense that he wanted to raise the status of women, he dragged down women from their rightful position. He made women become like dolls, whereas a woman is a human being; and that too a great human being. A woman is a teacher of society; from her bosom are human beings created. The first stage of a righteous man and woman begins from the lap of women. The teacher of human beings is woman. The happiness and adversity of a country is dependent upon the existence of women. With her proper training, a woman shapes a human

¹ Reference to the Shahs interview with Oriana Falachi, the famous Italian journalist, where he said to the reporter that woman is a creature who must be “enticing.”

being; and with her right training makes a country prosperous. The source of all happiness springs from the lap of women. Woman must become the source of all happiness. Unfortunately, this father and son made a plaything of women—and especially this son. The number of crimes committed against women by them, were not committed against men.

Woman and Islamic training

Woman is the source of all goodness. You saw and we saw what women did in this uprising. History has been witness to what women have been in this world and what a woman is. History is distant; we ourselves have seen what women Islam has trained, what women have arisen in this modern era. And the women that have risen in revolt were these very same veiled women of the downtown areas of cities and of Qum and of the rest of the Islamic cities. Those who were brought up in the monarchial upbringing were not at all involved in these affairs. They were brought up with the morally corrupt upbringing and were kept away from Islamic trainings. Those who had Islamic upbringing gave their blood; they were killed; they took to the streets, and made the movement triumph. We are indebted to women for our uprising. Men would take to the streets following the example of women. Women would inspire the men. They themselves would be at the forefront. A woman is such a human being that can kill a satanic power. During the reign of Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida Khan, they lowered the woman from her rightful status. They also degraded men. They also caused the degeneration of the youth. They built many numbers of centers of prostitution for our youth in the name of freedom; in the name of progress; in the name of civilization. They dragged our youth towards vices. In the name of freedom, they took away all our freedom. Those who lived during the reign of Rida Khan know what I am saying. They saw what they did to us, and what they did to our honorable women. Those who lived during the reign of Muhammad Rida have also been witness, to how with deceptive names and cosmetic words, they brought ruin to our country. More important than all, they corrupted our youth. They kept our manpower backward. Women in the era of Muhammad Rida and Rida Pahlavi were an oppressed lot and were unaware of it themselves. The amount of oppression that took place in these two reigns, it is not known if it took place in the age of ignorance. The amount of decadence that took place in respect of women in this century it is not known if at all it occurred in the century of ignorance. In both centuries, women were oppressed. At that time, Islam liberated them from enslavement

and in this period, I am optimistic that Islam will once again help them and rescues them from the whirlpool of decadence and oppression.

O honorable women, wake up! Beware! Do not be manipulated. Do not be deceived by the devils that want to drag you into the arena; do not be deceived by these people; they are deceitful. They are after “tempting women”—just like the damned Shah. Seek refuge in Islam. Islam brings about your happiness.

Tomorrow is Womans Day. It is the day of that woman of whom the world is proud; it is the day of that woman whose daughter¹ resisted the tyrannical rulers and recited that sermon and spoke those words that you all know about; a woman who stood up to a tyrant—who would kill men if they even dared to breathe—and was not afraid at all, and confronted and condemned the ruler, who condemned Yazid, who told Yazid that he was not worthy of being a man, that he was not a human being. A woman must have such a status. The women of our period—praise be to God—are very much like them. They stood up to a tyrant with clenched fists—children in their arms—and assisted the movement. May God deliver us from the evil of the satans. May God deliver our youth from the evil of these devilish human beings. May God deliver our maidens and ladies from their evil.

Peace be upon to all the listeners.

¹ It refers to Hadrat Zaynab al-Kubra (a) and her famous sermon in the court of Yazid ibn Muawiyah. See M.H. Bilgrami, *Victory of Truth: Life of Zaynab bint Ali (a)*, <http://www.al-islam.org/victory/index.htm>.

Speech

Date: May 17, 1979 [Ordibehesht 27, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Struggles of the Iranian women

Occasion: The birth anniversary of Hadrat Fatimah Zahra (a) and Womens Day

Audience: People from various cities; women

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Woman, manifestation of the realization of mans ideals

The day is great, the gathering is great, and the place is sacred. Today is the birthday anniversary of Hadrat Zahra. Today is the day of womens victory, and the day of the exemplary woman in the world. Women play a great role in the society. Women are the manifestations the realization of mankind's desires. Women are those who bring up the great men and women. From womens training, men can reach higher intellectual levels. The women are those who train great men and women. Today is a great day, a day in which a great woman came to the world who is equal to all men. A woman came to the world who is an exemplary human. A woman came to the world who is the entire manifestation of humane identity. So, today is a great day. Today is the day of all women.

Iranian women forerunners in *jihad*

The women of our period proved that they are beside the men in *jihad* or even further ahead. The Iranian women have actively participated in both financial and physical *jihads*. These honorable women in south of Tehran, in Qum and other cities, these women who observe their *hijab* and are veiled, these women who are the manifestation of chastity, have been forerunners in *jihad* and also in devoting their assets. They devoted all their jewelry for the needy. Of course, what is of great importance in their deeds is their pure intention. The Almighty God said a few verses in holy Quran when Hadrat Ali (a) and his chaste family gave some loaves of bread to the needy. These verses are not for those loaves of bread; these verses are for their pure deed, which was done for the satisfaction of God. The value of the deeds is dependent on their spirituality. The value of the struggles of our sisters who attended the movement was greater than the value of the mens struggles. Our chaste sisters with their observed *hijab* united with men and achieved the victory. Now, our sisters devote all their assets, which they have collected

during a whole life to the needy with Godly intentions, and this is valuable. If the rich give millions, the value of their deed is not comparable to that of these women. Today is the day of women. Today is the day of chaste women. And this great gathering, is the gathering of the people from all strata, those who could not gather due to strangulation, and now have gathered like brothers and sisters. They have all gathered in this sacred place, the Faydiyyah Madrasah in which the divine laws are recited; a place from where the science went to everywhere, and from science *jihad* went everywhere. The Qum men and women are exemplary in both their knowledge and deeds. Iranian men and women are exemplary in their knowledge and deeds, besides Hadrat Fatimah (a) in the birthday anniversary of Hadrat Fatimah (a) in the gathering of the Islamic nation and in an Islamic place.

Maintaining uprising for God and unity of expression

My friends! Preserve this unity and gathering. The devils are lurking to create differences. Preserve unity of expression! Preserve this uprising for God. As long as your uprising is for the satisfaction of God, you are victorious. Those who are after creating discord in the country for any kind of reason, betray the nation, betray the country, and betray Islam. Neutralize their conspiracies with your awareness. Those, who are creating tension and differences among different strata of the people throughout the society, are foreign elements, are American elements, and are their mercenaries. They receive money from beyond the borders and they distribute the money among the workers to prevent them from working, to prevent the factories from working. They prevent the farmers from working. Oh, honorable workers. Oh, dear farmers! Continue your working. Put an end to differences in your unity of expression. Today is a day that you should all work for Islam and your country. You are all bound to do this. Those who prevent you from working are serving their masters to find a way in Iran. They want to bring us down to misery again. God may save us from their harm. May God make Islam and the Muslims victorious. May God give us the power to think. May God give you health and prosperity.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 18, 1979 [Ordibehesht 28, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of brotherhood and fraternity among the nation and need to confront the small groups

Audience: A group of the tribes of Jawanrud and Uramanat

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Pahlavi regimes oppression against Iranians

I hereby thank my brothers who have come from far ways so that we can speak with each other closely and brief each other over some issues. You gentlemen know what has gone on in Iran during the fifty odd years; the tyranny of the Pahlavi regime and what our people went through. The border region inhabitants were always attacked on the borders, and those residing in central parts were always assaulted. But, every one realizes the assaults at his own place of residence. We, who are here, observed the Pahlavi monarchys oppression in here, and heard some news about the situation at the borders, but the information was not authentic. You gentlemen who reside in border regions, observed what was going on there, but knew nothing about what was going on in central parts, except the information you heard. All the strata of the people were under pressure, all were suffering.

Unity under the banner of monotheism

During the recent two years, the oppression of the Pahlavi regime increased, and the nation who could not tolerate it any longer rose up, started a movement, an Islamic movement for the sake of Islam, for reviving the traditions of Prophet MuHammad (S). And the Almighty God bestowed a unity that covered all borders, provinces and villages. This unity of expression was achieved under the banner of Islam and belief in God. If the movement was not an Islamic-national movement, for example, if it was a political movement, it would not have developed to this extent. A political or national movement is developed in a small area and among a limited number of the people, because it has no links to Islam. This movement developed in such a way that it developed among all the people from little children to the old men, different parties, and different strata of the people in the society. And, the movement would not have been developed, but by the will of the Almighty God, because our nation wanted Islam. Our people constantly said

that they wanted an Islamic republic and that they did not want the Pahlavi regime. Iran's movement moved forward in this way, and a matter that was deemed quite impossible by all the thinkers and politicians was realized by the help of God.

Now that we have all gathered in Qum, you from the borders have joined us here in this place without being afraid of anyone, any security organization, and any military or governmental organization. One of the blessings of our movement is that the Pahlavi regime was defeated, overthrown, and we became free, and our country was saved from the plunderers.

Creating discord by religious, racial means

Now that we have become free, and have saved our country from the foreign countries, they would not remain silent. They are now after making conspiracies. They appointed agents in different parts of the country to make counter-government sayings in different ways in Tehran, Khuzestan, Kurdistan, Baluchistan, Khorasan, and in Kerman. They are agents of the foreign enemies and include both those who are linked to the former regime and those who have gone astray and carry various names. Their mission is to prevent the country from being peaceful, their mission is to create differences and discord everywhere with different forms. They create discord in border regions using religious differences. Among those who speak Turkish, among those who speak Kurdish, among those who speak Persian, the enemy tries to create discord saying that there are differences of culture and language. In this way, they intend to create discord among the brothers who live in Kurdistan, Azerbaijan and Khorasan provinces. In Tehran, also you see that they rush into the universities and do not let the universities become opened. They seek a new excuse every few days and stage rallies to create differences, and they make gatherings and wish to create discord.

Brotherhood and unity, sign of gratitude for the divine revolution

Now that we have gathered here, we should express our sufferings and sympathize with each other to find a remedy for the sufferings. Our current sufferings are those remaining agents of the former regime, those who are still making mischief in the country. They go to factories and prevent them from working. They go to deserts and farmlands and prevent the farmers from working. They create discord among the farmers. They create differences everywhere. This is our suffering. If God forbid, this suffering is not treated, I fear that the Iranian nation will experience the same bitter

issues it suffered from, during the fifty odd years of the former regime government, in a non-monarchy government, or even in the same monarch government. I fear that the same problems will come back if we do not cure and treat these disasters and sufferings. I fear that the same security organization, the same government officials, and the situation in which we could not gather to speak with each other will come back. If the former regime was not overthrown, you all would now be in prison. You and we would all have been arrested and taken away upon entering the door. Now that the Almighty God has given us this blessing, and has made us victorious over the Shahs regime, we should maintain our unity and brotherhood, in order to express our gratitude to God, and that would be the only remedy for the current suffering.

Two vital points

Consider two points. First of all unity of expression, that is you should all be beside each other. And the second for the sake of God, that is: our movement and uprising should be for God's satisfaction. The Almighty God has ordered Prophet Muhammad (S) to tell the people that He has just one advice for the people, just one advice, and that is rising up for the sake of God: "I preach only one thing to you: that you stand up in pairs or singly for God."¹ If you are just a single person, and want to rise up, your uprising should be for the sake of God. If you are a society and want to rise up, your uprising should be for the sake of God. This is an advice the Almighty God has sent for His people and said that this is his only advice. Every thing is encapsulated in this single advice. If a nation rises up, and if its uprising be for the sake of God, that nation is victorious. We should now observe God's order. We should preserve the movement and the uprising that has progressed so far; and praise be to Allah as far as I know it has been for the sake of God, and every body has asked for Islam. That means, this is a divine case, as Muslims, we are all bound to save the movement that has been for the sake of God.

Knowing the secret hands at work

In order to save this movement, you should be alert to recognize who are those who keep saying that you are from different tribes, for example you are a Kurd or you are a Lor, and why? A nation who has risen up, and wants to run its own country by putting an end to foreigners interference in its country's domestic affairs, and has done it, should be alert and investigate

¹ *Surah an-Naba* 78:46.

why some keep on saying that you are Shiah and you are Sunni, you are from Kurdistan and you are from Lorestan, you are from that party and you are from that front, to create discord among the nation. The nation should be alert to see who those that have inspired these people are. They should investigate who are behind all these, who do not let peace to be settled or who prevent the factories from working. Well, if the factories start working, the people can run their daily lives. They prevent farmers from working, because if they start working, that would be to the interest of the nation. Who are these people? How are they inspired? Where are they from? When the revolution started, and the Muslims were determined to uproot them, many of these people came to Iran from foreign countries, by forged ID cards. Some others were in Iran, they were the remnants of the former regime, and they were the mercenaries of the Shah Regime. They felt the danger. They were the servants of those masters who were overthrown and they knew that when their masters hands are severed, their own hands will be severed too. Therefore, they spread among the nation and started saying baseless sayings among the people, in Kurdistan, in Azerbaijan and other provinces in order to create discord among the people. If we be influenced by them, if we start fighting with each other, that would be what they want us to do, and they will stab us in the back with knives of betrayal.

Avoiding differences, secret of preserving the Revolution

We should all consider this significant point, suggested by Islam: "*Cling firmly together to Gods rope, and do not separate.*"¹ We should all unite and rely on God. We should unite for the sake of God, and should be afraid of discord and differences. This is a quite clear and obvious point, that what made our progress possible so far was our unity of expression. Discord and differences will demolish this unity of expression. And if this unity is demolished we will lose the secret of our victory, and will be defeated. If God forbid, we are defeated, Iran will never gain its independence, and Iran will never gain its freedom, because this movement was unique. This movement was almost unique through out history, and such a movement will not be repeated. No one will be able to create such a movement again; it was unprecedented. If we are defeated, we should submit to slavery forever. Our next generations should also submit to slavery and so forth. Therefore, our wisdom, religion and moral sense, require us to treat each other like brothers, just as what is suggested by Islam that all the Muslims are brothers:

¹ *Surah Al-ilmran* 3:103.

*“Believers merely form a brotherhood.”*¹ If one attacks two brothers, they will defeat the attacker. We are now attacked by the weak remnants of the former regime. Their attack is a political one, they intend to prevent us from being united, and they try to create discord among us. We should be alert, should be brothers, and should put an end to our differences in order to preserve Gods orders, for the sake of God and for the sake of the Holy Quran. We should all be brothers and united in order to defeat these agents, so that we can live beside each other in a quite peaceful, humane, and Islamic society.

The heavy responsibility of border inhabitants

I hereby pray to the Almighty God to make the Muslims alert through out the world. I pray to God to make the Muslims happy and prosperous. I pray to God to create unity of expression among the Muslims, particularly among the Iranian brothers. I pray to God to make alert our Iranian brothers to ignore what some agents keep on saying in order to create discord among them these people have ill purposes. I pray to God that these brothers will live beside each other peacefully. And those who live in the border regions, they shoulder a quite important responsibility, just as those who reside in central regions. Those residing in border regions and those living in central places should fulfill their duties, so that they can neutralize the conspiracies of those who try to create discord and violation through their unity of expression. They have spread the rumor that the Muslims are going to massacre the Jews. A few days ago, the Jewish officials had come here. I told them that you witnessed that the Muslims became victorious, and the Jews are all living peacefully. These agents intend to prevent the people from being united. We should solve this problem, we should stand against them, and we should be united.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

¹ *Surah Hujurat: 49:10: “The believers are but brethren, therefore, make peace between your brethren and be careful of (your duty to) Allah that mercy may be hand on you.”*

Statements

Date: May 18, 1979 [Ordibehesht 28, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of the solidarity of Muslim nations and governments

Audience: New ambassador of Bangladesh to Tehran and the staff of the Bangladesh embassy

[At 9:00 am on May 18, 1979, the new ambassador of Bangladesh accompanied by some embassy officials in Tehran, called on Imam Khomeini and submitted the congratulatory message of the Bangladeshi president to the Imam. Imam Khomeini thanked them and said:]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I would like the Islamic nations and governments to become closer to each other.

[The Bangladeshi ambassador asked Imam Khomeini to dispatch an envoy to Bangladesh to discuss the Muslims situation of that country, according to the profound relations between the two nations, and brief Imam on the result. Imam Khomeini said:]

The envoy will be dispatched at the proper time. Express my greetings to the Bangladeshi nation and government.

Statements

Date: May 18, 1979 [Ordibehesht 28, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Lack of differences and discrimination among Muslim nations

Audience: A group of women from the city of Ahwaz

[A group of women from Ahwaz, met with Imam Khomeini, congratulated the establishment of the Islamic Republic government, and expressed condolences over the martyrdom of professor Mutahhari. They submitted their jewels and gold to Imam Khomeini for constructing houses for the needy. Imam Khomeini said:]

I hereby express my greetings to all the women of that region. And this message is addressed to all the people. Islam sees no differences between the Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Kurds. We are quite proud that Islam is raised from among the Arabs, but sees no differences between the Persians and the Arabs and vice versa.

Speech

Date: May 19, 1979 [Ordibehesht 29, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 22, 1399 AH] ¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Treacheries of the period of Rida Khan; the plots of the US and superpowers

Audience: Representatives of the tribes; people of Neyriz of Fars province; representatives of the Air Force Command Headquarters

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rida Khans missions in Iran

Iranian tribes are one of the most significant reserves of Iran. Rida Khan was ordered to suppress the tribes wherever they were. Because the foreign powers have made investigations, upon which they had figured out that one of the obstacles, which could prevent their penetration in Iran, was the tribes. The foreign powers made an obstacle for every possible element, which was probable of incurring some problems for their penetration in Iran. The clerics were a probable obstacle for the targets of the foreign powers. Therefore, they made Rida Khan to...against the clerics as you witnessed. Maybe you cannot remember, but I do remember and the old men remember what Rida Khan did with the clerics. They took such action against the clerics that they could not stay in their rooms in the Faydiyyah during the day and were obliged to go to the gardens at dawn and return to the Theological School late in the night. Because if they remained at the Seminary the police would arrest them, imprison them and forbid them from wearing clerics special clothes. They also mistreated the high-ranking clerics. These clerics faced many problems. Some of them were imprisoned, and some others were killed, because the foreign powers thought that they could be a possible obstacle against them.

The tribes were also another obstacle. The foreign powers thought that the tribes would be the main power if they exist in Iran, and it was true, because the tribes believed in Islam, and were probable to fight against the objectives of the foreign powers.

¹In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* the date of speech is April 22, 1979.

In this way, Rida Khan disarmed the tribes, and made them leave their lands and settled them in a specific place, preventing them from immigrating. They made all these problems for the tribes. They plundered our national resources, our human resources as much as they could. They forbade the gatherings of religious sermons and prayers because they felt they would not be to their interest. Suddenly, we saw that there is no sermon gathering in Iran. Some clerics in Qum, as Mr. Muhammad Saduqi¹ held some sermon gatherings before the dawn call to prayer [*adhan*], and he was obliged to end it before the call to prayer. They put an end to all gatherings. They prevented all the mosques, prayer leaders, and high-ranking clerics from working. Unfortunately, they created such an atmosphere and made such propagation which affected the nation in such a way that, some of the people- not all of them- became opposed to clerics. Their propagation led to satisfactory results and they claimed that the clerics were UK puppets. It was the UK agents, who introduced the clerics like this.

It means that the British agents were spread among the nation and said that the clergies are UK agents, they are courtiers, they are English, to separate the people from each other. Any way, they created discord among the nation through different ways, for example, by saying that the respected noble tribal men are bandits, should be oppressed, and they are robbers etc. Suppose that there were few law violators in a place. But they sought other objectives by saying so. Their objective was to make the nation believe that their measures to disarm the tribes were quite logical. They wanted to make the people believe that they were doing right to forbid the clerics from wearing their special clothes, by saying that the clerics were UK agents they should go and mind their own business. They created discord among the nation. They separated the clerics from the universities. They kept saying to the clerics that the academicians were secularists, a group of harmful secularists. At the same time, they told the academicians that the clerics are mercenaries of the royal palace, and they work for others. They separated the people from each other.

Creating dissatisfaction through negative propaganda

Praise be to Allah, these distances became less and less. And, we hope that these separations will be ended if they allow. Our nation became victorious in its movement, because it forgot the differences to some extent. All the people said that they wanted an Islamic republic and an Islamic government. The intellectuals, the bazaar merchants, the old and new

¹ Imams representative in Yazd, who was martyred by the Munafiqin (MKO).

generation, and the other strata of the people became brothers to fulfill this task. They all focused their attention on Islam. However, we need that unity of expression today more than any time before. The people were dissatisfied with the government, and united for the same reason. Even those who were not interested in Islam became united with the rest because they were dissatisfied. This dissatisfaction led to the uprising of the nation. We need the unity of expression today, more than any time before. People were then dissatisfied with the government, but that government does not exist any longer, so everything is finished. Now, the negative propagation has been started and the former government agents have started making the people dissatisfied with the current government, the same sufferings that people had in the past. They do not consider that the peoples former sufferings have ended; they do not consider the fact that the time in which the liberal men were imprisoned has ended. The former problems are solved, now they try to create dissatisfaction with the movement by saying, "what did the movement do for you? Has any of its promises become true? What has the current government done for you? What does it do for you? Now, here is the Islamic government, and you have the same condition you had before." The point is not that they are unaware of the facts, they know what they say and they seek objectives. They are well aware of what has been done so far. What has happened in Iran has been unique in the world, but they want to prevent it. The Iranian nation has defeated that government and has done something that was deemed quite impossible by the people, foreign governments, and the scholars.

They are well aware of the fact that the former government has oppressed the nation and their oppression was in the depth of the nation. They are well aware that those oppressions are now finished; there is no one to oppress the nation now. Those who are in power now, arrest the oppressors and try them, but have nothing to do with the rest of the people. The rest are free. Now, we have freely gathered here to talk with each other, while it was impossible before. Making such a gathering was impossible. They know that we have done a lot up to now, but they want to prevent it from being continued. They feel sorry. They are sorry because their masters are sent away.

Unreasonable expectations from the United States

One or two days ago, a daily carried the news report that the US Senate had condemned the executions in Iran. One who has submitted the proposal

is an ally of Israel and himself a Zionist.¹ Well, it is quite clear that the US Senate should condemn us and there is no doubt about that. We know that they condemn us. The US government also condemns us, but refrains from saying anything. The US parliaments also condemn us; because, our movement has hit the US with a blow that has been unique. No country in the world has used our nations resources as the US did. They should condemn us. It is quite an unreasonable expectation to think that the US should be pro us. It is an unreasonable expectation to think that the United States should not condemn our executions. We do not expect such behavior on the part of the United States, particularly considering that Iran has cut Israel's oil, and Israel is a close friend of the US and the US Senate. We do not expect anything on their part.

Yearning for cutting relations with the US

The US government has threatened that if the executions continue, Iran-US relations will be endangered. We pray to God that it be endangered. Why should we want to have relations with the United States? Iran's relations with the United States are in fact the relations of an oppressed with an oppressor. Iran-US relations are in fact the relations between the one who is plundered and the plunderer. What do we want to do with US relations? The US wants and needs to have relations with Iran. We do not need the United States. The United States is located on the other side of the world and wants to have a market here. They are still yearning for our oil. Neither Islam, nor we intend to oppress others, but at the same time will not let any one oppress it either. Of course, the US Senate condemns us. Britain's parliaments also condemn us. The parliaments of the Soviet Union also condemn us. We are condemned by all the superpowers. What has happened in Iran is something that all the arrogant oppressors are against. We do not expect the United States or other superpowers who want to take away our resources, thank us now that we have made them leave our country. Of course, they should not thank us. They should be very sorry. If the United States does not express regret over the execution of Hoveyda, if the US fails to feel sorry for losing its fifteen-year servant, it would be unfaithful of them. If the US does not express regret over the fact that we are going to try the Shah judicially, charge him or execute him, it has not been grateful towards its servant. They have been ungrateful toward a servant who has offered them all the resources. They should express regret.

¹ Jacob Javits (the US Zionist senator), submitted the proposal of Irans condemnation in the US Senate and tried to get it approved.

World nations are beside the Islamic Revolution of Iran

We should listen to what the oppressed people say. We should listen to what the American nation says. The US government is obviously defeated and injured. It is like a defeated and injured snake. The US Senate is defeated. They express regret. We should listen to what the US nation says. Do they hold the same logic? They do not. The nations are not like the governments. We should listen to what the oppressed nations say. We should see what the idea of these nations about the executions in Iran is. As far as, there was no execution in Iran, it was to the benefit of the US Senate, but now that all those who were serving them to reach their objectives are executed, they express regret. But, now we should consider the ideas of those nations who have been oppressed by the United States, Soviet Union, Britain or their own governments who are their puppets. We should consider the ideas of the oppressed people not the oppressors. An oppressor always wants to oppress others and wants its agents to do so. What is the idea of the oppressed people in the world? The US puppet institutions, like the Senate, like the Human rights organizations, like the other communities they have fabricated to deceive the world, they are all regretful. We know that they are regretful. They should be regretful, because they know what they have lost. They have lost their servants. When Hoveyda was executed, they expressed regret. We should consider who has expressed regret. What has been the logic of those who have expressed regret? A man had been Iran's prime minister for 13 years. During these years, everything had been done upon his orders. All these massacres had been done upon his orders. Now that oppressed nation arrested this man and executed this corrupt man, as retaliation for the lives of hundreds or thousands of people who had been killed by his order. Of course, they should express regret.

Nations, victims of the governments

They do not pay any attention to those who were killed by their servants. Because those who were killed were a nation and if they were killed, they would easily be able to rob their oil. They do not consider the massacres. They do not pay any attention when a man is killed. They say those who are obstacles for our benefits should be killed. Their benefits have priority over man's life. Once, I was somewhere in which the current situation of Iran and the condition of embassies were being discussed. One who was in charge of an embassy said that he did not care if an ambassador or some other people were killed, but that the furniture of the embassy were of great importance. Their furniture was important. An official said all these. That is it, a

materialist does not think of anything, but assets and wealth. They cannot realize and understand what is honor and dignity. They think that being honorable depends on furniture. They think that being honorable depends on having several palaces. They do not consider humanity at all. If they paid attention to humanity, they should have felt sorry for all those who were killed in Iran, all those clerics, intellectuals, oppressed people, women, and children. They never felt sorry for that. Well, they were not sorry, because those who were killed were obstacles in the way of reaching their objectives. But when Hoveida is killed, they express regret.

Iranian nation has Islamic training

The superpowers should come and investigate, who were those who were killed in Iran. How many people, have they killed? And how many orders they have given for murdering. What a disaster they made for our nation. Our nation is decent; our nation is Islamic. Otherwise, they would have killed and robbed all these servants of the superpowers. But our nation is a nation who has Islamic training. Even those who betrayed the nation, the nation did not behave with them in the way they deserved. They came and visited the prisons in Iran and said that their conditions were satisfactory, civilized like the democratic societies; because the logic is a humane logic. A humane and Islamic logic cannot be otherwise. If we were defeated, they would have killed us all. If Hoveyda had defeated us, none of us would have been here today.

Materialists, unaware of intellectuality and humanity

They do not know that there is some spirituality in the world; that there are some other important things in the world, except for houses, cars and like that; there are some other important things in world, except for animal-like behavior. People like Carter cannot think about these. The US senator who has condemned the executions in Iran cannot realize that, there are other issues in the world, which are more important than these animal-like behaviors. If they think about other things a bit, they will not think that in order to serve their benefits, the other countries should offer their oil, should serve them, and should kill other people upon their order. There is nothing like that in Islam. Materialistic ideas are not mentioned in Islam like this. In Islam, materialist matters depend on spirituality. Islam controls materialism and makes it spiritual. The Islamic army paid attention to spirituality before materialistic issues. They fought against materialism and the corrupt people. Investigate Islams wars. Investigate about those whom Islam has fought

against, and why In one of the Islamic wars, in which Prophet Muhammad (s) had also attended and the Battle of Hunayn, when the army of Islam defeated the enemy, Prophet Muhammad gave all the spoils of war to the enemies. Islam does not consider materialism at all. They should investigate and study the life of Prophet Muhammad (s) and Commander of the Faithful Imam Ali (a) to see their manner of living, even when they were the rulers of the country. Islam considers materialism as being dependent on spirituality. It is said that, the criteria has been spirituality.

Humanity is condemned in the United States

Of course, those who cannot understand these things are those who can just see and realize like the animals, their view is animalistic. They cannot realize the fact that there is no need for expressing regret over the execution of Hoveyda. It is all about animalistic matters. Nations are the baits, are the victims of the United State. One, who can hunt these baits, is praised by the US Senate and one who saves the baits from being hunted is condemned by the US Senate. They cannot realize other things. They have been trained to be like this. Even those who talk about human rights cannot realize anything but materialistic issues. They cannot realize spirituality at all, so they condemn those who observe spirituality. They condemn those who defend their land, those who have executed the murderers without torturing them. Hoveyda even read newspapers when he was in prison. I was informed every now and then that his overall condition was satisfactory. If Hoveyda had imprisoned one of us, the prisoner would have been tortured. But, when a Muslim imprisons the same criminal man and executes him, Islam does not allow him to torture the prisoner. The murderer prisoner should be tried and executed. Islam does not execute an innocent man. Islam does not imprison an innocent man. Even those who are imprisoned by Islam should not be insulted or slapped.

Iran's resistance against the United States

Negative propagation is so vast abroad. They carried the news report in their dailies and magazines that Khomeini has ordered the cutting off of women's breasts, this happened just three times and the people protested. Of course, those who see that Khomeini prevents them from achieving their targets, should characteristically assassinate him. Even if I am character assassinated, the other people will follow the path. The Iranian nation does not need Khomeini. The Iranian nation needs no one. Iranian nation resists against them itself. They think that if we are killed, everything is finished and

they can return to the country to rob our resources and take our oil. No, they can never do that again. All strata of the people in Iran stand against them. The academicians, the clerics, the merchants, the farmers and the laborers, all have stood against it. If any difference is created among these people, it is the conspiracy of those who have lost their benefits.

Call for being alert

Now, I tell you that our duty is now heavier than before. Earlier, our duty was to destroy the barrier of those who were oppressing the nation. At first, they were with bayonets, which people stopped, now they are making plots to create discord among the people and we should prevent them. They intend to create differences among those who became united to defeat them. Now, our duty is to unite the people. The clerics and the academicians should be united. The farmers, merchants, and laborers should be united. If God forbid, this unity of expression be demolished, if our attention to God be decreased, then we will be defeated. And that defeat would be irreparable. We are all duty bound. I, as a cleric, all the gentlemen here, all the tribal gentlemen, all the Turk, Arab, Persian gentlemen, all those who breathe in Iran are duty bound before God. No one should say I cannot. Everyone is able to do something. If one says that I cannot do any thing, he has failed to fulfill his duty. Everyone is responsible and should do something. The tribes should unite and stand against the United States. If the US becomes victorious, its targets would be the clerics, academicians, tribes, and national resources, just as before. The Iranian nation should be alert; all should be brothers and should forget the differences in unity of expression. The Iranian nation should be united to make the movement victorious. When a just Islamic government is established, they should start constructing a free, independent Iran. May God save all the tribes, all the people in Khorramabad. I wish good luck for all the people there. We are the servants of all the people. May God give them all health.

Speech

Date: May 19, 1979 [Ordibehesht 29, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of preparedness and alertness; the duties of the period of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: The Revolutionary Guards of Tehrans Masjid ar-Rida

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Irans need for arrangement and construction

Everything was the same as what this gentleman read. What is significant is our deed. Some issues are quite clear. We all know that we have reached this very point by paying attention to Islamic directives as well as maintaining our unity of expression. We know that if there be no unity of expression among us, if there be no attention to Islam, we will not progress. Every thing is obvious theoretically, but we should implement these theories. A nation who has put aside all the fears of tanks and machineguns, military men and started a movement considering the Islamic directives, and defeated the enemy with the aid of the Almighty God, should also preserve the movement. It means that we are the guards of the Islamic Revolution and should be servers of Islam. We should not just recite slogans and refrain from working. If there was just slogans and not action, we could not have defeated the government. The people became united to defeat the government and our nation relied on God and became victorious, we still need that unity, action, and reliance on God. Moreover, it is not such that we have completely become victorious. We broke a barrier, but the remnants do still exist. We should destroy the remnants and cut the roots. Yet the more difficult task is to arrange and manage the current situation in the country. We should repair the ruins, which occurred in all aspects of culture, economy etc. during fifty odd years. We should repair and reform all these after the total victory. And this should be done with the cooperation of all the people. Neither the government, nor the clerics, nor other people in the society can do this alone. If a single part of the society wanted to rise up and start a movement, it would be impossible, but it became true, by paying attention to spirituality and Islam, although the materialists deemed it impossible.

In the way of renovating and reconstructing

We should practically do what should be done. We should eliminate all those corrupt elements that are distributed among the people in the society, those who do not want the movement to become victorious. After doing so we should renovate and reconstruct our country, and we should work for that. We should not just promise words; we should act. Up to now, we have progressed by action. Just promising words was of no use.

We should all be united; all the youth, men and women should be united, as they were when they broke the barrier. They should not become weak and they should not think about their needs.

Of course, at the current time, we cannot satisfy all the needs. We should ignore and forget our needs at the current time, just as when we wanted to break that big barrier that was against our nation. In those days, no one was thinking about having a house or something else; if there were such thinking at that time, we would not have progressed. Everyone was thinking just about overthrowing the regime. They were just concentrating on the point that the regime is a betrayer and that it should be overthrown and an Islamic government should be established. Just as before breaking that big dam, we were ignorant toward our needs, and this ignorance compelled us toward our destination, because, we were just thinking about our goal, we should now be the same as before, because we have not reached our destination yet, and it is so far.

People hold the countrys destinies

Our nation should still be ready, and preserve its motives. Our nation should neglect what the foreign agents spread among the people. Our nation should prevent those who intend to prevent the works from progressing, until the movement becomes victorious. The movement should not be left in the middle of its way, it should be finished. A government should be established, a Majlis should be created, not like the Majlises in the previous regime of which the people were ignorant of what was going on there. A Majlis should be established through which the people can hold the countrys destinies in their hands. When all these are done, then the people should think about their needs.

Endeavor, working, tolerance

Many people, groups come here and say that they live in a deprived region, they have no medical center, they do not have roads, they do not have pure water etc. I ask them, whether these problems occurred during the

revolution, or do they belong to the Pahlavi regime. For sure, all of these problems belong to Pahlavi regime. As soon as those who have caused these ruins left, should we repair all of them at once? It is impossible. We did something in which that former regime was overthrown, assume that we can do nothing else, you should do something yourself. Of course, I do not mean that we can do nothing. God willing we will arrange everything. But, it requires a national and Divine endeavor. Both the government and the nation should work and at the same time should have tolerance. The nation should be patient on the attacks that are targeted at it. The nation should be patient about its problems. The nation should know that these problems and poverty belong to the Pahlavi era, and the nation should be patient until the government can recover the economy, and can revive agriculture and factories get on working so that everything become reformed.

Freedom: Gods best blessing

The very point that some groups come and say that we are poor, is doubtlessly created by some secret elements, by those who want the people to be faced with the same problems, those who keep saying “so what? The Islamic Republic is established and again you do not have a good road. And do not have a good paving.” As if, in case an Islamic government is established in a place, all the problems should be solved at once.

Our nation should know that those who say, “so what? The Islamic Republic has also failed to do something”, they want us to do nothing at all, and they are not of those who want this country to progress. They are well aware of what is going on in the country, and they are not ignorant. They are the agents of those governments who have investigated the situation in Iran. They intend to create dissatisfaction wherever they are. They go to villages for example, and say that the Islamic Republic has done nothing for you. The poor villager cannot tell him that one of the Islamic government's achievements for us is that we are not afraid of the government any more; we are not concerned that the government may oppress us. Is not it the best achievement of the Islamic government? We assume that nothing has been done in Iran; well, the very point is a good achievement. Freedom is the best blessing of God for the human being.

Creating dissatisfaction

Those who come and say, “What has been done,” they are not ignorant. They know that the foreign powers have been banished from the country. They know that a miracle has happened that the foreign powers hands have

been severed. What should they do to make the foreign powers return to the country? They come and say nothing has changed in the Islamic government. They know that the satanic power is defeated and know that our oil belongs to ourselves, and we use it ourselves. They know that the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, and the other superpowers can no longer interfere in Iran's domestic affairs, even if their agents are active in the country. Nevertheless, they cannot directly interfere in Iran's domestic affairs, as they did in the past.

They know all these. They are not ignorant. They are experts in their own profession. They are educated. They are trained by the foreign powers, to serve them in such occasions. They intend to convince the public opinion to think that they have overthrown the Pahlavi regime to which the nation voted No, but the Islamic republic government to which the nation has voted Yes, is not yet established. They say all of you voted for the establishment of an Islamic republic government, but it is not yet established. They fear that the Islamic republic government be established. They fear and intend to prevent the formation of such a government, as they wanted to prevent the people from voting. Based on the reports, they burned some of the ballot boxes. They went to voting places with weapons to prevent the people from voting. But the people were eager to vote, so why did they want to prevent them from voting? The reason is that, they were well aware of the fact that they will be deprived of all their illegal privileges. Now that they see the people have voted for what they had wanted, they want to prevent the formation of the Islamic government. They think of going among the people and telling them "what has happened? Nothing has changed." They want to create dissatisfaction. They prevent a group of workers and a group of farmers from their work; they prevent the schools and universities from working. They do not want the country to become arranged. But, when the movement was started, no one was concerned about his own problems

Satanic methods

In those days when the people rushed into the streets reciting the slogans "death to that foreign power, etc", no one was thinking about his having dinner at night or not. It was the high spirit of the people, which led to victory. They want to destroy this high spirit. Now again, the people are thinking about what they have and what they do not have. "Well, what happened? I want a house, etc."

We now want to build houses for the needy, but they do not want to let them do so. They want to call you the "weak" but do not accept it. They

understand what “weak” means they explained it to you in a bad way. We are all weak. We were those who were always underestimated by the superpowers. We want to put an end to all these. They say that we want to build houses for the weak are you the weak? No, you are not. They want to create differences, and want to prevent Iran from becoming arranged, and save their hands from being severed forever.

Warning to the youth

You, the youth and the Iranian nation, who have continued the movement so far, should not listen to what the agents of the foreign powers say and waste the sacrifices of those who have been killed during the movement. If the academicians, if the farmers, if the factory workers, and if we all listen to what they say, we will find out that the meaning behind it is the return of the same foreigners, plundering our everything, and the same oppressing and tyrannizing. Again, they will put a puppet ruler in the country that will be worse than the previous one.

Do not suppose that the next puppet ruler would be like the previous one and as much of tyrant as he was. No, if God forbid, we face a situation like the previous one, he will skin alive all of the forerunners of the movement, because they have known the strength of the guards of the nation. They will first kill the youth, who caused them a lot of suffering, and then the rest of the people. The farmers should not complain about the lack of water, because it was present in the past, what is more God has given you enough rain this year. Factories should not think about the lack of facilities; it was like that since the first; people should not think about owning a house; they were such from the past.

Continuing the movement, uprooting colonialism

The people should become united to continue the movement, to establish the just Islamic government. When the Islamic government is established, the people should not say that now the government is Islamic so give us everything; we would consider other things. The nation should know that the government is working, but as the problems are so many, solving all of them requires a lot of time.

If we neglect our main target, which is uprooting the remnants of colonialism in our country, and neglect cutting these roots, they will become a huge tree and will cut our roots. Do not neglect these. Do not pay attention to your private problems. Consider your country first. We should first reform our country and then our houses. God forbid that we become deceived by

them. Their negative propagation is to the benefit of their masters but bring us down to earth. They come among you and say, what has changed? and their main objective is to prevent the continuation of the movement. When they are totally uprooted, and when an Islamic government is established, we will consider other problems.

The enemy is alert

I have some problems too. All of the people have problems. But it is not the time to mourn for them. Now it is the time to say, "God is the greatest" and to move forward. We should all be alert. The enemies are all alert. They go to the universities, to the factories and prevent them from working. They are alert. They know what they are doing. They are working upon a specific plan. You should be alert. The nation should be alert. They should consider the main subjects first. They should not pay attention to secondary matters and neglect the main issues.

May God save all of you the guards of the Islam. We are proud of you. You are those who have proved their objectives in their lives to the world. You proved to the world that Iran is alive, that Iran is a country that can depend on its own capabilities, that Iran is a country who can prevent those who intend to rob its resources. May God give you greater power. May God make us familiar with our Islamic and national duties. Peace be upon all of you.

Speech

Date: May 20, 1979 [Ordibehesht 30, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Refraining from weakening of the peoples morale; attempts to wipe out deprivation

Audience: Ahmad Sadr Haj Sayyid Jawadi (Interior Minister) and governors of the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Why weaken the morale?

Before discussing these three subjects,¹ I should complain about something. The conference you held for some two or three days was regretfully harmful², because you weakened the spirit of the people. At the current time, the spirits should be strengthened not weakened. Raising complains does not solve any problems on its own, we should work. We should unite and make progress, and God willing we will make progress. We should not disappoint the nation. And you weakened the spirit of the nation as I read in the dailies and heard from the radio. Maybe my own spirit is also weakened a bit. Some of the officials complained, that man, on behalf of the Interior minister, and not to mention the deputy Interior Minister... did something that the spirits were weakened further. We should move forward strongly.

Iranian Revolution and international miscalculations

Gentlemen. We the nation—I do not mean we, we did not play a great role—the nation performed such a great task with such determination, the task whose performance was not even perceived by us. No one could even imagine that such a stronghold could be defeated; therefore, even the foreigners who have studied this issue in accordance with the leftist and materialistic approaches, have found it an impossible issue and announced that their calculations turned out wrong. All of their calculations of turned out wrong, for all these calculations were materialistic. They were right; it is not possible for a nation, who does not have anything, to defeat the superpowers that have everything. There were other reasons which they have

¹ Committees, agriculture and narcotic drugs, mentioned in the speech of the Interior Minister.

² The seminar of the governors of the country in Tehran.

not calculated and they were spirituality, the peoples faith, and what surfaced for the Muslims in the early years of the development of Islam—leading to the capture of the world in half a century—which was faith and enthusiasm for martyrdom, lack of fear of death, and considering martyrdom a salvation. Today many people from various strata come and say pray for us to be martyred, pray that our children attain martyrdom—but this spirit emerged and this unity of expression among all the strata evolved and all in all led to the victory. We accomplished this achievement because of these issues that nullified all the calculations.

The nations reconstruction ability

A nation which has made such progress, [must not be worried that] for instance its agriculture is slightly backward or its factories have not resumed their work—of course we know that all these are the continuation of the regimes corruption and corrupting roots in this country; on the other hand, some assistance is rendered to them from abroad; there are also some misguided people, who as you know obstruct. The prevention of the progress of agriculture is among their obstructions. When they could, they prevented the cultivation and now they try to prevent harvest. This is one of the problems. But we must march ahead with spiritual power and the power of conviction.

We must strengthen the people. The nation, whose men and women, relying on the power of their faith and courageous spirit, took to the streets and overthrew the established system, have the power to construct their country. They can do it.

Do not weaken the peoples morale

You in the provinces, those in the center, and me sitting here, must always bear in mind that our speeches are not made behind closed doors; they are broadcast throughout Iran, and everybody hears them. Now, the farmers have radios and all hear these speeches. We must not say anything that weakens the morale. We must strengthen this morale, for the key to improvement lies with us. That is, we have both the resources—that used to be plundered but now they cannot do so—and human resources—that earlier they prevented their growth—but now they cannot do so any more. We have every thing, that is, we have a rich country; the country is rich but the citizens of this country must make more use of its rich resources. Earlier, they did not allow it; now the citizens must make use of these resources. Always strengthen them. The strong morale that exists among the people—

and it is still there, although slightly weakened—must be strengthened, so that this movement marches ahead strongly. In order to establish a stable government we need tranquility and need this movement in order to attain its further phases. Perform the tasks together through effort and with strength.

Words are not enough; it is a time for action

However, my complaint was that these statements—of the government officials, that is, the ministers and the prime minister, and other gentlemen—have somewhat worried the people. Of course, you are worried about the situation, but principally you should have expressed it in a manner that did not spread, so that every body comes to know that there is nothing in your store. You must make everybody understand that you have everything—and it is the reality. You have the nation; and I would like to submit that you have removed the hurdles, which was very important. Now eventually, you must perform the tasks yourselves; now there is no hurdle; those who used to create hurdles have gone, those who wanted our agriculture to remain backward and those who had created all these catastrophes have gone.

Now that they have gone, what is there to be afraid of? We will solve the problems ourselves. Of course, it takes time, the agriculture sector requires time, and the hurdles must be removed. The factories need time to resume their production. The countrys budget should be gradually corrected, for they have plundered whatever we had and went away. Now, we should think to set things right from the beginning. It is important that we must not lose heart and must not disappoint others. We must be strong ourselves. We have done the significant task; the remaining tasks are not significant. We will set the things right; it is possible to do it.

The people must join forces. The country belongs to them; they should construct their own country. The people should be informed that a movement has achieved victory and the hurdles have been removed, but it is not possible to set everything right as soon as those hurdles are removed. It is the time of action, not words. The words must be set aside, and actions be taken.

The responsibility of the governors

You gentlemen, who are on spot, must take action categorically and encourage the people to take action categorically. Advise and admonish the people. The offices that are shirking must be made to work... it is time to work hard, not to shirk. The farmers have done a relatively better job; for those who come from various parts say that, their cultivation is good this year. The farmers have done a good job. The performances of the

government offices have been weaker. The agriculture sector is better than other sectors. And, in the factories we see acts of sabotage. Of course, it is time to join forces to stop these saboteurs and the obstructions that have been created—you should do it wherever you are; those who are efficient, committed, nationalist, Islamic [...]

The role of Islam in the victory of the Revolution

Gentlemen! None of you would succeed except through Islam. This issue, this revolution, was pushed ahead by Islam, that is, the entire nation said that they wanted Islam. If it were not there, none of the various fronts and parties could have accomplished this task. This nation, being Muslim and having suffered a lot, joined forces and unanimously said: we want Islam, we want the Islamic Republic. And when it was time to vote, you all witnessed that no one could have held such a referendum if it were not for Islam. Such a referendum is unprecedented in the history of Iran, in the history of mankind—a referendum in which everybody participated delightfully and enthusiastically: the seventy-year-old man, along with the youth, and the sick in the wheelchairs went to the voting booths to cast their votes. I was told that one of the sick persons passed away at the spot as soon as he cast his vote. Such an unprecedented phenomenon has occurred because... it was under the banner of Islam.

Islam without the clergy means medicine without physicians

The remarks that the uninformed strata make—I do not say corrupt, I say those who do not pay attention to the realities—indicate that they do not pay attention to Islam anymore, as if this task has been accomplished by the political fronts and parties. They are losing this blessing, but in reality wherever you go, you would realize that the clergy led the people to launch this movement.

Now, do not rise against the clergy, saying, “Islam without the clergy.” It means that Islam has no role; “without the clergy” means no role; it is like medicine without physician. We do not want medicine without the physician, for it is not possible to have medicine without a physician. Islam without the clergy and the clerics means that we do not want Islam. If you break this barrier, you will not be able to do anything even if all of you join forces. The clergy can accomplish the task. Just study and see; study this very movement and see who accomplished the task. Which stratum played a greater role in comparison to others? All participated, but who were followed by the people and the public? The criteria are the farmers, the bazaars businesspersons, and

those who took to the streets. Who mobilized them for this task? The clergy did it. Of course, others were there, but they [the clergy] were important.

Do not think of writing such headlines in the newspapers as “clergydom.” And when the people protest against such a newspaper, our writers would come and say democracy. Who had stopped it?

Freedom of the press or plot?

The people do not want to allow [them to do so]—when they do not buy a newspaper, it will be closed. The conspiring newspaper must not be in the name of freedom... Now our writers and members of the writers' union, and our lawyers should not support a plot that intends to undermine the movement under the pretext of freedom of the press and freedom. Freedom of the press is there, but is hatching of plot free too? Is it freedom of the press, for the print media to publish what the communists say and not publish what the Muslims say? Is it the meaning of the freedom of the press, or is there a plot underway? If this plot is carried out, they will destroy all of you. If this plot goes ahead and you do not react and imagine that you can do something without the help of the clergy, you will face a great problem. You will not be able to do anything.

Plot underway to separate the clerics from the people

If you boost the peoples morale, strengthen the clergy, and go ahead under the banner of Islam, the country will progress. If you want... to say, for instance, such and such front, such and such movement, and such and such democratic party, in fact, each of them has only a few number of followers who have come for the worldly gains and if a cracker is exploded, they will not heed such issues and will pursue their own interests. One, who has come for Islam and is ready for martyrdom is efficient. And it is because of what the clergy has taught him, and has done it rightly as the prophets and God have done it.

You gentlemen must not deprive the people of them [clergy]. Wherever you are you have influence and God willing will gain more influence; do not snatch this group [the clergy] from the people. Also strengthen the people, for I know that we will be able to progress and you will be able to progress.

God willing, you will progress, but you yourselves do not destroy these strongholds one after another. You must appreciate the strongholds with whose existence the great fortified trenches and the great walls were dismantled; do not disturb these strongholds. Do not say that they are traditionalists. Contrary to your imagination, they are more illuminated than

you are. They have better writers, better orators, and better thinkers. Do not imagine that they are nothing. Is it right to say that merely because they do not have such and such system of automobile and merely because they are such and such; therefore, they are not illuminated? Is one who has such and such automobile and is well dressed illuminated? These issues are harmful to the country.

Committees, security guards of the country

Now, we will deal with the issues you mentioned. These committees are necessary but must be purged. We agree with both the issues. I too agree with it. I am also sorry that there are some committees in Iran, which are not useful, rather are sometimes harmful. I accept it. However, it cannot be said that we do not need the committees anymore. We have not yet finished our tasks.

Now, we need the committees. Now, these national soldiers and the national guards are safeguarding the security of the country. We need them now. Therefore, the first problem—that is, the fact that the committees obstruct the process of work—must be corrected. I would submit that we, the seminaries, the gentlemen, the Revolution Council, should prepare a plan and some representatives and together purge them. If some corrupt elements have infiltrated them, they should be taken out and the problem must be settled. But the question of their elimination is not correct at this stage. Now we are in the middle of the path and we need them.

The problems of agriculture and the army

What was the second problem? It was about agriculture. Of course, one of the reasons for the problem of agriculture is the very corrupt elements who do not want any improvement to take place. Just yesterday, a group had come apparently from Sistan. They said that during the current year they had cultivated 400 thousand hectares of land and had very good crops. However, there is a bridge, which they had to cross to reach their farmlands, but the Turkmen did not allow them. The government must take some measures for this, must think about it. Merely giving pieces of advice to these people is not useful. The strata of the people who believe in us, listen to us; but the stratum who has come to hatch plots and do not want any improvement does not listen to us; does not listen to these words. It needs power and this power is in the hands of the government. I would like to submit that the gendarmerie and the army must perform this task, and these powers should perform this task. Of course, there are some problems in the army; there are some

problems, but they must be removed. The army must be strengthened, everywhere. The gendarmerie must be strengthened, and it must stop those who commit such offenses, and stop those who create hurdles in the way of the farmers. There is no problem, we too will advise the people and those who have tractors and other facilities must lease them to others. If I am to say something and ask them to cooperate as much as they can, and other such things, I do not see any problem to do so when I can do it.

[At this time, one of the audiences gave a report and then the honorable Imam stated:]

As for tranquility, in one sense, it is there and in another, it is not. Well, the borders remain in the same condition. When the gentlemen came here the day before, I spoke to them, but they returned to their offices and did not take any measure. If the army of the country procrastinates, the Chief of the staff of the army procrastinates and does not function well; such an army will not be able to work. Unfortunately, the condition of the army is such today that there are some problems.

The issue of the borders and border guards

I do not intend to enumerate the problems now. Some problems must be removed. The security of the borders must be beefed up. Well, we have been told that if for instance some personnel of the army and the Revolutionary Guards be dispatched to the borders to camps there, the Revolution Guards be deployed there, and a few fighters fly over the sky there, then they will be frightened and will stop coming. This must be done. Currently the borders of the country are open and whosoever wants to bring arms, will bring it. There are others who are sending the arms from the other side; rather they train the people [for this purpose]. Well, these must be stopped. You can stop them. These are small issues, but if they are not stopped, they will grow. This small thing must be nipped in the bud.

Necessity of decisiveness in dealing with the problems

If we shirk duty and try to settle the problems through procedures, for instance, suppose through administrative procedures, red-tape and bureaucratic procedures, the task will not be accomplished. The army and the gendarmerie must act decisively and close the borders so that these weapons are not transferred and the saboteurs do not infiltrate. These are more important than agriculture. If they get time, they will eliminate us. Right

now, they are nothing; they will be eliminated in the blink of an eye, but if they get time, they will gradually join forces and will grow. You must stop it. Therefore, main duty of the army and gendarmerie is to solve this problem and stop those who want to extort money from the people, or create problems for the agriculture—and it is not clear whether they speak the truth or not. They must be prevented from doing so. Later they must refer to the court... and then the court must decide whether they are right or wrong. Now, they do not have any right to stop the peoples farming. Is it the duty of the army or the gendarmerie to stop them?

[The Interior Minister: Gendarmerie.]

Well, gendarmerie. The gendarmerie must stop them.

[The Interior Minister: We are regularly launching the plan you ordered in every region, and the gendarmerie is dispatching some personnel.]

The plotters must not be given opportunity

Well, they must stop them. It cannot be corrected through delivering speeches, for those who are saboteurs do not listen to the speeches. They need force; without force, it will be useless.

Yes, the faithful bazaar businessmen and the peaceful farmers can be guided to work through speech, but the main thesis of one who has come to create disorder is to disturb Iran, their thesis is that Iran must not be calm so that they say they could not run the country themselves; others send guardians for us. It must not be so, it must be stopped. We can do it ourselves; we can do it better than others can, why not?

[Interior Minister: The commander of the gendarmerie and two other security forces have been killed in Arak and they did not allow the verdict of the five-member board to be implemented.]

Well, the forces must be strengthened so that they cannot kill. This cannot be corrected through giving pieces of advice. The gendarmerie must be strengthened to prevent those who want to kill others and kill the commander of the gendarmerie. The perpetrator must be arrested and punished so that others do not repeat such an act. Therefore, this issue too is the responsibility of the government and it must do it as soon as possible. Gentlemen, do not allow them to do gradually whatever they want. I will tell you later...

Unsullied, responsible officials

[In response to the statements of one of the audience:]

Well, these need contemplation, and secondly I would like to submit that you gentlemen must investigate those whom you appoint as officials in the provinces. We have been told that inappropriate officials are appointed in some provinces—purposefully or by mistake. Even in some cases, respected officials are removed and are replaced by inappropriate figures. If one who does so is doing it mistakenly, he must not repeat it and must open his eyes properly. He must study who is appointed for so and so position and if God forbid, he has any grudge, he must realize that the time of such measures is over.

The appointment of a misguided governor in some place will not cause the return to the past; the time of such issues is over. Hence, the gentlemen had better realize that the services they render to the nation and to the country which is their own now, is like rendering sincere services to their own home. Well, earlier, many people had some excuses asking: “Why me? The interests are going to someone else's pocket, why should we work and others reap the harvest?” But, it does not hold true now. If we work now, its interests will go to the pockets of the nation; it will go to our own pockets. As they work for their families sincerely and with trust and enthusiasm, they must also work for their country in the similar manner. If some people imagine that for instance, if they God forbid appoint someone there or appoint some misguided figures somewhere, can through this measure restore the past order, they must give up this idea, for it is not possible anymore. I submit that they only tarnish their own image in the eyes of the nation; they will not reap any other fruit.

In any case, you are present at every level in the country and must serve your country. We here pray for you and pray for the entire country and all of you so that you can render your services. I hope that all the problems will be solved quickly.

Elimination of fear of SAVAK and the Americans

The problems, basic problems, have been removed, that is, the problem that did not allow anybody to work has been removed; it will never come back again. As for these problems, suppose a family has a problem within itself and wants to settle it; it solves it with patience and enthusiasm. Today our condition is such that we want to reform our home. We no more fear that if we do something the Security Organization would arrest us and put us in the dungeon; this fear does not exist any more. Or if I do such and such

things, the Americans would be made to do such and such; such things do not exist any more. Today, you are there, your country and your homeland. You must work for yourself. All of us should work for ourselves. If we have faith in God—that God willing we have—we should accomplish this task for God; the country is an Islamic one. If God forbid, it is not so, we are nationalist, well... we should fulfill this duty for our country. I hope that all of you succeed, and be acknowledged.

Deprivations and expectations

[In response to the remarks of one of the audience:]

Yes, they have frequently come to me. Any group that comes here says: we face serious unemployment; we do not have anything, we do not have water, electricity, schools, hospitals; and so on. Well, whoever comes from any place, says something. And often they say: nowhere has been as deprived as our place. We tell them: well, have these happened recently, or have they been there since the past? Has the Revolution caused them, or have they been there since the past or have we entered a place where none of these existed? You say that the Revolution has caused these destruction and miseries, but, you yourselves acknowledge that it is not so. Hence, it has been such before the Revolution. The issue of unemployment, poverty, lack of water, electricity, and asphalt, etc... had been there earlier. Now, the government has inherited a country whose every aspect is such.

The Bakhtiyaris say that they are the most dispossessed; the Sistanis say that they are the most deprived; the Baluchis and the Kurdistanis say the same thing. And, all of them are right that they had been deprived; but this deprivation had existed before. It has not emerged now that you urge the government to compensate right now. In fact, they have not happened now; they have not happened during the rule of Mr. Bazargan; so he is not responsible for them. They happened in the former governments and during the erstwhile regime. Now they have taken over. You have inherited a country, which has been disorderly, and should set it in order.

Therefore, I would submit, the workers, farmers, the government employees, and the unemployed, had all been as they were in the past; they were worse in the past. Now, you are at least free; earlier it did not exist... You should wait and see what needs to be done. They should not think that now that they are unemployed they should push you to pay them. I have not done this for payment. It is an old issue, the previous regime has done it, and they have deprived you, now we have come to remove these deprivations. But, it is not a miracle to act immediately. Well, it should be performed

gradually. It should be said to them that they were under a regime and suffered all kinds of deprivations; all kinds of ruination were there. Now, we have entered a ruined state; we want to construct it. Well, the construction of this ruined state requires time; it takes time. We should take our time. A government must be established, and its budget must be prepared in order to perform the task. It cannot not be rectified just like that.

Necessity of tolerating the post-Revolution disorderliness

In any case, the Revolution necessitates such issues. Has there been any revolution better than the Iranian revolution thus far? This is the White Revolution, not Mr. Aryamehrs "White Revolution." The white revolution is a revolution took place and such a great hurdle was dismantled, but at the same time, the casualties and damages were few, while its outcome was great. But even now we are passing through the revolution. We have not yet put the revolution behind. Now it is a revolutionary condition. The revolutionary condition involves disorderliness. The post-revolution era involves disorderliness. This disorderliness should be tolerated by all of us. You should tolerate it in accordance with your capacity; the workers in accordance with their capacities, and the university youth in accordance with their capacity, for... it is not time to rest.

At the time of the revolution and during the post-revolution era, such problems are for all. They are for the government, for the nation, for the youth, for the farmers, and for all. But, all of us should join forces to accomplish the task. May you succeed God willing.

Speech

Date: May 20, 1979 [Ordibehesht 30, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Conspiracy against Islam and clerics; the role of the clerics in the Islamic movements

Audience: The representatives of the people of Bahrain and Pakistan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful

Researches and studies of the experts of colonialism

One of the greatest results we enjoyed and are still enjoying from this movement is meeting the religious brothers whom we had not visited for ages. In this session, the Iranian, the Bahraini, and the Pakistani religious brothers have gathered to consult about our problems. In the course of over three hundred years that foreign powers found their way into the East and worked in all areas, in material and in spiritual arenas, and finally came to know that Eastern countries are rich in underground and above ground resources such as vast pasturelands, thick and rich forests, and oil reservoirs, they found other resources in the East that perhaps the Easterners themselves were unaware of them. However, foreign powers came, found, and plundered them.

At a time when there were no automobiles, they came on camels as travelers and tourists, took photos, and learnt about the underground resources. They also studied the spiritual matters of the people and got to know what to do if they wanted to have possession of these resources. They found out that the union of the Eastern countries would make it impossible to plunder these resources. Then these nations had to be disunited.

Propagating against Islam and the Imams

One of the important things to us, and to them, is the fact that if the Muslims perceive the authentic Islam, it will nullify the oppressors benefits.

They employed many experts and propagated against religions to make them downcast in the public view. Islam was the major target. They propagated that Islam in nature had a stupefying effect on the society. They said religions had come to flabbergast people so that powerful persons and kings come and plunder public treasury. These religious groups make people dull. They continued this to disdain the clerics: clerics are fogies and fanatics! They are courtiers! They work for the kings! It was a vast

propagation, and they succeeded in both methods of propagation, to some extent. A group of the youth, unable to understand the core of the matter, believed in their first dogma of religions had a stupefying effect on the societies, and they joined them in propagating against Islam. This is quite the opposite of the nature of religions, at least opposite of the history and religion of Islam, which is closer to us in time. They used to say kings created religions to cast a spell over people and plunder them while people make no counterattack; they do not rise and do not stage a movement. He who is familiar with history knows that religions have always come to make people rise against sultans. Moses, a shepherd with a cane, overthrew Pharaoh. Moses moved with a number of the oppressed and readied them for a revolution; it was not Pharaoh who made Moses cast a spell over people.

Islams war against the rich

The history of Islam is close to us. He who has studied history knows well that when the Prophet of Islam was in Mecca, all the oppressed, the businessmen, the influential people and the rich were his enemies. It is not true to say the powerful people brought him to put people into sleep. The Prophet (S) could not openly publicize Islam in the beginning and had to do it privately with the assistance of some relatives and friends. They knew that Mecca was dangerous for publicity for Islam, so they moved to Medina, where he was the guest of the poor and all the poor people gathered around him. The Prophets wars were all against the rich, against the powerful people and against the infidels. This is quite the opposite of what they publicized and our inexperienced youth followed this. It was not true to say that Pharaoh made Moses cast a spell over the people; rather it was Moses who awakened people from ignorance to overthrow Pharaoh. It was not true that Quraysh and the wealthy brought the Prophet to mislead the people, the holy Prophet (S) awakened the poor and rose against the rich to topple down the wealthy and the oppressors. Then, when Islam gained power, it was the oppressed and the weakest strata of the society who attacked the two powerful empires of the world, Iran and Rome. Rome and Iran did not make the Prophet; it was the Prophet (S) who captured Iran and Rome.

Pahlavi dynasty, most treacherous of all kings

Let us turn again to propagation against the clerics who were said to have been courtiers! They used to say the British government introduced the clerics to prevent the awakening of the people, to prevent people from acting against their benefits. He who is familiar with history knows that it was the

clerics who rose against the powers, and governments did not make clerics. Clerics united people against them. In Iran, as far as we remember—I remember more than you all—from the time that Rida Khan took the throne in a coup to the present time, thanks be to Allah they were overthrown, within fifty years of Pahlavi reign, Iranian people suffered the severest hardships. If these (Rida Khan and his son) were not the most criminal of the kings, they were the most treacherous of them.

Some may say that Aqa Muhammad Khan of the Qajar dynasty was the worst criminal, but he was not as treacherous as they were. There is no record in history to say the Aqa Muhammad Khan neglected his nation's benefits for the interest of foreign powers. He was a criminal, but not treacherous. All previous kings were criminals, all of them were bad, but none of them was more treacherous than this father and his son. They practiced treachery in this country that will take time to understand, and some of them may never be discovered. The contracts they signed with the great powers are astonishing for our government! It is said that those contracts are such that they will be detrimental one way or the other! What they did was all treachery to their country and their nation. The erstwhile sultans committed fewer treacheries in this sense, perhaps some of the Qajars committed them, but they were limited. Before them, treachery did not exist in this sense. They practiced treachery in this country some of which may be understood soon but other may never be! The discovered treacheries are so astonishing for the experts. The ministries have found an opportunity to study the contracts they had concluded with foreign countries. How corrupt are these contracts, and the major problem today is what to do with these contracts. They say these contracts are a loss to both sides! They have concluded the contract in a way that we are the losing party after all.

Half a century of struggle and resistance

At any rate, based on whatever we remember in the contemporary history, the clerics have risen against the kings. See how many times clerics have initiated movements during the past fifty and so years. Of course, the governments were powerful and the movements had failed. Clergies in Azerbaijan and Mashhad rose, and in Isfahan there was an all-out uprising. There were clergies from all regions, but the government of the time was powerful and they all failed. The government imprisoned them, exiled them. They arrested and jailed or exiled the most influential clerics. They arrested the clergies of Azerbaijan and exiled them to Saqqiz or Sunqur for a long time. They detained the clerics of Mashhad and brought them to Tehran.

They dishonored the clerics of Isfahan and defeated their uprising. During the past fifty years, clerics were in the forefront to rise against the tyrant regimes. There were no others. The nation joined clerics as far as possible. That time, of course, there was no possibility of organizing an all-out movement like this; therefore, when the clerics rose, many were killed, imprisoned, exiled and the movements failed.

Then, the claim that clerics are courtiers is not true. These are against the courtiers. They introduced the enemy of the courtiers as a friend of courtiers to giving them a negative image in the public view. The conspiracy was effective, such that in the time of Rida Khan many people, especially the youth, turned away from the clerics. This was another plot staged by the enemies of the clerics.

Dividing the vast Islamic country

Another conspiracy of the enemies was sowing the seeds of discord among the tribes to prevent them from uniting. They feared Islam could unite them against the regime. They feared clergies and clerics could gather these people together against the government. That was why they wanted to kill clergies. They did not confine their conspiracies to this and intended to divide the people. They propagated against clerics in Kurdistan, Baluchistan, Bakhtiyari, and Khorasan inside Iran and in Pakistan and in some other neighboring countries, such as Arab countries, Bahrain, etc. to divide them. They divided the Muslims. In the course of World War I they captured and divided the Ottoman Empire that was a vast country including Egypt to Hijaz. They gave one region to every one of their servants to rule. They lined up governments in front of one another: the sultans, presidents, and they made them enemies of one another. That one was the enemy of this and this one the enemy of that. Now, they have withdrawn after plundering all our possessions. The powerful countries then became enemies. They formed political parties in each country. All these parties opposed one another. Parties blamed one another. There were various fronts but the Muslims were being neglected day by day. War broke out between the two Muslim nations of Iran and Iraq. Pakistan, another nation, is fighting another Muslim country.

Wishing to awaken the Muslim nations

These were the plots and the brainchild of these enemies. I do not know when the Muslims will wake up out of their ignorance. When our governments, Muslim nations, will open their eyes to realities. Do they not

understand? Do they understand but take it for granted? If they do not understand, they are requested to pay attention to the issues and see where all misfortunes come to the Muslim nations. They need to understand the pain of the Muslims that allows the plundering of their treasuries and their living in poverty? They took oil away and our nation became poor. Such is the case everywhere. When do the Muslims and their governments want to wake up? When do they want to put aside their personal interests and enmities and serve their nation? Muslims are almost one billion. They form one billion of the world population. They possess everything, vast and rich lands. And 35 million Muslims live in Iran. It is large enough for 150-200 million people. That is to say, some 200 million people can live in Iran in welfare. Such is the case for other nations. Iraq is a vast land with limited population. When do these governments want to wake up and give up their enmities? When do the Muslims want to come to know what is good for them and what is bad? When do they want to get rid of this pain?

Islamic society and one-dimensional Islam

One of the greatest conspiracies the enemies of Islam have ever implemented is preventing us from understanding Islam as it is. They did not allow Muslims to understand it. This negative propagation has found its way well even into the theological schools in Qum and Najaf. This means that a part of Islam is understood in these schools, part of Islam and the rest is not known. They did not allow us to understand the entire Islam, because understanding Islam was a potential danger to their status and people would tend towards Islam. They did not want the preaching of Islam. When the British people were in Iraq, hearing the call for prayers [*adhan*], one of them asked an Iraqi what it was. He said it was the call to prayers. The British asked: "Does it cause any harm or loss to the British Empire?" Hearing Iraqis negative answer, he said: "Let him make the call to prayers as long as he wishes."

Our discussions cause no harm to the British Empire, to United States of America or to the Soviet Union. They may even help the expansion of the talks, but do not allow the growing of whatever may be harmful to them. When will the Muslims pay attention to the teachings of Islam? To the early advent of Islam? When will they understand the way of life of the Prophet (S) and the Imams? How did they live, and how did they advance their programs? How a limited number of people without equipments could capture two empires of the world?

Iranian nations similarity with Muslims of early Islam

We have seen the likeness of it. The likeness of what has been in early Islam happened in Iran. You see guns on some peoples shoulders; they have taken them from the enemy. They had nothing. As I have been told people took a stick, cane, knife, stones, and bricks, whatever else and went out in the morning to fight the enemy. What did the enemy have? Tanks, artilleries, machine guns and mortar shells. They fired from the air, from the land and from everywhere. But, this nation had faith that was everything to them and it was backed by God, and the nation had one goal ahead, i.e. Islam. Everywhere in Iran in all cities, people chanted, “Down with the king and we want Islamic Republic”. All people, young¹ and old, in the schools and in the hospitals and everywhere chanted their slogans. There were from all strata of the people: clergies, seminarians, academics, administrative personnel, all and all wanted the establishment of an Islamic Republic. And it was the key to victory. In the early advent of Islam, the Muslim combatants used to say they would be in heaven if they killed or if they were killed. Martyrdom was a salvation for our nation. It was bestowed on us by God. It is impossible for a man, for a group of people, to do this. It is impossible for such a revolution to take place without the assistance of God. God gave us the victory. Now, our Muslim nations would welcome martyrdom as means of salvation and would resist against the treacherous people.

Fall of the Shah, the paper tiger

They said Irans power was not exclusive to the East. Iran's military power was unrivaled in the East, they said. They enjoyed military backup of the powerful countries, large and small. In the course of the revolution, none of the Muslim nations supported us—perhaps one of them did, as I have been told. They all backed the Shah, all of them. Well, it was the Shah by his unrivaled military force in the East. He had his patrons from among Muslims and non-Muslims, from world powers to small powerful countries, and from the Persian Gulf littoral states. They had beguiled our religious brothers. In some Arab nations around the Persian Gulf, they thought Islam would fall if the Shah goes. If Shah falls, the integrity of Shiah will be in danger. This was what they had been told. These religious brothers thought that nothing would be there in the absence of the Shah. When I was in Paris, they used to say, “What would happen if the Shah goes”. I said, nothing in particular, a plunderer will go. Now, he has gone and we feel no regret. We threw the

¹ It refers to a child present among the audience.

thief out, we cut his hand short, and we cut short the hands of foreign treacherous mercenaries.

Freedom, most valuable achievement

Today, we are challenging a family problem. It is not a serious problem; it is a family affair. We do not have the problem of Security Organization any more, no problem in connection with foreigners. Now, we have no fears. We have gathered to talk about problems. The problem is unfair distribution of wealth. Someone has a house; the other has not. It is not important. These problems were always there from the beginning. But the enemies have now started propagation that people need houses, livelihood, etc. I told some of them the poverty is not exclusive to the Revolution. We have inherited it. The Revolution has not made people poorer. The fall of the Shah has not created poverty. If we are to be blamed for poverty, if there is no electricity, asphalt on the roads, clinics and hospitals because the Shah has gone, then we must be questioned, and we must compensate for it. But what would you say if you know that the problems were already there when we took control of the country? We bestowed freedom on you, and this is what we had to do. You are now free to work for yourself. In the past, you were in jails, in exile. Everyday, a police officer used to come and order something. One word was enough to go to jail. Today, you are free. But what problem do you have? Did we make you deprived of asphalt that you have come to us to complain? Did we take electricity from you? These problems and hardships were always lingering on this nation. We took control of the country with all these problems. The government has inherited these problems. The problems should be alleviated. But do not ask about these problems anymore. You gained a valuable thing that could not be achieved except by the Will of God. You enjoy freedom. What else is more pleasing and blessed than freedom? In the past, we were poor, but today we must work to alleviate poverty. We must work and work to eradicate poverty. They prevented us from farming in the name of Land Reform Program, but today you are free to work on land.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 20, 1979 [Ordibehesht 30, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Gods assistance to the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Personnel of the Civil Status Registration Department

In the Name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful

Victory belongs to God

Let me tell you in advance that this victory had no relations with me. I am a clergy. Do not link it to me. This victory had no relations with the nation either. This victory was an act of God. When I was in Paris, I was told about the uprising in the cities and villages, where a cleric led a group of people for demonstration. Even I heard about a small citadel in which 10-15 families lived on the outskirts of a mountain—as I remember its name was “Hasan Falak”—and I visited there, and I saw that the slogans which were chanted were the same as Tehran. I made up my mind there that the revolution was an act of God, beyond human boundaries. The scope of activities of the human being is limited with some differences. One can mobilize a district, the people in the mosque, even a city, or a province. But who can mobilize all 35 million people across Iran from the students of elementary school to the universities, from the young and old people, women and girls, all chanting unanimously believed slogans? They all chanted “Death to the regime” and they wanted the establishment of the Islamic Republic. That time, the Shah was still in power, but it came to my mind that we would come out victorious, because it was not in our control; it was an act of God. This, I have said many times in Paris, that it is impossible to revolutionize people in a short time.

Wrong anticipations of spy organizations

The spiritual revolution happened first within the people. In the past, they dared not stand against a policeman who came to the bazaar and closed down the shops. But thanks to their internal revolution in a very short time they poured out on the streets and chanted, “Down with Shah” and they wrote the same on the walls, the signs of which you can see today. The

revolution changed their fears to courage and they resisted against artillery, machine guns, and tanks. People attacked this army barehanded and chanted, "No use in artillery, tanks and machine guns". They killed people but the nation was strong in spirit and they sought establishment of Islamic Republic and the fall of the Shah. It was the unity of expression, peoples focus on this matter, and strong belief in Islam that granted us the victory. What victory? A sort of victory that nullified all anticipations, all materialistic anticipations; it is a proof of monotheism and belief in God; and it nullified the reasoning of the spy organizations such as the CIA. They all confessed that the course of revolution advanced quite contrary to their anticipations. They were the correct, because their anticipations were all based on materialism. On one hand, a satanic government with all its powerful patrons armed to the teeth, and on the other hand, barehanded people, men and women, who poured out on the streets to fight. It is impossible to compare and contrast these two, one armed to the teeth and another barehanded.

Triumph of spirituality over materialism

What happened? A revolution broke out in the military strata. They either lost their morale or revolutionized internally and joined the revolution. Lately, an unwise man, this unwise Bakhtiyar, I advised him but he rejected. If he had acted upon my advice, he would have been the prime minister now. When I was in Paris and when he had control of the country after the Shah, I asked him to say that he wanted to serve the nation. He did not; otherwise, he would have become a hero. He did not know what to do.

At any rate, public demonstration and their unity of expression coupled with their serious attention to Islam brought about the victory. This nullified all previous judgments and anticipations. They said the armed army of the Shah backed by the United States, Soviet Union and Britain—of course the Soviet Union did not express it clearly, but it was in the line of the supporters of Shah but the US and Britain explicitly expressed their support—would be the winner of the civil war. But the nation did not listen to this. And God empowered the nation such that all previous anticipations turned out wrong. Nothing gained victory over everything. Nothing in terms of materiality, because people had everything in terms of spirituality. Spirituality triumphed over materiality by the help of God. This was how we enjoyed victory.

The world, manifestation of God

The poems you recited were good as far as poetry is concerned, but they are not true about me. You worship God for His blessing. We are nothing.

The world is nothing. The entire world, from beginning to the end, is a manifestation of the Almighty God. Everything is His manifestation. Praise be to Allah, due to the very attention to God, the small kids and bedridden old men sought the Islamic Republic. In voting for or against the Islamic Republic, they brought an old man in the wheelchair to vote for the Islamic Republic. Some voted and passed away. One of them passed away in my previous city, Khomein. The children who were ineligible to vote were sad and sorry. These are examples of God's attention to us. God created such an enthusiasm, such joyfulness in them. God revived self-sacrifice in them so that they asked me to pray for their martyrdom. Parents wished martyrdom of their children. This spiritual revolution—praise be to Allah—granted us the victory. We must safeguard this revolution. Protect this gift of God. If we lose this revolution, if we lose our unity of expression we will become weak, we are those same empty handed people. The guardians of revolution with a pair of guns are not enough for fighting the enemies with heavy artillery. The act of God thwarted the enemy and nullified their plots. Pray for this achievement, protect it and safeguard the revolution.

Salvation and welfare under authentic Islam

We will make more progress by safeguarding this revolution. We will publicize the authentic Islam, not the one prescribed by the foreigners and that was believed in the past. Islam should be realized throughout the society in the way it really is, and in the same way it was at the advent of Islam; for salvation for all people; health for all; welfare for all. There is no invasion of other rights in an Islamic government. No one fears an Islamic government, because the government has nothing to do with the people. People should fear doing crime themselves. When they do, the government will detain them. But there is no harsh treatment and torturing for any accusation. It is not like SAVAK agents who arrested people for no good reason and tortured them. There will be no such things, God willing, there will not be. Now, you are enjoying freedom, which is the best blessing. Today, the government will not detain you for gathering somewhere. In the past, SAVAK agents prevented any get-together. Today, praise be to Allah, there is nothing like that. Praise be to Allah, we have cut short the hands of the plunderers today. Therefore, we defeated the plunderers of the public treasury and gained freedom. Today, we are free and independent. We have reaped the anticipated results. Now, some corrupt agents are present, who are not serious hazards. We will overcome them. Their powerful patron fled and these minor agents are unimportant. They will be pushed out with a blow.

However, the important thing to do is safeguarding the blessings. This is a gift of Almighty God and we will be successful and develop as far as we protect this gift. Losing this gift means a return of poverty and ruling of the policemen. May God protect you all. And you prove to be useful for your country. Now, Iran is an Islamic country and all of us must serve it as we serve our homes.

Speech

Date: May 21, 1979 [Ordibehesht 31, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 24, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Roots of the Islamic Revolution; heavy responsibility of the university and seminary; SAVAK agents

Audience: Students of the Faculty of Law, University of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful

Islamic Revolution, an intellectual and ideological revolution

There are two types of fundamental problems that may be classified as major and minor. The first must be argued today, while the latter will be introduced after materialization of the first. If we introduce the minor problems, they will surely overshadow the principles and disputes may arise and bring the movement into a deadlock. Therefore, in my mind for the time being there are two things that helped us to gain victory; one was the principle and the other came to being at the materialization of the principle.

The principle was the fact that people entered the scene in the name of Islam and as representatives of faith. Because they all were unanimous in faith and Islam, all strata of the people united and gained victory, which was unity of deed and creed indeed. Some thought it would be impossible but we made it possible. They termed it impossible because they saw only empty handed people with no political organization in front of the armed forces; do not consider now that we have some guns; there were no guns in the beginning and people picked up whatever they could stones and sticks, knives and canes to fight the regime. Women came out hugging their babies, etc.

Victory under the light of Islam

The key to victory was all-out chanting of slogans against the corrupt regime and seeking establishment of the Islamic Revolution. This made something that was impossible in the world, possible, which is the victory of nothing over everything—of course, by materialistic calculations. The Iranian nation advanced this revolution under the light of Islam and which the power of spirituality. This faith imposed failure on the most powerful countries and they could not keep the Shah on his throne. In Paris, they contacted me and advised me against going to Iran, because they said, “it is

too soon, and we will back you up". We gained victory over armed forces empty handed, because we were united. All strata of the people in hamlets, villages, and cities all over Iran united, and it was not possible but in the light of Islam. Nothing could be mobilized so fast and so effectively in the absence of Islam. You gained victory in the light of Islam.

Critical period of the Revolution

Of course, we are not enjoying the final victory. I think the situation is more critical than those days that we used to attack the enemy and we used to mobilize people for fighting. That time all the concern of the people was to smash the barrier; the high barrier was an obstacle to our progress. They did not pay attention to their issues. All people intended to break apart this barrier regardless of their food, debts, claims, etc. There was no attention to this and people increased pressure day by day to break it apart.

It is in the nature of all revolutions that the days before the final victory are the most sensitive periods. People come to realize what the change is. They think to their life, debts, claims, livelihood, and the like. The United States will not leave us alone. It will make its experts study the situation of Iran. They had started their psychological studies a hundred years ago or more; and they know what to do. Today, their agents have mixed with all strata of the people to draw a comparison between the government of Shah and the Islamic Republic and say, "Well, what happened?" Their agents want to disappoint people, and want to make them turn away from the revolution in order to collapse the revolution and gain power again in Iran.

Military base at the cost of plundering oil

When we review our estimations and anticipations to compare past and present we will find out that whatever has been done has been nothing less than a miracle; what does it mean to say, "What happened?" You have thus far been captives of SAVAK that had its roots everywhere possible and tortured people. Photos of some of their imprisonments and tortures make us terrified. All that they did with people in the dark jails! Was it a menial gift that this revolution presented to you? Breaking the barriers astonished all political observers and all scholars. How was it possible? The foreigners had clapped our oil reservoirs and our underground mineral reservoirs. Instead, they established military bases in Iran to say that they compensated for it with dispatching arms that Iran did not know how to use. They plundered oil and gave us the arms. They sent arms for themselves, for use in their military base; otherwise, we did not know how to use them. They gathered heavy

artillery in Iran to have a strong base in this country for possible war with the Soviet Union. They plundered oil and built bases for their military personnel, under the name of giving us back our oil money.

Cutting short the hands of world powers

Another major achievement of this revolution was cutting short the hands of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union from our country's reservoirs. Today, oil is ours—I would say—other reservoirs are ours. Oil and all other reservoirs belong to us.

Some mercenaries publicize questions such as, “What is the change and what improvements have been made in the state of affairs,” in order to suppress the Revolution. They go to factories and succeed sometimes, because the laborers are not familiar with political affairs. They go to farmers and make them disappointed in line with their plots. If these agents allow us to work, all future programs will be materialized fast.

Opposing the nations vote

Consider the referendum, for instance, which all strata of the people welcomed happily. Was it in favor of the nation that the agents of enemies set fire to the ballot boxes, or prevented people from voting by brandishing guns and knives? They even forbade the referendum.¹ Were they really proponents of the nation? Or, they sought the closing of the referendum and staging crises and returning the past regime or something similar to that? Referendum was a national issue that people welcomed. Almost 99.5 percent of the people voted for and half a percent voted against the Islamic Republic. All internal enemies of the revolution were less than half a percent. Why did they prevent a referendum that all strata of the people wished to participate in? Why do they prevent it? People want to build houses for the deprived ones²; all strata of the people gave money, women granted their gold and life savings to build houses for the deprived ones. These agents have infixed themselves in all strata of the people to prevent materialization of these projects. Why? Is this in disfavor of people? What you want to do for the deprived is not in their favor.

Conspiracy to return colonialism

¹ See footnote 1, Imams radio-television message on April 1, 1979 (Islamic Republics Day).

² It refers to the establishment of the Housing Foundation and Imams Account No. 100.

Nay, it is not the question. The problem is that they want to create civil disorder in the country and prevent implementation of the welfare projects. When there is no peace and when people do not meet their expectations, civil unrest will be the result and that will be ideal for the enemies. Otherwise, is building houses for the deprived and the workers something bad? Is it contrary to the expediency of the nation? Why do they want to prevent it? As regards agriculture, why do they prevent farming? Is farming harmful for the nation? Such is the case in factories. They seek staging unrest in the country and publicizing in the countries which want to plunder us, that an Iranian Islamic government is unable to administer the affairs and invite one to come and manage the country. They want to achieve this by a coup and return the previous government, even more corrupt than before, and God knows how long they will press the nation worse than before.

Hear this from me that we are in the middle of our path. We have not reached our goal. The goal was throwing out all these plunderers of public treasury. To this point, we cut short the hands of some of these people and some managed to take their money and escape from Iran. Praise be to Allah, they are away from us now, but God willing, we will take back the nations treasury from them. For the moment, we have overcome some difficulties and we have uprooted some obstacles to human, national, intellectual, and natural development. However, there are some obstacles yet to be removed. Some of the enemies are still in Iran busy propagating against the Islamic Republic and they are doing their best to ignite oppositions with any device and at any cost.

Working for the development of Iran

The most important thing to do, when we have the country in control, is gaining self-sufficiency. We must reconstruct our economy, our agriculture, our university, and our judiciary system. All of these areas are underdeveloped. We have inherited them from the previous government. They are yet to be revolutionized and our government is transitional for the time being. It is not a permanent government. Therefore, the major concern will be safeguarding the Islamic Revolution and uniting the students in the universities and theological schools. In the past, the government disunited the theological schools and universities, both of which were and still are the most important pillars of the country. They introduced these two enemies of each other by propagation. Unfortunately, this propagation was effective in all of us. This group cursed the other and the other group did the same. We were indulged in cursing each other and the enemy reaped the anticipated results.

They divided and disunited all strata of the people: they sowed the seeds of discord between the businessman and the laborer, between the laborer and other, etc. This was all in line with preventing unity between the people. This movement strengthened our unity. The academicians approved whatever the businessmen said and these believed in whatever the clerics said. All believed in and said the same thing that the farmer said.

Blessings of the Islamic Revolution

If we fail to safeguard the Islamic Revolution, and if we - God forbid - lose this revolution, past cruelty and past oppression and suppression will return harsher than before. These foreigners had not experienced defeat, they had not imagined failing in Iran, but the Islamic revolution defeated them here in Iran. They sensed the danger and did their best to prevent unity of all strata of the people. They knew nothing could withstand the national will of a united nation. They have come to know this today more palpably and they have equipped themselves to divide us. One blessing of the revolution can be seen today. You respected academicians never ever came to sit with us and talk to us but today; thanks to the blessings of the movement you have come here to exchange views and express pains and concerns. Previously, the government did not allow any relations between the clerics and the factory workers. Today, however, the relations have been improved. Today, on Thursdays and Fridays we see many people from all strata of the people, students and workers, average people and military personnel gathering in the Faydiyyah Madrasah. Men and women gather together with no hatred or fear of one another; neither the military nor the people have any fear or hatred of one another. They attend such gatherings and exchange views. We must protect and promote this value. The enemies want to sow the seeds of discord and disagreement among us, in ways that seem quite appropriate to us.

Devices of SAVAK for raising opposition

There were all these problems in the past regime, and I used to mention them. However, the government was powerful and efforts were not useful. Before the month of Ramadan—they feared this month because people used to gather in the mosques for supplications and there was the pulpit and everything was ready for opposition groups—they doubled their attempts to sow the seeds of discord among people. They kindled an unimportant matter to overshadow the major one; they did the same before the month of Muharram. Before the month of Ramadan, they stirred up the issue of

*Shahid-e Javid*¹ and generally, they had something to work on during the month. A group used to curse another group and there was harsh argumentation all in vain. The schemers used to sit aside and deride us igniting their plot. They wasted all the month of Ramadan on a book that was not worth it. They tempted us to say something, for or against the book. They deviated us from saying something against him (the Shah), and we talked about ourselves. When this crisis was about to subside, they raised another one to prevent another gathering. At a time, they argued the issue of the late Shamsabadi.² I guess, as some others have made such conjecture, they themselves slaughtered him to initiate unrest. This wasted the time of both the clerics and the average people, then the SAVAK realized that the tide was subsiding. Then, they waited for another month of Ramadan or Muharram to sow the seeds of discord. At a time, they introduced the issue of Dr. Shariati and screening and asking about his ideas. The clerics—not realizing the plot—used to go to the pulpits and speak about it. A group of inexperienced young people used to chant slogans for or against the person, and there were two groups opposing one another and enemies fished in the troubled water.

America, our archenemy

Today is the most sensitive period in the history of the Islamic Revolution. We must set aside the trivial matters and focus on the more important issues. Today we need national unity. The United States is our archenemy and we must take it seriously. We must also pay serious attention to the enmity of the archenemies on the West and East, those who want to plunder us, to plunder the entire East not just Iran for sure. Iran is a part of the project. They want to plunder the reservoirs of the East, prevent intellectual growth of our youth, and prevent reopening of the universities. When it is the time for getting ready for examinations, they mislead the students to trivial matters to lead them astray of their education. We must take heed to identify the enemies hands and to prevent ourselves from becoming their playthings and being indulged in unrest, and help them enjoy whatever they wish. Universities and schools must be on alert to prevent helping the agents of enemies who are among us, to sow the seeds of discord among to us to subside the movement and to return the past suppression and oppression.

¹ *Shahid-e Javid* : “The Eternal Martyr” written by Nimatullah Salihi Najafabadi.

² It refers to Sayyid Abul-Hasan Shamsabadi who was assassinated in 1976.

We are all accountable

We must consider the priorities for the time being. True, we have problems and hardships. We are all suffering from these. Problems are not exclusive to the academicians; all people suffer from these problems. It is not the right time to concentrate on menial problems; today is the day of advancing our principles by forming a parliament of peoples representatives from everywhere. Then, it will be the right time to consider the trivial matters. Today, all of us—you and me—are accountable, answerable in the presence of God, in view of the nation and the coming generations. Now, we are at a level in society that we can work better. We can form an experts assembly and consultative assembly by the unity of expression we have today. We can form a permanent government and if we do this, everything will be in favor of the people.

A word with students and clergies

Today all of you should try to be united. The academicians and the clergies, both influential members, should pay attention to unity. The academicians must not try to neglect the clergies, because people are with them. The nation supports the clergies. Wherever they want to take the nation, they will follow the clergies, because people regard them as representatives of the Imam of the Time—may Allah expedite his glorious advent. Do not lose them; they are great potential powers. Do not leave this power. This is not the first time I am recommending this. When I was in Najaf, I used to say we would fail if we forget the clergies. We are not dynamic and energetic today, but the clergies can work effectively. Do not leave this group alone. The clergies, on the other hand, must not understate the academicians. Our administration system is in the hands of the universities. Our tomorrow will be in the hands of the academicians. These two groups must come to new terms with each other. Both groups are among the intellectual, but alas, one group thinks the other is fanatic, and another group considers the other infidel. It was the domineering thought in the past, but today these two groups are united for political growth. You must understand the seeds of discord come from elsewhere, from those who publicize Islam minus clergies. They beguile you from abroad. Clergies should know that academicians are the constructive members of the society and our future salvation will be in the hands of these people, and on the other hand, destroying Iran will be possible by the academicians. These two groups should unite. Do not lose control in the ruckus. Keep united, be colleagues, and advance this movement.

Failure of the movement, no future for the country

God only knows that if this movement falls, there will be no bright future for the country. You are all accountable. There is no distinct difference between me a cleric and you academicians. Both of us are answerable. It is neither on your shoulders nor on mine. I work as far as possible and you must work as far as possible. And all of us should focus on the principle matters. We must meet these principal needs first, and then come to trivial matters. Do not put the trivial matters on your agenda for the time being. Pay serious attention to the establishment of a permanent government, a form of government that could uproot the corrupted roots of evil in this country. When we establish our government, the academicians, clerics, and other strata of the people will introduce their problems.

Sweeping deprivation

The representatives of all strata of the people I visit here talk about their problems, and they are right. The Bakhtiyari people come here and say nowhere else was as destroyed as theirs. They complain about lack of water, electricity and other necessities. Baluch people repeat the same. The people of Kurdistan come and say the same things. So say the people of Khuzestan. All of them are right. Nothing has been done for the development of their regions. For the former regime did not aim to do anything for the people; they aimed to plunder; they did not want to do anything. They did not do anything for the shanty houses in Tehrans suburb—about thirty districts of shanty houses of the disinherited people. They have neither water nor electricity, nor anything else. They did not aim to do something for them; they aimed to work only for a certain sector, those who were the beneficiaries, or were gaining interests, and not for others.

Every one of them is correct. But it is not time for the Bakhtiyaris to seek meeting all their demands promptly. This may lead to the disappointment of the people and the government, then the movement may fail and the past suppression and oppression may return. All of us should guide people. You academicians! You must guide your classmates. Warn them of the treacherous hands and agents that to seek sow the seeds of discord among you.

Islamic government and materialistic governments

I ask the Almighty God to help us get familiar with our obligations and duties and cast a more realistic and Islamic view at the problems, abstain from making mistakes, keep strengthening our unity and not allow the

subsiding of the Islamic movement. Let us advance this movement in order to make an Islamic government, which is the best of governments. Islamic government differs from all other forms of government in the best of which they prevent theft, sabotage, and help material development, but Islam pays attention to the spiritual development of people too. The other governments do not insist on preventing evils; rather they prefer to have it hidden. And the people are free to do everything in their houses, to be corrupt in their houses but not outside. Do not come out for demonstration and observe discipline, rules, and regulations, then do whatever you want. This is what the other good governments want. Those bad ones are just in search of their own benefits.

Islams attention to all human aspects

Islam pays equal attention to all aspects of human life. Islam has everything ready for your child before marriage, for selecting one's wife, one's husband, and the qualifications of both genders for a mutual life. This is because man is considered like a plant that ought to grow. It is like a farmer who inspects the land before sowing the seeds, inspects the fertilizer, water, etc. Man is like the seed. Before the plantation of man, his land should be prepared and the planter of the man should possess some qualifications. When they get married, Islam prescribes how and when the intercourse might be. Islam pays equal attention to all aspects, because it wants to shape a man. The Quran is the book of human perfection. The Book wants to make man in a form he deserves. A man who favors Quranic teaching comes out somebody like Mudarris.¹ He was like a group who resisted against Rida Khans rule. He was old but stood up against Rida Khan, against the rule of the Soviet Union, who wanted to attack Iran. The foreigners fear perfect men; therefore, they prevent rearing perfect men in the universities. They did the same in our schools in the past. They wanted to disturb everywhere, the mosques, everywhere.

How to reestablish authentic Islam

We are obligated to do our best to safeguard this movement until its final establishment, in order to see empowerment of an Islamic government. We must establish a religious government that could be a model in the world, to show the foreigners what democracy is, what does freedom mean. They complain about lack of freedom and human rights violations in Iran because

¹ Martyr Sayyid Hasan Mudarris.

we detain and punish the assassins and thieves, but when the enemies kill influential people like Mr. Mutahhari, they remain silent.

We want to form a form of Islamic government to show them what human rights means, what freedom is, what the rights of women are, the rights of men, and the rights of farmers. We want to form such a thing if the satanic powers, the mercenaries of the Great Satan, do allow us to do so. Then, they will see how Islam respects the laborers, the farmers, religious minorities, and all strata of the people. However, they do not give us a chance to work on it. I wish all the best for you and for all strata of the people. I feel tired now, and at another opportunity, I will talk about it more.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Decree

Date: May 22, 1979 [Khordad 1, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Dispatching representatives to the Persian Gulf and Qatar

Addressee: Sayyid Rida Burqai

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Aqa Sayyid Rida Burqai, may his blessings last:

You are kindly requested to make a trip to the Persian Gulf littoral states and to Qatar in particular and investigate the Shiah and Iranians in the region and meet their demands in connection with propagate and religious affairs, and familiarize the people with the important and sensitive responsibility they have at this time and invite them towards unity and amity. Remember me to the clergies of those countries—may their blessings last long—and to the Iranians living there. I wish all the best for all the people. May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: May 22, 1979 [Khordad 1, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Special role of the personnel of the oil industry in the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Representatives of the laborers and personnels syndicate of the oil company

In the Name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful

The importance of the strikes of the oil industrys personnel

Although I do not feel well, I would like to talk a few words to you my friends, to you my dear ones, the respected men and women of the oil industry.

True, our movement is the result of the self-sacrifice of all strata of the people, although all strata of the people helped in the victory of the Revolution, both men and women, some groups played a special role, such as the personnel and employees of the oil industry. This is because these people were working in an area where the lifeline of the country for the foreigners, and the regime was at their disposal. Their strike was of special value and their cooperation with the movement was of more significance. In this sense, we appreciate you all and we extend our sincerest thanks to you. You went on a strike and stood up against the regime of the Shah and helped the advancement of the movement, and empowered the rule of Islam. I must extend my thanks to you. I prayed and still pray for you. However, you said you were under double pressure. Put it this way that you felt double pressure, otherwise no one in this country was free of pressure. Show me a group that was free of the pressures of the regime. Which group was not deprived? Were not the clerics deprived? They were deprived of all preaching and teaching, and they had been suppressed so tightly that they dared no to speak. Such was the case for other strata of the people. All suffered pain, and all lived in poverty.

Worthlessness of life without freedom and independence

Life is absurd in the absence of freedom. Life is useless in the absence of independence. It is not an ideal life to work for your enemies. Today, you live well because you enjoy independence, because you work for your nation, for your country. However, you must know that those preventing production

in factories, and staging demonstration on the streets are your enemies. They want to make you go on a strike and cut the lifeline of the country that is at your disposal, the order to paralyze the government and the economy. The stagnation of economy means giving the opportunity to others and the return of the past evils. In a pitiable manner, but evil in nature, they visit the working unions. On the face, their words seem to be real, but they have evil plots. They do not want to allow development of the country, establishment of peace and security in the country and they have targeted the best possible point, the oil industry. They grasped the power of the oil company, knowing what the personnel did before the victory of Islamic revolution to bring the regime down to its knees. They realized this great power and wanted to turn it against the nation, mobilize it against the government, if not, paralyze it.

Independence in the light of Islam

My friends! Only the Almighty God is very sympathetic to the workers and employees. It is His will to make the needy happy. Islam is very concerned about you. Your savior is only Islam; it saves you from the darkness of ignorance. Islam insures you. Tend to Islam more than ever. As you saw, Islam advanced our movement. Unity of expression and attention to Islam granted us victory. Safeguarding these two from now on, will be the key to further success. As a sign of attending to Islam, people sought the establishment of an Islamic government and unity of expression also manifested in their slogans for the establishment of an Islamic republic system of government. Islam granted and will grant us further successes.

Corruption and sabotage by anti-revolutionary groups

My religious brothers! Stick to the rope of Islam and know for sure that those who want to divide you from Islam, and from the Almighty God, are not friends. These are enemies in the disguise of friends. They do evil wherever they go. They visit farms and do not allow farming, at a time that is said that Iranian agriculture is developing. If these people are sympathetic to the farmers and agriculture, why do they not let the wheel of the economy turn? Is it not in favor of the nation that agriculture, factories, and the oil industry keep on working? They do not let the implementation of anything in favor of the nation. Be on alert my religious brothers! Take heed and uproot the corrupt roots of the previous regime and its followers.

Blessings of the Revolution

May God bless you all! May God bless the men and women! I am a servant of all and God only knows that I am very concerned about you. I am sorry. Try to be patient and let the government continue what it ought to do and allow the implementation of the anticipated programs. We are talking to one another freely and it was not possible to do so in the past. Last year, we could not gather here, you could not gather here. Neither women, nor men, could gather here. Ladies and gentlemen! We are enjoying this valuable blessing because of the revolution. We gather and express our pains freely. Today, the foreign powers have no clasp on our oil reservoirs. These reservoirs are ours and this is a great blessing. If you work hard, you will work for your nation, for yourselves. I wish health, glory, and salvation for you all.

Letter

Date: 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Decision of Mr. Sadr to move from Iraq

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Baqir as-Sadr

In the Name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful

Najaf

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Sadr—may his blessings last:

We have heard that Your Eminence intends to migrate from Iraq due to some incidents. I am worried about this, and I do not consider it in your expediency to leave Najaf, the center of Islamic sciences. I hope your problems will be solved. May Gods peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Unity of Muslim nations

Addressee: Dia (Zia) al-Haqq (Pakistans President)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Field Marshal Dia al-Haqq, President of Pakistan:

I received Your Excellencys letter of kindness expressing unity between the two grand nations of Iran and Pakistan and it made us very happy. The great unity of Muslim nations is the most important unity. The Muslims nations must unite well so that no foreign power could ever think of dominance over any Muslim country.

However, ever since foreign experts have found their way into the Eastern and Islamic nations, they have tried to group the Muslim nations and divide them by their destructive propagation, and probably put them in opposition groups. During the history and especially during the fifty and so years of Pahlavi reign, we have suffered backbreaking crimes and countless treacheries. The noble nation of Iran, suffered tortures, detainments and suppressions during this period and they were all deprived of Islamic and humane advantages as well as human rights.

The Khordad 15 uprising was a turning point in the contemporary history of Iran and the oppressed nation of Iran flourished within the past two years. Relying on the power of their faith and unity of expression and with the Will of God, they defeated the oppressors and the plunderers that were armed to the teeth. It is hoped that by relying upon the Almighty God and enjoying unity of expression all strata of the people will overcome all problems.

Thanks to the historical, national, and most important of all Islamic commonalities with Pakistan, we must safeguard our bilateral relations based on mutual respect. The interim government of the Islamic Republic of Iran will negotiate with Your Excellencys representatives. I wish the glory of Islam and Muslim nations from the Almighty God, and I express my sincerest regards and mutual respect to Your Excellency.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 22, 1979 [Khordad 1, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Prohibition of usury in Islam; interest-free banks

Audience: Board of founders of the Islamic bank

In the Name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful

Usury, the worst form of exploitation

Usury on money is quite contrary to equity and humanity; that some money is put there but nothing is done with it, instead something is gained from it, is prohibited. Usury is the worst of all forms of exploitation in which the giver receives his money in addition to profit. In this form, it is prohibited in Islam. Even the excuses made by some people are not acceptable. Escaping from usury is not acceptable either. No way, which ends in the exploitation of money is acceptable to Islam. On the other hand, the Islamic Bank, which is free of interests and usury, is a great blessing to the society, and to Islam. It is hoped that with the presence of the Islamic Bank people feel less of need for the others bank, which is Islamic in nature, which does not exploit people, and does not misuse people.

Need to close usury banks

I wish your further success from the Almighty God and expect your performance to be true and to work with pure intention. Any work starting with a pure intention will be successful and will reap the anticipated results. The intentions must be pure and for God. God Willing, the mighty work you are doing will be in the cause of God to bear eternal rewards for you. I hope your bank would be first and other banks, rooted on exploitation, violation of law and corruption, would be closed. Or the interests may be withdrawn, and the banks made Islamic and then you will become one of these banks. If the other banks become Islamic they can remain. If not they must be closed. God willing, you will be successful in your job.

[Head of the delegation: I heard that, in order to have equal shares for all, the account holders have deposited at least 1,000 rials and at most one million rials. The officials of the Islamic Bank are interested in asking you to honor them by opening an account. This will encourage them.]

Put aside one share for me. I wish you success.

[In the end, the articles of association of the Islamic Bank and way of performance were presented to Imam Khomeini and he said:]

May you be successful, God willing. May God assist you all. I wish you all the best. May Allah protect you all.

Speech

Date: May 22, 1979 [Khordad 1, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The social standing of the teacher and his rank in Islam and the Quran

Audience: Educational staff of ISfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful

The most respectable and accountable professions

Whatever happened within the previous regime has passed and its disgraceful remains. What our nation suffered during all those years has passed, but the eternal reward is reserved for the Iranian nation. Our nation showed the world that faith and firm determination can overcome the satanic powers. Let bygones be bygones and think ahead to the future and to our responsibilities. The educational staff and teachers of the old sciences are in the first line. Clergies and teachers of the Islamic sciences work in the same profession as the teachers do. It is one of the most respectable and accountable jobs. It is the most respectable job, because it shapes man. It is the profession of all messengers. The Quran is the book of human perfection, descended to help man gain spiritual perfection. And the profession the educational staff are dealing with—either in the field of old or new sciences—intends to make man perfect. If we help man gain spiritual perfection, we can save our country. Men always take control of countries, but some of these men are human in appearance and satanic in nature, and some are human in nature. Those rising against oppression come from the educational sector. Those who can save the nation, develop the country, and assure the world and Hereafter of the people, are from the educational staff. Therefore, culture is the cradle of human intellectual development. The prophets came all for this purpose.

Teaching, occupation of the prophets

“Teaching” was the major duty of all prophets commissioned by God. God has commissioned the prophets to help people gain spiritual development. Those closer to the prophets in their beliefs are the closest ones to humanity. When the angels of God complained about creating man who was to make evil on earth, God said He knew many things that His angels did

not. Then, the Lord taught Adam all about the names and the angels saw that they could not understand a word of it.

Adam came with divine preaching and he was the teacher of man. Prophets were all man's teachers. Teaching is a general profession for the prophets; from the philosophers and Imams, to the clergies and educational staff, and God Willing, we are among this group. Therefore, it is a very valuable job, making man perfect. Other professions never attain this rank because they deal with other aspects of human life. There is no creature on earth equal to man in status, and no other profession can be equaled to a teacher's job. In this sense, it is a great job, very respectable.

Prosperity and wickedness come from schools

The educational staffs have been burdened with a very important responsibility. The greater the job in importance, the more important will be the liabilities. Educational staffs are responsible for administration of the affairs of the country, intellectual development of the nation, rearing the children, development and backwardness of the country. It is the teacher, who matures himself, then he develops the country and if God forbid, he is misguided, he will destroy the country. The teacher trains human beings either to become purified and committed people or parasitic and dependent. All rise from schools. All sources of prosperity and wickedness come from schools and the key to them lies in the hands of the teachers.

Culture, a shade of prophethood

Teachers must first pay attention to their job, which is the noble job of the prophets and shoulder the responsibility of the prophets. The prophets are responsible, but they perform their responsibilities properly, they pass the test successfully. They are commissioned to take care of education and train the people. The prophets did their best and you must do your best because you have the same responsibility and the same rank in the society.

As such, culture is a shade of prophecy and educational staffs are shadows of the prophets. These shadows must work. I liken these people to a shadow, because it has nothing in itself, and it moves as the person moves. Calling the kings "shadow of God" is blasphemy if we distinguish between right and wrong. The "shadows of God" must be he whose movement is like God's, and has nothing of himself. The Prophet of Islam was a shadow of God, because in *Surah al-Anfal* in the Quran we read: "...and you did not smite when you smote the enemy, but it was Allah who smote..." Or elsewhere in *Surah al-Fath* we read: "...swearing allegiance to Prophet is

swearing it to Allah.” Why? Because whatever the Prophet (S) has is from God, whatever he sees is God, and he is steeped in God. Any step the prophets took was on the Will of God. They have nothing of themselves, they move when He wants. You educational staff! You must be the shadow of the prophets.

Heavy responsibility of teachers

Teachers have the same job as the Prophet had, and it is quite a heavy responsibility, the same goes for the clergies. This is a heavy responsibility for all. All of us are somehow responsible in the sight of God. You are responsible for rearing those attending your classes; teachers of Islamic sciences have the same responsibility. If you do, you will gain nobility for them and honor for your country. It is impossible for a nation to undergo the rule of colonialism if it has good education. Therefore, those who wanted to plunder the nations in the East attacked two wings: clergies and culture. The attacks were sometimes obvious, and sometimes hidden. The first happened in the time of Rida Shah, and perhaps many of you cannot remember what they did with clergies. That time, the clerics could not attend classes in the theological schools of Qum and Faydiyyah Madrasah in the daytime. They used to go to the gardens and suburbs and returned home at night. The latter, or hidden attack, is the worst type of attacks. They target culture to make it regressive and do not let it grow. They wanted to impose non-Islamic culture.

Materialistic man vs. religious man

It was not accidental; it was on purpose that non-Islamic values grew in our schools in the past. It was a well-calculated conspiracy, because they knew committed a man was the only one who could save his country. Those focusing on this world only, seeking automobiles from Satan or whoever; they seek parks and luxury life. It is not important for a materialistic man to make his luxury life with the assistance of a corrupt person or a prophet. The committed man cares about right and wrong, does not accept anything from a corrupt man, and values the slightest thing from a committed person. The religious or committed man can save the benefits of the country and can safeguard his nation; he differentiates between what he gets from Carter or a Muslim. He never goes after help from the king, from the criminal, etc. He cares where it comes from, not what it is. On the contrary, the materialistic man says goes after things is and does not care where it comes from. The religious man is sensitive about religiously permitted or prohibited things and whether they are stolen goods or not, while the other is not. These two

groups are not in the same boat. He who is determined to safeguard the benefits of his country thinks about the origin of what comes to him but a materialistic one wants to have whatever may come from whomever, regardless of the religiously permitted or prohibited. He wants an automobile, the oil company or the embassy gives it to him, and whichever one gives it to him he will work for them. The religious and committed man does not accept even millions dollars from embassies; the embassy presents something but expects compensation and he knows that they come from a place who wish to deviate him. It is not free of charge. If the US Embassy, or UK Embassy, gives something to somebody, they want him to work for them.

Independence of country depends upon committed people

Culture can solve all complexes. If the culture is of a kind to rear committed and believing people, if the culture forbids evil and stealing and encourages belief in God and in the metaphysical, it can protect the nation. A man reared in such a culture will never yield to treachery no matter how much they offer to him. They are like Imam Ali (a) who said in his *Nahj al-Balaghah*, that he would not take a seed from an ant if they gave him the entire world. Of course, no one can be like him. Those who attack our culture, our old science schools, and universities—openly and secretly—want to prevent the training of man in these schools, because rearing an upright man is contrary to their wishes. If on the contrary, some people are reared that are passive to everything and think of gifts, posts and accumulation of wealth, they colonize then.

Key to salvation and damnation of the nation

Then our jobs, your job and my job, are the jobs of the prophets. If we betray our jobs, we have betrayed the prophets; we have betrayed the Almighty God. And the sign of our betrayal is this that the youth who ought to be reared in our classes go astray. Train the children and the youth towards the right path. If you want to safeguard your country and your religion, the key to this protection will be in your hands. The key to salvation and damnation of a nation is with the teachers. If teachers work well their country will be a good place for living, if not, it will be ruined. Then you are the ones who can work for the spiritual and material development of your country. God forbid, you are the ones who can make your country regressive in both areas of spirituality and materiality. Then your job is dignified and your

responsibility is heavy. Your job is a Divine blessing, and we are with you in safeguarding this trust. Let us not betray this trust, God willing.

Satans sense danger

God will help you, and I hope our culture will be developed in the proper time and opportunity. You see these days we do not have much time, because the devils are around and busy conspiring plots. They understood that awareness of a nation, unity of a nation, and development of a nation would spell their end, thus they thought of plotting treason. The Senate does not make such decisions without a strong thought behind it; they know what they have lost in Iran. They do not respect human beings and humane values. They massacre nations wherever possible. Their recent complaints are because of what they have lost in this country and they are fearful of losing their stronghold in the other Muslim nations. God willing they will lose them all, God willing the East will be awakened.

Speech

Date: May 22, 1979 [Khordad 1, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Problems in the army; accepting responsibility and serving the nation

Audience: Army commanders

In the Name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful

Post-Revolution crises and need for public help

I am aware of all the problems you mention. I know too, army is not an army as long as hierarchy is neglected and discipline is forgotten. The army, in which a low-ranking officer does not obey the high rank, is not qualified to defend the countrys frontiers. There is no doubt in it. I also know that these confused affairs in the army—that have come to us from the past—have affected the other strata of the people and weakened their concerns for the current affairs. I also know that there are disputes in the disciplinary committees everywhere in Iran. I know all about these. We know the problems, but it takes time to uproot them. Today problems are many for the government, for the army and for all strata of the people. Presently problems are ever increasing. But, uprooting problems is not possible in a short time, not in a matter of days, weeks or months. These problems must be overcome gradually, but the important thing is our commitment to serving despite these problems.

At a time, we used to say it is the responsibility of the army to protect our frontiers. Now, the army is in charge of this. At another time, we used to say it is the duty of the gendarmerie to take care of security in the cities. Gendarmerie used to reject the responsibility and attributed it as a duty of the city police. These governmental security organizations used to transfer responsibility to one another. This was their ordinary job; otherwise, they were responsible for a special set of duties. In civil crises, for instance, in the uprising of the farmers communities—it was the gendarmerie that was expected to stop the revolt. But when you see your country has no agriculture, no harvest, and hunger is increasing, the country is in danger, the army should join the gendarmerie regardless of their organizational responsibility. In another case, if we see arms trafficking is increasing at our borders, corrupt people are entering secretly with their weaponry, or weaponry is smuggled for the corrupted people inside the country for the

armament of anti-revolutionaries, opponents of the nation and Islam, and if we come to know it too late, the gendarmerie and all other armed forces should come to help.

The gendarmerie should help the army and the Revolutionary Guard should help both in national security, and in relief works for natural disasters such as earthquakes. One cannot say let our religious brothers die in the debris, because it is the duty of the Red Crescent Society. Man should obligate himself to save these people at any cost.

Need to be alert against conspiracies

Today, our country is suffering some sort of civil unrest that is possible to overcome. The present unrest is so much important, but if we neglect them today, in future they will become dangerous. I have no fear of these rebellions because all the people of the nation are united today, as they united in the past and overthrew the Shah. Even the foreign powers could not send them astray. Therefore, we have no fear of the remaining corrupt masterminds of conspiracies. However, the enemy outside must be taken seriously. The limited number of enemies might grow larger little by little, and they may deceive greater numbers of the ignorant people. We must be on alert and watchful. We must awaken those deceived and do not take them for granted, saying they have a few guns only. What do we ourselves have? Not at all, we must strongly fight arms trafficking through our frontiers. At this sensitive time, we should not let these things happen; we must not take it for granted as we did in the past. I gave my recommendations to the senior officials of the army and gendarmerie on patrolling the borders. We want to have it improved. There were some disputes in the army in connection with transferring military prisoners from the QaSr prison, because there was rumor in the air that they wanted to release them when transferring. You know all about the story and public belief in a probable conspiracy. I knew they could not stage conspiracy, but I saw doubts in the nation and growing rumors about a possible conspiracy. These things must not happen in our army, and there should be no similar misunderstanding in future.

Forgivable and unforgivable crimes

In the majority of my speeches, both in public and in army gatherings I have talked about the army, and how it should be. I still talk about it in my visits, and stress on mobilization of the army; and the army should be equipped in the way we want it. Words cannot speak louder than actions. We

talked about it many times. It is a matter of minor and major sins. You were lying at a time, but you do not today, and this is not the issue. What I am concerned about is the major sin that is minor to the criminals. This major sin is quite different from what they consider, and the minor sin we have forgiven is far below the crime of these criminals and betrayers. Any hiring and firing in the army, police, and gendarmerie should be within the authority of the commanders, and no one is allowed to go there, capture the barracks, and install someone there. This is illogical and unlawful, and we have spoken about it for many times. We recommend it even now. At any rate, it is not possible to forgive someone who has practiced treachery in this country for over 20 years...

In another instance, there may be someone who has opposed revolution on the streets but has not killed anyone, nor has he practiced treason, then his sin is minor and we forgive him. By minor sin we refer to anything below crime and treason. At another time, I will interpret it, God willing.

Cutting short the hands of the exploitative countries

I wish all the best for you. Today is the day of serving the nation. Today, none of you can reject the responsibilities on your shoulder. This is a matter of conscience, a religious, divine, and national responsibility. Today you must not say, "Why should I work and somebody else take its benefit"; now we should not be like that. Today, there is no sign of those plundering your treasuries. There may be some of them, but they are too weak to do some harm or exploit you. Today, the country is yours. This means each of us should consider this country a likeness of our own family or in broader sense, consider the nation as our family members. The country is ours, and the unrest should be suppressed by us.

All should accept responsibility

An individual is an individual but can work as much as one person. Society is made of individuals, and then if an individual is unable to work, there will be no chance for you to work. No one can lift a super-heavy stone but a thousand people, uniting their power, can lift it. Then all individuals would have shared in the process; each of us has a power to his own capacity. Or in another instance, a drop is a drop but joining of drops makes floods, and these floods gather somewhere to make seas. Individuals are like drops. They are weak and vulnerable when alone, but powerful and invulnerable when in union. Any individual must think of his share of the mighty work not to his limited power. When this thought become prevalent

among all individuals in the nation, and when all persons obligated themselves to work for their nation, and when 35 million [the then Iranian population] worked for their nation, there remained no unsolved problem. On the contrary, if they consider the weak side and consider themselves unable individuals—for instance, me as a clergy, a laborer, etc.—problems will linger on.

Respecting the army of Islam

All of us are religiously obligated to work as much as we can. Do not transfer your responsibilities and duties to one another, to the gendarmerie, or from the gendarmerie to yourself. Encourage everyone to perform his responsibility, enlighten your friends, and forbid them from listening to the enemies. Observe hierarchy in the army. Those who prevent the formation of an army and development of the country by omitting the hierarchy in the army are treacherous enemies. Enlighten them and guide them, or ask somebody else to guide them. I want to reiterate what I have said in my previous talks. Those, who practiced treason and did crime, were either arrested or fled, and the remaining people in the army work for the glory of Islam. The army today, is the army of Islam and it is praiseworthy. No one is allowed to disrespect this army. Let my say that warning in words is something, and making certain individuals to something is another thing.

At any rate, you can be sure that it is not the case that they will come and arrest all! All of you are our religious brothers; we sit and talk about our problems. We are not enemies, we are all friends and brothers, and God willing, we will help in the advancement of this movement to the end. I know all about your problems and I am sorry to see such violations of discipline in the army. I hope it will be gradually improved. Let my announce that God forbid, if you find somebody neglecting discipline, report it to his senior commander and let everything be abided by law. God willing, I will legalize this. May God protect you all.

Speech

Date: May 23, 1979 [Khordad 2, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Role of the Pahlavi dynasty in deterioration of Iran's ideas and morals; sacred mission of motherhood

Audience: Employees of the Wireless Department of Communications Ministry

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Ministry of Communications staff at the service of the Revolution

I would like to first thank all of you ladies and gentlemen, who work for the Communication Company. When we were in Paris, you were the ones who actually gave us direct and effective assistance. You were the ones who in your capacity brought us into contact with those in Iran and other places as easily as possible. Naturally, the issues that we raised or wrote about were immediately reflected in Iran while there was a full-scale strike in effect. All the same, you were working in the interest of the movement and, therefore, this makes me all the more thankful. I hope God grants you the utmost success and health, and you keep up your good work for the country and Islam.

What I need to impress upon you is the fact that one of the most horrible crimes perpetrated by the former regime in our country, which was of course under the direct orders of the heads and foreigners, was to alienate our ladies from the inseparable honor due to them in this Islamic society, under some superficially deceiving guise. This deception was not only aimed at the Iranian women but Iranian men as well.

More venues for debauchery and licentiousness than those for education

Those authorities in the former regime, even ever since Rida Shah came to power, were expressly at work to give a beautiful façade to different evil and harmful things and called them modernity and progress. These evil deeds were coming directly through the orders of foreign experts that had to be put into effect in this country. They used to make a lot of noise through their propaganda machines to make sure our people thought of what they were doing as being in the interests of services to the country. What in fact they had in mind was to ensure that people were deprived of enlightenments. Our younger generations were deprived of the sort of education badly needed by the country under some pretext, while, in the same breath, they were

encouraging the young people to patronize the ever increasing debauchery centers, where nothing but corruptive things were practiced. In this manner, they were fast at work to send our young peoples brainpower to waste and make the young people so corrupt as to render them useless to the progress of the nation as a whole. In short, brothels, just in Tehran, outnumbered educational centers, there were more liquor stores than bookstores. We were told that there were few centers for enlightenment of people in the city of Tehran, but, according to numerous reports, there were countless centers for debauchery and licentiousness all around Tehran, between the city and Karaj (an industrial town on the outskirts of Tehran), in Shemiran (northern part of Tehran) and the outskirts of Shemiran. These centers would deprave anyone, whether man or woman.

Colonial powers fears of enlightened men and women

These were the plans that had to be implemented; why? The answer is that foreigners were afraid of enlightened men and women, who could be of great services to their fellow citizens, while on the other hand, if the depraved were in their services, they could easily be sure their interests were secured. They were against a committed individual, who respected his religion and himself, as they regarded such individuals useless to themselves, if not downright dangerous to their interests. They did not wish to see enlightened people in this East. They wanted the eastern women to act according to their wishes devoid of any enlightenment. They hated seeing enlightened men in Iran since if there be enlightenment among a nation, a nation devoted to religion, the country and its nationhood, the people of this nation will never betray their own. What they wished for was a bunch of traitors.

Disappearance of human values, the main objective of the past *taghuti* regime

The foreigners did their best in the past 50 and some years to create a bunch of traitors. These very same people were the ones who hotfooted it out of the country along with him (Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi, the deposed ex-monarch of Iran). At the top of this bunch was Rida Khan himself and his son Muhammad-Rida. Rida Khans treacherous acts had different features, but Muhammad-Ridas treasons topped that of his fathers. These people are afraid of learned people as a learned man may change the course they have set for their victimized country. That is why they hate to see learned people. However, in contrast to such people devoted to the worldly and mundane,

there were the messengers of the Almighty God. These messengers were only assigned the task of instilling human values among the people, turning them into enlightened people. On the other hand, those in favor of the mundane would like to keep the people from being enlightened and to keep the people at the same level as that of animals and make them share the values of animals. Of course, the latter may appear to be highly advanced in such things as industries, but they are devoid of any human values and may even be traitors. A man may be a highly skilled medical doctor but devoid of human values. These people (the foreigners) are not afraid of the industrially skilled, they are afraid of learned people. As soon as a learned man makes an appearance in a country, he will immediately be done away with. If there is some university where enlightenment is encouraged among the youth so that they may uphold human and moral values, this type of school is absolutely opposite to what they have in mind. For all these reasons, they have done their damndest to paint an ugly picture of Islam for the people of our country. They tried to get rid of the clerics; they tried to bring about a wide chasm between the clergy and the universities. They did their best so that there would not be any enlightenment. All they wanted to instill into the people's mind was worldliness. However, if there were spiritual teachings side by side with these lessons of worldliness, our universities would have been different and the people who graduated from these universities would have been different too. One of the biggest acts of treason was committed under the guise of freedom for women and liberation for half of the nation from under the yoke of servility. Of course, by all appearances, the words were very beguiling. They deprived the women of this country of enlightenment and tried to indoctrinate them with what they thought would serve their ends. These were the sort of things they were really after, which was mundane worldly attractions, and nothing else. What they considered a good worldly person was the one who craved to drive a car and didn't care if the car he was driving was a stolen one or given to him in the form of bribery. This type of person does not care how he has come into the possession of the car, no matter in what way. An enlightened person would never accept a stolen car no matter how much he craves to own one. What they wanted was a thief and a traitor. All the monarchist organs were expressly at work to create thieves and traitors and deprive our ladies of real enlightenment.

The sacred mission of motherhood

Ladies enlightenment is the most important issue, as they are the ones who are responsible for giving the proper upbringing to their children. It is this very enlightenment on the part of the ladies that is passed onto their children and the same is never attainable in any school. Children love their mothers, and whatever they hear from their mothers becomes engraved in their hearts. This latter influence is non-existent in other places. These very enlightened mothers will bring up enlightened children that will prove valuable to their countries. Therefore, any advancement in the country owes its very initiation to you mothers. Similarly, ruin shall visit a country if you fail in your mission, that is to say, the enlightened children you hand over to the country would bring advancement to the country, and the country would remain safe and unblemished with foreign influence.

If they did not let you take care of your children by tempting you to work in offices and forced you to let nurseries take care of your children, your children would then be deprived of the love, which only a mother could give to her children, and as a consequence would develop a multitude of emotional disorders. These very emotional disorders give rise to all kinds of evil deeds, such as stealing, murdering, and treason. The reason for these emotional disturbances among children, who have been deprived of mothers love, is that children are immensely innocent and delicately naïve, while tremendously vulnerable and in absolute need of mothers love. Therefore, it defies any logic for anybody else to take the place of a mother in bringing up children. The children, who have been brought up by other than their own mother, definitely prove to be prone to corruption. That is why they (the former regime officials) tried to separate children from their mothers and give these children the sort of upbringing they had designed for them in places they had set up to serve their ends. All the while, they kept many of our women preoccupied with such preposterous games as why should women stay at home and raise their children. They, too, must participate in the social affairs. Of course, if their intentions and concern for women were genuine, it would not have been bad at all. Unfortunately, these evildoers were entertaining some very malicious intentions behind this beautiful façade of their concern for women.

“Land reforms” and the consequences

These evil ones did not by any means wish to let half of the countrys population participate in the social affairs. Actually, they neutralized and paralyzed this very half too! How did they manage to do so? Through their

so-called land reforms, which were given a most grandiose publicity? What did their land reforms do for the country's well being? Just look at all these shantytowns and tin-plate residences spreading all around the city of Tehran. They did all this so that we would stretch our hands towards other countries and they could sell us all our foodstuff requirements and clothing. Now, we desperately need to buy everything from foreign countries. They ruined the infrastructure of the country's agriculture in the name of doing away with the big landowners and poor peasants acting as serfs. What was the result of this so-called land reform? Hordes of desperate and impoverished people began to populate the outskirts of the urban areas. Abject poverty in tandem with annihilated agricultural infrastructure was the product of their so-called land reforms. These traitors and foreign lackeys used to get their cues from the US or other colonial powers.

Motherhood responsibility as the most blissfully honorable responsibility

From the very beginning, the idea was to prevent people from becoming enlightened, as they were afraid of losing their stakes. Those who could take these stakes out of their hands were enlightened people who, in turn, were brought up by enlightened mothers. It all begins here. Being a mother and the status of motherhood that are tantamount to good upbringing of children is the most profound service a person can render to his or her fellow human being. Therefore, they downgraded this position as much as they could. In fact, they vilified its very nature. This was a single instant of high treason to the national interests. The highest point of the best achievement in the world is being a good mother, as mothers secure all the vital interests of the nation; they knew that women had to be kept unaware of this fact. So, they made sure your children would get their initial upbringing from others (day care centers for children). Then these children were sent to school. Of course, the schools were also made in a way to teach nothing but depraved ways. Further up and higher (higher education center), they did away with all enlightenment altogether so that there would not be any enlightened in official capacity.

Praise be to Allah, these are the things of the past, and I hope such a state of affairs would never re-appear again. It was through you, you ladies that this movement was afforded the taste of victory. Those who were educated by the devious ones kept themselves out of the game, save for once in a while when they tried to raise barriers, which were of no consequence. But it was you who pushed the movement ahead and served it well at all times. When the mass demonstrations started in Iran, you were the vanguards of

these demonstrations and not those from the so-called upper classes as the only thing they were concerned with was to obtain their jobs and nothing else. However, it was you who felt sorry for the conditions of the nation, it was you who had compassion for Islamic tenets, and you pushed the movement ahead until it became triumphant. You saved your country through giving good upbringing to your children. A good upbringing to a child is the highest point of achievement in any society. That is why they did their best to make this job appear contemptible in your eyes. No other responsibility is so blissfully, as honorable as the responsibility of motherhood. What they did was the most terrible act of treachery by making many women give up their responsibilities as mothers. In the same breath, people such as Malik al-Ashtar gained their renown because of having been bought up by good mothers. Husayn ibn Ali was brought up by such a mother. Great men owe their greatness to great mothers, and mothers may even save a whole nation. Therefore, they gave this blessed responsibility a bad name. They made dolls out of women and alienated them from their major responsibility so that they would not care what was going on in the country and what would happen to their people.

Efforts to eradicate corruption

All they wanted for our young people was to be a bunch of alcoholics, gamblers, and heroin addicts. This was their ways of teaching their absurdities. They wanted to make our young people feel dead to whatever was going on around them and to take away whatever good was left inside them. Now, we must wake up. We must take notice of the fact that whatever they did was nothing but treachery. Praise be to Allah, the main traitors have left the country and their remaining lackeys, God willing, will do so later. We must now wake up and not be deceived again. We should not be hoodwinked by their propaganda, as they want to dump us back, where we were before. Unfortunately, the devious ones still have their roots in Iran. If we fail to eradicate them through our unreserved cooperation and unity, these corrupt leftovers shall grow again. They will then manage to find sympathizers, and if you mothers, you sisters, and you brothers fail to stop them, they shall gain enough power to bring ruin to the country again. We are all responsible, you are responsible, I am also responsible as a theology student, and I shall keep praying for your success. You ladies, and you gentlemen are all responsible to safeguard this movement and help to stop any disruption in it.

I pray to the Blessed and Almighty God to give you all the best of health and success and to assist you in your blessed missions. Let me reiterate the point that when we were in trouble, it was you ladies who served the country.

Speech

Date: May 23, 1979 [Khordad 2, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Half a century of crime; small groups blocking Iran's development

Audience: Police personnel; employees of the Communication Ministry; people of Tabriz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The province of Azerbaijan, a pace setter for the rest

I would like to first apologize to you gentlemen, who in this scorching weather are standing in such a small place under the sun. I am sorry to see sweat on your faces and I humbly pray that Almighty God may bestow upon you all the best of health, success, dignity and greatness. We are indebted to the efforts of the nation as a whole as well the people of Azerbaijan. The province of Azerbaijan has always been in the forefront in the defense of the Islam and the nation. This must also prove true now. Conspiracies can be found everywhere, and there may even be more conspiracies in the province of Azerbaijan. You valiant young men are duty bound to neutralize these conspiracies. Of course, these plots are not of much importance, and the perpetrators are trying in vain to push us back into the hands of the previous masters. Nonetheless, we must maintain our vigilance and keep the enemies at bay, no matter how weak they are, in order to be able to neutralize their schemes.

Witnessing half a century of murderous crimes

Today this country, through the painstaking efforts of all the esteemed people, men and women, is under your own control. The hands of the oppressors, the autocrats, the dictators, the foreigners, and the plunderers have all been cut off. Now you and I may freely get together in one place. The police, other brothers, and sisters can all sit together and talk about our troubles. We have a lot to talk about. We have been through some very excruciating pains in these past fifty odd years. Our nation has been traumatized by so many agonies that can be found in no history book. I have been witness to all this ever since the rule of the Rida Khan (Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi's father). There may be a few among you who could recall those days. I was witness to all those pains inflicted by the dirty hands of this man on the Iranian nation. I remember the sacrilegious insults against the

sacred beliefs of this nation and Islam. We were witness to the cruelties he (Rida Khan) perpetrated, in particular against the honorable ladies, and the clergy. We were witness to his sending two great clerics of Azerbaijan, the late Haj Mir Sadiq Aqa and the late Angaji into exile. I do not exactly remember whether it was Saqqiz (a town in the Iranian province of Kurdistan) or not. We also saw how the scholars of Khorasan were arrested all together and were brought to Tehran to be imprisoned. We witnessed when the great scholars of Isfahan rose against that traitor and staged a sit-in in the city of Qum to oppose that oppressor; they were arrested and sent into exile along with the scholars of many other provinces. However, the power was in that treacherous man's hands and he was able to suppress these peoples uprising and did not let them succeed. I was witness to the troubles made for the clergy during the reign of Rida Khan and dire consequences afterward. I was both a witness and a victim of those troubles. Now you and I both have been witness to the acts of treason and murderous crimes of his son, who has perpetrated worse crimes than his father. You, as a nation, were witness to all these catastrophic treacherous acts and crimes. It was through the will of the Almighty God when you courageously rose and put into effect an all-out revolution in the name of the Almighty God. If an uprising is intended to please God and Islam and for the sake of religion, there is never room for the term defeat. Your achievements came through this very unity of expression and love for the Divine and Almighty God. It was your demand for the establishment of an Islamic republic that led the movement to this very point and, you must from now on endeavor to safeguard it.

Wishing for a fully developed and free Iran

We have not so far been able to make our all wishes come true. It is true; some of our wishes have come true. These wishes were all valuable and blissfully great. The fall of the totalitarian monarchist regime and our disassociating ourselves with the deposed regime, apostate allies were the greatest achievements that were unprecedented in the history. Nobody could even imagine an achievement of this magnitude. Now, we have come so far and to this critical juncture. Should some traitors come along and ask, so what? Your answer is as simple as "what else greater than the fact that we cut off the hands of your masters and threw out the traitors. All the same, this is not good enough. We have to move forward. We must build a developed Iran and an independently free country, in which every citizen lives in comfort. This is the kind of Iran we have in mind, but these remaining and festering wounds are in our way.

The signs of treachery on the part of small groups

Agents of the foreign countries are still in Iran. They are in your Azerbaijan province, in Kurdistan and in Tehran, everywhere and under different names but following the same policies. They have been assigned to prevent the country from finding peace and our farmers from doing their business. They are after creating disruptions in factories. How can you identify these traitors, who are working under various labels? If you wish to identify these groups, it is simple. They are trying hard to prevent agricultural activities, which is a symptom displayed by traitors. They are trying to bring the countrys factories to a standstill. The production of these factories benefits our people, being against it is again a clear sign of their treachery. These people are working for the foreign countries, single-mindedly at work to stop our universities from continuing their activities. These latter acts of mischief, of course, are more indications of their insincerity. They want to stage useless demonstrations and make our people follow them in their treacherous acts. They stage these demonstrations when our people themselves and the nations statesmen are against such demonstrations. This is how a traitor works. Make sure you drive them away from yourselves.

I pray to the Almighty God to bestow health and success to all of you, my brothers, my children, and my sisters. I should remain as a soldier and a servant to everybody in this country.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 23, 1979 [Khordad 2, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The issue of truth and followers of truth

Audience: Tribes of Kermanshah (Govaran, Sanjab and Qalaman)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Distinguishable features of righteous ones

I hope we shall all be considered among the righteous. Corrupt regimes are opposed to righteousness. Therefore, they would try to prevent righteousness from being realized. They are scared of righteousness. If our nation and people are among the righteous, they will never let corrupt regimes do what pleases them. They prevent foreigners from running the affairs of their country. I hope we all belong to righteous groups, and we all bow to the Holy Quran and Islam. I hope we all become instruments of Almighty God in implementation of the rules of God and Islam. It is only then that we will overcome our troubles and the country will develop. The main trouble is that they do not let such rightfully correct values realized. We must do our utmost to revive the rightful and correct ways of righteousness. We should try to rejuvenate Islam and the Holy Quran and then create an Islamic Republic, which is the blessed ambition in its own right, so that we could spend our lives under right conditions and try to be considered among the righteous. I do pray to the Almighty God to protect your health and to bring you success and happiness.

Our agonies ending under the auspices of unity

The problems that the gentleman¹ brought up, shall with the help of God be looked into. I am well aware of many existing problems. However, you should understand that most of these problems are what were left behind by the former regime. All of them, in fact, are ominous remnants of the former regime. I hope you, as nomadic tribes do not feel you are the only groups plagued with many problems. All our tribes and people of the frontier of our country are afflicted with these agonies. The reason for so much pain is that the authorities of the former regime betrayed the people and impoverished them to such a dreadful degree by spreading miseries everywhere. It would

¹ The representative of the audience.

take a long time for any dedicated government to address and overcome these widespread problems. I hope that you and we would shake hands as brothers and try to dispense with all these agonies. I pray to God that you all be blessed with success and happiness.

Speech

Date: May 23, 1979 [Khordad 2, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The danger of the pseudo-intellectuals and the communities, which are alien to Islam

Audience: The students of the Faculty of Literature and the employees of the Ministry of Education of Ahwaz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Long-term and short-term plans

Just like when governments adopt plans over the short or long term, our nation must now devise long and short-term plans as well. The short-term plan translates into safeguarding this movement and this Revolution. If this Revolution is left unprotected and our movement fails to be protected with the help of its unity of expression, the very problems that you just mentioned might in all probability become known. It is more than obvious that there are many who are conspiring to ensure that this movement does not succeed. Those remaining depraved individuals from the past regime will eventually find each other again and get together to start concerted actions against this Revolution. We may, God forbid, become too over-confident and begin to neglect the dangers because of being possessed with our personal pre-occupations, such as unemployment, owing money to this person and that, not having a house of our own and so on, which common people are usually troubled with. If we decide to engross ourselves in these personal problems at this highly critical juncture in our national history, which is more sensitive than any other time, and we should fail to remain faithful to what we have done so far—this is of course an assumption and nothing else—the conniving enemies who have lost their lucrative interests, and those leftover traitors might strike an alliance and cause great troubles to stop this movement from making any headway and leave us deprived of any development.

Evaluating political associations and groups

The most immediately urgent short term plan that we have to adopt, in view of the fact that our victory was effected through the unity of expression and unanimity of all the people in rejecting the dirty reign of the monarchist regime and demanding a divinely affected rule, a divine republic in the country, and the enforcement of divine rules, is to make sure such dreams

find realization. We all demanded the establishment of an Islamic Republic. Therefore, we must adhere to our demands. Meanwhile, special considerations must be paid to these new fledgling groups about to be established, or the already established ones that are trying to expand their activities. We must look into the fact as to whether these groups are acting in the interests of the nation or differently. In order to find out whether they are adhering to the national interest or not, we must pay attention to what they say in their meetings and what their writings are trying to impart to our people. It is all right for all our people to get together anywhere if they wish to do so, and write about things they see fit. Our people are all shouting in chorus for an Islamic Republic. So, these fledgling groups or established ones, which are fast expanding and calling for our people to follow them, are also expected to demand an Islamic Republic. If it is so, then there is no problem for these groups to organize themselves and have some followers. Our people are with them, and they are with the nation. However, if you find out that there is no mention of God or Islam, or little tribute is paid to an Islamic Republic state, which is what our people demanded in unanimity and voted for, or yet, when these groups speak about a republic, their version of republic is termed "Republic" or "Democratic Republic", or yet termed as "Democratic Islamic Republic", you should be aware that all these noises are all in the interests of our enemies. Our enemies are not afraid of a republic. A republican country has not hurt them. They have been badly hurt by Islam. What has hurt them was not a Republican Government, and neither a Democratic Republic nor a Democratic Islamic Republic has hurt them. It has been the Islamic Republic, which has inflicted the most terrible blow on them. The sign for you to identify the direction such a group has in mind, even if the foreheads of their members have been marked by their long practice of keeping them on the ground in prayer, just like the Kharijites,¹ but they kill the righteous ones, or they may even come from among the most dyed-in-the-wool nationalists, as they would like to think of themselves or you may view them, even if there are those people who keep talking about the merits of freedom and independence, however, in their writing there is no mention of Almighty God, nor of Islam, and nor of the Islamic Republic state, these are the very same ones who, just like Satan dread the name of the Almighty God, they are scared to death of Islam. This is how you can

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

identify them, and you can absolutely be sure that they are not following the right path, the path for which this nation has shed its blood, has lost its young men and women, has made our women pour into the streets to demonstrate and destroy the big enemy just to usher in the Islamic ways. We should find out if these so-called democratic ones are truly democratic? Whether their tastes and practices are democratically made up, whether the kind of republic they are after is like the one in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), or like the kind of republics in the countries of our enemies. The United States is also a republic; the Zionists also have a republic. When the people of our country shed their blood and cried out, "God is the greatest", when these people cried at the top of their voices and demanded an Islamic Republic state, this very Islam had encouraged and persuaded them to do so. These people only speak of a republic, but they fail to mention its attributes, which is "the Islamic" Republic of Iran. These two very words were and are the very words I demanded from the very beginning, The Islamic Republic. If you hear more words added to it, then you know their ways are different from yours. If they have added the word Islamic to whatever name they are demanding, then you know they are only trying to deceive you. If there is one word missing and only the word republic remains, you can be sure their ways are not your ways.

Realization of Islam, the cause for overthrowing the Shahs regime

These people would like to instill the kind of things in your minds that are against Islam, even though what they say may be in condemnation of the previous regime, and there are many of such types and groups around. All the same, what we were looking for was not only the elimination of the monarchist regime alone. Genuine Muslims do not wish for so and so to be destroyed or eliminated. We were against the former regime because they did not want Islamic tenets to be realized and they stopped people from acting according to the instructions stipulated in the Holy Quran. That was our reason for opposing the former regime. If they had acted in conformity with the Islamic tenets and had said the same things we were saying, there would not have been any disputes between us. All this blood has not been shed just because we wanted to eliminate the monarchy. We have been trying to establish what Islam has taught us. Our purposes for elimination of the former regime and our reasons for throwing off the yoke of the friends and allies of the enemies were to turn Iran into an Islamic state with an Islamic government. We wish the plans for the development of the country to be based on Islam. If the purpose had been for one corrupt non-Islamic regime

to leave the scene and a similar one to fill the vacuum, then all the selfless sacrifices made by our children and young people would have been in waste. We have gone through many excruciating pains to bring down these obstacles, but there came those who realized the previous matters and the very same non-Islamic slogans.

Selfless sacrifices for the establishment of Islam

Our national short-term plan was to identify the enemies and force them out of the scene. Our people must again find out who their enemies are and drive them away. Our enemy was not Muhammad-Rida Khan alone. Anybody whose ways are against the ways of Islam is our enemy. Anyone who wants "Republic" alone is our enemy. Our enemies would like to give absurd titles such as, "Democratic" and "Democratic Republic" to this movement because they hate Islam. On the other hand, we are devoted to Islam and that is why we gave so many sacrifices. Our young people got involved in all these struggles, took pains, suffered, and shed their blood. All this selflessness was because they wanted to push ahead the Islamic movement. Those who achieved this great feat were the ones who considered martyrdom a blessing. I wonder if those who speak of Democratic or those in the service of the right wing or the left wing also consider martyrdom a blissful blessing. Who may think our children shed their blood for the kind of republic existing in the USSR, which communists crave for, or its westernized versions? We shed our blood for Islam; our young people sacrificed their lives for Islam. You young people have taken the trouble to come from a long way. Have you taken all this trouble to meet a so-called democrat, a person favoring the Soviets, or the Americans, the British, or a German lover for that matter? No, you have not come all this long way for those matters. You have come to see a person in sympathy with you. We all want Islam, the same thing you wanted and still want. You should make sure you recognize the kinds of people I have already described to you.

Devious plans to change the nations way

Read the newspapers, which are all making a big noise that there should be democracy in the country, that there should be democrats in power. These peoples ways are different from that of ours. They never mention anything about Islam, and do their best to avoid the word. They never want to say, "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful," no matter how long they live. If you read their papers, you find out there is no mention of the Islamic Republic. They never talk about the clergy who took the very first steps for

the realization of this Revolution on such an occasion as June 5, 1963. This day is definitely a holy day and must be considered a holy day for the clergy and the movement of the clergy. All the same, they avoid referring to this day. They would like to call it something else. The name can be anything but not Islam. They are doing their best to hide their real intentions, which are absolutely contrary to that of ours. They abuse the name of a nationalist.¹ Our ways have nothing to do with oil. We are not concerned with oil. This is a big mistake on their part. We would like to establish the Islamic ways and when Islam is established our oil will definitely become our own too. Our goal is Islam and not oil. Therefore, we cannot set aside Islam and our sacred ideals for the sake of the one who nationalized the oil industry. You should make sure you find out what anybody under any name, any delegation under any title, any association under any name, and anybody who is making a lot of noise about being an expert in law says or puts down in his or their writings. Look at what they do when they get together, pay attention to the way they oppose Islam². Make sure to find out what types of people make up these groups. They first try to insinuate themselves into our circles, but then they have nothing to say about Islam. Find out what types of groups are trying to leave the clergy out, as they killed the very clergies who had led the movement to victory at the beginning of the Constitutional Revolution (Late 19th century revolution in Iran, which took place to do away with autocratic monarchy). This is the very same conspiracy. In those days they assassinated Sayyid Abdullah Behbahani and the late Nuri,³ and then they changed the course of the peoples movement. It is that very same plot for which they killed Mutahhari today, and they may kill me tomorrow and kill somebody else the day after that.

Freedom and independence under the auspices of Islam

Their path is not our path. Our path leads to Islam because we want Islam. We do not want the sort of freedom devoid of Islam. We do not want independence in the absence of Islam. The type of freedom we are after can

¹It refers to Iranian Prime Minister, Dr. Muhammad MuSaddiq, who nationalized the Iranian oil company in 1951-2 and his government was brought down through a CIA-engineered coup in 1953.

² Addressing a number of lawyers, Hasan Nazih, the Oil Minister of the Provisional Government after the Iranian Revolution stated that Islam was not capable of administering the society.

³ Fadrullah Nuri.

be found under the shelter of Islam. What need do we have for a sort of freedom and independence in which Islam can find no room? When there is no talk of Islam and the Holy Prophet of Islam, when there is no mention of the Holy Quran, but instead there are countless freedoms, what good would they do us? There are many countries with all sorts of freedom. We do not want their types of freedom.

Make sure you know your enemies yourselves; the types I am trying to identify to you now. The tape that is being made of this speech must be broadcast on the radio without any censor either tonight or tomorrow night or any other time. If anybody working for the radio station or a newspaper decides to change any of the words in what I have said, that newspaper shall be taken to task as it is against the national interests. It is not freedom. It is a greatly ominous conspiracy. We shall unravel all their plots. Make sure you have learned enough about them. I am, at this point, telling the nation the ultimate words so they won't have any excuses later on. I see all the miseries this nation has been plagued with, which have all been inflicted by these very people who are crying out for freedom in the first place. The misery for our nation comes along when the nation is separated from the teachings of Quran and that of the Divine, and when the nation is separated from the Imam of the Time. We look for freedom in the shelter of Islam, as Islam is the principle objective.

Freedom minus Islam, a colonial powers conspiracy

I have already given you the characteristics of the kinds of people who do not want to have anything to do with Islam, nor with the clergies. They want to turn this country into a western like country for you. Those who are well intentioned and there is no malice in them, do not wish the former regime to come back and as a matter of fact they feel very bitter towards the former monarch and the monarchists.

However, they want to create a western type country for you here with all the freedom the westerners have plus independence, but there shouldn't be a sign of God nor of the Holy Prophet, nor of the Imam of the Time, nor of Quran, nor of Divine rules, nor of any prayers, and nor of anything else of these practices and beliefs. You consider martyrdom a blissful blessing for yourselves, but do you like the country to become a country like Switzerland? You want Quran because you rose for Islam and you took so much pain for your objectives. Therefore, whenever you hear the single word republic, then you can be sure that there is a conspiracy on the way. If you do not hear them talking about Islam, and the repeating the words Democratic

Republic, you can be sure there is conspiracy to leave Islam out. That is freedom minus Islam, independence minus Islam.

Clerics oppose conspiracy, not freedom

I wonder why the people who write in different papers make so much noise saying Iran has got rid of a monarchist dictatorship, and now has fallen victim to the dictatorship of the turban wearers (meaning the clerics). These people are against Islam. They know well that clerics were not dictators. Clerics want the people to be free and independent. Clerics are against conspiracies and not freedom. These people would like to push the clerics out of the political scene and want the country to be run by what they call well-intentioned ones: Good intention means being against the former regime and the foreign domination alone. This is what they think is called good intention but, in the same manner, they are against Islam and clerics. Nevertheless, clerics mean Islam and whatever is related to Islam. The fact is that clerics are part and parcel of Islam. Whoever is against the clergy as a whole, and not just against an individual clergy such as myself, no matter what he may say against me, is against Islam as a whole and is your enemy. He may bring you some sort of freedom and independence but it is the sort of freedom and independence that is devoid of the Imam of the Time, devoid of Quran, and devoid of the Holy Prophet of Islam, and it is not what our people want and have shed their blood for. Our people are after the other type of freedom and independence and they shed their blood for the sort of freedom and independence that are imbued with the Islamic values. Our nation followed the path of the Doyen of the Martyrs. Did he (the 3rd Imam) want to rule, to have independence, or to have freedom? He shed his blood for Almighty God and Islam. He wanted to make sure Islam would not be forgotten and he wanted Islam to be realized in the outside world. The clergy, too, is after Islam. The Islamic clergy wants to be sheltered by Islam and wants freedom in the shelter of Islam.

Islam minus the clergy, the view of the people against Islam

What I said before translates into the short-term plan for you to be able to identify those devoted to the ways of God and to the Imam of the Time. This is how you differentiate the groups from one another. If they are for the Islamic Republic, you should know they are heading in the same direction as you are as they avoid other terms, if you see they agree with your clergy, you can be sure they also agree with the Quran and Islam. However, if you hear them asking for Islam minus the clergy, then you should know that they do not want Islam and they are using the word to deceive you. They want to

break through this impenetrable fort of Islam, that is to say, when they achieve their ends, then that will be the end of Islam. It is a fact that when there is nobody to talk about Islam, then the whole idea would be hallowed and in the wake of that, there will not be any mention of Quran either. Those who want to get rid of the clergy would not balk at doing away with the holy Quran either. When the clergy leaves the scene, then all our religious and sacred scriptures would be thrown away, or even burned. So, now our people know what their short-term plan is, and it had to be mentioned as I did. Therefore, I have performed my duty to Almighty God. Your short term strategy is to combat all the people that I described. Your campaign against them is even in bigger proportions than what you did against the Shah.

Peoples duty, countering the so-called intellectual

The kind of malice some of these people have in them for Islam, is no less than what he (the former deposed monarch) harbored. While still in power, he used to mention God and would at times go to pay homage to sacred places even when everybody knew he was only trying to hoodwink the public opinion. But the so-called intellectuals would not even condescend to follow the Shahs hypocritical example. They run away from Islam, Islamic tenets and Quran in such a manner that they are not even ready to tell white lies while they feel quite the contrary inside their hearts, not even uttering a word. Some of these writers in our country abhor any mention of Islam even used as a trick to promote their works or to try to deceive others. We have to counter these people the same way we countered Muhammad Rida, just because we know for sure, there is some kind of conspiracy brewing, and there is not any tender feeling for freedom. We say yes to freedom but no to conspiracies. Bringing together people of different sorts and starting some suspicious demonstration, be it for any reason at all, just for the sake of opposing Islam can never be tolerated.

Long-term plans

The long-term plan for you young people and you ladies, for every Iranian citizen is that, if you are a religious person, you should promote Islamic ideals. If the ladies bring up enlightened children, both our religion and our world will be safeguarded. Should, God forbid, children be brought up differently, either by their mother or you, should there be no religious enlightenment and teachings in elementary schools, in high schools and in universities, then a very dismally gloomy future shall be awaiting us. That is to say, both Islam and the country will be lost. The long-term plan is for you

to first start enlightening yourselves and then your children. Since, you have devoted yourselves to the rules of Islam then get on with your responsibilities from this very moment. If your children fail to become religiously enlightened and not obedient to the Islamic culture, then you should not expect them to be useful to Islam in future. Those who do not believe in God and in the resurrection day would never prove useful to their own country either. There are always exceptions to the rule of course, but the latter's numbers are infinitesimally small, we are considering the masses of our citizens as a whole.

Saving the country and the nation through spirituality

The kinds of people who can protect their own country and save their national identity are the ones who are imbued with spirituality. If there is no spirituality in people and material worldliness is the ultimate objective for the people of a country, then they would stick their heads in any feedbag even when that feedbag has been fashioned for them by the Americans for that matter. For those individuals who betrayed our people and plundered all our national wealth, it made no difference whether the Americans gave them recreational parks or whatever you may call it, or they were obtained through a proper way. Proper methods and illegal ways made no difference to them. They wanted cars and it did not matter whether this car was given to them by the Holy Prophet or the devil. They had their eyes on the car and not the one who gave it to them. Those people who betrayed our country and brought ruin to our land were the ones who did not have any faith in the Divine. If there were a single person among them who believed in God, he would never do such things. Those who plundered our wealth and squandered everything felt nothing towards Islam, and their motto was that the whole essence of life translates into what you have in this world alone, so the more you have and the more comforts you enjoy the better it would be, and it does not matter how you get your hands on these good things.

The need for the young people to become familiar with spirituality

Our nations long-term plan is to give our children who are under the care of teachers, mothers, fathers, and writers the kind of upbringing such that these children would be filled with spirituality and make sure that these children understand spirituality well enough. Mothers have the most important role, as it is they who give the initial upbringing to their children. The most honorable job in the world is imparting the best upbringing to children and presenting a decent person to the society. It was for this very

reason that the Almighty God sent different prophets ever since the creation of Adam and Eve to the time of His last Prophet. These prophets were all assigned to give humanity to the people. Unfortunately, the foreigners tarnished the picture of the duty of a mother in our eyes and separated mothers from their children, actually, not all mothers, but some of them. They blemished the sacred duties of motherhood so that morally decent children would be hard find in our society. When these children come out from under the influence of their fathers, even at that time their fathers had somehow been forced to be engrossed in other things, and they hardly had any time to spend with their children, and when they went to elementary schools and then high school and so on they got the kind of education foreigners had in mind. What these enemies (the colonial powers) are after is to make sure there is no morally decent person in different countries because morally decent people would get rid of them. They hate to see good and pious Muslims, who believe in the Almighty God, the type of Muslims who consider martyrdom a blissful blessing in Islamic countries. Those people who threw off the yoke of foreign domination in this country were the ones who in their shouts were demanding Islam. The foreigners are afraid to death of Islam.

Choosing representatives who believe in the Islamic Republic

I have already given you the short and long-term plans for every citizen. What I have presented to you, you should tell to every one of your brothers and sisters concerning what the essential requirements for the Republic of Islam are.

Later on, with the help of the Almighty God, you will choose your own representatives, any type of representative for your areas, those who are faithful to the Islamic Republic, to voice your needs. However, if the representative you have in mind has callused marks on his forehead (sign of extreme piety by keeping the forehead on the ground for long periods during prayers) but is not interested in the Islamic Republic, to be sure, he will not be of any good to you, so make sure you dont vote for such a person to represent you. Even ones who dislike the previous regime and are enemies to the US and the Soviet Union, but are not in favor of Islam, should not be appointed. Your real representatives are those who believe in the Islamic Republic and not the ones only interested in acting as representatives for a while, and only making believe in his adherence to the Islamic Republic. So, do not vote for those who say that if you want people to vote for you, then make believe you are piously saying prayers regularly. I was told that there

was one person who at the time of elections started saying prayers. You must make sure of your representatives genuine faith in the system. He should come from among you and should adhere to the same ideals as you cherish. If your representative is a philosopher, a person who is a master of all scientific knowledge but dislikes the Islamic Republic, he should not be the one to represent you.

[Someone from the audience shouts, “We will prove our allegiance to you by our own blood,” and the rest of the people in the audience shout their approval].

I pray to the Almighty God to safeguard you, and bring you success so we may all continue on this sacred way.

Message

Date: May 24, 1979 [Khordad 3, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Formation of committees to investigate the offenses of the pseudo-clergy

Addressees: The noble nation of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Although there is no distinct difference in Islam for the punishment of criminals, and everybody is equal in the eyes of the law, even those criminals who have donned themselves with the robe of clerics are not exempt from punishment, but we have received reports that some who oppose Islam and the clergy are trying to give the clerics a bad name through the term purging so that the way may be paved for the oppressors. Therefore, I would like you to take note of the following pieces of advice:

1. In view of the fact that the clerics themselves know one another better, it is incumbent on the first class scholars in provincial towns to organize some proven scholarly delegates in groups of three and also choose two locally trustworthy individuals and charge them with the duty of seeing to the alleged crimes perpetrated by those clothed in clergy robe or those who make public addresses in mosques, and when it has been clearly proven that they are guilty of the alleged crimes, they must be punished according to Islamic tenets under the supervision of the Islamic Revolutionary Court.

2. Nobody and no groups have the right to insult the clergy. In case of violation, the local Revolutionary Court is to prosecute and punish the perpetrators. The above reminders are aimed at combating the foreigners who are bent on attacking the esteemed clergy, or through their malicious intentions under the formula of Islam minus the clergy, they are intent on defaming the clergy, the clergy who have long been fighting against the unlawful interests of the powerful individuals. Our nation must take note of the fact that these practices have been induced by western colonial powers. Our noble people are duty bound to drive away such individuals from themselves and should these criminals attack the scholars and the clergy, they must be reported to the courts. And may peace of Allah be upon the seekers of the path of righteousness.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 24, 1979 [Khordad 3, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Profession of clerics and academicians; creation of discord between the seminary and university; role of culture in the declination and amelioration of the society

Audience: Ali Shariatmadari (Minister of Culture and Higher Education); chancellors of universities and institutions of higher education

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

University academicians and the clergy, following the same path

I do thank you gentlemen for having taken the trouble to come here so we may have a face-to-face discussion together and talk about the issues we think are of importance. I would like to express my appreciations again that you gentlemen have expressed your willingness to lend a hand and present your services in humanitarian affairs. However, the principle of higher education establishments boils down to the fact that the clergy and the academicians are similarly minded in following the same path. There is no denying the fact that the responsibility of you two groups is greater than that of the rest, since your jobs are more honorable in view of the fact that both the clergy and the academicians are charged with the responsibility of enlightenment, if they perform their duties within the constraints set for the purpose. The fact is that, your job as teachers is one and the same as that of the prophets sent by the Almighty God. It is no secret that the reason for the appointment of prophets was intended to enlighten people and the holy Quran is an enlightening book. That is why I stress that your job is honorable but burdened with much responsibility. The reasons are that two universities, that is, the seminary for the clergy and your higher education establishments actually decide the fate and the future of the country.

Corruption among the clergy and the academicians: corruption of the whole nation

If you suppose, or we think that science makes up the foundation of human happiness, no matter what that science is, we are committing some

¹ Besides having been quoted in *Sahifeh-ye Nur* volume 6, p. 248, this speech has also appeared in vol. 11, p. 96, and its date is noted as December 25, 1979.

extremely crass mistake. It is an open secret that science on many occasions has been the source of some horrible atrocities. Hakim Sanai¹ says, “A burglar with a torch in hand would steal more selectively”. So, if a cleric is knowledgeable but lacks faith and his way is not that of the prophets, he would be the source for numerous corrupt practices, and corruption would be ever more promoted. Clergies of this type have promoted most of the baseless and superstitious beliefs. The kind of clergies, who think science by itself is everything, never take the path that the prophets followed. Similarly, if academicians insist on only instilling sciences into the minds of Iranian children and fill their heads with scientific ways, this will not help the promotion of our peoples happiness, in fact it would be detrimental to the peoples welfare for that matter. A depraved academician is different from a depraved businessman, or a depraved farmer or laborer for that matter. The latter, if corrupted, will not be promoting evil practices on a mass scale. On the other hand, a morally bad university teacher spreads his evil ways among large groups who will then take charge of running a country. Corruption as such would lead to disaster for a whole nation. In the same breath, the immorality of a cleric does not stay limited to his person and translates into the immorality of the people of a whole country. It is because of such great responsibilities that you two groups must serve and save the country, and if your approaches are not correctly formulated, the fate of the country would suffer the inevitable damages.

The differences between committed and depraved individuals

I hope you do not suppose that those who do not cherish any faith can serve the country too, and there is no difference between them and those imbued with faith.² that is to say, the person who has no faith, will have his food, just like a full feedbag for a donkey, which it does not make any difference to the animal whether the hay that has been supplied for its sustenance has been put in its feedbag by the holy prophet or what Abu Jahl (the prophet of Islams worst enemy) has given him. The animal just wants to have something to eat and someone to take care of its needs, whether this person is Ali ibn Abi Talib or Ibn Muljam,³ it makes no difference to the animal. If Ibn Muljam gives it better care, the animal is friendlier to him.

¹ Better known as Hakim Sanai, Abul-Majd ibn Adam was a famous Iranian poet who lived in the 12th century. His works include *Hadiqat al-Haqiqah* and *Sayr al-Ibad*.

² Surah Muhammad 47:12: “The non-believers shall enjoy the worldly goods, and eat and drink like animals. They shall find their place in fire.”

³ Abd ar-Rahman ibn Muljam: Imam Alis assassin.

This holy verse from the Quran should serve as a general instruction for identification of morally good and immoral, and the way we should tell between them. The immoral ones are the types who do not care how this park or car has come into their possession, whether it has been obtained in legitimate manners or through stealing and treason. All his concern is to get his hands on the car, and he does not have any concern if it came into his possession in the first place, which is just like the animal I mentioned before. You can inculcate morality and piety in the young people so that they would always keep in mind how they have come into material things, and who has given them a job and what sort of a job they have been assigned with.

Inciting disputes between universities and religious schools

Evil hands have unfortunately separated you and the clergy. You are both charged with the same task, which is training the people of the society. A divisive wedge was driven between you, which separated you two from each other. We would never come face to face before. That is to say, you used to keep us at a distance and we too, used to run away from you. You would not take notice of what we said, and we had the same attitude toward you. You used to say something else to us, and we, too, differed from you. When I say you, I mean you individuals in the academic centers, and when I refer to us I am not referring just to myself. Anyway, that was the state of affairs. People of dubious characters would go to the universities and would tell academicians and students and even the non-academicians enticing things and then would tell them these clerics are reactionary people, and they want to push us back to the Stone Age! Muhammad-Rida Khan, in one of his statements before June 3, 1963¹ (the day when there was a massive civil unrest in Tehran and some other major cities in Iran, against the Shah and was brutally put down by the latter) said these clerics do not even travel by planes! This was the very same day when one of the Religious Reference Authorities² had traveled to Mashhad by plane—Muhammad-Rida Khan said that they are even against planes; they are against anything modern. They want to return to those days when they rode donkeys. They want to light candles in darkness as they are against electricity. Anything that smells of civilization, clerics are opposed to. These were the sort of things they used to tell you about the clergy, or worse, they would tell you all the clerics worked for the court and the interests of the monarch, in fact, clerics were created by

¹ Speech in Hamedan on June 7, 1963.

² Sayyid Hadi Milani.

the monarchs in the first place, and kings gave them their existence through the help of foreign powers. On the other hand, they would come to the clergy and would tell them these people in the universities are divorced from religion and are nothing more than a bunch of western-clothed ascot wearing irreligious people. These were their ways of creating a big division between the academicians and the clergy. Unfortunately, there were some who believed these lies and therefore, both kept drifting away from each other ever more because of mutual suspicions. Now, who were these two groups? They were the ones who were supposed to enlighten the people of the society. Thus, they drove a huge wedge between them.

Dangers of education in the absence of purification

If the said two groups were on the right path, the whole nation would be on the right path. It is not like, let us say only the businessmen, if enlightened, it would be to the benefit of only the businessmen. The point is that if the said two groups were enlightened, the whole nation would follow their example. The two groups about which has been said, "A corrupted scientist corrupts the whole world." The scholar we are talking about does not encompass me alone. It is you, all of us. You, too, are among the scholars. If, God forbid, you were corrupt, you would spread corruptive practices all over the world. On the other hand, if you are morally good, the whole world shall benefit from your goodness. Both the good and the evil in societies are in the hands of those in charge of teaching those societies. You are the teachers, while the clerics are different kinds of teachers, but both of you enlighten the whole society.

If the purpose was scientific knowledge alone, and lets says, you wanted to train a medical doctor but it didnt matter whether he was moral and ethical or not, well, this man would become a business minded doctor in future, the kind that would let his patients wait because he wants to raise his fees. He may be a very good doctor indeed and even a great specialist, but just because he lacks morality and he is an irreligious individual who does not believe in God, he makes his patients wait. He writes a prescription and while he is in collusion with the pharmacist to charge the patient as much as he can. He corrupts the poor pharmacist too. The prescription he has written may not worth much, because he wants the patient to refer to him again, so on and so forth. All right, this was an example of a medical doctor from a scientific point of view; you may want to train an engineer and a great one for all he is worth. But, if this engineer is asked to present a design, his approach to the design in question, is replete with every aspect of clever

tricks to make more money for himself but worthless as a whole. If we even take a clergy, and let us suppose he is good and knowledgeable, as he understands the Holy Book and the tradition of the Prophet well enough. However, if he does not know the first thing about morality, his religious knowledge will cause people to follow the wrong ways. He teaches the ways of the prophet and the Holy Book in extremely distorted ways to corrupt people. There were many such examples among you and among us (the clerics), who were only interested in position and money and would do anything to corrupt our young people. These individuals are harmful and not beneficial to their societies. They trained students, but harmful students; not like a businessperson who if not beneficial is not harmful either.

Universities and seminaries on the way to create a monotheistic society

There is no noticeable difference between our people and yours. Both of us are to educate the people of our society. We need learned people. Our country requires its citizens to be enlightened. There must be pious and faithful persons in this country. The kind of pious people who have been enlightened by you and us would never give in to the foreign oppression, nor could they be bought into submission. The sorts that are prone to be intimidated or bought are those very ones who lack faith. A faithful and pious person would hardly be liable to selling himself. He can neither be intimidated nor bought, because intimidations are contradictory to what a Muslim is duty bound to do, and he would refuse to be intimidated. You and we should unite to give rise to a monotheistic society, which translates into persuading all people to believe in the Almighty God and make sure that our people are aware of the fact that there would be a day of reckoning. Everybody should be faithful and pious in every way. If we unite and try to bring up pious and religiously faithful young people, the country shall never come to harm and would enjoy everlasting longevity. However, if we should fail to take on this great responsibility, we would fail the young people of this country. There may be some temporary changes, but in the end, there would be a grim future for everybody when again the country falls into the hands of those lacking faith and those who have no consideration for the interests of the country. This is mainly because they think of their own interests and nothing else. So things would go from bad to worse in that case.

The role of science and faith in the fate of the country

All these scandals and troubles for the people of this country came about by the hands of those people who lacked faith and religious belief. If there

were any faith and piety, no man worth his salt would conclude the kind of agreements with foreigners, which have now burdened our government. Every angle of these agreements has some sort of disadvantage for us. Our political leaders are puzzled as to how to solve these problems. If those who signed these agreements had an iota of faith, the country would not have been saddled with so much trouble now. They sold the country to have palaces in foreign countries and fill the coffers of the foreign banks. These problems all came about because there was no faith and piety. The source of all blessings and all progress, both in material and in spiritual ways, is faith alone. You and we should chip in our efforts to create faith for those future generations who will be responsible for the fate of this country. You would let pious people graduate from your universities, and we would send pious clerics out of the schools. Neither scholars nor scientists for their own sakes are any good in the absence of faith. As a matter of fact, piety by itself would not be very effective, as there are many pious people around, but when a scholar is pious and he is also faithful, then he will be the source of many blessings and contributions in safeguarding the country. It is in this light that we are burdened with such a great responsibility; both you and we are given such a great responsibility. If we find the right path and act according to what we have been assigned with, we have given strength to faith along with science so that there would be no sign of previous practices. We would then have a great and fundamental development in our programs. We should do our best to change those plans, which had been contrived to keep us behind. Of course, we would embark on such programs. But, what you have to do now is to change those schemes contrived to keep us depraved, and we should not give in to such schemes. We must change them and that is a big challenge.

The role of culture in bringing servility or dignity to a nation

The greatest development that must be brought about must take place in the culture. That is because culture is the single most important item that may send a nation to its doom, or yet may give rise to its ever greatness and power. Cultural programs are in need of development. Our culture must go through a great change. This is apart from government offices as culture has some other connotations. In this regard, we know there are many obstacles ahead of us. All the same, I appreciate the fact that you are prepared to do anything in the service of the destitute. This latter, of course, is very valuable. It is valuable both in the eyes of the Almighty God and the people. However, your real and fundamental responsibility is in the cultural area,

peoples poverty is worldly in nature and such deprivation is a mundane impoverishment, and your assistance to rectify this shortcoming is of great spiritual and moral value. However, those spiritual responsibilities that you have boil down to somehow rectifying the cultural poverty of our people and are of foremost priority; rectifying it in such a way to make it be of great benefit to your nation. This, however, may not be achieved unless there is faith. There may be a few, who lack faith but their performances are great. This is an exception to the rule. What we need has to be comprehensive in nature for the good of the whole nation. Therefore, these exceptions should not serve as examples and the decisive test must apply to the whole society. We cannot just inundate the nation with science so that the example I gave before as regards the doctor without faith would be the norm. Nevertheless, we can enlighten the very same person in university to make him use his science for the benefit of his society.

At any rate, I pray to Almighty God and wish you all the best of health and happiness. I shall keep praying for all of you and remain at your service. I hope we come to understand what ails and troubles this country has and try to work out the best solutions to address these problems. Anybody can make his own contribution in his own capacity, God willing. My greetings to all of you.

[At this point one in the audience, by the name of Mahdi Muhaqqiq, presents His Excellency the Imam with some of his own books and says that the Islamic justice should prevail everything and compares Imams approaches to those of the holy Prophet himself, and then His Excellency states:]

I wish you all the best; I have repeatedly mentioned these things to those people in the courts. I always keep giving them advice on how they should perform. I hope they act according to the Islamic tenets. I wish success for all of you.

Speech

Date: May 24, 1979 [Khordad 3, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Necessity of confronting the plots of the enemies, purging the Justice Ministry and administrative offices

Audience: The personnel of the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps, and staff of the Justice Ministry

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The victory of the Revolution, at the hands of the deprived class through the blessings of this movement

I would first like to express my appreciations for these opportunities that have been presented to you and us by bringing the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) and the members of the judiciary under the same roof with all of us. Let us discuss the issues that must be brought up and with the help of the Almighty God, we may find a solution to the problems too. Let me first address the IRGC. We must thank these young, hard-working, and valiant men as they were among the deprived people before, and they are still among the deprived, but they have devoted themselves to the service of this country and rose against the former regime. The revolution happened, and it has been brought to this stage through the hands of these very people. The deprived people, men, and women, poured into the streets and by their shouts of "God is the greatest" and their clenched fists but armed with unshakable faith challenged all the devious powers. These honorable women and dear men in the former regime managed to break the satanic barrier of the foreigners and the previous regime. From now on, too, they are duty bound to keep up their struggle, as we all have to do the same.

The roots of *taghuti* in Iran

We have not yet reached the point where our nation and we desire to get to. That point is the establishment of a government based on justice. So far, we have only managed to get rid of some barriers to some extent. We have somehow managed to oust some of the plunderers. However, their roots are still here, and if they find the opportunity, they may gather strength and their numbers may grow large again. Of course, they are nothing now. Nevertheless, we should never underestimate enemies. We should take notice of the fact that right now there are many conspiracies brewing to

prevent this movement from coming to a real fruition. They want it to fail so that they could change things back to what it was before. That is why we are now at a very critical juncture, which I think, is the most sensitive juncture in our history. Therefore, this makes every one of us, every single one of us responsible. I, as a seminary student, am responsible, you scholars in this meeting are responsible, the IRGC members are responsible, those in the judiciary are responsible, and so are all strata of people of this country. We are now at a point that if we fail to do what we have to do, that is, if I decide to leave the scene for others to do the job, the others would do the same too, and this movement would never succeed. It is time for every one of us to do what we can. A Revolutionary Guard can do what a brave person can do. Everyone should take up his share of responsibility and do what he can. Otherwise, if there are some individuals who should like to sit on the fence, others will follow suit and do the same thing too.

Efforts to reach the final destination

We are all positioned at a very critical juncture in time. In those days, before our reaching the summit of victory and removing that great barrier, we did not pay attention to any of our personal problems. It was not important for us whether we were hungry or whether we had a loan to pay. In those days, there was only one thing that mattered and that was to shout the words "God is the greatest" in order to promote the cause of Islam. There was nothing else that pre-occupied our minds. I know that every one had joined hands with each other to further the cause of the struggle, by going in front of tanks and taking many chances to further the cause of Islam and save the country. No one was concerned about his personal needs since everybody was engaged in the struggle to move ahead, from one place to another and fatigue did not have a meaning. Of course, when we reach the destination, we begin to feel the exhaustion and begin to feel lazy. We should not think that this movement, which has come so far successfully, and the success has been achieved through the unity of expression of all citizens and their faith in God, is completed and we have achieved the final victory. This misconception would lead us to weakness and laziness. When a man comes to believe that the job is finished, it is just like a caravan that has come all the way and reached the destination, and cannot go any further. You should understand that we have gone only half of the way, and we are still in the middle of our destination. There are so many important things that we have to do. The most important one is to eradicate these remaining rotten roots, which are still in

this country, and through these very remaining evils many conspiracies may be hatched.

The great responsibility of the nation

Circumstances at present do not allow the evil roots to take any hostile action as the whole nation is united. However, if we show any weakness and they manage to get together, they will definitely put their conspiracies into action. Their numbers may grow and our numbers may decrease. It is possible that, God forbid, this movement faces defeat. I do submit to you brothers that if this movement fails, Iran shall never again regain its dignity and would suffer forever. Such a revolution can only take place once in a great while throughout the history of a nation. All through our long history, this was the first time that such a movement came to a triumphant end in less than two years. Should the momentum of this movement begin to slow down and lead to its coming to a standstill, the upshot translates into the fact that the Iranian nation and the future generations of this country would suffer oppression and suppression, while the country would have to be dependent of bigger powers. That is why both you young and valiant men, as well as we old timers are burdened with such a great and heavy responsibility. With your valiance and our prayer for your success, we shall be able to reach the final destination and put an end to all these chaotic conditions, stop the rotten remainders of the past from gathering their strength and prevent them from coming to power again, and with the help of the Almighty God we will stop them.

The need for the promotion of spiritual values

What I do expect of all you Revolutionary Guards and your friends is to make sure you safeguard the delicate Islamic values. If we protect and adhere to the spiritualistic values of Islam one single person will then be equivalent to hundreds of men. Malik Ashtar¹ was not one single person; he meant more than a whole army to Islam. The Commander of the Faithful, may Gods peace be upon him, was not a single person. His person could be translated into a whole world. He was everything because of fathomless spiritualism in his person. As long as a man is only concerned with the worldly material goods, he will always stay alone and by himself, and no more than an animal! We do share these traits with animals as we all eat and we all sleep. What distinguishes man, you and we from animals, are those potential traits

¹ One of the commanders of the army and companions of Hadrat Ali (a).

that only human beings are privileged with, and these potentials must be translated into actualities. These are the divine spiritualistic traits in man and must be developed all the time. It is then that a single one among you would turn into an army and then you are not a single person anymore. One human becomes humans and a single drop grows into a sea.

Abiding by the law and order

What I would like to submit to you now and through you to all the Revolutionary Guards, whom I pray for and shall stay at their service, is that you should make sure that you never accord any maltreatment to those whom you may suspect to be in violation of some laws. That is to say if those armed forces should disregard their status, they would not be able to do anything, and if subordinates do not obey the orders of their superiors, there would only be chaos, and no uniformity would come about. If the Revolutionary Guards should decide not to take the orders of their supervisors or the centers that issue orders and do as they please, there would be a great disunity. Therefore, both the Revolutionary Guards and all other law enforcement agencies would become separated and disunited. However, if a system follows a special order, then progress would be made. Disunity only brings about tugs of war. When the principle is set on disunity, not a finger can be lifted to achieve anything. What you have done so far has been to please the Almighty God. So, keep up your unity and promote orderly manners by obeying your superiors orders and putting those orders into effect.

What I would like to bring to your attention is the fact that if you should find someone guilty in the police force or gendarmerie or in the army, you are not to go and refer to that person on your accord and arrest him for his alleged crime. If you do this, the police force, the gendarmerie or the army, for that matter, would be weakened and demoralized. This is dangerous for you just to arrest someone accused of some crime and hand him over to some organization. If you have made sure that someone is guilty of some crime, you should refer to his superiors and not pull him away from his place of duty, because it is against the Islamic regulations. You should make sure that all due considerations have been observed according to the regulations for the armed forces, until, God willing we have got rid of all those remaining rotten remnant of the past, and you can achieve your accomplishments. Islam and Islamic tenets must be realized as truly as they are.

The vital need for changes in the justice department and administrative organizations of the country

As to other issues, I would like to refer to what this gentleman, who is presently at the justice department just stated. We do have some major and tangible problems, and there are others that have arisen because of what the former regime had done. The biggest major problem that we have is to unite and eradicate the remaining evil forces that are beginning to make a debut. The conspiracies that are being made by the domestic and foreign agents, shall become unified and would find some followers, as they are trying hard to make their numbers proliferate, but we must stop them. All our forces must now unite. It does not matter whether they are called the IRGC, the gendarmerie, the army or the police forces or the forces of the people for that matter. They must act in unison. They must join hands and relish the same objectives, just like before the revolution. At that time, everybody wanted to get rid of the monarchy and the monarch was deposed. Now, you must all be united too and follow the same goal. The goal is to weed out the remaining troublemakers. When this latter job has been accomplished, then we can start on the road to reconstructing the country. I hope you do not think that it is only the justice department that has to be changed. The culture of the people must go through changes too as everything has fallen apart. All these things need to be changed. Our justice department today is suffering from the *taghuti* policies of the past. Actually, the same goes for our culture, and almost everything else. We are to start solving these problems after we have solved our main problem. Now, if we decide that we should forget what the real problem is and start haggling over trivial issues, then God forbid, those remaining evil ones will find the chance that they need to grow back in full. Should this happen, we would end up exactly where we started before and even much worse off. The present opportunity is a blessing, which lets me, a seminary student, to sit down with you and have such talks. We were deprived of such opportunities before. Military, IRGC, police, and clergy all get together, sit down, and have sincere talks with one another.

The major task, to eradicate the lackeys of the *taghuti* regime

The freedom that we have achieved is a great blessing to all of us, and we must appreciate it. We must all do our best to safeguard the blessing that the Almighty God has bestowed upon us. We should thank God and safeguard all blessing we have thus been privileged with, and try to move ahead to push this movement ahead together until we reach the final destination. When an independent government and a parliament are

established all the difficulties that this gentleman¹ has listed and everybody agrees with them, as they are perfectly correct, should be resolved. Do not you think that problems are only in the justice department? We have enormous problems of similar natures everywhere. However, it is just as if we have had an earthquake, and I decide to sit down and catch up with my readings, or, yet the gentleman also decides to say his prayer, or you want to go on with your business at such a crucial time. This is not the right approach. At such a hypothetical juncture, everybody must do his best to help the victims of the disaster. Neither you nor I can exempt ourselves from such a duty. This is not the correct approach to resolving these terribly difficult problems. We cannot just be concerned with what is bothering us. We must now do our best to help the whole society and do what is right for the country. We must do what Islam requires us to do. When we have put this behind us, then, of course, there is enough time to see to other problems. Our agriculture, our administrative system as well as our justice department and our culture are all afflicted with various problems of different natures. These thorny issues must naturally be addressed. But, right now we must endeavor to do what is in the interest of the whole country, just like what we are expected to do in the aftermath of a disaster such as an earthquake. Now, our most important job is to eradicate the evil roots of the former regime lest they may regroup and decide to conspire against us. I pray that the Almighty God may always be with you so that we may be able to accomplish such a great duty and with his blessing, we may uproot the remainders of these evil ones.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you!

¹ It refers to the statements made by a member of the justice department, who had enumerated the problems at the justice department before the speech of Imam Khomeini.

Decree

Date: May 25, 1979 [Khordad 4, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The preparation and approval of the Constitution and the establishment of the Assembly of the experts

Addressees: Prime Minister Mahdi Bazargan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Mr. Mahdi Bazargan, the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

It is essential for the valiant Iranian nation to take control of the fate of their country at the earliest point and enjoy the fruits of their great Revolution in every aspect and social features so that they may regain their rights and Islamic justice be observed in every manner of social life. In this light, it is imperative that the suggested draft of the countrys constitution, which the Council of Revolution Plans is currently preparing, be completed as soon as possible and be approved by the Revolutionary Council so that it may be subjected to the scrutiny of the public opinion, all experts and citizens of the country to enable them to forward their views on the same within a stipulated time period. Later, upon the reaching of a final decision, through exchange of views with the Revolutionary Council and the government, arrangements must be made so that the citizens of every province and every religious minority group, would choose their own expert representatives in numbers which the Islamic Revolutionary Council and the government determine. A parliament made up of the representatives of the people would then look into and finalize the articles and clauses of the countrys constitution with due consideration to all useful suggestions that have so far been received. Efforts must be made so that all rights, freedoms and opportunities for the promotion of growth and independence of this nation based on the Islamic tenets, which guarantee the rightful rights of all the citizens and an overwhelming majority of the citizens have given their positive approval, may be anticipated and included in the said constitution. Upon the final scrutiny of the countrys constitution by all the expert representatives of the people and its finalization, the constitution would then be subjected to a final referendum so that the Iranian citizens may directly accept or reject it. Efforts must also be made so that all steps be taken in the shortest possible time to allow the presidential and parliamentary elections to

take place in good time, and the foundation of the Islamic Republic of Iran to be fully set.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 25, 1979 [Khordad 4, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Enemies plot to exclude the clerics and eliminate Islam

Audience: The women of the Organization for the Protection of Families (from Qum) and people of the city of Bonab

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

In praise of the Revolution

What a great movement and Revolution it has been! We now meet with people of different strata of the people in this country on almost everyday basis. We now have esteemed ladies in Qum, who actively work for the promotion of Islam and the movement by trying to educate the society. We are under the same roof as the gentlemen of the city of Bonab, who have come from a long way. Before the Revolution, none of these things could be done. You used to go your ways, and we followed our own. What a blissful movement this has been to allow us to come together in one place and talk with each other, talk about our problems and tell each other about our concerns and try to find some solution to our problems. We may be able to find a remedy to our pains by bringing up what bothers us.

Concerns regarding the remaining rotten roots of the *taghuti* regime

Many things ail us. Of course, our troubles were countless. Praise be to Allah, some of them have been eliminated. Those who constantly inflicted excruciating pains on us and betrayed the country, those who oppressed our women more than anybody else and pushed them backward and committed many other cruelties praise be to Allah, have been driven out. I do hope, however, that these remaining weaklings, who keep themselves underground like animals and want to destroy the roots of our flowers, will also with the help of the Almighty God, be eliminated.

There are still many problems that have us in their grips. These pains originate from the treasons they committed against us, and now we are plagued with only the remaining elements. Their treacherous acts were against Islam and the Quran, and they did their damndest to separate our people from the teachings of the Quran. They did not want our brothers and sisters to adhere to the Islamic tenets. There are still some of these traitors left in this country, and they have disguised themselves. You people have

been through many pains. Men and women poured into the streets and you have shed your blood to rejuvenate Islam. You volunteered for martyrdom.

What our nation wanted and they voted for was the Islamic Republic and Islam. Unfortunately, some people now want to leave Islam out. What they write and what they say to the people who gather around them prove this. This is a tremendous agony that our people are suffering from now. What is of great concern to us is the fact that the absolute majority of our people, that is 99.5% voted for the establishment of the Islamic Republic in this country, and this means that they want Islam and not simply a republic or a democratic republic for that matter. Others have also made such statements before, but they all failed to achieve anything.

Groups alienated to Islam

Our people started their uprising for the sake of Islam. They went all the way and shed their blood for Islam. Now, some would like to leave Islam out. Their so-called republic is simply afraid of Islam, and they just want to call the whole achievement a republic, or democratic republic or the more conservative ones say "Islamic democratic republic". They do not, of course, come out and say so in the open. But, what they practice is a big deceptive game because they are scared of Islam. They find Islam contrary to their worldly interests. Therefore, you should keep your eyes peeled. If the Islamic Republic commits any mistakes, anything that is considered a blunder and is some sort of wrongdoing, it is opposed to the path you want to follow and is contrary to the ways of Islam. Our Muslim people should take notice not to enter those political parties, which have nothing to do with Islam, and their main talk is about democratic ways. Those people who are divorced from Islam, even though they pay tribute to the concept of freedom, and they keep saying they are all for freedom, their concept of freedom is alienated from Islam. Our citizens must make sure not to get involved in these political parties. You sacrificed your loved ones for Islam. Now that your beloveds are not with you anymore, do you think it is wise to work against Islam and let all the bloodshed for this purpose go down the drain? These people's gatherings are solely aimed at opposing Islam. Some time ago, their numbers seemed large and because of different pretexts, they wanted to talk against Islam. Make sure you keep your distance from them and avoid them. What they are after is freedom minus Islam, which is contrary to our aspirations. Our objective is the sort of Islam that allows us to be free too and not freedom without Islam. They would like to have the sort of independence in

the absence of what has been taught in Quran, but our objectives and ideals are absolutely contrary to those of theirs.

“Islam minus the clergy,” a treachery

If the groups that are alienated from Islam should decide to allow us to have all the freedom and independence in the absence of Quran, we would not accept their gifts. We abhor the kind of freedom in which the Quran is missing. We hate the sort of independence stripped of the Quran. If they offer us the kind of Islam, which does not make room for the clergy and we accept it, this is tantamount to high treason, because the first step to eliminate Islam is the elimination of the clergy. Of course, they would at first, claim that they would make room for Islam, but in the same breath, they deny the role of the clergy in Islam. They want the clergy to be an exception to the rule. However, everybody knows that Islam has got so far through the selfless endeavors of the clergy.

Keep your eyes open, you ladies and gentlemen. Forget your own personal problems and your trivial demands. Today, it is hardly the time for petty squabbling, such as I am needy, I do not have this or that. Today is the time for all the citizens of this country to stay vigilant and help Islam gather strength. When I say all citizens, I mean all, workers, farmers, businessmen of the bazaar and academicians. The theory of Islam minus the clergy is equivalent to no Islam at all, the first step to destroy Islam is the elimination of the clergy, and then later, they would dump all writings of the clergy into the sea. Keep your eyes wide open and stay on guard!

Keeping an eye on a great danger

I do draw your attention to this very great danger. It is a tremendous danger, which they want to force upon us under the guise of such terms, as freedom, democracy, and independence, but all these aspirations are to come in the absence of Islam. There is no word of Islam in whatever they say. If it were not for Islam, you would have still been in shanty houses or in some foreign countries. If you had stayed in the country, you would have had to live in shanty houses and would not have been able to make an appearance. It was Islam that brought many freedoms back to you so do not go against Islam. My dear sisters and brothers, please, make sure you understand that there is a conspiracy in the making. There is a great conspiracy. Those who never had any liking for Islam in the first place are in the process of uniting themselves.

These people must reconsider what they are doing. They must reconsider what they are saying in their meetings. Our nation has no tolerance for conspiracies of such sorts. This conspiracy is aimed against Islam and the whole nation. We do not negate freedom, but freedom does not translate into gathering somewhere and disparaging Islam. Freedom has been defined within the confines of laws. The predominant religion in our country is Islam, so the term freedom goes as far as there is no danger threatening Islam. The constitution of our country considers Islam as the official religion of the country.

I pray to the Almighty God that we get rid of the evil ones. I hope God grants you all success, the best of health and happiness. I do hope that you move ahead resolutely and single-mindedly. Peace be upon all of you and I wish you the best.

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, May 25, 1979 [Khordad 04, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum, Faydiyyah Madrasah

Subject: Elaborating on the concept of “deprived” and “arrogant”¹

Audience: Representatives of various classes of the people and tribes

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Unity of the masses, a blessing originated by the Revolution

The Revolution was packed with many blessings, which were all delivered to us. We were separated from you tribal people and other tribal groups in Iran. They had done this on purpose. They had also separated us from the academicians and other citizens in this country. We were separated from the army and all those engaged in professional education. We were not allowed to come together and speak about our problems. We could not tell you what our problems were and you were unable to discuss your difficulties with us. Among the many blessings of this movement was the presentation of this opportunity to us to get together and talk about what is ailing us.

A description of the deprived and the arrogant

The gentleman spoke about the arrogant and the deprived. I feel it is incumbent upon me to give a description of who are the deprived and who are the arrogant. The arrogant are not solely the autocratic ruling kings and presidents or oppressive regimes. There is a general meaning for the term arrogant. One good example of the arrogant is those foreigners, who consider all other nations weak and therefore they subject them to aggression and oppression. Other examples are these very aggressive governments that have a very low opinion of their citizens, so they never cease violating their peoples rights, the way you people, and we too, have been plagued for the past fifty and some years.

¹This speech was delivered following some remarks of Mr. Hasan Nazih the Oil Minister of the provisional government (a lawyer and a member of the National Front) among the lawyers who affronted such Islamic concepts as “deprived” and questioned the ability of Islam to run the society.

They consider the people weak and they looked down on our nation. Therefore, they would not stop violating our rights. Now, they have left this country, and God willing they would never come back again. Today, the Almighty God has blessed us with freedom and independence and we are being tested through many blissful blessings in order for us to prove our worthiness or otherwise. We are now free and independent. God has granted us such blessings to find out what we would do with this freedom and independence. The test is to make clear whether we would prove to be among the arrogant or the deprived. Anybody can be either among the arrogant or among the deprived. If I trample the rights of those, even if they may be no more than a few individuals, who work under me, and I regard them with contempt and consider them too small, that is considering one of Gods creatures too small, I will be among the arrogant and they will be among the downtrodden. The connotation of the arrogant and the deprived would hold true here too. If you have a very low regard for those who work under you and violate their rights, God forbid, you would be considered among the arrogant too and the ones oppressed by you are regarded as among the deprived. We are being tested to display what is the true nature inside us. We are being tested so it may become known whether we can prove to be worthy of honor or disgrace. Now that we are free, we should use this God granted freedom in the service of the people and the Almighty God and not otherwise.

A divine test

There is no difference between a seminary student such as myself, and these scholarly gentlemen, you esteemed tribal people, businessmen, military people and administrative employees. All of us and I mean every single one of us is being closely watched while we are going through this divine test. Gods blessings are at times intended to test people so that the incompetent opportunists would engage in their evil deeds and reserve the lasting damnation for themselves. However, those who can prove themselves competent and honorable can secure the eternal divine blessings for themselves through their honorable deeds and their sincere service to their fellow citizens. This is an extremely difficult test designed for us by the Almighty God. We should be very, very careful to avoid failing this test. If we do fail in this God designed test, we may lose all the blessings the Almighty God has so far accorded us. That is, we may lose our freedom and independence once again. We may be punished in this very world if we act against the divine rules and use this freedom at our disposal to violate the

rights of the oppressed. Of course, the punishment in this world may be a blessing in disguise for we may be spared the eternal damnation, as that kind of punishment may in no way be compared to anything else. We cannot even imagine what those punishments may be like. If we are in the wrong, oh God, if we are in the wrong, if we misuse this freedom to oppress the weak, even when the victim is no more than a single person, oh God do punish us in this world and spare us the eternal punishments.

The true worth of the countrys border dwellers and tribal groups

My dear friends, I do know that tribal groups, wherever they may be found, at the borders anywhere, they do protect our borders and frontiers, and in other places, they prevent evil deeds. I am well aware that you were oppressed during the regime of the defunct Shah. We, too, were among the oppressed. The clergy, the businessmen and all the rest were oppressed, who was not for that matter? I do appreciate the true worth of the border dwelling citizens and tribal groups of our country. The deposed regime wanted subdued tribal people to pave the way for the foreigners. Well, those evil ones got what they deserved in this world, and later shall receive the eternal punishments, which shall be of the worst nature, as well. We are now being tested. We have been given the chance to be free. The Almighty God has favored us by setting us free from the shackles of colonialism and autocracy. Now that we are free, what are we supposed to do with this blessing? I hope we never turn out to be compared with Muhammad-Rida Khan! He deprived a whole nation of freedom. Should we deprive one small group of their freedom, we would be no better. Keep your eyes open and make sure you pay attention to such issues.

Justice and compassion for subordinates

Today is the time for the divine test. You are powerful and mighty. You are young and brave. When I look at these brave young men, I am filled with honor. You young people now are the guardians of Islam. Not long ago, the country was in the stranglehold of the *taghut*. However, now your country is Islamic and you are under the blissful shadow of Islam. You, as guardians of Islam, must avoid anything that is contrary to Islam. Being a Revolutionary Guard does not boil down to safeguarding the borders of the country against foreign aggression, the term guard has many greater connotations. Every one of us is a guard to protect the others. I must suggest and tell you that today is the day of a great test, and you are expected to come out of this test with excellence. You should also remind me of this very warning. I must ask that

you should conduct yourselves in absolute fairness toward the oppressed ones and your subordinates. Your conduct toward them should be exemplary. Be fair and just and expect the same of me. We are all responsible: "*All of you are shepherds (supervisors) and all of you are responsible.*"¹ We are all like the shepherds so we are responsible to perform the job. As you are aware, a shepherd has great affection for his sheep that he cares for. He leads the sheep where there is good grass and good water to raise them. We, too, should feel the same way toward each other. God forbid the day, now that we have achieved our freedom, when one of us, who is in a higher position should behave arrogantly toward his friends who work below him and ignore their rights. Violating and trampling others rights are those very things that have been forbidden in Islam.

The guardian of the Imam of the Time

We are all responsible and the Almighty God has subjected all of us and the whole Iranian nation to a great test. I see it incumbent upon all of us that we should come out of this test successfully. We would like you to safeguard the borders of this country, as the country belongs to you now. Until yesterday, the foreigners were in charge of this country. Today our country is an Islamic state, a country belonging to the Holy Prophet and belonging to the Imam of the Time, may Gods peace be upon him. That is what makes this country sacred and therefore, we should all act as guards to protect it. Anybody can contribute his share. You brave armed young men must do your best to protect our borders as much as is in your capacity. We, too, in such positions we are holding, must also contribute our share. This land is your country. Now, you must show the same affection and compassion that you have for your family to your fellow citizens in this country, as they are all your brothers and the people of our nation are like brothers.

Islamic fraternity

In the words of the Almighty God: "*The believers are all brothers.*"² Brothers must act brotherly toward each other. I am sure you would not want any harm to come to your blood brother. You should feel the same toward other citizens as well and treat them as your own brothers. You should change your inside and bring out the best in yourselves. This world would eventually end for all us. It may be soon for me and your turn would come later. Nobody is immortal. What remains behind us is our good deeds and

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p.38; *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 6, p. 30.

² *Surah al-Hujurat* 49:10.

evil mischief. Your performance report must be brilliantly radiant with the light of Islam, and your compliance with the Islamic tenets in order for you to be blissfully happy. You would be happy in this world because you serve your people, your country, and your subordinates. In the hereafter, the reward shall definitely be much greater. As I already have another engagement, I should extend my respect to all you gentlemen and pray that God willing, all of you shall be happy. I pray to the Almighty God that all of us follow the right path. Peace be upon all of you.

Speech

Date: May 25, 1979 [Khordad 4, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Resistance, endurance and spiritual change, the key to victory

Audience: The teachers and students of the Female Teachers Training Institute of Tabriz; physicians of Kashan and the blind people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Call on the Islamic nation to continue their resistance

This verse from the Holy Quran that this sister of ours recited “Resist as you have been assigned”¹ has been mentioned in two different parts of the Holy Quran. One has come in *Surah ash-Shura* and the next one has come in *Surah Hud*.² The Holy Prophet has also reportedly said: “Because of the importance of that verse, I grew grey.”³ In *Surah ash-Shura*, the instruction is for the Holy Prophet to keep up standing up to the evil and the Almighty God has demanded resistance on the part of the Islamic nation in *Surah Hud*. In this connection, the Holy Prophet says: “This verse of Quran rendered me grey,” as it is an enormous undertaking to rise for the sake of God, and then follow it up by indefatigable resistance. The instruction of God is to be conveyed to the Islamic nation by the Prophet and it is strongly advised that they rise for the sake of God one by one and group by group. But, the uprising must be for the sake of God alone,⁴ and the Quranic verse tells us to never cease fighting evil.

Spiritual change, the source of victory

You people rose up and praise be to Allah, your uprising was in the name of God and for the sake of God. You all cried out and demanded that you wanted an Islamic Republic state. You rose for the establishment of the Islamic rules. You have obeyed the first instruction, in which God orders us to rise. What has been left out is the second, which is to continue the struggle

¹ *Surah ash-Shura* 42:15.

² *Surah Hud* 11:112 “Resist as you have been assigned along with those who came back to you.”

³ *Ilm al-Yaqin*, vol. 2, p.971: “Because of the importance of *Surah Hud*, I grew gray.”

⁴ Reference to *Surah Saba* 34: 46.

and safeguard your revolution. Fortunately, you people have gone through a spiritual change, which you must preserve forever. Therefore, you must keep up your struggle and protect this humane change, which is the loftiest of all other favorably considered attributes and any other outward change in a person. The change was so great in you that you selflessly gave your blood for its sake. The great spiritual change that has prepared you to give up your wealth, pour your own blood for your brothers, and allot them your time, can by no means be surpassed by any other humane attributes. This change was even greater than the struggle itself. It was a change from within and imbued with humanity. Make sure you never lose this blessing. Keep on moving straight and stand up to all conspiracies. If you should lose this great change in you, God forbid, the enemies may again become victorious. It was through this great change from within that the way was paved for your success.

I pray to the Almighty God that you should always be in the best of health and happiness. Resistance is the greatest blessing. Rising up for the sake of God and keeping it up, which you have managed to accomplish and thus, you have embraced the biggest success so far. If you continue your audacious resistance, your success shall be guaranteed. Through your resistance, you shall be able to eliminate some few who are conspiring. I pray that God would show you the way and help you to continue your struggle.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Message

Date: May 26, 1979 [Khordad 5, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Awareness of the people and officials vis-à-vis the plots

Occasion: Assassination attempt on Mr. Ali-Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani

Addressee: Ali-Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence, the committed Mujahid Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Hashimi:

When there was an assassination attempt on late Mudarris on the order of Rida Khan, Mudarris sent a message from the hospital. And said: "Tell Rida Khan that I am still alive." Mudarris is still living. Men of historical importance never die. All the malicious individuals should know that Hashimi is alive because the movement is alive.

The Americans and other super powers should learn that our nation is alive. The mass rallies staged in the past few days go a long way to prove that the Revolution is alive. These people can never kill our Revolution through their stupid approaches. They can never eliminate humane and Islamic personalities of Mutahhari and Hashimi through their terrorist acts. There is no denying the fact that these assassination attempts are premeditatedly calculated and well organized, while the telltale tracks of international and criminal superpowers in such crimes are easily discernable.

Our people are expected to stand up to all these plots and unravel the conspiracies. The people are to carefully identify the criminals and report them to the Revolution Courts. The Revolutionary Guards and their commanders are to protect the valuable revolutionary personalities and stay vigilant by looking into suspicious behaviors; although the said personalities may not be happy with having bodyguards. The great Islamic nation is determined to continue its Islamic movement, and it would never let the traitors to interfere in the affairs of the country. We do invite other great Islamic nations to cooperate with the Iranian Islamic movement.

The hands of the criminals that control the Islamic countries and the deprived must be cut off, so that the divine promise can come true through the efforts of the Islamic people. I salute and congratulate Mr. Hashimi, the brave man of Islam, who came within an inch of martyrdom. I pray for his health and his continued services to the people. May peace of God be upon him and the righteous bondsmen of Allah.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: May 26, 1979 [Khordad 5, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Complete retribution of good and evil deeds in the hereafter

Audience: Medical technicians of the emergency medical services of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A feeling of danger from plots to overthrow

Of course, there is a difference between hearing and seeing. Of the recent crimes perpetrated, we heard of the sufferings that were inflicted upon our youth and upon our children. We would hear from afar, and you would be eyewitnesses—and this makes a lot of difference. We would render verbal service from abroad while you would take practical steps. You were present in the arena, and would do your job and executed your responsibilities; and in this way, your actions were superior to ours.

However, we too, during the era of the former Shah, when we were young, did witness certain things, but, recently you all saw what befell this nation. And now, you are sensing and feeling more agitated at those that want to stir up trouble and wish to bring back the same regime albeit in a different form—not the monarchical regime but with a different appearance—so that the same problems be created and our nation goes through the same events that you saw.

You are better aware of the crimes perpetrated by these sections who want to create trouble from abroad; of those who have plundered us; those that spilled the blood of our youth with their plots. You must feel more troubled because you saw what they have done, and we heard of what they did. They did whatever they were commissioned to accomplish and went away. And God willing, they will pay for their evil deeds both in this world and in the hereafter which is the place of retribution.

The negligible worldly punishment of the crimes of the Shah

There are certain deeds whose retributions do not take place in this world and are impossible to receive due punishment. Every tyrant is a single human being and like the rest of the people, have a single soul and a single life. Should this tyrant have killed ten thousand people, and we want to punish him for having killed ten-thousand people, how can we render punishment?

A tyrant who has tortured a hundred people in the manner that you all know and have heard of the methods he used to torture them, now that we want to punish him for that, how can we do it? It is not possible, he has a single life, the most we can do is to kill him; the most we can do is, let us assume, torture him to death. Whereas, he has not tortured one person; he has not killed just one person to seek retribution by killing one person or torture him for the torture of one person. Torturers who were given training abroad, tortured people in droves! Those that have killed our youth—some of them killed and destroyed a large number of our youth—the amount that we can torture them and we can grant them punishment is a negligible affair.

The appearance of deeds in the supernatural world

However, there is also another place in which there are tortures that we cannot perceive. That is from our very deeds. It is not as it is over here that a torturer comes from abroad and does his job. The very deed of a person should it be good, is given to him over there, and should the deed be impious it will be granted to him. *“Thus, whoever does evil to the weight of a grain, he will see it. And whoever does good to the weight of a grain will see it.”*¹ Every bit of deed that a human being commits has a supernatural face to it. Here, a person lashes out his tongue and verbally abuses or backbites a Muslim; a pious believer who, let us suppose, is living in America. Here, you abuse him verbally or gossip behind his back. This tongue has lengthened to this extent over here and you slander a person far away. In the hereafter, this very tongue will lengthen and traverse all the way up to there!

It is mentioned in the narrative that lashing out at another in this world takes that form over there. The tortures that they committed in a cowardly manner on our youth—each torture has an appearance over there. They will be burnt there for every burning that they did here. This very deed will take a form over there. This very deed of torturing will be recompensed over there.

These humanitarian deeds that you performed and at such a time when everybody was in suffering and torture, and at such a juncture you performed a humanitarian act and took the injured to the hospitals for treatment,² these very deeds have an appearance in the hereafter, this very act of yours takes a form in the supernatural world that we cannot comprehend the supernatural world now. The prophets were able to perceive and informed us by the Sublime and Almighty God. Therefore, whatever deed you perform and

¹ *Surah az-Zalzalah* 99:7-8.

² It refers to the volunteers who used to cure the wounded victims during the Revolution.

whatever deed that we perform—whether good or evil—we shall witness them. It is not that it will be hidden from a place or from a person. The very deed that we perform takes a form in the hereafter. One takes a good appearance while another takes an ugly one; a bad form. It is these very deeds that take a form; a reality over there. In the soul of a human being, there is a characteristic; the characteristic of treason. Apparently, his basic nature is one of betrayal. In this world when a human being is born here, everything is incorporated in him in a potential form. In other words, it is not physically present but has the potential to be realized.

The virtues and vices in the behavior of human beings

This child that is born in this world has the potential to incorporate virtuous characteristics as well as has the potential to incorporate sinful characteristics. If it strives toward sinful behavior, gradually those characteristics will find fruition and the inner self of a human being will become a sinful creature. At times, human beings do such things that are more appropriate with some sort of animal behavior, and are brutal, even if the brutality is simply verbal and by means of which he indulges in verbal abuse and by such means disgraces the people. These are ferociousness. A form will be born within a human being that has the feature of brutality. When a human being is transferred from here to a transcendental world, that same form of brutality will take on an appearance commensurate with this form, and will take the form of a ferocious animal so that it will have the same ferociousness as that animal, and will be transformed into that form. It is said that at times a human being will have several forms in the metaphysical world that are varied. It is the same with regard to good deeds.

Virtuous deeds are those that are compatible with the souls of human beings. The soul of the human being has been created to be happy. In other words, the potentiality to be prosperous is present in him, and the inner nature of human being is one of prosperity.

A virtuous deed is one that is compatible with this nature. An evil deed is one that is incompatible with the nature of a human being. These deeds that you performed for your brothers, is compatible with that nature. It is the nature of a human being to be on friendly terms with his brothers. Enmity is a secondary nature that is formed in a human being. Friendship is the nature of a human being. A small child that is born manifests this compassion and fraternity in him. Gradually, events cause him either to fall from these virtues, or for these virtuous deeds to be strengthened in him. You should not be under the impression that these deeds, which you performed for your

brothers, have been forfeited by you. No. These acts in fact accrue in your pockets. It is these deeds whose forms you shall see in the future—and how beautiful they are! You will witness their effects—and how beautiful are their effects! And on that day, you will see in what a predicament those who tortured are. It has been mentioned in the glorious Quran that they will see those vicious people. Sometimes, the virtuous people will surround them when they see those people. Those vicious people will ask these people for some water or some food.¹ The very people who perhaps caused our youth to go thirsty will witness their own deeds in the hereafter; and their deeds will accompany them. Hell is created by our own deeds. Heaven too is created by our own deeds. All are our deeds. Strive to perform virtuous deeds that are compatible with nature and constitution.

Spiritual love and physical well-being

We cannot ascertain a value for these very deeds that you have performed. In a battlefield, in which bullets are raining all around, and the enemy has attacked with field guns and tanks, if a person risks his life to save another human being and rescues him, we will not be able to fix a value for this act in this world. It is not the matter of rescuing a human being. It is the matter of the morale of this person who goes with that spiritual condition and performs this deed. This deed of yours is precious in the sight of God, and you should perpetuate this deed. May there, God willing, be no need for such acts but well there are accidents, there are disasters; there are diseases; all these are there.

Your profession is a noble and invaluable one. You have physical contact with those afflicted brothers; take care that you perform your job well. Behave in a kind manner with them. A person who is now in trouble, and for example, has had an accident with a car, or is injured or is the victim of an earthquake and so forth, is in far greater need of kindness than of treatment to cure him. The individual whom you go and save, whom you nurse, or you as a doctor diagnoses him is in greater need of being shown kindness and compassion than of being treated. This is a spiritual compassion, whereas that is a physical affliction. You must be very careful to behave in such a manner with those with whom you are in contact and with those that have problems so that the burden of their troubles be lightened. When you behave well with them, it is like a father who wants to save his child or the mother whose child has a problem, and she wants to save him, she needs to show

¹ *Surah al-Araf* 7:50.

affection in order to calm down the child, whereas the treatment itself is not as effective. This child now needs something to tranquilize his soul. The mother calms his soul; the father calms his soul. Behave in such a manner with those that have been stricken or are stricken, like a father behaves with his offspring; like a mother behaves with her child. This has great value and that too is valuable but this is of greater value.

May God grant all of you good health and happiness. And may we all God willing, succeed in the performance of the duties assigned to us—our humanitarian duties and our Islamic duties. And May God bestow His favors on all of you.

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, May 26, 1979 [Khordad 5, 1358 AHS / Jamadi ath-Thani 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The responsibility of mothers in training pious offspring

Audience: Women and families of the theologians of the Qum seminary

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

An honorable message and a heavy responsibility

“Oh Prophet Allah is sufficient for you and (for) such of the believers that follow you.”¹ What an honorable address for the pious believers! What an address of accountability for the pious believers! Honorable because although God, the Blessed and Exalted, suffices and no person has any power vis-à-vis the Exalted Truth, and all are insignificant; nevertheless, the Sublime and Almighty God has favored the pious believers with the honor of also mentioning them beside His own Blessed Name in the above verse: *“For you (O Prophet!), God and those who have followed, and the pious believers who have obeyed your call are sufficient.”* Although God alone suffices; nevertheless, such an honor has been accorded to the pious believers and He has granted the favor that God and the pious believers—those that are your followers—are sufficient for you. What an honor it is for us, for the pious believers; for you the ladies that this verse has put you in the same league as the Sublime and Almighty God; and how heavy is the responsibility in his address.

The mission and responsibility of the pious believers

The pious believers should place their full faith in Islam; they should safeguard Islam. They suffice for the Prophet of Islam. The presence of the Prophet of Islam; the tenets of Islam and the objectives of Islam are sufficient. In this verse, the Sublime and Exalted God has stated that, the objectives of Islam and the honorable prophet himself, and whatever is relevant to the honorable Prophet must suffice for you. We are delegated; we are commissioned to safeguard the religion of God; to safeguard the divine objectives.

¹ *Surah al-Anfal* 8:64.

You the pious believers, you the ladies who hail from the families of theologians and religious teachers, are superior to others. You hail from the family of the Prophet and are at the forefront of safeguarding the avowed goods of Islam. God has blessed us with this favor and commanded that you protect Islam and the teachings of Islam with the help of God. *“Allah is sufficient for you and (for) such of the believers that follow you.”*¹

The honor of motherhood

Respected ladies! You are all responsible; we are all responsible. You are responsible for the rearing of offspring; you are responsible for rearing pious children in your arms, and to train and deliver them to society. We are all responsible for training offspring; but they are reared better in your bosoms. The lap of the mother is the best school for the child. You have a duty toward your children; you have a duty toward your own country. And you are capable of bringing up such children who can make a country to prosper. You are capable of rearing such children who can safeguard the teachings of the prophets; who can safeguard the aspirations of the prophets. You too must also be on your guard and also train guards. The guards are your children; educate them. Your homes must be institutions for the training of children. Your homes are the homes of the theologians; and are the homes of scientific education; religious education and refinement of morality. Paying attention to their destiny is the responsibility of the fathers and the duty of the mothers. The mothers have a greater responsibility; and mothers are superior. The honor of maternity is greater than the honor of paternity. The influence of the mother on the spiritual well-being of the infant is also greater than the influence of the father.

The assassination of individuals, not the assassination of the movement

You are responsible; we are all responsible. The Sublime and Exalted God has entrusted everybody with this responsibility and has commanded in this noble verse: *“Allah is sufficient for you and (for) such of the believers that follow you.”* God has made those who obeyed you—the holy Prophet—of the pious believers, of the pious believers who are the followers of Islam, who are the followers of the messenger of Islam; these individuals suffice the Prophet, the messenger of God. There is one big responsibility on the shoulders of everyone; on all the followers; on the whole nation who is the follower of the Prophet, which is that the manifestation of this verse *“Allah is sufficient for you and (for) such of the believers that follow you.”* must be

¹ *Surah al-Anfal* 8:64.

visible on their foreheads; they must safeguard the religion of God; they must protect Islam and the glorious Quran. That they should not submit to these feeble revolts that these inhuman individuals are creating in Iran; they should not be afraid that these weaker sections have joined these revolts, and by their wishful thinking assassinate personalities in order to terrorize the nation. The assassination of individuals is not the assassination of the movement. Our movement is perpetual, even in the absence of personalities such as the late Mutahhari and Mr. Hashimi¹ and others. The Sublime and Exalted God and the pious followers of the honorable Prophet are sufficient. The nation is sufficient. And our nation has discovered its path. There is no fear. We shall never be afraid of these assassinations; and we shall never retreat; and we shall never allow the East or the West to interfere in the affairs of our country.

May God protect you the pious believers for your role in this Islamic movement, and you are even now helping the poor—and your assistance is extremely valuable. The assistance of women is several times more valuable than the assistance of men. May God protect you all, and protect you for the training of human beings, which is the occupation of the prophets. May Peace be upon all of you, and blessings be upon all of you.

¹ Murtada Mutahhari was martyred by the terrorist group of Furqan on May 1, 1979, and after some time, Hashimi Rafsanjani was attacked, but it was not a successful one.

Speech

Date/Time: Morning, May 27, 1979 [Khordad 6, 1358 AHS / Rajab 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Importance of aid

Audience: Members of the Aid Group of Borujird

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need for an aid group

Your toil will not go unrewarded at the court of the Sublime and Exalted God. We must all be part of the aid group. Islam has exhorted everyone to be considerate toward one another. We all have a duty and we must all be considerate toward individuals with whom we are related; to be considerate toward the whole nation; and we must all be the soldiers of Islam and of the aid group. Of course, you are synonymous with this name and we hope that your actions are in keeping with your name. In the same manner that you are called "aid group" and have provided aid now, from now onward also be an aid group to your brethren, to your own country; to your own city and act in accordance with what the Sublime and Exalted God has commanded and in accordance with His instructions. And pray that we all become a part of the aid group, and all of us perform our own Islamic duties. Today, Iran is in need of aid groups. Iran requires that all groups should become aid groups because what was left behind by the *taghuti* regime for Iran was ruin was anarchy; and with the assistance of all, this chaos must be remedied.

The anxiety of the enemies with regard to the advancement of the Islamic Revolution

One such assistance that the nation can provide, is to lessen the criticisms. Now is the time that we should carry this movement forward; it is not the time to air criticism. Those who instigate people to criticize do not want this movement to advance. They are worried about the advancement of this movement, they know that should this movement advance, there will be no room for them and for this reason they try to find fault; they instigate people to find fault; they incite them to criticism and this is because they want to stop the people or make them pessimistic. At times, they pose questions like, "Well, what has been done? So far, nothing has happened!"

Removal of difficulties, tied to public aid

The nation knows what has happened. The world too knows what has taken place and is worried about these happenings. Those who ask what has happened are worried about this happening; because what has taken place has amazed all the intellectuals of the world. That a nation with nothing in its hand has defeated the great powers and in the process secured its freedom. What do they mean by asking, “What has happened?” Now, what has happened is that we are sitting here and are speaking with each other freely. In the past few years, it was not possible for us to do so in such a congregation or even smaller than this. Neither was it possible for you. We have now severed the hands of others from our land. And sometime before this they would take away whatever was available, whereas now they cannot do so. Those that ask, “What has happened?” say this in order to make the people cynical—and there are negligent individuals everywhere. Perhaps many are negligent of these individuals and if these people allow them, other things will also take place. However, these confusions must be settled gradually. All of Iran must be an aid group. If all become an aid group, then all these difficulties will be removed, but if people indulge in criticism, the problems will not be solved and the probability that, God forbid, we go back to former times, face defeat and return to old problems does exist.

May God, sustain the aid group for Islam and grant His reward to the aid group. May you all succeed and prosper; and May we all, God willing, endeavor to serve.

Speech

Date: May 27, 1979 [Khordad 6, 1358 AHS / Rajab 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Striving toward creation of a national base

Audience: Personnel of Kashan city police

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shenanigans and chicanery of the Rida Khan type

Certain incidents take place in the world, which give substance to history; this is in order that we take a lesson, and be reminders for us; especially, the event that has occurred in Iran. More than fifty years of tyrannical rule of the Pahlavi regime that was filled throughout with actions which were against the interests of the nation. Perhaps, most of you do not remember; you are young. I was present from the beginning; right from the time when the coup took place—the coup by Rida Shah—until now, I have been a witness to the events. Sometimes, their actions were outwardly very deceptive but were against the interests of the nation. When he came, he initially began to express his piety and so forth and for sermonizing and mourning. And sometimes in the month of Muharram, he would visit all the religious theaters of Tehran to reaffirm his faith, until the time that he got on top and grabbed power.

The very same man who held sessions of mourning, and brought a horde of mourners including the army who would come to participate in mourning ceremonies—I myself saw groups of mourners from the army—this very same man began to go against religion. Until before consolidating his power, he deceived people by doing things in that manner, but as soon as he consolidated his hold on power, he acted quite the opposite to what he initially championed. In particular, this very same person who held these sessions of sermonizing and mourning, slapped a strict ban on all such religious activities such that perhaps not a single religious ceremony was held all over Iran! If it did take place, it was held clandestinely, in a few cities and under different guises and titles. He would indulge in things that evoked the displeasure of the people such as the banning of the veil and modesty of dress. You cannot surmise what a tragedy the banning of the veil, code of dress of modesty, was for the people at that time. You cannot imagine what he did; and what the police did with the people and the women

that caused the general discontent among the people. However, his power had increased and people also were not guided properly and could do nothing when for example, they were faced with such powers—but their frustration had increased. Later also, he began—on the pretext of wanting to create a central government—to destroy all the tribes among whom of course there also were unworthy individuals present, but these tribes were a backing for the nation—and he wiped them out. And in this way, he coerced the people and created discontent such that when those three foreign powers—America, England and Russia—all of them together attacked Iran during the world war against Germany! People became very happy for his having been ousted.

At the some time, when everything in Iran was in danger and the people were worried about everything; nevertheless, when it was announced that they had taken away Rida Khan, the people rejoiced! This is how England behaved; an irrational Behavior for their own sake, who at that time had brought him in power.

Intransigence of Muhammad Rida Shah

After Rida Khan, it was the turn of his son, most of you remember some of the things he did; perhaps all of you know about them. He too did things that on the surface were beguiling, but as everything became clear slowly, we all saw that they were against the interests of the nation. The nation opposed him, but in the course of the thirty odd years that he ruled, the frustrations began to pile up; the frustrations of the people accumulated; the discontent increased constantly; and his service to outsiders was disclosed one after another until it reached the stage that I had to repeatedly warn him in my speeches not to do things that after he leaves all the people rejoice; I warned him not to do things like his father did, whom after he had been forced to leave everyone was jubilant at the same time that there was a threat looming for everybody. I told him not to rule in such a manner that when he had to leave everybody would celebrate.¹ An administration that is a national one and comes into being at the hands of the nation, if it falls then everybody becomes unhappy because it is of the people; everyone supports it. However; if it does not derive its power from the people and gets into a situation that on the day when it is announced it has fallen, the streets come alive in the manner that you all saw—I was not here but I heard it from people. Just as I had warned him (Muhammad Rida Shah) not to do or else it would happen as it did.

¹ The speech delivered on the evening of June 3, 1963 [Khordad 13, 1342 AHS / Muharram 10, 1383 AH].

Lesson from history

This should be a warning for us too—it makes no difference—or for any power ruling over the country, and the country is under its control; or an administration that is in power in a province; or an administration that is in power in a city or a town. If the rulers are intelligent they must take a lesson from history, which has unfolded the fact that when a government does not derive its power from the people and is not based on them and people do not support it, it will not survive, no matter how powerful it be. You saw what power he had. In addition, all the powers approved of him. In other words, there was not a single government, or perhaps even a person, who opposed him. Now—right or wrong—maybe there was a government here and there that would express its opposition to him, but all the great powers were in agreement with him. At the same time, because his power base was not in the hearts of the people, and they did not support him, all the big powers joined hands and forces to keep him in power, but they could not do anything—and he left! This is an example of living history, and it must be a lesson for all of us.

Role of the nation in supporting the government

You who are the Kashan police, and that one also who is in the Qum police department; and that one who is the chief of staff of the whole army; and that one who is the head of the gendarmerie forces, and that one who is at the head of the government should all note that it is the nation that can keep them and sustain them. The nation can safeguard these powerful offices. If the nation supports these people, they can do everything. And if the nation at any moment, gets discontent, shall speak out sooner or later; it will be a matter of time before they raise their voice in protest. The day when the nation raises its voice, then no power can confront them. For this reason, we must take note of this that what pleases the nation is for it to see that the police is for them and not against them. At the time of the *taghuti* regime, people considered the police, the army, the gendarmerie, the government all the way up to Shah as opposed to themselves. Now, let us suppose there was a police department or a police chief who was in agreement with the people but he could not do anything that the people would construe to be in their favor; therefore, in the eyes of all the people both the good and bad were bad. And Shah lost that base which he should have had right from the beginning until the end among the people. When it comes to the stage where the popular base is lost and it is not possible to regain the trust, it is then that the regime collapses.

Popular base, the secret of stability of the system

This must now be a lesson and a model for you, for us and all segments of the government and people, and especially for those sections that are of the law enforcement agencies, that a great power which has no popular base cannot stand on its own feet. Whereas a power even if it is not big, but if it has a national base will be victorious. Strive to create a popular base for yourself. This does not imply that you must bring pressure on the people just because you hold an authoritative post and high position. The more senior the position, the more you must be at the service of the people. People should perceive that the more this official moves upward, the more humble he becomes with the people. If such a task is accomplished and such attention is given to problems and such a lesson is learnt from history; then every power shall establish a popular base; and the national base will sustain him and protect him. If the police forces of every city is at the service of the people, and not in a manner that when people hear the name “police station” they shiver and shake, or when they want to go to the police station, they feel as if they are going to a prison or the slaughterhouse; rather they should feel they are going to their home; to place where there is justice; to a place where there is no oppression; to a place that is friendly with the people and is not their enemy—if it is in this manner, then the hearts of the people will go out to them. People are easily contented; this is how their spirit is; that they are quickly satisfied. A gentle touch is sufficient to win the hearts of the people for a long time.

Ruling over the hearts, the only means to power of governments

So, do something by which you win over the hearts of the people. Establish a base among the people. When you have established a base, then God will approve of you; the nation will approve of you; power will remain in your hands and the people shall support you such that if anybody dared to do an injustice to you, the nation shall set upon him. In contrast with that, if the people perceive that the governments are not alongside them and are their enemies, then if a person—a thief for example—wants to attack you, they will even go and help the thief! This is a matter that we must now take a lesson from the current history that has passed over us, and we should know that if Shah had a base among the people, if he had spent half his energies to win the gratitude of the people, then this power would never have declined; he would never have been opposed, but unfortunately, he used all his power against the people such that even when he went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Imam Rida people would remark that he was indulging in chicanery! If he

would print the glorious Quran and distribute it among the people, then whoever would get a copy of it would remark that it was like the Quran of Muawiyah! This is because he did not do a single good deed for the people—a deed by means of which he could build a base for himself. He was at the uppermost level of power. But, it makes no difference if you are in Kashan and have to run a department there. The same principle applies there too; that was for the whole nation, while you are for the people of Kashan city or the Qum police is for the people of Qum, or Tehran police is for Tehran. This is a general matter for all of us to keep in mind that the nation knows that we are the servants of the nation; that the nation understands that we want their good. When it realizes that we all want to work for the good of the nation, they will then support us.

May God bless all of you. May you all be successful and be ready to serve; and in this service know that you achieve the approval of God and also of the nation—which is the approval of God. May God bestow His favors to all of you.

Speech

Date: May 27, 1979 [Khordad 6, 1358 AHS / Rajab 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Being worried about trivial matters and neglecting the ideals and aims of the Revolution

Audience: Students of Tehran Medical College; employees of the Telecommunications Company

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Role of telecommunications in the leaders communication with the nation

I would first like to say a few words with the women who are from the Telecommunications Company. The Telecommunication group of ours showed a lot of favor to us when we were in Paris, and served the movement well. At the time, when there was a strike, they too walked out but kept the telephone at our disposal so that we could communicate with the people. And, this was extremely useful at that time for the advancement of the movement. For this reason, I must thank this department.

Now, I would like to speak to everybody about all the ladies and gentlemen. I am both informed as well as unhappy about the major problems that are present in Iran at this stage, and the chaos that reigns among all strata of the nation. But, we must now reflect upon what is our duty at present to our nation—both the honorable gentlemen and the respected ladies. In what circumstances are we now? And what should we do?

Concentrating on the main objectives

Before we reached this stage of the movement, we all knew what we had to do. Therefore, the whole nation was in chorus; and their objective was that we did not want the Pahlavi dynasty and the monarchial regime and they wanted an Islamic government and an Islamic Republic. We were all in unison and moved forward together until we reached the stage when with this unity of expression and with this unity of objective, all of us together—demanded Islam; and with the approval of the Sublime and Exalted God, you and we broke that huge barrier. At that time, when we were pursuing this objective, you all knew that no individual thought about what he did not have or what he had, what his family problems were, or for example, whether his home had regular electricity supply, or whether his telephone was in order.

There was no attention paid to these issues; these were unimportant issues; what was important among all the people was that the Pahlavi regime should not be there, and that a divine regime should take its place. This was the cause of your victory. If at that time too, let us suppose, the people who had poured into the streets had thought that well “now tonight what do we have for dinner at home; what is the electricity supply situation; how is the telephone connection or for example, how are our children? Or we have a sick person lying at home”, and such distractions, our movement would have never made this progress. Each one of you was involved; and all of you were involved together, by the grace of God, in this movement and at the time when the movement was in full cry and there was pressure from all over, you were focused on this objective. Now, if you look back to the situation you were in at that time, you would know that nothing was important at that time; we were all concentrating on one goal, and we were unconcerned about ourselves. Those who would cry out “God is the greatest” from the rooftops and on the streets during the day and took part in the struggle and fought with everything with nothing did not pay any attention to how their houses were, whether they were in possession of homes or not, none of these were important at all.

The struggle of the slum dwellers

Those slum dwellers on the outskirts of Tehran, I once saw their plight on the television and saw their morale and circumstances. Well I saw it with my own eyes that a large number of them would go in and out of slums, and then when one of them was asked what he did everyday, he replied that as soon as dawn breaks, they would take their children along with them to take part in demonstrations! The concern that now our home is this slum and this is our life had simply evaporated from the minds of the people. All the thoughts were focused and concentrated on a single direction, which was that the *taghuti* regime must go, and that we did not want them; “Down with the Shah, we want an Islamic Republic” was the key to your victory. No focusing on self; focus on the objective. We were all facing toward the goal. We were not concerned about ourselves. We all looked in that direction, and were not the least concerned about our own condition. For this reason, we became victorious. But well, where has the victory reached up to? It reached up to the stage where, that foundation, that foundation of tyranny, was smashed and went away; but its branches are there and we have not attained victory yet.

That which worries us a little right now is that the people have returned to being concerned about their own conditions. They have forsaken the objective at the halfway stage, and now are concerned about their own circumstance “We do not have houses.” A large number on the premise of being homeless are now demanding homes. A large number are now complaining about their workplace, for example. Another large number are, for example concerned about the situation in the universities. The nation has come out of the revolutionary state that it had, and has come out of the focus that it had on the objective and inattention to its own circumstances and its own troubles. All over the country, everybody has found a concern for something else, and which is, about his or her own problems. Every person now ... now daily, we receive so many letters; there are so many visits made to other places; there are so many calls on the government to complain about their own condition.

Poisoning the atmosphere and deception

And they aggravate this matter, that now there are hands at work that want to stop this movement midway. They have resorted to propaganda. And, that is to ask “What happened? What has happened so far? Well, this is an Islamic republic for you! Once again, nothing has been done for the poor; no thought has been given to the administrative affairs; once again the some old set up is in place; once again and so forth ...” Constantly finding faults. From all around, the lackeys of those that do not wish to see this movement reach its destination, have infiltrated the various strata of the nation; and in each place in a different guise, in an outwardly beguiling appearance they engage in the same deceptions that the Shah did at that time. The former Shah in the course of his reign, would deceive us with and paint a rosy picture by pronouncement such as “the gateway to a great civilization”, or for that matter “free women and free men” and “bringing out half of the nation for service”, these same statements that are simply words without any meaning, these same beguiling words that are now written on every plan that they have drafted—and have drafted with precision. In addition, the experts and those individuals who had and have a correct understanding of all the behavioral aspects of the people are now seeing that things have reached to this stage and do not want to let it go further ahead. They have concluded that if the movement that has come up to this stage with such force moves forward, it will cause their hands to be chopped off completely. They want to nip this in the bud at the halfway stage. Therefore, in all the various strata that their lackeys have infiltrated, a widespread propaganda campaign is

under way. They infiltrate the ranks of the workers in one form and say that “well, why no thought has been given to the workers. Where is the house that was promised? Where is the life? Where is such and such a thing?” The day when the workers staged a strike, and they were not the least concerned about housing and living, and went along with the strike, now, they come and tell them that, “well this is an Islamic Republic for you! So, what has happened now? Where is your home? What about your salary?” The workers too are influenced and become negligent and start thinking, they start thinking, “Well, we have again not achieved an Islamic Republic.” Now once again, it is all words that have no meaning; we are at the halfway mark and have not reached the destination. It is like for example, the leader of a caravan who tells his friends and members of the caravan that when we reach the destination, all means of comfort is available at that place; then when they are on their way, at a certain place they come to believe that they have indeed reached their real destination. Again, they notice that they have not after all, and it is once again the toil and trouble of traveling with its accompanying difficulties. They constantly nag and find fault saying “well, now we have reached, so where are the promises that you made?” Well, this disappointment is because we have not reached yet. Actually, we have not reached the place where we must reach.

The Islamic Republic from words to action

Now, the remnants of the former regime and their lackeys are still present. The way it is said, they are present at the frontiers, and near the borders outside the country, whether toward Turkey, whether toward Afghanistan and whether toward Iraq, there are persons in those places as well as in other places. And, they are now engaging in a plot and want to have a gathering. They are establishing contacts with one another while their lackeys have penetrated the population, infiltrated the various strata of our nation, and are fueling discontent. Today, we must pay attention to the fact that it is a bit early to indulge in finding fault and being solely concerned about our own affairs. Now, we must convince everybody and hold his or her attention to the fact that we are in the middle of our journey at present. The nation gave a vote for an Islamic Republic, and the Islamic Republic attained recognition with the vote of the nation. However, its constituents have not found reality yet. This is not Islam. We are aware that all the groups that exist are of un-Islamic hues. But now, if all of us concentrate on going after concerns that such and such organization is or is not in good shape; so and so head of the organization is an unworthy person; or so and so person is

corrupt; or so and so person is not doing a good job; or so and so person is competent in his job; if we turn from those objectives that we are now pursuing and want to realize, whose legislations we want to pass, and whose legislative assembly we want to establish; if we turn back from these main objectives to secondary problems and lose sight of the main objectives, then the danger exists that matters return once again to their former situation.

Sabotage and trouble making

Now is not the time that we should be concerned as to why the government is not functioning properly. The government itself also is aware that it cannot function diligently; but the government is not insincere. I know them very well. They are not insincere. There is a lot of work; there are many problems; there is a lot of chaos. And, added to the magnitude of the chaos and work the fact that there is a lot of trouble-making and sabotage. They go and prevent the oil workers, the white-collar workers and blue-collar workers from doing their job. They demand that we must eliminate right now all the managers and so forth. However, now is not the time for such talk, and those that are saying these things are using this opportunity to halt the progress of this movement. They go to the farmlands and prevent the farmers from planting crops; and after the planting has been done, they now prevent them from harvesting. You saw that in the referendum which was a reflection of the aspirations of a nation, a national issue, and a referendum that history had not experienced before, such an enthusiasm that everyone had when men and women, old and young, the sick and the handicapped and all came to cast their votes in the ballot boxes, yet there was a group that boycotted the referendum; a group came out of no where and prevented people from voting at the point of the gun while another group came out of no where and set the ballot boxes on fire. Were these people sympathetic towards the nation that they indulged in these acts? Was not the referendum a national issue? Was it an imposed affair? Was there any coercion involved? Was there any force used? Or was it totally free and willful? Not that they only wanted to cast their votes. Small children, who were not eligible to vote and were asked by some not to vote, were so aggrieved and were protesting. A group of those children came here and I counseled them and consoled them. Such an important affair that the whole nation wanted, all the strata wanted; men and women went to cast their votes and voted almost unanimously while the saboteurs gathered all their forces that numbered perhaps half a percent or let us suppose a little more, what happened that they boycotted it? Why did they wish to sabotage it? They wanted that there should not become an Islamic

Republic. Were they afraid of its republic status? No! There is nothing to fear from a republic. The Soviet Union was also a republic. They were afraid of it being Islamic! They are afraid of this word Islam. They are afraid of an Islamic Republic. They are afraid of an Islamic government. Now, there is a plot at work not to allow this movement to go forward. We only cast our votes; we did not do anything else.

Greater need for unity and resourcefulness

We all know that so far we have not been able to deliver so much. Because the work is not few, there is a lot of work. And now, these criticisms that are leveled are harmful to our movement whether they are justified criticisms—and I too am aware that most of them are justified, as this gentlemen who read them out now, I confirm that most of them are right—or whether they are things that are not justified, both of these are harmful to our movement that is under way. We must all co-operate with one another. All of us, all the strata, all the university students, all the traders and businessman; and all men and women, in the same way that we have joined hands together till now and reached to this stage causing astonishment among all the intellectuals, from now onward too, which is more important, we must join hands together in order to negotiate this stage successfully.

Later on also, we must not sit idle and wait for a particular group to do the work. It is a country that belongs to every one of you. It is also in chaos. It has many poor people. It has many unemployed. But, we must ask them whether this poverty and unemployment is of the Revolution? Have the number of poor people increased because the Shah has left? Has unemployment increased because the regime is in a mess? Or no, the real matter is that we have inherited the devastations. The government has inherited them. In other words, they caused the destruction and went away. They finished their looting and went away. They left behind the debts to the banks and went away. They borrowed some hundred million dollars from each bank and decamped! Now is the time for us to be united. Then we must not say why so and so person has not done the job. We must say that we too must do the job. We must all work. All must work and exhort others to work. Now, criticism and the weakening of our movement is not in the interest of any of the sections of the people.

General mobilization for construction

Today, the university students as well as the theological students and also you the gentlemen and the ladies and the whole nation must move forward

together and also later build everything together. Do not expect us to do the building. Well, who are we? You are there, we are there, and others are there. I should not be such that I sit and ask the women to do the work; it should not be such that the women sit down and ask so and so to do the job. They in their own capacity; we in our own capacity; you in your own capacity; the government according to its own capacity; the army according to its own capacity; the administration in its own capacity; should all work. It is not something that the government can handle alone. The mess is not a mess that a government can clear or one stratum of the people can clear. Imagine all of us say that we will not do any work; let the university students do the work; but, the university students cannot do the job, and the university students say that we will not do any work and shift the responsibility to the clergy who also cannot. And, all of us sit and ask the traders and businessmen to do the job, whereas they are incapable. Should all the nation not be together, and not join hands, and if every person does not work to the extent he is capable of, then this country cannot rid itself of this anarchy. We must all work together. If we all get busy together, we will triumph; we will progress. In the same way that you saw how when we all united we smashed such a great barrier that nobody thought that it could be broken. You smashed it with divine Hands. The “congregation” broke this. For construction too as well as for progress from now onward also this matter is essential.

The miscalculations of the CIA

From now onward, we must traverse this path. We are midway. We have not reached the destination. In other words, we are in the initial stages of the journey. We have overcome only one obstacle but have not eliminated all its roots. Of course, the most important part has been destroyed. And this too which has been destroyed nobody deemed it possible—no intellectual thought so. The CIA of America admitted that it had made a mistake and that it had miscalculated! Because they calculated on the material aspects, whereas this event was a divine event. We are now in the middle of our journey. In other words, we have not traversed even half the way. We have smashed the barriers, and passed them and now want to go ahead. We gave a vote; but a vote is no security for us. A vote does not put an end to these things; we need action. We cast the ballot; we must now act. We must act following it. Just as it is now under consideration, we must appoint the representatives for framing the constitution; we must appoint the representatives in order to set up the Majlis. The Majlis should be of people and not an ordered assembly. It should not be a Majlis that in the words of

Muhammad Rida Khan, others would prepare a list and ask that only those be appointed! He himself confessed that the foreigners would write up a list. However, by this confession he wanted to bring praise to himself by doing damage to his father! He wanted to bring praise upon himself for his present ... he damaged his predecessor by saying that they would send the lists ... from the embassies; and we were forced to nominate the legislators according to the list. This is something that he himself confessed to! However, he wanted to say that during his reign it was not like that anymore whereas it was worse!

The duty of the nation in negating plots

Now, it is a country that has traversed half the way, or rather less than half the way. And of course, these great powers that were hindrances are mainly gone, and only their remnants have remained which must also be destroyed with your hands. You the people must kill these conspiracies. Both the men and women are obliged to smash them. After these remnants have been destroyed and the obstacle has been removed; then it will be the time for engaging in construction. In other words, this interim state should do its job to the extent it must and next the Majlis. Nevertheless, the Majlis too comprises of a few hundred persons and is incapable of doing much. All sections must regard it as a duty upon themselves and say that "we have a duty to perform". In the same manner that every person regards himself to be responsible to care for his own child, his own infant and takes care of the needs of his child; this sentiment must take root in us that this land is our home and family; this house must be rebuilt by the owners. The owners are not one or two persons; all are the owners. It is not that we have a particular person as the property owner. It is the whole nation and the whole country. The whole country belongs to the whole nation. They must sit down together and build it, and we all must join hands together. Now, is not the proper time for us to criticize this side and that side. I too have the faults that you mention; they themselves also have them; but now is not the time for putting them forward and in the process add to the chaos.

The need to identify the seekers of corruption

Today is the time when we should all together smash this barrier. This means that praise be to Allah, we smashed this barrier and must eradicate these roots from under the soil and throw them out. These corrupters who now roam the universities and organize demonstrations; who pour on to the streets and cause all sorts of trouble; who on one pretext or the other cause

mischief—we should expose such individuals and expose what they are engaging in. What are their gatherings based upon? Do they believe in Islam or not? Do they want an Islamic Republic or a democratic republic? This means a republic minus Islam. We must bear these in mind that these groups who go inside factories and farmlands and universities and—I do not know—here and there, must be identified. And we should reveal them to the nation so that the nation avoids them and holds them by their tails and throws them out. And after these stages have been passed, and when these groups are eliminated, then construction can be undertaken by all the people. All of us together broke this barrier, and all of us together must engage in this construction. Now is the time to do this.

The need to safeguard unity

I too accept that there is chaos; but the remedy for chaos is that we all work together; that we all be diligent in our affairs. No person should think that he is incapable of doing any work; every human being is capable of doing a job. A single drop of rain is not of much use; but it is still a single drop. A single drop does the job of a single drop; it is these very drops of rain that create a flood; and it is the flood, which breaks the barrier. It was these very drops—one by one—each one of us like a drop of rain, that when we all converged and chanted slogans on the street, could break the barrier. If on that day too each of us had said, “Well I am a single human being and cannot say a word in front of guns”, the same apparatus would be in place, and that same Aryamehr would be in power and the same NaSiri and Hoveyda and that machinery would be present. But, these drops that appear to be insignificant, but actually are not so, when they collected close together were able to destroy them. Now too, it is the same. These drops should not disperse. These corrupters want to make these drops come out from their collective state to disperse them so that they become single drops. The single drops can also later be easily obliterated. A single policeman can do the job of destroying them. Now is the time when all of us should join hands; all of us together should affirm each other. I should affirm you; you should affirm me; we should all together affirm the university students; the university students should affirm the businessmen; the businessmen should affirm others so that this task is carried forward; so that this mess is gradually cleared; so that these obstacles are removed; and then we should pursue the task of construction.

May God protect all of you. I know that you are all sincere; I am aware that you feel sorry for this country. But at the same time that this turmoil is

present; these impediments are there, you must help. We must not add another weight to the already heavy load. We must lessen the load. May God, protect all of you; may you be prosperous; May God protect the women; May God protect the men and may all be successful.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Telegram

Date: May 29, 1979 [Khordad 8, 1358 AHS / Rajab 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The necessity to safeguard unity of expression

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Shirazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Holy City of Mashhad

His Eminence Ayatullah Shirazi—may his blessings last:

Your honorable telegram has been received. At this sensitive moment when the unclean hands are busy plotting against Islam, the maintenance of unity of expression and seriousness in nullifying the treacherous plots are of utmost importance. I pray for your good health and success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Telegram

Date: May 29, 1979 [Khordad 8, 1358 AHS / Rajab 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need for unity of expression

Addressee: Sayyid Hasan Tabatabai Qummi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Holy City of Mashhad

His Eminence Ayatullah Qummi—may his blessings last:

Your respectful telegram has been received.¹ The need for unity of expression at this juncture, when the criminals have resorted to conspiring and plotting against Islam and the Islamic Republic is of utmost importance. I hope you will pray for me. May peace, mercy, and blessings of Allah be upon you!

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Qummi's telegram dispatched on May 25, 1979 reads in part as follows, "Greetings and salutations: I would like to thank you very much for your speech on May 24 [Jamadi ath-Thani 27]. It was very pertinent and timely and of course was extraordinarily effective. Of course, if you mention such points frequently, it will be more effective and yield more results and will prevent the plot of those who want to distort the sacred movement..."

Speech

Date: May 29, 1979 [Khordad 8, 1358 AHS / Rajab 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The main objective of the struggle against the Shah and America

Audience: Iranian Muslim women residing abroad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The lofty objective, establishment of an Islamic government

May you are successful, God willing. When I was outside the country, in France, these ladies would come there and I would talk to them, or they would be part of the gathering and would discuss among themselves. Our subject is the same subject that I would mention abroad. If you had come there at that time, you would know that our subject from the beginning is a single subject matter. Whatever subject we spoke about its introduction was a single subject and that was the execution of the commandments of God and establishment of a government of Islamic—humanitarian justice. If we wanted then to go; if we wished that the regime should fall from power; if we wanted the hands of outsiders to be cut off, it was all in order to remove these obstacles from our path; obstacles that were preventing the realization of an Islamic government; obstacles by means of which they wanted to make the nation go against its beliefs and against its wishes.

The obstacles that we wanted to remove were not because this was our very objective that Muhammad Rida should go, and that the aim was to sever the hands of America and after that whatever wanted to happen should happen; any rule of law be enforced; that any immoral behavior in Iran be tolerated. Not at all! This was not the issue. The basis, our lofty objective, our main aim was the objective which the Sublime and Exalted God has commanded us to attain and that is the government must be a divine government, it should be Islamic, it should be a government that the people want. When the government becomes a just government, when the government is at the service of the nation, the protective umbrella of this government wins over the hearts of the people and such a government will be able to govern.

Joy of the people at the collapse of the Pahlavi regime

Those whose foundations of governance are not based on the hearts of the people were like the former regimes that as soon as they left, the people poured on to the streets and showered flowers and candies and those things that all who were present saw and those who were not present heard of it. I reminded the former Shah, of this very fact and told him not to do something whereby when you leave everybody will rejoice like people did for your father; I cautioned him to be with the masses and be with Islam; that the route should be the way of the nation; that there should be no treason at work; that governments must be at the service of the people. But, this man did not listen to these words; consequently, the same thing happened that was said to him and we had guessed would happen. We saw that in the era of Rida Khan when he left, people celebrated; and they saw in this era that when Muhammad-Rida Shah left, everybody poured onto the streets and rejoiced more.

When governments are not of the people; when the foundation of a government does not lean on the shoulder and heart of a nation, they cannot be a government. Generally, governments must be at the service of the people and not that the people be afraid of the government.

Signs of a popular government

A government must be such that when its president comes to visit the people, they should surround him and chat with him; not that if they hear his voice they take to their heels! Or, if its Prime Minister comes in the midst of the people; they should gather around him and cheer him; not a prime minister who if he arrives, people express their disgust and run away from him. The army must also be such; the police must also be in this manner; the gendarmerie forces must also be so; and not like the army, police and gendarmerie of the era of the *taghuti* regime that were opposed to the people; and people did not want them and regarded them as their enemy. They too regarded the people as their enemy. Such a country, whose security forces regard the nation as their enemies and whose people regard the security forces as their enemies, cannot have a government that can survive. The government remains in power when the people like it; when it is of the people; when the people have elected it, and I hope that it will be so from now onward, that the security forces be at the service of the people; that the government be at the service of the people, and that Islamic social justice finds meaning. And, you who have come from abroad will stay in a country in which there is welfare; in a country in which there is freedom in the true

sense of the term; in a country which belongs to yourself and you serve for your own country. May God grant all of you success, health and happiness.

Speech

Date: May 29, 1979 [Khordad 8, 1358 AHS / Rajab 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Molding human beings: main objective of the mission of the prophets

Audience: Women (Southern Tehran and the Wali ASr Old School); Revolutionary Guards; inhabitants of the outskirts of Moghan plains

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The ultimate goal of the prophets from the prophetic mission and movement

Movements that have been initiated by the prophets and Imams (a) are worth studying. We who are followers of the doctrine of the prophets must study those movements and understand what those movements were and what was their purpose; what was the objective of the prophets from campaigns; what was the objective of the messenger of Islam (S) from the Islamic movement; what was the objective of our Imams (a). Was it only to cut off the hands of tyrants? Was the invitation of the prophets solely to defeat and wipe out the oppressors, and as soon as they overcome and banish them, their mission is over? Is the objective of the prophets only to banish the oppressor or is it loftier than this? If the objective is loftier than this, then we also, who are the followers of the prophets and followers of the doctrine of Islam must, in obedience to those greats of religion and the world, pursue the same objectives. Were the banishment of the Pahlavi regime and invalidation of the monarchy our total objectives? Are the welfare of the nation and fulfillment of the material needs of the nation our final objectives? Have the prophets come in order to promote the material welfare of the people and of the society? Were the objectives of the prophets to drive away the arrogant and enable the deprived to attain worldly luxuries or were their objectives loftier than these were? So many prophets came and preached and were killed, they fought wars and bore hardships. Were the prophets objectives only because they wanted to eliminate the arrogant and enable the masses to attain welfare or was the objective loftier than these were? Did the Sublime and Glorious God, who sent the prophets, send them only for the betterment of the world or is the goal more than these are and loftier than these are?

Ultimate objective, the establishment of a Quranic rule

If the objective was solely the defeat of the arrogant, we have almost achieved it and have defeated them. Our nation defeated the foreigners. It chopped off the hands of the traitors. And, it will chop off the hands of these remnants too. But, the objective is not just this. If the objective was that the slum dwellers should come out of their slums and their living conditions be improved—which also God willing, will be done and must be done with the efforts of everybody—but again this is not the objective. The objective is that our country should be an Islamic state; our country should be run under the guidance of the Quran, under the leadership of the honorable Prophet and the rest of the honorable saints. The departure of the arrogant is a beginning. The welfare of the deprived is one of the objectives of Islam.

Freedom, independence: Preliminary steps towards the final objective

An Islamic regime is unlike material doctrines and regimes. All the efforts of the material schools of thought are to improve farmlands! All their efforts are directed towards possession of houses, to have welfare—those who speak the truth—whereas the objective of Islam is loftier than these things. The ideology of Islam is not a worldly ideology. It is a material-cum-spiritual doctrine. Islam accepts materialism under the protection of spirituality, Spiritualism, moral behavior and purification of the soul. Islam came into being for the purification of the soul of human beings; it came into being for the making of human beings. All the monotheistic doctrines have come for molding human beings. We have a duty to mould human beings. You ladies, who took the trouble of coming here, have a duty to build human beings, have a duty to rear pious human beings in your bosoms. The objective of Islam and of all the prophets is to educate people; to mould human beings into spiritual and genuine humans. In the opinion of the prophets, it is important that those human beings are made righteous. If a human being is trained, then all problems are solved. A country that has pious human beings has solved all its problems. An enlightened and pious human being will secure all the dimensions of happiness for the country. A human being who has faith in the Sublime and Glorious God is a devoted human being. A human being who is pious will cut off the hands of the tyrant—but this is not the only objective. This is one of the services that he renders. He secures freedom for the people. But this is one of the objectives; this is not all. He secures independence for the country; but this is not the only objective. He secures the welfare of the people but this is not the objective.

All round training of the human being, the main objective

A human being is not an animal. A human being is a creature that can attain the highest levels of happiness; that can achieve the highest levels of perfection among all creatures; and if he is deviant, then he is meaner than the meanest of creatures. Prophets who saw that the people were totally astray from the point of view of morality; from the point of view of beliefs; from the point of view of deeds were inspired by the Sublime and Glorious God to save the human being with all the aspects that he had. If a human being were an animal like the other animals but an animal that has intelligence, an animal that is industrious, if he was such, then there would be no need for the prophets to come because this path is a path that the materialists themselves understand quite well. The coming of the prophets was to teach mankind those ways of which he is unaware; those truths that a human being does not know. Prophets came to guide towards a higher status, to a more sublime humanistic status. The Quran is a book that shapes human beings and has come in order to build human beings. It is not a book to mould animals; it is not a book to restore materialism; it is everything. It trains a human being in all his dimensions. It acknowledges materialism under the shelter of spirituality; and gives spirituality precedence over materialism.

The long way to building an Islamic country

Our country is an Islamic country only when Islamic teachings are practiced in it. If Islamic teachings are not established in it, it is not Islamic. However much we claim it to be an "Islamic Republic", the words ring hollow. With our vote, an Islamic Republic will not be established. Yes, the official regime is a republican regime but it shall not be Islamic unless and until the laws of Islam are practiced in it. With the enforcement of the constitution, it shall not become Islamic either; with the Islamic Consultative Assembly also it will not become Islamic. All these are preliminaries. You can claim to be an Islamic country when the market (bazaar) becomes Islamic; when there is purification of the inner self; not like our bazaar, which is a bastion of profiteering and unfairness! Our country will become Islamic when the men and women become Islamic; when all the individuals are Islamic. The role model is Her Holiness FaTimah Zahra (a). The role model is the prophet of Islam. We can claim our country is Islamic and we can claim to have an Islamic Republic installed when all the objectives of Islam are realized in it. We are now at the beginning of the road. We established the Islamic Republic with our votes; we have cut off and shall cut

off the hands of traitors—but this is not enough. After that, there is still a long way to go; both the path towards the achievement of a decent life for the poor, which is ahead of us and must be moved forward; and the path of spirituality, which is the loftier path.

Success of mankind due to spirituality

Honorable ladies! Purify yourselves, and purify your own children. Bring up your children in the Islamic way, because there is everything in Islam. Honorable gentlemen! Respectable ladies! Answer the call of Islam in the affirmative. Islam was not born to provide food! Islam came into being to provide spirituality. Not all the cries should be for materialism alone; it is against the ideology of Islam. If spirituality is established, materialism will become spiritual and will be in adherence to spirituality; it does not accept materialism exclusively. The basis is spirituality. A country is considered by its spirituality. It is not that everybody is free to do whatever he or she wishes and can even steal and even commit treason. Today is examination day for you. You have become free; you have become independent. But, have you become free so that you say as you please? And do as you please? Not at all! The Sublime and Glorious God granted you freedom and will put you to test to see what you would do. How we use this freedom; how we behave with our subordinates; how we conduct ourselves with our brothers; how we conduct ourselves with our sisters. Freedom alone does not ensure the happiness of the nation; independence alone does not bring happiness to the nation; materialism alone does not guarantee the happiness of the nation. All these are joys only under the sanctuary of spirituality. Spirituality is important. Strive to attain spirituality. Knowledge alone is useless; knowledge combined with spirituality is knowledge. Culture alone is of no use; culture with spirituality is culture. It is spirituality that insures the salvation of mankind; and you should strive for the attainment of spirituality. Universities should seek spirituality; schools should seek spirituality; classical schools should seek spirituality; so that God willing, they attain salvation. May God make all of you blissful.

May Gods peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Speech

Date: May 29, 1979 [Khordad 8, 1358 AHS / Rajab 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Freedom and its limits

Audience: Female employees of *Kayhan* Daily Institute

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Explaining freedom of the press

I shall explain this issue in general. I am not concerned with how individuals are. Generally speaking, in every country, the print media of that country and the television and radio networks of that country must move along with the nation and be at the service of the nation. The newspapers must see what the people want; what course the nation is taking; be enlightened about the issues and guide the people. If there is a newspaper that takes a route which is opposite to that of the nation, and the path that they are taking is different from the path of the nation, this newspaper, assuming that the government also permits it to write and talk about it, cannot gain the acceptance of the nation and must not be regarded as a national publication and a popular newspaper of the country. And if, God forbid, in writing or not writing—writing deviant articles and not writing articles that are in the direction of the nation and operating in this manner, it would appear that there is a plot at work; this is contrary to the freedom of the press.

The gentlemen who mention the word freedom—whether they are the gentlemen who work for the publications and whether they are from other strata who talk of freedom—are not defining it correctly, or do not know what it means. In every country, freedom is within the bounds of the law, within the limits of the laws of that country. People are not free to break the law.

Freedom does not mean that any person can say whatever he wishes against the rules; against the constitution of a nation and also against the laws of the nation. Freedom is restricted to within the laws of a country. Iran is an Islamic country and the laws of Iran are the laws of Islam. In the constitution of the previous era also, this point was mentioned that whatever against the laws of Islam is not a law, and that the law must be in agreement with the laws of Islam. In addition, no legislation that wants to have legality in Iran

can be a legislation that is contrary to the teachings of the Prophet of Islam; that is contrary to the teachings of the Quran. Therefore, freedom—when it is said that the newspapers are free and there is freedom of speech and expression—does not imply that people are free to do whatever they want; for example, they are free to steal, or they are free to visit prostitutes or free to build brothels. These freedoms are western freedoms—of course except the stealing part of it. It is western freedom where every person does whatever he likes to do even if it is prostitution; even if it is to indulge in indecent acts. Freedom must be within the confines of the law. The laws of Islam must be observed; it must be within the framework of the laws of Islam; within the framework of the constitution, we can have free speech, and free discussion. Other sort of freedom than this is a mistake that they make.

Freedom or unrestrained behavior

Those who shout for freedom are westernized; they want western freedom. These who speak of democracy want the same western-style democracy; they want western-style freedom meaning no restraints on behavior. It means we too should follow whatever happens in the west! These people are among those who are influenced by the west. Newspapers should be free to write on any subject, write on any issue; but are they free to insult—for example—the sanctities of the people? Are they free to abuse the people? Are they free to slander the people? Such a freedom cannot exist. There cannot be freedom to plot. Suppose if a newspaper—I do not wish to mention that such is the case with a newspaper—wants to plot against the direction of the nation by writing things that are against the direction of the nation, and by not writing things that are in line with the nation; if it wants to hatch a plot and go the path that the enemies of a nation are going; promote the actions of the enemies of a nation, write things that pertain to the enemies of a nation; if it is of such a type our nation cannot accept such types of freedom.

Our nation has borne so much suffering, and given so much blood, and toiled so much and cried out so much—they have done these things for the sake of Islam. People want Islam.

If we did not have Islam, now the same set up of old would be present. People will not go to sacrifice their blood for other purposes other than Islam. People want to achieve martyrdom. Even now, individuals come to me and urge me to pray for them to be martyred. For what purpose do they wish to be martyred? Do they want martyrdom so that for example, something

other than Islam be realized? Do they want a western democracy to be established? Do they want a freedom along the lines of the Soviet Union? Do they want a freedom—for example—of the American type? Or do they want to have Islam?

If there was no Islam, those that are shouting “freedom, freedom!” would have either lived in Europe or in caves! Iran brought them out of the caves and brought them from abroad to inside their country. Now that it has brought them, again they utter words whose line is not the line of Islam. What Islam did was to liberate you all, freed you from the prisons, and brought you back from exiles. You who went and sat abroad in foreign countries and watched idly until the blood of the people was spilled, have now grabbed the opportunity and have come to Iran.

It was their actions that you are now free of; but is it freedom to talk against Islam! Is it freedom to talk against the very thing that has freed you now! Is it freedom to talk about everything except Islam! You talk about every matter and say that everything is okay but make no mention of Islam! If a person talks about Islam, you attack him! There are no such things involved. The print media and all the publications that are present in a country must be in the service of the nation; they must be educative for the nation; they must clarify the direction of the nation and not that they act against the path of the nation. Everywhere and every daily newspaper, every publication and whatever there is in these so-called communications media—all of them must be in the same line as the line of the nation and not stray from this path. This is both in their interest as well in the interest of the nation and is also in agreement with the relevant laws of a country.

I implore the Sublime and Glorious God for the success of all of you in your service. Today is the day that all of us must serve. Today is not the time for every person to pull in a different direction. We must all be in line with the nation that is on the move. We must see what the nation has done; what the nation wants; and the very fact that the nation wants, we must go after it. We must go after it in order to save the nation. If we let go of this path, and constantly sit down and discuss, and create differences ... constantly discuss a subject, the effect will be that we will not be able to take this movement to its destination.

Warning to the mass media and the small groups

I will give a warning to the newspaper journalists; to the radio and television network; to the groups that have come up now; to all the groups. This is a warning to all the associations, if they do not want to betray the trust

of the nation; and if they want to serve the country, they should study to see what was the direction of this nation; why did this nation come out into the streets and said “God is the greatest”; why it sacrificed its youth and at nights went to the rooftops and cried out “death to so and so” and “long live so and so”. For what purpose was it? It was for Islam. They wanted Islam. The question was not only that we wanted freedom; the government of Iran, the people of Iran does not want freedom minus Islam; the nation of Iran wants Islam. There should be freedom, but should it be like the Soviet Union? There should be freedom, but should it be like another country? Should it be foreign? When did our nation want such a thing?! These gentlemen are mistaken. I do not say they are traitors, I say they are in error; they must correct their mistakes.

All must be together. In the same way that all of us reached here together, all of us should together cover the distance from here to the end of the path—whereas we are now at the beginning. May God guide all of you! And may we all tread on the path that earns the favor of the Sublime and Glorious God.

Speech

Date: May 29, 1979 [Khordad 8, 1358 AHS / Rajab 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The great responsibility of the scholars in guiding the society

Audience: Clergymen and a gathering of the people of Yazd

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Model cities

Yazd was among the cities that was a model; in the same way that Qum was among the model cities. I refer to the religious scholars of that place—especially Ayatullah Saduqi¹ for whom I have a profound liking—who were by the grace of God at the forefront of the movement and whose assistance for this movement is noteworthy. The rest of the religious scholars of Yazd also for all of whom I have great regard, participated in this uprising. In the same way, the respected people of Yazd from various strata provided great assistance to this movement. May God be with all of them; and may God grant happiness to all of them! I thank all of you gentlemen, who were kind enough to come all the way from afar, from Kuwait and from Yazd to meet with me. And, I express my thanks to you and the rest of the residents of Yazd because of your kindness. May God grant good health and happiness to them also.

The mission of the scholars

We must know that we are all charged with a duty. The scholars of Islam have a duty to be at the forefront. Their duty is greater than that of others. Their duty is to guide society. Now, we have a pressing need to guide society; to forestall the discord that they want to create among the society; and at the foremost level, it is the duty of the religious scholars to enlighten the people of the evil of these devils who want to create differences among the groups, and to frustrate the plots being hatched by the remnants of the former regime. They should tell the people that if these groups infiltrate among your ranks and God forbid, sow the seeds of discord among the pious believers and among the people, the problems of before will be likely to

¹ Muhammad Saduqi (Imams representative in Yazd) was martyred by the hypocrites (Munafiqin) in 1981.

recur. And, if the problems of old return; Islam will be in danger; the country will be in danger to the very end. Now, which is one of the most sensitive points of time for Iran, the religious scholars of Iran—and the rest of the sections, the respected youth, universities, university students, theological students, businessmen, farmers, workers and the rest must beware of the fact that the devils are waiting in ambush. And if God forbid, there is negligence and these decayed roots grow again in the society, then the efforts have been wasted. Now they are not anything significant but if you are not alert, and if they be not thwarted, then it will be likely that they will grow.

Message to the religious scholars

You gentlemen convey greetings of peace on my behalf to all the scholars of Yazd—may their blessings last; and request them on my behalf to enlighten the sections of the people. Now is not the time to find fault; now is not the time for us to pay attention to the secondary issues; to focus on the minor issues and be negligent of the principles. Today is the time when we must safeguard the principles. To safeguard principles is to pull out these decayed remnants from their roots. And with regard to these rumors that they spread among the people in order to make them discontented, you must guide the people and tell them that they hold grudges against them. Today, more than ever before, we are in need of unity of expression. Today, we need that all of us together, move towards Islam and towards an Islamic Republic.

Speech

Date: May 29, 1979 [Khordad 8, 1358 AHS / Rajab 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Islam, the main objective

Audience: Athletes of traditional sports

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Strengthening the physical and spiritual powers

Considering that you have lost these young men and been afflicted with this sorrow, I feel saddened; but it is worthy that we all die for Islam and for the Glorious Quran. We are all alive for the revival of the traditions of the Prophet of Islam and the reinstallation of the Glorious Quran; and we must repay our debt to Islam. When I see you the youth—by the grace of God, who are strong and vital, I feel very pleased and feel proud of the fact that in addition to physical vigor, you young men are taking a keen interest in religion and Islam; and in the same manner that you engage in sports for strengthening the body, God willing you also engage in exercise for strengthening the soul. When these two powers combine—the physical strength and the spiritual strength—it becomes of great value, the physical power for service, and the spiritual power for guidance. With the spiritual power, a human being can guide himself and with physical power, he can serve. When these two powers come together, a human being becomes a human being in the complete sense. Just as a society requires an active force and a guiding force, “a leader” to guide the society is essential, and the society must act on the guidance. When the guidance is a proper guidance and the action is a proper one, it will get a society to move and make it a balanced society; it will be brought up correctly. It is the same with an individual. The individual is also like a society; he needs a guiding force to guide him and an active force to act; he needs an active mind, he needs a subjective mind and he needs a practical mind to make him understand an opinion or an issue and to guide this same human being so that he acts towards the objective that he has in mind. In the same manner that a society is reformed by these two powers, a human being also is reformed by these two powers. And I hope that just as your physical power, by the grace of God is healthy and good, your spiritual power will also be the same, and that you serve Islam by means of these two powers.

The whole objective, the implementation of Islam

Now is the time when we want to save this country from this chaotic situation. We must all focus our sight on Islam; the whole objective should be Islam. Islam can enable us to attain happiness in this world and the hereafter. It is Islam that secures for us freedom—a healthy freedom; a correct freedom. Islam can make us independent. Islam can fortify our soul and consequently enable our body to become strong. We all now need to cooperate to bring order to the chaos. Of course, after every revolution there is chaos. Of course, after every revolution there is chaos and anarchy; but by the grace of God, the Revolution of Iran had lesser casualties than in other revolutions. No doubt there is turmoil but not as much as there was in other places and other revolutions. The casualties of the revolutions of Russia of the French Revolution were very high.

By the Grace of God, this too is a blessing from Islam; because the people who engineered the Revolution were Islamic. They were not people of the sort who wish to indulge in needless arson and destruction. They indulged in them to the extent that was required; to the amount that was useful, to the amount that was permissible. Consequently, after the Revolution, there was no such turmoil that was there in other places. However, there are still some figures from that regime remaining and foreign stooges also are to be seen among the people. But, these disorders also must, with the courage of the people, with the efforts of everyone—together, God willing be resolved and after that rebuilding should begin; and with the efforts of all, Islam be established in the manner that the Sublime and Glorious God has commanded.

Cooperation for building a divine country

Now, it is just words; again, we have not stepped beyond words. Although we voted for an Islamic Republic, but those objective and those features that needed to be established have again not been realized. Now there is every kind of turmoil. It requires a complete overhaul of its every thing; of the legacies of the *taghuti* regime that are present everywhere—now too it is present everywhere – all of these must be transformed so that Islam is established in the manner of its beautiful appearance, and the country should become divine versus a *taghuti* country. Now that you have destroyed a *taghuti* regime, in its place an Islamic country and a divine country should be created. Opposite the devil is God. With the exit of the devil a country of God must be founded—a divine country should be founded. And that also is possible with the efforts of all. Neither the

clergymen can perform the job alone, and nor the government can accomplish it alone and nor a particular strata of the nation. In the same way that you all carried it forward, you carried the issue forward together; you achieved victory to this extent together; once again, you must take this caravan to its destination together. If you are not together; if these forces do not all come together, they will not be able to do the job.

In the hope of implementation of the Islamic aspirations

The statements that are made here and there, the conflicts that are being continually fueled—all of these are against the direction of the nation. Our nation, all of us together, wanted Islam. The whole nation with their cries of “God is the greatest” demanded Islam, wanted an Islamic government, and wanted an Islamic Republic. The objective of the nation is Islam. These have passed; these were the preliminaries; because they were proving to be impediments in the path to establishment of Islam, the people overcome these obstacles. They pushed aside the tyrants, they pushed aside those who were plundering; however, the main aim is to establish an Islamic rule; that the regime should become a humanistic—Islamic one and the country an Islamic—humanistic one so that Islam be present throughout the country, among all the strata of the country, everywhere. And that wherever you go, you see the color of Islam there.

And I hope that with the brave efforts of all of you gentlemen and with the brave efforts of all sections of the people, this aspiration that we hold will be realized. May God grant His favors to all of you.

I hope that God will grant all of you His favors, and conflict which is the root of all evil will be put aside. All of us together are brothers; all of us are equal and friends. That which is most striking among you all is the affection that you have. You are all affectionate people and affection demands that you set aside your disputes. Two persons who are fond of each other do not quarrel with each other; and among you love and humanness are present. And I am optimistic that these great traits—both of which are blessings from the Blessed and Almighty God—will result in the removal of all quarrels. Everyone must be together; all of us must be together.