



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

SAHIFEH-YE IMAM

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

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Transliteration Symbols

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

Persian Letters

<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>
أ	a
إ	i
أ	u



Figure 1. Map of Iran

Note:

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

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

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The heart of man: the starting point of perfection
The important duty of the clergy
Clergymen: the spokesmen of Islam
The enemy assailing Islam on the pretext of the ulama's actions
The social responsibility of the clergy
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The ways of safeguarding the school
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Censuring the one-sided outlook on Islam and the Quran
A true expert on Islam
The real aim still remains
The alliance of the vanquished enemies
The ruses of the Shah's regime to create differences
The nation's duty to elect sympathetic experts well versed in Islam
The plot to oust the clergy from the scene of the Revolution
Increasing the congregations and being present in the mosques

Speech

Date: May 29, 1979 [Khordad 8, 1358 AHS / Rajab 3, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The danger of Islam's image being distorted; the need for the people to be watchful of the authorities of the Islamic Republic

Audience: Clergymen; personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps; inhabitants of Karaj;²

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need to maintain the prestige of Islam

The possessions and assets of the criminals are of no importance to me. What I attach great importance to is the fact that the Islamic Republic has now been proclaimed. The people are now rid of them; rid of the regime. They consider the Republic as an Islamic one. All the strata of the nation, especially those at the helm of affairs, especially the clergy that is at the head of affairs, should make all attempts to ensure that the image of the Islamic Republic, God forbid, does not appear unseemly in the public eye. This is the most important of all such matters. Possessions are not something to be taken away, swallowed up or seized; or used for the deprived class of the people which, of course could be done. What is important is the prestige of Islam. Every endeavor should be made to protect it. The people knew that the government was *taghuti*³ and that its actions were also *taghuti*. With its departure, the people now expect an Islamic government. The people do not expect that all the affairs should be set right at once. However, those in authority should ensure that Islam (the government) is not presented as a *taghuti* government. If we are negligent of affairs or violate the policies of Islam and Islamic governments, it will make Islam appear as *taghuti* in the eyes of the world, the foreigners, the youth who are uninformed about Islam, these people who are not well aware of Islam; in the view of all. This would be a setback, leading Islam to defeat right to the very end. Yesterday, I told some of the gentlemen who were here that the day the prestige of Islam is at

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date of this speech is mentioned as Khordad 9, 1358 AHS.

² Karaj: city in northern Iran, on the Karaj River, at the southern foot of the Elburz Mountains. It is an important transportation and industrial center on the main road and rail routes between Tehran and populous northwestern Iran and the Caspian Sea.

³ *Taghut*: one who surpasses all bounds in his despotism and tyranny and claims the prerogatives of divinity for himself whether explicitly or implicitly.

stake would be like the days when the great men of Islam gave their lives to safeguard it. In the days of Muawiyah¹ and then of his son Yazid² who had succeeded him, things were such that the image of Islam was getting distorted because of them. As the caliphs of the Muslims and the successors of the Messenger of God, they used to perpetuate atrocities. What courts they used to hold! It was here that the call of duty necessitated that the great personages of Islam oppose and challenge them; to fight even to the death for Islam, an ugly image of which they were presenting and with the uninformed people possibly thinking that the Islamic caliphate, itself, was just like that of Muawiyah and Yazid.

Observing religious rules and norms

Up to now, all the groups—may God give them health and prosperity—had been opposing this one, finally defeating and destroying this corrupt regime that was cruel, oppressive and treacherous. With the country now in the hands of the people, and the claim that the government is Islamic, that it is an Islamic republic, it is now that challenge is great. It is now up to the clergy, more than anyone else, to be a role model for the people because the clergy is a symbol of Islam and of God's prophets. Believing in Islam and in God, it is their duty now—with the *taghuti* regime having gone and an Islamic-humane government, as we claim, in place—to ensure that it does not so happen that the committees throughout the country, the Islamic guards [*pasdars*] and all the people everywhere regard themselves as being at liberty to do whatever they please, and to behave as they wish. If the clergy does not act according to Islamic principles, if the clergy that is at the head of society

¹ Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan was the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty (40 AH/662 CE), which ruled the Muslim world after the martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful, Ali ibn Abi Talib and the five-month rule of the second Imam, Hasan ibn Ali (*a*). As the founder of the Umayyad dynasty (Umayyad is derived from Bani Umayyah, the name of the tribe to whom he belonged), Muawiyah revived hereditary monarchy and aristocracy in sharp contrast and opposition to the rudimentary precepts of Islam. History is replete with innumerable instances of cruelty and oppression perpetrated in the world of Islam during the reign of the Umayyads including the murder, banishment and imprisonment of the followers of the Prophet's Progeny [*Ahl al-Bayt*] (*a*) as epitomized by the tragedy in Karbala (61 AH) during the reign of Muawiyah's son and second Umayyad caliph, Yazid.

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

does not act according to the criteria and rules, if the government and the military authorities do not do so, if they do not make their actions conform to Islam, an ugly image of Islam will be projected abroad. Now that the government is to become Islamic, now that the country is, for instance, an Islamic republic, the Islamic guards have been entering and leading people's houses and what not. Just a single instance (of this) is enough for the people to say that all of them do the same thing. If this happens on a couple of occasions, that is, they necessarily enter people's homes and, say, rob them, it would be enough for the people to claim that the occupation of the committee personnel and the Islamic guards is robbery. If just one committee in one neighborhood, or two committees in one neighborhood, act in contravention of religious laws, it would be enough for the people to say that this is how the Islamic committees are; these are the things they do. If there are a couple of cases of imprisonment contrary to Islamic laws, it would be enough for the people to say that imprisonment in Islam is also like that of SAVAK (the ex-Shah's intelligence agency).¹

The authorities under divine test

Everybody now has a very grave duty to perform: I, a seminarian, have this duty, the gentlemen belonging to the clergy have this duty, and the same is also true for all the other people. We must strive to show the dignified face of Islam as it really is; not like what the caliphs, such as Muawiyah and

¹ The bill for the formation of SAVAK, the State Security and Intelligence Organization, was passed by Parliament in 1956 (1335 AHS) and the organization was subsequently officially established in 1957 (1336 AHS). SAVAK's mission was to quash and confront any Islamic struggle or opposition to the regime. SAVAK was closely linked to the intelligence agencies of both America and Israel (CIA and MOSSAD) and gradually it turned into a terrorist organization. This institution, which in fact served as the CIA's headquarters, possessed several investigative and detective teams. In order to obtain information from those they had arrested, SAVAK would firstly send the latter to torture chambers, after which it would hand its captives over to rubber-stamp courts where, after the passing of a predetermined court verdict, the accused would be convicted and taken to horrendous prisons. The cruelty and callousness of SAVAK was so great that the Secretary General of Amnesty International, in a report made in 1975 stated: "No country in the world has a worse record in human rights than Iran... In order to obtain confessions, the torturers of SAVAK subject its captives to beatings and electric shocks. It employs all kinds of horrendous and inhumane methods to achieve its ends; the inflicting of agonizing pain on the sexual organs and the sexual assault of the wives and daughters of the captives before the latter's very eyes, are but two of such atrocities perpetrated." The Shah was fully aware of SAVAK's practices. This organization was abolished by Iranian Muslims in 1978 (1357 AHS) and its torturers were prosecuted in revolutionary courts.

Yazid, and also many of the Umayyad¹ or Abbasid² caliphs use to project. Claiming to be the representatives of Islam, they used to act against it; thus, causing a reversal of its standing in the world.

We are now in the midst of a big examination. God is testing us to see what we are going to do at this juncture when we have acquired something, when we have acquired power. Are we the same (as the previous regime) but in a different form, or are we not so? Do we abide by the rules? There is one danger afoot that I consider important. The communist threat is not so much; it is there but not to this extent the SAVAK threat is not so much. These dangers are important. It is not important to me if the deposed Shah's possessions are gone or not. The palaces of so-and-so are of no importance to us. What is important is that the dignity of Islam be maintained; the real image of Islam would remain so. Now with the affairs in our hands, let us not behave in such a manner for them to say that this is what Islam is!

Dealing a blow to the prestige of Islam—an unforgivable crime

They sometimes say that so-and-so is like this. It does not matter that so-and-so is like this. But, God forbid, if at any time it so happens that the *ulama*³ or the believers commit an offence or two, the people, then, would say, "Well, these are examples of Islam; the representatives of Islam are like this. Hence, it is obvious that Islam is like this." If the Islamic committees and the committees in the Islamic government are involved in any such incidents, it would show Islam in a bad light. If we, ourselves, do some such thing, it would be an unpardonable offence. God, the Blessed and Exalted, would not forgive us. This is not like the other sins; it is a big sin in that we have endangered Islam, we have portrayed Islam contrary to what it is.

¹ Umayyads: descendants of Umayyah ibn Abd ash-Shams ibn Abd al-Manaf from the Quraysh tribe, and members of the dynasty that ruled at Damascus from 41 AH/632 CE until 132 AH/750 CE and transformed the caliphate into a hereditary institution. Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan was the first of the Umayyad line. This kingdom ended with the murder of Marwan II, the last Umayyad caliph.

² Abbasids: offspring of Abbas ibn Abdul-Muttalib, uncle of the Holy Prophet (s), and the dynasty that replaced the Umayyads and established a new caliphal capital in Baghdad. This dynastic rule began in 132 AH/750 CE with the caliphate of Abdullah as-Saffah. With the rise of various local rulers, generally of military origin, the power of the Abbasids began to decline from the fourth/tenth century and it was brought to an end by the Mongol conquest in 656/1258.

³ *Ulama*: Islamic scholars; plural form of *alim* [Islamic scholar, learned man].

A humble request

Therefore, I humbly request; in all humbleness and humility, I beseech all the people, all the committees, the Islamic guards, the believers, the preachers, the prayer leaders, and all Muslims not to portray this Islam that is now in their hands in a manner contrary to what it really is. (They should) show it just as it is. If Islam is shown as it (really) is, the world will accept it; it is a good commodity'. But, God forbid, if we now act in a way that would make them say that this is what Islam is, it would be the greatest act of treachery toward Islam that we have committed. This is a general recommendation that is important to me, and, I must say—I must tell all the strata of the people of this nation to pay the utmost attention to the matter so that not a single step be taken contrary to Islam; not a single step. Be very careful to ensure that those who act contrary to Islamic principles are not in the committees under your jurisdiction. Take the utmost care to ensure that those posing as Islamic, as Muslims, as believers, and so on, do not take a single contrary step that, God forbid, would show an ugly face of Islam inconsistent with what it really is. This, in my opinion, is the most important thing of all and the responsibility for which, the greatest. This is the duty of all of us, to the extent that our capabilities allow, so that the public does not think that Islam, too, is like the other regimes, that they had no power so far, but now that the government is in their hands, the affairs are just as they are and as they used to be.

The need for the people to be watchful of the actions of the authorities

This is an important matter to which the people should pay attention. The whole nation is duty-bound to exercise supervision over these affairs, to supervise these matters. If I took a wrong step or made a wrong move, it would be the people's duty to tell me so, to tell me to watch my step. This matter is very important. It is the duty of all to supervise all the affairs that concern Islam. If, God forbid, the people notice a committee acting against Islamic regulations, the *bazaris* [traders and shopkeepers] should object, and I must also say—farmers, the believers and the *ulama* as well should object. They must keep on objecting until they manage to correct the deviation. If they notice that a believer, God forbid, wants to violate Islamic norms, everyone is duty-bound to prevent him from doing so, as (the issues) these days are different from those of the other days. They should have done so in the previous period as well; however, the matter is very important now. The essential point now is the prestige of Islam. Basically, it is that Islam (government) is now in our own hands; what are we doing about it? Hence,

this is what is important in my opinion. The other matters should also be addressed, but they are of secondary importance. The issue of prime importance is that all of us, the people one and all, should pay attention to this aspect, observing the principle, "You are all responsible."¹ They should see to it that at no time should I utter a single word against Islamic laws. In case I do so, they should object, write and speak (about it). Sir, you, this one, these (people) that are said to be managing the people's affairs whether concerning the government or, I should say, the courts, wherever they are, should know that it is now the time for everyone to be careful, not to take a single false step. They should protect Islam and portray it as it really is. If, God forbid, anyone is found to have done something wrong, the people should raise an objection; they should object to that person as to why he is doing so. At the advent of Islam, there was the case of Umar² who, when speaking from the pulpit, asked the audience what they should do if he did something wrong. An Arab drew his sword saying that they would set the matter right by means of "this;" by the sword. It should be like this. If the Muslims see anyone—be it anybody, be it their caliph—taking a deviant step, they should unsheathe their swords and tell that person to correct his ways.

If we wish to safeguard Islam and present it as a model to the world, it cannot be done just by ousting the Shah and the tyrants. If it is to be that the oppressors having gone, we, another group have taken their place and, to the extent that powers allow, are doing the same things, then we are also just the same; just like that regime. We, too, are the same as those oppressors. All the people should know this; the whole nation should know it; and at the head of them, the clergy and the top authorities everywhere. The Islamic government, the Islamic army and the disciplinary forces, all of whom are now saying that they are Islamic and inclined toward Islam, and that they are rid of the *taghut*, should know that mere words are not enough; there should be substance to them. The people's condition should now change from what it was; not that their words change, while their state remains the same. The same applies to the municipalities, the army, the ministries, government departments and the bazaar. The bazaar must be an Islamic one. There should be no fleeing and no dealing in smuggled goods. It should be an Islamic bazaar and have the people's condition in mind. The people are suffering

¹ It is a widely known *hadith* recorded, among others, in *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 6, p. 30; *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

² It refers to Umar ibn al-Khattab, the second caliph.

because they lack purchasing power. The opportunists have raised prices manifold. This is not in conformity with Islam, it is against...

It is now the duty of all of us, all the individuals of the nation, from the highest to the lowest—whether in the government departments or not, whether in the bodies that are managing the affairs or not—it is the duty of all of us to do our work as approved by Islam. Now that we say that it is an Islamic republic and that the country is Islamic, now that we want to show Iran as a model to the other countries, let it not so happen that, one day, it becomes a satanic model and we remain indifferent about it. It should be an Islamic model; this is the duty of everybody.

May God grant all of you success. I thank all of you for having come from afar to visit me, and hope that by the will of God all these issues be resolved.

[One of those in the audience mentioned the economy and opportunities, to which the Imam replied:]

I have not much time now, not much time. The country's affairs must be run in conformity with Islam. Wealth that is contrary to Islam will be confiscated. It will be calculated. The properties that, it is said, will be confiscated and what the government is doing about it, do not belong to the people. These properties consist of wastelands that the previous regime had sold without having owned it, or the people who were not the owners had sold. These are the issues. Not that they will take away the land from someone who had developed it. There is not such thing in Islam that the possessions of people are seized for the sake of the materialism of other; it is not like this. The question of the people's possessions should be resolved according to their legitimate rights justified by religious law and on the basis of divine principles. Everything will turn out right if divine principles are observed.

Speech

Date: May 29, 1979 [Khordad 8, 1358 AHS / Rajab 3, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Rising for the sake of God; the duty of the Muslims in the present age

Audience: The Qaimiyyah (devotees of the 12th Imam) groups of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rising for God knows no defeat

I hope that all of us will be among the Qaimiyyah groups and, under the banner of the Hadrat² Sahib [Master of the Age] (a),³ discharge the duties that have been decreed by Islam and the Quran, give forms their real substance and words their real meaning. Perhaps this attribute mentioned in the case of Hadrat Sahib (a) ensues from this noble verse that states: “Say (unto them, O Muhammad): I exhort you unto one thing only; that ye awake for God’s sake by twos and singly, and then reflect’...”⁴ Perhaps it is this sense that we should all rise in a unique uprising, as the most sublime uprising is the promised one of that unique person. All the uprisings should follow that one; they should be for God. God, the Blessed and Exalted, states that He has only one admonition to give us: “Tell the ummah⁵ that I have only one admonition for them,” and that is, they should rise; the uprising should be for God; rise in the name of God. Of course that Hadrat (the 12th Imam) will rise for God. That godliness and purity that he has are not for the others. However, the honorable Shiah of that Hadrat should follow him by rising for God. If their uprising is for God, if their deeds are for God, if the movement is for His sake, it will not be defeated. The reason is that whatever is done for God is, in reality, undefeatable, even though it is thought to have

¹ The date of this speech has been given as Khordad 10, 1358 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

² Hadrat: The word *Hadrat* is used as a respectful form of address.

³ It refers to Imam Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Mahdi, the Twelfth and Last Imam from the Prophet’s Holy Progeny who is presently in the state of major occultation and will appear on the appointed time in the future to fill the world with truth, justice and faith after being engulfed by falsehood, injustice and unbelief. For further information on the Islamic belief on the Mahdi, see Ayatullah Ibrahim Amini, *Imam Mahdi: Just Leader of Humanity*, <http://www.al-islam.org/mahdi/nontl/index.htm>; Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Baqir aS-Sadr and Ayatullah Murtada Mutahhari, *Awaited Savior*, <http://www.al-islam.org/awaited/index.htm>.

⁴ *Surah Saba* 34:46.

⁵ *Ummah*: the entire Islamic community without territorial or ethnic distinction.

apparently met defeat. Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali) (a)¹ fought Muawiyah and was defeated. But it was not a defeat. This apparent defeat was not a real one as it was for God. Rising for His sake knows no defeat. It has triumphed to this day; it will do so forever.

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

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

The philosophy of the Ashura¹ uprising

The Doyen of the Martyrs² (a) staged an uprising with some of his companions, family members and the ladies of his household. As it was for God, they destroyed the very foundations of that wicked person's monarchy. On the face of it, he (the Doyen of the Martyrs) was killed, but, in reality, he extirpated the foundations of that monarchy; one that intended to turn Islam into a *taghuti* form. The danger that Muawiyah and Yazid posed for Islam did not lie in their usurpation of the caliphate; this was a danger less than that of their attempting to turn Islam into the form of a monarchy. They wanted to render spiritualities into a *taghuti* form. By calling themselves the successors of the Messenger of God (s), they wanted to convert Islam into a *taghuti* regime. This was the important issue. The two of them wanted to do, and did, so much harm to Islam that their predecessors had not. They tried to misrepresent the basic principles of Islam to the utmost. Theirs was a monarchy. There was drinking and gambling at their parties. The successor' of the Prophet attending parties where wine was being imbibed? And present at gambling sessions? And the Prophet's successor' would also attend congregational prayers, such things notwithstanding! All this greatly menaced Islam. The Doyen of the Martyrs averted this danger. The issue did not concern the usurpation of the caliphate only. His uprising was against the *taghuti* monarchy itself; the one that wanted to show Islam in a way such that; had they succeeded, Islam would have become something else. It would have become like the 2,500-year old monarchy. When Islam appeared, it wanted to put an end to the monarchies and such regimes, and to establish a divine government in the world. It aimed to destroy "taghut" and replace it

¹ *Ashura*: the tenth day of Muharram; the day on which Imam Husayn was martyred in Karbala.

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

with “Allah”. They, however, wanted to remove “Allah” and install “*taghut*” instead—the same issues of paganism, the same problems of the past (pre-Islamic times). The Doyen of the Martyrs being killed did not constitute a defeat as it was for God; rising for Him never ends in defeat.

God, the Blessed and Exalted, says: “*All admonishments aside, I have only one that I wish to make. The Noble Prophet is the intercessor; God the preacher; the people, the ones being preached to. I do not have more than one admonishment to make, and that is rising for the sake of God.*” Rise for God when you see the divine religion in danger. The Commander of the Faithful [Imam Ali] (a) rose to defend the faith when he saw it in danger as Muawiyah was misrepresenting it. The Doyen of the Martyrs, likewise, rose for the divine school [*maktab*]. This is not a one-time matter; God’s admonishment is for always. You must rise for God whenever you see them act against Islam, against Islam, against an Islamic-humane regime, against a divine one; whenever you see them misrepresent Islamic principles and crush Islam in the name of Islam. You should not be afraid of, perhaps, failing; of the possibility of defeat. There is no question of defeat about it.

When I was in Paris, some of the well-wishers used to tell me that it could not be done. What is to be done when such is the case? One must [...] a bit. I said that we are carrying out our religious obligation. We are not so particular about succeeding as we do not know what lies ahead. We also do not have the power at present; but we have a duty. We will discharge our religious duty. I had so judged that we should undertake this task. If we succeed, we have fulfilled our religious obligation and attained our goal as well. If, however, we do not succeed, we have, at least, done our religious duty. If we fail, well. Hadrat Amir also did not meet with success. He performed his duty while being confronted by them. His own companions opposed him; he could not succeed. But this was not so significant. Well, we can do as much as our power allows us to do. When we see—or you see—them misrepresenting an Islamic government and that, in the name of Islamic justice, promoting oppression and portraying Islam in this manner, saying that they have nothing to do with Islam, then, the task becomes easier for a person. But when somebody publishes the Quran and goes on a pilgrimage to the shrines of the Doyen of the Martyrs and Hadrat Rida (a),¹ or says his

¹ Hadrat Rida: Ali ibn Musa, eighth of the Twelve Imams, born in 148 AH/765 CE and died in 203 AH/817 CE in Tus (Mashhad). He was poisoned by the Abbasid caliph Mamun, who had superficially appointed him as his successor at first, but then grew fearful of the wide following he commanded. His shrine in Mashhad is one of the principal centers of pilgrimage and religious learning in Iran. See Baqir Sharif al-Qarashi, *The Life of Imam Ali ibn Musa al-Rida*, trans. Jasim al-Rasheed (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 2001); Muhammad Jawad Fadlallah, *Imam al-Rida: A Historical and Biographical Research*, trans. Yasin T. al-Jibouri, <http://www.al-islam.org/al-rida/index.html>; Muhammad Mahdi Shamsuddin, “Al-Imam al-Rida (a) and the Heir Apparent,” *At-Tawhid Journal*, <http://www.al-islam.org/al-tawhid/heir.htm>.

prayers in public, stating that they want to establish Islam; and while loudly proclaiming this, does it in an absolutely wrong way, it is here that (our) duty becomes very difficult. It is here that Islam is in jeopardy with repercussions being felt abroad and, at times, in Iran. If they had succeeded, then the internal reaction at that time would have been, "Well, this is it; this is the Islamic government." However, our uprising; your uprising should be for God. When one notices the divine school to be in danger, one should rise for His sake. When Islamic tenets are imperiled, one should rise for His sake. The one who can has discharged his duty and has succeeded at the same time. But the one who cannot has at least performed his duty. Dissimulation [*taqiyyah*] is forbidden on certain occasions.¹ When a person sees that God's faith is in danger, he cannot dissimulate; he should discharge his duty, come what may. Dissimulation is a secondary matter; it is not one of the main principles. Dissimulation is there for safeguarding the faith. However, whenever the faith is in peril, dissimulation does not apply; there is no room for silence.

Now let us see what our duty is. You have, so far, performed your Islamic duty—may you be rewarded by God—and all of you have joined hands: the clergy, the university, merchants, office-goers, army personnel; a part of it, of course. Each one of you extended your hand (of cooperation) to the others, thereby, pulling down the high wall that had been erected between the nation and the thing it aspired to: Islam. May God reward you. But does the matter end here? Do we now have peace of mind? Can we now go about our affairs or are we still restless? Are we still on the way? We have not yet put the substance and reality of Islam into practice in Iran. It is true that all of us voted for an Islamic republic, but Islam cannot be realized merely by voting for it. Iran is officially an Islamic republic now according to the officially-recognized vote. However, the substance of Islam should become a reality in this country. Just by saying that it is an Islamic republic—while it is un-Islamic in all respect—does not make it Islamic. He (ex-Shah) would also call it "Islam"! Muawiyah would also loudly say "Islam"! He used to take

¹ *Taqiyyah*: prudential dissimulation of one's true beliefs under conditions of acute danger, a practice based on *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:28. For a fuller discussion of *taqiyyah*, see Allamah Tabatabai, *Shiite Islam* (Albany, N.Y., 1975), pp. 223-225, <http://www.al-islam.org/anthology/index.htm>; *Al-Taqiyya/Dissimulation*, <http://al-islam.org/encyclopedia/chapter6b/1.html>.

part in congregational prayers and was the prayer leader as well. Some of the Abbasid caliphs were learned people and authorities on religion. Some or all of them would say their prayers in congregation and would outwardly observe the rules of etiquette. But they wanted to strip Islam and the Quran of substance. By their deeds, they wanted to have an Islam without meaning to it, like the one currently in vogue. Islam has no meaning without the presence of the clergy. These are the people who give Islam its content. The others wanted an Islam [...]; they would say, “Yes, we accept Islam, but only in name; it should not transcend words and acquire its true substance”!

“Depoliticized Islam”, the colonialist contention

Muhammad Rida Khan would also say that he believed in Islam. He would not keep the people back from praying in mosques, though this act of his was because of his fear of something else. When the British came and occupied Iraq, one of the commanders—as I had heard—on noticing someone saying something atop the minaret, asked what it was that he was saying. He was told that it was the *adhan* [the call to prayers]. He wanted to know whether it was harmful to the British Empire, and was told that it was not so. He thereupon told the people to tell the person concerned to say whatever he liked. Our prayers and fasting were not injurious to the British Empire; the British had nothing to do with all this. “Go and pray as much as you like; fast as much as you want.” What posed a danger to the Empire was Islam; its content, most of which has been unfortunately forgotten. The political aspect of Islam has been forgotten too. In fact, politics (in religion) was considered shameful here! “So-and-so cleric is political.” And if a person affecting piety had also been called “a pious politician”—which we read in the *Ziyarat Jamiah*¹—they would have, perhaps, justified it. He would not have dared to say that he, too, is politically-inclined. It was considered a disgrace for somebody to interfere in the affairs of government with the purpose of ensuring that it was acting properly and administering its affairs correctly. This was the propaganda of those devilish persons who wanted to keep the outward appearance of Islam and us to busy ourselves with those outward forms in which there should be no substance. They wanted the people to go about their work forgetting the meaning of Islam, the important parts of which are striving in the way of God, being active in His cause, averting the oppressors, the cruelty of the tyrants and implementing

¹ *Ziyarat Jamiah*: one of the authentic socio-mystical supplications included in a collection of supplications called *Mafatih al-Jinan* [Keys to Heavens] compiled by the late Shaykh Abbas Qummi. This supplication has both long [*al-kabir*] and short [*as-saghir*] versions.

Islamic justice. We can say whatever we want and pray as much as we like. We should not mention the question of thwarting the *taghut*; this should not be mentioned! We can talk of everything else but this. We can beat our breasts as much as we want, but should not discuss politics. Even such breast-beating has no substance to it! Breast-beating, too, should have meaning.

Eschewing futile and showy activities

This year you must have illuminations¹ with meaning; but they do not have that benefit for Islam that they ought to have, particularly for those who strive for God, for rising in His cause. These illuminations should be the ray of light of the movement for God, of the campaign against corruption, of the extirpation of the roots of sedition which are once again spreading among the people; these roots that do not want to let this movement succeed on any account. The illuminations should be absolutely grand and useful; they should have meaning to them. This year should be different from the others. This year you must make amends for past lapses. There is a time for awareness, and a time for action.² It was a crusade that you embarked on that day; what you are doing today is also a crusade. But you must bear in mind that the movement, the uprising should be for God. Whatever you do should be for God. It should not be a show, it should be for God. It should be well shown, but not for show; for God. Safeguard its essence. Let the orators attend your gatherings to tell you the truth about the various issues.

The capitalist bazaar and the Islamic one

We have not yet reached our destination. Up to now, “Islamic Republic” has been just a designation. They have accomplished certain things, of course, but the ones we want have not been done yet. We voted for “Islamic Republic”: That regime has gone and another one has been established. However, everything must be Islamic. The day we attain all our goals is the day when all our affairs have become Islamic in nature. The bazaar should be an Islamic one. A bazaar in which a merchant buys an article for a tuman³ and sell it to the poor for thirty tumans is not Islamic. A bazaar in which a merchant smuggles goods into the country and, selling them at exorbitant

¹ It refers to the great festivals held in the months of Rajab and Shaban (on the occasion of the birthdays of the first and twelfth Imams respectively).

² It refers to the non-observance of the celebration of Shaban 15, 1357 AHS as a protest against the regime of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi that wanted to mislead the people by means of celebrations and illuminations.

³ Tuman: every *tuman* is equivalent to ten Iranian *rials*.

prices, intends to upset the economic system of Islam, is not Islamic. These (affairs) should become Islamic; they, themselves, should make them Islamic. That bazaar in which a merchant is not considerate about the weak and poor people, or one who has a poor neighbor but is heedless of him, is not Islamic. A nation that erects luxurious towering apartments on one side with slums on the other is not an Islamic one. All of you have seen the condition of the slum-dwellers; you have certainly seen them; so have I. A country with slum-dwellers in such a state and with the people unmindful of them is not an Islamic country. It is outwardly so, but there is no substance to it.

Following Imam Ali (a) in all respects

According to what is said, Hadrat Amir is reported to have stated that there may be somebody in *sarhaddat* [border areas] who is hungry. He was tormented by the likelihood of someone being hungrier than himself. He is the one who is our leader, our master, our Imam. (Should) we repeatedly say “Imam” and then not follow him? Should we not follow him in our actions? Is this the meaning of “Imam?” “Shiah” means to accompany, just as they do when bearing a coffin. If everybody follows a coffin (in a funeral procession) it means that they are accompanying it. But if one goes by another side while the coffin is being taken, he is then not taking part in the obsequies. Shiah must be like this (the former case); he must follow Ali (a). Of course, we do not have his power; nobody has. But we can follow his example in being pious, in simple living, in attending to the poor and the meek. We cannot live as he did; we certainly cannot adopt his ways as we do not have the capability of doing so. He was a marvel, a collection of contrasts. He had brought together within him all the opposites. As it is said, he was a person of power who, on the one hand, would strive and spilt (his enemy) in two; would fight those who were against Islam and kill all of them, while, on the other hand, he was a devout ascetic. A pious and devout person who sits praying until morning is not given to war. Most people who are warlike are not pious, devout, etc. All these (traits) were in him. We cannot be like him, but we can follow him to some extent. We can help the poor of our country, the meek.

An upheaval has occurred in Iran; a spiritual upheaval. This spiritual transformation has surpassed your achievement in overcoming the *taghut* and casting him aside which, as you say, has amazed the world. The spiritual transformation of the nation—that feared a policeman until recently—was such that young and old poured into the streets shouting, “We do not want

the Shah.” This transformation was a spiritual one that God wrought in us. A people that at one time would haggle over prices in their transactions were behaving in such a humane manner with one another and had been so transformed that one of the gentlemen told me of having seen a woman... in those demonstrations—those days when the demonstrations were being held—holding a bowl of money in her hand. He thought that, perhaps, she was a beggar. When he reached her...he heard her saying that as it was a holiday, she was holding the bowl of money for the passers-by some of whom might want to make a phone call but not find the small change to do so. This is a small matter, but very significant nonetheless. It is a transformation of great magnificence. At the time of the Revolution when the people were under pressure, when—as I used to hear—these gentlemen would come out into the streets and, while walking past the houses, would be given water, etc. by those living there and also have rose water sprinkled on them. A cooperative feeling had arisen during the Revolution. The magnificence of this spiritual revolution is more than that of the revolutions which took place abroad. The gentlemen should know that safeguarding the revolution would be the greatest of all victories, provided that all of us are able to do so.

Overcharging and smuggling are inconsistent with the revolutionary spirit

Safeguard this spiritual revolution. Now that we have, for example, partially triumphed, in that we have got rid of the obstacles, and now that there have been strikes going on for sometime and—let me say—fall in incomes, it should now not be so that you want to make up for it, that you want to compensate for the strikes by troubling the people. If it is to be so, that divine Islamic spirit will then be lost, and if that spirit is lost, so will our victory. You must safeguard it; you must maintain this spiritual change. It should not be said that the matter is over and there are other matters now; that everybody should see to his own affairs and attend to his own business. And the way they keep on coming to me practically every day complaining of the extent of the overcharging and the smuggling, of the increase in the sales of heroin and opium. If that spiritual transformation—that has been there for sometime and brought you success—is reversed, there is the fear of, God forbid, other gains being also lost and God’s favor ceasing...

God favored this nation by giving it this victory. Nobody did it; only God did. Nobody other than God favored us. This feeling of cooperation that arose among the people earned them His blessings. God, the Blessed and

Exalted, favors his creatures; favors the meek. The blessings of God followed this feeling of cooperation that had sprung up. His blessings and favor took you to victory; make efforts to safeguard it. If so, you will be victorious to the end, the very end. If, God forbid, we forfeit it, I do not know what will happen. I hope that, God willing, this year, this great celebration¹ will be held in all glory and given its true significance. I also hope that the gentlemen enjoy health and prosperity, and Aqa (the 12th Imam) as well, and all of us take this movement to a successful conclusion by establishing an Islamic republic with an Islamic content in every respect. May God assist all of you.

¹ Apparently, it refers to the celebrations of Shaban 15 on the occasion of the birth of Imam al-Mahdi (a).

Speech

Date: May 29, 1979 [Khordad 8, 1358 AHS / Rajab 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The responsibilities of the tribes and other groups; the reconstruction of Iran by the people themselves

Audience: A group of people of Kohkiluyeh and Buyer-Ahmad tribes

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The responsibility of the tribes and others

We have, perhaps, more need for the tribes—all of them—with respect to the problems that we now face. The reason is that, unfortunately, in the time of Rida Khan,¹ one of the regime's aims was that Iran should have no tribes; that is, it was the aim of the foreign powers. They thought that this support of Iran and the nation, whether with regard to the clergy or to politics and security, should not exist. And so they were opposed to all the tribes. They used to oppose all the tribes and those living in the border regions. In the interior, too, they were against the clergy. What we all now need is for calm to return to the country. The country will settle down if there is tranquility. All the aims of the officials and the people would be realized. The tranquility of the country depends on the assistance of all ranks, the most important of which are the tribes. If the tribes make efforts, they can bring peace to the regions where they live. They must not allow various groups to come and sow discord and create disorder, nor allow some of the organs of the country to do certain things, for example, that are against the dignity of the country. The tribal gentlemen, wherever they are, should, themselves, prevent such things from happening so that calm is restored and the wheels of the economy start moving. In this connection, we heard after they had left that

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.

they had, unfortunately, destroyed everything and gone away, leaving nothing for us.

We now need calm to prevail so as to facilitate reconstruction, and repair the damage previously done. If there is no peace; in case some trouble crops up everywhere in the country; some differences arise, well, the government naturally will not be able to carry out the task of reconstruction. However, if calm is restored and, God willing, the Islamic Republic, with everybody's assistance, takes shape in the true sense; not just vote-wise, but in reality, and an independent government is formed and Islamic precepts put into effect there would, then, be welfare and prosperity for all the various segments of the nation—prosperity in this world and the hereafter. In any case, we now need help. We must all join hands in this country which they ruined and left. We must, first of all, maintain tranquility, following which all of us must cooperate to rebuild it.

The destruction wrought by the Shah's regime

It is obvious that attention has not been given to any place. Neither should you think that attention has not been paid to the tribes. Now, any tribesperson coming from anywhere believes that it is only his area that is worse than any other. The Bakhtiyaris come and say the same thing that there is no place as bad as their region. Baluchis say likewise, and so do the Kurdistanis. All of them state the same fact because none [of the problems] of these areas have been addressed. I have repeatedly said that in Tehran—which is the capital and where all the government organs want to function—there are, say, approximately thirty districts about which they had written to me saying that these are in need of repairs; these areas of slum-dwellers and—I should say—tent-dwellers, etc. in Tehran itself who have nothing; neither electricity, nor water, nor asphalt, now hygiene, nothing. This is the case in Tehran. This is because they did not bother about the people. They wanted to look after their own interest and of America and such counties. For this reason, the question of their attending the needs of the people never struck them. It did not cross their minds that the nation is itself something in any country. What should have been spent for the people was given away to foreigners. Nothing at all that concerned the nation was done. Therefore, you should not imagine that they did not attend to the matters concerning only your tribe and your region. They had not dealt with any region. Tehran's condition is like this and the other provinces are the same.

The need to allow time for development and reconstruction

When I was in Najaf,¹ some businessman from Kuwait—who were actually from towns near Ahwaz,² perhaps Behbahan³ and thereabouts—would visit me, asking for permission to use the Imam's (a) Share⁴ to build a water reservoir in some town or village that, according to them, lacked drinking water. The reservoir was necessary for collecting the rainwater and then supplying it to the village, for instance, that the people there could have water for that year. One of them (visitors) told me that the women of the village had to walk a distance of one *farsakh* (6 kilometers) in order to fetch water. They had to go to the spot where there was water, fill their pitchers and return. They did not think of doing something for the nation, but now they have a mind to do something. However, things are so unsettled as to require time. Time is needed to enable them to attend to their tasks. First of all, the government is thinking about this; plans are in place for the purpose. Plans to undertake asphaltting are underway. According to what the Prime Minister, who was here recently, said, the work has already begun in various places. I hope that if calm prevails in the country—that is now free of the pillage and the embezzlement, and the country's wealth that belongs to it is now being used within it—all the problems will be resolved, God willing.

Eliminating irregularities through the nation's efforts

May God protect you the tribes that are the resource of this country. It is hoped that, God willing, all of us will fulfill our obligation so that these groups do not come and create mischief; do not go among the youth and say things—I must say—in order to incite them against Islam and the direction the country is taking. It is up to the tribal chiefs in those places to make maximum efforts for the good of Islam, the country and the nation. May God grant success to all of you.

¹ Najaf: a city in southern Iraq where Imam Ali (a) is buried and a prominent center of Shiah religious learning. Imam Khomeini spent about 13 years of exile there.

² Ahwaz: city in southwestern Iran, the administrative center of Khuzestan (Khuzistan) Province. Ahwaz is one of Iran's largest cities and the center of the region's oil industry. It is located at the confluence of the Karun and Shatt al-Arab rivers on the lowland plain of Khuzestan.

³ Behbahan: town in the Khuzestan Province.

⁴ Share of the Imam: *Sahm al-Imam*, one-half of the *khums* paid to Imam al-Mahdi, or in the period of his occultation, to the *ulama*, for charitable disbursement. For more information, see Sayyid Muhammad Rizvi, *Khums: An Islamic Tax*, <http://www.al-islam.org/beliefs/practices/khums.html>.

[One among the audience stated: “If Hadrat Imam so orders, we are prepared to guard the country’s borders in the tribal regions.”]

May they be successful. Of course, the borders must be protected by the gentlemen themselves who live in the border regions so that no unscrupulous persons enter the country. It is said that there are people who are entering the country, weapons are being brought in and narcotics such as heroin and opium that are harmful to the people are being brought in. The army, at present, is not very strong, the gendarmerie is not very strong—they are waiting to be strengthened—but, nevertheless, are standing firm. The nation itself must solve these problems now. The country is now yours; when the country is yours, you must serve it just as if you are serving your own family. You, yourselves, must serve your country and rid it of all the irregularities wherever they may be. May God give you success and assistance.

Decree

Date: May 30, 1979 [Khordad 9, 1358 AHS / Rajab 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to continue religious and political activities

Audience: Sayyid Muhammad Jawad Husayni Rukni

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Muhammad Jawad Husayni Rukni—may his graces last:

In order to continue religious activities and carry out religiously-ordained duties, it is necessary for your honor to remain in Bandar Lengeh and, as before, attend to the local affairs and the needs of the people. You must also acquaint the people of that region with their grave duties, particularly in this sensitive and fateful situation facing Islam.

I ask God the Almighty to give your honor and all the honorable gentlemen, continued success in serving Islam. Please convey my regards to the distinguished *ulama* and the esteemed people—may God Almighty assist them. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab al-Khayr 4, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: May 30, 1979 [Khordad 9, 1358 AHS / Rajab 4, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Deprivation of intellectual and spiritual freedom more dangerous than political dependence; Westernization and the intellectual dependence of the intellectuals

Audience: The personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary Committees, Qazvin²

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The long road to the Islamic Republic

Qazvin was also one of the cities where destruction and tragedies took place, more than many of the other cities. You, the esteemed Qazvinis, also experienced tragedies; there was also a lot of destruction in the province. You also gave much help. It makes me happy to see these valiant youth; they are a source of pride to us. I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for everybody's health.

We have been striving for Islam so far, but there are certain things that must be said. It is an Islamic Republic, of course; all of us voted for it. But what should happen has not happened; it will take place later, God willing. The moral decadence that was there in Iran during the reign of the father and son,³ the corruption that had reared up in the country—and was being spread as 'progress', as 'advancement', as the 'great civilization'—will all take time to be eradicated. The most damaging of all such things was their destroying our workforce; they did not let it grow. Centers of corruption in the cities, especially in Tehran, were many and much publicity was done to entice our children to them. Many avenues of corruption were open to our youth, and spread far and wide in order to drag our children into them. This evil was the greatest of all. It is easier to compensate for material damage than for the spiritual kind.

Deprivation of spiritual and intellectual independence

They gave away our oil; depleted it. Now the oil is there for Iran once again. The agriculture had been ruined, but it can be remedied, afterwards. It

¹ The date of this speech is given as Khordad 8, 1358 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

² Qazvin or Kazvin: city in northwestern Iran and the capital of a province of the same name.

³ That is, Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.

can be remedied soon, God willing; it can be done. However, the workforce is important. They ruined it and did not let it grow. They acted in a way in our country as to destroy its human resources. They left behind an outward appearance (of progress) but took the content away. They did all this to make us lose our self-confidence. They deprived us of our intellectual freedom, our spiritual freedom. This was worse than the deprivation of our independence due to which our country was not free. We had lost our morale. Whatever would take place was because of our way of thinking that all our affairs should be directed from abroad. If they wanted to asphalt a road or build one to link two cities, the experts had to come from abroad. They insulted our workforce; they deprived us of our meaningfulness. Anybody falling ill had to be taken to England; even now traces of this are present. The doctors who visit me say that they, themselves, are able to treat these people who are taken abroad; they say that they can cure them. But the people had been brought up in such a way as to be deprived of their self-confidence. Even our freedom to think (for ourselves) was taken away from us. We had become intellectually, mentally and psychologically dependent.

Intellectual and spiritual dependence, the worst kinds of dependence

Such dependence is really deplorable. We can get rid of military dependence within a day, a month. We can expel them (foreign military advisors). Economic dependence can be countered; and in quick time. But mental and human dependence are difficult matters. Because of propaganda, a child is brought up in a dependent way from his early childhood in his mother's lap up to the time he goes to primary school, to secondary school, to university; wherever he goes. He comes to believe that nothing can be accomplished without depending on foreign sources, and that we ourselves have nothing. The general thinking is that even our mindset is not right. Because of this, rectifying the matter is difficult; it cannot be done so quickly. All of us should join hands to rectify the situation so that this dependence is eliminated, thus leading to a country with a non-dependent economy and education. The people themselves should be intellectually free; free in thought, free in spirit. Even nowadays, wherever you go, in the gatherings convened by our intellectuals, you will find the same obsession with the West in what they say; the same words. They say the same things that they used to say in the days of the *taghut* when they would have their get-togethers. They are saying the same things once again. We have not left behind our dependence and Westernization; nor can we do it so quickly. That spokesman of theirs who is no more—may God bless his soul—had said that

all our things should come from England! One of their notables says that all our things should be English. He had so lost his essence; he had become emptied of it; a person outwardly like all others but, in reality, dependent.

The intellectual dependence and Westernization of the intellectuals

We cannot cleanse the minds so quickly of these intellectuals and “liberals” of the things that have been dinned into their heads for fifty, thirty, twenty years leading to their self-estrangement and self-negligence. A new culture is required; a transformative one. Our children, from the very beginning, should be brought up in a culture that is humane, Islamic and independent—a culture that is our very own, and in which our children grow up according to their own genius so that they can take their destiny in their own hands, so that the culture of Europe, of America, etc. is not repeatedly dinned into their ears. It used to be repeatedly dinned into their ears that everything of ours should be from there, all our affairs should be dependent on them (foreigners); even our mentality. Even when we want freedom, it should be of the Western type. We should be westernized. We want a type of freedom that is similar to that of the West. Such an outlook cannot be so quickly dispelled from the minds that have been brainwashed for fifty, forty, thirty, twenty years and, because of which the Western outlook has replaced the Iranian outlook, and the European way of thinking, the Iranian one. A long period of time is required for an independent culture to arise; not a colonial one that had been inculcated into us. They had dictated everything to us, changing our culture inasmuch as all our things are now changed and are now westernized. Even our way of talking is now like that of the West; we use Western names in naming our streets; we use the names of Westerners: Roosevelt Avenue, Kennedy Avenue, so-and-so Avenue. This is “Westoxication”.¹ You will not find “Muhammad Rida Avenue” in the whole of Europe. You will not find a “Nadir Avenue” (referring to Nadir Shah, an 18th century Persian King). Our avenues too are Western! And so are our compliments. Our etiquette is also Western; everything (of ours). Our mental dependence is worse than anything else.

¹ This is a translation of a Persian term, *gharbzadegi*, popularized by Jalal Al-i Ahmad (d. 1969) in his book *Gharbzadegi* (“Westoxication/Weststruckness/Xenomania”). See its English translation, R. Campbell (trans.) and Hamid Algar (ed. and anno.), *Occidentosis: A Plague from the West* (Berkeley: Al-Mizan Press, 1984). Jalal Al-i Ahmad was a writer of great influence and Imam Khomeini was acquainted with his work. See the commemorative supplement on Jalal Al-i Ahmad in the Tehran daily newspaper *Jumhuri-ye Islami*, Shahrivar 20, 1359 AHS [September 11, 1980], p. 10.

At one time, Islam's rule extended over many countries. At that time there was only Rome as well Iran, and these two were more advanced than the other countries. While these two countries were civilized and independent, the others were savage. Then Islam came to dominate them and endeavored to make them all Islamic.

Venomous pens

In any case, I wish to thank you the youth for having visited me by which we were able to talk about our problems. There is much of this; much in our hearts. We (successfully) came through the bayonets, the machineguns, etc. Now the pens are against us. The pens have replaced the bayonets! The articles are now firing away at Islam in place of the machineguns. Now we are not the targets of bayonets; we are being targeted by the pens, by the writers, by the intellectuals. We are being troubled by the liberals who do not know the meaning of freedom. What does freedom mean? We are now being troubled by them. I hope that our nation wakes up; our own freedom-loving people also wake up some time and discard their Westernization. They should think about themselves. They should keep themselves independent. Once upon a time, many things used to be exported to all places from Muslim countries; culture would also be exported. Now we are dependent (on foreign countries) for all our things.

May God give you success and make you useful to our country; useful to Islam. You, yourselves, must safeguard your own country. Do not wait for the police and gendarmerie to come and do this. You are the police, the gendarmerie, the army and everything, the country is yours; protect it yourselves. [One in the audience: "Under the aegis of your leadership, your honor."]

May God keep all of you.

Speech

Date: May 30, 1979 [Khordad 9, 1358 AHS / Rajab 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Continuation of the movement and the Revolution; identifying the groups and the unknown faces

Audience: A group of clergymen of Sabzewar and women of Chahar Mardan district of Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The furtherance of Islam through self-sacrifice and devotedness

I must thank all the gentlemen who have come from afar and are here in this small house under the sun, putting up with the inconvenience. I must also thank all the ladies who have come here and are listening to me in this heat. I beseech God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant all of you prosperity. What makes the inconvenience easier to bear is that it is for God. Whatever is done for the sake of God is easier to endure, even if it be in the sun and the heat. The saints of God underwent hardships for His sake. Islam advanced by their blood, by their suffering, their devotedness. We, too, must go ahead by means of devotedness. Islam needs it; the Holy Quran is in need of the people's devotion. The Noble Prophet (s) has pinned his hopes on this nation. He gets the reports of our deeds. We must endeavor to gain the pleasure of God, the Blessed and Exalted. You ladies and gentlemen achieved this victory through your efforts and the hardships you endured. You must continue with your efforts and your devotion.

Identifying the unknown elements and the suspicious characters

It is now the time to continue with the movement. The movement is yet to mature; it is midway. The devilish elements are busy hatching conspiracies. All the people, all the various groups—those whose hearts beat for Islam, for the nation; those who love their country—should leave aside their personal affairs, their private matters, their possessions and personal aspirations and start thinking about the nation, of Islam and the country. By means of their united stand, they should neutralize the plots. They should identify those who sow the seeds of dissension among the people: the workers, cultivators; those in the universities and factories. They should find out who these people are, from where they are being assisted and who is assisting them. The venomous pens should be identified. Those who pick up their pens to write against

Islam, against the clergy, and against the path the nation has taken should be identified. Their antecedents should be obtained and their particulars and backgrounds be looked into.

The call to vigilance

We need unity of expression. The efforts of our nation are for Islam; it was for Islam. It is Islam that guarantees the welfare of all, and it is Islam that is taking us to victory and will take us to it. If it were not for Islam and if there is no Islam, the nation, then, will revert to its former state. Those who wish to govern us compelled their stooges to counter Islam, to act against the clergy; to write against them.

Be vigilant, O nation! The distinguished *ulama*, be alert! The grand preachers! The universities! The faculties! *Bazaris*! Workers! Farmers! All of them should be vigilant and know who their enemies are. They should know who the enemies of Islam are. If there were no Islam, those who are writing for freedom would not have been here. There was no freedom; Islam gave it to us. Value this freedom, value Islam. Those who wish to serve the country should serve Islam. They should strengthen the clergy; the universities. I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to keep the nation alert. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the prosperity of the nation, and for the health and happiness of all of the ladies and gentlemen that are present here.

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

Speech

Date: May 30, 1979 [Khordad 9, 1358 AHS / Rajab 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Anxiety over the masses turning their attention to their personal interests; safeguarding the revolutionary spirit

Audience: The students of (Amir Kabir) Polytechnic University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Anxiety over the decrease in revolutionary fervor

It is a fact that if the nation is vigilant and united as it was, as divine as it was, and its path known as it was, it is, then, obvious that no power can stand up to it, just as you saw that the satanic power could do nothing. It was fully equipped with all implements. It had the support of all the governments, Muslim and non-Muslim; all the superpowers supported it; yet it could do nothing. This is obvious; still, we should not neglect one matter. Now that we are in this gathering, and consider the nation's situation, we will see that the fervor that was initially there has now lessened. This should not be lost sight of. At that time when all the people poured into the streets, they would all shout, "*Allahu akbar*" [God is the Greatest]. They did not want the Shah; they wanted an Islamic republic. At that time, the fervor of the people was amazingly divine, and they succeeded with that same fervor. They voted for the Islamic Republic with that same fervor and elation, which resulted in a 99.5% affirmative vote; a thing unprecedented in the world. However, it now seems that the people have fallen prey to the conspiracies. They are saying that they need housing, jobs, livelihood, etc. By that initial power that everybody had for a single purpose and had forgotten their problems, they used to pour into the streets. Nobody thought of their work, or that they wanted jobs and houses. Such issues were not raised at all in those days. If the Revolution retains that fervor, we will, undoubtedly, be victorious; we have no doubts at all. But now we observe the situation to be rather different from those days.

Maintaining the spirit of mutual help and cooperation

It is now the time for all to exert efforts not to lose that fervor they had, that oneness and unity, that unity of expression, those divine deeds, that transformation which took place with respect to ethics and mutual assistance. It was only today or last night that one of the people who had been in the fray

stated that when someone brought a sandwich from his house and gave it to somebody, he (the latter) would break it into small pieces to the extent that he possibly could, and give the pieces to the others. A feeling of cooperation and affection had arisen among the people, men and women, young and old, that—praise be to God—drove the enemy away from the scene. Have no doubts about being victorious if we are able to maintain this spirit.

The roots of the discordant and antagonistic currents

You who are among the intellectuals and learned ones must consider what is happening. On the one side, these are those who enter the factories and fields, and do not allow the farmers to harvest their crops. They also go among the students and say things. They go into the universities and, gathering the students around them, write certain things. You must study this and see what type of people they are and what the source of all this is. Are they people who are moving in the same direction as we are? Are they saying the same thing as the nation that used to clamor for Islam and for an Islamic republic? Or are they opposed to us? They are busy gathering forces and intend moving in a direction contrary to ours. We should not take them lightly. I am not saying that you should go and beat them up whenever their voices are heard. But it should be said that when you see a group of people sitting together, saying things that are contrary to our nation's path, contrary to the Islamic Republic, discussing other matters having no connection with Islam; rather, not in agreement with and, perhaps, opposed to it, it has to be seen where their policies, that are against our nation, originates, in as much as they say that they really are nationalists, but, nevertheless, consider Islam as being harmful to their agenda. A person, no matter how nationalistic he is—even 100 percent—but does not accept Islam, is against the path.

Confronting the agitators and conspirators

All of us went out many times into the streets shouting, "*Allahu akbar*". The blood of our youth was shed, houses destroyed and set on fire. All this was done only because you wanted to strengthen Islam and install an Islamic government that supports the meek and the weak class of people, and wants to adjust the economy; or did we want to be a country having nothing to do with Islam but, all the same, free—free but heedless of Islam! Was our nation ever like this? If this is not the case and if it does want Islam, its whole purpose then is to see Islamic precepts take effect, that an Islamic republican government assumes form. If you notice a group or an individual moving against this path, there should be no beating, killing and destruction.

However, we have something to say. Just as they say that they are free to express their views and are doing so and writing about them—as they recently did in the newspapers—you, too, are writers, orators, etc. Tread a path that is separate from theirs. You should write, speak and—I must say—demonstrate by means of words and propaganda so that these enemies—some of them are the enemies of Islam and the others of the nation itself—should at no time get together and hatch conspiracies. Now powerless, they should not be allowed to gain strength and create problems for you at some time. You must forestall them at this very moment. We should not say that they are powerless. No matter how feeble the enemy is in his actions, we should be attentive and sideline this weakling. I am hopeful that with the effort of the youth and the learned ones, these matters will be set right and these remnants that are here be curbed as well. I also hope that the ongoing disturbances come to an end, the country be in your hands and that you run it. May God protect and assist you all.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date/Time: 7 pm, May 30, 1979 [Khordad 9, 1358 AHS / Rajab 4, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The believers: the support of the country and nation

Audience: Members of the delegation of the Wrestling Federation; wrestling champions; sportsmen and personnel of the Tehran Railways; Shah Husayni—Head of the country's Physical Training Organization

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Freedom and independence under the auspices of Islam

What power is that which has brought you, the sportsmen and a seminarian together? What power is that which has brought the university students and the other strata of the people together? And what power was this that made all the people of this country—men and women, children and grown-ups, in whatever garb—take to the streets and mobilized them against the *taghut*? (Was it) anything other than Islam? It was Islam that brought us together, and it was Islam that made you triumphant. And it is Islam that guarantees the welfare of all; not only worldly comfort, but bliss in this world and the hereafter; freedom under the auspices of Islam; independence under the auspices of Islam. It provides welfare for all countries and for ours; it guarantees the welfare (of all). You achieved this victory by means of Islam, and you must follow it up by means of Islam.

Countering conspiracies

You must now realize that the enemy is hatching plots and wants to destroy this unity that has been forged among the various segments of the people. All those who are against you, against the nation, against the Quran and Islam, against the Prophet and the Immaculate Imams (*a*) have now got together and are busy hatching plots. Of course, they cannot do so; they are not able to do anything. We must be alert; we must neutralize their plots before they are able to consolidate their position. Study the backgrounds of these people who are now sowing sedition; see where they have come from, what their source is, where they have started appearing one by one after the victory of your revolution. Each one of them was somewhere else; if they were in Iran, they had been hiding. If they had been living in foreign

¹ The date of this speech is given as Khordad 12, 1358 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

countries, if they had once been abroad, now that the Revolution is maturing, they have come from far and near and are together making their presence felt. As you can see, the path of these groups that have recently emerged under various names is against your own path. Their words are different from what you say. You clamor for Islam; they say something else. You must make a study of these people. We have to see where they have come from. They have emerged recently; from where? How is it that they have come now and want to stop this movement of ours from coming to fruition? Neutralize their plots!

The country's need for faithful champions

Our country needs your power just as it needs the *ulama* and the scientists. When this power is accompanied by faith; when the *zurkhaneh* (sports club where traditional Iranian exercises are done) abides by the Quran, when it has faith (in Islam), it then constitutes the backing of a country. When the sports champions are the champions of Islam, they constitute a nation's backing; the helping hands of a nation. They wanted to be heroes, but "Aryamehric"¹ ones! That could not be the backing for the nation. They wanted everything for themselves, but you and we want everything for God, for Islam. Whatever is supportive of the nations is also supportive of Islam. They are faithful men, faithful champions, faithful university students, faithful merchants, faithful farmers, cultivators and workers. These can be the support of a nation. These are the ones who do not allow the treacherous hands to destroy all that we have, our material power, our spiritual power. Fortify your faith, take refuge in Islam. All of us should seek refuge in Islam. Let us remember God in all situations. I know that God is in the thought of the sportsmen in the *zurkhaneh* ring. The Commander of the Faithful is in their thoughts. Strengthen this thought of God (within yourselves), of *Mawla*² (master and guardian; that is Hadrat Ali) and, with

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

² *Mawla* means master, friend, guardian, and others, depending on the context. Here, it refers to Imam Ali (a). For further information on this term and its derivatives, see Murtada Mutahhari, *Wilayah: The Station of the Master*, trans. Yahya Cooper (Tehran: World Organization for Islamic Services, 1982); *Master and Mastership*, <http://www.al-islam.org/mastership>.

power and faith, all of you march to victory, God willing. May God give you success. May you enjoy health and prosperity. I am the servant of all of you.

Permission

Date: May 31, 1979 [Khordad 10, 1358 AHS / Rajab 5, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Permission to take charge of religious affairs and to collect funds

Audience: Sayyid Mahmud Duai

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds; may God’s peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and His curse be upon all their enemies.”

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Mahmud Duai (may his graces last) is hereby permitted on my behalf to take charge of the religious affairs which is among the duties of a fully qualified jurispudent in the occultation of the *Wali Allah al-Azam*¹ (a)—may God hasten his glorious advent—with the hope that he will exercise the utmost caution. He is also authorized to receive the religious fund, and spend it in the prescribed cases, and, if need be, spend a frugal amount on himself.

“And I advise him—may God Almighty assist him—to be pious and hardworking and to be cautious in his religious and worldly affairs. I hope he will not forget me in his benevolent prayers.” May peace be upon him and God’s pious servants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab 5, 1399 AH

¹ It refers to Imam al-Mahdi (a).

Speech

Date: June 1, 1979 [Khordad 11, 1358 AHS / Rajab 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The danger of abusing freedom

Audience: The Air Force and Navy personnel, Bandar Abbas

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Freedom, God's trust

At the outset, I should thank you gentlemen for having come from afar to visit us. I am pleased that we are here face-to-face and are able to talk to one another. We have left the past behind us, and have met with success. We should not look back too much on the past; it is the future that is important. What is our present duty? And our duty after this and in future? It does not make any difference in that all of us are obliged to discharge our divine duties whether now or the future. At present, you are aware that chaos reigns and plots are afoot to create disorder. What is our duty at this juncture when the agitators do not want this movement to come to fruition? And what is our future duty? We have so far been successful in gaining freedom. You have all come freely from your houses and are meeting one another. Previously, you had no such freedom, and neither did we. We are now free. Freedom is a great divine blessing. Now that we are free, we have to see whether we abuse it or make legitimate use of it. Freedom is something that God has given us in trust. What are we going to do with this freedom that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has given us in trust and that made us free? Will we use it for the good of the nation and of Islam? Or use it for purposes that are counter to the direction of the movement and against God's pleasure?

We have all been placed now in the test crucible. All the strata of the nation—the clergy, the university students, the Air Force, Army, Navy, the Islamic bazaars, Islamic borders, the tribes of Iran—all of us are now free and under test. God will test us by means of this divine gift. If we use this freedom in the right way, in the interests and service of the nation and for the good of Islam, we will have passed the test with flying colors. However, if, God forbid, we use this freedom against the nation and Islam and now that we are free, plunge ourselves into chaos and anarchy, and now that we are free, oppress those subordinate to us; if we act against the Islamic system and the country's rules, create chaos and because we are free, do not abide by any

of the Islamic and national laws, if it is to be so, we will then have used our freedom against the interests of the nation and Islam. Bear in mind that we have to pass this examination with dignity. If I, a seminarian, on becoming free, mistreat my friends, my subordinates, my companions, then I have acted against the movement, against the nation. I have betrayed this freedom that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has given me. If you my brothers of the armed forces wish to abuse this freedom now that you are free and act against the interests of the nation and the country, and against the prescribed rules, then you, too, like myself, will not pass this test. You will have committed treason, God forbid. Safeguards God's trust; do not betray it.

The danger of being ungrateful to the Revolution

You are free. Use this freedom for the good of the nation, for the good of the country. Freedom does not mean that one can do whatever one wants: dealing in smuggled goods, overcharging the people, disturbing the border regions, upsetting the system, disregarding governmental, national and Islamic regulations. This is not the meaning of freedom. Freedom is that which is within the rules and regulations. The rules have to be upheld. Nobody has the right to mistreat you. You are free and nobody has the right to restrict you. However, everybody must follow the rules. I who am here, and you in the border regions must abide by the rules. All the guidelines that have been laid down for you and for us should be followed, so that we are able to reorganize this country, God willing. If I, who am here, act against the rules, one in Tehran acts against the rules, and one in the border regions also acts contrary to them, then, God forbid, we have been ungrateful to God for this bounty that He has bestowed on us and for which we should be thankful. In such an event, it will be taken away from us, God forbid, thus taking us back to the previous years and the previous difficulties. You gentlemen... and we here and you there, and all the people, wherever they are, should make proper use of freedom. It should not be abused. All of us should act according to the rules that have been stipulated by religion and nationality. We must abide by the regulations; all of us together should act in accordance with them.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to you my friends, my respected children who are working hard in the border areas, who are serving Islam and your country in that heat. I hope that you will protect the borders yourselves and not allow smuggled goods to enter (the country); particularly smuggled weapons and narcotics that are harmful to our people. You must make efforts

there and prevent this from taking place. May God grant all of you health, happiness, honor, and prosperity, and place you among the devotees of Islam.

Speech

Date: June 1, 1979 [Khordad 11, 1358 AHS / Rajab 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The real aim of the Revolution: establishing the Islamic system in the world

Audience: A group of women from Ahwaz, Qum and Burujerd

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The divine Islamic movement

Praise be to God for the movement being faithful up to now, though we are still in the early stages. This movement has been the reason for us to gather in one place and discuss our problems. Prior to this, such an event was not possible. We were on one side and you on another. All the other people had also been dispersed. This divine movement has caused all these people to gather and talk about these matters that need to be heard and discussed, so that, God willing, the problems are solved; thus, enabling us to reach our goals.

The problems are many, but what is important is that we are only midway; we have not yet reached our destination. We have only removed the obstacles; however, our aim is higher than this. The important thing is to safeguard this movement—this movement that had the might to overcome such a satanic power. While being very powerful himself, Muhammad Rida had the support of all the powerful countries of the world. They were all for him, but against us. Nevertheless, this movement succeeded because it was a divine one; not materialistic one. It was a national movement; a divine and Islamic one. All the powers were not able to protect this satan. He has gone, and will never return. But this was not the issue at stake. The issue was the severance of the hands of those powers (from this country) following his departure, and this has been done. Of course, the remnants are still there but they will also be destroyed, God willing. However, this is not the end of the matter. Our basic purpose was not the ouster of the monarchical regime and the severance of the links of the others. All this was the prelude to our main purpose which is Islam. The aim of the prophets who used to fight against the enemies of monotheism was not just to wage war and destroy them. Their real aim was to spread monotheism in the world and to propagate the creed of truth. The enemies were obstacles that the prophets had to remove in order to achieve their purpose. The aim of the Noble Messenger of God (s) was not to destroy the polytheists of Mecca as such, or those of the Arabian

Peninsula. His aim was to promote Islam; to establish the role of the Quran and Islam. As they were obstacles to the materialization of Islamic rule, the matter would lead to antagonism and war. These people would oppose and confront Islamic rule... The many wars ordered by the Noble Prophet were for the purpose of removing the obstacles to this divine aim; this sublime aim of theirs which was to strengthen Islamic rule, God's rule, Quranic rule—everything was for this—in such a manner that had they not opposed it, perhaps, the wars would not have taken place. They resisted in order to prevent this government from becoming a reality. And so it led to war.

The prelude to establishing Quranic rule

Our aim—the nation's aim—is, and was, not only the ouster of Muhammad Rida, the abolition of the monarchy and the curtailment of the power of the foreigners. All these constituted just the prelude. Our goal is Islam. We want Islamic rule in the country; we want Islamic precepts to take effect here. If we suppose that the monarchical regime is dismantled and another one appears that cuts off the links of the foreigners with the country, and if this government that is established is not only un-Islamic but anti-Islam, our purpose then will not have been achieved. If the aim was to oust Muhammad Rida and cut off the hands of the foreigners from the country, yes; but if our real aim is that Islam become a reality; if the real aim of the Iranian nation is the realization of an Islamic republic and a government of divine justice, their departure, then, is the first step to this aim. This mistake should not be made that we wanted him to go and so he did go, and that was the end of the matter. No, it is not. He was an obstacle to our purpose and, since he was so, we opposed him. He did not want this country to be an Islamic one with a just government, and come to terms with its policies. That is why he was opposed; and so he left. If another regime—like the ones in Europe, for example—is to replace his; if, for instance, we want it to be like the one in France; if we have removed Muhammad Rida just for the sake of having a French kind of system that has nothing to do with Islam; if it is to be so, then so much of our nation's blood was not to shed to have a country that is not Islamic, a country though not a monarchy is a non-Islamic one, nonetheless. No! There are many independent-minded regimes, those that are independent, those that give (their people) freedom, but a freedom that is not compatible with Islam. Their principles are not Islamic, their system is not Islamic and their kind of justice is not like the one in Islam. We never wanted nor want such a thing.

The long road to the realization of an Islamic government

Not that we are talking of an “Islamic Republic” does not mean that we have just voted for it and that we have nothing to do with other issues. The significance of an Islamic republic lies in everybody—or the majority—voting for it; but it should be endowed with Islamic precepts—a republic whose laws should be Islamic. If it is to be a republic without Islamic laws, then it is not what the nation wanted and for which purpose it had voted. All this blood of the people was shed for the realization of (the rule of) Islam. It is the continuation of the endeavors of the prophets, the Messenger of God, the Commander of Faithful, and the Doyen of the Martyrs. The Doyen of the Martyrs gave his life so that Islam would become a reality. Yazid wanted to wipe out Islam. We are aiming for the realization of Islam; not just in name; not that it is enough for us to have succeeded in getting it (the “Islamic Republic” appellation). We want Islamic precepts in all respects and in all the affairs of our country. We want Islamic rule, Quranic rule to govern us, and nothing apart from that. We are still on the way; we have not reached our destination yet.

The foreigners’ dread of Islam and the clergy

Unfortunately, you can see these seditionists around the place—especially around you—who do not want this task to be accomplished. They are foreign agents. They are not sympathetic to our people. They do not want this Islamic republic. They are afraid of it, and so are their masters. They are afraid of the very name of Islam. Therefore, their agents are insisting that there is no need for the republic to be “Islamic”. (They say,) “Well, let it be a republic, but an “Iranian republic,” a “democratic republic.”” The reason is that they fear Islam. They have seen in Islam the things that they did not wish to see. Islam slapped them in the face and drove them out. They are afraid of it. They and their lackeys, in whatever form, are making efforts for the name “Islam” not to be used. There could be anything else instead of Islam. They agree to any designation being used instead of “Islamic Republic”. Islam should not be there! It can be anything else! The clergy must not have any power in our country, but the communists can! They are aiming for this. They fear the clergy; they fear Islam. Since they fear Islam, they also fear those who promote it. They fear the preachers because they fear Islam. They fear the clergy and the prayer leaders because these people promote Islam. Fearing Islam, they fear anybody adhering to it and promoting it. They do not want it. Hence, their theme of the “unnecessity of Islam; it should be a republic, a democratic republic; there is no need to append Islam’ to it;

Islam without the clergy; no clergy even if there is Islam.” This means: “Let Islam be, but without Islam!” Nobody can preserve Islam in the absence of the clergy. The plan of these people actually calls for sidelining Islam. This is because they have been dealt a blow by it. They attribute this victory to Islam and martyrdom. Martyrdom has always protected Islam. It was martyrdom that took Islam to success from the very beginning. Even now you can see our youth yearning for martyrdom. In fact, this very day while I was standing outside here, a brave youth was shouting, “You must pray for me to attain martyrdom.” This was the spirit that brought them and us success. It was the spirit of martyrdom. And it was this spirit of marching forward for Islam and meeting martyrdom that took us to victory. They are afraid of this; they are afraid of Islam.

The revolutionary women encouraging the men

You should reflect on this matter and make efforts to realize this sense of being Islamic; this republic, Islamic in purport and content as I have said. It should be so in the universities, the courts, the Foreign Ministry, offices, bazaars, and in the deserts and the cities. See that it bears fruit. If so, you will be triumphant to the very end. Be together, all of you. Be united. You have a big share in this campaign. It could be said that the ladies were instrumental in the success of this movement because they poured into the streets. While they were not supposed to do so, they poured into the streets nonetheless. If there was any possibility of apathy on the part of the men, the action of the women emboldened them. The men would pick up courage on observing the ladies coming forth and demonstrating. It was you who brought Islam this victory, and you have a big share in it; retain this share. This victory ensued because all of you, together, had undergone a spiritual transformation. It was a transformation from the invisible world that changed you. Maintain this spiritual transformation; maintain your unity of expression. We are now midway. We have much to do for Islamic injunctions to take effect. We are still on the way. We will have reached our destination only when all the Islamic precepts are put into effect; the destination is Islam. Safeguard it! Maintain this unity of expression, this Islamic feeling and this spiritual transformation that have emerged. You will be victorious, God willing. May God grant you victory and prosperity. May you have bliss in this world and the hereafter and God willing, you will.

Speech

Date: June 1, 1979 [Khordad 11, 1358 AHS / Rajab 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The duty of the bazaar in preventing unjust dealings with the poor and overcharging, and in fulfilling the religious obligation of enjoining good and forbidding evil

Audience: A group of bazaar merchants

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Spiritual transformation more valuable than social transformation

The bazaar has always been a very influential factor in the furtherance of all movements that have taken place in Iran. The bazaar had a significant role in the progression of the Tobacco Movement.¹ The same was the case of the Constitutional Movement. The bazaar merchants, not being influenced by other ideologies, were so faithful to this Revolution—which was a hundred

¹ In 1891, Nasiruddin Shah granted yet another in a long line of concessions he had already given to foreigners in return for money to satisfy court consumption and to finance his tours of Europe. This time, in return for a personal gift of twenty-five thousand pounds, an annual rent of fifteen thousand pounds to the state and a twenty-five percent share of the profits for Iran, one Major Gerald Talbot acquired a fifty-year monopoly over the distribution and exportation of tobacco. *Akhtar* (Star), a liberal Persian paper published in Istanbul at the time, expressed the general concern of Iranian merchants: "It is clear enough that the concessionaire will commence the work with a small capital and will purchase the tobacco from the cultivators and sell it to the merchants and manufacturers for higher prices, and all the profits will remain in the purse of the English. As the Persian merchants have no right to export tobacco from Persia, those who were formerly engaged in this trade will be obliged to give up their business and find some other work. The concessionaire does not take into consideration how many merchants who were engaged in this business will be left without employment and will suffer loss in finding other occupations." The clergymen and *maraji* of the time immediately opposed the concession and demanded its cancellation. Ayatullah Mirza Hasan Shirazi, the *maraji at-taqlid* at the time, determined the destiny of this struggle. He issued a religious *fatwa* stating that the use of tobacco in whatever form was *haram* [forbidden] and was tantamount to declaring war with Imam az-Zaman (the Twelfth Imam). The bazaar in Shiraz, the main tobacco-growing region, shut down and a general strike of the leading bazaars particularly Tehran, Isfahan, Tabriz, Mashhad, Qazvin, Yazd, and Kermanshah ensued which spread into a state-wide consumer's boycott. Ayatullah Shirazi's representative in Tehran, Mirza Hasan Ashtiyani, led the protest there. Hookahs were smashed and tobacco was set on fire as the consumer's boycott received support from practically all classes of Iranian society, even members of the royal harem. Consequently, Nasiruddin Shah, seeing his position threatened by this rebellion was forced to annul the concession and pay the penalty. See Nikki Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Tobacco Protest of 1891-92*.

percent Islamic, and the *bazaris* themselves one hundred percent Islamic—that their share in it is very great. Therefore, the bazaar has been a source of blessings and should be so. In a country which we want to be Islamic, and which is Islamic and humane in the full sense, the bazaar took part in the movement and furthered it by its shutdowns for long periods, sometimes for months. A great spiritual transformation took place in it as in all other spheres, so much so that this spiritual transformation is perhaps more significant than the Revolution that smashed this dam (the Shah's regime). The worth of the cooperative spirit that arose in the society and among the people was very great. However, after this Revolution succeeded in attaining one aspect of victory, the Islamic significance and the transformation that were there are now somewhat diminishing, a part of which concerns the bazaar.

Countering the exploitation in the bazaar

As the bazaar has much interest in the political, Islamic and social affairs, it is in a position to bring about a transformation in these spheres. Well, according to what is being said, some of these merchants now want to make a profit so as to, for instance, make amends for the period when the bazaar was shut. Or they are waiting for something to happen of which they could take advantage. It is the bazaar that can prevent this from happening. The bazaar itself should prevent these people who have become ready to exploit the situation. I am not saying that they should go and beat these people up and do such things. They must see if anyone is overcharging these poor people, these indigent ones, many of whom gave their lives, their blood and still poor, still without means. If they want to buy something, they cannot do so because of its exorbitant price; and so they must do without it. Supposing that there are some merchants in the bazaar who are known to be like these (profiteers), the other merchants should, then, so arrange it that, one by one, they approach these people, wish them, and say: "Sir, do not do this." If, during the course of the day, a thousand merchants go and tell one such person not to do such a thing (overcharge) and that it is not fair to do so, these efforts would show results.

An anecdote of Shaykh Shahabadi

May God bless the soul of our Shaykh, the late Aqa Shahabadi¹—may God be pleased with him—who had once told me: “In those troubled times, a shop was opened opposite my house. It seemed to be selling things at exorbitant prices; it was a bad shop. I told my friends to approach the owner, one by one, and stop him from doing so. One morning, about two hundred people, one by one, went to his shop and after exchanging greetings, told the shopkeeper that his shop there was not appropriate. The first person met with a negative response and another entered the shop. In this manner, about two hundred of them reprimanded this shopkeeper until the afternoon with the result that the matter ended; the shopkeeper shut his shop down.”

When this forbiddance is repeated, it will have an effect on the human spirit. If one person does it, well, it may have a little effect. And the person should follow him and say: “Sir, do not do this. It is not fair. These people have had their blood spilled, and now you are putting them in difficult straits. These poor people cannot afford to purchase these things.”

The manner of tackling overcharging

It will have an effect if it is so arranged that these *bazari* youth and elders approach these merchants, one by one, and forbid them from overcharging. For example, during the course of the day, a number of the people should go and without using harsh, rough words, gently convince these people—just as God has commanded us to forbid the wrong—that overcharging is not right. They should thus forbid them from selling goods at high prices. If the bazaar, if our friends in the bazaar, make efforts, they will be able to prevent by means of such advice, gentle persuasion and forbiddance. We do not want these people who act unfairly to be dealt with harshly. The best course of action is this very approach by which the bazaar merchants, on noticing some people acting contrarily and overstepping the limits, selling fruits at exorbitant rates, tell them very amicably not to do so. That would suffice. Perhaps it would have a positive effect on them, God willing, by which the bazaar would turn into an Islamic one just as it had happened for some time during the course of the movement when an amazing sense of cooperation had arisen among the people.

¹ Ayatullah Mirza Muhammad Ali Shahabadi (1292-1362 AH): an outstanding jurist, mystic and philosopher of the 14th century AH who studied religious sciences at the Islamic theological centers of Isfahan, Tehran (in Iran) and Najaf (in Iraq). He was Imam Khomeini's teacher in *irfan* [mysticism] and *akhlaq* [ethics].

An example of Islamic qualities and brotherly feeling

Some of the people who took part in these demonstrations told me repeatedly that one of those who were there had stated that somebody would give, for instance, a sandwich that he had bought to someone else. This person would not eat the sandwich. Instead, he would divide it up into small parts, giving each part to this one and that one with, perhaps, nothing remaining for himself. When the demonstrators would be marching in the streets, the people would bring food and water for them. This is an Islamic phenomenon, a spiritual upheaval that Islam needs. Islam wants our bazaar, avenues, houses—internally and externally—to acquire an Islamic atmosphere of cooperation, affection and kindness; an amicable atmosphere. It wants the people to be compassionate to one another. “They are compassionate among themselves.” They are compassionate, friendly and brotherly unto one another. They look upon society as their own children and their own brothers, just as the Messenger of God (s), who is the head of all, behaved, even with those who used to become polytheists. It is stated in the Quran: *“It may be that thou tormentest thyself (O Muhammad) because they believe not.”*¹ He was universal kindness. He had the greatest compassion for the polytheists whom he would invite (to embrace Islam). He was like a kind father to the nation and would invite the people to goodness and uprightness as it was for their own good.

Following in the footsteps of the Prophet and the Imams

The Islamic country should follow the Prophet of Islam and the Imams of Islam. Just as their conduct was one of kindness toward their brothers, the people, the Muslims, we, too, who are their followers should behave kindly like them and strive to bring up our children in an Islamic way. If the young are brought up in an Islamic manner, they will be honest and will not commit acts of betrayal. They will be useful for the country. I hope that God give you success, health and assistance.

[During the course of the speech, a person in the audience raised a question about overpricing and the current problems facing the bazaar].

Yes, they are also a part of these people who are, perhaps, just a few. You must approach these limited number of people for a few days in the way I have stated. I hope that by forbidding them the matter will be set right. I hope that it will be effective.

¹ Surah ash-Shuara 26:3.

Message

Date: June 2, 1979 [Khordad 12, 1358 AHS / Rajab 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: How the 15th Khordad movement¹ originated

Occasion: The anniversary of the 15th Khordad epic

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

With the arrival of 15th Khordad, the sad memory of the historic, epic-creating day is renewed. It was the day when, according to what is well known, nearly 15,000 people of this meek and oppressed nation were killed. It was the day that turned into the vanguard of this valiant and zealous nation's Islamic movement, the movement that took shape more than sixteen years ago following the uprising of the responsible-minded and committed clergy against Muhammad Rida Pahlavi whose opposition to the beloved religion of Islam had become increasingly evident. The clergy had risen in protest and following an unpleasant event on the afternoon of the 10th of Muharram [*Ashura*], the waves of protests of an Islamic, humanitarian nature intensified and reached a climax. Subsequently, the unclean hands of colonialism showed up from the deposed Shah's sleeves and occasioned the distressing disturbances of 15th Khordad—the 12th of Muharram.

What a tumultuous, bloody and epic-creating month Muharram is! It was the month that crushed the Umayyad dynasty and effected the disintegration of the criminal 2,500-year old monarchical regime. Our nation will neither forget Muharram that was witness to the brutal massacres perpetrated by the tyrants, nor the 15th of Khordad that marks the commencement of the clergy's Islamic movement.

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

The movement began from the Qum Theological Center, the seat of knowledge of the true religious jurisprudence and spread with lightning speed to all the other seminaries and universities while engulfing vast segments of the nation in Tehran and the other cities and drawing them to the arena of the struggle. In recent years, episode has followed episode and the great nation pulled the Pahlavi regime out from its roots with Islamic slogans and shouts of “*Allahu akbar*,” and with the light of faith and unity of expression. Our nations hold this day dear, and I, hereby, declare the fifteenth of Khordad as a day of public mourning for always. We will honor our martyrs by mourning for them on this great day in the Faydiyyah Madrasah.¹ We hope that by the will of God Almighty, the rotten remnants of colonialism will be extirpated and the Islamic Republic, based on the glorious tenets of the Holy Quran, established in our country.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Madrasah*: literally, school or a place where a lesson [*dars*] is given. In specific sense, it usually refers to schools where religious sciences are being taught.

Faydiyyah Madrasah is the name of one of the oldest and most prestigious Islamic seminary schools located in the holy city of Qum. Founded in Safavid times, the *madrasah* has acquired particular fame among the teaching institutions in Qum because of the role it has played in the Islamic movement. Closed down in 1975 by the Shah’s regime, it was ceremonially reopened after the triumph of the Revolution.

Letter

Date: June 2, 1979 [Khordad 12, 1358 AHS / Rajab 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Expressing thanks for the receipt of a telegram

Addressee: Muhammad Uthman Sirajuddin

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Sarvabad, Marivan

Esteemed scholar, the honorable Muhammad Uthman Sirajuddin:

Your recent telegram expressing your support for the Islamic Republic was received with thanks. Prior to this, your kind message was also received through Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Kermani. I pray to God for the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: June 5, 1979 [Khordad 15, 1358 AHS / Rajab 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Recounting the motives and aims of 15th Khordad uprising

Occasion: Anniversary of the 15th Khordad uprising (1342 AHS/1963)

Audience: A group of the religious authorities, clergymen and other groups

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful¹

The motive behind the 15th Khordad uprising

Why did 15th Khordad come about? What was its origin? What was the sequel to it in those days and what is it now? What will happen afterward? Who brought it about? Who followed up the issues arising from it and who is following them up now? On whom can we place our hopes subsequently? What was the purpose of 15th Khordad and for what purpose has it continued up to now? What would its purpose be later on? Understand 15th Khordad and its aims. Know who the people were that occasioned this, those who followed it up and those who hope to follow it up from now on. Also know the people that are opposed to 15th Khordad and to its aim.

The 15th Khordad uprising began from this seminary. There was a huge gathering in this place on the afternoon of *Ashura* (10th of Muharram). The issues mentioned and the revelations made led to 15th Khordad, fifteenth Khordad was for the sake of Islam and in the name of Islam. Its genesis was Islam; its guide, the clergy and the people that have gathered here. These were the ones who created 15th Khordad. These kinds of people were the ones who brought it about, and it was they who were killed. It was this very category of Islamic people who rose for Islam, without any motive other than Islam itself, and so made 15th Khordad come to pass. It is this same gathering that has no aim except Islam, which has been following up the issues of 15th Khordad so far. It is hoped that these same people—who apart from Islam have no other aim—pursue the matter and bring the movement to fruition.

The creators of the 15th Khordad epic

It has to be seen who these people are; from what strata of society were these people who brought 15th Khordad into being and in which 15,000 lives were sacrificed, as is very well known; and also those who entered the fray

¹ "In the Name of God..." was repeated twice because of the din of the crowd.

following 15th Khordad and 15th Khordads; following the massacre of 15th Khordad and other massacres. Those who brought 15th Khordad to its present stage; those who endeavored to smash the barrier posed by the regime; those who poured into the streets shouting “*Allahu akbar*,” all of them belonged to this same strata of society. Only those people have share (in the movement); the others have none. Who are they that are now diverting the course of our nation’s path? Who are they that are intending to divert our nation from this path? Who are they that want to divert our Islamic movement from its Islamic nature? These are people, some of whom are not aware of the issues; they are ignorant (of the matter). There are certain others who are knowingly and purposely against Islam. Those who are ignorant should be guided. They should be told: “O, you gentlemen who think that you can succeed in Iran with any system other than Islamic; those of you who think that any power besides Islam has had a hand in overthrowing the regime; those who think it likely that somebody else apart from the Muslims, and anything else apart from Islam have taken part in this movement, should go and study the matter. Find out who those people were who sacrificed their lives on the 15th of Khordad. Go and look at the gravestone and find out who they were. In case you find any gravestone of those belonging to the un-Islamic groups, it means that they also had a part in the movement. If you find gravestones of the upper class of the people belonging to Islamic groups, it means that they have also participated. But you will not do so.” Whatever the case, it was the deprived class, the farmers, the workers, the Muslim merchants and shopkeepers, and the committed clergymen. Whoever there was belonged to these groups. So, these people created 15th Khordad in following Islam. And in following Islam, they safeguarded it and are keeping it up. Those who think that any power besides Islam could have smashed such a barrier are mistaken.

The opportunistic pseudo-revolutionaries

The groups that are opposing us because of their opposition to Islam should be rehabilitated through guidance—if such rehabilitation is possible. If not, with that same fist that you destroyed the regime, you will also destroy those associated with it. Whatever has happened from the 15th of Khordad up to now, and whatever has been realized is because of the activities of these very groups, because of the sacrifices they made and the lives they gave. They are entitled to have a say in everything that has been realized. Those who were abroad and have now returned, those who were not in line but have now lined up, have no right to this movement. Their views have no

credibility at all. The opinion of that nation which launched the movement and crushed the superpowers, and will continue with this movement even after this stage—is that all the benefits are due to these people. Their views are balanced. If the views of the others conform to the views of these people, if they adhere to Islam and are to safeguard Islam and its tenets, they are, then, welcome. However, if they are divergent, they should return to wherever they were previously. How can we recognize deviation? How can we know the difference between the groups that launched the movement and those opposed to it? How do we understand it? From the writings, their statements, their meetings, their gathering. The parts of every grouping that conforms to Islamic principles and laws is the same as that of the nation, whereas every group, every speech, every address, every writing—whatever it is—that is contrary to Islam is against the movement. Your opponents want to derive the benefit while you had your blood spilled. Your opponents wish to enjoy the fruits of your labors. The opponents of you—the victimized people—did not suffer at all. They did not suffer in the days of the *taghut* because they were submissive, compliant, or silent. Now that you have laid the table, they are collecting around it to enjoy the benefits. I wish that they had asked us to join in too. But they say, “Only we; not you, nor the clergy.” They do not want us and the other groups. They want everything for themselves; not for Islam; not for us.

Addressing the alienated West-worshippers, on the 15th of Khordad uprising

O you who are Westernized! O you who are obsessed with foreignism! O you shallow and worthless people! Come to your senses and stop westernizing all your affairs. Consider the things of the West; the “good” things. Consider the groups on human rights. Notice who these people are and their aims. Do they wish to safeguard human rights, or those of the superpowers? They serve these powers and want to guarantee their interests. O our legal experts and human rights group! Do not follow these (foreign) legal experts. Observe the people’s rights just as this hard-working stratum is doing. They are the ones constituting the human rights group. They are the ones striving for human rights. They are the ones that secure the welfare of human beings; and you are saying things! They are the ones that act: these workers, farmers, these upholders of human rights and these lawyers. They act while you write. Not even one of you has taken any step for the people to attain their rights. Those who are active are the same people who rose up (against the *taghut*) and staged the uprising of 15th Khordad. Being Muslims,

they are sympathetic toward human beings. They are Muslims. Islam has concern for human beings. You do not do anything for the people as your path is not the same as that of Islam. You write and thereby wish to divert the movement from its path, and mislead it with your utterances.

Showing humility and reverence to the nation

From the 15th of Khordad up to now, we have given victims; rather, you have. I, too, who am sitting here, have no right (to the movement). You gave victims; you entered the fray and struggled. We have no right. We ought to serve you. We should not derive any benefits; there should be no taking advantage of designations. Shame on me if I want to take advantage of my position and benefit from your efforts! Shame on me if I want to benefit from your sacrifices! [The gathering weeps and expresses intense emotion while chanting praises for Imam Khomeini.] Those of the upper classes who took no part in the struggle but are not opposed to us, do not and should not, have any right either. However, they will have a right if they serve from now onwards. But I have no hope of their doing so. Those people with divergent views, those who intend to betray Islam and this nation and those who view the Islam of a 1400-year background as inadequate, should consider themselves as being apart from the nation; and it is so. We will need you (those who made sacrifices) from now on; we need this group, but not the other ones.

Those who are against the implementation of Islam

It is now the time for the implementation of Islam. The words that are now being uttered are like the previous pronouncements of it still being too early, and of waiting a bit. If we do not put Islamic injunctions into practice in the course of this revolution and this movement, when are we going to do? When is such a movement to come to fruition? If this movement is to be extinguished, God forbid, who can ever again take the name of Islam?

When we are going to put Islamic laws into effect if we do not do so now? Those gentlemen who say that it cannot be done now should be asked as to when it should be done. (They will) say, "Never; not Islam." (They will) say that the movement should be minus Islam. Just as they used to say, "Islam without the clergy," they can even now say that the movement should be without Islam. If you do not actualize Islam and implement Islamic injunctions to the letter, then (you will) be disappointed as it will never see the light of day. The people who believe in Islam and whose hearts beat for the Quran should now be active. The 15th of Khordad was for this very

purpose. The uprising of the clergy before 15th Khordad was for the sake of Islam. The uprising of 15th Khordad was for this purpose, and it continued after this. It was not for anything but Islam. We do not want anything besides Islam. Islam can be implemented at any time; especially now.

Cautioning and warning (the opponents)

Gentlemen! Heed your own words; your own writings. Heed the fact that Islam released you from bondage. Bear in mind that Islam drew you back home from foreign lands. Keep in mind that Islam pulled you out of nooks and corners. Consider that Islam made your pens and utterances free. And now you are opposing Islam? The Muslims can endure the fact that Islam and Muslim blood liberated you. But now you are up in arms against Islam? You have been writing certain things? This is being utterly ungrateful. God has given you this gift. You should be thankful for it by adhering to Islam, by repenting for the statements you have been making and the things that you have been writing. Turn toward Islam and the lower classes that you look down upon, but are superior to you. These people are the radiant face of Islam and the Muslims. These are the faces that the Messenger of God will accept. These are the faces that are beloved of God. You should join their ranks. Let your faces (actions) conform to theirs. Let your views conform to theirs. How much do you keep on harping on the West! How shallow you have become! We should compare Islamic norms with Western ones! What nonsense! Being thankful is in your being faithful to Islam. I am giving you notice to be faithful to Islam; I am advising you. It was in this very same school that I had advised the Shah, but he did not listen; you are nothing. On the afternoon of *Ashura*, I had told him not to do anything that might cause the people to drive him out. He did not listen; he did something which made the people drive him out. [The approval of the audience followed by the cries of "salutations be on Khomeini"]. My brothers, to whichever strata you belong; there is still time, there is time for you to repent. Come and tread this path in a brotherly manner with the nation. There is none of you in the gathering! There is not a single one of you in this gathering! Come, be unanimous with the people; be concordant with them. Move toward Islam that has delivered all of you. Be faithful to Islam as a mark of gratitude. Live for Islam. My brothers! You will find whatever you want in Islam. Whatever you want is there in the corners of this school. Look at the lives of these people. Compare them with those whose hearts (are supposed to) beat for humanity! That is, with their pens and their statements! Look at the situation they are in. See how the clergymen live. Look at the lives of the class of

workers, the farmers, the traders. Have a thought for them. Showing concern does not lie in writing against Islam. Assist them in the name of human rights and as lawyers. Have you spent anything out of your pockets for this nation up to now? I leave to your conscience, you, whose hearts ache for these poor people and for humanity; for these women living around Qum and in the south of Tehran; and in the “south” (depressed areas) of all the cities. South in the sense that according to you, they are of the lower class, they know what human rights are and act according to them. They came and gave their jewelry—their savings of twenty, thirty, fifty years—to the poor. What have you done? What have you people done? Tell me! You, too, should help these poor people; support this class. I am not saying that you should give them money. What I am saying is that you should approve of them in your writings, your actions and your views. Safeguard Islam; it is of benefit to you. It is good for your worldly affairs. It is at least good for this world of yours, even if you do not believe in the hereafter. Do not oppose the clergy; it is to your own good. It is this stratum of the committed clergy, these clergymen, who are living in twos and threes in these small cells that they (regime) had driven out. It is these slim-dwellers living around the cities in hovels with seven or eight of them in each one. They are the ones who understand human rights better than we do and who are concerned about their fellow human beings. They are the human rights group; not you or me. Come; let us do something for them. The government and the nation should have some thought for this class of people. They have rights; give them their rights. These are the people who are observing human rights.

Advice to the pseudo-intellectuals

I wish to tell you people, who gather here every few days, that I desire your prosperity. I advise you not to take a path separate from that of Islam and the clergy. Do not lose this divine power; the power that is the clergy and is a divine one. You will be nothing if this power is lost. It is the power of the clergy that draws the people to the streets. It is the power of Islam that emanates from the throats of the clergy. Do not strike at them. God knows that I am not supporting the clergy because I am a seminarian [*talabeh*] myself. I am supporting them as I know that they are the ones who can save this nation. It is this group that the people need. It is the mosques that did all this. It is the mosques that gave rise to the movement. The mosques were centers of political meetings even in the days of the Prophet and for a long period after that. They were centers of mobilizing armies. *Mihrab* (the principal place or altar in a mosque where the Imam leads the people in

prayer) means the place of “*harb*” or battle; of war. That is, the fight against Satan as well as *taghut*. The struggles should originate in the *mihlabs* because they would largely begin in the *mihlabs* and mosques. O you people! Safeguard your mosques. O you intellectuals! Safeguard your mosques. Do not be Westernized intellectuals; imported intellectuals! O you legal experts! Safeguard the mosques. You should go to the mosques; but you do not! Safeguard these mosques so that the movement attains ultimate success; so that your country is rescued. May God keep these mosques safe for us. May God protect the clergy for us. May God guide the antagonists. May God make our nation prosperous.

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

Speech

Date: June 6, 1979 [Khordad 16, 1358 AHS / Rajab 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need for the universities to become Islamic

Addressee: Doctors, professors and students of Shiraz University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The university: the center for training and educating human beings

The university is the source of a nation's blessings and paradoxically, the cause of its misfortunes. The university must determine a nation's destiny. While a good university is instrumental in a nation's prosperity, one that is not Islamic and is bad pushes a nation backwards. In the previous regime, perhaps the crime greater than all other crimes is in not allowing the universities to function properly. Possessions are not important in Islam and neither is materialism. What is important is spirituality that should emanate from the university—whether yours or the clergy's—and permeate all the strata of society. It is these two groups with whom the education of the Islamic community rests. The task of these two groups is nobler and their responsibility greater than all the other groups. Noble in function because the universities are the places where human character is molded. The university—whether yours or the clergy's—must be a center for molding human beings. This mission of building human beings had been entrusted to the prophets (a). The Heavenly Book; in fact all of them, came for the purpose of building man. If human beings are molded properly, everything will assume spirituality, and even material things will turn out as spiritual. On the contrary, if these entities (the two kinds of universities) are Satanic and if they produced deviated people, then spirituality will also assume a material aspect and be annihilated within it.

The mission of the prophets: giving a divine aspect to all human dimensions

What the prophets wanted to do was to give a divine feature to all the affairs of the world and of mankind that epitomizes the world; that is the essence of the world. The prophets came to make all these things divine. That is, for man—the epitome and essence of the world—to become a divine being so that whatever he does would be from a divine aspect. The prophets

were such that all their social affairs had the mark of divinity. Their marriages were also of a divine nature; in fact, everything they did. They have rendered human and divine whatever aspect there is that is material and animal in our opinion. The wars they fought were divine and for Him. When they made peace, it was divine and for His sake as opposed to the *taghut*; a divine element vis-à-vis the *taghut*. All *taghuti* affairs are materialistic and satanic. It even pushes spirituality toward materialism and worldliness. But those who obey divine commands give a spiritual form to this materiality that everybody makes use of. They look upon it from the spiritual angle. They view the whole world from the divine aspect. They consider all things as the manifestations of God. Their affection for people is of the spiritual kind in the sense that people are God's creatures who have been sent by God. It is not because of somebody being one's son, daughter or brother. Satan is the opposite of this; *taghut* is the opposite of this.

The prophets came to invite the people to come out from darkness into light. "*Allah is the Protecting Friend of those who believe. He bringeth them out of darkness into light. As for those who disbelieve, their patrons are false deities. They bring them out of light into darkness.*"¹ It is either bringing (the people) out of darkness into light—which is the prophets' mission, and what God, the Blessed and Exalted, does by means of them—or from light into darkness. By virtue of Creation, human nature is one of radiance. This is pulled toward darkness; it goes from light to darkness. This is the work of the *taghut*. These are two aspects, each of which has its possessors. The believers—those who have faith in God—are drawn from darkness toward lights, whereas the unbelievers—those who have no faith in God—are drawn from light to darkness.

The Revolution directed toward divine sovereignty

One of the things that happen in the world of which we should take notice is this movement in Iran. We should take a lesson from this movement; we should take notice of it. We should study it to see what it was, for what it was and what happened that it has been successful up to now. And what should be done to ensure its ultimate victory. The world has had many movements and revolutions: the Russian Revolution; the French Revolution. How does the Iranian Revolution differ from those? Why did the revolution in Iran occur, and what was the one in the Russia for? Why did the Iranians pour out into the streets shouting and crying out, "*Allahu akbar*"? What was it all about? Were the people of Iran shouting that they wanted fodder like

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:257.

the Russian revolutionaries? Were they clamoring for worldly things? Did our youth have their blood spilled in order to enjoy a life of comfort in the world? Is it so that one should kill oneself in order to enjoy a better life? No, it is not so. This was a divine movement. It was not like the movements of those who have no faith in God, or the movements that were staged for materialistic purposes. The Iranian movement was one in which God, the Blessed and Exalted, had a role. It was one in which the people poured into the streets for the sake of the Islamic Republic, for the sake of Islam and Islamic tenets, and shouted that they did not want this (Shah's) regime; that they wanted an Islamic republic and a government of Islamic justice. The nation's motivation and that of all the various strata of the people, save a few, was Islam. There were men, women and children who took to the streets. Only last night somebody said that he saw a boy of ten or twelve years of age on a motorcycle attacking a tank! But they blew him up into pieces. He held a flag while attacking the tank. Was he a child? What circumstances led to such a transformation in the nation?

The inclination of the Iranian nation toward the shining path of the Muslims at the advent of Islam

Was the great transformation that this nation underwent only for the purpose of ousting the regime, for instance? Or was there more to it? The basic purpose was to dismantle the regime and for Islamic rule to follow. The basic issue was the people's demand for Quranic rule in the country. They removed the obstacle to a government that would be an Islamic one; not that the whole aim lay in becoming free. Was our independence the entire aim? Did Iran want to become like Sweden, for example? The people are free, they are independent; but will they still want it if there is no sign of the Quran? Did the Iranians demand Quranic rule or not? For Islam to rule or not? "Let us be free"! "Let the animal in us be fully satisfied"! Did Iran lose its youth for this purpose? Or was Iran transformed into a nation like the one at the advent of Islam, with youth like those of early Islam who looked upon martyrdom as victory for themselves, and who would say that they were fortunate even if they had been martyred. This was, and is, the issue.

The ideal seminary and university

The university is the source of all changes. It is from the university—whether of the old sciences or the modern ones—that a nation's prosperity and, in contrast, its adversity originate. The universities must be taken seriously. Every effort should be made to set them right; to make them

Islamic. Our country has taken pains for the sake of Islam. Do not expect that only the government be Islamic; no. All the affairs should be so. All the strata of the people should follow Islamic precepts so that whoever comes here and observes the society would see that it is a divine society, an Islamic society. God, the Blessed and Exalted, is now testing us at this very moment; this very afternoon. Now that the revolution has been a success to a certain extent, we are being tested at present to see what we are doing with the freedom that we have gained. We are free! Are we now free to do anything we want? And to trouble anyone we like? Are we free to write whatever we want to write, even against Islam and the interests of the country? Is this freedom? Did we want this (kind of) freedom? We wanted freedom, or freedom in the refuge of Islam? We asked for Islam. There is freedom in Islam as well, but not unrestrained freedom. We do not want Western-type as it is unrestrained. Should we behave as we please!? It is not so. We want freedom under the protection of the Quran. We want the independence given by Islam; assured by Islam. Our whole purpose is Islam; everything is Islam, because Islam is the fountainhead of blessings and leads the people from darkness to light. We want to evolve into an enlightened society, a people sparkling with piety. We want to attend universities whose affairs are brilliantly administered and the sciences taught are radiant with knowledge. We want it to be ethically resplendent, and everything else of it to be divine and shining with virtue. The victory is not for us to have gained freedom and independence with all the benefits accruing to us, and that is all. Is this the end of everything? Now that the benefits are ours, do we have nothing more to do?

The aim of the prophets: educating mankind

These matters constitute the prelude. These are all the preliminaries to creating a humane nation; a nation in which the spirit of humanity is generated and a transformation brought about in the people themselves. What is important to the prophets is humanity itself. It is nothing else; only man is the concern of the prophets. Everything should assume a humane aspect. They wanted to mold man. When man is molded, everything else turns out right. The foreign-dominated regimes did not want people of the countries of the East to be brought up properly. They were afraid of upright people. They did not want any such people around. An upright individual, if found, does not submit to force. An upright person, if found, does not sell the interests of his country to foreigners. An upright person is such. He serves God and exists for His sake. He lives and dies for God. It is not possible for such a one

to serve the foreign powers, and to rise against his own country. They did not want our universities to produce upright human beings. They were afraid of such people. They made attempts to prevent the growth of our workforce; to arrest its progress. They tried all this with every means possible and with every plan they had. Their main mission had to do with the people. It was to prevent their development. In a country where the people are not trained properly; where an individual only thinks of material things; when the training is oriented toward materialism, well, such an individual would like to become the owner of a palatial villa in whatever way he can. It makes no difference to him as he is materialistic. Such a person's approach to materialism is like this. He is not concerned from where the material thing, the villa or the car that he has obtained has come from. He wants everything for himself; he is not concerned from where it is. A pious person is one who questions where something is from when it is given to him, what it is, is it right on his part to use it or not. Has the automobile (for example) been obtained legally or not, by honest or by dishonest means? Such questions arise only for human beings and need to be broached as well. We were mistaken when we used to say, or say, that it is enough for us that the regime is not there anymore. It is enough if there is independence; it is enough if there is freedom. Not at all! This is not the issue. We will sacrifice all these for the sake of having proper human beings. We want (upright) human beings. Let everything be sacrificed for the sake of human beings. When people are molded properly, everything will turn out right.

(Ayatullah) Mudarris was an upright person

During these past few years, the regime tried that there not be any proper person... not to allow anybody upright to emerge. They saw that if somebody honest appeared, he would possibly guide the nation and turn it against the regime. They were nervous of this possibility and so did not let anybody emerge. They were afraid of Mudarris¹ as he was an upright person. He

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 the 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 Shah's executioner and joined his virtuous forefathers."

would single-handedly not allow their designs to succeed, until they killed him. He would dominate the whole Majlis (Parliament) all by himself, and its deputies. When I was young I had visited the Majlis just to see it. I noticed that it seemed to lack something; it seemed to lack substance when a single person was not there; that is, when Mudarris was not there. It would become a (real) Majlis whenever Mudarris entered with his fine cloak and denim tunic. Mudarris would oppose any motion tabled in the Majlis that was against (national interests) and would have it shelved. When Russia gave an ultimatum to Iran over a certain matter, which I cannot recall now, it was put before the Majlis. Meanwhile, a Russian force had started moving toward Tehran or Qazvin in order to compel Iran to accept its demand. The Majlis, as it is now mentioned, was in a quandary whether to accept it or not. Iran could not face the Soviet army; also accepting the demand would be tantamount to treason. It is written that a clergyman, with hands trembling, entered the Majlis and states, "Now that we are to be destroyed, why should we destroy ourselves? We will not accept it." He rejected the ultimatum to the approval of all the others. The Russians did nothing. When they (alien powers) see that there is somebody in a country who is able to divert an issue from their desired course, and not let them do whatever it is that they wish to accomplish, they make efforts to prevent that upright person from emerging.

The nation's welfare is tied to the seminary and university

You, the university authorities should make efforts to mold human character. By doing so, you will save your country. If you are able to turn out committed and trustworthy individuals who believe in the other world and in God; who are faithful to God, if such people are brought up in your universities and ours, they will deliver your country. Therefore, the task is a very noble one and the responsibility great. This responsibility is now on your shoulders and ours. You, the university authorities and the clergymen, should ensure the nation's well-being by discharging this grave responsibility. You must ensure the nation's welfare. This responsibility has been entrusted to you (by virtue of your profession). You did not take up agriculture. If you were a cultivator, you would still have responsibility but not this one. If you were a merchant, you would have responsibility within your own sphere (of activity). But now this responsibility concerns a nation, a country. It is for the sake of Islam. We are all responsible before God. All of us—the university, the theology universities, your science universities—should strive to mold (upright) human beings. All of us should aim for this: a real human being.

The difference between divine and materialistic people

If you were to make exceptions of human beings in that you produced a scientist, or a doctor that was better than all the doctors in the world, and if such a doctor was lacking in human qualities, he would, then be most harmful. When this same doctor wants to treat somebody, he will be after personal gain; he will not be concerned with the treatment (of his patient). He will be interested in knowing how much money he will get from the patient! If you produced a doctor who would develop as a humane person, he would just be after treating the patient. He would not be concerned with how much he would get from him. The issue is not business; it is curing people in a divine, humane way. A doctor's treatment can be divine. It can also be satanic and *taghuti*; *taghuti* treatment in the sense that the doctor is concerned with how much money he will get from his patient. It is the case of the patient's purse prolonging the disease! How much can he extract from the patient; how much can he prolong the treatment to get as much money as he can from him! A God-fearing doctor thinks only of saving the patient, even if he is to get nothing! If your university turns out upright human beings, they will save the nation. They do not think about what they or their position will be. Their only concern is to save the patient. But if they become *taghuti*, they will think only of gain. They are not interested in saving the

patient. They want to work for their own personal benefit, and not for the country.

Now that all of us are responsible, we must try and discharge this responsibility as best as we can. All of us must serve now. Our country needs to be served now. All the people should serve—whether they are the ones who want to mold human beings and possess the manpower, or whether the people belonging to the other strata—so that the chaos that is there is eliminated, God willing; so that you serve your nation, and yourselves, in a country that belongs to you. The important point is that it is for the deliverance of your country and for the sake of God. May God give all of you success. And may He make us successful in serving our country and our nation.

[In reply to a question of one of the people in the audience, the Imam stated:]

I do not have the time now to sit here and keep on speaking. I have said all that I wanted to say. I am not feeling fit enough now. That is all there is to say. There is nothing more for me to say.

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

Message

Date: June 9, 1979 [Khordad 19, 1358 AHS / Rajab 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The inhuman acts of the Zionists in Lebanon

Addressees: The Shiah of Lebanon

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Our dear brothers!

Salutations and greetings. The situation in Lebanon and the miseries to which our brothers are being subjected is the object of our attention. We greatly regret these inhuman acts of the Zionist—assisted by the Americans—in the Muslim cities, especially against the Lebanese people and our brothers. We hope that God, the Blessed and Exalted, who is the supporter of the meek and the oppressed, will extend His help at this time to you and all our brothers. We are fighting alongside you against Israel and America, and hope that the Army of God will overcome the satanic and *taghuti* armies. Your misery and suffering for the sake of Islam and the Muslims is not something new. The *taghuti* forces have always been opposing Islam, and fighting against the Muslims. I pray for your victory and for the success of all the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: June 9, 1979 [Khordad 19, 1358 AHS / Rajab 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The people's cooperation with the Armed Forces and the Disciplinary Forces in guarding the country

Audience: Wali Allah Fallahi (The Commander of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran): some groups of adjutants, commanders and personnel of Army Aviation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The duties of the forces in these critical conditions

Each one of the various forces in the country, or in any country, has a specific duty to perform. One of them has the duty of staying in the border regions, another on the seas, yet another between the cities and one within cities. This is the case in normal circumstances. When the situation is normal, each of them has to carry out their duties in their respective places. However, in the case of unusual circumstances, in conditions that are extraordinary, the situation is not the same for the gendarmerie to say that it has nothing to do with the borders, or the force stationed at the border to say that the highways are not its concern. It would be something like the people in the cities—who have their own particular occupations and are engaged in their work as usual in normal circumstances—saying in the event of a disastrous earthquake that they are busy at their desks with administrative duties, or a merchant saying that his occupation is business to which he has to attend. They have no right to give such excuses. All of them—in keeping with the dictates of conscience, common sense and religious law—are duty-bound to go to the rescue of the earthquake-stricken people.

The responsibility of the public in critical situations

You are aware that we are still in a revolutionary situation. We have made some headway, of course. However, the revolutionary state still exists and the conditions are unusual. We have a revolutionary situation on our hands because of the unusual circumstances in which the borders are not what they should be. We also receive almost daily reports, from here and there, about weapons, drugs and people being smuggled into the country. Then, there is the trouble on the highways, and in the cities, too. There are the counter-revolutionaries to contend with. All the forces must concentrate on their respective purposes in these revolutionary times. Those at the

borders must counter any groups that intend to rebel, that intend to act against the Revolution and indulge in sabotage. They must come to the assistance of those in the cities, who are not able to counter these anti-revolutionary elements, and accomplish the task because guarding the borders is for the protection of the country. If the gendarmerie wants to establish order in the cities, it is for safeguarding the system. When the gendarmerie sees that there is unrest in the border areas and that they are in danger of being lost, it has no right to say that its duty only concerns the highways. The same applies to the city force (the police). The Air Force, Army and Navy have the same duty now. All the forces should now watch over the whole country, just as the people are duty-bound to do so. This duty is not confirmed to the disciplinary forces. We should not sit doing nothing and say that the maintenance of law and order rests with the police. No; maintaining law and order would have been the duty of the police had the situation been normal. But when the conditions become abnormal, it is the duty of the people to help the police force. They should not leave the police alone. The *pasdars* (Revolutionary Guards) are responsible, too, and so are the people. Now that the order that we want has not been restored to the country, it is the duty of all of us to keep an eye on the situation. If at any time it is seen that something is being said—that is contrary to what is customary—in a city, for example, with the likelihood of it culminating in a big explosion, for instance, then the people, wherever they are, should be permitted, and even ordered, by their civil officials to look into the matter and deal with it. The same applies to the gendarmerie. If at any time it notices anything untoward in the border areas, the gendarmes should not remain inactive, saying that it is the job of the army to put things straight in that place. They should, themselves, go there (to restore order). The army and the people should also help them.

The duty of the men and women to defend (the country)

In Islam, when the question of defense arises, it is not so that the defenders must be males, or must be adults and so on. When the issue of defending an Islamic country arises, children, adults, men and women, all of them are duty-bound to go and defend (the country). The situation is extraordinary. Ordinary circumstances are of one kind, and extraordinary ones of another. And now that the situation is not normal, the arrangements made by each group are more necessary than at other times. Obeying superiors, maintaining discipline and observing the chain of command are essential when times are normal, but more so when they are exceptional. The

reason is that if, in an extraordinary situation, the people are not to obey orders and maintain discipline, it would then lead to the country's disintegration.

Observing the chain of command

All the forces are, therefore, obliged to observe the chain of command, and obey the orders of those who are higher in rank and who should be obeyed in conformity with the rules of seniority. The officials should also realize that there are not the times of the *taghut* for them to do whatever they please and oppress anyone they want. They should behave in a fatherly manner with their subordinates and show them respect. They, too, should obey their superiors. Now that the situation is not normal, extra attention should be paid to this matter. Discipline and the chain of command should be observed more scrupulously.

In any case, I hope that God protects you, and I am grateful for the way you helped at the time when there was such bloodshed and intense revolutionary activities. The disciplinary forces have a big share in all these matters. May God keep you all. May we be successful in restoring this country to normalcy and to a state in which it becomes self-sufficient without the need to depend on any place or anything. May all of you be healthy and successful, God willing.

[In reply to the remarks of one of those present in the audience, the Imam stated:]

I do not think that there is any reward greater than what God, the Blessed and Exalted, has given you and those who serve Him. And neither is there any prop greater than faith. When a community or a group has faith; faith in God and, based on that faith, considers itself as duty-bound to serve, then this constitutes a greater support for that group and for the people than all the other kinds of support. I would of course, like to thank you. The nation also appreciates you. It is not so that they have no appreciation; they are also appreciative. We appreciate all of you and all the disciplinary forces. You extended your help when the country was in turmoil. Your help was so great that it can never be forgotten. May God assist all of you; may He be your Supporter. The nation also supports you, and we, too, pray for you.

[Following the remarks of another person present, the Imam stated:]

In any case, you remind them that we do not expect the Muslims and Islamic governments to oppose the Islamic movement of our country that rose for the sake of Islam, with the power of Islam and in the manner of Islam that rose to drive away those that had been opposed to Islam and the

interests of the Muslims, and those that had been assisting these opponents. Such opposition to the movement is against Islam and, God forbid, amounts to being in agreement with the powers that want to sideline Islam again and, instead, bring corrupt regimes to power. We do not expect this from the governments, the heads of which are Muslims. We expect the Islamic powers to strengthen our nation; not that the Kuwaiti government—according to what is being said, but should not be believed—even help the opponents of Islam and the deviant people. If this is so, it is against your own interests and of the Muslims. That's all about.

Statements

Date: June 9, 1979 [Khordad 19, 1358 AHS / Rajab 14, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Consolidating the brotherhood and unity of Islamic countries

Audience: Ali-Shams Ardekani (the Iranian Ambassador to Kuwait)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

[Dr. Ali-Shams Ardekani, Iran's first Ambassador to Kuwait, appeared in the presence of Imam Khomeini on the morning of Khordad 19, 1358 AHS. In this meeting, Imam Khomeini pointed out the need to strengthen the brotherhood and unity among the Muslim countries, and stated:]

Imam: The neighboring countries, God willing, are not assisting, and will not assist, those who are inimical toward Islam as it cannot be believed that the interests and benefits of Muslim countries lie in weakening the Islamic Republic of Iran.

[In this meeting with the Iranian Ambassador to Kuwait who had come to wish the Imam goodbye, Imam Khomeini expressed his ardent wish for the success and victory of the entire Islamic community.]

Speech

Date: June 10, 1979 [Khordad 20, 1358 AHS / Rajab 15, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The enemy's conspiracy against the clergy and education; the moral downfall of the West

Audience: Members of the Central Council of the Iran Statistics Center

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The difference between the Islamic and nationalist movements

It is a peculiarity of the Islamic movement that all the various strata of the people have sincerely served the society as a divine duty and not just a perfunctory one. You the employees of the statistics center are also among those who have served the people. That is, everybody served for the sake of Islam. You would not have made such efforts had this been a nationalist movement, and neither we nor the rest of the nation. The nation wants to see Islam established. It wants its country for Islam. All the people, from the small children to the elderly, clamored for Islam. The movement was for this Islamic religion; its objective was Islam. It was an uprising against *taghut* and against those who wanted to destroy Islam and did certain things in order to consign it to oblivion. It was an uprising that was aided by God, the Blessed and Exalted, in that you, people, who had been dispersed and separated from one another, joined forces. The army that was against us joined us. Those who were not involved in these matters at all joined the fray. The people that were involved but were not so active became fully so; all of them for the same purpose and for the same aim; that is, (the people) from the center to every side and corner of the country. All of them would say the same thing so much so that even if you had gone into the wilderness and asked a shepherd what he wanted, he would have replied, "Islamic Republic". This was a divine issue. That is, God guided you.

The Islamic Revolution blessed by God

We consider it a great honor for you and ourselves that God has favored us and extended his blessings to the nation that at one stage was heading toward destruction, and Islam was in the process of being forgotten. All the people of this country, whoever they were and from wherever they come would cry out that they wanted Islam; not *taghut*, not the regime. This was not something that anybody could bring about by himself. God willed it so.

Because the Hand of God is involved in this matter, you, we and everybody should do something for this Hand of Blessings to remain open and to remain over our hands. And it is this that just as we have been together up to now, and “The Hand of God is with the people,”¹ with everything being for His sake, and also because He favored us, we should not concern ourselves with problems for the time being. At present, our attention should be focused on the issue of the Islamic Republic that now exists only in name and not in substance and meaning. You will notice that the offices and the education and justice ministries have not assumed an Islamic aspect for us to call it an Islamic Republic. We voted for it, and so did you. Iran has an Islamic republic now; however, its content has not materialized yet. That is, we find traces of the previous times in every office we visit. We want these traces to be wiped off.

Taghut’s first aim: crushing education and the clergy

As it was pointed out, education is at the top of everything. Our opponents had been concentrating on our educational system from the very beginning. They had been concentrating on these schools since the time they came into existence. They did this as they knew that whatever arose was from education. There were two things that, more than anything else, were the objects of the attention of those who opposed us and Islam: one was the clergy, and the other, “education”. They realized that these two could bring independence to a country and administer it. They would, therefore, obstruct their affairs. Their educational programs were not exactly suitable for us. As for the clergy they would bash them at every opportunity.

From the time that Rida Khan appeared—except on the few occasions when he would try to beguile the people by showing piety and such things—his main concern, from those days itself, was the clergy whom he tried to do away with, using any excuse that he could. He would see that the mourning ceremonies that are held in every village, borough, town and even the countryside all over Iran were (spiritually) beneficial to the people because of which people and groups could possibly emerge that would prevent the illegal exploitation (of the country). These commemoration meetings, which even if most of you do not remember, perhaps Aqa² here does so, were forbidden to be held throughout Iran. We could not hold meetings. The time was such that we had nothing. They would control the whole country. Their agent would see to it that neither voice be raised anywhere nor any

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

² It refers to an old clergyman present in the audience.

commemoration meeting held. On the other hand, there was the pressure on the clergy to remove their turbans (stop preaching)! And they did remove them. It was the same with education. They could not say that there should be no education; they said that it should be there. But they devised educational programs in such a way as to be unsuitable for the nation. And above that was their extensive propaganda campaign to deprive us of our content and make us pessimistic about ourselves; to separate the university from the clergy; rather, make them its enemies; to alienate the clergy from the university and, in fact, make it their enemy, and the same with the bazaar merchants and others; to deprive them of substance and make them pessimistic.

Self-alienation and West-fixation

Worse than everything is to deprive the people of their substance so that they lose their self-confidence! For example, we have doctors; not that Iran lacks doctors; it has them. We have many of them. Why is it that whenever anybody falls ill, he has to be taken to Europe! It is because they have made us pessimistic about our own doctors. We have doctors, but have become pessimistic (about them). We have engineers; we cannot say that we do not. But they have taken away this content of ours in that whenever a road needs to be asphalted, the concerned engineer has to come from abroad; they are brought from abroad. They must come from abroad to put up a factory or a big building. This is because of all their propaganda, which had made us pessimistic with regard to ourselves. They had emptied us of our content. We had been a people fixated entirely on the West. It is the same even now, as you might notice. Now, as we are saying "Islam", and you are saying "Islam", there is another group that has got together and saying "democratic", "democratic". Why? Because they have become so westernized and so obsessed with the West that they cannot imagine that a country with Islamic programs can be administered. They forget, or pretend to forget, that this Islam governed all the countries for seven hundred years. Now they say, "No"! Not an Islamic republic, it must be a democratic one! It is because they lack content. They have alienated the people from their inner selves with the wide-ranging propaganda which they made. They brainwashed them so to speak and have planted Western ideas instead. They have deprived us of our intellectual freedom. They have taken away our freedom and our personalities. We do not have independent personalities now. We have to think of developing our personalities. We have to pay attention to Islamic history and see what Islam had accomplished in the

world and what things it had done. Those who say that Islam cannot accomplish anything or that it has now become obsolete, for example, are saying so because they do not understand. Many of them are unaware; actually, they have not paid attention to it. That is why the Westerners deprived them of their content and injected “Westernism” into them instead. Therefore, they say that everything must come from there (abroad). Well, if you wish to asphalt a road, you have no one to do it. If you wish to spray poison, you do not have people to do it. If you wish to—I should say—run a factory somewhere, you have the people; but they have alienated you from your own people. They have alienated you from your own personality.

Islamic laws, the most complete in the world

We can manage ourselves, and even better (than you). Do not think that the West is everything; there is nothing doing there. We do not say that they have no factories; that they had made all these things. But the humane element is lacking there. All the things they have made—not all the things—many of the things that they have made have been done so against humanity. It is the West that is ruining the ethical principles of humanity; it is the West that is ruining the personality of human beings, and we think that the West has everything! Now that the West has invented the automobile, it must have everything. Our laws are more complete than any other in the world. As marriage is the means of producing man, Islamic laws have set down procedures for your marriage even before you get married; it begins from there. When you wish to get married, no law in the world tells how to go about it. After you have registered your marriage in the relevant registration office, the rest is up to you. Islam has concerned itself with your marriage and given its attention to it even before you get married, as it wants the child born out of wedlock, to be brought up properly. A cultivator approaches his work with care and tenderness so that it yields results. He first prepares the ground, waters it properly and sows it with suitable seeds.

Islam: the school for molding human beings

Islam molds human beings. It wants to do so even before you get married. It has told man and woman about the type of spouse to choose and the spouse's manners. It, likewise, tells us about the marriage itself and what we should do after marriage. Now let me tell you what they are: after marriage; during pregnancy and mothering; all of these, I should say. The reason is that Islam wants to mold human beings. Islam concerns itself the matter from the very beginning of the child's conception. Islam pays

attention to that issue which the laws of the world have neglected and have not paid attention to. Islam wants to do something so as to stop you from doing anything that is against universal laws even in your closet. The other (non-Islamic) laws are not concerned with the substance; you may do anything you want in your house. It is nothing to do with anybody. "Do not come outside (your house) and create disorder; you may do whatever you want (in your house)." Islam, however, is unlike this. Islam wants to bring up (proper) human beings. It brings up a person in such a way that he is the same in his closet and indoors as he is when out on the road. Not that he will do anything he wants in his closet that he will not do outside his house. The person should be the same in his closet as he is outside the house; as he is in society. Islam wants to mold a person that will be a human being in all situations.

The collapse of moral standards and human principles in the West

The West is totally unaware of this. The West is after manufacturing aircraft; it is not concerned with human beings. Man must make the world; the West has nothing to do with man. It is concerned with aircraft and such things. It is leading mankind toward destruction. It is bringing up people as savages and murderers. Those who kill the most and eat the most are savages. The West is bringing up human beings as savages; the type that kills and devours people! It is turning out savages.

Islam, on the other hand, brings up people that are friendly and considerate. Even when Islam went to war and destroyed corrupt elements, it was out of its loving concern for society. As those people were corrupt, they (Islam's leaders) would destroy them in order to eradicate the cancerous tumor and to allow society to develop on the right lines. It is all a matter of loving concern. We are calling for the execution of these few corrupt people because they are like cancerous tumor, they are wicked. It is because they corrupt society, and have corrupted a society! Now that these corrupt ones are being executed, a clamor has arisen in the West over the executions. They (West) say that these people are their friends. Well, we are executing them for this very reason. They say, "These people are of us; they have helped us!" and so they are raising a hue and cry over our killing their lackeys. We are punishing them for this very reason, on these very grounds, of being your servants, of acting against our nation and Islam and of killing the people. Not a word was uttered, not a single word, when they assassinated the late

(Ayatullah) Mutahhari¹ But they raised a hue and cry when Hoveyda² was executed.

Shedding crocodile tears over human rights

The American Senate raised such a hue and cry because of the murderers [...]. They should be asked for the figures relating to the execution we carried out. Who and how many were they? They should give us their backgrounds. But they do not do so. They are the well-wishers of our nation?! The well-wishers of the people?! They are our people's friends?! They are the protectors; the supporters of human rights?! Such meaningless words are again being said in Iran, such mischievous things. Such supporters of human rights are also here. We have advised these people to keep away from them. They are not interested in human rights. They support the superpowers. And thus you see that they (Shah's regime) killed some hundreds of thousands—I do not know whether it is hundreds of thousands...—thousands of our people. It is said that 15,000 (people) were

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 Mutahhari's words be forgotten by un-Islamic tricks..."

² The person in question is Amir Abbas Hoveyda, the son of Abdul-Malik and the grandson of a well-known Bahai in Iran. He was educated in Beirut and in 1944 [1323 AHS] was appointed as a foreign diplomat in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1960 [1339 AHS] he became a member of the board of directors in the National Iranian Oil Company and in 1964 [1343 AHS] the Finance Minister in Mansur's Cabinet. He succeeded Mansur as Prime Minister in 1965 [1344 AHS] and remained as such until the year 1977 [1356 AHS]. In 1979 [1358 AHS] he was tried and executed. He is believed to have been a follower of the Bahai school. His grandfather, Mirza Rida Qannad, was one of the devout activists and supporters of Abbas Effendi, a leading figure of the Bahai sect, and after fleeing Iran he went to Akka in Occupied Palestine where he served Abbas Effendi as his servant.

killed on the 15th Khordad. From 15th Khordad until now, perhaps 200,000 have been killed and many number injured. Did these supporters of human rights ask them the reason for this? Why are such things taking place? Why did they not question all this? And now that we are trying some of them—who murdered people, did a lot of mischief and ruined the country—in the courts and, after getting evidence from eyewitnesses, and following their own confessions, are punishing them, the supporters of human rights have raised a hue and cry! The people should know these “supporters of human rights” for what they are and whom they support. Our own supporters of human rights should consider these questions as to who they are and why is it that they are doing all these things.

Anxiety over the tendency toward materialism

In any case, we need you and everybody else now; we need more than ever before. Why I say more than before is that most of the people were keen to see this regime go and then have a government of justice. All their attention was given to this one issue. None of them would think of what they would have for lunch or dinner on going home. There were no such things. Neither did they talk about their salaries being low or high. All of us were moving forward in that revolutionary state that was there. Neither did I think about your salaries being high or low. Such matters were not raised at all. This barrier was breached because these matters were not raised and because all of you were Godly. With divine will and with your empty hands you broke down this barrier which the world thought was impregnable. Now that we have come so far, a sort of lethargy has arisen. We are now thinking about our salaries, about not having houses and proper lives. We are thinking of what is to happen about our salaries and our grades. These issues are now being raised. For this reason, we have to pay more attention to the movement. That is, we have to be active in making the people concentrate on the movement, because we are still on the way and have yet to reach our destination. We have not yet implemented the Islamic Republic in substance in Iran. Our objective was that the entire country be Islamic, and to have the government of Islam. It has not happened yet. Of course, we have made some headway, but much remains to be done. It is now the time for everybody to be together and for all of our attention to be focused on the aim. We should not make so many excuses about our salaries being low or high. God willing, they will increase later. Or the excuse about not having homes and such things. God willing, you will have your homes. And regarding cultivation, you will have that as well. But for now, just as in those early

stages you had forgotten all these matters—neither was a worker concerned that his wages were low or high, nor was a cultivator bothered about the state of the cultivation in that year—and all were concerned with just one goal which was obtained and everything went off well. We should continue in the same way as before, with the same attention to the matter and maintain the same Godliness. That is, our purpose should be for God, the Islamic Republic and the tenets of the Quran so that we retain God's favor and the Divine Hand protect all the people. If this aim is achieved, God willing, you will be victorious and the country yours with you running it. All the hands will be cut off (from the country). But the main purpose is not to lose sight of our aim. I pray to God for the well-being of all of you and the prosperity of this nation of which you, too, are a part. May God assist all of you.

Speech

Date: June 11, 1979 [Khordad 21, 1358 AHS / Rajab 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need for government to learn a lesson from the Shah's fate; the difference between a popular government and a puppet government

Audience: Ibrahim Yazdi (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Gundurz Rukchun (?) (Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Calling the nations and governments to follow Islam

I wish to reciprocate the greetings of the people and Prime Minister of Turkey.

It is necessary for me to tell you and your government briefly about the basic causes of this movement. The basis of this movement originated from two sources. One was the intense pressure, both external and internal, the plundering by foreign and local elements and the extraordinary repression of the last fifty-odd years during which Iran and the Iranian nation did not see a single happy day; then, the extraordinary massacres that took place recently in most of the Iranian provinces, leading the people into supporting this movement. The other reason was our desire to have an Islamic government of justice which would stand up to the *taghuti* regimes, and to implement Islamic precepts in Iran as it was at the advent of Islam. It is our hope that all the nations and the governments join this movement, and that their views are directed toward Islam. Islam is ideal for all countries as it has everything. However, foreign propaganda and next, local propaganda, alienated our nations and our governments from Islam. Unfortunately, the propaganda was such that all the aspirations of the youth of the East were for the realization of Western ideals, and so they sacrificed their national dignity for the sake of the West. Some of our youth have also done this. For us this was a spiritual setback more than any other. Our concern is not over the economy except as a means. We are concerned about Islamic education and culture from which they have estranged us. The East has been so influenced by the West as to lose itself. The West has deprived many of our youth of their content. However, we feel that all the nations and the governments should divert their attention to reversing this spiritual defect of theirs. Our youth should not think that whatever there is, is in the West and they, themselves, have nothing.

The army at the advent of Islam

As opposed to all the *taghuti* systems of government, Islam came to mold human beings. The Quran is a book that molds human beings. If properly molded people become a reality in these Islamic countries, and the nations and the governments make Islam their agenda, it will not be possible for others to derive illegal benefits from us. Our economy should be subject to Islamic principles. The same applies to our educational system, and the army. At the advent of Islam, the army was a refuge for people. The domain of the army was not separate from that of the people. There was no atmosphere of dread and terror. The environment of a country can become one of love, kindness and spiritual tranquility if the army and the government perform their respective duties and also their Islamic duty. This would be greatly beneficial for the nation, the government and the army. But an atmosphere of dread and terror, such as obtaining in *taghuti* governments, would be bad for them. The reason why such governments create an atmosphere of dread is that they have done nothing for the people and have alienated them. They fear the people and so they create an intimidating atmosphere in order to suppress the people. It was not so at the advent of Islam. The Islamic army was with the people. The environment was never one of terror. The government that was at the head of the society was not different from the people. In fact, its officials had a lower standard of living. The government did not want to impose itself on the people; it wanted to serve them. Islam has charged the governments with the duty of serving the people. The army should be at the people's service, and so should the governments. The atmosphere of fear will disappear if such a system takes shape and will turn into one of friendship and brotherhood.

The need for governments to learn a lesson from the Shah's fate

The nation supports the government in such an atmosphere of brotherhood, and in such a case the government will not collapse. The Shah would not have fallen had he heeded the advice of the clergy and had served the nation. But he did not serve the nation. But he did not serve it and was treacherous. Therefore, he lost the support of the people who rejoiced when they heard that he had left, just as they did when his father had also left. The governments should learn a lesson from this situation that emerged in Iran. They should know that this happened because the repressive atmosphere they had created was such that it led to an explosion. The governments should be brotherly and friendly toward the people. The people should feel that the government is of them, that it serves them. The people should feel that the

army is of them so that when it comes into the streets, it is showed with flowers; not that they run away from it! The main part of government programs is the creation of a moral environment, a brotherly environment. This has the topmost priority in all programs. If this happens and if the government wants to accomplish something the whole nation will assist it. If the government wishes to implement... certain programs, the nation will be at its service.

The difference between a popular government and an anti-national one

Let us now compare these two governments of Iran. Whenever the previous government wanted to implement some program, the governments become like, the people would not agree to it. In fact, they would create obstruction as much as possible. Now when our government wants to undertake some task, the people come from here and there offering their help. The various classes of the people say that they are ready to be of service in accomplishing the task. They are prepared to help with heart and soul. Now that the government wants to carry out some projects, the nation is expressing such support which is truly amazing. It is significant that while we have not been able to implement Islam in the full sense in Iran, the gentle breeze of Islam that is blowing in the country has resulted in our government being national in character and is wanted by the people. The Prime Minister is not at all afraid of going among the people and of sitting chatting with them. This is contrary to the case of the prime ministers of the previous regime for whom it was not possible to mingle with the people as the people were their enemies, just as they were the enemies of the people. If the governments become like this by paying attention to Islam and infusing the Islamic spirit in the people and in themselves, it will then be in their and the country's interests. And all the projects will be easily implemented.

Hoping for the unity of the Muslim countries

I hope that brotherhood, an Islamic brotherhood as ordained by the Quran arises among the Muslim governments. If such Islamic brotherhood came into existence among the Muslim countries, it would be a magnificent power that none of the world powers would be able to match. I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, that this (brotherhood) be realized among all the governments, and that all of them succeed in existing for Islam and in maintaining their Islamic brotherhood. I also pray that they succeed in serving their nations, and the nations in turn support them.

[Here, the Foreign Minister of Turkey thanked the Imam and stated: "One of the questions of societies is the relationship between religion and politics, and also, how human beings can be made more capable. The other issue is that, according to the principles of democracy, there should be no difference among the people and those who hold the reins of government." After he had finished talking, the Imam stated:]

The slogan of democracy, the deceit of the Westerners

...But the issue of the upbringing of a nation lies in its education being of the right kind. You should endeavor to create an educational system of the independent Islamic kind. The youth brought up in such a system are those in whose hands lies the destiny of the country. Their proper upbringing, their serving the nation and their trustworthiness regarding the treasury, will all take effect under Islamic leadership. If a nation is educated like this in a complete system of Islamic education, the country will enjoy peace and progress. Regarding the issue of democracy that you have mentioned, it is true. But, unfortunately, in the West which professes democracy, and in our own countries also where democracy is often mentioned, there is none of it. The West wants to charm us into sleep by this and exploit us. We will not be able to exercise democracy as it should be until we come under the banner of Islam.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, that all our governments—the Muslim ones—succeed in overcoming their problems together in a brotherly manner under the auspices of Islam and under one flag; that of Islam.

Speech

Date: June 11, 1979 [Khordad 21, 1358 AHS / Rajab 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The beginning of offspring from the viewpoint of Islam

Audience: Female teachers of Dezful

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The sacred maternal responsibility, the most important of responsibilities

As you ladies say, you are teachers. You have two noble occupations; you have two very noble occupations. One is to bring up children, which is above any other occupations. Sending good offspring into society is better for you than anything else in the world. I cannot express in words how important it is for you to train people properly. One of our occupations, then, is to raise good children. The mother's lap is the place where "human beings" should be molded. That is, the first stage of training children is in the mother's lap. The reason for this is that a child's attachment to his mother is the greatest of all attachments. There is no greater love than that existing between a mother and her child. Children copy things better from their mothers. They are influenced by their mothers more than by their fathers, teachers or tutors. Because of this, you must raise your children in an Islamic, humane way until the time you send them to school. You should send a child that is truthful, good-natured and good-mannered.

The separation of a child from the mother, the cause of complexes and evils

Thus, one occupation is the raising of children of which the *taghuti* government, unfortunately, tried to deprive these mothers. They made propaganda as to why a woman should raise children... They debased this noble occupation in the sight of the mothers in order to separate them from their children and bring them up in nurseries. And the mothers to go their own way and take up any job they like. A child not brought up in the mother's lap but in a nursery, develops a complex on growing up. A child in a nursery and away from his mother develops a complex when dealing with strangers in the absence of motherly love. Most of the social evils stem from these children who have developed a complex; from these people who suffer

from a complex. The source of this big complex is the separation of the child from his mother. A child needs the mother's love; therefore, this task—which was also that of the prophets who came to build man—is your primary one as the first duty is to train the child.

The direction of the teachers, the same as the mission of the prophets

By virtue of being teachers, you have been entrusted with another noble task, the responsibility of which is as great as its nobleness. Your occupation deals with molding human beings. A teacher produces human beings just as the prophets did. The prophets—every prophet from the first one to the last—came only for the job of molding people and training them. The teaching profession is the same (in aim) as that of the prophets. The Noble Prophet is the teacher of the whole of humanity. After him, it was Hadrat Amir (a) who was also humanity's teacher. They were the teachers of humanity in its entirety, whereas you are the teachers of a part of it. But the task is the same; that is, the sphere is the same; the job is the same. While their range of activity was broad, ours is limited. Therefore, this occupation of yours is very noble one, but bearing a great responsibility, just as the responsibility of the prophets was great. Their responsibility was as grave as the task of molding human beings. They, however, accomplished their mission and the tasks with which they had been entrusted. Your occupation is very honorable and the same as that of the prophets, and the responsibility is also the same.

The teachers' role in the well-being or corruption of society

You must pay attention to the religious and moral upbringing of the children in your care. If you send a pious child into society, you will, one day, find this pious, committed child reforming society. It is possible for one person to reform a society. But if, God forbid, a child has not been properly trained by you in your capacity as a teachers, and has not been properly brought up while in your care, it is then possible for the child to corrupt society for which you are responsible.

On the one hand, if you educate a person properly, you will be considered as honorable as the prophets. However, if, on the other hand, the children in your care and those that are, afterwards, under your tutelage are, God forbid, brought up in an immoral way, it will be possible for them to corrupt society.

May God grant you and make you prosperous. May you be good coaches for the children and these girls who come to you to get educated. May God keep all of you.

Speech

Date: June 11, 1979 [Khordad 21, 1358 AHS / Rajab 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The enemy striking a blow against the two poles: the clergy and the university; the danger posed by the West and West-worship

Audience: Students of the Police Academy, Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The mission of the university and the clergy

The university in every country... has the role of molding human character; its mission is to build man. It is possible for a person to emerge from a university who can save a country. It is also possible for one to emerge who will take the country to ruination. The university has this important role. The destiny of every country lies with the university and those who graduate from it. Hence, the university is the most influential institution in the country and has the greatest responsibility. The reason why the alien powers kept our universities backwards by means of their lackeys, and made them “colonial” so to speak—the curricula were all colonial—was that they feared the university because of this very fact of it having a role to play. This is also true in the case of the clergy which also has a role. There may be a clergyman that can save a country, and there may be one who can ruin it. These two poles consisting of the university in every sense of the world—all the universities—and the clergy hold the destiny of the nation in their hands. Therefore, their task is more important and more honorable than all the other tasks because it is that very same mission of the prophets. All the prophets came for the purpose of building a man. Everything turns out right by producing the right people. The task of these two points which concerns the building of man—with the university being responsible for turning out properly-trained and righteous people, and so is the clergy—is among the noblest of tasks as it is the same as that of the prophets. Their responsibility is also greater than all other responsibilities because everything is developed here (the two poles). The entire attention of the foreigners had been riveted to these two poles. However, they crushed these places in similar way.

Rida Khan's enmity with the seminary and the university

When Rida Khan came—none of you remember but I do—he came, at the outset, as a Muslim and, for example, as a nationalist and such things. When his government became firmly entrenched after sometime, he at first, assisted the clergy and crushed them from every quarter. Things were such that when I used to hold a class in the Faydiyyah Madrasah, I, one day, saw that only one person had turned up! When I asked him the reason, he replied that all the students had fled! They would run away from their rooms and from the Madrasah before sunrise and would return at night. They had to do this as the police would come to arrest them and take them away. They would defrock them or got an undertaking from them or imprison them. They would put the clergy throughout the country in difficulties and subject them to pressure.

As regards the university, since they thought that they could not close down the universities because of the global repercussions, they allowed these to remain open. But these were not universities that could be of use to the nation and solve the people's problems. They adapted the university to turning out people who would be of use to themselves. By means of their extensive propaganda about the West and its advancement, they tried to bring up our youth in that university in a Western way. In that same university, it so happened from the propaganda of some of the professors allied to them (West) that our youth became useful only to the West and not to our country. They brainwashed our youth and made them West-minded instead of Iranian. This made our children and our youth believe—and perhaps, it is the same even now—that everything of ours should be from the West. The propaganda was such that the situation is the same even at present.

Self-alienation and the loss of intellectual independence

Though we have our own doctors, when someone falls ill they say that he has to be taken to Europe! The reason for this is that we have lost our self-confidence; we do not have the freedom of thought anymore. All our attention is focused on the West. Even now that we want an Islamic republic—God willing, it will be set up—and want to go our own way different from that of the West; now that we want to be independent in every aspect, there is still a Westernized group that does not want this republic to be Islamic. They want it to be just a “Republic”, a democratic republic. This is because of the mistake of these people who are traitors and are not with the nation. This was because it had been taught to them, and instilled so much into them, in these schools that wherever they went, there was the talk of the West; of the

freedom in the West; of human rights, human rights groups and supporters of human rights in the West. Those among them who are not traitors are not bad people, but they have come to believe all this. Because they have heard so much of this, they believe it, notwithstanding the progress of the West being of a materialistic nature.

The rapacity and savagery of the West

The West is making the world warlike and savage. Western training dehumanizes people and turns them into savage murderers. Now that you can assume that there is some peace in the world and no big wars, you can find people being killed in various countries because of American and Soviet interference. People are now being killed in Afghanistan because of Soviet interference. It is the same in many places. There is killing going on in Lebanon because of American interference. The West brings up people as animals. And, that too, not a tame animal, but a savage one! A killer! A cannibal! The progress of the West is not human in nature; it is animal. Western training is not humane; it is savage. I am referring to the governments, not the people. The governments and the training they import are not human. The West has progressed in that it has brought animals! It has developed deadly weapons. Just last night or the night before, it was mentioned in the newspaper that they have developed a bomb five times more powerful than the one they dropped on Japan in that war.¹ Five times more deadly. This is what the West does! Make something to kill people. And for them it is an honor to have developed a bomb fivefold deadlier than the single bomb that killed 200,000 people in one city. They call this "progress"! We have come to believe that everything is in the West. No; what there is in the West is to bring up people as rapacious animals. They are turning out fierce animals. The weapons that they are developing are the claws and fangs of the fierce animals, but only hundreds of thousands times deadlier.

Spiritual beings in the monotheist schools

The West does not mold man. What do build people are the schools of divinity. It was the school of monotheism by which the prophets made all efforts to build people. If a country has the proper people, it will have freedom that is not harmful to others; intellectual freedom, spiritual freedom and human freedom. The prophets wanted to train proper human beings. The Quran is a book that molds man. Its aim is to build people. If the people are

¹ It refers to the Second World War in which atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

properly brought up, their country will have tranquility. If the people are brought up by monotheistic humane-Islamic teachings, they will then be brought up in such a way as to be—in the words of the Quran—kind unto one another and friends unto one another. They will be like this. It would be hard for anybody to attack or oppress them.¹ The university—whether the clergy's or yours—is in a country that entrusted with the task of training people, should be responsible for molding them so that when these youth leave the university, they will do so as (proper) human beings; not Westernized ones but Islamic. Being Westernized is related to these points.

A fifteen-year struggle to establish Islam

The West wants an unbridled kind of freedom: anybody can do whatever he wants to do. Such freedom is against ethics and human customs; not a regulated kind of freedom based on rules and regulations. They want such a kind of (unbridled) freedom. The democratic republic that these gentlemen want is of the kind obtaining in the West. Did our country give so many victims as to now become a Western-type of country?! Our people have offered sacrifices for the sake of Islam. They have undergone much hardship for Islam. They struggled for ten, fifteen years for an Islamic country to be realized; for Islamic laws to take effect. We do not want Western laws, or Western training. We want humane training so that all the people be friendly with one another; not that I fear you or you fear me. The atmosphere should be one of compassion and not of dread and fear. This service to humanity and to Islam is our responsibility. We are responsible from the clerical side and you from that of your university.

The heavy responsibility of the Police Academy

The responsibility of the Police Academy is more than the other responsibilities, because their job is more critical. If those who graduate from the Police Academy, do so as human beings, as people who are kind to others, they will be able to reform a country, people come out who impose themselves on others and harass them; if their training has been such as to make them intimidate and terrorize the people, it would lead to sedition. In such an event, they would also become seditious. Therefore, this profession is among the noblest of professions and the responsibility it carries, among the gravest. We of the clergy and you of the university, who have these professions, are responsible for these youth. We are responsible to God, the

¹ Allusion to *Surah al-Fath* 49:29: "Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. And those with him are hard against the disbelievers and merciful among themselves..."

Blessed and Exalted, to bring them up properly so that they are of use to the country, of service to Islam, trustworthy and loyal to their country. All this is (possible) under the banner of monotheism and Islam. Give your children an Islamic upbringing, and become Islamic, all of you. May God protect you and make you prosperous. May He make you useful for your country.

Speech

Date: June 11, 1979 [Khordad 21, 1358 AHS / Rajab 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to preserve independence and shun self-alienation in the embassies and representative offices

Audience: Ibrahim Yazdi (the then Foreign Minister) and the new ambassadors of Iran to foreign countries

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The West in the whirlpool of barbarism, or the firmament of civilization

What is important in my opinion is that by their existence, all-round propaganda during the time of this unworthy father and son, they took away our content from us, causing us to believe so much in the West that we not prepared to accept anything that is not Western. The outlook of our youth changed from Iranian to almost Western, thus posing a danger to a country that does not believe in itself anymore...; believing in the aliens instead of believing in themselves; somebody else sitting there who has been brainwashed as you say. They brainwashed them and purged them of their national and Islamic identity, replacing these with Western ideas. They have done this in such a way that even if we have something, we will still extend our hand to the West. For example, we know that we have engineers who are able to carry out the work of asphaltting roads, constructing buildings, and—I should say—laying highways. Nevertheless, when this is to be done, the engineer has to come from abroad in order to do the job. Though we have doctors, one who falls ill has to be taken abroad. They humiliated us so much and made us feel devoid of everything that we have come to believe that we have nothing and they have everything. We have to sit down and evaluate their progress to see whether it is moving in the direction of civilization or toward barbarism. My understanding is that America and all these Western and Eastern governments have progressed in the sense that they are bringing up people as rapacious animals. All these things that they have done are for their rapacity. I am talking about the governments; not the people. All their minds are concentrated on developing something more destructive than before! It was just the day before yesterday that I read in the newspaper of their having developed something five times more powerful than the bomb they had dropped on Japan by which they killed two hundred thousand people! They want to make deadly weapons; that is, they want to make

animals more savage than the previous ones. This is not civilization; it is heading toward barbarism. The West is becoming barbaric. It is bringing people who will fly at one another's throats and tear one another apart! This is opposite to the civilization in which the divine doctrines mold people as human beings who are calm and content in whatever they do. But their doctrines (that are not divine) are all for occupying this place and that; for destroying and killing and such things.

The blight of the Shah's ignominy

Now that such a revolution and such a movement took place in Iran and these middle and lower classes showed that they have gained independence, all of us should now be attentive to and safeguard our intellectual independence. The gentlemen are now going abroad, mostly to Western countries. They should bear in mind that they should not have any of that self-alienation which the previous government and former governments had, and would say, "Yes" to everything they (foreign governments) wanted and accept whatever they said. Just as he¹ rejected the American ambassador about which they could not and cannot do anything, you, too, on going to your embassies in your respective places... should not see any of you change... like the Shah who was a "yes-man." I have related this matter repeatedly and, because I have been so distressed by it, will mention it again to you: I saw a picture of the Shah with Johnson² who was without his spectacles. He had his eyes turned away from the Shah standing reverently at the other end of the table like a schoolboy in the presence of his teacher. I was greatly distressed to find ourselves in a situation in which the supposed head of state stood like that in the presence of Johnson who, disregarding the Shah, was looking in another direction. This picture was published in the newspaper. I think that they had forced the publication of this picture so that it would appear in the newspapers of Iran. It should not be like this.

Guidance to the Iranian ambassadors

Our country is now independent. Nobody can interfere in our affairs. You are the representatives of an independent country. We do not need them all, but they need us. When you go there, you should act in complete independence. When you go there, it should not be some old things again and the same old reason for which they used to come. The Shah would clearly say that they (aliens) used to send the list of the deputies to the governments

¹ It refers to the Iranian Foreign Minister.

² Lyndon Johnson, (a former) president of the United States of America.

and it was necessary for the governments to approve of these listed deputies! He would say—he would contradict what his father used to say in order to strengthen his own opinion—that they would so far give the lists in that manner. He would also contradict what he used to say some years prior to that—that it was not the case anymore whereas it was so throughout. Anyway, he had been ordered to say so. You should not accept whatever they say. No, you should be independent and courageous. Your country did something that amazed the world. You will see how they respect you when you go there. The people will respect you but they (governments) might possibly want to take advantage. Stand up to them firmly. Deal with them as an equal; not like a weak entity dealing with a powerful one. We cannot show any weakness now, and will not do so. We have pushed aside the big powers and are conducting our affairs independently. You are the representatives of a government that, sweeping aside the superpowers, has taken their place and is governing independently. It is an Islamic government; it is independent as it is Islamic. Most of the continent of Asia and many parts of Europe were under its suzerainty for seven hundred years. In any case, it is most important that you not lose sight of our Islamic direction. The power of Islam took this movement forward. It was neither you nor we; neither the government nor the fronts and neither the movements nor—I should say—the parties. None of these, and nor the bazaar. These things were accomplished when the spirit of Islam entered into them—the spirit which is now supposedly slackening. The youth would repeatedly come to me asking me to pray for them to get martyred. They are saying the same thing even now. Now that the issue of the battlefield is no more, still they come to me and ask me to pray for them to get martyred. This transformation led us to success. You should safeguard this faith and Islam. Give your embassies the Islamic atmosphere. Do not be apprehensive of their saying—I should say—that you are backward. They are backward! They who are killing people are of the Stone Age; not we who are attempting to lead the people toward civilization in its true sense. Do not be afraid of what they say. There is no power that can confront Islam. It is this power that made a few people overcome many people and many powers. Make your embassies and your offices there Islamic. Neutralize those Western influences and strengthen every Islamic one. They would then respect you more. The more you are influenced by the West, they... Wherever you are, keep in mind that you are from an Islamic country and have gone there with an Islamic air about you and that you want to solve problems in an Islamic way. After you have done this a few times, you will find that you are being respected more.

When they see that you have some conviction and are standing by it determinedly, they will also... with you.

The Name of God on office papers

If you step aside or take one step backward, they will come forward; it is so. If you take one step backward, they will come forward. They will expect more from you.

You must make your gatherings and—I must say—your embassies Islamic. Make every feature Islamic. Write the Name of God above it. Write: “*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.*” Let it also be on the papers and forms. Do not fear what they say about us. It is this propaganda of theirs that has Westernized us in that we are afraid to write, “*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*” on our papers. I had told the gentlemen to make it official to have this written on all papers. The Iraqi government has “*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*” written on all its government papers though the heads of the government—perhaps many of them—have no faith in these matters. Whenever they wish to talk they first take the Name of God and then begin to talk. Do not be afraid of “*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.*” Satan fears it! You are angels, God willing!

In any case, what is very important in my view is that you gentlemen not fear the West. They had frightened us so much. There is nothing in the West; do not be afraid. I want to say that you must be independent. Also, let me say that you should be Islamic, your affairs Islamic and your gatherings Islamic. Do not have the kind of parties which that *taghut* had. Do not have those parties, etc. Let your parties be simple. As they are simple—I should say—the religious ceremonies and such things should also be simple. You and the doctor (Yazdi) are well aware of the political matters. I will not say anything.

I pray for all of you; for God to protect you and make all of us acquainted with our duties so that we would be able to manage the country that has now fallen in your hands and ours. Let it not be said later that “They could not (manage), and now that they are not able to, it is necessary to have a caretaker. And we should be their caretakers.” Let it not be so.

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

Speech

Date: Afternoon, June 11, 1979 [Khordad 21, 1358 AHS / Rajab 16, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need for all the people to participate in the reconstruction of the country

Audience: The female employees of Telecommunications Company

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need for steadfastness and sacrifice in the cause of Islam

When we were in Paris at the height of the struggle between the Muslims and the *taghut*, various groups, including the Telecommunications one, rendered great service. Our messages would not have reached Iran had it not been for them. They communicated our message to Iran with the utmost sincerity. They have a rightful share in the campaign and in its victory. I am your well-wisher and pray to God the Almighty for your prosperity. From now on, too, we have the same duty. We now have to put in much effort for Islam. The issue is not one of the economy, the country or Iran; it concerns Islam. People can disregard other matters: their homes, their children and other things. But Islam cannot be ignored. Nobody has the right to ignore Islam. The people have no right to disregard, and should not disregard, this government in which lie all blessings and everything that nations want.

All together in rebuilding the devastated country of Iran

We are now in a situation where the different groups are acting in various ways against this movement, whether in the factories and workshops, or in the agricultural sector, etc; whether in the universities, offices or other places. Though these powerless groups cannot do anything much, they are, nevertheless, creating trouble for us. It is now the duty of all of us, whether the ladies or the gentlemen present here, in whatever field, position or job, to keep this movement going. We are now in such a situation that the continuation of the movement lies in their carrying out, in the best manner, the tasks they want to perform. The factories should continue working, the cultivators should continue with their agricultural activities, and every group engaged in its work should do it well. There should be no disruption in their work; they should not work less than they ought to. There should be no negligence either. All this is detrimental to harmony and to the reconstruction of Iran. After you had smashed this big dam, you saw what devastation there

was on the other side of it. You saw the situation of the country. We now have to build a devastated Iran anew. It is not possible for just one group to rebuild a country. It is not right to hand over the task to the government or the clergy because they do not have the capacity for it. It is the duty of all the groups, all the people and every individual to serve this movement.

The need for everybody to be present in the arena of reconstruction

As was mentioned before, everybody was involved in smashing this dam. Nobody could say that he would step aside as he was able to bring down the regime single-handedly. Drops gather to form a sea, a river and a flood. The people are also like drops with each person doing what little he can. We cannot expect a drop to smash a dam. But in the absence of these drops, the dam will not crumble. When drops collect, they form floods, big floods. The big floods arise from those raindrops. It is these raindrops that fall on the highlands, creating floods, and the floods can, in turn, destroy the hills. The people are also like these drops in that they cannot singly accomplish anything important. But each one of them is involved in the task that is to be carried out. Just as every individual was involved in breaking that dam, so also should he be involved in rebuilding the country, each one according to what he can do. He cannot say that he will not carry out his task or that he will do it badly. We have to work now, and work well. Safeguarding this movement lies in all of us cooperating in the reconstruction process. All of us, together, should get busy with undoing the damage that they had inflicted.

Just as you employees of the Telecommunications Company fulfilled the requirements of much of our work when we needed your help—which God has registered in your book of good deeds—now also, we need you. We need everyone; each and everybody. It is the duty and responsibility of every individual. All of us are responsible in front of God, the Blessed and Exalted. Islam is the issue; not the issues that we can overlook. We must all exert efforts for it by which, God willing, this Islamic Republic will become a certainty, resulting in the realization of your aspirations.

The necessity of the sovereignty of Islamic laws becoming a reality

Except for a short period of time upon its advent, Islam has, so far, not manifested itself as it should have. Even now that we desire to have an Islamic republic, we have only mainly managed to remove the obstacles up to now, the way that the nation has acted hitherto has resulted in the removal of the impediment—the monarchial regime—to the establishment of an Islamic republic. All of you voted for an Islamic republic which is now the

country's (form of) government. However, Islamic aspirations cannot be realized just by voting for an Islamic republic. The vote must be followed by action. Religious injunctions should take effect one by one. The judiciary, education, the bazaar, schools and all other institutions should become Islamic, and Islamic laws put into effect, God willing. If we reach this goal, the country will become an exemplary one, God willing.

The role of the monotheist schools in building man

Do not think that the Westerners have progressed. They have done so from the material aspect but are lacking in spirituality. The intention of Islam and, likewise, the monotheist schools is to build man, the West being absolutely far from it. The West had discovered the substance that occur in nature and the forces of nature, and, that too, for using these forces against people, for annihilating humanity, and destroying cities and countries. As you see, the countries that are more advanced exert more pressure on the people! We had problems with a country—America—that is, in their own words, “advanced”. Even now, many countries are involved in difficulties with this “advanced” country. They would apply those things, in which they had made progress, against the aims of humanity. They are promoting the killing of human beings in the world! They are also promoting conflict and war in the world. The progress they have made is for war and for killing people. But the progress made by an Islamic country is at the disposal of spirituality, of humanity and for molding human beings. If we succeed in making our educational centers Islamic, then the people who have been brought up and trained by this system and these schools will be (good) human beings. A good human being is trustworthy and compassionate. The behavior of such people with their own brothers and sisters is kind and affectionate. We hope that you will continue your activities as you had been doing before. I hope that you—wherever you are—will be successful in doing what you have to do for serving your country and Islam. May God make all of you prosperous and bestow honor and His blessings upon you.

Speech

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Participation in reconstruction; the omnipresence of God

Audience: The doctors and aid workers of the Red Crescent Society of the Islamic Republic of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Reconstruction: the mission of every individual of the nation

Nowadays, every one of us who serves has the assurance that he is serving his own country. Others are not deriving any benefit except ourselves. The situation in the previous regime was such that no stratum of the nation was sure of its efforts being taken note of with the exception of those who used to benefit from the regime. Whatever task you undertake nowadays is taken into account by God; so, you should open your account with God. As your work brings you into direct contact with the deprived class that needs assistance, you are thereby in a key position to serve them. It is really worthwhile task, but if, God forbid, you negligent, you are then on the other side. It is now our duty to build a country that has lost everything and is ruined. Thanks to God that such is the feeling of almost all the strata of the people. We now see groups of physicians, students and doctors volunteering their services. Such a sentiment shows the sense of responsibility of the people. It is a matter of hope that all the segments of the nation want to serve their Islamic country. If undertaken collectively, the work will make headway, God willing. The various groups should not sit by watching what the others are doing. Each group must carry out its duty sincerely in its own place, and feel the presence of God.

The world is God's Presence

God, the Blessed and Exalted, is omnipresent. Here where we are now seated is (in) God's Presence. We are speaking in His Presence; you are practicing medicine and serving the people in God's presence. Of you reinforce this idea to perceive the Presence of God, then, on going to visit a patient, you will perceive that he belongs to God and that God is present there. You are practicing medicine in His presence; you are serving the people in His Presence. If a person gets such a feeling and is able to understand the matter, and if his conscience tells him that we are always—

whether active or inactive—in His Presence and that He is present there, God, the Blessed and Exalted, will then correct that person and regulate his work. The reason why a person makes a wrong move, commits mistakes or, God forbid, sins is because of his being inattentive to this point. When one is in the presence of a... person whom he looks upon with respect, he will not do anything against that person's wish. If there are two brothers, one of them will not do anything detrimental to the other. When we understand that we are in God's Presence, and all that we do or not is under His gaze and in His Presence, we will, then, not do anything wrong. In this very point lies the fact of the prophets' innocence. The purity of the prophets does not lie in somebody forcing them not to sin. They were conscious of being in the Presence of God; they had found this out. While we only talk about it, they had realized that God is present here. When somebody realizes this fact and perceives His Presence, it will not be possible for him to disagree with it; there is no possibility of disagreement. One will not commit an offense in the presence of a person whom one considers as being important; nor will one do anything that is wrong in that person's opinion. We should keep this logic in view. It is logical to reason that God is everywhere. Intellectual reasoning, however, is, in itself, of no use; a person's inner self should be aware of this fact. We should be inwardly aware that whatever we do, takes place in His Presence. In such a case, the people will be able to perform their task well.

The duty to deal fairly

Those of you who deal with people that need to have their problems addressed should not deal with them in such a way as to hurt their feelings. You should keep this in mind that the person you are dealing with is God's creature. Moreover, hurting people's feelings makes God, the Blessed and Exalted, displeased with us. If we keep this in view, we will be able to perform our work well. It is now the duty of each one of us, wherever we are, to discharge the responsibilities that have been entrusted to us in the best possible manner and thus serve our country which is now in a chaotic condition, and is repeatedly being assailed from every quarter by the people who do not want to leave us alone. Accordingly, everybody should have this feeling in him. The doctor treating his patient should do his job properly; he should examine his patient meticulously. There should be no differentiation between one who is poor, for instance, and one who is rich. The doctor should even be more considerate toward the poor patient who is conscious of his poverty and thus has greater need to be looked after lovingly. As for the person who is supposed to give injections, he should realize that he has to

serve the people. He should know that he has been entrusted with a duty which he should perform well, and that he receives a salary for his service which would be religiously unlawful for him if he did not do his duty properly. The same applies to all of us, the whole nation and to me. I am hopeful that this feeling and sense of rendering assistance that has arisen in all the strata of the people will take us forward rapidly. And, thanks to God, we are moving forward. We are sure that these conspiracies will have no effect on us, God willing, and that when the people want something that the whole nation wants, no power will be able to impose itself upon it. I pray for you gentlemen and for all the people, and am your servant.

Letter

Date: June 12, 1979 [Khordad 22, 1358 AHS / Rajab 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Addressee: Jafar Saburi

In His Most Exalted Name

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

Your esteemed letter, together with the two checks attached thereto, was received. The required receipts have already been forwarded. I pray to God Almighty for your honor's continued success in promoting the sacred laws.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab al-Khayr 17, 1399 AH

Statements

Date: Morning, June 12, 1979 [Khordad 22, 1358 AHS / Rajab 17, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Soviet interference in the affairs of Iran and Afghanistan

Addressee: The Soviet Ambassador to Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Complaining about the Soviet Union's interference in Iran and Afghanistan

Islamic tenets are of a peaceful kind. We want the people of all strata to be peaceful. As I had reminded you previously, we wish to have friendly relations with the countries that also want to have friendly relations with us. We hope that your country and government will maintain the mutual respect between us, and behave in a way so that your interference in our country's affairs is not made known in Iran. I do not want your interference in Ahwaz to be revealed here.¹ Your behavior should be such that the misunderstanding is removed. Nothing should be done to show that weapons are being brought into Iran from the Soviet Union. I have a complaint against you if this matter be true. Much of Iran's trade in the past was with Russia, the Soviet Union of today. At that time America was not in the picture at all. We are desirous of having good relations with you: economic ties and political ties. This is subject to the observance of mutual respect. We want you to prevent the issues that lead some people to say certain things; the most important being the dispatch of weapons. As mentioned before, we want an Islamic solution in Afghanistan which is a Muslim country. Soviet interference in that country will also affect Iran. We ask the Soviet Union not to interfere in Afghanistan. I wish to repeat that we want to have friendly relations.

When our youth say, "neither East nor West," it means that neither of them should interfere in Iran. This is absolutely proper and justified. You must prove that weapons made in the Soviet Union are not brought into Iran from there. Our ties should be sound and proper. No country should interfere in ours and neither will we interfere in any other country.

[After having made these statements, the Imam stressed on the Islamic nature of the people's movement in Afghanistan. He rejected the contention

¹ It refers to the seditious acts committed by the Khalq-e Arab in the spring of 1358 AHS (1979) in Khuzestan (Ahwaz and Khorramshahr).

of the Soviet Ambassador that there is counterrevolutionary movement in that country and stated:]

The Shah's fate awaiting Taraki

It is obvious that you do not have much information on Afghanistan. I should broadly say that the activities in the name of communism being carried out in Iran and Afghanistan by certain people are not in the interests of the Soviet Union. I even believe that the communists in Iran have closer ties with America. The present government in Afghanistan is putting a lot of pressure on the people in the name of communism. We have received information to the effect that about fifty-thousand people have been killed in Afghanistan and that the *ulama* of Islam have been arrested there. If Taraki¹ continues in this fashion, his fate will follow that of the Shah. I do not want the ties of the Muslim countries with Soviet Union to become strained.

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

¹ Nur Muhammad Taraki: the then President of Afghanistan. He came to power by means of a coup d'état and was removed by a coup d'état.

Letter

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to an enquiry about the ownership of wastelands

Addressee: Ibrahim Amini

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Bring peace between them somehow and restore calm. Those people who have developed the wastelands are, of course, the owners. Those who are holding the wastelands are not the owners.¹

¹ Imam Khomeini's reply is in response to the verbal question of Ibrahim Amini who has given the following explanation on the matter: "Regarding this issue, I had been on several missions on behalf of the Imam for looking into and resolving the differences between the landowners and the people. Around Khordad 1358 AHS (1979) we got ready to proceed on the second trip to Turkman Sahra where the Fadaiyan-e Khalq group was intensely active and differences and clashes had arisen between the people, and the landlords and owners. The status of the lands that had been confiscated in the past was also not clear. Considering the situation obtaining there, especially the differences over the lands, I asked the Imam some questions about these problems, and about our duties and his views on the differences there and the confiscation of the lands to which the Imam wrote the above explanation."

Message

Date: June 13, 1979 [Khordad 23, 1358 AHS / Rajab 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Forbidding the farmers from encroaching and trespassing on the lands that have owners

Addressees: The people and farmers of Garrus and Bijar

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rajab al-Khayr 18, 1399 AH

The esteemed people of Bijar and the honorable farmers of the rural areas of Garrus—may God Almighty always assist them:

According to reports, owing to the incitement of counterrevolutionary elements, some of the farmers residing in the village have encroached and trespassed on the mechanized and exclusive farms of the small landowners, which is a regrettable act. It is necessary for all the farmers to observe the single article and the verdict of the five-member commission. They must desist from their intrusion, encroachment and occupation, which are against the sacred law, and vacate the lands, failing which the government of the Islamic Republic will act according to its duty.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Date: June 13, 1979 [Khordad 23, 1358 AHS / Rajab 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The women's role in the movement and recommendations on training children

Addressee: A group of women

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Welcome sisters who have come here from afar. May God grant you health, success and prosperity. You are all the soldiers of the Imam of the Time (a), and all of you must serve Islam. Praise be to God that you sisters have a rightful share in this cause, the cause of the movement. You were instrumental in your brothers plucking up courage. I do not consider your share to be less than theirs; perhaps it is even more. May God assist you.

My sisters, make efforts to train your children properly. Make efforts to bring up your children so that they have faith and determination. Try to deliver children to society who would be useful to Islam. Children pay more heed to their mothers and more attached to them than to anybody else. Therefore, you are in a better position to train them. The children that are now in your lap will be the members of society tomorrow. It is possible for them to become responsible for the rules and regulations of the country. They might deliver the country if you bring them up in an Islamic way, faithful and pious. I wish to thank you for having taken the trouble of coming from afar and gathering here in this heat. I am everybody's servant and well-wisher. May God grant you all health, honor and prosperity.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: June 13, 1979 [Khordad 23, 1358 AHS / Rajab 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Explaining “freedom” and its dimensions in an Islamic government

Audience: The *pasdars* and merchants of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The realization of Islamic tenets, the principal aim

I hope that all of us will be the guards and *pasdars* of the true religion of Islam and that God, the Blessed and Exalted, will register you brothers among the *pasdars* of Islam and the companions of the Holy Prophet's Household (a).

All the strata of the nation, of course, participated in this movement, and so did you, the *pasdars*. All our youth also took part in it. I hope that they will remain in it from now on as well. What is important is that we know our present and future duty. The past went off well, thanks to God, but it is essential that we know what our duty is for now and, also, later.

The Islamic republic that we want has not yet come into being. Of course, the present government is an Islamic republic in accordance with the referendum that was held. It was, however, not our intention to merely vote for an Islamic republic and then have nothing more to do with the matter. We want an Islamic republic in which Islamic tenets become a reality throughout the country and, God willing, in all the Muslim lands. It is hoped that it would be so in all countries.

Freedom in Islam

To state briefly, what concerns us now is to see what we are going to do with this freedom that you gentlemen and the various strata of the people have experienced, and are now free. We are now free of the shackles of the former regime; therefore, you have come to see me unrestrainedly which you could not do in the past. We can now talk freely with one another. But what should we do with this freedom? Should we put aside all restraints now that we are free? Should we say and write whatever we want on having become free? Can we do whatever we like? Is this the meaning of freedom in the Islamic Republic that all restrictions be removed? And to let anybody say whatever he likes even if it is against the nation, against Islam and the Holy

Quran? No, the freedom we want is what Islam had prescribed for us; it has limitations.

Freedom is within the bounds of the law. In every place in the world, the freedom that each nation enjoys is within the bounds of the law. Nobody can break the law in the name of freedom. Freedom does not mean that you—for instance—can stand in the street and, God forbid, insult every person that passes by, or beat him with a stick, claiming that you are free! Freedom does not lie in picking up a pen and writing whatever pleases you, even if it be against Islam and against the law.

The danger of abusing freedom

God, the Blessed and Exalted, is now testing us with the freedom that He has granted us. There was a time when you were not able to do anything. However, God has now favored you by driving away from the country those people that had taken away your freedom. Now that He has expelled them and bestowed this freedom upon you, He is testing you to see how you are going to use it. The bounties of God are the means of testing His creatures. Let us see whether we are going to thank Him for His blessings or show ingratitude. Being ungrateful means using our freedom to do wicked things. “I am free to do anything I want to do.” Even if...! Being grateful for this blessing lies in using the freedom for what God, the Blessed and Exalted, has commanded. If you abuse this freedom which is a divine gift to us, it is possible that God, the Blessed and Exalted, will take His gift back in which case we will revert to our former state. We should all be heedful about not abusing our freedom.

One of the abuses is overcharging in that a person says he is free and so extort as much as he can from the poor by overpricing his goods, thus creating a *taghuti*-type bazaar. Extortions and unfair dealings are not things that reason can accept and about which God, the Blessed and Exalted, can be pleased. The bazaars have to become Islamic.

The difference between Islamic and democratic republics

Everything in an Islamic republic should be Islamic. The offices should be Islamic; they have yet to be transformed. The judiciary should be Islamic and the judges should be in the Islamic mold; but this has not happened up to now. The educational system should shed its colonialist trappings and become Islamic; this has not been done so far. The apparently religious merchants, who control the bazaar and feel that there is nobody to exert pressure on them over the prices, should not fleece the people. It is up to the

governing authority to prevent this, and it is possible that we will give our permission to stop this extortion that is going on in the bazaar. "We are free to sell heroin; we are free to sell opium; we are free to open casinos, bars and liquor stores!" Such things do not bring freedom. This is the Western kind of freedom that brings these things. The freedom in Islam is within the restrictions imposed by Islamic laws. The things forbidden by God should not be done. You are not free to do such things. There is no such freedom for the people to say about somebody who wants to gamble: "He is free; it is his own affair"! Yes, if there was democratic freedom and if the republic was democratic republic, these kinds of freedom would exist in accordance with its laws. Whoever wanted to open a wine shop could do so, and the same would have been the case with the gambling establishments. In a democratic republic, houses of prostitution are not prohibited. Those who want a democratic republic want such things; they want such freedom. We say that an Islamic republic is one that should be based on the laws of Islam. The centers of prostitution should be closed down. Our youth should not enter such centers.

The treachery of the Pahlavi family toward the young generation

They brought up our youth badly. They made them addicted to heroin and opium. They brought them up to be gamblers and drunkards. They inflicted great damage upon our country by depriving us of our workforce and rendering it useless. The workforce must remain secure in an Islamic republic. Proper use must be made of the workforce so that the nation is safe from trouble. We now have a country whose workforce was destroyed over many long years, especially during these last fifty-odd years that this dishonest father and son, this criminal father and son ruled over the country. You now have to pick up a lamp and look around to find a proper person! They did not allow an upright person to be found. They did not let our universities to be Islamic ones, humane ones. They did not let us learn our lessons properly in our school. There was pressure and repression, each one in a particular manner, in that period and this. They provided centers of prostitution for our youth and encouraged them to visit those places. It is said that there are more centers of prostitution than libraries! And it is so. I hope that all this would have been stopped by now. In any case, the damage suffered by Iran as regards the workforce is more than that suffered from the economic and other aspects. The economy could be set right quite rapidly. But as for the workforce, many years are required for one to mature into a proper person.

I hope that you will safeguard yourselves in the same way that you are Islam's protectors, and that you will keep your passions in check, and not let them get out of control and do whatever they want. Harness your passions to be subservient to Islam. Do whatever God wants you to do.

May God grant you success. May this country settle down, God willing, and all of you enjoy prosperity. May God protect you.

Speech

Date: June 13, 1979 [Khordad 23, 1358 AHS / Rajab 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Hoping to implement the early Islam; the Islamic army at the service of the people

Audience: The commanders and non-commissioned officers of the Tabriz garrisons

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Being alert to the internal and external conspiracies

I wish to thank you gentlemen for having come here to visit me and talk about your problems like brothers. I would like to tell all the garrisons, especially those of West Azerbaijan, of what strikes me at this sensitive time. All of you are aware of the critical situation. The regime has gone and will not return. The power of the aliens has been curtailed and they, too, will not return, God willing. Nevertheless, there some persons among all the strata of the people who are deriving benefits—illegal benefits—whether they be in the offices, the army or other places. They are now thinking of reinstating the regime if they can—but cannot—in the same way that it used to be; or, failing which, of weakening this Islamic movement. As the Islamic movement does not allow anybody to derive illegitimate benefits but only legitimate ones, and as they wish to obtain illegitimate benefits, these rotten roots are present for this reason in all segments of the people. Therefore, now that we have reached this stage, we have to be very vigilant from now on. We have to be careful and not allow these plots being hatched within the country and abroad to develop; you have to destroy them now itself. You must also pay attention, firstly to faith and secondly, to unity of expression. That is, faith is the foremost of everything followed by unity of expression. Just as you saw, faith in God and unity of expression enabled you to sweep aside the superpowers and derive them out. All the countries whether the Muslim governments—except a few of them—or the superpowers were the supporters of Muhammad Rida; all of them. They used to send me messages, especially from America, asking that he should remain. Even he himself had devised a way to remain: all the power should rest in us and he should reign. However, I knew that he was lying. Nevertheless, these powers could not keep him (on the throne), the reason being that a faith had been engendered in the people who considered martyrdom a victory. A nation that considers

martyrdom as victory for itself, and seeks martyrdom, cannot be answered with tanks and cannons; and which did not happen so.

In the hope of implementing the early Islam

A sort of slackness is noticeable among the people now. It has arisen because they considered themselves triumphant, and because they feel so, they have become somewhat slack, their attention is now diverted to personal matters: "I have no house; my salary is low; I want a rank;" such words were not there while the Revolution was in progress. Now that it has reached the point where the enemy has been defeated, it is natural as in every revolution—after the adversary has been defeated and victory gained—for the people to revert to their own former state and become engrossed in the things that concern them: housing, salary, illness and the like. Such issues arise. We are now midway; we have not reached the end of the road. We voted for the "Islamic Republic", and Iran now is officially an Islamic republic... All the countries have recognized Iran as an Islamic republic in essence. The trouble we took, the victims our nation gave, the hardships and suffering it bore was for the realization of Islam. We do not want the Islamic Republic merely in name in that we voted for it and have nothing more to do with it! We want Islam as it was in the beginning; it is our ardent wish to implement Islam just as it was at the time of its advent. We want to implement it just as it was at the time of the Messenger (s). This requires total diligence on the part of all the ranks of the people. All of us bear a heavy responsibility now. I, who am a seminarian in Qum, and you gentlemen in the sensitive centers, bear a responsibility. That is, things have reached a stage that, in case we become sluggish it is possible for these roots to gain strength and multiply, and to join forces and create disturbances. Even if they do not succeed in gaining victory, they can foment unrest and create trouble for our country. In the event of our becoming apathetic, it is possible for them to cement their relations with one another and create difficulties for you and us, at least.

The popularity of the populist army

Each one of us must now carry out his duty. I, who am a seminarian, should discharge my theological duty, and you, who are in the army, should fulfill your military duty. I should tell you that the condition of the armies at the advent of Islam was such that the congregational prayer leader was the army chief. That is, when the army chief was appointed for a particular mission, he would also be appointed as the leader of the congregational

prayers. When Malik al-Ashtar¹ used to be sent somewhere, the same Malik al-Ashtar would be the army commander as well as the governor of that place. In addition, he would be the leader of the (daily) congregational prayers as well as that of the Friday prayers. This was because the system of the army in Islam was different from that of the armies of the other regimes. As you can see, we are sitting here together in a friendly environment, is this better or an environment of dread in that we feel afraid whenever anyone of you enters the place? Does this environment, which is one of friendliness and kindness, create a greater sense of tranquility in you, or one in which people run away whenever you arrive on the scene? When the army becomes Islamic, the chief of the army should be such a person as for others to follow his example. The army personnel should be such that whenever they enter a place where people have gathered, they should be warmly welcomed and have flowers showered on them, as happened recently. Is it better that the people shower the soldiers with flowers or run away from them? It is better for you, for us and for all.

The people and the army supporting one another

These *taghutis* that create an atmosphere of terror do so because they are traitors; because they fear the people. As they are afraid of the people, they create an atmosphere of terror lest the people demand justice. But the Islamic army does not fear the people as it has not been disloyal to them. It has been fair to them, has served them and is always ready to serve. As it is willing to serve them, it has never committed treachery. And the people themselves do not fear the army. While supporting the army, they are not afraid of it. It is like a brother supporting brother. Is it better for the nation to support you or turn its back on you and leave you isolated? And for you to accomplish your task by means of tank, cannon, bayonet and bloodshed? If this person... ruled this place for thirty-odd years... had extended his hand toward the nation while there was still time—he did extend his hand lately but it was improper—and had heeded the clergy's advice, if he had been concerned about the nation and had served it, would he have fallen? The nation would have supported him and he would not have fallen. Supposing any opposition

¹ Malik al-Ashtar: more fully, Malik ibn Harith from Nakhaa and famous as al-Ashtar, was among the prominent commanders of Imam Ali's army and the governor appointed to Egypt by Imam Ali. He accompanied the Imam in the Battles of Jamal and Siffin. On his way to Egypt, he was killed through the conspiracy of Muawiyah. For the text of the Imam's famous instructions to him before setting forth to Egypt, see *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 53, pp. 426-445. A complete translation is contained in William C. Chittick, *A Shiite Anthology* (Albany, N.Y., 1980), pp. 68-82.

to him had arisen at that time, the nation that staged an uprising with shout of "Death to the Shah," would have instantly come forward chanting, "Long live the Shah." I had reminded him about this.¹ I remember the time when the Allies had poured into Iran from all sides and occupied it. The people were concerned for everything of theirs, but when they heard that the Allies had banished Rida Khan and that he had gone, they started rejoicing. I sent this man (ex-Shah) a message telling him not do anything that would make the people rejoice when he left; but he did not listen. We saw what the people did and how they rejoiced when he left.

The way of the Prophet of Islam

Sir, you have to behave in a way as to win the hearts of the people. In this lies the pleasure of God, your own comfort and the good of your country. It would be bad for the army to behave in a way as to make the people fear it and then turn their backs on it. The army must serve the nation and the country just as it was at the advent of Islam when the people did not fear the army of Islam, and were like friends and brothers unto one another.

The first head of Islam was also like this in that he would consult the people, just like two people consulting each other and like the two brothers who were sitting here. The Prophet of Islam would enter the mosque and sit down with his friends and companions around him. The gathering was such that someone entering there would not be able to identify which one of them was the Prophet. He would enquire to find out who the Prophet was. Such was the situation. Such was the Prophet's behavior toward society and the people. It was not so that on his arriving at some place, there would be a thousand formalities and then see where he should sit and review a parade and such things. There were no such things... On the other hand, his power was such that he overcame Iran, that big empire of Iran, and also defeated that big Roman Empire. While their condition was very simple, there was compassion among them in accordance with Quranic precepts, and severity toward others (the enemies).

The army of Islam side by side with the masses and in confrontation with the enemies

Our army should also be like this. They should be like this unto one another; that is, the army and the nation. The army should consider the nation as its own family. It should behave with the people as they (the army personnel) would behave with their own brothers and children. In contrast,

¹ The speech delivered on the afternoon of *Ashura* Khordad 1342 AHS (1383 AH/1963).

when non-Muslims and aliens want to attack you, you must be firm and implacable. It should not be so among you that you trouble the weak, and run away whenever a sound is heard somewhere. Well, when the Allied Forces came, we all heard the sarcastic remark being made at that time of “one not becoming two”! It was about the announcement made by the army of the time which used to make announcements. Announcement Number One was not followed by Announcement Number Two. As it is said, they (the Iranian army) resisted for three hours and then fled! I saw the deserters in Tehran itself. There was a hue and cry in Tehran that the soldiers were fleeing. All the high-ranking officers fled from Tehran toward Isfahan. Why? Because they did not have a national base; they did not have a base among the people. On the other hand, they did not have military power; they were not strong militarily. Rida Khan asked as to why they had fled so soon. They told him that all this was out of courtesy for him; otherwise that attack was the first attack itself which did not last three hours. They (Allied Forces) came from that side and we (Iranian Forces) fled from this side! The reason was that they were militarily weak; it was just talk (about the army’s strength).

The army of Islam: steadfastness unto martyrdom

A powerful army resists the enemy until death, until martyrdom. The Islamic army considers martyrdom as life for itself. The one who considers martyrdom to be life, eternal life, for himself, stands up to the enemy to the last breath while seeking martyrdom. But the one who is attracted to these glamorous enticements and to materialism, and has no faith whatsoever in his heart, will, of course, run away somewhere in Tehran whenever there is sound from the enemy. It (the enemy) was on the (country’s) border; they had still not come. But when the trouble started on the border, our army fled as we witnessed in Tehran, and went away. You must act upon that precept of the Quran that enjoins you to be friends among yourselves and with the nation, so that when you are among the people, they will accept you and have affection for you. The reason is that you are their supporters, and a person has love for those who support him. However, you must stand firm against an enemy and look upon martyrdom as a victory. This is how a soldier of Islam is, and you are now the soldiers of Islam. And I hope that your names will be registered in the book of the Imam of the Time (a).

May God protect you, and may you be successful. I hope that the irrelevant things being said by some wicked persons in Tabriz and Azerbaijan will stop. I am your servant; I am everybody’s servant and the clergy’s servant. There are no such problems. The seditionists and those out

to create mischief are raising these issues; if not, two Muslims, two human beings cannot be opposed to each other.

We are here to serve you and all the strata of the nation. I am hopeful of our going to the very end with such service, and of all of us being in the service of Islam.

Speech

Date: June 13, 1979 [Khordad 23, 1358 AHS / Rajab 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Confronting religious differences, Shiah-Sunni unity

Audience: Isa Turfi; the representatives of the Khuzestan tribes; a delegation from Turkman Sahra

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The widespread oppression of the Pahlavi regime

It is good that our Sunni and Shiah brothers are present in one place and are talking about the fearful former situation and the oppression to which they have been subjected. The issue is not that only you had been subjected to pressure and oppression or the Arab gentlemen for that matter. This oppression was general and took in the whole country in which everybody was under pressure. Even if I do not say it, the theology centers, especially the Qum Theological Center, were under greater pressure. However, I cannot confirm that the others had been subjected to greater pressure; all had been so.

Even now that we are facing various groups from diverse places as every group has experienced the oppression in its own region it believes that its own area had been subjected to greater oppression. You experienced it in your own region and saw exactly that oppression had been done as well as violations. The gentlemen also experienced the same in their own homes and centers. We, too, experienced these in Qum, the Tehranis in Tehran and the inhabitants of every place in that particular place. Therefore, since every one of us, and every community had been witness to the same situation obtaining in his or its own place and had been hearing about all the other things, what they had observed had captured their attention more than what they had heard. But you should know that all the people of the country were under pressure.

That day, that time when that person,¹ who was there previously, ordered the unveiling of the women and dragged the country toward ruination, he exerted, perhaps, greater pressure here in Qum than anywhere else. The case was the same in Tehran and elsewhere. And when his son inherited his plundering and criminal nature, the same thing happened everywhere. There

¹ Rida Khan.

was this mischief in every place, there was corruption. There were, perhaps, more centers of corruption in Tehran than other places. Tehran was more favored by them for preventing our youth—this great force—from developing. This was not a matter restricted to one or two places. You gentlemen clearly saw the things they had done in your own place. The other gentlemen also saw such things very clearly in their own region. And we, too, clearly saw in our own place what they did to this nation.

Sowing discord in the name of Sunni, Shiah, etc.

Of course, we have not been able to put the Islamic Republic into effect in its true sense yet. We are now midway. What we have done so far—our nation has done it—is to have cut off to some extent the hands of these criminals. Their remnants still remain, of course. It is these very remnants that go among the Arab gentlemen and instill into their minds that we intend to discriminate between Arabs and Iranians. They come to you and tell you that we want to discriminate between our Sunni and Shiah brothers. They say certain things, certain words wherever they go. They go into the factories and, in another way, prevent the workers from doing their work. They approach the farmers and create unrest among them in yet another way. The remnants of those people (of the ex-regime) are now dispersed all over Iran. They also receive inspiration from abroad, of course, and are engrossed in mischief.

The need to eschew differences

It is now the duty of everybody: you Sunni brothers; those Shiah brothers; all the people of this country to pay attention to this matter of certain hands, employing various means, being at work to prevent the effectuation of Islam. Diverse subterfuges are now afoot for the purpose. The point is that the foreigners have come to the conclusion that it is Islam that is preventing them from deriving benefits. If Islam took effect and this country become Islamic, their hands would be completely cut off. Thus, now that everybody has voted for an Islamic republic, and have announced their allegiance to it—which is but something natural—and as all of you and all of us want Islam, they are now thinking of sowing discord among the Muslims. They are proposing programs and making certain suggestions, all of which—or most of which—are for preventing the effectuation of the Islamic Republic in the way ordained by Islam. It is incumbent upon us to eschew these personal and petty differences and such things. We should put aside these matters of a personal nature. All the inhabitants of this country, or most of

them, were dissatisfied and discontented during the previous period because of the pressures that had been put on them. These grievances have been there since former times. The Islamic Republic has not created any dissatisfaction. This is the legacy of many past grievances. We now have to consider this point that the Islamic Republic has been established to rectify all the affairs. It has come to repair all the damage. Everybody has to assist this Islamic Republic. We should not allow them to create obstruction in order to achieve their ends. If, God forbid, these saboteurs manage to do something that we are not able to prevent; if they grow in power while we, because of our differences—if these arise between us—begin to lose our power, then there is the fear of problems like the previous ones, or worse than that, arising. Therefore, all of us are now duty-bound to overlook those things that concern our personal matters and to be patient a bit.

Early Islam, the model for today's society

You who patiently tolerated oppression for fifty-odd years—that is, you could not say anything (in protest)—should wait for another year or two. Wait; help this movement; lend your assistance; do not allow these seditionists to come and create mischief among yourselves. Do not let them say things in order to create a rift between you and the others; to go and say something else to the gentlemen and so not let them be friends of one another. We should all behave like brothers. We are all friends, Muslims and belong to one nation. We should extend our hands (of friendship and cooperation) to one another so that this chaos comes to an end, God willing. You should all know that if, and in case, Islam becomes a reality, it will be like the early Islam in essence. The brotherhood that was there at the advent of Islam, the equality that was present at the advent of Islam, the extirpation of the tyrants that took place at that time, will all turn into reality, God willing, I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, to give you success and to assist all of you gentlemen. And I hope that this nation will be able to traverse this path safely and well.

Speech

Date: June 13, 1979 [Khordad 23, 1358 AHS / Rajab 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The splinter groups creating disorder and hatching plots in the universities, the workplaces and farms, and the need to confront them; the danger of discord and deviation

Audience: A group of students from Tehran University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The poisonous propaganda of the splinter groups associated with America

I think that these splinter groups that are engaged in spreading propaganda in the university, the media, the farms and other places, and posing as the friends and devotees of the nation—while they, themselves, are communists—are engaged in their activities, are being backed by America! The Americans create something in every place. They create a communist façade and a Marxist image in these Muslim countries. Their hands are behind these splinter groups according to my thinking. These people who claim to be the supporters of the masses should be asked to explain how they support them. We will take stock of it: Was the referendum against the interests of the masses? Was it against the good of the people? A monarchial regime was supplanted by an Islamic-humanitarian one; was this against the good of the people? If it was against the interests of the masses, it means that they are in favor of the monarchy and, therefore, cannot be communists. They are backed by America because they want a regime that is favorably inclined to America. If the referendum was not against the people's interests—which it was not as everybody knows—why then did they oppose it? Why did they set the ballot boxes on fire? Why did they, with the force of arms, prevent the people from voting in some places? Why did they boycott the referendum? If they support the masses, well, in that case they must approve of whatever the latter want. Did the masses in Iran not want the referendum? Did not about 99 percent of the people go with great enthusiasm to cast their votes? As you are well aware, even those who were infirm and disabled went in that condition to vote, and in some places, some of them passed away there itself after having dropped their ballots in the boxes! I was given the news about this. Those for whom voting was not necessary like children under the voting age showed restlessness. A number of them had

gathered here. I spoke to them and confronted them. Well, how was it that these gentlemen (splinter groups) “supporting” the nation opposed this kind of thing that the whole nation wanted? Is agriculture against the interest of our country and our nation? If there is no agriculture, who will pocket the benefit? We will have to take this into account so as to know what these gentlemen are. When the cultivators wanted to sow their fields, these people would go there and prevent them from doing so. After they failed in this, they are now going there (to the fields) in order to stop them from reaping the harvest. If our agriculture fails to produce anything, will it be against the nation’s interests or for its good? Does the interest of the nation and the masses lie in our agriculture not taking off and our being dependent on America for everything? Does this mean serving America or the Soviet Union? It is serving America! They (splinter groups) either say that they are affiliated to the Soviet Union or to Communist China. But, as we say, they are “Americans”.

An American affair in the guise of “land reform”¹

Everybody knows what the Shah did to our agriculture. The treason he committed in the name of “land reform” destroyed our agriculture, which was to America’s benefit. America derived a part (of the benefit) and Zionism also derived a part of it. If these people are “Tudehis” (belonging to the now defunct Tudeh Party of Iran) according to their own terminology, if they are really communists and Marxists and are concerned about the nation—even those that are communists are not concerned; even they are telling lies, but now let us suppose that they are telling the truth—if they are

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,⁷ later renamed the Shah-People Revolution.⁷ This Revolution⁷ 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.

worried about the nation and wish to serve it, is it serving the people that we are in need of getting wheat, barley, rice, and lentils from America? America burns these things there because it has them in abundance; it throws them in the sea; they are in abundance. They (the ex-regime) brought about “land reform” in order to ruin our agriculture. When Doctor Amini¹ was the prime minister, he would occasionally send people to me and I would send him messages then and there telling him that he, himself, was an agriculturist, a landowner and that if the situation changed they would not be able to manage and that this was not the proper way for managing the affairs. Well, now we want to ask these people, who are wondering about and do not want to let our agriculture take off, who is going to benefit by this. All of us know that America will benefit. Therefore, these people are American agents. If they are not American agents, then they must say that the country’s agriculture should be activated so that America does not derive any benefit.

Now let us deal with the factories. Is it in the nation’s interest that these factories start working or is it to its detriment? Is it not to our country’s benefit that the factories become active? Or should we seek the factory-made goods that we need from others? Should most of the others again benefit? Therefore, they are agents of others.

Tumult in the university, a service to America

Coming now to the university, is it to its good for our youth not to be educated? Should they come into the university everyday and do something, hold a meeting and create—I should say—disturbances so that our youth do not study? To whose benefit is it? Is it to our country’s benefit? Will it be in our nation’s interest or to its detriment if our university is proper and does its work well? Well, they (the splinter groups) are preventing the university from commencing its work; who is going to gain by this? The foreigners will benefit by this as well. The reason is that just as those hands (the ex-regime) did not allow the university to function properly in order to make us need the foreigners in these matters as well and to seek foreign assistance, these people are also doing the same thing so that we remain in need of the foreigners for everything that we want. Now that we have discovered our own country and have expelled the foreigners, the oil is to be extracted for our own use. Well, they are even not letting the oil be extracted. In whose interest is this? When we sit down and evaluate each and every action of theirs, we find that it is mostly to America’s benefit.

¹ Ali Amini: a former Prime Minister.

Creating trouble among the laborers and the plot to partition Iran

Therefore, they are working for America in the name of “communist”, “Marxist”, and “Tudeh”! They are not unintelligent people who are working for America to no purpose. No, they are intelligent. The Americans are paying them! Who is paying them to go and stand in front of the factories and tell the workers to stop working and that they will pay them more than what they (owners) are paying?! Where do they get the money from to go and stand by the factory and tell the workers that they will pay them more—that they should not work and that they will give them their wages? From where do they receive this money? They, themselves, have nothing to give. They have nothing... They would not have done this sort of thing had they been well off. Who is paying them to prevent the factories from operating? If the Russians are paying them, they are, then their lackeys; they are the agents of foreigners. And the case is the same if the British are paying them. In my opinion, it is the Americans that are paying these people.

Therefore, in this matter, too, they are paying the workers not to work, and as they, themselves, have no money, it comes to them from abroad. When the money came from abroad, how did they go around the border areas—where we trying to prevent foreigners from entering—preparing, with all the means they could muster, the grounds for the partition of the country that we want to be one, to be independent and not split up? Are they serving this country? If they are, how is it that they want to have it partitioned? To whose benefit would this be? To Iran’s benefit? To our nation’s benefit? Or is this also for the sake of others? Whatever case there was, they had derived benefits from it. This ought to be mentioned to them; it should be written about and propagated.

The need to confront the conspirators

Sir, are you sitting by to see some communists come and take over the university? Are you inferior to them in any way? You are greater in number; you have better credentials. You can expose their treachery by stating these facts in that place; in the university. You can reveal their treason so that they go away. Stand your ground and speak out. Tell them, Sir. Each one of you should ask them who they are to come into the university and create disturbances. Ask them what they are up to; do they want to teach you? Tell them to first consider as to what they are in this country. Ask them whether they belong to this country or are foreign agents out to trouble you. Stand firm, Sir, and speak out. The orators (preachers), of course, should also come

to the university; I suggest that Mr. Sayyid Ali Khamenei¹ come. If possible, please go and tell him on my behalf to come in the place of Mr. Mutahhari. He is very good; he is intelligent; he can talk; he can express himself.

A recollection about Martyr Mudarris

In any event, you are the chief persons in taking action. The late Mudarris—may God bless his soul—was a person whom about Malik ash-Shuara (poet laureate) had said that no such person had ever appeared since the time of the Mongols. Mudarris used to say that you should strike and let them go and complain against you; not that they beat you up and you go and complain! I went to see him—may God bless his soul. My brother² had written to me to say that there was someone there who was the head of the granary. He was a granary manager at the time of Rida Shah. He wrote and told me to go to Mudarris and inform him that this person was corrupt, and that he had two dogs, one of whom he had named “Sayyid” and the other, “Shaykh”. He asked me to tell Mudarris to remove him from there. I went and told him what I had to say. He told me to kill that person! I asked him how we could kill him. He replied that he would write and say that the person in question should be killed. I told Mudarris that he was a functionary in that place; he was in that place, and that they could not do so, there. He asked how it was that when the caravans would come from Golpaygan and passed on the way to Kamareh,³ people would be sent to rob them; but we could not kill somebody!

The splinter groups serving America

These people need to have their mouths shut up, Sir! Your numbers are greater, your credentials are better and their treacherous deeds are evident. It is necessary to speak out. Gather together and mention the issues. If you see an official or teacher who is a communist, expel him from the university. I am not telling you to fight them; we do not want a conflict now. But should it lead to that at any time, we will drive them out within a day! But we do not want a fight now; we want it to be done gently; by talking to them. They talk and you, too, should talk. You should not just sit around and let others speak for you. A clergyman should come forward and speak up. You yourselves,

¹ It refers to the present Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatullah al-Uzma Sayyid Ali Khamenei.

² Sayyid Murtada Pasandideh, Imam Khomeini's elder brother.

³ Kamareh: the old name of Khomein and its neighborhood.

each one of you who can, should go and stand in front of them and talk to them. They will say something and you, too, say what you have to say. Then you should point out their actions, one by one, to them and ask them why they are doing so. Ask them whose subjects they are that they are doing such things. Are they Iranians who are doing all this, or are they affiliated to America or the Soviet Union? Are they serving these powers or Iran? In case they are serving them, they have no place here. Let them go to those countries and serve; they are working for them. It is obvious that America stands to gain from the non-existence of cultivation in Iran; everybody is aware of this. What things of ours are being imported from America! This was the market that the Shah had created upon which they now depend. They are still after him; they want that regime reinstated; they do not want the right one; they are subservient to it.

Fortune-seekers serving the interests of foreign powers

They want to create the same conditions for us. We, too, have taken trouble up to now. This nation gave many victims and went through a lot of trouble while they sat by and watched, just like many of these intellectuals who just sat and watched. Our youth from the universities and—I should say—the southern parts of the city poured out and accomplished the job. Now that they have done so, these people have started coming in here from across the border. They possess valid and invalid passports and such things and are Iranians. But many of them had been outside the country. They are now here and wish to foment unrest and create the same problems once again. This is not because they want a government—let us suppose for instance—that is not Islamic as they are opposed to Islam, but their own so-called liberal, democratic one. This is not the issue; not at all. The issue at stake is that they want the same situation again. If it cannot be done with the designation of *Shahanshahi* [monarchy], another designation could be used for it. It should be an American set-up once again, but in another non-monarchical form. The monarchy is no more. They would bring it back if they could, but they cannot do so now. They want another set-up; the same problems once again, with the Americans and the parasitical plunderers of our oil pocketing the benefits of this suffering nation again. For this purpose, these people (the splinter groups) are their lackeys. The reason for this is what I have been saying, and their reply is obvious: “Ideology,” “ideology”! What ideology; Marxist ideology? It has been rejected by the world, but has now fallen in the hands of these kids, that is, if they are telling the truth. However, they are not telling the truth. The issue at stake is not ideology; it is

one of interests. They want to derive the benefits. They are better able to give them (America) the benefits as they are subservient to them. If not, is it to the country's good or to its detriment when it claims that—well, this is what it is about—it wants to sever its links to the foreigners? If it is to the benefit of our nation, and they themselves are nationalistic and concerned about this country; if they belong to the Tudeh, then they should help. We wish to sever the links to the foreigners—and it has been done, thanks to God. They should now help so that those problems do not return. Not that they should create unrest so that they return. They can help by going to the factories and doing something to make them start operating. They should do something for the oil workers to perform their tasks. Now that the benefits accruing from the oil are for them, let them start working. Let them go and encourage the cultivators to work; encourage the university to start functioning. They are creating unrest everywhere; therefore they are saboteurs. They are not learned people—for instance—who want to teach us something; they just want to create disturbances. Such people should be prevented from doing so. You should tell them (splinter groups) about the problems. Write about these things in the university; have them published. Each one of you should go to those who are against [the country's interests] and tell them that they are saboteurs; ask them what they have to say to us. Ask them how they can take control of a university when they are saboteurs. A mischief-making thief cannot run a university.

The need for solidarity and enlightenment in the stronghold of the university

Our state should be deplorable if our universities are not managed properly. The university holds the key to everything. That is, these two poles, the university and the clergy, hold the country's destiny in their hands. All the problems should be solved by the university students, whether of the new system or the old one. They are the brains of nation. If we are indifferent to the university and are deprived of it, we will then lose everything. It is a matter in which you should not sit aside and expect me to handle it; and neither should I sit by and leave you to deal with it all by yourselves. Hand in hand, all of us should do what we can; I to the best of my ability, and you to the best of yours. You are young; stand up to them, talk to them, say what you must. Go and find the people who can go there and talk. Take them there; invite them to the university. Do not sit by and expect me to appoint somebody. Of course, I consider Sayyid Ali Aqa¹ as being competent for

¹ Sayyid Ali Khamenei.

this task. But do not expect me to extend an invitation. There is no need for there to be only one person; there could be one person (to speak) every few days. Gather in that university and bring one of these gentlemen—who is able to talk, to say what he must—to the university to speak to them. They are not so willing to talk; they just want to create disturbances.

In any case, I hope that you will not despair and that you will go ahead forcefully and ably reform the university yourselves. If you see a teacher going astray, go and talk to him. Do not quarrel; speak to him. Tell them that they who are such cannot come to the university and become its chancellor or professor; it cannot be so. And, of course, if there are problems that I can be of service in solving, I will do so. And if these people that you said would be referred to a certain organ, write on a sheet of paper and hand it in here for me to speak to them so that it is arranged. [At this point, one of those present in the audience mentioned the plan prepared for the Rural *Jihad*. Imam stated:]

Yes, this is approved but as stipulated. I told the gentlemen who had come to see me about this matter. Coming to the villages and doing what they like, saying that they have come from the government, is not acceptable. They should be selected by getting the opinion of the reliable people, those who know who these people are, as these people who go into the villages may belong to the deviated groups that mislead the people of the village. They should be selected from among the committed, upright people. This would definitely be of service to society. It is a good scheme for our country.

The danger posed by “Islamologists” who are alien to Islam

Yes,¹ the problem of dealing with these people is greater than that of those other people. Sometimes, somebody comes whose actions are known. When we were children, there was someone who was called, “Amir Mufakhkham.” He was a Bakhtiyari chief there. He had said that it was known what Sardar Hishmat—one of the tribal khans, one of the nobles—was. His enmity and friendliness were said to be known to all. But, as that Bakhtiyari chief had said, God save us from so-and-so; he is outwardly a friend, but “breaks a person’s back”! These outward friends pose more difficulties than the others who are not friends. It is known what the latter are; we know what to do... now I am not saying that such is the case. I cannot exactly say anything about them at present. However, the problem with these people who, acting on their own, attribute whatever they want to the Quran is greater in comparison with the others. Everybody says

¹ In response to what somebody was saying.

whatever he wants to say! The fact that it was repeatedly mentioned in the early days of Islam that the place of one who interprets the Quran according to his own opinion is in the fire (of hell),¹ was in anticipation of such issues of anyone coming up with something as per his own views. Contrary to what they say, they wish to alter the meaning of the Quran; coping with them is a bit more difficult because such people resort to the Quran.

The Quran and *Nahj al-Balaghah*:² the excuse for sowing discord and gaining influence

When I was in Najaf, one of these persons³ came to see me. This was before the appearance of the Munafiqin.⁴ He stayed with me for perhaps twenty days; some say twenty-four. He would talk to me about the Quran and the *Nahj al-Balaghah* for about a couple of hours daily. He said all that he had to say. It somewhat appeared to me that all this—the Quran and the *Nahj al-Balaghah*—was for another purpose. Perhaps I should, I must, recall what the late Aqa Sayyid Abdul-Majid Hamedani had told that Jew. It is said that in Hamedan, a Jew had become a Muslim, and subsequently, began to abide by Islamic rules to a great extent; to a very great extent! This made the late ASayyid (Aqa Sayyid) Abdul-Majid, one of the *ulama* of Hamedan, suspicious about the matter. One day he told the Jew to come and see him. He asked the Jew whether he knew who he was; the Jew replied that he did. He knew that he was Aqa Sayyid Abdul-Majid. He again asked the Jew whether he was one of the Prophet's descendants. The Jew said, "Yes." He then asked the Jew who he himself, was. He replied that he had once been a Jew, that his forefathers were Jews and that he had recently converted to Islam. He then asked the Jew how it was that he, a recent convert whose

¹ *Awali al-Laali*, vol. 4, p. 104; *Tawhid-e Saduq*, p. 90.

² *Nahj al-Balaghah* (Peak of Eloquence) is a collection of speeches, sayings and letters of the Commander of the Faithful, Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib (a) compiled by Sharif ar-Radi Muhammad ibn al-Husayn (d. 406 AH/1016). Contents of the book concern the three essential topics of God, man and the universe, and include comments on scientific, literary, social, ethical, and political issues. Except the words of the Glorious Quran and of the Holy Prophet (s), no words of man can equate it in eloquence. So far, more than 101 exegeses have been written on the *Nahj al-Balaghah*, indicating the importance of this treatise to scholars and learned men of research and investigation. For more information, visit: <http://www.al-islam.org/nahjul>.

³ One of the members of the *Mujahidin-e Khalq Organization* (MKO).

⁴ *Munafiqin*: a Quranic term meaning "hypocrites". This word, assonant with the word "mujahidin", was adopted by the Iranian people to refer to the members and supporters of the terrorist *Mujahidin-e Khalq Organization* (MKO) whose actions and beliefs they saw as hypocritical with regard to Islam.

forebears had been Jewish, was more religious than himself, a Sayyid, a descendant of the Prophet, a clergyman, and so on. I then heard that the Jew just went away. It came to light that he had been playing a trick; he had been up to something. By appearing in an Islamic guise, he wanted to do what he had to. The Jews do such things. It struck me that this matter... I, a seminarian, did not read the *Nahj al-Balaghah*, the Quran and such books as much as he did! He stayed ten to twenty days. I would listen to him but did not reply. I just used to listen. He had come to obtain my endorsement. I just listened; I never said a word in reply. Only when he said that they wanted to stage an armed uprising, did I say, "No"; it was not the right time to do so, that he would lose his forces and achieve nothing. I did not tell him anything more than that. He wanted me to endorse him. It later came to light that the whole affair was exactly so.

Vigilance and invulnerability

Later, when the gentlemen came, and certain people from Iran had recommended that they be supported, and that they are such (good) people, I did not believe them, nonetheless. Even some very respectable people of Tehran had recommended them as being good people, but I did not believe it. These people who talk so much about the Quran, *Nahj al-Balaghah* and religious matters, and then interpret the passages from the Quran and *Nahj al-Balaghah* in a way different from how they should be interpreted, cannot be trusted to any great extent.

These Iraqi Baathists who like them, cite these same passages of the *Nahj al-Balaghah*, also write certain things on placards and propagate them; these very same passages of *Nahj al-Balaghah*! These Baathists who have absolutely nothing to do with such matters, write these on the walls in the avenues of Najaf and so propagate them. We cannot rely on them. I am not saying anything (adverse). It is even possible that one of them could be a person of integrity, or could not have made a mistake. However, we cannot rely on them; they cannot be trusted.

[In reply to a student who had asked what their stand should be vis-à-vis those people, the Imam stated:]

Your stand should be this that you should not be very friendly with them. Of course, you should not ostracize them nor clash with them.

Speech

Date: June 13, 1979 [Khordad 23, 1358 AHS / Rajab 18, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Iranian society as dynamic and developing

Audience: The wounded and disabled of the Revolution from Zanjan; the crusading women of Kazerun

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A sensational and reassuring transformation

You, the various groups, are dear to me and I must give a talk for each one of the groups. But as I have neither the time, nor am I feeling well enough, I will just talk about the issue that you groups have in common. It is a matter that, in my view, is sensational and reassuring. What you three groups, and all the other groups in Iran, have in common is this transformation that has taken place in you. A transformation has taken place in some way in our youth, our elders, our children, and in all the strata of the people that is very reassuring. I have often said that this spiritual transformation is even loftier than that victory which was a very great one. What a transformation this is that has made young people—in spite of having been shot and suffering impairment of some parts of your bodies and having undergone hardships—come again to offer yourselves for Islam; and made all of us prepared to sacrifice our lives for Islam. What a transformation this is that has made the ladies, from places far away, go to the area where there is fighting, killing and all kinds of difficulties, in order to help their brothers. And what a transformation this is in that these ladies have come here from Kazerun saying that they are prepared to make every kind of sacrifice for Islam. Who has brought it about? Can anybody except God generate such a transformation in a nation? No group; not you that have gathered in this room; not the inhabitants of a province; not the inhabitants of a region can bring it about a country of thirty-odd million and also abroad.

A dynamic society and its voice

A few days ago, some time ago, a group of people arrived abroad; I think from America. They had come from America for the Reconstruction Crusade [*Jihad-e Sazandegi*]. These youth come here in order to go among the peasants, among these people and the poor and help them. I told them that though they are not well experienced in the job of reaping harvests and such

matters, and are not able to work like the peasants, their work is of such worth that when the agriculturists and farmers see that a group of people has come from America to help them and empathize with them, their vigor will increase manifold. They motivate those people when they go there to work with them. These ladies from distant places, who go to dangerous areas, are a source of strength to society; they revive the society. These ladies who have come here from afar say that they are prepared to make all kinds of sacrifices, just like all of you who say the same thing. This voice rises from a spirited society. This society was not like this previously. In the time of the *taghut*, not one of you was willing to take a step given the probability of having created trouble for yourself. You were not at all willing, and these people would not have offered their help either had a war taken place in the days of the *taghut*. These people would also not been prepared to offer their services to the *taghut*.

The best condition: serving God and His creatures

All of you are aware of the fact that Islam is for everybody. Islam is a regime, a ruling system that is just and divine. By virtue of this, you serve God. All these affairs are for His sake. This transformation that has taken place has been wrought by Him. Nobody can effect a transformation in the hearts (of people). The Transformer of Hearts [*Muqallib al-Qulub*] is God, the Blessed and Exalted. The Changer of Circumstances [*Muhawwal al-Ahwal*] is God, the Blessed and Exalted. Praise be to Him that this *Muqallib al-Qulub*, this *Muhawwal al-Ahwal* has changed your situation to a better one. The better state [*ahsan al-hal*] is that in which you serve Him and His creatures and to have His commands obeyed. And thanks to the Almighty that you serve Him, His servants and His creation. This for you, and for us, is the best condition to be in. Thanks to God that you have been successful; may He make you much more successful.

The harmfulness of continuously mentioning the scarcities and deficiencies

Another issue that I must mention, and by which we have all been afflicted, is talking perhaps most of the days—there were others here today besides you—about the difficulties that now exist. There are difficulties in all the regions and wherever you go; many difficulties. We are also aware of their existence. But this is not the time to keep on mentioning the problems. Talking about many of the problems gives rise to a sort of apathy in the

nation as well as anxiety. The tranquility that is necessary for our nation—which is there, thanks to God—should be safeguarded.

There are disturbances in Kurdistan caused by the foreigners and the parties affiliated to them. The disturbances were on a large scale, but our nation and government overcame them and destroyed them. A few of their remnants still remain around there, in the jungles and some of the villages. You should not think that the matter is not over and that the plots are still afoot. No! The plots were nothing even at that time. A nation that overcame such a great satanic power; a nation that defeated the *taghut*'s attempt to stage that coup d'état in which all the leaders of the nation were to have been killed—we were in Tehran at that time—and as the late General Qarni related the matter to me in this same place, the clash between the people and *taghut* took just three and a half hours; a nation that overcame tanks, cannons and machine-guns with its bare hands, should not fear if a party or a group does something in Kurdistan. These people are of no importance for this nation anymore. Of course, they can cause trouble; they can kill people on behalf of some foreign outfit, but nothing that might pose a danger for us can be accomplished by them. There is no further danger at all.

The nation should not worry about the annoying problems

Thanks to God that Iran is in no danger. This transformation that took place made the women pour into the avenues, take the lead from the men, encourage them and overthrow this power. Why should a nation that has such women and such youth fear? There is no room for fear. There would have been cause for fear and danger had those previous times, that apathy and indifference existed. But Iran's present situation in which it has lost such a person, a personality, a crusader,¹ and in which such a widespread revolution, such an upheaval has occurred, shows that the nation is a spirited one and fears nothing. Even if we have lost that person, for instance, there is nothing to fear, however sorrowful the matter. The nation is doing its own work now. Neither am I nor is anybody of consequence. The nation itself counts. The nation itself is accomplishing its tasks.

The Majlis and presidential elections

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, that your high morale and your hearts that brim with faith, and bestowed by Him on you, be safeguarded. And that you give your hands to one another, cast aside your differences and quarrel less with one another to the very end of this movement. At present,

¹ Martyr Murtada Mutahhari.

however, the National Consultative Assembly and the president have to be chosen in the first stage. The Consultative Majlis which is your own will put an end to all this unrest. Try to choose people who are committed, religious, nationalistic and neither leftist nor rightist; you must choose such individuals. And, God willing, when the National Consultative Majlis becomes one that is yours, with your own members and of your own choosing there will, then, no fear on our part, God willing

Message

Date: June 14, 1979 [Khordad 24, 1358 AHS / Rajab 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Iraqi governments' approach toward the clergy and the violation of Iran's border

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Baqir as-Sadr¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Najaf al-Ashraf

The honorable Ayatullah Aqa Haj Sayyid Muhammad Baqir as-Sadr—may his blessings last:

The recent events that have occurred one after another are regrettable. It was not expected that you, a learned and Islamic figure, be so treated, just as it was, and is not, expected that the functionaries of the Iraqi government in the border areas behave in a way that is against the norms of good neighborliness. The Iranian nation hopes to curtail the power of the foreigners, in all the Muslim countries, with (the help of) its Islamic movement, and just as the nations approve of and support this great Islamic movement, it expects the governments to support it as well. The Najaf al-Ashraf Theological Center, which serves Islam and the Muslims, has been the protector of Iraq's independence—in fact, of all the Muslim countries—throughout its history. It does not expect to be shown any disrespect and one of its most eminent and great personalities assaulted.

¹ The great Muslim scholar and jurist, Ayatullah al-Uzma Sayyid Muhammad Baqir as-Sadr, was born in 1931/1350 AH to a prominent family in Kazimayn, a city in Iraq. He first studied at the Najaf seminary and by the age of twenty he attained the status of theologian and obtained the qualifications to practice religious jurisprudence. He was active in most Islamic movements and in a famous decree, he banned membership in the Baath Party of Iraq and declared the members of this party as outright enemies of Islam and the Muslims. In another decree he proclaimed as martyrs those who fought and were slain in the Islamic Revolution of Iran against the Shah's regime. In the month of Jamad al-Awwal 1400 AH (April 8, 1980), the Baath government of Iraq martyred him and his sister after months of imprisonment and torture. He wrote numerous books, the most famous of which are *Fals afatuna* ["Our Philosophy"] and *Iqtisaduna* ["Our Economics"].

For the English translation of the two mentioned books, see Muhammad Baqir as-Sadr, *Our Philosophy* (Muhammadi Trust, n.d.), <http://al-islam.org/philosophy>; *Our Economics* (Tehran: World Organization for Islamic Services, 1982).

I am advising the Iraqi government to safeguard this solid stronghold which is the guardian of the country's existence and interests. This was the advice that I gave the deposed Shah and the government of Iran in the past period. I pray to God, the Almighty, for the glory of Islam and the independence of Muslim countries.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Date: June 14, 1979 [Khordad 24, 1358 AHS / Rajab 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Imam honors the disabled of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: The wounded and the doctors of the Shafai-Yahyaiyan Hospital; members of the Imam Khomeini Relief Committee

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The revival of Islam through self-sacrifice

I do not know how I can express my grief on these tragedies that have befallen us. I do not know how to face you, my brothers and children, and how I can see myself sitting here in good condition and you wounded and helpless. What causes pleasure is that this has happened for Islam and for God. What is done for God is kept in reserve by Him. You gave up your well-being for the sake of Islam just as the saints of God sacrificed their lives for it. Islam is dearer to us than what we imagine. Islam is that for which the Messenger of God (s) took so much trouble, underwent such hardships, lost so many youth and sacrificed so many dignified people. Islam is so dear that the Prophet's progeny gave their lives for it. The honorable Doyen of the Martyrs (a) fought for Islam with those youth and companions, all of whom gave their lives and revived Islam.

Everlasting life under the auspices of sacrifices

You took a lot of trouble, you underwent suffering and our youth were sacrificed, but you revived Islam that was heading toward obliteration. May God reward you for reviving Islam with your efforts at this time. If it was not for these efforts of our youth and the various segment of the people, Islam would have been destroyed by the hands of these criminals. You staged an uprising, gave sacrifices and revived Islam. God will grant you everlasting life. I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for your prosperity, well-being and success, and thank you and those who attend on you, whether the doctors or other people. I, too, am one of your servants and well-wishers. May God heal you and shower all of us and the whole nation with His blessings. *"There is no power, no strength except that of God Almighty."*

Statements

Date: June 14, 1979 [Khordad 24, 1358 AHS / Rajab 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subjects: The existing problems of Tehran

Audience: Muhammad Tawassuli (Mayor of Tehran) and the assistant heads of the Municipality

[Mr. Muhammad Tawassuli (the mayor of Tehran at the time) accompanied by his assistants called on Imam Khomeini in Qum. In this meeting, he informed the Imam of the existing problems of Tehran whereupon the Imam, stressing on the need to maintain the revolutionary spirit and the observance of order in the affairs of the Municipality, stated:]

You must deal decisively with those people who have encroached upon the lands in Tehran and the confines of the avenues. Building houses for the deprived should begin from the villages, not only to prevent the haphazard migration of the peasants to the cities, but also to attract those, who had migrated previously, to the animal husbandry and agricultural poles considering the facilities that are to be provided.

Speech

Date: Afternoon, June 14, 1979 [Khordad 24, 1358 AHS / Rajab 19, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subjects: The devastation and destruction in the Pahlavi era; the way of effecting reforms in the country

Audience: The employees of the Central Bank of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Half a century of destruction and devastation

We are confronting two issues at present. One of these is that every group is better aware of the destruction in its own place than the others are. You the gentlemen who work in the banks, in the bank, know better what the former regime did with the banks and what the banks did to you. The people in the factories understand this point very well with respect to those places. The farmers saw exactly what they had done to them. Those in the universities also know what they did to the universities. Those in the bazaar are also aware about their own place. In short, we generally know that this country went to rack and ruin in the course of these fifty-odd years. They almost destroyed the country in the name of the "great civilization". But what every segment happens to be in its own sphere of activity. We now face various groups that come to see me from all over Iran. Each group tells me that there is no place worse off than where its people live...no place is more ruined than theirs. For instance, people come from the Bakhtiyari region, saying that there is no region worse than that of the Bakhtiyaris and that they have nothing. They say that the oppression to which they had been subjected during these fifty years had not been done against anybody else. They come from Baluchistan, uttering exactly the same words: there is no place worse than that place. People come from Kurdistan and say much the same thing; (they come) from everywhere. I find that all of them are right about this matter. They are aware of the ruination in their own place, but say that no other place is worse than their own. The reason is that they have seen, and heard about, the damage done to their own place. One who has been in the Bakhtiyari region has seen what happened there and what it is like at present. But these people have only heard of the oppression in the other places; not seen it. Because of this, they consider their own region as the worst of all. And they are all right in saying so as there is devastation everywhere.

The destruction of agriculture in the name of “land reform”

Actually, the plan was to cause destruction, ruin the agriculture totally in the name of “land reform” and create a market for America that has wheat in abundance. As it has to dump this in the sea or burn it, it is better (for America) that the agriculture of Iran, and the other countries under its influence, be ruined so as to put them in need of wheat and other grains such that we are now in need of all our commodities to come from abroad. They destroyed the animal husbandry so that the meat has to be imported, and similarly, everything else. Under extremely deceitful and misleading names, they destroyed the country over the last fifty years and left it in ruins. And now the second point that I want to mention is that all of us know of the devastation; however, you are better aware of it in the bank than the farmers, and they know more than you about the ruination of the agriculture. Each and every segment has experienced the destruction in its own sphere of work and is better aware of it.

An essential step for the reconstruction of the country

But what is to be done now? If we are to sit down and just keep on talking about the generalities of what is to be done, we will not get anywhere. You in the bank, and as employees of the bank, should get busy with sorting out the affairs of the banks. Those who are in the agricultural sector know what is happening there. Of course, it is good to mention it, to talk about it and to exhort (the people). But it is not for you to talk about all the problems of the country. I, too, know that everything is in a mess; but what is to be done? What ought to be done is that you who see that the Central Bank—whose employees you are—is in a disorganized state, in a ruined state, should make efforts to set it right. When you reorganize this place, the others who see that such-and-such a place is in disorder, will also take steps to reform it. A short while ago, the mayor of Tehran was here with some members of his staff. Well, they, too, have the same complaint. They must also become busy with the reorganization of the municipality and the city services. We should not just sit down talking about generalities and our problems and entreat God to solve them! No, we should all work. Fortunately, when they used to stage passion plays, they would say that a good actor in such plays was the one who acted out Shimr's¹ role nicely when cast as Shimr, and who acted out Imam Husayn's role nicely when cast as Imam Husayn. If (the one acting as) Shimr were to act like (he were)

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

Imam Husayn, and Imam Husayn like Shimr, it would not make proper passion play.

Striking the workforce an irreparable blow

We are now afflicted with the disorder that they created in the country, ruining it and destroying everything of ours [...]. Worse than everything else was the destruction of our workforce. What was more than all the treacheries they committed against this country was their having destroyed the workforce by various means: setting up centers of prostitution—of which I was not aware, but now I hear that many such centers had been set up by them between Tehran and Karaj, and Shemiran, following which they encouraged the people (to visit these places)—and turning our cinemas, that are supposed to be educative, into another form while encouraging everybody to frequent them. How many centers of narcotics, such as opium, heroin and the like, they set up and how much of these they imported!! According to what the people used to say, they (ex-regime) themselves were instrumental in bringing these (drugs) into the country. And to what a great extent they encouraged the use of these! They ruined the human resources of the country and left. The economy can be repaired within a year or two, or four years, but a person whom they have corrupted and a section of the people, thirty or forty years old, who have become corrupt, will require a lifetime to be changed back into decent human beings; to a state where they ought to develop. This is the hardest blow they have dealt us; it is the very thing that counts for them. They wanted to destroy us and take away everything of ours, with nobody to say anything about it. They were after destroying all our human resources. They wanted to strip us of our strength, either by their widespread propaganda or by exerting pressure and suchlike things. Now that we have taken over (the country's affairs) and wish to set matter right, we gradually have to train the children and the youngsters from now on until that stage is reached. They so changed the elders that very little can be done to reform them.

Instituting reforms in the country's affairs by means of the specialists in their respective fields

Those of you working in the bank should not say that the municipality is in a mess and what ought to be done about it. You have to see what is happening in the bank and what ought to be done. Take actions; see what the shortcomings were, where the difficulties lay and how the bank could be organized so as to be useful to our country. Consider the harmful things and

the contrary policies. All of you should come to an understanding among yourselves and solve the bank's problems. This is your duty. I, a seminarian, should see what the problems concerning the seminary and the seminarians were, for instance, and busy myself in this matter. The one who is the mayor should find out the problems faced by the municipality and solve them. If done in this manner, if the cooperation is such that each one, in whatever place he works, keeps that place in mind and resolves to correct the problems there, then, after sometime, we will see, God willing, that our municipality, our banks and our agriculture have been set right. All of us together, but in this sense that each one in his own place should set that place right. Just sitting by and expecting the agriculturists to do their job and put the whole country right is pointless; the country cannot be reformed through agriculture alone. And if the agriculturists sit by, expecting the bankers to undertake this task, they, too, will not be able to do so. If all of them want the clergy to handle the matter the clergy also will not be able to do it. If all of us do nothing and want the government to carry out the job, the government, too, will not succeed. But when all of them, in their respective places, cleanse and reform that particular place, the task will become easier and can be carried out.

I hope that God will give you success. The issues that you mentioned are still uppermost in our minds; it is hoped that they will be fulfilled. May God assist all of you.¹ In an Islamic country in which everything is a blessing, we want things to be such that when you enter a bank, it seems as if you have entered a mosque, it should be like that. When we enter a ministry (building) we should feel that we are entering a mosque, a place of worship. Every place should have an Islamic atmosphere in which we are like friends and brothers, helping and supporting one another. If such a state could be realized, God willing, and I am hopeful that it would, every matter would then be rectified. May God assist all of you. I have no further time at present.

¹ There was intermittent disconnection of the tape recorder at this point; perhaps some words were not recorded.

Speech

Date: June 15, 1979 [Khordad 25, 1358 AHS / Rajab 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subjects: The matter of the Constituents' Assembly and the plot of the enemies to prevent the approval of the Constitution

Audience: Various groups of the people

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Sounding the alarm

Whenever I feel that there is danger facing Islam and the Muslims, I deem it necessary to discharge my duty and warn the Muslims about it. I sense danger at this time when votes are to be cast for the Constitution. I feel that plots are being hatched and deem it necessary to point this out to the Iranian nation so as to have discharged my duty.

These days when the Constitution and its publication are being talked about, matters are being broached that make me feel that a plot is afoot; a plot that poses a danger to Islam, the Muslims and our country. These days when the Constitution is being discussed and studied, and is to be decided by a referendum after being studied by the experts and passed by the Majlis, a matter has come up with regard to which I sense danger, and about which I find it necessary to warn the nation.

Mentioning the difficulties, a plot or inadvertence

The groups from the various strata of the people that gather in the meetings that take place raise certain matter and mention problems. This is not the time to do so. I think it probable that these problems and difficulties are brought up involuntarily by people who have been influenced by these plots, either directly or by means of others. We are now involved in a matter that calls for the undivided attention of the whole nation. It is inopportune to talk about the difficulties, the irregularities, the government's mistakes and the bad state of affairs. The gentlemen should bear in mind that it is now not the time to bring up difficulties for discussion, in the army, the ministries, the committees or the courts. It is likely that, nowadays, the people that want to carry out a big conspiracy are the ones who are finding fault with these organs, talking about these problems when the Constitution is to be drawn up and brought to the people's notice is either a plot or arises from ignorance.

A conspiracy in postponing the approval of the Constitution

The issue that is of utmost importance is that, at the outset, I should state who and what people I am addressing and then speak. The people are of different types in their opposition. There are some who have good intentions but do not consider the problems in depth. There are others that are well intentioned but are influenced by the propaganda and words of people with ulterior motives. Then these are those who, with the most evil of intentions are busy in hatching plots. Their plot is to have the approval of the Constitution postponed; to discuss and consult for a year or two, and for the decayed remnants (of the former regime) to link up and away with the essence of Islam.

Putting off the approval of the Constitution and the establishment of the Islamic republic and Islamic government will result on the plotters within our borders and abroad to link up and, having done so, trample upon the very essence of the Constitution and the principles of Islam. The well-intentioned people ought to realize that if according to what is being said about the Constituents' Assembly and the way in which the Constitution should be presented in the Assembly—an issue that has been raised by the people with evil intentions and has, unfortunately, influenced the well-intentioned ones also—means that the arguments and wrangling be prolonged for two or three years and the plots to accumulate. The mercenaries in Iran are now being trained by the people from that side of the border. If we do not bring this matter to an end soon enough, they will come together and, by doing so, it is possible that they will afflict you with an adversity and put you into trouble again. They will create trouble even if they are crushed.

The government's plan in replacing the Constituents' Assembly

The Constituents' Assembly is there for the people to designate whom they, themselves, have chosen. It makes no difference whether this is the government's present plan or the plans of the people who are heedless, who have been swayed, or into whom the devils have instilled the notion that the matter be deferred and for a year or two to elapse for the installation of the Islamic government until their plots mature and destroy its very principle. The government's proposal is that people be elected to that same Constituents' Assembly, but less in number and belonging to the nation, approved by the nation and elected by the nation. These individuals should then study the Constitution that has been drafted. These elected individuals should also discuss and study the objections raised by the intellectuals, the legal experts and others with respect to the draft of the Constitution. After

they have approved of it, it will be put to a referendum. Though there is no need, we will put it to the public vote in order to have it further consolidated.

The Constituents' Assembly; the expedient of the West-worshippers

But if we want to postpone the matter of the Constitution because of the plan—so cunningly devised by these Westernized intellectuals who are a part of some of these intellectual groups, these smart mercenaries, those people who want to restore the previous regime (to power) or something similar to it, those who are being assisted from that side of the border, those who are paying the workers not to work, those who regard Islam as outdated and those who fear it, and by which (plan) the good intentioned people have, unfortunately, become convinced—for a Constituents' Assembly of large numbers that would delay the approval of the Constitution by two or three years, we then have to sound the death-knell of Islam and the country.

I am warning the nation today that the plan of the Constituents' Assembly, in that it has been designed in the West and inspired by the devils, will give rise to delays and mischief. These people who have suffered a defeat in the first stage and had boycotted the referendum and the ones who have deviated from Islam, after having been defeated by the referendum, are now thinking of preventing the Constitution from being endorsed so soon so that, as they imagine, the plots come to fruition and—again as they imagine—the previous state of affairs is restored. O nation of Iran! Know who these people are and recognize them. Those who have been negligent should pay attention. See who those people are that had boycotted the referendum and are even now saying that they will not take part until the formation of the Constituents' Assembly. What have those people—from that side of the country, from the epicenter of the plots, from Kurdistan which is the hub of the plots—in mind who say that they will not take part? Those that are subservient to the communists; what have they in mind?

The big devils seeking help from other devils

Our prominent personalities should pay attention to the matter and study it in depth. Various groups are banding together. At first, when Islam was to have been put into effect, the big Satan called out to the other devils saying that if Islam were to be implemented, everybody's affairs would be brought to a standstill. There is an outcry once again. There is a call to have the Constitution deferred. The gentlemen who are well intentioned should pay attention to the matter; they should examine it and take care. They should not be influenced by the seditious individuals. Our intellectuals should not be

swayed by the paid ones. Our jurists should not be influenced by those of the West. Our lawyers should not be affected by the Westernized ones. Our judges should not be under the influence of Westernized people. Our workers and farmers should not let themselves be swayed by the seditionists. These people are devils whose big devil called out to the others and gathered them together in the early days of Islam. They now want to do the same thing.

O nation, take care! This is not the time to find fault with the government, the army, the bazaar. It is the time for all of us to converge for approving and expediting the Constitution so that the matter is completed within a month or two and not drag on for a year or two until the plots come to a head.

The final notice and a warning of danger

O God! You know that what I am saying is in the interests of the nation, of Islam, the Holy Quran, the clergy, and the Muslims. Postponing the endorsement of the Constitution and putting it up for the consideration of a vast assembly of the constituents, the wrangling over which and the setting up of which will take six months, and the debates within which will continue for—it is not known—one, two, or three years, pose a danger to Islam and the Messenger of God. The Western-inspired formation of the Constituents' Assembly is dangerous—it is a danger—dangerous for the Islamic country and for the Master of the Time. Those who are under a delusion should return to the fold. They should realize that a plot is afoot. They should know that I have the greatest attachment to them and not want any suspicion concerning them to arise. Those devils who are hatching conspiracies should know that the nation is awake and will neutralize their plots.

May God rouse us from our slumber of negligence. May God fortify Islam and the Muslims. May He curtail the power of the foreigners in our countries. O God! Cut out these rotten remnants that are engaged in hatching plots.

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

Decree

Date: June 15, 1979 [Khordad 25, 1358 AHS / Rajab 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subjects: Appointment of a religious law judge for the Islamic Revolutionary Courts of Amol

Addressee: Abdullah Jawadi Amoli

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rajab al-Khayr 20, 1399 AH

Khordad 25, 1358 AHS

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Abdullah Jawadi Amoli—may his graces last:

You are hereby assigned to sit in the Islamic Revolutionary Courts that are to be set up in Amol, and to take charge of religious law adjudications. You must have complete supervision over the judgments that are passed, and exercise caution in every case. I pray to God Almighty for your success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: June 15, 1979 [Khordad 25, 1358 AHS / Rajab 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subjects: The grandeur of faith in God and its role in the victory of the Revolution

Audience: The clergy and the Islamic Revolutionary Guards of Khorasan

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

A manifestation of the Supreme Being in the nation

*"Faint not nor grieve, for ye will overcome them if ye are (indeed) believers."*¹ Do not be weak nor sad; if you are believers, you have a lofty position and are above all. But faith is important; and how do we acquire faith? "Islam" is the two testimonies. *Iman* [faith] is the delight of the soul. It is what the tongue utters and suggests to the heart and which the heart accepts and believes. If you believe that God, the Blessed and Exalted, is Omnipotent, Eternal, and Almighty, if you believe in this, there will then be neither grief nor feebleness. A manifestation of this faith had arisen in you, and because of it, this great barrier, unbelievably, broke down—the barrier that was supported by all the powers, all the superpowers and all the governments. All the Muslim governments, with the exception of one or two, had been its supporters. All the big powers had supported it.

Religious belief overcoming materialism

America repeatedly declared its support; Britain repeatedly declared (support). He (ex-Shah) was a good servant of theirs, and the regret that they later expressed was because of his being a good servant. Of course, they should express regrets for one who handed over the country to them during the course of his life! Why should they not feel sorry?! Why should the American Senate not regret over Iran executing some murderers?! They are sorry because they have lost these servants, and they have a right to express regret. Human beings are of no importance to them; their interests are important. Faith is not important; oil is important. And because of their materialistic mentality and their being oblivious of faith and unaware of God, they thought it impossible for handful of people, who had nothing, to prevail against a satanic power that possessed all the implements of war and enjoyed

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:139.

the support of all the big powers. They had reckoned on the material things; they had not taken faith into consideration. They were right materially speaking; ordinarily speaking; it was as they used to say. We had nothing; just a handful of empty-handed people. But they had everything. Then came the power of faith, and with it they broke down those big barriers. And as long as you have this power of faith, you will prevail. So long as you safeguard this power of faith, you will be creatures of the highest order. Try to acquire faith and keep it.

The defeat of the materialistic powers by means of the divine force

A manifestation of faith tore this big barrier down and deprived the foreigners and the big powers of access (to the country). It was faith that crushed two big empires in the early days of Islam; material power had nothing to do with it. In the war against Rome, the vanguard of the Roman army consisted of sixty-thousand warriors followed by seventy-thousand others whereas the Muslims in their entirety totaled thirty-thousand. One of the Islamic commanders¹ asked for thirty people to accompany him to enable him to go in the night and fight against these sixty-thousand. After urging him—according to history—sixty individuals went with him. Sixty Muslims set out and defeated sixty-thousand Roman warriors that were armed to the teeth! Following that, the other seventy-thousand Romans also suffered a defeat and departed.² It was faith, the power of faith that accomplished this, and as you saw, the power of faith did the same thing in Iran. The spiritual transformation that was wrought in our nation was above the demolition of this barrier. I have time and again said that policeman would come to the Tehran bazaar, one of the biggest in Iran, and say that it was the fourth of Aban³ and that flags should be hoisted. Nobody dared to disobey. It did not even occur to one that the order could be disobeyed! But within approximately two years, and recently when the movement had more or less come to a head, this very community, these same people poured into the streets and avenues shouting, “Death to this regime”! These people, these *bazaris*, who used to fear so much a policeman, poured out into the avenues empty-handed, shouting, “Death to the regime,” and that they did not want it, but wanted Islam.

¹ Abu Ubaydah, commander of the army of Islam.

² *Tarikh at-Tabari*, vol. 3, p. 455.

³ The birthday of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.

Faith overcoming the army of Satan

They succeeded because they wanted Islam. No group, no individual, nobody has a hand in it. It was God. The power (that did it) was divine power. Safeguard this divine power, this gift of God. It is divine power that has taken you to the stage where you have become free and independent. None of the countries can bring about a change in your country. It was faith; it was divine power. Safeguard this divine trust. You will overcome as long as this trust is safeguarded. Losing this trust, God forbid, will be followed by slackness, feebleness, grief, gloom, and defeat. You ought to safeguard the secret of victory if you wish to be triumphant. The secret of victory was faith. Faith gave rise to that unity of expression. Faith brought about unity of expression in that everybody throughout the country clamored for the same thing. They gathered together from the center to the ends of the country, and their clamor for an Islamic republic and Islam was heard everywhere. They looked upon martyrdom as victory for themselves. The people who used to run away from everything, attacked tank and cannon overcoming the *taghut* and the army of Satan. Guard this secret; safeguard this movement and this unity of expression. All the ranks of the people ought to be united: the clergy with the academics; the academics with the clergy; all of them with bazaar merchants; the farmers; office-goers; employees—all should stand united. Henceforth, our need for unity of expression will be greater.

The need to recognize the remnants of the *taghut*

We now find ourselves becoming slack which is inevitable after every victory. One becomes slack on believing that victory has been gained. But do not give way to slackness for we have not achieved victory as yet. The rotten roots of the regime and the aliens are still there in our country; in every nook and corner of it. They will band together if we weaken; it would be dangerous for us if they do so. This movement, this unity of expression must be safeguarded. Do not return (to the former state). Our people must not grumble again about their lacking houses and dwellings. You will have everything once you are victorious. However, we have not gained victory. Recognize these people who are creating problems in every sphere. Recognize those who do not want the Islamic Republic to become a reality. They are the same ones who wanted the Shah while he was here and they still long for him. But they will not live to see their wish fulfilled.

I thank you the clergy, the *ulama*, the believers who have come from afar to meet me and are listening to what is in my heart. We are now up

against certain groups that are opposed to our movement in various ways. I hope that they will be guided.

I wish to thank Mr. Marashi¹ who has come here. I also thank all the other gentlemen. It makes me happy to see all these faces. May God make all of you prosperous. May He place you in the army of the Imam of the Time (a).

¹ Apparently, Sayyid Kazim Akhawan Marashi.

Speech

Date: June 15, 1979 [Khordad 25, 1358 AHS / Rajab 20, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subjects: The Constitution of the Islamic Republic and the obstructionism of the West-worshippers; the danger posed by the Westernized pseudo-intellectuals

Audience: Air Force personnel

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The question of the Constitution and the Consultative Assembly, and the obstruction of the splinter groups

I do not have much time, the weather is hot and you my dear ones are uncomfortable here in this tight, crowded place. But I would like to have a few words with you. Some of the problems are basic ones. They constitute the basis of other problems; problems that are tied to the realm of Islam and the independence of the country. After these have been settled, there are other matters that need to be followed up.

We are, at present, afflicted with a series of fundamental problems to which Islam and the country's independence are tied. We should all devote our efforts and use all our power over these basic problems, and after we have an independent Iran and Islam implemented, we will take up the side issues and straighten them out as well, God willing.

Of the issues that lie ahead, one is the question of the Constitution and another, the formation of the Consultative Assembly. These two issues take precedence over all the others. Attempts are being made to prevent us from taking this second step, just as they (the opponents) had made attempts to prevent the referendum on the basic nature of the republic from being held.

After the various groups, the corrupt remnants of the former regime and the corrupt lackeys of the foreigners were defeated and the wretched monarchy was buried, they made serious efforts to prevent the Islamic Republic from becoming a certainty. They planned; they created obstacles. The minions of the foreigners planned and the corrupt remnants of the former regime created obstacles. They boycotted the referendum and set the ballot boxes on fire in some areas. They hindered the people from voting in some cases, but failed. It was a defeat that had no parallel in history!

They have suffered two defeats so far, both of which are unparalleled or have few parallels in history. One of these defeats was in the struggle between the nation and the regime with all the power it had and the support

of the big powers that it enjoyed. It was a big defeat in that there was no precedent in the world for a nation with empty hands, that had nothing, to overcome a regime that had everything. Of course, the power of faith and the power of Islam brought about this victory. All the strata of the people joined forces in the presence of the power of Islam. The clergy, the academics, the army all joined together and demolished this big stronghold, this big barrier. Such was the power of faith. The next step was the referendum. Our opponents were against the referendum and obstructed it, but armed with the power of faith, our nation succeeded and the referendum that was held in Iran had no precedent either in the country or elsewhere. With the ardor, interest, devotion, and unity of yours, you succeeded with a vote of ninety percent and more, or more or less ninety percent. Victory has been yours in these two stages, while retreat and disgrace has been the lot of your opponents.

The third stage has now been reached and opposition has started once again. The armies of the devils are gathering again on the various excuses; the same ones that they also had before. The Constitution is to be placed at the disposal of the public for every single person to offer any suggestion he has, and the people's representatives—those elected by the nation itself—to study it subsequently. The so-called legal experts are to examine all the points made by the various segments of the public and, considering them all together, eliminate the defects and difficulties, if any, in the Constitution that has been drafted. Now that the matter has reached this stage, the people who are seeking excuses, those that had been defeated in the previous stages, intend to create obstacles in this stage as well.

Brothers, be alert! Recognize your enemies. They do not want the Constitution approved in the way Islam has ordained. Should the Western legal experts give their opinions? We want to draft an Islamic constitution. Should they come from the West to give their opinions about it?! Should the Westerners or the Westernized ones give their opinions? We want Islamic legal experts and these experts—some of them, of course—do not know Islam; what is the meaning of this?!

A word with the West-worshippers

I ... am talking generally because those people who are among the Islamic ranks and have pursued Islamic studies are living abroad. I have something to say to those Westernized ones; to the people who are under the influence of those that are Westernized. Should we get out Islamic Constitution from the West?! From the Westernized individuals? It has to be seen as to who is competent; which legal expert is competent enough to

express an opinion in our Islamic Constitution. We do want an Islamic republic to come to fruition. We do want to codify the Constitution of the Islamic Republic. Do we have turn to the Western legal experts—if there are such experts?! And the intellectuals who are uninformed about Islam and do not know what it is? Whenever we want to draw up the Constitution of a republic or of a democratic republic, you the gentlemen that are legal experts and Westernized intellectuals are competent to express your views. But you are not competent to do so when Islamic Constitution is to be codified and Islamic issues discussed. You have no knowledge of Islam. You say that Islam is not meant for this age! The reason is that you do not know Islam and do not believe that the One who gave Islamic laws is God. It is God that encompasses everything and all the ages. It is the Quran that is the Book for all the ages. It is the commandments of the Messenger of God that are valid for all the ages. You have no knowledge of the Quran, or of the Traditions, or of Islam. We will not allow you to meddle with the contemplative sciences. Yes, you have the right to express your views on certain administrative matters and executive affairs. But the main point is that you do not want an Islamic constitution. You are terrified by Islam. You are justified in this because Islam has shut the door to your personal gain! Islam drove your friends out of Iran. Islam sent the criminals—who were the friends of some of you—to hell! You are in dread of Islam and rightly so. But the Islamic nation, the Iranian nation cannot be subjected to your selfish fancies. It cannot abandon the Quran and accept a Western constitution. It will not allow you to interfere in an affair about which you are uninformed and ignorant. Your information¹ is to the extent of the issues of the West. You know Western laws, but you have not yet studied the Quran. I wish to say that I am not referring to these people en masse. There are individuals who are Islamic and well informed among them. I am referring to those who say that Islam is of no use anymore. I am referring to those who say that Islam belongs to (the period of) fourteen centuries ago.

The criterion: the nation's vote

We will not allow any interference in these affairs by people, who are uninformed of Islamic laws; who are not aware of the spirit of Islam and who do not know what will happen if Islam is put into effect. Yes, they do have a right to vote. They can vote against Islam as they accordingly did. They are at liberty to vote. They, however, should not say that they do not want one with five hundred to six hundred members! They should not make excuses.

¹ There was intermittent disconnection of the tape recorder at this point.

What is the Constituents' Assembly anyway? Is it anything other than those people who are elected to sit down and deliberate on the Constitution? Should there necessarily be six hundred to seven hundred people so that you, too, get your turn?! If the entire nation designates thirty people, are they, then, not its representatives? Is such an assembly not the Constituents' Assembly? After the Constitution has been studied and brought to the consideration of the experts on Islam, the clergy, the committed *ulama* and the people's representatives, we will further put it to the public to express its opinion. The nation itself is the basis. If the Constituents' Assembly has credibility, it is for this reason that the Assembly has been appointed by the nation. The nation itself has no right to vote, but its legal representative has?! What nonsense! I, myself, have no right to use what is mine but my legal representative has this right?! You, yourselves, have no right to vote; your legal representative has the right?! The deputies have this right because they are your legal representatives; otherwise, what right have they? What right has one person to vote on behalf of 35 million people? What right has fifty to six hundred people to vote for a nation of 35 million? They have this right because it is you that want to vote. It is your vote. The criterion is the nation's vote. On some occasions the nation itself votes; on other occasions it designated some people to vote. That holds true in the second degree; otherwise, it is the nation's own right in the first. You gave victims; should the legal experts decide for you? You must decide for yourselves. It is you, this deprived nation, these deprived people of the university, the deprived university youth, these deprived youth of the Faydiyyah Madrasah, these deprived youth in the army, these deprived youths in bazaar, these deprived youth in the factories and farms; they must cast their votes. Put your excuses aside; fear God; do not play games with the nation; do not disregard the people's vote; take them into account.

Conducting a direct public poll

Must we be subjected to Western designs? Have we nothing to do with Islam?! Should we follow whatever the West says?! So far, the West has been what it was. We had been afflicted by the West up to now. Our policies were Western and our difficulties were because of the West for over fifty years as the majority of you may remember—some of you and I, myself, remember—and for twenty-five years as most of you remember. Should the same difficulties crop up again? Should they even draft our Constitution for us?! Should they vote? It is you that constitute the criterion. Even one such as

Dr. Musaddiq¹—whom these people accept, though some of them are telling lies that they do—had said about a certain matter, which I do not now remember, that he would talk to the people themselves, that he had nothing to do with the deputies who were the voice of the people and that he would speak to the people themselves. We want to have your opinion from yourselves. You are the criterion even if we do not take any deputy.

We decided to set up an assembly just to lessen this whining and whingeing. You may name it the “Constituents’ Assembly” in case you very much like to appear Westernized. If your heart is really set on drawing the people’s attention to yourselves, you may name it the “Constituents’ Assembly”; otherwise, our work is with the people. The procedure was to draft the Constitution, send it everywhere so that all the people could see it, and then ask them whether or not they wanted it; to hold a referendum. As you speak much of “intellectualism”, we wish to offer you some concessions. But no matter how much we compromise, you will demand more! We say that the people themselves should appoint individuals to study the Constitution that has been drafted. They can offer whatever opinions and plans they have, whether these be against the Quran or in agreement with it. However, we cannot accept the contrary ones, while you are intent on having them accepted. You can name this assembly as the “Constituents’ Assembly”. Even after this Constituents’ Assembly has been set up, we will deal with the people; what have we to do with the deputies?! It is you, the

¹ Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq (1882-1962 / 1261-1346 AHS) son of Mirza Hidayat was one of the famous politicians of Iran. He studied at the school of political science in Paris (1909-10) and obtained a doctorate in law from Neufchatel in Switzerland. In the year 1915 [1299 AHS], he became the governor of Fars province and in 1917 [1301 AHS], when Rida Khan was War Minister, he was appointed governor of Azerbaijan. During the period of the sixteenth National Assembly, Dr. Musaddiq created the National Front with the help of a few other political groups. After ratification of the law nationalizing the Iranian oil industry, the Shah was forced to select him as Prime Minister. Dr. Musaddiq came to power with the support of the people and the religious leaders, especially Ayatullah Abul-Qasim Kashani. The policies that he adopted greatly curtailed the powers of the Shah. In June 1952 [Tir 1331 AHS], the Shah took advantage of an appropriate opportunity and dismissed Musaddiq. However, faced with public outrage, the Shah was forced to appoint him to form a cabinet. The differences which existed between Musaddiq, who believed that religion should be separate from politics, and Ayatullah Kashani, who felt that it was necessary to observe the fundamentals and laws of religion in the administration of society, gradually deepened, and with the coup d’état of August 19, 1953 [Mordad 28, 1332 AHS], Musaddiq’s government collapsed. Following the coup, Musaddiq was arrested and condemned to three years in prison before being exiled to the village of Ahmadabad, situated between Tehran and Qazvin, to lead a lonely life until his death in March 1967 at the age of eighty-four.

people that we know; we are your servants. [Expressions of emotion by the people with cries of "Praise be to Khomeini."]

Why insult the nation?!

The gentlemen say that the nation is uninformed! I say that you (the gentlemen) are uninformed. If the nation is uninformed, you are more so! The reason is that Islamic knowledge is required here, and some of you have no knowledge at all. Some of you do not even know how many prayers there are (daily)! Why do you say that our nation is uninformed? Why do you consider our nation as being so weak (in knowledge)? Why do you insult the nation? What right have you? There is everything in our nation. If Islam is the only flaw, yes, you are right. Our people are Muslim, and for your part, you do not accept Islam. So our nation does not know anything as it is Islamic?! And Islam is something that opposed to all kinds of knowledge?! Is this what you are saying? Ponder a little over your words, think a little about your points. Do not let the nation suddenly get annoyed. The previous regime had provoked the nation; you do not do it. Think a bit. Do Islam some justice; do the Muslims some justice; do the Islamic brothers some justice.

The main issue now to which you of the army, I a seminarian, the religious reference authorities, the distinguished *ulama'*, the academics, the bazaar merchants, the farmers, office-goers, and employees—everyone of them—should give your attention is that this Constitution, by which we wish to implement Islamic principles, be formalized. After our Constitution, God willing, has been finalized by your voting for it—in spite of the people who do not want it done—and after you have freely voted for the deputies to the Consultative Assembly—you voted in all freedom in contrast to these last fifty years—and appointed the President of the Republic yourselves, we will then turn our attention to the second issue; in case they do not say that we have no right to do so and that they who are Westernized should appoint him for us. You, yourselves, will appoint him?! I am aware that you have difficulties. We have difficulties, too. You are aware that there are certain problems in the army; we, too, know that it has problems. And the case is the same with offices, the ministries, the bazaar, the various localities and even our schools. These schools of ours have problems, too. But this is not the time for us to pursue our respective paths. We ought to tread the same path together. I should not go to see how many rooms the schools have, or how many students there are and what their marks are. And you go to find out what the problems are that beset the army; whether it needs a council or not. Discord at this juncture is contrary to our path. Do not now bring up the

differences in taste. All of us should now deal with these tasks. I sometimes give an example of an earthquake occurring, God forbid, and destroying a city. Is it right for me at that time to sit in the school studying my lesson, or for you in the army—I should say—to take part in a parade? No, it is not. All of us should gather to rescue the earthquake-stricken people.

Westernized, worse than being earthquake-stricken

Sir, our country today is Westernized which is worse than being hit by an earthquake! Certain people in this country do want Islam to be realized. They are misleading some of the authorities; they want to prevent Islam from being realized. This is not the time to grumble about not wanting this kind of thing and wanting that kind of thing. It is now the time for all of us to join hands and say that we want Islam, as everybody accordingly had said. All of you made headway with Islam. Do not bring up your problems at present; leave them for a later time. Let Islam be realized. Let the country become a proper one. After that we can come to the question of how the military of the country should be; how the seminarians should be; how the merchants should be. I am also aware that there are problems everywhere. But right now we have been stricken by an earthquake; we are stricken with Westernization. All of us should join hands and, having come so far on this path, press on for the remaining distance ahead with bandits lurking in them. We have already come through one or two of these defiles. There are robbers in the other defiles as well; they are lying in wait in every guise. We all have to join hands and pass through these defiles. After having passed through them and arriving at our destination, we can sit down to talk about our problems and see what they are. This is not the time to raise difficulties. It is the time to move forward. I request all of you, I entreat the Iranian nation, I kiss its hands; they want to wipe out Islam.

The need to ostracize the Westernized individuals from the universities and intellectual circles

These ranks that belong to the university, the strata of students, lawyers and intellectuals should part company with these few people, the ones that are the agents of the West and of Muhammad Rida. All the members of the Bar Association are Westernized. There are some among them; they ought to be removed. One of them has already gone; those remaining can follow suit; and the intellectuals too. The Islamic intellectuals should shunt aside the “imported ones”; they should remove the Westernized ones. Their number is not much, but their meddling is. Their number is not much, but their

pretensions are! For the sake of God, for the sake of Islam, for the sake of the country's independence and for protecting its freedom, the committed Islamic intellectuals should, themselves, remove those among them who are found to grumble and hinder the progress of the country's affairs. They should pray near these (Westernized) people's ears for them to go back to Europe to the life of pleasure they used to lead! They have come here now. Those members of the Bar Association that are against Islam should be removed. Not all of them are (against Islam). Some of the lawyers are very clean and upright persons; many of them. But those who are meddlesome should be expelled from the Association.

The West-worshippers' fear of the clergy and the pious university circles

Our university that ought to be the center of molding human beings, and the students, who are committed to Islam, made sacrifices for it and endeavored for its sake, should now be vigilant about a limited number of people who go into the university premises with the intention of preventing Islam from coming to fruition. It is not that they want the university to be reformed; no. They are afraid of it being reformed. May God bless the late Fayd Qummi's¹ soul; may God be pleased with him. During the time of Rida Khan, in this Faydiyyah Madrasah, near the place where there was a pool, he had once said to me: "Well, what does it matter? They want to segregate the pious (clerics) from the impious." They had wanted to subject them to an examination which was meant to do away with the clergy. He had believed that they wanted to set the pious clergymen aside and send the bad ones away. I had told him that they feared those that were upright, the pious clergy. What fear had they of the bad ones? The impious were with them, they were in league with them. They feared those who were pious. The university should also reform itself; the academics, the pious ones, themselves, should do it, those people that have now come here and, as they say, want to reform the university, are actually worried about its being reformed. The fear that somebody (pious) might, at sometimes, arise from the university and strike them in the mouth! Those people (at that time) also used to fear that a pious clergyman might strike them in the mouth! Everybody is afraid of an upright person. Nobody fears a manikin!

A rational approach

They (who are Westernized) do not want any proper person to be found in the university. You should make efforts to expel those people who have

¹ Fayd Qummi: one of the *ulama* in Qum.

entered the universities and are engaged in seditious activities. You should not complain that somebody has come and is saying certain things. Well, go and confront him; ask him what he is saying. Ask him whether his heart burns for the nation. If so, why did he oppose the referendum? Why is he not allowing the farmers to reap their harvest? Is it other than to create a market for America? The Shah used to do this, and now the little shahs are doing it! Why is he not allowing the factories to start operating? In case they started working, our requirements from abroad would decrease. They would decrease from the West. They are operatives that want to make us dependent on them (the West). Recognize your friends and your enemies. The intellectuals should ostracize the enemies of Islam from their centers. The Bar Association should remove the lawyers who are the enemies of Islam or lack of understanding. I beseech God, the Blessed and Exalted, to give you sound health and I apologize to you for having put you to inconvenience in this heat. But what is to be done? The problems must be mentioned and the nation alerted so that, God forbid, they are not influenced by what is being said. May God make our nation prosperous. May God deliver our country from the mischief of the devils. May God place you among the committed Muslims and the army of the Imam of the Time (a).

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

Radio-Television Message

Date: June 16, 1979 [Khordad 26, 1358 AHS / Rajab 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subjects: Formation of the Reconstruction Jihad [*Jihad-e Sazandegi*]

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

When in difficulty, we have to resort to the nation, a nation that—praise be to God—has, and is, prepared to render assistance and face danger. We have passed the important stages, thanks to God, by means of the nation's devotedness, and have surmounted the obstacles. The traitors have departed, and if any of their remnants remain, they will also depart through the efforts of the nation. But there is a lot of rubble behind this big, satanic wall that was demolished. We will have to repair the damage with the support of the people. We are obliged to resort to the nation for the reconstruction, and to repair the destruction that occurred in our country during the oppressive Pahlavi rule. Thanks to God that our people announced their readiness for reconstructing the country. The dear students, specialists, engineers, businessmen, cultivators, and all the ranks of the nation have volunteered to reconstruct an Iran that has come into our hands in a ruined condition. For this reason, we can call it a crusade for reconstruction. We will call this crusade the "Reconstruction Jihad." All the ranks of the people—men and women, young and old, university professors and students, engineers and experts, urban and rural dwellers—should participate in endeavoring to rebuild this ruined country of Iran. And, of course, those places that have suffered most damage such as the villages, the tribal dwellings, remote hamlets, from each one of which groups of people come here complaining about their condition, they say that they do not have electricity, housing, water, asphalted roads and dispensaries. All of them are right. It had been so arranged to ruin Iran. Thanks to God that this barrier has been demolished. Now for the second stage, the stage of reconstruction, we stretch out our hand to the people and request them to take part in this campaign and, hand in brotherly hand, begin the reconstruction and the crusade for building the country anew. The people, of course should make joint efforts with the government officials wherever the officials are. The officials should carry out

their tasks under the supervision of experts. The clergy that is in every region of the country should also contribute its efforts and supervise the matter.

After praying for the whole nation and for all the people that live in the villages and hamlets, and expressing my sincerity, I would like to give you a piece of advice. You must take care to see that nobody who is, God forbid, against the nation's policy and Islam, be among those people that come to the villages and hamlets for the purpose of construction and the reconstruction crusade. If you see such people, you must make them leave the village and not allow them to spread malicious propaganda among our youth and the people of the village.

May God grant success to the whole nation and all those who cooperate in this endeavor and fulfill their moral-cum-religious obligation. May everybody succeed in taking part in this crusade, in building the ruins anew and in helping their brothers. Perhaps there is no greater form of worship than this. I even request those of you who wish to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah al-Muazzamah¹ and Madinah al-Munawwarah²—for having their prayers answered—and who also wish to have the honor of visiting the Holy Shrines so as to acquire merit, to help your brethren and begin the reconstruction together so that your country of Iran is rebuilt properly and your countrymen delivered. I would also like to tell you that the greatest merit lies in this. May God reward all of you. The reward that you want by understanding a pilgrimage will be given by Him for the sake of this crusade. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

¹ *Makkah al-Muazzamah*: the Holy Land of Mecca.

² *Madinah al-Munawwarah*: literally, the Illuminated City of Medina.

Speech

Date: June 16, 1979 [Khordad 26, 1358 AHS / Rajab 21, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to expedite the approval of the Constitution; the Reconstruction Jihad project

Audience: Members of the Islamic Youth Association, Islamic Republic Party; teachers of Malayer; the people of Khuzestan and Durud

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Constitution, the foremost issue

It is the power of Islam that has brought together all the various peoples under one roof. Prior to this, no such event—bringing people here from Bijar, Durud, Malayer, Khuzestan, and other places to meet us and discuss their problems, and allow us to mention certain matters as well—could have taken place. But the power of Islam, the power of faith, brought about this event in that we people from various regions have assembled in one place and are talking about our problems.

The issue is the same that I have repeatedly mentioned. I should point out emphatically that we had a specific aim which was to push back our enemies, expel them from the country and so eliminate the obstacles; and this was accomplished by the grace of God. If any of them remain, they constitute the rotten remnants. There is an issue that has the position of the reconstruction of the country. The matter of the Constitution is the foremost one... mess up everything in the name of the "great civilization". But at first we have to lay down the basic principles of the issue before discussing its features and ramifications.

Obstructionism for the sake of the foreigners' imperialist interests

The issue at stake at present is that of your enemies and of Islam being engaged in plotting and mastering their forces. The plot that they want to carry out, and had also planned to do before, is to prevent Iran from attaining political and economic independence. Well, it is America that has everything and is exporting everywhere. We, too, must buy (what we need) from America! If our agricultural potential is realized, we can become self-sufficient; rather, we can have a surplus. Our country is an agricultural one and has more than it needs. Even if one province of Iran, such as Khorasan or Azerbaijan, is properly cultivated, it will suffice for our country; the rest we

should sell. These¹ (groups) have come here and are not letting us (do our work). To whose benefit is it? It is to America's benefit. It, therefore, means that they are working for America. They are not allowing the factories to operate. To whose benefit? To the benefit of the foreigners. That is, they are working for the foreigners. They claim that they seek the nation's and our country's welfare. No; their actions speak otherwise.

The Constituents' Assembly; bringing excuses

We now want to frame the country's Constitution and bring it to the notice of the public. Well, they are now going around saying, "No" to such an issue; such an important matter. They say that there must be a constituents' assembly. That vast assembly of the constituents, in which six hundred to seven hundred people should gather, will take about six months to be set up in case its essential purpose is to be fulfilled. Following that, various self-interested individuals will not allow the Constitution to materialize in the way it ought to. Their aim is to prolong the matter. They want to prolong a matter that can be finalized within two months, for two, three or four years. They want to plot and carry on with their work, and to hold meetings. And so a time will come when there will be no Islam, no country and no constitution; only the same old state of affairs.

General participation in the Reconstruction Jihad

All of you that have collected here: you from Bijar; the gentlemen from Durud; those from Malayer and Ahwaz should now join hands to bring this essential stage to fruition. The subsequent stages are easy, really. The important thing is to pass this stage to enable our country to have a permanent government, a president and consultative assembly so that the basis of the government, which is the main thing, is realized. We can then deal with our difficulties. At present the government intends to have extensive purges carried out everywhere and to get on with its work. We will give its message to the whole nation today itself that the Crusade for Reconstruction is a matter that must be put into effect. All the people and the whole nation are duty-bound to participate in this task. Iran, after sometime, will become a prosperous Iran, God willing, if this task is begun with the cooperation of all the people.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for the health and happiness of all the gentlemen that are here. I thank you for having come from far away to sit here perspiring in this small and dark room. May God assist all of you.

¹ The splinter groups affiliated with the East and West.

Speech

Date: June 17, 1979 [Khordad 27, 1358 AHS / Rajab 22, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The attempts of the enemies to separate religion from politics; the conspiracy to prevent Islamic rule

Audience: The society of the Tehran preachers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The base of Islamic uprisings

In the early days of Islam, the mosque and the pulpit were the centers of political activity. Many of the wars that took place in Islam were planned either in the mosque or from the pulpit. With reference to some of the sermons compiled in the *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Hadrat Amir (a) was a great orator and the pride of the preachers. With his magnificent sermons, he would mobilize the people for the defense of Islam. In similar vein, instructions pertaining to moral and ideological issues and all other matters are to be found in this sacred book. The mosque was the place where political activities would begin. The pulpit was also the place where sermons would be given; sermons that were political and constructive in nature. Unfortunately, extensive propaganda has been carried out from perhaps nearly three hundred years ago, that is from the time the Westerners set foot here and made general studies on the peoples of the East, and looked into their political, social and moral condition and circumstances. At that time, there were no means of transportation such as the present ones. History tells us that the people used camels for traveling. The Westerners would make a survey of our country's deserts and wild tracts of land; they surveyed every place. They are aware of our underground resources better than we ourselves do. They made a study of all the groups of the country, whether the border-dwellers and tribes, or the city-dwellers and intellectuals, and concluded that the mosque, the altar and the university should be so fashioned as to render them unproductive. That is, to forestall the result that Islam wants from the mosque, the altar and the university.

¹In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date of this speech is given as 3/26/1358 AHS.

Rida Khan's mission

Regarding the mosque, the pulpit and the clergy, their agent, Rida Khan, came and—perhaps most of you do not remember what he did—put an end to all the sermons from the pulpit. The mosques were half-closed and the commemorative meetings (for the martyrs of Karbala and other saints of the Prophet's Holy Household) stopped. All the clerics were subjected to the mischief they did... removed their turbans. They pulled off their robes; they made changes. The preachers, prayer-leaders, big and small, were all subjected to pressure. An important act that affected the university and also the pulpit, the altar and the clergy was the widespread propaganda—that was done to misrepresent the issue to the clergy itself—over the clergy's role in politics. The clergy had nothing to do with politics! The clerics had better go and say their prayers! They ought to cover their heads with their cloaks and go to pray, after which they could give a short sermon and return home! What did they have to do with the affairs of the country?! What did they have to do with the needs of the people?! These issues concerned only them (the regime)!

When it was arranged for us to come from that prison to that confinement,¹ this Pakravan—it seems that he has been executed—who was the head of the Organization² at that time, dropped in there. Mr. Qummi³ and I were sitting together. He (Pakravan) came there and said that politics is a matter in which there is falsehood, wickedness and what not. His final word was that politics was rascality! He said that politics should be left to them! I said that he could keep the politics, as portrayed by him, for himself!

The malicious propaganda of the foreigners

Such was the propaganda that a mulla (a clergyman) entering the field of politics, wanting to talk about the government, the Majlis and the political problems of the people—would be referred to in clerical circles as being 'political' and therefore, of no use! This ('being political') was the same virtue that Ali ibn Abi Talib, a statesman, possessed. His being a statesman is evident from his sermons and his letter issuing instructions to Malik al-Ashtar that are all political in nature. We had been negligent of the origin of this matter, of early Islam, of the excellence of the policies of the Noble

¹ On Friday Mordad 11, 1342 AHS, Imam Khomeini was transferred from Ishratabad jail to Dawudiyah and then to Qaytariyyah where he was confined.

² Hasan Pakravan, head of the country's security and intelligence agency (SAVAK) at that time. He was sentenced to death by the Islamic Revolutionary Court and shot by firing squad in the early days of the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

³ Sayyid Hasan Qummi.

Messenger, of those of the Commander of the Faithful (a) and the covert ones of the Imams (a) who would implement them in a dissimulative manner. They (ex-regime) had instilled the idea into us—and had blinded even us to its meaning—that we had no right to interfere in these (political) affairs! Thinking that we would be rather pleased, they said that we were above politics and that it was beneath our dignity to interfere in political affairs! They said that being distinguished clergymen, we ought to refine the people's morals and lecture them in ethics, etc. They deprived the pulpits (sermons) of the meaning they ought to have had which was to take part in the country's political affairs. They also deprived the mosques, the clergy and the theological centers of the substance, that Islam had wanted them to have, of attending to these affairs (of the country). The “occurring events” should be referred to the clergy. What are “occurring events”? They are these same political issues. Islamic tenets are not part of the events; these are recurring events¹ and should be referred to the Islamic jurisprudents. The events are these political ones. These consist of the matter that nations come up against. These are the things that ought to be referred to others who are for example, at the helm of affairs. Otherwise, question on religious precepts are not part of “events”; they are the things that have always been there.

The ranks of the people involving themselves in political affairs

In any case, they have deprived us of that quality which I, a seminarian, and you, a preacher, ought to have. This was their greatest crime. It was clear that the pressure exerted by Rida Shah would get him nowhere. Nothing can be accomplished by using pressure and force, and as you saw, they were overthrown. Pressure could not achieve anything; trickery had to be employed. This was the next step: to say that he (ex-Shah) was a supporter of Islam; that he accepted Islamic social justice and that he would not stop even then. Just few days ago, I read in a magazine that he does not fear the people as he is a Muslim! He was once again under the impression that he could do it again [...] In any case, what is important for us is just what took place, thanks to God, these past two or three years in which the preachers and prayer leaders traversed a path that should have taken hundred years to do so. All the people and the universities made headway that ought to have taken a hundred years. That is, a spiritual transformation had occurred in the society. The point is that the preachers who never dared to mention political issues out of fear of the audience or they, themselves, believed that it should not be done, were now transformed into committed individuals—as we observed

¹ *Wasail ash-Shiah*, vol. 18, *kitab al-qada*, *bab 11*, *hadith 9*, p. 101.

these past two or three years—and discussed the same issues of Islam that were raised in its early days. The altars (prayer leaders) were transformed into what they had been at the advent of Islam; the case of the preachers was the same. The bazaar underwent a transformation. The merchants who never allowed themselves to dabble in political matters entered the political arena and involved themselves in political affairs. The universities were transformed. Some people in the university circles who used to think that Islam would not work and that it was not dynamic came to understand that all movement stemmed from Islam. The Quran is a book of action and motion. They, too, joined you. The bazaar also joined the people. The workers also joined everybody else. The employees also joined all the people. And in the end the army also joined everybody else. This was a divine matter. This cannot be attributed to anybody. We can only attribute it to God. God brought this about. It was the will of God that favored the people and united all of them in such a way that the army joined (the people) and so did the gendarmerie. All the people joined together and with one voice demanded the same thing. They wanted an Islamic republic; they did not want the regime.

The heroic women facing tank and cannon

This was a transformation that human beings could not have brought about. It was a divine transformation. That is, the *Muqallib al-Qulub* [Transformer of Hearts] affected it. He removed that dread from the hearts (of the people); the dread that everyone had of these regimes. He had them shed their fear, and in its place planted the will to be courageous so much so that women, children and men [surged into the streets]. When was there a precedent for women to join the struggle and face tank and cannon?! It was a spiritual transformation that God, the Blessed and Exalted, wrought in this nation. We shall prevail as long as we safeguard this transformation and also this movement just as we have done up to now.

Make efforts! You gentlemen, whose duty is heavier, the profession nobler and responsibility greater than all the other classes, should make the people aware that we have just a few steps more to reach the point where—as you had mentioned—the president has to be elected, the Consultative Assembly established and the Constitution approved. You and I, the preachers and the prayer leaders, the clergy and the other classes as well as the academics and the scientists are duty-bound to strive collectively in order to have these tasks accomplished quickly.

Conspiracies to forestall Islamic rule

You should take note that we wanted to hold a referendum about which the whole nation was united. Who was opposed to it? Why? Some of the people—those who had no faith in Islam; those who paid no attention to it, and the ones that did not want Islam to have a part in the proceedings—boycotted the referendum; some of them boycotted it in Kurdistan. Some people, who were communists and the ones in Tehran that were in league with them, also did not take part; some groups and parties. Though their number was not much, they, nevertheless, set the ballot boxes on fire in some places and, with force of arms, prevented the people from voting in others. These very people, who were trying to prevent the Islamic Republic from being voted in, had no objection to the “Republic” part of it; they were against its being Islamic! “Republic” was good enough for them, whether they were associated with the East or West; they had no objection to this part of it. The word “Islamic” had to be removed and replaced with “Republic”. All of us were friends!... That is, we had to remove “Islam” so that they who had kept Islam aside became our friends!

The proposal for setting up the Constituents’ Assembly with the intention of wasting time

You have to see now who those people—please note—the ones that are saying that they will hold demonstrations until the Constituents’ Assembly is formed, are; who are the ones that have linked up and what their aim is in this matter. Their aim is that it should take six months for the members of the Constituents’ Assembly to be nominated and two months for scrutinizing the credentials of five, six or seven hundred individuals in order to see whether they are suitable or not. It will take approximately one, two or three years for the arguments and wrangling over each and every case to come to an end. What is to happen if these devils cause a delay of a month or two over an article of law? In case these remnants that can now be easily uprooted and thrown out are to gain fresh vigor; if these various people are to link up and unite, and by so joining together obstruct the real vote being given to the Islamic Republic, the problems of the past will then return.

The supporters of dictatorship frightened of Islamic justice

This is the crux of the matter. However, there are people among them who are under the wrong impression but are not evil-intentioned. They possess faulty information; they are mistaken; they are under the influence of those that are malicious. Some others possess evil intentions and are acting

according to a plan. Investigate and find out who these people are joining together. Are they bazaar merchants? Are they preachers or prayer leaders? Or are they groups that have nothing to do with Islam? In fact, some of them are bitterly opposed to it. Those who say that they are no longer under Pahlavi dictatorship but are now under that of the clergy, are not afraid of dictatorship. They are prepared to live under communist dictatorship. They fear the clergy; they fear the turbaned-men. They fear Islam; not dictatorship, the worst form of which is the communist one. The West does not have that kind of dictatorship. They do not fear it. Islam dealt them a blow; such a blow as to instill fear into them.

An illuminating message

You have perhaps more than a thousand friends there. They are more than that, thanks to God. May He increase their number. You must make it known to all of them in my behalf; a humble notice that a poor person with outstretched arms is asking them to announce from the pulpits that the nation does not want the Constituents' Assembly in the form proposed. Explain the matter to the people. It is not an issue of the economy or housing that I could do without; it is a matter concerning the Quran. Can we overlook it? We cannot overlook it! Those who say that they will boycott (the proceedings) if there is no Constituents' Assembly are these same communists that had stayed away. They are saying the same thing again. Or it is somebody who is making a mistake; his mistake has to be eliminated. Their aim, of which the well intentioned people are heedless, is to have the matter postponed. (They want) postponement after postponement and a Constituents' Assembly as it is in the West, with us always having to imitate the West. Unfortunately, they have not given up this obsession with the West. It will take six months for the individuals to be nominated to the Constituents' Assembly for seven hundred or eight hundred individuals; that is, if they do not create any obstructions. Subsequently, it will take some months for an assembly to be actually set up and its rules and regulations written. After that, God alone knows how long it is going to be under consideration in the way the devils want.

Deliberating on the Constitution within the competence of the experts in Islamic affairs

We want to create an Islamic country, not a Western-type one. We do not need Western jurists. One who is an expert in Western jurisprudence and its Westernized meaning is not competent at all. He is not competent to have

anything to do with our Constitution. We do not want to have the Constitution of Moscow nor that of America. We want to frame an Islamic Constitution. Islamic experts should have a say in it. The clergymen are experts on Islam; and some others in their circles too. Although they are from other professions, they, nevertheless, possess Islamic and political knowledge. We want to nominate these people. That is, not that we want them; rather, the whole nation wants these very people. We are publicizing, and you are also publicizing this matter of the need to nominate such people. It is now the duty of you gentlemen; your friends and brothers, and also the duty of our friends to keep this in mind that the plan the government will give is the right one. Everybody should assist the government so that the Constitution is put to a referendum.

Competent and just men in key position

It was last night that I read in the newspaper of the Swiss ambassador having stated that his country's Constitution is to be put to referendum, and that it is the custom everywhere. If we go to their ministries, we will see that they are unacceptable (to us). If we go to their offices, we will find them not to our liking. We do not want such a thing. Our nation wants Islam to be realized in form. That is, anybody entering a ministry should feel that he has entered a temple, a place in which the people are pious. If he entered the gendarmerie (building), he should not find it like it was in the past when Rida Khan had once entered the premises. At that time, it had been written that he had gone into the gendarmerie office and, placing his hands in his pockets, had stated that he was afraid they would rob him. It should not be like this.

The commanders of the Islamic armies were also the congregational prayer leaders. The commander, sent to some place as governor or as the head of an army division, would also be the congregational prayer leader. They were pious people. Not that they were merely congregational prayer leaders; no. They were pious. We now want it to be like this that our Chief of Staff leads by example. They are following his example. We want it to be like this. We want things to be such that Islam is evident wherever we go in the country. This is our objective. It was not our purpose just to say that we want an Islamic republic and to leave it at that. We now have to accomplish all these tasks. The important thing now for all of you to bear in mind is this plan given by the government by which the people should nominate seventy-five individuals, following which their cases will be appraised and the referendum then held. Accept this plan and instill it into the people that it is the right one. And the other ones—considering that we want it to be carried

out soon—are just to delay the matter. There are—I should say—plots and conspiracies. The devils intend to band together.

I thank you for coming here to visit me in person and to talk about our problems. May God assist all of you.

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

Speech

Date: June 17, 1979 [Khordad 27, 1358 AHS / Rajab 22, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Creating obstacles to prevent endorsement of the Constitution

Audience: The residents of Tehran-e Nu ("New Tehran"); the representatives of the Isfahan abattoir; Kurdish tribesmen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Conspiring to prevent the Constitution from being approved

One of the Revolution's blessings is that all the brothers have gathered together. The gentlemen from Kurdistan, Isfahan and other places have all gathered here to discuss the problems we have. All of you know what happened to our youth during these last fifty-odd years, and how the country's coffers were emptied and its workforce remained backward. Now that this big barrier has, thanks to God, been demolished because of the people's unity, and the traitors have either been killed or have fled, we have to see what our duty now is. The events that occurred passed off well, praise be to God. All of you participated in the referendum and, thanks to God, cast a proper vote. But after this, we have other things to do. Those same people that had boycotted the referendum and had prevented the votes being cast in certain places are now intending to obstruct the endorsement of the Constitution. The reason for this is that the Constitution is an Islamic one, belonging to a republic of Islam, and that they fear Islam. Because of their fear of Islam, they do not want an Islamic republic to be set up in Iran. Previously they used to say that they wanted a republic but not an Islamic one. They wanted a democratic republic; that is, a western-type republic. We who are Muslims cannot ignore Islam. We can disregard many things but not Islam. All the people said that they wanted an "Islamic Republic". Those at that time who wanted a republic, a democratic republic, were very few in number. They constituted a very insignificant minority, whereas ninety-nine percent voted for an Islamic republic. All the groups in the opposite camp were those remnants. After having been defeated, and now that we want to draft an Islamic constitution—the Constitution of an Islamic republic—they are intending to prevent this from happening, saying that a Constituents' Assembly on the lines of those in the West should be set up here as well. They want the Assembly to have six hundred to seven hundred members, and for it to take some months before the members are designated and for some

years to be approved. This is because they want to cause delays so that the rotten remnants could gather together and indulge in sedition.

A counter-revolutionary motive in the plan for the Constituents' Assembly

All of you gentlemen should bear in mind that the proposal given by the government is correct and will expedite the matter so that these people (counter-revolutionaries) do not gather together again and create the previous mischief. Those people who now say that they want an assembly of constituents are the same ones, some of whom had boycotted the referendum. In Kurdistan they are again pursuing the same aim of demanding an assembly of constituents, failing which they will boycott it. They had also done the same thing that time. They are the same people. They are the ones opposed to Islam. Why do we want a constituents' assembly? We want Islam to take effect. What is the point of putting ourselves at risk because of the Constituents' Assembly taking three or four years to be set up? We want the people to designate the representatives—seventy-five representatives are to be designated by the people—to study the Constitution. All the gentlemen, wherever they are, should send their representatives to review the Constitution. After they have accepted it, it will be put to the public vote, to a referendum, for the matter to be over and done within a day. The whole affair from beginning to end will take two months; not three or four years so that assistance be given from that side of the border to this side of it, and other places join hands and create disturbances at some time or other.

Traitors in a nationalistic guise

We want the matter to end soon and our country to become an Islamic one. All of you should also want the same thing. Those of you who are going to Kurdistan should tell the people about this. Convey my regards to all our friends and tell them that the crux of the matter is their intention to restore the former regime or one like it. Tell them not to allow such people in their midst. They should be disregarded or guided. Ask those people who are indulging in seditious activities what they have to say. Ask them whether they want to work for this nation. Well, all of us are for the nation. Tell them to come and help; why are they creating obstacles?! We want to build houses, but they are obstructing the matter. We want our agriculture to get underway, but they are causing obstructions. We want our factories to start operating, but they are causing obstructions. They are sabotaging the holding of the referendum and the drafting of the Constitution. Therefore, they are a

bunch of saboteurs; not nationalists who want to serve the nation. They want to have all those acts of obstruction repeated, but we will not let such a thing happen, God willing.

May you all be healthy, successful and victorious, God willing. Convey our regards to all our friends that are there. May God protect everybody.

Message

Date: June 18, 1979 [Khordad 28, 1358 AHS / Rajab 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The interference of certain French authorities in the internal affairs of Iran

Addressee: Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (The President of France)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable President:

I wish to thank you for the hospitality you showed me during my stay in France. It was from your country that I was able to have the voice of justice and truth heard by the oppressed nation of Iran, and to lead the remarkable Revolution of the country. The Revolution developed over many years and came to a head because of the corruption and gloom that had enveloped the whole country. The basic reason was the presence of a monarchy that was being supported from abroad.

The ties that cement our two countries have always been based on moral principles, our respective civilizations and mutual respect. I was, therefore, surprised when I came to know that certain authorities in France are interfering in the conviction of the criminals, the plunderers and the corrupt ones of the previous defunct regime who had perpetrated crimes of great magnitude against the people of the country, and were found culpable and tried in accordance with Islamic and Quranic principles. They ought to show greater sympathy and consideration for our revolution; one that liberated us from the yoke of imperialism and the tyranny of a despotic monarchy that was paranoid about its own greatness and self-importance. It was the Omnipotent God that helped and delivered us from the clutches of the agent of misfortunes and disorder. We shake hands with you and hope that our friendly relations will develop further and become firm. Mr. President, kindly accept my gratitude and wishes for the prosperity of the French nation. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: June 18, 1979 [Khordad 28, 1358 AHS / Rajab 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Eschewing secondary matters and endeavoring to endorse the Constitution

Audience: Members of the *Nida-ye Islam* [The Call of Islam] Association, Qum

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

Crusading for the welfare of the deprived

At the outset, I would like to thank you for carrying out such activities in the south of the city. This is a great crusade which you have undertaken and the Lord will approve of you, God willing.

The fact of the matter is that these things have been taken into account for the welfare and such things of that place. Perhaps these tasks will be accomplished soon. In this crusade for constructing (the country)—the Reconstruction Crusade—greater attention is due to be given to the lower classes, and to the residents of the city' south and the villagers, etc. It is not that they will be neglected. It will, of course, take a little time; there are problems to deal with right now that are more difficult and more vital. You are aware that the issue of the Constitution is now on the agenda. It is the basis of the Islamic government. We have to formulate it and then determine what the government's functions should be.

The danger of ignoring the principles and priorities

Very often, after victory has been gained in any revolution, the people start thinking of their own problems. Prior to that, their attention is focused on attaining victory. And after finding themselves victorious, a sort of apathy arises in them. Their attention to their own problems increases. It is like a caravan going from one place to another—say four *farsakh* (24 kilometers) away—in those days of the caravans. Nobody would feel tired while en route, but would do so on arriving at their destination. Weariness is felt at the destination. If they had been asked to go half a *farsakh* further, they would not have been able to do it as fatigue overcomes one on arriving at the destination. The case of the Revolution is also like this. When all of us are moving forward to demolish the barrier, we do not tire nor become slack. The further we go, the stronger we get. On arriving at the point where we break the barrier down and believe that we have gained victory, we revert to

the issues of the slum-dwellers and their condition; of what should be done about the ordinary people and the schools. The reason is that we have assumed that we have triumphed; therefore; we want to return to our own problems. However, if we consider the matter carefully, we will realize that victory can only be ours when our main aims, at least, have been achieved. One of these aims has already been realized; the referendum on the Islamic Republic. The other stages, however, remains: the Constitution which is the basis of a country; then the Consultative Assembly which is necessary for a country and the office of the President as well. If we are to imagine that we have already gained victory and that I, a seminarian, can now pursue my calling and you gentlemen attend to your own affairs and deal with your own difficulties, it is possible that something could go wrong with these principal issues; and that could be extremely dangerous.

Opposition to Islam: the motive behind the obstructionism

In my opinion you and all the gentlemen, the various strata, men, women, scientists, laymen and all should now make efforts to have the Constitution endorsed. I mean that there are many people opposing it; there are many who are against it. Their main purpose in opposing the Constitution is that they do not want Islam to take effect. They are afraid of Islam to take effect. They are afraid of Islam, just as their masters are. I know that the slum-dwellers have so many problems. It is our duty to take our problems lightly at the present time; for two or three months until the Constitution is endorsed, the Consultative Assembly set up and the President determined. Let us not think that these difficulties are the issues to contend with.

We must protect the principles. After these are realized, the secondary issues are there to be dealt with; there is no doubt about it. While this is the case, the government, nevertheless, is to do the needful.

Now the matter that is very important in my opinion, and which the devils are obstructing, is that this Constitution be published just as the government has proposed; and it is right, too. Subsequently, the people are to choose seventy-five individuals, the number that the government has fixed. The individuals are to examine the Constitution whereupon it will be put to a referendum for the people to vote on it and thereby endorse it. This is the basic step. Following that, the Consultative Assembly will be set up by which the tasks will be facilitated. After these basic issues have been taken care of, we can then see what we can do about the other matters. Of course, I am not saying that no action be taken on them at present; these issues have to be dealt with as well. But all our efforts should not be expended on the

problems of the slum-dwellers or the condition of our schools and districts, for example. All our efforts should not be directed toward these matters. The basis of the matter as the principal issue should be our overriding concern. Let us finalize the basis and then deal with its ramifications. These efforts are underway now itself; the authorities are busy. The construction of houses has started from that side. They have started taking steps to construct houses; but from the outer regions, from the sides of Iran, proceeding toward the center. They have also taken action from this side on the issue of this (reconstruction) crusade. They are busy with this crusade as well. Thanks to God that all the resources are being mustered for the purpose. It is hoped that these issues would also be finalized soon.

Endorsement of the Constitution: the foremost issue

What is important is this basic matter—the Constitution. Some people are going around saying, “No.” They say that the real assembly should be the Constituents’ Assembly as it has been in the West. The gentlemen also want it, not because they care for the Constituents’ Assembly. They want to postpone the matter and delay it so that these corrupt elements that are bonding together, gain strength and destroy this basis. We have to expend all our efforts on this matter at present. These (secondary) issues are of course, also under consideration. They have always been. I hope that after an Islamic government has been established and we are able to put into effect the Islamic government just as Islam wants us to do, all the problems would be subsequently dealt with. The poor are our concern; the first, just as Islam has ordained. Islam came for the sake of the deprived; they are its prime concern.

[**The spokesman of the Association:** If you permit me, I would like to say that the important issue under consideration that I had first mentioned to you, concerns the publicity which is very little in the south of the city.]

Imam: Well, these things must also be done to counter it. All this ought to be done as well. I know that the mosques [...] according to a plan, they can look into the question of the mosques. The mosques should be the hubs of political activities, just as they were in the early days of Islam. The mosques were not like these as to be the centers of worship only. The Friday prayer sermons were always political in nature. The mosques were the centers of mobilizing armies, and of Islamic propagation. All those things will be planned out, God willing.

[The spokesman of the Association: Because the so-called counter-revolutionaries are exploiting the matter.]

Imam: Yes, I know these things. I know them.

Speech

Date: June 18, 1979 [Khordad 28, 1358 AHS / Rajab 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Faith, the source of the movements' progress

Audience: The Islamic Revolutionary Guards of Nabi al-Akram Mosque, Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need to implement Islamic laws

I hope that all of us can be the guards of Islam. I hope that all the Muslims be among the guards of the Glorious Quran and the Imam of the Time. I thank you *pasdars* [Islamic guards] who are in *pasdar* uniform. During this period, you have been on guard duty wherever you had been stationed, and have been protecting this movement. I also thank Mr. Bathai for having taken the trouble of coming here with you.

We whose aim is Islam should not think about anything other than Islam. We should not think about un-Islamic laws. Our aim is to see Islam wherever we go in this country. It should not be so that we voted for the Islamic Republic but there be no sign of Islam anywhere. The meaning of the Islamic Republic is that it should be a republic governed by Islamic laws. All laws other than Islamic ones are not laws, and are not acceptable to us and the nation. It was for Islam that our people swarmed into the streets, took to the rooftops, struggled day and night, sacrificed their youth and had their blood shed. They would not have done such things had it not been for Islam.

Divine power in the Islamic Revolution

It was Islam that motivated you and gave you such might as to confront the big, satanic powers fearlessly. It was the power given to you by God as we are otherwise weak creatures who have nothing. We are all helpless even against a single gun. And we who were all helpless when faced by a single gun, and would fear a policeman; this same nation that was afraid of a policeman was given such power by God as to come out into the streets shouting that it did not want this regime. It said the essential thing that it did not want the regime. It was the power that God gave you and for which you should be grateful to Him. It was the power that faith in God gave you. It was an upheaval wrought by God. Even now some youth come to me occasionally asking me to pray for them to be martyred. They desire

martyrdom. It was a transformation that arose in the nation by which life for them was not so important; they sought martyrdom. If the material things of life were important, they would not have gone to face tanks, cannons and machineguns. They want to face tanks and cannons: children this size and the *ulama* of religion; the bazaar merchants and the workers; even the army joined you. You saw how this same army, which had been formed by them over many years for themselves and their own purposes, turned its back on them within a short period and joined you. This was the power of God! This was something that God had bestowed upon you; you must safeguard this favor given by God. Safeguarding this gift of Him—which would, God willing, be the fountainhead of all victories—lies in our supporting one another in the other steps that we have to take.

The impossibility of the victory of the Islamic Revolution from the materialistic aspect

Just as faith from the very outset was the source of the movement's success, your massing together, because of the faith in your hearts, led to your crushing victory over such a satanic power. This was a favor, a special favor, from God, the Blessed and Exalted. And so the calculations of all the people, who had only materialism in mind and did not reckon with spirituality, turned out to be wrong. Their calculations were based on material and worldly considerations and without any regard for spiritual matters. Those people were right who used to say that it was not possible for this power to be destroyed. This had been repeatedly mentioned to us, especially in Paris recently when groups of people would keep on coming to meet us. Some of them, though not spiteful—they were well intentioned—were, nevertheless, mistaken in thinking that, according to material and worldly considerations, a nation that has nothing should not succeed. These few weapons that you presently have were acquired after the Revolution. You had nothing before that. These are what you gained; otherwise you had nothing. People with empty hands, a people whose women were always in seclusion and would not step out of their homes, a people that were not willing to take a step in any matter, underwent a transformation—a divine one—by which they who had nothing overcame those that had everything.

Disregarding personal interests

Your fists, backed by faith, overcame these huge tanks. The blood of our youth prevailed over machineguns. This is what God gave you and you should safeguard it. You, the guards should now not think—you have such

thoughts—that you are not being paid your salaries or that you are being paid less. Your attitude should be the same as it was at that time during the Revolution when you were advancing to smash the barrier, with none of you sitting by thinking of what you would have for dinner on going home at night. None of you had such things at all in mind—and I know that you had not—for if you had, you would not have gone to sacrifice your lives. The day when you set out for the field (of battle) and the streets; you with only your fists and they with monstrous implements (of war), you had no thought whatever of your salaries being low. Salaries were of no consequence. Life itself was not important, not to speak of salaries. This spirit of yours made you triumphant. Preserve this thing that brought you victory! You will be victorious as long as you have it. Pray that it remains with you. Make efforts; endeavor to preserve it. God has bestowed a gift upon you; safeguard it; keep it. Keeping it lies in not thinking about your salaries and ranks being low until such time as the problems are basically taken care of. Just as you, from the beginning, would look to the aim and not care about your own affairs, so must you now keep your purpose in mind and not your own problems. I am telling this not only to you; I am telling everybody. The merchants should not think of profit only. The workers should not think how the harvest will turn out this year; whether it will rain or not. These are the thoughts that will keep you away from that power; that divine power. You rose for the sake of God. The command that God, the Blessed and Exalted, gave to the Noble Prophet was to tell the people that He has something to say, an exhortation to make, that he will not say anything except an exhortation: *“I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye awake, for Allah’s sake, by twos and singly.”*¹ Move for the sake of God. Rise for His sake even if there is just one of you; you will triumph. Rise together for God if there are many of you.

The indication of rising for God

It was for God that you launched this movement because you took your life in your hands and set out in the streets, clamoring for Islam. You did this for the sake of God. Nobody gives his or his brother’s life unless it is for His sake. That all this was done for God was because of your being aware of the guns, of the machine-gunning (of people), of the tanks and cannons coming and the soldiers being armed. It was the implementations of this commandment of His; the exhortation that God has given: (Tell them that) I have just one exhortation, and it is that your movement, your uprising should be for God. Everything is in this. Everything is in this one thing; this

¹ Surah Saba 34:46.

one exhortation. So far, you have complied with God's exhortation; do not let it go. Let the movement be for God from now on as well. Many of you, or all of you are awake the whole night—the time when a youth should be in the bed—standing with guns slung over your shoulders. If this is not for God, for whose sake is it? Nobody has forced you. At times it happens that officer, gun in hand, orders you to stand guard. This is not for the sake of God; it is because of the officer; because of the gun. Nobody has now forced you to get up and stand until morning. This is for the divine; for God. Youthfulness demands that a young man should be asleep at the dead of night. But you do not sleep; gun in hand, you are awake and so expose yourself to the risk of being killed. The devils are once again aiming to strike, God forbid. But you are standing (guard) in support of Islam. This is for the sake of God. If it is not for Him, what need is there for one to disturb his sleep and come from a secure and safe place to a dangerous one. What need is there for one to wake up and lose his previous sleep to get into danger. This cannot be anything apart from being for God; and neither is there any question of force. Nobody has told you (to stand guard). It is only because of a power within you; the power of faith. Safeguard it. It is that which has brought you victory up to here and has invalidated everything that the materialists say. The words of the communists are also invalidated by this. This power that defeated all those big powers would not have been able to do so had it been only worldly matters and such things that counted. All of you were saying that it is not logical and possible. Come, be constructive. Come down a bit from the things... you say. It was faith that brought you up to here. Safeguard it so that it takes you to the very end.

Confirming the governments' plan and approving the Constitution

We now have to endorse the Constitution that should be Islamic and must strengthen the basis. It should be endorsed early enough. The plan put forth by the government is the correct one. If, as the Westernized ones say, you, too, in accordance with the things the world likes, for instance, set up an assembly consisting of five hundred to six hundred individuals, and then they be confirmed one by one to sit in it, it would mean that we will have to sit down and wait mournfully for the next two to three years during which they will gain strength! It is not acceptable. We want the matter to be over soon, and the country to become Islamic, God willing. Both you and we should now be after pursuing this plan devised by the government. It is according to what they (the Westernized ones) want, but they want something that would

full their pockets, whereas Islam does not fill pockets! Islam is with the meek.

Administering justice to the deprived

Islam is that whose leader and head has—according to what is written—stated: “I am afraid that somebody that side of the country might be hungry. Perhaps there is nothing there for him to eat. My life should be such that in case somebody out there is hungry, I should have peace of mind by going hungry myself.” This is Islam. He, of course, mentions that we do not have the power to do so; and he is right. We do not have the power; but we do have the power not to fill our pockets anymore! I am addressing those who have many properties and palaces... we have the power to take this oil wealth that belongs to these meek and poor people; this vast amount of money that we cannot imagine, most of which has gone into the pockets of this family; into its pockets and those around them. The amount that has gone into their pockets has also gone into America’s pocket. We want to take this morsel out of their mouths and give it to the poor people and our oil industry workers who work so hard in wretched conditions. Should this wealth go into the pockets of these rich people and those who acquire properties and villas for themselves in foreign countries? Is it right? We want to take this wealth from them and distribute it among these people; these same people who staged this Revolution.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for your health and prosperity. May God protect all of you. May you be successful.

Speech

Date: June 18, 1979 [Khordad 28, 1358 AHS / Rajab 23, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to implement Islam in all respects; diligence in approving the Constitution

Audience: Women of the az-Zahra school; personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps of Qum

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The destiny-determining leadership of the women

I wish to thank you respectable ladies who have come from afar to meet with me. I pray for you; may God make you prosperous. I also thank you for being in the forefront of this movement and were like those women of the early days of Islam. Our movement made headway because of them, and I hope that you will be instrumental in the success of this movement.

The invaluable services rendered by the *pasdars*

After thanking you valiant young men who are spending your lives, your time and your youth for Islam, what I wish to tell the ladies and the gentlemen guards is that it is Islam that keeps you awake in the middle of the night when a young man ought to be asleep. It is faith that brings a young man from a safe situation to dangerous one; from his bed in his house—which is a safe place and a place to sleep—into the streets and avenues to stand guard, sleepless and facing probable danger. This is a worthy service that you are doing it voluntarily. The merit of this lies in your having chosen to render this service without anybody having obliged you to do so. Similarly, the women also have a share in this sense that when there was danger everywhere and you went into the avenues, the respectable ladies also went (into the streets). Nobody ordered you to pour into the streets or go on the rooftops to shout, “*Allahu akbar*” and perhaps, be struck by a bullet in the process. It was the power of faith that brought you out into the streets, and also the ladies. The merit of it lies in this. Sometimes, it so happens that an organization makes it incumbent upon a person to go outside (as a duty), thereby putting himself in danger. At times it is otherwise; there is no authority that compels one to do so. One volunteers to render this service. What makes this service and these actions highly meritorious is this very point that, in the face of all the difficulties and dangers, all of you surged into

the streets and avenues, when the movement first started, and confronted tank and cannon without anyone having ordered you to do so. And all of you are now prepared in the same way and are standing guard, the value of which is very great. I hope that God places all of you and all of us among the ranks of the guards of Islam and that we serve the Imam of the Time.

Safeguarding the power of faith

What is important now is for you to safeguard this power of faith because of which you are keeping guard, and the women, too, had done so, bringing this movement to this stage and this miraculous event to fruition by destroying this mighty power. If, in accordance with that aim for which you rose and demanded Islam and an Islamic republic, you want this Islamic Republic to be manifested in its full sense and substance, you will then have to safeguard that same faith, that same power of faith, from now onward as well. You must remain united. All thoughts should be on the realization of the Islamic Republic. An Islamic republic does not mean merely demanding it or voting for it. Voting for it will not bring about its realization. Yes, Iran, of course, is officially an Islamic republic now. But Islamic precepts should take effect in an Islamic republic. That is, Islam should be there all over Iran: in the offices, the ministries, the bazaars, the localities, the universities, the courts of law; everywhere. What our nation wants, and God, the Blessed and Exalted, wants us to do is that we give an Islamic appearance to every place in the country. In the days of the *taghut*, every place was in a mess, and it is the same even at present.

Many irregularities among the ranks of the people

We are, hence, still on the way; we have not reached our destination. One who is on the way ought to focus his attention on reaching his destination. I know that there are certain disruptions and inconsistencies affecting the ranks of the people. It is not so that I am unaware. Well, just as you have come here now and are talking about your problems, so also others come almost every day from here and there to talk about their own problems. And we know that the problems are many. You have problems; the army has many problems; the gendarmerie has many problems; the police have many problems; even the Islamic guards have many problems; the committees have many problems and so do the courts of justice. These are not matters that are unknown. All of us know that the difficulties are many; it is the case after every revolution. It is not possible, and it cannot be expected, that following such a big revolution—that is regarded in the West as a miracle, and that

upset all calculations—with the unclean hands, within the country and abroad, having ruined Iran over fifty-odd years and having plundered all its wealth, leaving behind a devastated country, everything be set right—considering the ruined state of the country—once they have left.

Joining hands to build an Islamic country

All of us should now join hands and build this ruined country together. By saying all together, I mean that everyone, in whatever position he may be, should take proper action there. Do not expect me to do everything. I should also not expect you to do everything. I who am a seminarian should attend properly to my professional duties. You, too, who are policemen, should attend to your policing duties to the best of your ability. These ladies who have other jobs should attend to them as best they can. The ministries, too, should do their job well. The farmers also should attend to their work properly. The workers should also perform their tasks well. When all the people are to be Islamic and their thought are concentrated on managing an Islamic country—an Islamic country managing an Islamic republic—and on repairing the damage, then just one stratum of ours will not be able to undo the damage. Just as you cannot guard the whole of Iran, we, too, cannot run the whole country, for instance, properly. All of us, all the people of Iran, should build the country. You who are in Qum, you who are Islamic guards; that guard, every individual, should carry out his job of guarding (the country) as best as he can. He should do it with sincerity, honestly and for the sake of God. I, a seminarian, must do my work in the same way. The gentlemen of the clergy should perform their tasks well. When all the strata of the people perform their tasks properly, they can turn the country into a good one.

The collapse of the 2,500-year old empire

The country consists of this soil and water. Its population consists of this nation. This soil and water are in the hands of the nation. When all the people of this nation join hands; that is, everybody in his own sphere of activity performs his particular task well—the gardener in the garden; the cultivator in the field; the Prime Minister in his capacity as prime minister and similarly in the case of the other ministries, the offices and the public—if the work is to be approached in this way, and just as you, with your cries of “*Allahu akbar*,” undermined a huge mountain and overthrew a 2,500-year old monarchy—it was faith that accomplished this; it was Islam—in this case also you will be able to do it.

The country is now in your hands; you can manage it yourselves provided that the basic issues and other matters are dealt with. That is, the Constitution must be drafted and voted on after which the National Consultative Assembly must be set up and the referendum held.

Now that these matters are pending, the devils are compelling any and everybody to create difficulties. They draw the people's attention to their problems. For example, they approach the farmers and tell them ...“Now that the Islamic Republic has been set up, nothing has been done for you.” As if to say that as soon as the Islamic Republic is mentioned, this devastation will automatically set itself right! Or their telling the Islamic guards that an Islamic republic is in place now and there are various problems; and about the bad people, the poor appointments, the bad elections and... thereby drawing the people's attention to matters other than the one we, at present, have to pursue. This is something like one coming and telling you, for example—at the time when you were shouting, “*Allahu akbar*” in unison and were trying to break down the barrier—what kind of a person the head of some department was. It was not the time to say such things. It was the time to break down the barrier. It is the same even now. This is not the time for these ladies to concentrate on their personal problems, nor for you brothers to pay attention to your personal problems. And neither should I, nor the clergyman, nor the others. Until such time as this basic matter has not been put in place [...] that is we first of all, want a country we wish to have, we can then talk about its Islamic guards, its clergy and its women and how they ought to be. We now want to consolidate the state of independence and freedom of this country, and to put its Islamic laws into effect. When within the next two or three months, this matter of the Islamic Republic has been settled, God willing; that is the President has been appointed, the Constitution has been approved, the referendum held and the National Consultative Assembly set up, there should then be no more instability in the affairs.

Exercising diligence in approving the Constitution

The present government is an interim one. It is now prepared to transfer power to another one so that the power is centralized. Once it has been centralized, each of these matters will be attended to at the proper time. Even now, the government is attending to some essential tasks though it is an interim one. It is currently busy with this reconstruction that is to be carried out; with the construction of houses that it has arranged to undertake; the building of—I should say—bridges and roads, etc. But what is important

now is that we should not forget that basic issue. The basic issue now is that they want to frame the Constitution, and the wicked people are attempting to prevent it. We should all stand up to them and say that we want it (just as the government has proposal). This plan that the government has devised is a good one; it is the one that we want. We do not want a constituents' assembly as proposed by the Westernized persons. We want what the government has proposed and which can be done soon; not one that might take one, two, three, or four years during which period this uncertainty may, God forbid, unsettle the situation at some time.

I am aware that it is not only you who mention these things; all the people have difficulties. But you must leave these problems for some other time. Wait a bit and leave them for a later time. Each of you, in whatever post you are, should attend to it as best you can and discharge your duties to the best of your ability. This is a duty that is owed to God; not that anybody is compelling you. Nor is it something for you to covet. There is nothing much about it; just a handful of poor people; a bunch of indigent people. The matters (at hand) now are godly; they are divine. Divine matters are of great importance. We are hopeful that, God willing, all of us together put Islam into effect, and that all the ranks of the people become Islamic... Islamic justice is for one and all. Nobody takes precedence over another unless he is virtuous.

May God protect all of you and give you success. I pray for all of you; I am your servant. May God protect you all, God willing.

Decree

Date: June 20, 1979 [Khordad 30, 1358 AHS / Rajab 25, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Looking into the condition of the Iranian students and brothers residing in Europe

Addressee: Husayn Nuri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rajab al-Khayr 25, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Mirza Husayn Nuri—may his graces last:

It is necessary for you to proceed to the European countries in order to get well acquainted with the dear Iranian students and brothers there, and after attending to their needs and looking into their spiritual concerns, you must strive to eliminate their problems within the limits of the authority that has been vested in you. You must familiarize them with the grave duties which they have at this sensitive time and caution them against discord and differences. You must make adequate attempts to strengthen their religious beliefs vis-à-vis the enemies of Islam. Please convey my regards to all of them. I pray to God Almighty for the continued success of all. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (the 22 volume set) vol. 7, p. 151; vol. 22, p. 237, the date has been given as 4/2/1358 AHS; and in the new set vol. 4, p. 498, as 4/2/1358 AHS; and in vol. 4, p. 462, the date has been repeatedly given as 3/30/1358 AHS. However, by token of the date written in the handwritten copy of Imam Khomeini (Rajab 25, 1399 AH), the date 3/30/1358 AHS is the correct one.

Permission

Date: June 20, 1979 [Khordad 30, 1358 AHS / Rajab 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad-Husayn Anzabi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

After praising (God) and offering salutations (to the Prophet and his pure progeny (a)), it is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Mirza Muhammad Husayn Anzabi—may his blessings last—is permitted on my behalf to take charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious law dues, and to spend the same locally. Concerning the blessed Imam's (a) Share, he is permitted to spend half of it locally in the necessary cases and to propagate the holy laws, and to send the other half to this humble servant to be spent on the holy seminaries.

“And I advise him—may God Almighty assist him—as we have been advised by the pious predecessors to keep company of piety, to evade carnal desires and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God's peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab 25, 1399 AH

Permission

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The payment of religious law money stipulated for the completion of the building for the *ulama* and the needy

Addressee: Jafar Rajabi

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Holy Eminence, the great leader Grand Ayatullah Aqa Khomeini—may his sublime presence endure:

After greeting you and paying you my humble respects, I wish to bring to your esteemed notice that seventy-five two- and three-roomed housing units have been constructed on a plot of land of 4,000 square meters, located near Pasdaran Avenue, from the money that is to be given from the Imam's and the *Sadat's* Share to the *ulama* and the deprived class of people. Because this building has been one-third completed...

(In the continuation of his letter, he has asked for permission to pay the expenses for the completion of the building from the Imam's (a) Share, and be expended under the supervision of Mr. Mahdi Hairi Tehrani, the congregational prayer leader of Ark Mosque.

At the end of the letter, he states:

(Needless to say that Hadrat Aqa Hairi Tehrani has the written permission of the honorable Ayatullah to collect the dues and attend to the financial matters.)]

In His Most Exalted Name

You are permitted to pay for the expenses in case it is not possible to pay for its completion by other means. May you be successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi

Decree

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The emblem of the Islamic Republic

Addressee: The Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran

[Imam Khomeini's note on the emblem printed on banknotes]

The emblem should be that of the Islamic Republic.¹

¹ Prior to the victory of the Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran, the banknotes that used to be issued by the Central Bank had the "Lion and Sun" emblem on them, which was considered to be a symbol of the monarchial system. Imam Khomeini crossed out the "Lion and Sun" emblem and wrote: "The emblem should be that of the Islamic Republic."

Speech¹

Date: June 20, 1979 [Khordad 30, 1358 AHS / Rajab 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The importance of studying, codifying and endorsing the Constitution by the *ulama* and the Islamic intellectuals

Audience: The *ulama* and the theology students of Mashhad Seminary

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The real aim of the Revolution: the realization of Islam in all respects

I did not want the learned gentlemen to collect here in this hot sun, in this humble house and in this heat under the sun. I think that I had told some of the gentlemen to request you to gather in the auditorium of the Faydiyyah Madrasah so that I could meet you there. But it seems that the gentlemen later arranged for you to come here. I profusely apologize to you brothers, sisters and the distinguished *ulama* for the trouble you have been put to. You should count this hardship as one of the services rendered to the Imam of the Time (*a*) and to dear Islam.

Many are the problems and issues that are bound to arise. But we have to consider each issue that comes up before it does and then take action about it. So far, we have successfully surmounted many major problems with the support of all the strata of the people, especially the distinguished clergy. Praise be to God that you and all the ranks of this great nation succeeded in rendering this great service to Islam. You also dealt a humiliating defeat to those people who had done treachery to Islam—and were to have done greater treachery—and also to those who used to assist them and were to have given greater assistance. Those people left and their treachery was put to an end, just as the plundering hands of the superpowers were also cut off. We have been successful in what we have gone through. We, however, should not be satisfied with just this. We should not be elated thinking that the matter has ended. It has not; the core issues remain. As the main thing was the movement of the clergy and the nation to replace the *taghut* with Islam, it was, of course, necessary that the *taghut* should go before anything else; and it did go. It is now the time for us to install a government of Islamic justice, a humane government, a government of the Quran in the place of

¹ A summary of this speech has been published in *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22-volume set) vol. 7, p. 152; and (the new set) vol. 4, p. 463; and has been thought to be two speeches.

that *taghut*. This is the beginning of the process. Of course, the basic task—the regime change and the installation of the Islamic Republic—has been accomplished now. That is, the regime was changed and Iran is officially an Islamic republic now with everybody recognizing Iran in this sense. But we do not just want the Islamic Republic to exist merely in name; to have been merely voted for. What is important for all of us, for you, for the whole nation and the distinguished *ulama* is that Islam take effect in all dimensions. It should be such that anybody entering the country would see the signs of Islam from the border where he entered, right up to the center. On going to the university, he would see it as Islamic. He would see the ministries and the government offices as Islamic. On entering the bazaar, he would find it to be Islamic. On visiting the farmers and the workers, he would find them to be Islamic. This is our objective—not merely the departure of the plunderers—toward which we have taken the first step. There are other issues pending. This is one, however, for which we have to exert all our efforts and devote our full attention. The others will be dealt with subsequent to this one. There are also some other things that are secondary and should be accomplished after this.

A call to all the Islamic thinkers and scholars

What we are all now involved in is the draft of the Constitution that has been written and placed at the disposal of the public for it to express its opinion. All the people, you the clergymen and the other clergymen, the whole country, all the Islamic intellectuals and thinkers should study this Constitution, from the Islamic Republic and offer your opinions. This Constitution has been drafted for all people to give their opinions. You gentlemen, the distinguished *ulama*, the Islamic thinkers, you who have love for Islam and its holy school and believe that there is no government like an Islamic government, and no regime like an Islamic regime, should review this Constitution. You have a month's time to consider its articles one by one. You should point out and publish in the newspapers anything that strikes you as being of benefit to Islam and in conformity with the Islamic Republic, and anything in it that appears to be flawed. Gentlemen: do not just sit around for others to pick up their pens and review the Constitution, and as they imagine... make corrections in it. This is your right; Islamic experts must give their opinions on Islamic laws. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic means the Constitution of Islam. This matter is your right; it is the right of the distinguished *ulama*; it is the right of the supreme religious reference authorities; it is the right of all the Islamic intellectuals. Do not sit

waiting until the foreign intellectuals, the ones who do not believe in Islam, express their opinions and write the things they are now writing. You should pick up your pens. In all the mosques and the seminaries in all the streets and the bazaars, raise the topics that come to your mind that should be included in this Constitution. The *ulama* should broach the topics and you the followers should not wait for others to tell you what to do. You, yourselves, should determine what you have to do. Study the Constitution yourselves; give your own opinions. Fill the newspapers with your own articles. Do not wait for others to write articles for you, and to raise matters that may turn out to be against Islamic principles and Islamic dignity, God forbid. We are duty-bound to do this and to give our views. All of us have the right to express our views, and you the distinguished *ulama* have a greater right. Those who are conversant with Islam, those who are concerned about it, ought to expend greater efforts in the matter and take the lead.

The importance of choosing the experts to review the Constitution

Subsequently, the thing that is very important is the election of the individuals who must give their views on this Constitution. After all the people have voted and expressed their ideas, these seventy-five individuals should examine the Constitution and amend it, keeping in mind the opinions received from the people, after which it will be put to a referendum. Regarding the seventy-five individuals that are to be chosen for reviewing the Constitution, the important point is for the people to understand what sort of individuals they ought to choose. They should realize that the issue concerns Islam; not East or West. We do not want to review Eastern and Western constitutions; we want to review the Constitution of the Islamic Republic. Therefore, concerning the individuals that are to be elected, it is essential that the people choose, and the honorable clergymen and religious reference authorities recommend, the individuals, the persons, who are concerned about Islam and know what it is. The Majlis that was formerly there; that is, the Constituents' Assembly that came into being in the time of Rida Khan, had the top-ranking *ulama* as members though it had been set up by the *taghut*. Of course, it was all done by force, but nevertheless, the topmost *ulama* were in the Assembly. With the tyrant eliminated and the country's affairs in your hands, the people should appoint the *ulama* at this time, too, when the Constitution is to be reviewed. It is optional; not obligatory. It is, however, a recommendation. The *ulama* who are well informed of Islamic laws and current affairs should be appointed. And the *ulama*, on their part, should not refrain from going to the Majlis, as it is a

Majlis in which the fate of Islam will be determined. When the destiny of Islam is to be determined in the Majlis, it is the duty of the *ulama* to go (to the Majlis) and determine this destiny with their own blessed hands.

Review of the Constitution by the experts on Islam

There are two matters now that are important. One is reviewing the Constitution which all the people should undertake—and I advise the distinguished *ulama* to offer their views. After this comes the matter of determining the individuals who must be designated after the voting—after the people have given their views and their proposals and whom the people want to designate. In order to review all the views of these individuals, our nation had to be sure that they are concerned about Islam. This is our plan. The nation, however, is free to decide. Our plan is that, where Islam is concerned, the people ought to designate the kind of... individuals, that are experts on Islamic affairs, that know what Islam is, and what its interests are, that have love for Islam, the Glorious Quran and the Islamic country. God willing, we shall again talk and write about the qualities of these individuals and what qualities they have to be endowed with.

May God assist all of you and us in serving the people and Islam, and in showing the external form of Islam as Islam desires.

I wish to thank all of you and the great *ulama* of Mashhad, the Ayatullah¹ and all the Grand Ayatullahs who are present here, and all the distinguished *ulama* who kindly inquire about me. I also wish to thank all the preachers and the great scholars of Mashhad al-Muqaddas [Holy Mashhad] who are in the foremost stronghold concerning religious issues. I am your well-wisher and servant.

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

¹ It refers to one of the clergymen present in the audience.

Speech

Date: June 20, 1979 [Khordad 30, 1358 AHS / Rajab 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The impotence and helplessness of the superpowers in the face of the determination and faith of nations; spiritual and physical strength together being the source of prosperity

Audience: A group of sportsmen and teachers of Babol

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The source of the nation's prosperity

A human being has two aspects: one is the spiritual aspect and the other, the manifest and physical. Human beings have one kind of learning in spiritual aspects and another in the manifest and physical ones. A human being in the full sense is formed when these two are present together. I am happy that some people reinforce the spiritual side and some others, the physical. It is hoped that both of them couple these two aspects together: the physical and the spiritual. If you the esteemed teachers and the dear gentlemen, the sportsmen, strengthen these two facets and, likewise, they are strengthened in all the people of the country; the spiritual aspect that the teachings of Islam have given, and the physical ones in the ways required, this nation will, then, attain prosperity. Those who possess the factor of physicality and sportsmanship are the youth whose physical strength makes them cheerful and prepared because of these very sports. In such an event, their psyche accepts spirituality and faith more quickly.

At times it so happens that sports, and teaching and training are in the service of the *taghut*. This can bring nothing but loss to a country. But when these two big potentialities and forces are in the service of God, the faith within them is reinforced and a great force that no power can obstruct, is generated for successfully attaining Islamic objectives.

The impotence of the superpowers in the face of the faith and determination of nations

As you clearly saw, the crowds with their physical and spiritual strength, and the power of faith, were able to succeed so far in carrying out this great campaign. They defeated the satanic powers and that big *taghuti* power which was equipped with all the latest weapons and behind which stood all the material forces and all the superpowers that were supporting him, among

which America, of course, used to give support to a greater extent. Notwithstanding this, all the countries were unable to destroy this power of faith—which had arisen in our country and nation—and protect themselves and their interests. We had no weapons at that time. The few weapons that are now in the hands of the Islamic guards are the spoils of war. We had no weapons before and during the Revolution, but they had everything. According to the reckoning of the materialists, it was not possible for such a big power, behind which stood all the powers including even the so-called Islamic governments. All the superpowers such as America, the Soviet Union, China, and Britain were the supporters of the *taghuti* power.

Faith and spirituality, the source of the nation's power

When I wanted to pass through Kuwait, it was not for nothing that they did not allow me to do so. It was not without purpose that the government of Iraq made every effort for me to be silent or not remain there. It was because all of them were together; the satanic forces were together. When I saw that they were preventing me from going even to Kuwait and told me to return from where I had come and we were compelled to return to Iraq, I knew that they would not let us stay there. The important issue was not that only Kuwait was like this; all these so-called Islamic countries had common interests and supported one another. And so we decided to go to a country that was not under any influence. We choose France and proceeded to that country. And they rued their action; both Iraq and the Iranian government, because we had the freedom to engage in propaganda in Paris. We let the whole world know of the issues and problems in Iran. And televised interviews would be held with those who used to come from America. Throughout America—as it used to be said—and in many places such as Canada, what we used to say would be disseminated. The people who would consider themselves as being connected to Islam and also those who did not subscribe to Islam started supporting the *taghut*, but our nation pressed ahead strongly. Did our nation have guns at that time? Did it have machineguns? Did it have tanks? Did it have cannons? It had none of these, but there was something else; and that was spirituality and faith in God. Faith gave such power to the nation that people who were previously afraid of the sound of a gunshot did not allow even the fear of tanks to creep into their hearts. Those who used to fear the shadow of a policeman two years ago are now not even afraid of a field-marshal! One of our friends said that some children in Shiraz collected around an official and told him to say long live so-and-so, and death to so-and-so, when the official, who was standing there and telling the

children to go away saw me, he asked me to save him from the children. And then he stood there saying in a loud voice what the children had told him to say!

Spiritual and physical power being side by side

Our people all together, were saying the same thing, and this brought the spiritual and material forces together. Nobody but God can accomplish such a thing. This power was a divine one. Somebody had come to Paris to visit me. He told me about the village in his neighborhood to which he had gone. He said that every morning the spiritual leader of the village would lead with the demonstrating people following him. He told me that the case was the same with all the villages. He also mentioned the name of a certain village that I had visited. There is a fort in the desert near a mountain. He said that he saw the people in that place saying the same thing. I came to believe there and then that an Invisible Hand was at work, because human effort has definite limits. It was the same belief and faith that was also there in the early period of Islam. At that time, every ten to fifteen Muslims owned just one camel. Every few people of the armies of the Apostle of God and of the Muslims had only one sword; and an old one at that. Notwithstanding this, they were able to overcome the Persian and Roman empires. The Roman vanguard consisted of sixty thousand soldiers followed by seven hundred or eight hundred and thirty thousand other. One of the Commanders of the Army of Islam asked for thirty people to accompany him in order to confront these sixty thousand! But, according to history, it was arranged for sixty people to go so that each one of them would confront one thousand! And they, subsequently, went and emerged triumphant. It was because of the angels being behind them, and God taking care of them. May God give you success.

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

Speech

Date: June 20, 1979 [Khordad 30, 1358 AHS / Rajab 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The necessity of obtaining the views of clear-sighted people on the principles and articles of the Constitution

Audience: The representatives of the people of Sistan-Baluchistan¹ and the coastal region of the South

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The damage done to the Iranian nation by the Shah's regime

I wish to thank you gentlemen who have come from afar to talk about the issues that concern you, and to listen to what we have to say. I, likewise, thank the esteemed ladies who have come here. What I wish to tell you now is that, firstly, these difficulties that you have mentioned are undoubtedly true.

You either know or should know that these difficulties are not exclusive to Sistan; they are not exclusive to Mazandaran.² The same difficulties, or ones like them, are mentioned wherever you go in the country, and by the various groups of the people of the country that come to visit us. Even migrating from one place to another—it has been so, and is so, in certain other places as well, such as the case of the Bakhtiyaris and some other tribes—was, no doubt, arranged by the previous regime in order to disperse the people and disturb their lives. They had arranged to destroy our agriculture and make us dependent on America. They were to destroy our educational system and make us dependent on America and other countries for even doctors, engineers and all things. No doubt, it was so. And there is no doubting the fact that Islamic programs are contrary to this. This will not be the case if Islam is realized; if an Islamic government, in accordance with our desire, is realized. It is not so that it, too, will help in creating chaos. The Islamic government is there to bring about reform.

The Constitution: the guarantor of Iran's independence

But the matter that I would like to talk about, which is now an essential one, and regarding which I am duty-bound to tell the various groups that

¹ Sistan-Baluchistan: province in the east of Iran, bordering Afghanistan and Pakistan.

² Mazandaran: province in the north of Iran along the Caspian Sea.

come here, is that we now have a basic problem. If this problem is not solved and we are not able to surmount it, then there will be no hope of Sistan being set right, nor Baluchistan. And neither will there be any hope of Tehran, Qum and all other places being set right. It is also possible that matters will worsen and return to the former state. The issue is that we, first of all, have to establish the basis of our country's independence so that it becomes our own country of Iran without anyone being able to take possession of it. If we are not able to obtain or guarantee the independence of our country, all the other matters will not be solved. What is now incumbent upon us is that all the brothers, all the sisters and all the ranks of the people of the country combine their energies over the issue that is now the basic one: the country's Constitution, as the laws of a country constitute its basis. Now that the Constitution has been proposed and placed at the people's disposal, those authorities who are clear-sighted, the clear-sighted Muslims, the clear-sighted *ulama*, the Islamic experts who know what Islam is, should study it, offer their views, write about it and should have it published in the newspapers. They should not allow others to become engaged in writing and thereby, determine our destiny.

The duty of everybody vis-à-vis the Constitution

You, yourselves, and everybody else who can understand the Constitution and Islam should see whether or not a particular article is in conformity with Islamic laws, and what articles are in the interests of the Islamic country. At present, the important thing is that all of you, together, give your comments on the Constitution. The clear-sighted among you, the Islamic jurists, the intellectuals committed to Islam, engineers, clergymen; all of them should now give their opinions on the Constitution. They should not let others express their views and see what happens. They ought to give their own views. With regard to every clause of the Constitution that the clergy deems as being contrary to Islam, all the other classes of the people—those who know that it is against Islam—should also give their views. Those who are not aware of this should follow suit and demand that it be so.

After we have passed this stage, there is another one that is very important. And it is that after this Constitution has been brought to everyone's notice, a month's time set for the public vote and all have given their views, a group of seventy-five individuals, should be nominated as deputies by the people all over Iran, the inhabitants of every part of it, every region, so that they review the Constitution and present their views. It will be

put to the public vote after they have given their views. What is now very important for us to consider is the type of people these individuals that have to be nominated in every place, ought to be. It is possible that some among these individuals are deviationists, and these deviationists be the cause of the others going astray. The people should think, pursue the matter and consider individuals that are faithful to this movement, that are favored by all and want to accomplish the task.

Priority in reconstruction: the backward regions

Studies have already been done, and proposals given. Perhaps you have heard over the radios... that there are schemes to create things to be constructed; for houses and highways to be built all over the country. Of course, those places that are less developed would be given priority. It is not that everything will be restricted to the centers like it used to be before. No, the remote regions that are more in need have priority; they are first.

I pray to God, and you pray, that we will be successful, God willing. And we should now consider the basic issue, just as that esteemed sister of mine mentioned the problems. These will be solved in due time, God willing, with some patience and endurance. Of course, all these matters will have to be solved, but patience is required as we are now in the throes of the revolution. Our revolution is not yet over; our Republic has not yet been set. We have only given our vote; other tasks remain that have not been accomplished. They should be gradually completed, God willing.

I am hopeful that all matters will be set right. I hope that God will grant you success; that God, the Blessed and Exalted, will favor you. Just as you have advances so far by the grace of God, the Blessed and Exalted, you will also, God willing, advance from now on by His grace, and all the problems solved, God willing. May God give success to all of you.

Speech

Date: June 20, 1979 [Khordad 30, 1358 AHS / Rajab 25, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The difference between popular governments and the regimes that are against the people

Audience: Ali Ardalani (the then Minister of Economy and Finance), the assistant heads and departmental managers of the ministry

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The alienation of the monarchy from the nation

If a country wants to be a sound one, there should be rapport between the ruling establishment and the people. Unfortunately, the case was to the contrary in the monarchial regimes, especially the last one. That is, the governing body, all the governing bodies, and the nation were polarized. That ruling establishment would resort to intimidation, pressure, persecution, torture, imprisonment, etc in dealing with the people. The people, if powerless, would try not to pay their taxes, refuse to undertake anything and hinder the government as much as they could. This would always result in rifts between the people and the government. The government had no support, and the ruling class imagined itself to be a separate entity that had no connection with the nation. The nation, too, had no confidence in it and considered it to be its enemy. Whenever the army would appear among the people, it seemed as if an enemy had come. Everybody would run away; they hated it. This was why the government could not last. Not having a base among the people, it had to go and it did go. Let this be a lesson to the governments.

The Islamic government, a humane one

The most important feature of an Islamic government is this rapport between the government and the nation. That is, the government does not consider itself as being separate. It neither wants to impose on, threaten, intimidate and persecute the people, nor do the people want to weaken it and evade governmental regulations. Islam has been such from the beginning that its ruler, who was at the head (of affairs), was lower than the people in his (way of) life, his dealings and such things, or of the same level.

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date of this speech is mentioned as Khordad 31, 1358 AHS.

The conduct of Hadrat Ali in governance

The best ruler in Islam after the Apostle of God was Hadrat Amir (a) whose government, unfortunately, lasted for a short time. We know about his conduct from history and his sayings from his sermons and letters, and also his behavior toward his subjects and their behavior toward him, as well as the behavior of the governors whom he would send to all parts of the country. It was a very big domain including the Hijaz,¹ Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and a part of Europe, all of which were under his control. We also know about the recommendations he would make to the governors as to how they ought to conduct themselves, and how they would do so, and also the attitude of the people toward them. All of this is mentioned in history. The life of the Commander of the Faithful is well known to all. An ordinary person cannot live like him. The people had even questioned him that if his life was such, why, then, was he so strong. It has been stated by him somewhere that the wood of the trees that are to be found in the desert is stronger, and its fire (when kindled) more intense as these trees need just a small quantity of water. It is not so that whoever eats a lot and eats fat and sweet things, becomes a strong person. Rather, many of these foods, especially the ones that are unconventional perhaps cause weakness, lethargy and such things. In any case, when one takes a look at his way of life, he finds that there was—as recorded—a skin (of an animal) which he would spread out at night and, along with Hadrat Fatimah (a), used to sleep on it. And, at daytime, he would put fodder on it for his camels. There was nobody like him even in the matter of food; nobody! Such was his life. He, himself, said that nobody could live like him. However, where piety and self-restraint were concerned, he asked the people to strive like him and be in conformity with him. The governor was like this and yet so humble vis-à-vis the law. The head of a nation, the extent of whose suzerainty was so great and the might of his army like that, was so humble before the law that when a judge, appointed by himself, summoned him to answer a Jew's claim against him, or he had a claim concerning a coat of mail, he went to answer the summons of his own appointed judge—according to the narrations—in the presence of the Jew. When the judge addressed him as “O Abul-Hasan,” he told the judge to treat them as equals and to view them on the basis of equality. He asked the judge not to address him by an honorific title out of respect; he ought to say, “O Ali.” When the judge investigated the matter and gave a verdict against Hadrat Amir, he accepted it. The Jew, however, became a believer and embraced Islam when he saw what Islam was. His associating with the

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

people, his way of living, his sense of justice and his consideration for the poor are well known. History has it that there were houses whose inmates were not aware of who it was that was bringing them things. He was the one used to bring things for them. Whenever he would leave a place, the children would cry. He used to go there with food and show them kindness, etc. He would then begin to imitate the sound of a camel to make the children laugh! He said that on entering the house, he would find the children crying and that he wanted them to laugh when he was leaving. This was a ruler whose suzerainty extended from the Hijaz to Egypt, to Iran, to Africa; to all these places. Well, not everybody can be like him of course; nobody can.

Taking a lesson from the fate of unpopular regimes

The governments, however, should not think that they are apart from the people. It should not be so that everybody goes to the place he manages and wants to exercise his authority, boss over the people and consider them as inferiors. He should not behave with the people as a very powerful somebody behaving with others. Such behavior alienates the people from him and is the reason for their not paying taxes, for evading taxes and maintaining two ledgers! I am now being repeatedly asked as to what they ought to do now, considering that in the days of the *taghut*, they used to keep two ledgers—well, now that they have told me two ledgers—one of them being placed at the disposal of the taxation officials, and was different from the one they had. We said no, and that the matter now rests with them. This was because of the coercion, intimidation and pressure from one side, and the people's inability to accept (to pay) so much on the other. It is for this reason that they commit offenses as much as they can and do it openly, as they recently did. If they cannot do so—well, they are like this—they commit the offense stealthily. They take as much as they can from what belongs to the government. This should serve as an example to the governments, the offices and every place so that they do not alienate the people. They should look upon the people as belonging to them, and the people, too, should consider them as their own. They should consider the government as belonging to themselves. Should such an understanding arise between the nation and the government, the government then, would lean on the nation and never fall. It cannot collapse in such a case.

The nation and the government being in tandem

I hope that it happens, God willing, that it (the government) will acquire an Islamic color; that it will have a similarity, some resemblance to an

Islamic government. And if it is to be so—we hope that it would be in all respects—we should try as much as we can if it turns out to have a peaceful country in which nobody harbors any thought of transgressing against anybody else: neither the government against the people; nor the people against the government. And the people, too, pay up their taxes—which is for their own protection, for the protection of their borders, for themselves—eagerly and with pleasure; every single one of them. Suppose that somebody owns a herd of sheep; ten thousand sheep. If a person came to him offering to look after the sheep, and well, if he knew the person to be trustworthy and that he would look after the sheep, he would, then, gladly and willingly pay him his wages. He would give him something to look after them. Someone who cannot tend his flock himself will gladly and willingly pay those people who come up and offer to do so. Well, it is a country that the people cannot manage on their own. Now that they cannot do so, a group should do it; it should guard the frontiers. The country ought to be set right in other respects. Well, the country belongs to the people themselves. The government desires to protect it, to bring order to it. The municipalities want to develop the cities; the government wants to construct highways. All these things belong to the people themselves and are at their disposal. The government is doing all this for the sake of the people. When the case is such, the people will gladly and eagerly pay their taxes for the amelioration of their own affairs. They will not, then, keep two ledgers! And even if any fraudsters are to be found, they would be few. It is not that all are fraudsters. Their numbers will decrease.

The Islamic system of taxation

If one day, God willing, we are able, and you are able, to obtain the Islamic taxes that are not much—the *zakat* [the poor rate],¹ of course, is not much, but suffices for the poor—then there will be no more poor people to be found. The *khums* [one-fifth],² however, is a very substantial tax that takes

¹ *Zakat*: the tax levied on various categories of wealth and spent on the purposes specified in Quran, 9:60.

² *Khums*: literally means *one-fifth*. According to the Shiah school of jurisprudence [*fiqh*], this one-fifth tax is obligatorily levied on every adult Muslim who is financially secure and has surplus in his income out of annual savings, net commercial profits, and all movable and immovable properties which are not commensurable with the needs and social standing of the person. *Khums* is divided into two equal parts: the Share of the Imam [*sahm al-Imam*] and the Share of the *Sayyids/Sadat* (descendants of the Prophet) [*sahm as-Sadat*]. Accordingly, the Share of the Imam is to be paid to the living Imam, and in the period of Occultation, to the most learned living *mujtahid* who is the giver's *marja at-taqlid* [Source of Emulation]. The other half of the *khums*, the Share of the *Sayyids/Sadat*, is to be given to needy pious *Sayyids* who lack the resources for one's year respectable living in consonance with their various statuses. For more information, see Sayyid Muhammad Rizvi, *Khums: An Islamic Tax*, <http://www.al-islam.org/beliefs/practices/khums.html>.

care of everything. That is, its nature is such that one should not be under the impression that it is for the poor. The *khums* is the yearly income of the whole country. It is a very big amount that can cater to everything. And if, God willing, you are able, and we are able to implement this Islamic system (of taxation), there would be no need to impose something in addition to it in the taxes. This one-fifth of all the assets; that is, the incomes, is a very fair system because the neighborhood grocer will pay the tax to the extent he must and that person who is the owner of such-and-such factories will also pay the tax to the extent he should. This is a system that treats everyone in a sort of equitable manner, and if, God willing, it is put into effect, there will be no need whatsoever for people to pay anything in addition to it. Of course, it has not yet been put into effect; it is hoped that it would be so. If it does take effect, it will constitute very substantial revenues that may administer all our affairs, and make the country sound and secure, God willing, with you managing it.

The injustice of the officials of the *taghuti* government

What I mean to say is that even the heads of the (provincial) finance department, in the place I used to live as a child, was avaricious when dealing with the people. What things he would do to the people, and for instance, with the gendarmerie. He used to extort something from the people; he would take it by force! It was not only the tax itself; it was the tax plus *quluq* (bribe),¹ a term used at that time by the tax collectors. And the gendarme would also demand it. He also had to go there, and when he would arrive, what things the village headman, who arrived with him, would do for him and bring for him. What miseries the people suffered on account, of these officials who would go on their missions, whether they were tax officials or government officials; whatever they were. When they used to go on their missions, they would trouble the people. It was not like Hadrat Amir giving orders to call the people who were there; to call them for paying *zakat*; to ask them—according to the narrations—whether or not they had paid the poor rate. If they said that they had paid it, they would be told to return. And they, for their part, would not commit any offense. When a government was like that and the people were responsible to God and knew

¹ *Quluq*: a kind of bribe that the inhabitants of villages and hamlets used to give to the government functionaries.

that God was a witness, they would not commit offenses and would pay their taxes. They would pay the *zakat* and *khums*.

The place of government authorities in Islam

In any case, the essential thing is for us to realize that we are responsible to God, the Blessed and Exalted. Everybody ought to know, and common sense dictates, that the people be dealt with just as Islam has ordained. The governments should behave likewise. When, in early Islam officials would be sent on assignment, the same person who was the commander or governor would also act as the congregational prayer leader. That is, he was trusted so much by the people. The people knew him for his justice. They would follow his example and say their prayers with him. The same person would lead them in war and would be obeyed by them. If such a thing happens and we are able to set up a government, it should be one that is Islamic and at the service of the people. Praise be to God that you have now taken this matter forward to some extent.

The military and the disciplinary forces by the side of the people

You are aware that the army was so distant from the people as to not mingle with them. The reason was that if it did come, the people would scatter as soon as it appeared as if the army of the Mongols had attacked them. And if the people wanted to go among the soldiers, they would be removed by force. Such were the conditions! It is not so with us now. Some army personnel come here every few days; some from the gendarmerie; other people; a motley crowd; all of them intermingled; all of them together and united in expressing their desire for Islam, and in showing their obedience to Islamic injunctions. What a nice thing this is. I would tell them that it was now better for them in that they were sitting here with peace of mind, without any fear of the people troubling them or they troubling the people. Is their conscience clearer now or at the time when they would use force against the people? It distresses the person who uses force, and also disturbs his conscience. A human being cannot be like this. Yes, it is possible that, sometimes, a person commits so many crimes that it becomes an ordinary matter for him. But, ordinarily, people cannot do such things. The terror they used to create was because they feared the people. The basic reason for intimidating, frightening and—I should say—distancing the people from themselves was that they had transgressed so much against the people as to become afraid of them. Being afraid of the people, what would they do in order to be safe? They would terrorize the people; they would—for

example—do something to make the people afraid of them; for these people to fear them. It was for their own safety. They, themselves, had done the people wrong; now they were doing all this to make them scared. The ex-Shah did not have the courage to appear in public. There was no possibility of his coming among the people. It was with de Gaulle¹ that he had come here. They had gone in the vicinity of the bazaar amid all those security arrangements, etc. De Gaulle got down and went among the crowd of people as he was not afraid of the Iranian people. Perhaps he did not even fear going among his own people.

Popular governments and achievements

When the king of a country, for instance, or the prime minister of a country, can go among the people and be with them, talk with them, converse with them and do such things, then—when it is like this—the basis exists for the people to respect his rule and governorship. Moreover, the people support him and look upon him as their policeman. They support him. But when it is said that policeman is a scorpion stinging the people, and, in the name of policing them, extorts money from them and robs them, well, it is clear that the people will become cynical about him. When the people see that the heads of the provincial finance departments—those who collect the taxes—take something more than the tax for their own selves, and their functioning also does something. Then the people will, as far as possible, not pay their taxes. They will evade them as much as they can. But when they see that the person who has come (to collect the tax), has come in order to protect them, their country, their possessions and lives, and that these persons are toiling for this purpose; when they notice that they are being kind to them, it is natural that they will pay their taxes eagerly, willingly and gladly to these tax collectors. Try to behave nicely with the people; they are God's creatures. Your behavior toward them ought to be good. All the people, everywhere, should strive to be good toward one another. A brotherly atmosphere should be created, one in which all the believers—as mentioned in the Quran—are brothers; all the believers are brothers unto one another. When such a brotherly atmosphere is created and peace and calm reigns, the troubles and the things that take place will then not occur.

A new and unique method of approving the Constitution

May God assist all of you. May you be successful. With the movement now at the halfway stage, may He assist us in taking it to the very end.

¹ Charles de Gaulle: the President of France at the time.

Whoever has any views to give regarding this assembly that is to be set up and the study of the Constitution, should present them. After giving their opinions about this assembly that is to be set up, the people, themselves, should install it. The people there (in the assembly) should review the Constitution and endorse it; and then the people themselves (vote on it). I do not think that there is a better way in the world than the one now proposed. It is the best in the world, being placed at the disposal of the people on two occasions. Nowhere is there a democracy—in their own terminology—above this that an issue is placed before the people on two occasions. When they used to form the Constituents' Assembly, the matter would be put before the people once, and it was to appoint that gentleman! If referendum was to be held, the matter would be put to the people once for another to write its rules and regulations, as in the case of France and its Fifth Republic where some other people in the government and the ministries, etc. wrote the Constitution—there were a few people from the Consultative Assembly and other places as well—and then put it to a referendum. But now this Constitution is to be put before the public twice: once the people to appoint the individuals who have knowledge of the laws and of Islam; they have such knowledge, they stand by the people they are concerned about them and trustworthy. The public should appoint such individuals to study the Constitution, amend it and such things concerning it. The public should not be content with this. The matter will brought before them a second time after it has been endorsed or confirmed by their representatives. Though the Constitution is very good, correct and in conformity with Islam and the interests of the country, the authorities should approach the people a second time and tell them that now that the individuals they had appointed have confirmed it, they, themselves, should now vote on it, too. This arrangement is unique in the world.

The objections and the reasons thereof

The people that are grumbling, as you can see, are the same ones who do not want the country to calm down. To whatever place you turn your attention, you will find them raising objections; whatever the place. Such things will enable you to know who these people are. You must see on what grounds they are making these statements.¹ You have determined what the Constitution should be; they should also do the same. After that, you, yourselves, have to vote on it. The words of the people, who are now making a din and noise, are, well, nothing that merit mentioning. But we have to find

¹ There was intermittent disconnection of the tape recorder at this point.

what kind of people are grumbling over this matter that is the best procedure over in the world, and is to be carried out. Some people are creating trouble because they want to show their knowledge. Well, these people want their names to appear in the newspapers and—I should say—to show their knowledge; their intelligence. We have no objection to the gentlemen displaying their learning. But it should not so happen that it leads to a delay of two or three years in the approval of the Constitution and the Constituents' Assembly—a matter that we want to be completed soon—and in the meantime, the plots being hatched against the country accumulate and, God forbid, cause trouble for us sometime.

The manner of approving the constitution in Iran and in foreign countries

It is the best method that has no precedent at all in the world. That is, with the exception of that aspect of which the people appoint their deputies, the referendum has a precedent; and also the review of the constitution that is carried out by the experts—those who are experts in the matter—has a precedent in France which, according to you and all the intellectuals, is the cradle of freedom and democracy. But this (ours) is better than that because, over there, the ministries, the prime minister and others not elected by the people, as well as some elected representatives, gather together (for this purpose). Even these elected representatives were not elected for this purpose as such. The elected members of the Consultative Assembly and the Senate were not elected to review the constitution. The people did elect them, but not for (studying) the constitution. Their elected representatives, who had to choose the constitution, were not elected for this specific purpose. A group of ministers and such people got together and drafted the constitution which was then put to the public votes. And after the people had cast their votes, the matter was over. Is this better which, as you say, the world's best democracy and the cradle of freedom has devised, or as it is now in Iran which you believe to be a country whose people do not understand anything! Let me say that you so insult the people and have so lost your self-reliance with respect to the West as to think that we have nothing and they have everything. Now, is that better or this? Is this (the method) better in France, in the sense of its being the cradle of freedom and the base of democracy, or one in which the individuals that are to review the constitution are chosen by the people; and even for the people themselves to vote on it after it has been approved. Certain people think that the best way is for some other individuals that have not been delegated by the people to review the Constitution after which they

should vote on it. But we reject this. The persons who are to study it should be delegated by the people. And then the people, themselves, must give their votes. There is absolutely nothing better than this. All this grumbling is either for the sake of showing off one's learning—this does not matter—or it is to help them in preventing its formalization, so that this Palizban¹ and this Oveysi² who are doing mischief in the border regions are able to carry out their schemes. But the gentlemen should know that the time for this has passed. Such a thing cannot be done and cannot happen. May you all be successful and triumphant, God willing.

¹ Palizban: the governor of Kermanshah in the Shah's regime.

² Ghulam-Ali Oveysi: the commander of the Ground Forces and the Martial Law Administrator of Tehran during the last days of the Shah's rule.

Permission

Date: June 20, 1979 [Khordad 30, 1358 AHS / Rajab 25, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Permission to use the non-alcoholic beverages of the appropriated factories

[To the honorable Grand Ayatullah Hadrat Imam Khomeini—may his blessings last:

After extending my greetings to you, I respectfully wish to inform you that the factories producing Pepsi Cola, Schweppes, Babol Ab and Oso (?) are twelve in number, situated in various cities. These factories previously belonged to the Sabet (Thabit)¹ Group, but now all of their shares are in the possessions of the Bunyad-e Mustadafin [Foundation for the Downtrodden]. I would like to have your opinion on this matter.

The Producers
3/30/1358 AHS

In His Most Exalted Name

At this time when the consumption of such products of the above-mentioned factories is for the benefit of the oppressed, using them is permissible.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab 25, 1399 AH

¹ Thabit Pasal: the Bahai capitalist and supporter of the Shah's regime. It should be pointed out that before the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the consumption of the beverages, produced by the factories belonging to the above-mentioned person, was prohibited in order to prevent the strengthening of this misguided sect, and its activities against the religion.

Speech

Date: June 21, 1979 [Khordad 31, 1358 AHS / Rajab 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The Divine Hand and divine assistance in the Iranian Revolution; the innumerable treacheries and crimes of the Pahlavi family

Audience: The *ulama* and clergymen of Mashhad

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

Divine assistance in the nation's uprising

It was the Islamic school and the power of faith that made even our little children face tank and cannon. When I heard in Paris that in all the towns and villages, all the ranks of the people—men and women, adults and children, students of the primary and secondary schools and the universities, the high-ranking clergymen and all the other classes—were, together, saying the same thing, I understood there that an Invisible Had was at work.

The range of a human being's actions, whoever he is, has its limits. It is possible for a person to change the condition of a house, a neighborhood, a city, a province or a group of people. But no human being can make the whole population of 34 million people, with diverse opinions and professions, and hailing from different places far away from one another, raise the same slogans; and the primary school children, the infirm, the old people in hospitals, all pursue the same goal. This is not possible without divine assistance. It was the Divine Hand and divine favor by which a nation that had nothing was able to overcome the powers that had everything. It was the same power that existed in the early period of Islam by which some Arabs who had nothing—every few people among them possessed one sword and one camel—were able to conquer almost all the inhabited places of the world of that time and to overcome the big empires of Persia and Rome. It could not have happened unless there was divine power and assistance. You must consider this as the result of divine and invisible assistance. It was not because of any individual or one like me, a humble servant of yours.

Independence and freedom, the divine gifts

I should say that this success that has been achieved is because of the favor of God, the Blessed and Exalted, bestowed upon this nation. Safeguard this gift given by God, the Blessed and Exalted. It was a divine gift that He gave us. This freedom that He has now given us and has cut off the hands of

the oppressors; this independence that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has granted us and has curtailed the power of the foreigners, is because of the power of faith, the unity of expression and the attention devoted to Him. It was because of this that the Hand of God, the Exalted, cast its favorable shadow over the nation by which victory was achieved. Safeguarding it lies in your preserving, from now on, your unity in the same way that you have been together and united in heart up to now. When your hearts are pure with respect to one another, when they are united and your hands are one, then the Hand of God will also be with you. "The Hand of God is with people." Appreciate and safeguard this auspicious, divine Hand and the gift of God, the Exalted, which have cast their shadow over your heads. If you are able to do so, you will be triumphant in all the stages, just as the time when the Revolution was consummated and everybody headed toward victory with singleness of purpose which was the removal of the corrupt regime and the realization of the rule of God. At that time, attention was not given to anything else such as one's difficulties, and what one would have for supper on going home, or whether one had such and such a problem, for instance. Such things were not taken into consideration at all. Neither did the cultivator think about cultivation, nor the trader about his trade. Thus you saw them leave their businesses, close the bazaar and stop all works. All were intent on one thing: God and the divine school. Because of that general devotion to the divine faith, God, the Blessed and Exalted, also gave His attention to us resulting in this miracle.

A revolution beyond material and normal calculations

The thing that upset all the calculations of the materialists and rendered them wrong and what the government of America and experts also affirmed, was that the developments were beyond their comprehension and that their calculations were incorrect. They were justified in this as their calculations were based on material and natural considerations. They had not perceived the supernatural; they had seen natural things. Based on normal criteria, it was like what they would say that a nation that had nothing should not triumph over a power that was supported by all the world powers. Not only almost all the world powers—I should say—not only the superpowers; all the Muslim countries supported him. Their not allowing us to transit through Kuwait—they did not even let us pass from side of it to the other—was because of the support they gave him. Iraq applied pressure on us not to engage in political activities as it had its commitments. We insisted on carrying out such activities, while we were staying there, as it was our

religious duty. Finally, the Iraqis threatened us saying that even if they did not do anything to me, they would take action against our companions and friends. And so I saw that nothing could be done about it. All this was because of the undertaking that they had given to the government of Iran. I understood that it was like this with all the Islamic—the so-called “Islamic” governments: not to let us enter (their countries) and to expel us if we did go to any such place. And so it happened that we proceeded to a foreign country where they had no influence. They, however, came to rue this development.

The continuation of the Revolution until Islamic laws are implemented

Do not let go of this divine power. Safeguard this divine trust, just as you did at that time when you did not think about your own difficulties and thought of only one thing; Islam which was the secret of your victory. You have not yet triumphed, because what you want and we want is that Islam should be put into effect in all respects in Iran, and God willing, in all the other countries. It was not our purpose only to get rid of the tyrant; to remove the obstacle. It was one of our aims, but only the prelude. Islam was the real aim. The purpose for which people gave their lives was Islam. It was for Islam and for the conviction that Islam should be realized that the people sacrificed their youth, and following which they would even express their gratitude. We have not yet gained this objective. Traces of the former regime are still there. We have not, and they have not, been able to wipe out those traces and vestiges. We are half way through; we are still on the way!¹

The innumerable treacheries of the Pahlavis

...we have to engage in reconstruction, whether material or spiritual. They destroyed the spirituality of the country. They attempted to stop the clergy from pursuing its holy profession in the way it wanted. They tried to stop the university from fulfilling its duties in the way a university ought to. It was the same with all the other classes of the people. They deprived us of our spirituality and our human resources as well. They also ruined the country's economy and all its other material aspects. They were treacherous in that they ignored our material and spiritual needs. Their spiritual treachery was greater than the material. Most of you are not aware of the miseries that were inflicted upon the seminaries in the time of Rida Khan. Some of these distinguished people seated here will remember. But the young people do not know what they did to the seminaries and the nation in those days. You have seen what they did in these recent times that you remember. They totally

¹ The tape recorder got disconnected for a few minutes.

ruined our national, human and Islamic prestige. In those days, they closed down our mosques, and ruined our seminaries. They removed the turbans from the heads of our *ulama* and brought dishonor upon our sisters. The period of this person's¹ rule became worse than that of the other. At that time there was deception and a number of ruses. There was pressure as well, but the ruses were also many. They wanted to wipe out Islamic principles in the name of Islam, in the name of social and Islamic justice, in the name of Islam. They wanted to ruin the prestige of Islam in the name of Islam—and they did it.

The Shah's innumerable crimes

Thanks to God that they have gone. They will be punished for their crimes in the place where punishment is to be meted out. Considering the crimes that Muhammad Rida committed, we cannot—and humanity, with all its power, cannot—(adequately) punish him who has committed all these crimes, because punishing him ultimately means that one person has been killed. But in what way can a person be punished when he has killed thousands; when he, himself, seated in his helicopter, ordered the slaughter of so many from up above—as it used to be said—on the fifteenth of Khordad, turning our avenues into places of massacre and destroying a nation; a whole nation? In what way can we make him answer for his crimes? For this purpose, there is another world where retribution will come for all these crimes—a world that is everlasting; a hell that is endless and is always there; torment that is eternal and unimaginable. The reason for this is that there must be another world in which these criminals can be punished. We cannot give them their punishment in this world.

May God, the Exalted, help you and us. May He give the clergy and the nation the power to implement Islam in the way it is and turn it into reality.

Secondly, I wish to thank the honorable Grand Ayatullahs, the learned and distinguished *ulama* and all the gentlemen. I am like a servant unto you and hope that all of us can be of service to Islam; and that we surmount all these difficulties and reach our real destination, God willing.

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

¹ It refers to Muhammad Rida Shah.

Statements

Date/Time: 2:30 pm, June 21, 1979 [Khordad 31, 1358 AHS / Rajab 26, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The criterion in political relations

Audience: A delegation from New Zealand; Messrs. Bliby (?) (the then Ambassador of New Zealand in Tehran), Minhaj and Mahdawi (the religious representatives assigned to inspect the abattoirs of Australia and New Zealand)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The criterion in political relations is not that the countries be located far away from or near one another. The criterion is spiritualism.

If two nations are spiritually close and equal in social justice, they are, then, close to each other no matter how far apart they may be geographically. And if they are spiritually apart, though they are neighbors, they are far apart from each other.

I hope that your nation and government has paid attention to the goals of our nation and to the government that we are to turn into reality, and which is a government of Islamic justice; the one that we intend to put into effect. And if we succeed in realizing it, it would be a government that brings the people closer to one another, thus closing the gap between the various classes. The government is at the service of the people and stands by them, just as the people are its supporters and stand by it. If the world community becomes familiar with Islam and we are able to present it as it really is to the people of the world, then all of them will take to it. I hope that the relations between governments and the nations and those of our government and nation with all the humane nations be always good and our ties close. I would like to thank your government and nation, and request you to convey my best wishes to them.

Decree

Date: Circa June 1979 [Tir 1358 AHS / Rajab 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointing a representative in Mahshahr for the purpose of propagation and guidance of the inhabitants

Addressee: Husayn Akbari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Haj Shaykh Husayn Akbari—may his graces last:

According to what the reliable gentlemen have written, your going to Khuzestan, especially Mahshahr, is essential and necessary. Considering the letter of the esteemed gentlemen, it is necessary for you to proceed there and, with your experience of that region, attend to local matters and difficulties of the inhabitants. You must try to eliminate their problems, and also take steps to reform the affairs there and engage in guidance and propagation. It is hoped that the respected inhabitants would, for their part, unsparingly extend the necessary cooperation and assistance in the furtherance of the sublime aims of Islam and the removal of all kinds of difficulties. I pray to the Almighty God for the success of everybody in serving Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Date: Circa June 1979 [Tir 1358 AHS / Rajab 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The duties of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards

Audience: A group of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards of Gonbad

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

May God assist you in your duties so that you guard yourselves and Islam as well. Safeguarding Islam lies in countering corruption, preventing the use of heroin and such evils. Safeguarding yourselves lies in not using the power you have to transgress against the people; to go to somebody's house and arrest him for no reason because of the power you have acquired. God, the Blessed and Exalted, watches over us. He has placed a watchman for us. Whatever occurs in your heart is watched. All your actions and anything that you do are watched. Guarding yourselves should take priority over guarding the country. You cannot carry out your guard duties nor safeguard Islam unless you yourselves are pious and unless you reform yourselves. Safeguarding Islam is that one should be a Muslim and a committed individual. One should carry out God's commands. When one is like this, he will be able to perform his safeguarding functions as well. I pray for all of you and am your servant. May God protect every one of you.

Speech

Date: June 22, 1979 [Tir 1, 1358 AHS / Rajab 27, 1399 AH]

Place: Faydiyyah Madrasah, Qum

Subject: The need for a person to strengthen his body and soul; the necessity of protecting the honor of Islam and Iran

Audience: Members of the Karate Association of Iran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

May God give success to everybody. May He grant you physical and spiritual strength. Our country needs spiritual as well as physical strength at present. I hope that you will strengthen yourselves in both respects: the spiritual and the physical. Strengthening yourselves spiritually lies in your thinking of God to a great extent. You should rely on the eternal power of God, the Exalted, and your views should be divine. You ought to obey God's commands, and be devoted to Islam in body and soul. All the people should be devoted to Islam, and I hope that under its refuge, everybody becomes stronger and more powerful. May you bring honor to the country, God willing, and make it famous everywhere because of this movement, with everyone looking upon it with deference. The essential thing is for us to safeguard this respect from now on by observing Islamic ethics and etiquette so that this strength and power are used in the appropriate place, God willing, and this Islamic movement reaches fruition. May God make you prosperous in this world and the hereafter, God willing.

Message

Date: June 23, 1979 [Tir 2, 1358 AHS / Rajab 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sending aid to the people stricken by floods and fire in Tabriz

Addressees: The inhabitants of Azerbaijan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The painful tragedy of the devastating fire and flood in Tabriz that has resulted in the death of some of our brethren is a matter of great regret. I wish to offer my condolences to the families of the Azerbaijani brothers who had been continually present in the path of the Revolution, sparing neither their lives nor their possessions. I request God the Almighty to give them forbearance and reward them. The government of the Islamic Republic, the Red Lion and Sun Society¹ and the governor of Azerbaijan are duty-bound to expedite the repairs of the damage that has been caused. And I request the Azerbaijanis to make every effort to assist their dear brothers. In case they want to make use of the blessed Share of the Imam (*a*), it would be acceptable to and approved by the Master of the Age—may God expedite his glorious advent. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The present Red Crescent Society.

Letter

Date: June 23, 1979 [Tir 2, 1358 AHS / Rajab 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to the letter of congratulations on the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: Yusuf Karam-Ali

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Mr. Yusuf Karam-Ali—may you always be successful:

I receive the letter sent by you and the esteemed members of the Khoja Ithna-Ashari Society of Kenya, and thank you for having expressed your congratulations and support on the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran. I pray to Almighty God for the grandeur and success of all the Muslims of the world, and for their victory over the enemies. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: June 23, 1979 [Tir 2, 1358 AHS / Rajab 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Sending a representative to Firdaws

Addressees: The inhabitants of Firdaws

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The respected people of Firdaws—may God Almighty assist them:

In keeping with the request of the esteemed gentlemen, His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Shaykh Ismail Firdaws—may his graces last—will proceed to that place in order to attend to the religious affairs and local problems. It is hoped that the respected inhabitants would avail themselves of the opportunity to benefit by his presence and extend any necessary cooperation to him in order to achieve the lofty goals of Islam. I also hope that with the cooperation of the distinguished *ulama*—may their blessings last—and the esteemed people, he will, God willing, be able to discharge the duties given to him in the best possible manner. I pray to God Almighty for the continued success of all. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rajab al-Khayr 28, 1399 AH

Tir 2, 1358 AHS

Speech

Date: June 23, 1979 [Tir 2, 1358 AHS / Rajab 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The danger of giving free rein to the self and the need to control it

Audience: Women of Langarud; personnel of the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps of Hamedan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The mission of edification and refinement

I wish to say a few words to the ladies and gentlemen in connection with the substance of the noble verse that was recited by that sister. God, the Blessed and Exalted, states that He has done the people a favor by sending the Prophet to recite this verse to them: “*And to teach them the Scripture and Wisdom.*”¹ He states that “purification” takes priority over knowledge and “wisdom”. Every bit of the noble verses of the Quran has meaningful points. It is not that they are purposeless like a writer who may not have observed the order of priority of the words. Reciting the noble verse is the same as that “mission.” That is, the Apostle had come to recite the Quranic verses to the people. Recitation for what? To recite and purify the people, to refine their selves and edify them.

There are two aspects to a human being: the spiritual and the external. The external aspect is what you see; it is the world that you observe, the materialism that is evident. The spiritual aspect is one that transcends this world; it is within the human being. But the human being is the totality of the whole world; as if God, the Blessed and Exalted, has created two manifestations: one being the whole world and the other the small one... that is, man is the essence of all the world’s created things. In other words, there is everything in a human being. God, the Blessed and Exalted has given His attention to man and has favored him. He has placed human beings under His obligation by sending messengers to nurture that spiritual aspect—which is most important and the object of all attention—and to edify and refine the people, to educate and give wisdom, to teach them the Scripture and to enable them to control the material aspects that go beyond bounds. Those people who are materialists devote their individual attention to material matters. The prophets came in order to so train human beings as to bring this

¹ *Surah al-Jumah* 62:2.

materialism, these material entities, of which man also is, a manifestation and the essence, under the control of spirituality.

The mission to control the boundless materialistic and animal traits

The principle issue is spirituality. The crux of the matter is that no teaching and training in the world, and none of the regimes that are there in the world pay heed to the spiritual aspect of human beings. The notion that the difference between a humane, Islamic government and the other ones is that there is justice in the former is correct. But this is not the only difference. There are differences. One of these concerns social justice. None of the world's regimes have paid attention to the spirituality of human beings with the exception of that monotheist regime of the prophets. The other ones had never thought of promoting spirituality. All of them sought to benefit from the material aspect and to set up a materialistic system in the world. The prophets came mainly for the edification of man's self, to train him, to teach the Scripture and give him wisdom. They came to control this nature of his. Man had wanted everything before he was taught by the prophets to control his nature by reforming himself. Though man is one of the world's creatures and an animal, he is nevertheless an animal that is capable of being trained. None of the powers... that are there in a human being are limited. His passion is not limited. Though he has a system like all the other animals, yet he is worse than all of them. His wrath is not limited to expressing it in one case and not in another; it has no bounds. His control over other countries and groups is not limited to dominating them by means of some order; it has no bounds. Man's passion is, likewise, not limited; it has no limits. There is no difference between people. If one becomes furious, there are no limits within which his fury can be confined. It is absolute; it is limitless unless brought under control; unless the people—who ought to control it—are able to tame this emotion. The prophets came in order to control these boundless potentials of man by imparting divine teachings and training to him and by edifying his inner self.

The danger of overstepping the bounds

What I have mentioned by way of introduction is because of the great danger we are now facing and which is even greater than that of the former regime. It is the danger of losing self-restraint. Now that the people see themselves liberated and the wall of dictatorship pulled down, now that they have come out of the prison of 35 million people, there is the danger of their overstepping the bounds and doing whatever they like. That is, contrary to

the teachings which the prophets have brought from the early days of humanity until now in order to tame these instincts, these powers and passions of man, and with success that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has now given us and our nation—that was successful in overcoming the *taghut* by its faith and efforts—it might now become unruly.

This is a grave danger that undoes the teachings of the prophets, the endeavors of the Noble Apostle and the prestige of Islam. The prestige of Islam now depends on the deeds of the people of Iran. The whole world is now watching you to see what you are going to do. What are you going to do now that you are free and no longer suppressed? Have you lost your self-restraint? Is there no limit in your actions? Are there no bounds to your actions? You are Islamic guards, you are armed, you possess power and strength. Do you enter people's houses and take away their possessions? Do you violate people's honor? Or it is not so. The training is Islamic; it has bounds and limits. There are limits in Islam. In case one has enmity with someone else—which should not be so according to Islam—or one has killed somebody's son, Islam has given (the victim's family) the right of retaliation. They have no other right. That is, if one kills a person's son or sons, or his entire family, Islam calls for retaliation in kind of killing the murderer. There is no right other than this. One has no right at all to use even a single expletive against him or give even a single slap in his face.

Safeguarding the prestige of Islam and the country

Now that the people have acquired power and have become powerful vis-à-vis all the powers—the policemen have power, the Islamic guards have power—are they using their power in accordance with the Book and the Sunnah and teachings of the Noble Apostle or are they allowing anything that turns up to happen? At this time that a person has power, he is using it wherever he can. He is unconcerned about the rightfulness and justice of his actions. He just wants to exercise his power. It is the same lack of self-restraint that animals have. Animals lack self-restraint. Their actions know no norms. Human beings who have been taught by the prophets limit their actions to a definite extent. They want these to be based on principles and to have bounds and limits. Now that Iran has become the focus of the world's attention with all the learned people studying the condition of the country and the nation, are the people now doing anything to maintain Islam's prestige? We say "Islamic Republic"—but do we believe in it? Or did we just say "Islamic Republic" and then did whatever we wanted to do? Do the usurers, having faith in the Islamic Republic, still engage in their activities?

Do these people into whose hands the power that was taken away from the oppressors has now fallen, and as a result of which they have become powerful, believe in Islam? If they do believe in the Islamic Republic, the Islamic government should be like that of Ali ibn Abi Talib (a). The people living under the government should all be Islamic. They must be subject to Islamic laws. Nothing should be done to portray the people as a bunch of savages who did worse things on becoming free!

A danger that is detrimental to Islam

My brothers! My sisters! Islam's honor today depends on our actions; on your actions. Islam's honor today depends on the deeds of the clergymen—the clergymen who are the teachers of human beings, who are in the place of the prophets and are acting on their behalf. Islam's honor today; Islam's honor in Iran depends on everybody, especially the clergy. If a mistake is committed by this group, if any blunder is made by them, the blame will be laid on Islam. You must know that the responsibility is great. All the clergy is responsible, all of you are responsible, but the clergy is responsible to a greater extent. At no time should anything (contrary) be done by this group lest it be said—just as it is being said, and the spiteful ones have said and are saying—that the people have been rid of the dictatorship of Rida Khan only to be placed under that of the preachers. A preacher is not a dictator and neither is a dictator, a preacher. If, God forbid, the Noble Apostle and the Commander of the Faithful (a) had been dictators, the preachers would have also been dictators. But they were not. They never used their power in a way that was contrary to its purpose. They were such people that when Hadrat Amir—according to a narration—defeated an enemy,¹ and this enemy spat in the face of the Commander of the Faithful, he left his adversary without killing him. He paused a bit and killed him afterward. When asked why, he replied that he was afraid that it might not have been in the way of God; it might have been because of his having been insulted... insult to a person for which killing the one who had been insolent is obligatory. Whoever insults the Apostle of God or the Imams of Guidance deserve to be killed. While in this case he, himself, was involved and possessed a certain right, he, nevertheless, wanted to remain immaculate and so—as he said—he hesitated lest some inconsistency arose in his attention.

The distinguished *ulama* have a great responsibility as their profession is the most noble of all the professions. It is the profession of the prophets and the responsibility that it carries is that of the prophets. Everybody is

¹ Amr ibn Abdul-Widd.

responsible; it is the responsibility of everyone of us to behave correctly. You are all responsible. Everybody should observe the limits and give due consideration to the matters that merit our consideration. We should all be the servants of God. We should obey His commands and do whatever He has commanded us to do... The honor of Islam now depends on the actions of you gentlemen, the brothers, sisters and, more than anybody else, on the *ulama* as they are at the head (of the affairs). If, God forbid, a blunder occurs at the top, it will affect everything. The *ulama* are at the head of all. If some blunder occurs there, the people will attribute it to the prophets... and say that such is their teaching. The enemies, at least, will say that Islam has been like this.

The enemies now want to do something to discredit this movement; this Islamic movement. Defeat is not important; getting disgraced is. It is not important that we suffer an honorable defeat. Even prophets suffer defeats. If, God forbid, our campaign fails honorably, its honor is secure and will be so in history. If we are defeated (it is not a disgrace), Hadrat Amir was also defeated' by Muawiyah. But if we suffer a spiritual defeat, if Islam, that we have now gained and is a trust in our hands, is betrayed and if, God forbid, we exceed our bounds, this movement will then be discredited. And the people in foreign countries will say that this is what Islam is! They will attribute it to Islam. They are not aware that this is not Islam.

The crucial position of the *ulama* of Islam

If we commit a mistake, we are at fault and not Islam. You, they, the *ulama*, the community leaders and the intellectuals should not do anything to discredit Islam and dishonor the school. It does not matter if we are destroyed; it does not matter even if the movement is destroyed. But if, God forbid, our school—the school of monotheism, the school of Islam, the school of God—is destroyed; if we do something by which this school becomes tarnished or some lapse occurs, it will not be a minor one as it will be said in the world that when the matters fell into the hands of the people themselves; in the hands of the guards of Islam they said, “We are the guards of Islam”. When the affairs fell into the hands of the *ulama* of Islam, they said, “We are the *ulama* of Islam”. The issues, nowadays, are important ones. Islam today, is in our hands; we must see what we are going to do about it. The Quran, today, is in our hands; we must see what we are going to do about it. Will we do something (wrong) for them to say that this is Islam?! It (wrongdoing) will be attributed to Islam.

Brothers! Carry out your guard duties properly. You must be the guards of Islam and the Quran. Protect Islam. It was just yesterday that I was informed of an Islamic guard having killed somebody for no reason in Qum! He will be killed; he will be punished. You have the right to punish him. He will be handed over to you (the victim's family) and will be killed. I have already ordered that he be killed... whoever has power must not do whatever he likes. There are principles; it has a criterion. Killing a Muslim has a basis. Is it for nothing?! Killing a human being has a basis. Nobody should be killed without any reason.

I hope that God will awaken us and make us watchful. May He give us faith. May He give you prosperity. May He make my brothers and sisters, wherever they are, prosperous. May God, the Blessed and Exalted, enable us carry out this responsibility that lies on our shoulders. May God protect all of you.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Speech

Date: June 23, 1979 [Tir 2, 1358 AHS / Rajab 28, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The clergy's role in the (moral) ascendancy or decline of the community

Audience: Clergymen and theology students of the Wali al-Asr Madrasah, Tabriz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The grave responsibility and important position of the clergy

I am hopeful that the gentlemen who have taken steps in this matter and have entered the *madrasah* of religion and learning will later constitute the resources of this nation and be the preachers of Islam. This path is a good one, but dangerous. It is a good path because it is that of the prophets. The prophets had also come to teach humanity, and the *ulama* of the community should also be the teachers of human beings. So, the profession is that of the prophets, and the path is their path and dangerous one. Our failure to discharge the duties entrusted to us is different from the failure of others in carrying out their duties. In case a grocer, an employee or a person does something indecent, God forbid, it will bring disgrace upon him. But if you become clergymen, God willing, and each one of you becomes a propagator of Islam and well known in a city or country, then any deviation, God forbid, on your part, will not be like that of the other people.

You are the symbols of God. You will be the symbols of Islam, God willing. All the activities and deliberation, all the actions, and all the words and deeds of one who is the symbol of God and Islam ought to be godly and based on divine principles. The people look favorably upon the clergymen. They pay heed to them; they pay heed to the Noble Apostle. The clergy is the representative of the Noble Apostle and the Imam of the Time (*a*). If, God forbid, some deviation occurs in these people who are the representatives of the saints of God and the Messenger of God, the malicious people might put the blame on Islam, thinking that Islamic teachings are like this. Therefore, the path is one that is dangerous and noble. Make serious efforts to traverse this dangerous path as it is the true one. The straight, divine path begins from here.

The bridge of hell extends from the world up to heaven. You are now halfway; you are on the path. Take care to see that you do not deviate from it. Proceed straight along this path to heaven, God willing; to heavenly bliss.

And bear in mind that, in future, you will, God willing, be the people's teachers. The teacher of people ought to be guiltless; he should be refined. Pay attention to the fact that the clergyman's profession is the most important and the responsibility, the greatest. A clergyman can save an entire nation. He can also take it to ruination. Be careful that you do not become one of those people that ruin a nation. Be one of those that lead a nation, or the people that are within your sphere of activity, to prosperity. The people should be shown the right way by means of your guidance. No crookedness or deviation should occur in them because of your actions, words or conduct. Such deviation is highly detrimental to you. When each one of you later becomes an *alim*,¹ God willing, you must while acquiring knowledge, concentrate on becoming pious and cultured, and on refining your morals and actions. They must conform to the Book and the Sunnah so that you, yourselves, become the Book and the Sunnah; that is, in practice. A clergyman should be such a person that the people, on seeing him, think of the Messenger of God. You have taken this burden on your shoulders. You must take it to the very end by leading the people. May God bestow health and prosperity on you, your friends and companions that are in that *madrasah* and the rest of the *madrasahs*. May He place you, who have acted for His sake, among the refined, distinguished *ulama*.

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

¹ *Alim*: literally, religious scholar or learned man; the singular form of *ulama* [religious scholars, or learned men].

Message

Date: June 24, 1979 [Tir 3, 1358 AHS / Rajab 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Reply to a congratulatory message on the occasion of the establishment of the Islamic Republic

Addressee: Leonid Brezhnev (Chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

In His Most Exalted Name

His Excellency Leonid Brezhnev, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Thank you very much for your kind message expressing your warm sentiments for the Islamic Republic of Iran. I pray to God the Almighty for the prosperity and salvation of the nations of the Union of Soviet Republics and hope that our Islamic Republic that has been established on the principle of the unity of expression, the worthy basis of the Islamic Revolution and the abolition of the *taghuti* regime, will play a valuable role in the solidarity and amity of the world's nations, and the peacefulness of humanity. The bearer of this message is Dr. Muhammad Mukri. I hope that the people of the world will always strive for peace and tranquility which is also the desire of Islam and our nation.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: June 24, 1979 [Tir 3, 1358 AHS / Rajab 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The opportunists exploiting the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Members of the Islamic Association and employees of the Tehran oil industry

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The obstructionism of the suspicious opportunists

I know that this movement and Revolution had made good headway until the regime folded up and the oppressive establishment collapsed. But after this progress and the ensuing freedom and end to the suppression, some people who were opportunists swarmed into Iran from all sides and, taking over the affairs by various means, are not allowing the work to proceed in an Islamic manner. I am aware of this. It is not limited to the oil company. These problems exist everywhere, and the people are those same impious ones. In fact, many of them belonged to the former regime and have not been purged; they are still there. But the gentlemen should now wait a bit until these initial stages are passed, after which the purges—proper purges—will be carried out.

We want a country that is Islamic. The people that run this country should have faith in Islam which should constitute the basis of their actions; not the people who do not care much about Islam. Such people ought to be purged. But we have kept this matter in abeyance for the time being in the interests of the country. And while I know that certain people are incompetent—and in the case of the oil company, too, I have been informed that the affairs are being run based on certain connections—yet I have maintained silence on the matter in order to have our main problems solved at the present time. And after these main problems have been taken care of, these other matters (of the incompetent people) are easy; they are not very difficult. They will be purged within a day. The big ones and the inconsequential ones will be purged. I am hopeful that, God willing, the thing we want, an Islamic government in the full sense of the word [...] not Islam only in name and *taghuti* in action! The word “Islam” is there in certain places at present; it is just called Islam.

The penetration of undesirable elements in Islamic and revolutionary circles

Those who have no faith in Islam mention the word “Islam” nonetheless, because they know that Islam has patrons now. They are people who are after finding patrons—the patrons in the days of the *taghut* (the ex-Shah). They used to mention his name. Now that Islam is there, they are mentioning its name. It has made no difference; both are patrons. They seek a patron in order to change themselves to suit that patron, whoever he may be. It is not that we do not pay heed to their being so—it is not known whether some of them really believe in Islam, while others do not—but at present it is necessary for the good of the country that this thing be set up: a government, the interim government be changed to an established one, a Majlis be formed made up of people that care for the nation. I hope we would be able to guide the people, God willing, as to what type of individuals they should send to the Majlis. Following the formation of a national-Islamic Majlis, these problems would find solution. It is for this purpose that I have kept silent regarding many individuals whom I know are not decent people. I hope that, God willing, all of you will successfully serve this country. And until Islam is instituted, the service will not be meaningful. I expect the people who have no regard for Islam not to be traitors to it. Do not ever be treacherous to it. They are looking for a way to attain their own aims. They will adopt any way that they find, any day.

The harm arising from cliques and groupings

I hope that everybody, all the ranks of the people keep Islam in mind. They should cease having these differences and these problems that are all injurious to our country, harmful to our people and to Islam. They should not form groups. Forming into groups causes delays in the affairs. Some people gathered in groups and formed factions. We disbanded these and brought all of them together to form a big power that defeated those superpowers. The gentlemen have now returned to form groups; this group and that group. A group springs up everyday! Though their numbers are not much, their demands are many! They have neither authenticity nor any program; they are nothing. But the number of those sundry groups and parties is harmful enough to our country. We want all these groups to form into one group, an Islamic group that would prove useful to this country, that would serve it and rectify all this disorder and repair the devastation. These differences, this formation of groups will not let the rectification to take place, the government to do its work and the people to attend to theirs. They keep on

inviting the people to join this group or that. These are mistakes that possibly not because of any ulterior motives, but their understanding, however, is not up to much; their intelligence is not much. They have no political acumen! If they had political perception, this would not have been the time for them to keep on forming various groups; this group, that group, this party and that party, with everybody forming something and gathering people around oneself. Though their numbers are not much, yet it is harmful...

May God awaken everyone, and may all the people keep the interests of the country in mind. May we, God willing, succeed in solving all these problems. But rest assured that they cannot return to do something here. The matter is over and done with! May God give you success. May you be triumphant, God willing.

Speech

Date: June 24, 1979 [Tir 3, 1358 AHS / Rajab 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to combine knowledge with action

Audience: The theology students of Isfahan Seminary

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Liberation of the self: the source of all perfections

You started from scratch and have come up to here, thanks to God... You began from a state of suffocation and reached the stage of freedom. I am hopeful that you will reach the end, the final stage of humanity; that is, infinity. I hope that you will become well informed and will also be the conveyers of knowledge. Just as your profession is noble and respectable, your responsibility is also great. You first have to build up your own characters before those of others. Building your characters is that you ought to better yourselves in all the dimensions that man possesses and for the nurturing of which the prophets had come. The aspect of knowledge in all its dimensions; the moral aspect in all its dimensions; the edification of the self and liberating the self from worldly attachments, such liberation being the source of all perfections while material attachments are the bane of mankind. The attention and attachment of the self to material things precludes one from the caravan of humanity, while the severance of material attachments and turning to God, the Blessed and Exalted, takes one to the station of humanity. The prophets had come for these two reasons: to free man from his worldly attachments, and to tie him firmly to the seat of divinity.

Knowledge and action: the two wings for spiritual ascent

Some of you learned gentlemen that are attired in the clock of learning, and the others—most of them—who will be so dressed, God willing, here to pass these stages. Knowledge alone has no effect; rather, it is sometimes harmful. Action without knowledge is fruitless. Knowledge and action are the two wings that take man to the station of humanity. Knowledge in all events and action—sensual, physical, mental—take man to the degree of humanity. It is hoped that, during the course of your education, you gentlemen pay attention to this matter of freeing yourself of worldly attachments in the *madrasahs*. All the troubles of mankind arise from these

attachments. Had it not been for these worldly attachments and the attention and attachment to the world, we would not have had these troubles of the last fifty years and more; almost sixty years. Because of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi's attachment to the world, his inner self could not understand anything but the world which was the source of all these evils befalling the nation and all these misfortunes of his. Because of their attachment to the world by which their inner selves could not perceive anything other than the world, his friends, who were devils themselves—because of this very attachment—were the source of all the misfortunes that ensued for the nation and, worse, for themselves. They ruined the nation and all that it had as well. And they also ruined themselves.

Conquests to become liberated and attain perfection

While the prophets used to administer the world and the countries—of which we have a worthy example in Islam with history showing that most of the populated regions had been conquered within approximately half a century—they had no worldly attachments. In Islam, conquests are not for the sake of conquering countries. They are for the purpose of enabling human beings to attain perfection. Islamic conquests are different from those of other regimes. Their conquest; the conquests made by regimes is for the sake of the world, whereas those made by prophets was for God, and to make the people heedful of God. They wanted to bring the people, who were the captives of materialism, the self and Satan, under the influence of themselves and their school, and to bring them from the party of Satan into Hizbullah (the Party of God): *“Allah is the Protecting Friend of those who believe. He bringeth them out of darkness into light. As for those who disbelieve, their patrons are false deities. They bring them out of light into darkness.”*¹ These two; these are the two aspects, the two fronts: the *taghut*'s front and God's front. God, the Blessed and Exalted, bring those people, who are of His party, who are heedful of Him and have faith in Him, out from all darkness—all of it—and takes them into light. That light is the light of God Himself. This is the light—*“Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth”*²—that takes them out of all darkness—that is, whatever which is not divine—and takes them into light. The *taghut* takes the people out of light and into darkness: *“Layer upon layer of darkness.”*³ These are the two paths: the path of the prophets and the path of the *taghut*. The path of the prophets is that of

¹ Surah al-Baqarah 2:257.

² Surah an-Nur 24:35.

³ Surah an-Nur 24:40.

God. God is the Guardian, God is the Doer. Man is trained by God, whereas the path of the *taghut* is that of Satan as Satan is man's teacher.

Infinite knowledge and ascendancy

My dear people! Be particular about entering the army of God. Merely learning your lessons does not make one enter God's army. Mere knowledge—especially about legal and official matters—does not take one to the level of humanity. These should be there; however, one should be heedful of the Unseen alongside them. Study for the sake of God. Starting from scratch, I hope that you will proceed to infinite knowledge. Continue until you reach that stage where you see nobody apart from God. Observe everything through Him; consider everybody as His manifestation. If people are trained like this, they will become divine. A divine person does not consider war and might; he does not care about war and conflict. All the wars and conflicts take place because of worldly considerations. The wars of Islam were fought to bring the people from darkness into light. The Islamic wars are different from those of other regimes. The latter take people from one darkness into another! From darkness to darkness! The prophets wanted to take the people out of darkness into light.

May God assist all of you. I thank you dear ones who have come here from afar in this heat and have been inconvenienced in this cramped house. I am happy to be with you and to see your faces. I am delighted to see your bright faces. May God place you among the active *ulama* and *mujahids*¹ of Islam. May God lead you out of darkness and into light.

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

¹ *Mujahid*: one who engages in *jihad*, who struggle for the attainment of God's purposes on earth.

Speech

Date: June 24, 1979 [Tir 3, 1358 AHS / Rajab 29, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The danger of the downfall of the school

Audience: The people of Ardekan Fars

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The real victory: the transformation of nations in all respects and dimensions

The revolutions that occur in the world are of two kinds: Islamic and non-Islamic. If a revolution is non-Islamic, there is no subsequent restraint or discipline. They behave as they like with the people; there is no control. But if a revolution is Islamic; that is, based on Islamic ideology and Islamic tenets, it should be Islamic and subject to Islamic tenets from the beginning to the end—for ever—that it and its effects are there. Thanks to God that our nation has reached this stage and has been victorious up to now. But victory is not that we have just got rid of the *taghut*. True victory lies in our being able to transform ourselves into beings that are human, godly and Islamic, and whose deeds, beliefs and morals are all Islamic.

The eyes of almost all the thinkers of the world are now riveted on Iran. They have now given their attention to see what kind of people these Iranians are who have achieved this victory and claim that Islam is the highest school, more impeccable than all the schools in the world; what type are they who are now making such a claim. Now that the Islamic Republic has been established in Iran; that is, the government is now an Islamic republic, what has been the effect of this Islamic system in Iran? Are the same former problems there but with changed pawns? The policemen and government officials used to oppress the people in those days. Do the Islamic guards, the Islamic people and the Islamic bazaar oppress them now? Is it that only the name and the individuals have changed, but the policy and the issues remain? Or it is not so... has the substance also changed?

The downfall of the school, an irreversible defeat

I am afraid that we will suffer a big defeat in the world. And that is the defeat of our school. I am greatly apprehensive about this. It does not matter if our school suffers a defeat but remains safe. Many of the saints of God

were defeated by other people, but their school remained secure. If, God forbid, we emerged victorious in the sense that we drove out those groups of oppressors and plunderers that were here, but another group of oppressors with certain limitations, and other plunderers with some popularity came to replace them, it would result in our school being portrayed in the world as not being the right one, and would also result in its failure. The defeat that cannot be compensated for is this one.

Wrongdoing and self-centeredness in the name of Islam

At present we can see that there is a state of confusion throughout Iran. There are discrepancies and there are things that should not be done. Happenings that are going on in the country displease God and are contrary to the orders of the Noble Messenger and those of Islam. Not that everyone is doing so; but there are people everywhere who are doing these things. There is the fear of this being attributed to Islam; to the Islamic Republic of Iran, with the people abroad saying that such is the Islamic system and the Republic of Islam which is like the previous regime except that the individuals are different. Just as they used to enter people's houses in former times and arrest the inmates, which was not according to any rule except the "rule" of tyranny and oppression, now, also, it is without any basis. For example, they go into people's houses and carry out searches. This will be attributed to Islam. If it were attributed to us, well, the school would remain sound and safe. But those who want to stay on in this country are committing offenses, just like the actions of the former regime which would not be attributed to Islam. They were a clique who would do things according to what the *taghuti* regime wanted. This would not harm our doctrine at all; it would harm our country. Our school, however, would remain secure. And those people would be considered as being opposed to Islam and opposed to the Islamic system. But, God forbid, if certain people among the ranks of the nation, especially among the clergy, which stands at the helm and represents Islam; if certain people clothed in clerical robes do something in the clergy's name and in such-and-such committee's name and their actions are contrary to religious principle, then it will not be said that the government is *taghuti*. They will say that the government is Islamic and is doing these things! These are the things [that would be said]...

A dangerous issue in the Islamic Republic system

Nowadays, there is a menacing matter that merits consideration. If, at that time, we had been defeated by the *taghut*, we would not have denied it;

well, we were defeated. Even Hadrat Amir (a) was defeated by Muawiyah. It was not to be denied. Well, we were stating a point that was our right to state. However, we did not succeed; they defeated us. But, today, this is not the issue. It is that the Muslims, our people, overcame the *taghut* and voted for the Islamic Republic, following which the country became an Islamic one. But if we now do something wrong and the enemies abroad and within the country make capital out of it; if they show Islam, here and abroad, to be like all the other schools; rather, inferior to them, we will suffer a defeat for which we will not be able to make amends. Hadrat Amir's defeat by Muawiyah was not important at all as it was not the defeat of the religion; it was that of a person. But, claiming that our government is now Islamic, if on going to the bazaar we find it to be the same as in former times and the usury, the fleecing, the extortion and excessive overcharging are just what they were before; if on going into the offices we find the same individuals, the same situation and the same disorganized state of affairs as before; if on going to the university we see the same old problems, and wherever we go we find the problems to be what they were, then all this would be reflected as a corrupt regime having gone only for another corrupt one to take its place. We did nothing apart from defeating a corrupt regime whose deeds were not ascribed to Islam. There was no danger of an act of oppression committed by Muhammad Rida or something done to the people by the Security Organization being linked to Islam; not at all. There was no connection. Their paths were separate. This danger did not exist then. In fact, Islam used to be strengthened wherever they would oppress the people. "The religion of God is always confirmed in the presence of wicked men."¹ Whatever oppression a wicked person, a lewd person or a tyrant does serves to confirm the religion. The reason is that religion is justice. No matter how much oppression such a person does, the people become more heedful of religion. But now that the country and the government are Islamic and there is freedom for the people, if, God forbid, this freedom is misused and oppression perpetrated, then—I should say—if such things that are contrary to the path of the Revolution are done, it will not be like the defeat we suffered at the hands of Muhammad Rida which was of no importance at all to us. Today, the religion will be defeated, and that is what is important.

The responsibility of the trustees of Islam

All of us should be alert. We should be careful not to misuse our freedom. Now that we are free, if there is to be chaos and everyone for

¹ *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 1, p. 170.

himself, then the people ought not to have such freedom. This kind of freedom is not advocated in Islam in that one is free to trouble the people, to overcharge them and, likewise, to be free in all other matters. We are all the trustees of Islam now. Islam has now cast its shadow over our heads in that the monarchical regime was replaced by an Islamic one. Now that this trust has come into our hands, if, God forbid, we betray this trust and do something to give an excuse to the Westerners, to our internal and external enemies and those that intend to tarnish and discredit this movement, we will have betrayed Islam. We should open our eyes. The clergy are above everybody else; it ought to be very careful. Things are different now from the former period. The clergy were not able to do anything previously. Even if they did something, they would be called SAVAKis (members of the Security and Intelligence Organization). If a clergyman did something wrong, the people would say that he was a SAVAKi and a servant of the tyrant. But such things cannot be said nowadays.

Amends cannot be made for the defeat of the school

Today, if a clergyman does something wrong, God forbid—which a person in clerical garb will not do—or enters into the committees and does a wrong thing, they will not say that he is a SAVAKi. They will say, nowadays, that he is a clergyman who is doing such a thing. Yesterday it was the SAVAKi who was doing wrong; today it is the clergyman. It is the same in your case, too: yesterday, the bazaar was a *taghuti* one; today it is the bazaar of Islam. But has its essence changed? No; the usurer is the same old usurer; the profiteer is the same old profiteer; the fleecier is the same old fleecier. And it is the same in every part of the country to which we go. If the essence does not change, there is the danger of our school being subjected to insults, and the people turning away from it. This would be the biggest defeat that could possibly be dealt to us. Now, suppose that these people forged ties among themselves—this will not happen, but supposed that it did—and that America came up to support them, and a coup d'état took place. Suppose that they killed all of us and took our place. This would not be a defeat for the religion; we were defeated; but it was a physical defeat, not a spiritual one. But if we, ourselves, do certain things that create problems among the people, in the community and among the thinkers—with the internal and external enemies aggravating our problems—our school will suffer a defeat for which amends can never be made. It would be a defeat which the prophets used to ward off, and the saints resisted so that it should not occur. They sacrificed their lives so that their school remained safe and secure. In

any case, we have come up to here. The matter, however, is going to be more difficult from now onward, and its importance, greater.

I thank you gentlemen for having come from afar to meet us. Please convey my best wishes to your colleagues and to our friends and brothers. May God assist all of you and give you success.

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

Statements

Date: June 25, 1979 [Tir 4, 1358 AHS / Rajab 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Condemnation of the interference of the superpowers

Addressee: Chabeong Ouk (?) (Ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea)¹

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

We have not and will never give permission for foreign countries to interfere in the affairs of Iran. And just as we expelled the aliens from Iran, we are also capable of preventing their interference.

[The Ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea stated: "Today is the 29th anniversary of the aggression of US troops against the meek nation of Korea."

Imam Khomeini condemned this aggression and called for cutting off the hands of America and the superpowers from the deprived countries.

The ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea stated: "At present there are 50,000 America troops stationed in South Korea, and the South Korean regime is affiliated with America and international Zionism."

At the end of the visit, Imam Khomeini called for the expulsion of all the American troops from South Korea, and thanked the nation and the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea for this message.]

¹ "The previous day, Chabeong Ouk (the Ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea) was received in audience in Qum by Imam Khomeini, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, and submitted the message of the President of the People's Republic of Korea to the Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. During the course of this visit, the Ambassador, on behalf of the government and people of the People's Republic of Korea, also condemned the interference of the US Senate in Iran's internal affairs." *Kayhan* Newspaper of 4/5/1358 AHS.

Speech

Date: June 25, 1979 [Tir 4, 1358 AHS / Rajab 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The duty of the Islamic Guards in facing the internal and external enemies

Audience: The personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, Hamedan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The most valuable kind of guard duty

I wish to thank you the Islamic Guards for two reasons. One is that you have come from afar to meet me and say what you want to say. We will also speak to you in case we have something to say. The other matter is that you are guards, the guards of Islam. I hope that all of us can be the guards of Islam and the Holy Quran.

One part of guarding Islam is that a large number of people are, thanks to God, engaged in protecting the length and breadth of the country. The order of the country is now in their hands. Had it not been for them, this orderliness would not have existed. But there is a kind of guard duty that is above this, and that is guarding Islam, the tenets of Islam and oneself. Just as a country has its thieves, traitors and criminals, and crimes and treacheries ought to be prevented by standing guard—thanks to God that the Islamic guards are preventing them—so also is the satanic army present in large numbers within the human being, and which will destroy him if he is not on his guards. If our Islamic guards also keep guard over themselves so that this service in which they are engaged is done sincerely and lovingly for Islam and in the straight path of Islam; if they do so, they will have discharged their guard duty.

The danger of abusing power

God forbid, if some deviation occurs; if there is any transgression against their brothers by those who say that they are the guards of Islam, and, now that they are powerful, strong and free, misuse this power, strength and freedom, and, God forbid, transgress against their brothers and the homes of the people, then it would not be like any ordinary person doing it—the ordinary person who does such things is also a criminal. It would be a number of people under the name of the guards of the Islamic Republic and in the uniform of the guards. If something wrong is done and a mistake committed, God forbid, by the guards of the army of Islam and of the Islamic

Republic, it would be different from the case of an ordinary person doing it. The reason is that they introduce themselves as being of the army of Islam and the guards of Islam, with the people expecting the guards of Islam to conduct themselves on Islamic lines, and their actions to be Islamic.

The grave duty of the clergy and the Islamic guards

Similarly in the case of two clergy that are protectors of Islam and Islamic tenets, one clothed in the robes of the clergy committing an offense is different from the case of ordinary persons as they are the protectors of Islam and are dressed in clerical robes; in the robes of the protectors of the Quran and the Sunnah. God forbid, if at any time they do something wrong or make a mistake, it will not be the same as the case of an ordinary person doing such a thing. Therefore, you young people who are the guards of the Islamic Republic, and the clergy who are the protectors of Islamic tenets and the Quran, have heavy duty and a noble profession. The profession is noble as safeguarding Islam is a most noble profession and carries great responsibility. You ought to safeguard these rules and laws of the country. It should just not be that you are Islamic guards, and we say that we are clergymen and you say that you are Islamic guards, but, God forbid, not carry out the duties that the guards and the clergy have to perform. Just as we claim to be the guards and the protectors of the Islamic Republic and Islamic tenets, so also should we initially observe Islamic limits. Our path should be the straight one of Islam so that what we claim is accepted by God. If we suppose that the people are not aware that we are doing something wrong, God is aware of it; it is done in His presence. In such an event, we cannot claim before God that we are Islamic guards because acting contrarily to Islamic principles, God forbid, and then claiming that we are the watchmen of Islam is meaningless. One who acts against Islam cannot say that he is an Islamic guard. A person who is a thief himself cannot say that he is a watchman or a policeman. One cannot be a policeman while being a thief; he is not a policeman, he is a thief. If an Islamic guard, God forbid, does not conform to Islamic norms, he cannot be a guard. He is a person who is against Islam.

Brothers! Try to reform yourselves and to keep guard over yourselves. Your safeguarding the Islamic Republic will be accepted by God, the Blessed and Exalted, when you guard yourselves. It is valuable thing; most valuable. At such a time when Islam need guards and the people who are against Islam and the Islamic Republic are busy hatching plots, there is a need to have guards at such a juncture. You must keep guard over yourselves and also

over the Islamic Republic. May God make all of you successful. May you be triumphant and successful, God willing, Mr. Madani¹ will proceed to Hamedan, God willing, after he has straightened out his affairs a bit in Tabriz. May you be successful, God willing.

¹ Sayyid Asadullah Madani was martyred in Tabriz by the *Munafiqin* (the Hypocrites) while praying in the prayer altar.

Speech

Date: Morning, June 25, 1979 [Tir 4, 1358 AHS / Rajab 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The rule of law in the Islamic government

Audience: The personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, Qarchak Varamin

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Islamic government, a government of law

Now that the Islamic Republic is our official system of government, it is our duty to act in accordance with it. The Islamic Republic means the system demanded by the people, with its principles being those of Islam. The system demanded by the people was realized, with 99 percent of them voting for it. Our official government now is the Islamic Republic. It remains for the injunctions to become Islamic. It is not the intention for it to be merely an Islamic government. The aim is that in an Islamic government, Islam should rule; the law should rule. The people should not rule according to their own opinions and thinking. We want Islamic principles to gain currency everywhere and the Commands of God, the Blessed and Exalted, to rule. In Islam, the government is a government of law. Even the governments of God's Messenger (s) and the Commander of the Faithful (a) were based on law. That is, it was the law that put them into their positions: "*Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger and those of you who are in authority.*"¹ It is God's command. It is compulsory to obey them according to what the law commands. Therefore, the rule belongs to the law. It is the law that governs in an Islamic country. There is no governance without the law.

The need to abide by the law

If a president of the republic is installed in an Islamic country, it is again the law that has made him so by the public vote, which also includes the vote of the jurist [*faqih*]. Or the installation of the jurist, which is the same as being installed by God, is the law that prevails everywhere. Nowhere in an Islamic government will you find anything that is done on its own, or by exercising authority. Even the Noble Messenger (s) did not install himself. It was on the authority of the Quran. It was based on revelation. Whatever he

¹ Surah an-Nisa 4:59.

used to say stemmed from the revelations. *“Nor doth he speak if (his own) desire. It is naught save an inspiration that inspired, which one of mighty powers hath taught him.”*¹ And similarly, the governments that are Islamic are subject to the law. Their authority is based on law. The government is divine; it is the government of law.

The Islamic Republic with an Islamic substance

We did not want the Islamic Republic in word. The reason why we are continually saying that, with the government having become Islamic, its substance should also be Islamic is because the country claims to be a Muslim one and its people claim to be Muslims, but in many places it is seen that they do not abide by Islamic principles. Many people claim to profess Islam: It is merely a claim because on observation, you will see that it is not so in practice; there is no sign of Islam. We say that just as the government is Islamic, its substance should also be Islamic. That is, you should see Islam and its injunctions everywhere that you go: every ministry, every office, every street and locality, every bazaar and every school and university. This is because we had wanted an Islamic government; we did not want an Islamic Republic only in name. We wanted the rule of God to take effect in our country and, God willing, in all the other ones as well.

The rule of God over the people

Freedom is bound by the law. Therefore, it should not be imagined that now that the Islamic Republic is in place, anybody can do as he likes, and now that there is freedom, one is free to do whatever he wants. Freedom is within the limits of the law. That is, we are free to the extent of the freedom given to us by God, the Blessed and Exalted. We are not free to indulge in corrupt practices or violate one's chastity. No human being is free to trouble his brother. Freedom is within the bounds of the law. It is to the extent that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has given the people. It is more than the freedom given by others. They have given freedom that is illogical; here it is logical. What they have given is not freedom. It should be logical and based on the law. Therefore, what we want is divine rule, the rule of God. We want the Quran to rule over us. We want Islamic laws to rule over us. We cannot accept any establishment that is contrary to Islamic laws, and neither any opinion that is contrary to that of Islam. We cannot accept personal, group and party opinions. We can accept what Islamic law commands. We are the

¹ *Surah an-Najm 53:3-5: “Nor doth he speak of (his own) desire. It is naught save an inspiration that is inspired, which one of mighty powers hath taught him.”*

subjects of Islam; we are subject to Islamic law. Our youth sacrificed themselves for Islam. Our youth made so many efforts. They used to say that they wanted Islam and Islamic principles.

An Islamic government cannot be realized without self-development

It is now the duty of every one of us, wherever we are and to the extent we can, to implement Islamic laws beginning with ourselves. If we fail to reform ourselves and to put Islamic laws into practice in our own case, we will not be able to form an Islamic government. If a person, such as the president or the prime minister for example, who is at the head of the government, does not reform himself and does not observe Islamic laws; if he does not implement Islamic laws in his country, then its government cannot be Islamic nor can he be an Islamic ruler. And each one of those authorities; the ones who have authority, and head the various authoritative organs, such as, for example, the Chief of Staff, the head of the gendarmerie and the other heads will not be able to assume Islamic management unless they put Islamic laws into effect in their own cases. Islam does not accept a head who acts against Islamic laws. The army does not accept someone who is at the helm but does not practice Islam. It does not accept a department in which Islamic precepts are not in effect. We have defects now; and many of them. Our country is not Islamic yet. Wherever we put our finger, we find some trace of the *taghut* there; some individuals, some scheming individuals. We cannot accept the presence of plotters in the ministries and offices. They have to reform themselves. The country should become Islamic; if not it is a country in which some pawns have been removed and others put in their place, with these doing the same things. We never wanted such a situation. The people did not have their blood shed for Muhammad Rida to go and somebody else to come and do the same acts that he did; the same things that he would do.

A warning to those in power

Therefore, you who are Islamic guards ought to first reform yourselves. Do not imagine that you are free now, that you have guns, and that you should now trouble the people. You now have a duty to perform. You are now being watched; watched by God, watched by the Imam of the Time (a). They are watching you; they give a report of your deeds to the Imam of the Time twice a week according to some of the narrations; and report of our deeds. Now that you are free of that oppressive power, you must be careful that you do not misuse your newly-found authority and power and be an

oppressive force yourselves. Do not transgress against your brothers. Do not arrest anybody for nothing. Do not unnecessarily try anybody because of the personal grudges you have, or sentence someone for nothing. All these things are being watched. God, the Blessed and Exalted, will question us. May God give all of you success and may He make us succeed in becoming human beings, God willing.

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

Speech

Date: June 25, 1979 [Tir 4, 1358 AHS / Rajab 30, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Insisting that the workers and farmers strive harder, and refrain from working less or not working at all

Audience: Employees of the Iran Atmosphere factory

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The country's economy dependent on the labor of the workers and peasants

The workers and farmers of every country constitute its base. The basis of a country's economy depends on the labor of the workers and farmers. Unfortunately, these two pillars of the economy on which it was based were demolished during the days of the former regime. You saw how they totally destroyed the country's agriculture in the name of land reform. Iran that should export; that should be active in agriculture exports—one province of Iran such as Azerbaijan or Khorasan has enough (export) capacity for the whole of Iran—was turned into a market for America because of what they (the regime) did. We have to import whatever we need from America and other countries. They also did something to our workers that disrupted their lives. Their labor was also at the service of foreigners.

You the respected workers and cultivators; brothers! You in whose hands lies the basis of Iran's economy, just as you were formerly under the control of the *taghut* and your work used to be ignored, you are now (working) in the Islamic government, God willing, with Islam attaching great importance to workers and farmers. The government has you in mind. We are your supplicants and have you in our thoughts. But the devastation is of such an extent that it cannot be repaired early enough. The difficulties are so many that we cannot extricate ourselves from their clutches so soon. Some patience is necessary.

The continuation of the Revolution with the support of the youth

You who have been patient for fifty years under the pressure of the *taghut* have to wait a little bit more until a permanent government comes into being; until a permanent Islamic Republic that would take everyone into consideration, comes into existence. And just as you see at present, it does have everybody in mind: plans have been laid for the workers, the farmers

and the poor. These are all plans that are being implemented. But they require time, no doubt.

It is now necessary for me to remind you brothers and the valiant youth of your having seen how you defeated the regime with your spirited cries that also arose from the throats of the people. And while it was a big, satanic power itself, it had the backing and support of all the other powers and countries, especially the superpowers, which were not able to keep it intact. You young people defeated that regime through your sublime efforts and faith in Islam, and thanks to God, freed yourselves from the yoke of oppression and suppression. You have all been together so far and have rid yourselves of the suppression. By means of your strength and power, this movement, from now onward, too, must be taken to the very end. You the valiant youth, you the young workers, who are the backbone of the country, should, from now on, run this country and bring Iran's economy to fruition.

The empty claims of the Shah's regime

You sometimes hear of less work being done in factories and offices. In fact, just today somebody said that, at times, no work was being done in these workshops and offices, while there were many instances of less work being done! The same thing is being heard about the factories, while it is now the time for all of us to work. With your efforts, you should, together, set right all this chaos and the destruction that they have left behind. The country is now your very own; its benefits should also accrue to you. If, God willing, Islam and Islamic principles are realized, you will then see what Islamic justice is. It is different from the claims that used to be made by Muhammad Rida Pahlavi during the former period, during the time of the former regime, it was just talk. He did not do anything for anybody. In fact, the number of slum-dwellers increased. In the name of industrialization, and for the country to become industrialized, he destroyed its agriculture. And the industrialization was also not effected. Now that they, themselves, have imported some industrial plants from abroad, the benefits will again go to the foreigners. There would be no benefit for us; in fact it would be a loss to us as in the case of the steel works which has caused great loss to Iran and which they cannot abandon, while continuing with it would also incur a great loss. All the activities stemmed from crimes and treacheries, and they took the country to rack and ruin.

Avoiding the practice of working less

And now you must strive, everybody must strive—I, a seminarian to the extent I can, and you, who are, thanks to God, powerful, to the extent of your power—to avoid working less (than we should). We should not be idle. Now that the country is for your own selves and has been delivered from the foreigners, you ought to work (as much as you can) lest the work be inadequate because of which you and we would not be able to manage the country. And then they would say that we need a caretaker; that we need somebody to come and run our country. Every one of you ought to join hands and manage this country, put the economy on a sound track and set its wheels rolling. The factories should start operating through your efforts. And when they do so, the benefits accruing would go to your country and to you. It is hoped that oppression of the past will not be repeated, and that you will not be oppressed anymore. I know that you had been subjected to oppression; not only you, but everybody else, too. While all the segments of the people had been the victims of oppression, the workers, perhaps, had been more so.

May God give you might and may He make you prosperous. May you be the pillars of this country, God willing, and set its economy in motion. May you all be prosperous, and your brothers, too, be prosperous because of your endeavors.

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

Speech

Date/Time: 9:30 pm, June 25, 1979 [Tir 4, 1358 AHS / Rajab 30, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The success of the campaign; avoiding differences

Audience: Employees of the Southern Fisheries Company; a Christian couple

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The time for reconstruction

I thank the gentlemen who have come here. May God make you prosperous in this world and the hereafter. You are aware that, at present, Iran needs workers and that there is much work to be done. It is the time for reconstruction. They² left the country in ruins and went away. Reconstruction is needed in every sphere, and this should be carried out by everybody; by all the people of Iran. The government alone cannot do it. The clergy cannot do it, nor can any single group. All the people, together, have to reconstruct this ruined country.

Self-reformation prior to reforming others

You are now in a company in which you have to act honestly and piously. Just as you succeeded in this movement, so also must you succeed in overcoming the army of Satan. You have to rise, to campaign against this army that wants to lead us into corruption, and into darkness and oppression. Everybody is duty-bound to reform himself before reforming others. It is the duty of all of us to reform ourselves. Today, Iran needs pious people to be involved in everything. Wherever you are, you must be competent, straightforward, honest, and pious in your work.

Avoiding differences

May God assist all of you. May He make your country independent and protect it from the mischief of the devils. You are aware of course that even now the devils are active in spreading sedition and sowing discord among the workers, the employees and all the other strata of the people. You brothers should be vigilant lest they come among you and cause dissension. They

¹ The newspapers dated 4/6/1358 AHS have given the date of this aforementioned meeting as 4/5/1358 AHS.

² It refers to the Pahlavi dynasty.

think that by creating dissension they will be able to restore these former conditions, that former regime. But thanks to God that is too late and they will not be able to do so. They are, however, trying to sow discord and dissension among you and to create trouble. You must be careful and must ostracize such people in case they appear in your midst.

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

Speech

Date: Morning, June 26, 1979 [Tir 5, 1358 AHS / Shaban 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Monotheist religions against the powerful (entities); the clergy's role in the contemporary movements

Audience: The motorcycle-mounted Islamic guards of Qum; the oil company employees of Abadan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Islam, the school of movement

Islam is the school of movement, and the Holy Quran, the book of movement: movement from the natural state to the unseen; movement from materialism to spiritualism; movement for justice and for the establishment of the government of justice. Regrettably, those who wanted to plunder the East and take the Muslim nations into bondage carried out propaganda which even the people of the East—those that were neglectful of Islam and the monotheist schools—believed. Contrary to what the monotheist schools are—the schools of movement—they said that religion was the opium of the masses! That is, religion had come to lull the people into sleep, and also that the clergy were countries, the clergymen were in the service of capitalists. This is the propaganda that has been carried out for, perhaps, hundreds of years, and had intensified in recent years during the time of this father and son. This is exactly opposite to the facts.

The mission of the prophets: awakening the masses

If you study the history of the prophets, the history of Islam and its early period which is close to us, you will see that contrary to the propaganda they have been making about religion being the opium that puts the people to sleep—like an opium addict who lapses into slumber—for the capitalists to rob them, the prophets had come to awaken the people; to alert these addicts and those who had fallen into sleep. Moses (*a*), the details of whose history appear in the Quran and other heavenly books was a person, a shepherd—he was Hadrat Shuayb's shepherd—who carried a staff and for a long time had mobilized the masses against the Pharaoh who was the greatest power of his (Prophet Moses') time. He did not lull the people into sleep for the Pharaoh to rob them! He awakened the people so that the Pharaoh not rob them; just

the opposite of what they (the propagandists) said and which our youth believed.

Islam's confrontation with the powerful (entities)

The people ought to see whether Islam, which is close to us in time and the history of the Prophet of Islam accessible to everybody, had come to make the people addicted? To put them to sleep? Or whether the Quran is a book of combativeness; a book of struggle against the polytheists who were powerful. In saying, "*And wage war on all the idolaters,*"¹ the Quran is alluding to the polytheists that were the powerful entities of that time, such as the polytheists of Quraysh who possessed all the power. Did they, did the powerful ones mobilize the Prophet? Did they make him put the people to sleep so that they could rob them? Or did he rally the people! The Prophet of Islam rallied the barefooted people against the polytheists. He waged war against them and fought them until he wiped them out and established social justice. It is contrary to what the Westerners told the people of the East which many of us, regrettably, believed. Their propaganda was extensive.

In the time of Rida Khan, which most of you do not remember, or none of you are aware of, his first aim after coming to power was to wipe out the clergy. It was his primary aim. He did away with *madrasahs* and defrocked the clergymen. They would arrest some of the respectable clergymen in the streets and take them to the police stations. They would not tell them to go home and remove their clerical dress. They would tear off the robes and cloaks there itself and throw them away so that they (the clerics) go and wear suits, for instance!

Has Islam made the people addicted? Or does the history of Islam show that when the Prophets of Islam was in Mecca and had hidden himself out of fear of these same Quraysh and polytheists, he used to carry out propaganda clandestinely. When he could not stay there any longer, as they had joined up to kill him, he fled to Medina. The people who had accepted his invitation and accompanied him were the people of the lower class, the poor ones. They were the Sitters on the Benches [*ashab as-suffah*]² who are well known. They

¹ *Surah at-Tawbah* 9:36.

² A *suffah* is a covered place found before the doors of some Eastern houses or mosques where one can rest. During his stay in Medina, the Prophet had a *suffah* built onto the Quba Mosque so that his needy friends and a number of the Muslims who had left their homes and possessions in Mecca to accompany him on his migration to Medina could lodge there. This group of people was called the companions of the *suffah*.⁷ After the pledge of brotherhood was taken between the Emigrants [*Muhajirun*] and the Helpers [*Ansar*], the latter shared their belongings with some of the companions of the *suffah*.

were some people who, lacking homes, used to come to the mosque and sleep there on a surface, in a platform. They possessed nothing. As it is said, one of them would put a date in his mouth, take it out and put it into another one's mouth who would then remove it from his mouth and give it to another person! Such was their condition. The Prophet had rallied these people against the capitalists, the polytheists and the powerful ones who used to rob the people. The propaganda of the West was that it was not so. The fact was quite opposite to what was said that the prophets had come to make the people addicted and the powerful ones to rob them! The history of the prophets is known: they came to mobilize the poor people to go and put the plunderers in their place, and establish social justice.

A look at the history of the movement of the *ulama* in the last century

It is also said among the clergy that they belong to the court, and that the powerful people created them in order to make the people addicted so that they (the ones with power) could rob them. I was once seated in a bus with two of the gentlemen. It was during the days of Rida Shah. We were going from the north of the city to the south. There were also some other people in the bus, two of whom started talking with one another. One of them, pointing to us, said that it was years that he had not seen such figures. We were three clergymen (in the bus). He later said that the British had created us so that we mislead the people in Najaf and Qum and to keep them silent for the benefit of the British. That person was ignorant of course; not that he was spiteful. They had instilled this in the people's minds. They had told them such things, and the people believed them. Many of our youth had also come to believe all this, whereas our own history of the last several years; the last 100 years; when we look at the last 100 years—it was also the same before that, but these last 100 years that we consider—we find that every movement that took place was that of the clergy against the kings. The Tobacco Movement was against the king¹ of that time. The Constitutional Movement² was against

¹ Nasiruddin Shah Qajar.

² What has become known as the Constitutionalism or Constitutional Revolution took place due to the chaotic situation in Iran at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the popular protest over the tyranny of the governors and agents of the dictatorial regime and the unruly officials of the government, the weakness and ineptitude of the then king Muzaffaruddin Shah, and finally the rising awareness among the people and revolt of the clerics and *ulama*. Years of struggle by the people culminated in the victory of the Constitutional Revolution in 1906. Although the Constitutional Movement was derailed from its proper path, it was able to transform the social organization in Iran, to destroy class privileges, to obliterate the power of the courtiers, and great landowners, and to establish justice and the rule of law. However, with the influence of the Westernized elements, and eliminating the clergies from the political scene and governance, the Constitutional Movement did not achieve its desired objectives and finally with the coup staged by Rida Khan, the father of Iran's ex-Shah, a monarchical rule once again emerged in Iran.

the (then) regime but, of course, with the regime being acceptable. It took place for justice to be established. In our own time, many of the clergymen rose against Rida Khan on several occasions: once from Khorasan; once from Azerbaijan and once also from Isfahan. And they invited everyone to Qum from all parts of Iran. We had witnessed all this. All of these uprisings were against Rida Khan, He, of course, had power and was able to defeat them. He had the *ulama* of Azerbaijan arrested and sent to Sunqur, I think. Two of the *ulama*—the late AMirza (Ayatullah Mirza) Sadiq Aqa¹ and the late Angji²—were taken to Sunqur or thereabouts in Kurdistan where they spent a long time in exile. After they were released, the late AMirza Sadiq Aqa came to Qum and stayed there without returning to Azerbaijan. He later died there. All those *ulama* of Mashhad who staged an uprising were arrested and brought to Tehran where they were imprisoned. The senior *ulama* among them were taken bareheaded through the streets to the police station or the court to be interrogated! They broke up the strike of the *ulama* of Isfahan, who had come here, by using pressure and trickery. It even came to be known and said that they had poisoned the late Haj Aqa Nurullah,³ who was the leading figure among them. The uprisings against them would be started by the *ulama*. But the people would also assist them to some extent, of course.

Colonialism's anxiety because of the two divine forces

But, instead, they told the people that the priestly class was basically affiliated to the court! They said that the clergy worked for the court and wanted the monarchy to remain secure and the court to exist, whereas the clergy was opposed to them. But they made propaganda that was contrary to the fact. Why? Because they saw that there were two forces and that if these two forces remained, their masters would not be able to derive any benefit from Iran. Their experts had realized that if these two forces remained in the

¹ It refers to the great jurist and religious reference authority of Azerbaijan.

² Mirza Abul-Hasan Angji, the son of Sayyid Muhammad Shaykh ash-Shariah.

³ One of the leading *ulama* of Isfahan who, in 1306 AHS, walking in the front of about 100 *ulama*, *mujtahids* and a group of the people of Isfahan, came to Qum as a mark of protest against military conscription. Rida Khan who had become aware of this, sent his premier and the minister of court to meet him, and accepted his demand... but he remained in Qum and died on the eve of Dey 4, 1306 AHS, under suspicious circumstances.

eastern countries, they would have to wash their hands of the East. One of these powers was Islam. If Islamic power remained and ruled in the East, it would not allow them to come and take away everything of ours, and destroy whatever human and non-human resources we had. The other power was the clergy. And if this class remained, the people who supported them would not allow them to derive any benefits. So these two forces, Islam and the clergy, the power of Islam, had to be neutralized because religion is the opium of the masses. Even some of our wicked writers would say these things from time to time. Such a thing is said even now. This is being mentioned today as well, while they have seen with their own eyes that it was the clergy that mobilized the people to rise against the regime. They cannot stand this; they want to break this power. That is, they are the agents of those who want to destroy this power. They studied the matter and concluded that in case this power remained intact and the masses, who supported the clergy, raised their voices of protest, the others would join them. So, they had to do something to break the power of the clergy among the people themselves. During the days of Rida Khan, they created such a situation in which the drivers (of cabs)—as it used to be said—would not allow the clergymen to enter their cars. A friend of mine, one of the *ulama* of that time—may God bless his soul—said that when he wanted to hire a cab to come from Iraq to Qum (Iran), the driver told him that they had agreed not to allow two groups into their cars: the prostitutes and the clerics. Such was the propaganda in Rida Shah's time. That is, it was propaganda; not that the driver himself, wanted it to be so. They had persuaded that driver in that way. The propaganda was such that they had persuaded the drivers. Their (the enemies) agents were everywhere; they were engaged everywhere in making propaganda against the clergy. Why? Because if they developed in power and had the standing that they ought to have in the community, they would not allow every other entity or country to come and devour some corner of this land. That fellow¹ used to say that Iran would be partitioned without him, and would become Iranistan! He is not here anymore and Iran is the same Iran. Neither was it partitioned, and nor did it become Iranistan. And their links to the country have also been severed.

The growing propaganda against Islam and the clergy

Brothers! Be aware, the devils are still there; they who want to do these two things. One is that Islam should be rejected; it is outdated. These accursed people, these lackeys of others, are even now saying the same thing:

¹ Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.

“Islam belongs to the period of 1,400 years ago!” They want to destroy this Islam which became such a driving force as to destroy this regime. It was the motivating force, the cry of Islam that destroyed the regime. They are their servants. They are traitors, either knowingly and of their free will, or out of ignorance! These same people want to break that second power, too! It is now worse than before. The foreigners have now felt that Islam is able to do such a thing, and that the clergymen also are able to do such a thing. They are now doing more propaganda than they were doing at that time. Their lackeys are now doing more propaganda than before. Those people who have come here from abroad and are now engaged in hatching plots will do, and are doing, this propaganda more than before. Thus you read of those same issues in some of their articles. However, they cannot say so openly; they are saying it implicitly in a certain way. They cannot say it openly and frankly. They mention those same issues implicitly. These are the same issues that existed from the beginning of Rida Khan’s time. They had existed even before him. But those two issues and the propaganda over them had existed from the beginning of his rule until now when his son went away from Iran: propaganda against Islam; propaganda against the clergy; in other words, (propaganda against) Islam and those serving it. These two propaganda issues had been there from the time of Rida Shah. In those days, many of the people—because of the extensive propaganda, the pressure that was exerted from that side and the prosecution to which the clergymen were subjected—came to believe the propaganda then being carried out. During this one’s (ex-Shah) time, too, many of our youth, having been tricked and deceived, turned their backs on Islam and the clergy.

The Revolution led by the clergy

They have now understood that it was the power of Islam that demolished this big barrier. It was the power of the clergy that rallied the people everywhere. Wherever you went you would see that the clergy of that city had mobilized the people, uniting all of them. They had the people gather in the mosques and by the altars and united them until they demolished this barrier. Once again a certain group, certain people want to mention these issues implicitly and explicitly, with various approaches. That is, those same issues that were voiced by certain individuals in the days of Rida Khan are once again emanating from the throats of a group of people: “Islam is antiquated. Islam cannot work anymore. The clergy and the priests should attend to their own affairs! They should see to what they ought to. They want to establish a priestly dictatorship!” I do not know where this

priestly dictatorship is! Really, which clergyman is dictator that they speak about this?

Forming parties and group politics

In any case, brothers, be vigilant. Those same traps which existed at that time and brought us misfortune, and made Islam and the clergy fall into disfavor with the people—of course, not all of them—and the intellectuals, the same plots, the same issues, and the same words are still there. Large numbers of people get together and keep on forming groups! We took the trouble; the clergy took the trouble of making the people band together until they accomplished this task and demolished this barrier. But now a number of groups have appeared. If you read the newspapers you will see this group and that group appears everyday; clusters of them. They are nothing as such but keep on forming into small groups. The same groups of people that had disbanded because Islam wanted to unite all of them and the clergy took the trouble of doing so, are now pretending that they are for the nation; for the people. If the same ones that are making such claims to intellectualism are traitors, well, it is clear that they speak out of prudence. But if they are not traitors, they are not so intelligent to see that attempts are being made once again to split the people into groups, the groups that linked up and merged together giving rise to a tremendous flood that smashed this big dam. They want this group and that group of people to withdraw and for everybody to get separated so that the way be opened once again for those who want to derive benefits.

Everybody under the banner of Islam

Be careful that you do not get separated into groups. This country succeeded because of the unity of expression. Do not disperse the people. *“And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.”*¹ Accept this Quranic verse. Hold fast, all of you to the rope that is Islam, which links you to God. Do not get separated from one another. Do not separate. Do not keep on making your oaths separate. That path is of such-and-such a movement; of such-and-such party; of such-and-such a group and, God knows of what faction. Do not separate the people from one another. Remain together; be friends.

Forming parties, with this one and that one pulling the people from this side and that, is tantamount to creating enemies. Keep yourselves under one banner, all of you, under one flag, the same flag that has led you to victory so

¹ Surah Al-i Imran 3:103.

far. Remain under it from now onward, too. You will be victorious, God willing, if you do so.

I am hopeful that they (the opponents) will not be able to create a serious split again. May God give you success, and may you be safe.

Speech

Date: June 26, 1979 [Tir 5, 1358 AHS / Shaban 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Islam, the religion of constructiveness

Audience: Students of Isfahan University of Technology

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Human self-development: the greater crusade

Islam has essentially come for a constructive purpose. Its aim is to develop the human being. The crusade for construction; the development of man himself, is above all crusades. This is why the Noble Messenger has ordered the greater crusade [*jihad al-akbar*].¹ It is a crusade that is great and difficult, and all virtues and attainments follow it. It is the greater crusade. It is the crusade that man engages in against his own *taghuti* self. You, the youth should begin with this crusade from now itself. Do not let the power of youth slip out of your hands. The roots of moral corruption increase and become more troublesome with the loss of the (virtuous) power of youth, and the crusade more difficult. A young person can soon achieve victory in this crusade; an old person cannot do so quickly enough. Do not let your self-reformation be put back from the time of your youth to the time when you are old. One of the ruses employed by the self against a person and which Satan suggests to a person is that self-development be postponed until old age, and that one's youthfulness be made use of now, and penance done toward the end of life. This is a satanic scheme by which a person's self is given satanic instruction. A person can reform himself while he has the vigor of youth, the tender spirit of youth and until the time that the roots of corruption within the person are few. But if the roots of corruption in a person become strong, if they become a part of him, it will, then, not be possible (to reform). You, the youth who are now ready to crusade for your development, should know that this is the "greater *jihad*;" one that is done for you to develop yourselves so as to later be useful to your country and to serve it. You should, from this very age itself, start making individuals develop so that, later on, they could possibly deliver a country. If you mold yourselves and allow human virtues to become ingrained within you, you

¹ *Al-Kafi*, vol. 5, p. 12. See Imam Khomeini, *Sharh-e Chehel Hadith* (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, Autumn 1380 AHS), *hadith* 1.

will succeed in all the stages (of life) and will be able to deliver your country. The reason why those people destroyed the country was because of their corrupt practices. Had they developed themselves properly, they would not have betrayed the country; they would not have betrayed Islam.

The youth: the builders of the country and the servants of Islam

You must endeavor to serve the nation and Islam. You must strive to take the greater crusade to its very end, God willing, becoming, thereby, perfect human beings and committed Islamic persons that would enable you to be useful to yourselves, your country and nation.

May God assist you and take you to sublime heights, God willing. Today is the day of you the youth. Today is the day that you ought to be constructive in order to achieve these ends. Of course, serving the people is serving God. Serving human beings is serving God. May you succeed, God willing, in this service. I am always prepared to meet the gentlemen. There is no impediment in our part, whether the gentlemen, themselves, come or send their representatives. We will serve all human beings and all nations to the extent we can. And I hope that you will also be of service to mankind and Islam. May God assist all of you.

Speech

Date: June 26, 1979 [Tir 5, 1358 AHS / Shaban 1, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The grave duty of the clergy in the Islamic Republic

Audience: The *ulama* and clergymen of Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Isfahan: the center of knowledge and the great *ulama* of Islam

Isfahan has always been the center of knowledge. According to what I have heard, there have, at times, been seven thousand or more scholars and theology students in Isfahan which has produced very great *ulama* and thinkers. It is a center of knowledge even now; it has eminent *ulama* even now. I hope that the well-endowed and great seminary there will be the support of Islam and the promoter of Islamic precepts.

The grave duty of the clergy in the Islamic Republic

The seminaries ought to be very careful at this time and in the present situation which we are in with our enemies finding fault, especially with the learned people, the *ulama* and theology students. We must be very careful at this time—when they are under scrutiny and the object of attention—about any aberration occurring on the part of those in clerical attire as it is possible for Islam to be blamed. If during the previous regime, a clergyman; a person clothed in this dress did something wrong, it was not known whether it would be attributed to Islam. The people would say that the wrongdoer was deviationist, a SAVAKi or a courtier. With the government now being Islamic and with all eyes fixed on you, if, God forbid, any deviation occurs in the *madrasahs*, the committees, the law courts and other places, the blame will be laid on Islam. It will be said that it (the system) is an Islamic republic and that this is the Islamic Republic; it is what you see. Our duty today is, therefore, very heavy. Our duty today is to safeguard Islam's reputation. Our duty is to promote Islam and safeguard its reputation by means of our conduct, our words and actions. And if, God forbid, there is any deviation, you have to check it. If you notice anyone ignoring his duty of a cleric; his human-Islamic duty, you ought to disallow him from doing so. But if you are not able to dissuade him, you must put him aside. Everybody should carry out his Islamic duty. We should not give others the opportunity nor our

enemies the excuse to corrupt us and then say that the *ulama* are either dictators or deviationists, or that they want to set up something for themselves. The issues of today are most important and differ greatly from the past. Just as the gentlemen are diligent in gaining knowledge, they should also be diligent in refining their morals, their actions, their beliefs and their moral virtues, because knowledge without (good) deeds and without piety is harmful in many instances. An *alim* (a learned person) ought to be pious and have God, the Blessed and Exalted, in his thoughts so that he is able to train the community. He ought to be trained himself in order to train the community.

Expressing opinion regarding the Constitution

At this time that the Constitution is to be reviewed, it is hoped that each one of the gentlemen directly express whatever opinion he has, and then send it to the place where the views are collected. Sending them to me now is of no use. Send your views there, and bear in mind that you should just not sit by silently for others to express their views. Any defects in this draft ought to be mentioned;¹ they must be dealt with afterward. And more important than that is for you to bear in mind that deputies have to be appointed in the future to review the Constitution. So, be careful and appoint people that are religious, well informed, committed and who believe in Islam and this Islamic movement so that, with consideration to their judgment, an Islamic Constitution in all respects is prepared, God willing.

I thank all the gentlemen, the honorable elders, the scholars, the congregational prayer leaders and others, for having come here in this heat and are seated here in discomfort. May God assist all of you and keep you safe and sound. May He make everybody prosperous.

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

¹ Before the establishment of the Assembly of Experts on the Constitution, the draft of the Constitution was made available for the public to express its views and propose amendments.

Message

Date: June 27, 1979 [Tir 6, 1358 AHS / Shaban 2, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Explaining the duties of the Islamic guards vis-à-vis Islam and the Revolution

Occasion: The auspicious birthday of Hadrat Imam Husayn (a) and “*Pasdar Day*”

Addressee: Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shaban al-Muazzam 2, 1399 AH

I wish to thank all my countrymen, especially, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, on this auspicious day, the third of Shaban al-Muazzam, the day of the emergence of the Islamic guards and the protection of the progressive school of Islam. We should rightly name this day as “*Pasdar Day*” [Islamic Guards Day]. It is the great and blessed birthday of the guardian of the Holy Quran and dear Islam, one who sacrificed everything he had for the sake of his aim, thus saving Islam from the precipice of deviation of the *taghuti* Bani Umayyad regime. The degenerate Bani Umayyad regime was trying to portray Islam as a *taghuti* regime, and the founder of Islam as something contrary to what he was. In the name of the caliphs of God’s Messenger, Muawiyah and his tyrannical son Yazid did to Islam what Genghis (Khan) did to Iran,² and changed the essence of the revealed school to a satanic regime. Had it not been for the sacrifice made by the magnificent guardian of Islam and the brave martyrdom of his great fellow guardians and devoted companions, Islam, under the suppression of the Bani Umayyads and their tyrannical rule, would have been portrayed in

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, 4/9/1358 AHS is the date given. However, according to the handwritten copy, the date 4/6/1358 AHS, corresponding to Shaban 2, 1399 AH, the eve of the birthday of Hadrat Imam Husayn (a), is correct.

² Genghis Khan, the Mongol commander, in the year 1197 invaded Iran’s inhabited cities of that time while shouting the slogan, “I am the torment of God.” He firstly slayed the inhabitants of densely populated cities such as Marv, Bukhara, Neyshabur, Rey, Qum, Azerbaijan, and Khiva, and then killed all else that lived. He set fire to the trees and demolished any signs of civilization such as libraries, schools, mosques, ancient building, houses, gardens, and shops. He then cultivated the remaining land and grew crops there. See *Iran va Jahan az Mughul ta Qajariha*.

an inverted manner, and all the trouble taken by the Noble Messenger (s) and his dedicated companions would have been wasted.

O guardian of the present time and the Islamic Revolution! Follow the Imam of the *ummah*,¹ and the guardians of the Holy Quran and of dear Islam, thereby discharging properly your right of guarding the Islamic Revolution, and protecting properly this high station which is that of the great prophets and the saints of God the Almighty. Do not do anything that would, God forbid, tarnish the status of keeping guard. And do not do anything in your guard uniform that would disgrace Islam, because of which it would, God forbid, be said that the Islamic guards are just like the agents of the Organization.²

I, most emphatically, request you dear youth to ostracize the impious elements as it is possible for a person's wrong act to defame a whole group. We are facing groups today that are waiting to show Islam and the glorious Islamic Revolution in a way that is contrary to reality, and to find fault with the various Islamic groups. They also want to attribute to the movement and to Islam whatever is done by the individuals who have no responsibility. Therefore, it is necessary that the distinguished *ulama*, who are the society's guides, the committees, the courts, and Islamic guards try to stop these people from inverting the pure Islamic movement, and from tarnishing the holy school of Islam and the Islamic Revolution, by their mischief and plots, or out of ignorance and unawareness of Islamic tenets. I request all the aforesaid groups to assist the interim Islamic government, and not to interfere directly in governmental affairs and in dismissing and appointing officials. Interference that weakens the Islamic government displeases God and ought to be avoided.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Imam of the *ummah* refers to Imam al-Mahdi, the Master of the Age (may God expedite his glorious advent).

² The Shah's Security Organization (SAVAK).

Speech

Date: June 27, 1979 [Tir 6, 1358 AHS / Shaban 2, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Muslim governments; treacheries and differences; unity the factor in attaining victory

Audience: A delegation from Oman consisting of the deputy foreign minister, the ambassador, and the foreign ministry and embassy staff members

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Muslim governments: Islam's basic problem

I hope that with the help of all Muslims we will be able to present Islam as it really is. This school has many valuable things to offer. I hope that those who have gone astray return to the path.

In my opinion, one of the problems is the case of the Muslim governments. If the Muslim governments act in accordance with their Islamic duties and eschewing their differences, rally—all of them—under the dictum of Islam, all the problems of these countries will be solved. Unfortunately, the unclean foreign hands at work among the nations do not allow any understanding to be created among the Muslim governments. In fact, they are creating misunderstanding among nations. If we wake up and act according to Islamic dictates, one of the important ones being, “*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate,*”¹ if we just follow this one rule, the problems of all the countries will then be solved. But regrettably, many of our (Muslim) governments pay no heed at all to these matters.

We saw that the Ottoman government, though not completely Islamic, possessed power with which it confronted Japan and Russia and defeated them. They (the foreign powers) broke up the Ottoman Empire, forming small countries out of it and handing them over to their own lackeys. They, thereby, weakened the Muslims and the Muslim countries.

Unity and solidarity: they key to victory

The Muslims should learn a lesson as to what happened that they (the victorious powers) broke up a vast entity into pieces, following the war and their victory, and installed a government obedient to them in each of these

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103.

smaller entities. This was because of their fear of Islam and the Muslims. They saw that if such a power existed and all the Muslims joined it, they would have no opportunity of exploiting the Muslim countries. It was for this reason that they split up a single country into many small ones. The Muslim governments should take a lesson from this. They ought to realize that the secret behind success of governments lies in unity of expression and the elimination of differences. I am hopeful that they will learn from Iran's experience in that a nation with no weapons, arrayed against all the weapons and the support of all the countries that the Shah had, nevertheless prevailed because of its unity of expression and reliance on Islam. The big powers, moreover, were not able to keep the deposed Shah in power. These are things that ought to be pondered and studied in other countries. The governments should pay attention to these matters. If they want to rid themselves of foreign yoke, they must change their present policies and adopt an Islamic system and establish an Islamic government. They could return their own governments but should be united with one another.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, to make all the Muslims alert, especially the Muslim governments so that they may think about their nations and all the destruction that has been done. And I also hope that, under the banner of Islam, they will set everything right, God willing.

...and I pray that the hand of the foreigners be cut off from these countries and these...you will find them everywhere now. They are the "mother of the foreigners". The nations ought to be cautious of them, and guide and tell them that they find in Islam the best of whatever they want. When you ponder deeply, you will see that the things in other countries that you think are part of civilization are not so. They are closer to savagery because all the modern weapons that they have are made for killing their own kind and for massacring human beings. This is the same utter savagery that animals have, but to a lesser extent than humans. It is Islam that invites everyone to peacefulness and wants all the people to live in comfort. True civilization is to be found in Islam just as true freedom is to be found in it.

They go among the people in the name of publicity and in various other names. Some of them have been deceived while others are foreign lackeys. I hope that they will be guided. The people should try to guide them, and if they cannot be guided, the people should turn their backs on them. May God guide all of us toward the straight path, God willing.

...I hope that all the governments and the nations rally under the banner of Islam, God willing. In case they wish to attain prosperity, they should assemble under the banner of Islam so that other schools would not be able to

influence them. These problems and difficulties will exist as long as there is deviation and as long as they do not rally under the banner of Islam.

...Paying attention to Islam is important. What made Iran triumphant was that there was a transformation among the people in a way like that of the early period of Islam. And everybody had many aspirations and desires right up to aspiring to martyrdom. And they succeeded because of this.

...God willing, all the people will achieve victory. I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for the alertness and victory of the Muslims.

...I hope that this movement of Iran's will spread everywhere and that all (Muslim countries) will succeed to the extent that Iran has.

Speech

Date: June 27, 1979 [Tir 6, 1358 AHS / Shaban 2, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The role of the unity of the seminary and the university; the issue of factionalism and party politics

Audience: Students of the Islamic Association of the Teachers' Training University, Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The harmfulness of an unrefined scholar

What is important about the universities, the teachers' college, and the centers for training teachers and students is that people should be trained to be human beings along with teaching and learning. People have often reached the pinnacle of knowledge but without being trained to be human beings. The harm accruing to the country, the nation and Islam from such persons is more than that from the others. One who has knowledge which is not associated with moral refinement and spiritual training is more detrimental to the nation and the country than the ones who lack knowledge. The knowledge of such a person is like a sword in his hands. And it is possible that he will use that sword of knowledge to cut off the root of the country and so destroy it.

The danger posed by the seminary and the university to the world-devourers

The fact that the foreigners, the foreign experts and those who wanted to plunder the country, paid great attention to the fronts—the clergy and the universities—was that they had realized that if these two fronts received the proper training so that, together with knowledge, they had the correct training and conduct, thus becoming what they should, then they, themselves, would not be able to derive benefits (from the country) anymore. If we have a proper university and a clerical order in its full sense, they will not allow the foreigners to ruin the prestige of the country. Therefore, they targeted these two fronts as they had considered them to be dangerous for themselves. But their way of attacking them was different. In Rida Khan's time, which I remember and most of you do not, they would use bayonets to attack this front and smash it. And so they used to attack the seminaries, arresting the people and taking them away. They used to remove the turbans of the

clergymen and strip off their cloaks. They used to close down the seminaries and the mosques. They did away altogether with the mourning observances and preachings. They thought that they would be able to obliterate the clergy in this manner. But they would not employ such methods in the case of the universities as they feared the repercussions abroad. So they used other means to stop the students from developing. However, they realized later that it yielded no results, and that the greater the pressure, the worse it would become; worse for themselves. In Rida Shah's time, they changed their (tactic of) attacking the clergy and started propaganda in order to separate the people from them.

Sowing discord between the seminary and the university and other groups of the masses

As these two forces of Islam, the clergy and the university, were able to stand up to them, that strategy of using force to eliminate the clergy did not work, and so they changed it. They started propaganda against the clergy so as to drive a wedge between the clergy and the university and between them and the people. They wanted to make the university circles, the clergy and clerics so appear to the people as if they were not really religious and were linked to the court, the British, the Americans, etc. The plan was to separate the people from these two classes that were competent. They had even separated these two from each other, making the clergy cynical about the academics and vice-versa. This was the plot to separate these two useful classes from each other and all of them from the nation so that they would not be able to do anything, leaving them (enemies) free to exploit this country.

The achievements of the Revolution

One of the blessings of this movement was that it brought these classes closer to one another. The university people, the clergy and the young clergymen all became close to one another; they became colleagues. And they developed an affinity with all other classes of the people and became like colleagues. They stated unanimously that the *taghuti* regime must go and a republic of Islamic justice be installed. This was everybody's motive and intention. By getting closer and united the various strata that had been separated from one another, were able to smash this big barrier that was thought to be unbreakable. They accomplished this with the assistance of God, the Blessed and Exalted, and with a common divine purpose in mind. Now that this barrier has been demolished, the irregularities revealed and the

thievery exposed, which will become more exposed afterward... and in the view of the people a kind of calm has set in for the nation and they are now putting another plan into effect, because the plan that was previously Islamic and used to bring the strata of the people closer together and consolidate them, made them realize that this consolidation resulted in the demolition of this barrier. So they are now thinking of separating the people.

The groups that have emerged

All the people who are now serving the foreigners, and those who have no evil intentions but are heedless of the realities, have started forming into groups. The task so far was to keep these various groups united for this mission to be accomplished, and for undertaking jointly whatever is to be done from now on. But they are now forming into groups according to the plans they have. It was last night that I read in the newspaper that, so far, a hundred groups... or a hundred and fifty groups; some like this—some such number—have announced their presence! That is, a hundred groups are now creating differences. The result will be that after the people from that side of the borders, and those within the country and abroad, see that this force has come apart, they will find the way open for staging a coup d'état or an attack, or at the least, for creating serious disturbances to paralyze the country.

Grouping to sow discord

The same previous plan is now being implemented in another way. When Rida Khan first came, the plan was to separate these forces from one another: the universities from the schools of theology; the bazaar from both of them; the peasants from everybody else; everybody separated from one another. They formed many political parties and various fronts. They did all this to prevent the people from coming together. They had not perceived the matter at that time. But they had a general idea of it; they understood it. They wanted this (separation of the people) to be done. After this divine movement took shape, these different groups coalesced to form a simple group. There was no more talk about the other ones. They all formed into one Islamic group. In the universities, they would clamor for so-and-so's death, and for Islam (to rule). It was the same with the farmers and the factories, too; in...the bazaars also. The people clamored unanimously for the same purpose. And they demolished this dam. Your enemies perceived this matter. It was theoretical at that time, but now it became objective. They perceived the fact that with the unification of these forces—the university and the clergy; they and the *bazaris*; the workers and all the others; the office-goers

and those not working in offices—even the superpowers would not be able to do anything. And, accordingly, they could not. All the superpowers wanted to keep Muhammad Rida (on the throne); not only them, but all the other powers that were there. All these Muslim countries supported him as well. That is, I did not find even a single one that did not (support him). Some of them would send us verbal messages of support, but we could not believe them. All of them were united in trying to keep this savage (in power) here, but they were not able to do so. Why couldn't they? Because all of you said the same thing.

The oil-devourers sorrowing over Iran's oil

When all the people want or say the same thing, nothing can be done against it. One cannot act against the wishes of a nation; it is not feasible anywhere in the world. Now that they have perceived the fact that this unity and solidarity is so damaging to them, and that they have been deprived of this oil, they are now mourning and crying over the oil that has been denied to them! They are, at present, aiming at bringing back that previous state of affairs; to separate the people from one another; to keep them apart from each other. And regrettably, our intellectuals, too, are unaware of this, except those who are traitors. There are some that are traitors. They work meticulously; they work for foreign powers. But most (of the people) are negligent of the matter. Groups and groups, a hundred groups—more than hundred—it appears that a hundred groups here have been formed up to now! During these past two months since the time you achieved victory by means of your unity, that solidarity has been coming apart; it is falling apart. Group after group is being formed, each one separate from the other, their paths separate, their pens against one another and their actions against one another. What is the result of this going to be? The result will be that the same issues of the past—of the last fifty years or so—arising from our differences will crop up again. These differences will cause those problems to reappear with everything returning to the former state, or at least, a puppet American regime to be installed that is not a monarchy as such; a regime that is democratic' but subservient to America.

The conspiracies of the opponents of Islam

This is the plan at present. And they have started splitting into groups. A hundred of them formed over the past two months—two or three months—a hundred groups have announced their formation. Though they are nothing—they are nothing—and are limited in number, yet they are bent on doing

mischief. This will cause the sedition in the country to increase gradually, and we will return once again to the state where the modern, intellectual group and the university circles are separated from the clergy. The clergy and the university people will go their separate ways, with each of them saying the same old things, and opposed to one another. The *bazaris* will also follow them, some of them favorable to this and opposed to that, and some others opposed to that. All this results in everybody being opposed to one another, many of our youth were killed so that we could have a country that could be our own. The people sacrificed themselves to such an extent and the women sacrificed their youth so that a country of Islamic justice could come into being. The opponents of Islam cannot stand this point. They see that they can be withstood with the power of Islam. They cannot stand it and are now intending to separate the people. The same problems will again arise after they have separated the people.

The separation of the masses from one another: the source of the Revolution's defeat

You the teachers, those pupils, university professors and students, merchants, clergymen, employees, workers, farmers, and all should be vigilant at this time because their plan is more precise now than before. Previously, they used to make those plans based on the premise as to what would happen if the people joined together. They have now actually seen that it has happened! Such a thing happened by the people joining together; such an event that everybody thought was impossible. But all the calculations turned out to the contrary. Now that it has happened, the opponents are more than ever determined to crush this movement. And the way of doing it is to separate you from one another: to make everyone cynical about another: to make everybody confront one another, and so achieve a result. Our thinkers, intellectuals and all the university students and professors ought to realize that this is the plan, the effects of which we are now witnessing. This splitting into groups is for this very purpose of not allowing the solidarity that has been there to be maintained. They do not want the people to wake up and find their own way; that path of being united that Islam has ordained. God has made it incumbent on the people to: "*Hold fast, all of you together to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.*"¹ Be together and do not be dispersed. All evils result from dispersion, while all blessings and prosperity lie in holding fast to God.

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103.

May God awaken us, and all of you and the whole nation. May we move forward in the path of Islam, the path of the country's independence, and the path of truth and freedom, thereby taking this movement to the very end.

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

Speech

Date: June 27, 1979 [Tir 6, 1358 AHS / Shaban 2, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The heavy responsibility of keeping guard

Audience: The personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary Committee of Tehran's District 12

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Safeguarding justice

Just as our Islamic Revolution has different features—the revolution to overthrow the corrupt regime and the revolution to establish the government of righteousness—it is hoped that there will also be a revolution to build (proper) human beings and a humane country. And that the guard duty of the Islamic guards be carried out in a revolutionary form and manner. Until the time that the purpose of the revolution was to demolish the regime, the guards “belonged” to that phase of it; that is, that revolutionary aim. They had to rise, and they did rise. They came roaring and fought all the satanic armies. And thanks to God that you succeeded in this direction of the revolution. The Revolution has succeeded partially; not completely. Most of this barrier has been destroyed; a few remnants remain which will hopefully be destroyed. The next step to be taken is for the realization of the government of justice and the Islamic Republic. The Islamic guards should carry out their guard duties to this end as well. Everybody ought to keep guard; all of you should be the guards of Islam and the government of truth. In this connection, keeping guard is to ensure that the government be one of justice means that the guard, himself, be endowed with the quality of being just to enable him to safeguard justice. If, God forbid, a guard or a group in our society is not characterized by justness, and like the former establishment that subjected the people to aggression, oppression and violation, this guard, group, faction, or whatever does the same things, to the extent it can, just as the previous regime did, then this cannot be called (the function of) keeping guard. Suppose that we claim to be the guards of Islam and of this revolution—that feature of it which is the establishment of a government of Islamic justice—we can say that we have done well and have been loyal to the Revolution in so far as demolishing, striking, killing, and getting killed are concerned. But if at this stage, which is that of instituting a government of Islamic justice, our protecting such a government is, God forbid, not

properly carried out—that is, we are not present in this stage of the Revolution and have not made ourselves predisposed toward justice, we cannot then say that this feature of our revolution has been realized which was the establishment of a government of Islamic justice. Or suppose that the Iranians—who are engaged in their work in the offices, bazaars and all the other places—also do not observe Islamic justice that ought to be there, then in such a case they, too, are not Islamic revolutionary individuals.

Setting about the duties of keeping guard

If the guards, whether you who are busy in your duty as guards, or whether the other strata of the people, one of which is the clergy—though this term does not apply to them at present, but in reality, they are the protectors of Islam—fail to observe, as they should, this feature of the Revolution which was the advent of a just government in the place of a corrupt one, if that revolutionary path is not followed at this time when a regime has supplanted a corrupt one, if they do not observe the Islamic justice that begins with a person and reaches out to everyone—dealing justly with another person; with friends; with fellow citizens; with people of the same province; with countrymen; with the people of neighboring countries that are friendly with us and with all mankind—if such a state is not attained, then neither will the government be Islamic nor will its guards be the guards of Islam. When I make a claim that I am a protector of Islam by virtue of my being a seminarian whose duty is to safeguard (the faith), then, as long as there is no instance, no sign or indication of this, it will merely be a claim. And supposing that the people accept my spurious claim, it is clear that it will not be right in the sight of God. You who have kept guard up to now—may God assist you—should try to rise to the occasion and carry out your guard duties in this second stage; the stage of the government of justice, the just government, the government of Islam, the Islamic Republic. Your duty at this stage is to safeguard justice and the government of justice. If, God forbid, a youth, a so-called Islamic guard transgresses against his friend, against somebody's house and possessions, he has then automatically lost his position as a guard. But you should make efforts to guide him, or otherwise, ostracize him from your ranks as it is possible for some wrong doing on the part of one person in a community to give currency to misdeeds thus polluting that whole community, owing to which it would be said that such are the Islamic guards. There was a time when it used to be said that so-and-so is like this; a time may come for it to be said that the Islamic guards are

like this. You must try to ensure that nothing is done lest it be said that the Islamic guards are of such-and-such type.

The heavy responsibility of the Islamic guards

In the same way, we too, and the gentlemen as well, should make efforts for it not to be said that the clergy are like this; the *akhunds* are like this. The eyes of the world are riveted on Iran today; especially the eyes of the ones that want to argue and create difficulties; that want to consider our movement as not being a right one. Their eyes are now focused on this. They dispute and write articles in the newspapers abroad; they write a lot. Perhaps all this is implicitly mentioned in the newspapers here, but it is explicitly written abroad. We should not give them an excuse. They are writing against us; if we take one false step, they will have an excuse to multiply it a thousand times.

The duty today of you, the Islamic guards, and also ours, who claim to be guardians, is very great. It is difficult. It has to be seen how you fare in this examination of discharging your divine duty. Now that you are Islamic guards, now that you have weapons and now that you are powerful, you have to see, with the weapons and the power you possess, how you are going to behave with the people and your brothers that constitute all the people; the whole country. Your conduct must be just and in accordance with Islam's instructions so that you become the guards of Islam and the Islamic Revolution! Otherwise, if the conduct of some of you, God forbid, is contrary, you will then be of Satan's army; you will lose your position of safeguarding Islam, and God will not accept you as guards.

May God acquaint us and the whole nation with our duties, and may we all serve this nation and this country.

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

Letter

Date: Circa 1979 [1358 AHS / 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Answering questions

Addressee: Masumah Asadi

[Dear Imam:

Please accept my best wishes. I hope that you are fine. Kindly answer my questions—questions that I am not asking for the sake of amusement. They are the product of thinking in my leisure time. Please give me profound, complete and detailed answers. I would, first, like to request you, the Imam, not to forget me in your prayers. For God's sake, do not forget me; do not forget me.]

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear daughter:

May you, God willing, in good health and happiness, serve Islam and the deprived servants of God Almighty.

Try to gain the pleasure of God. Peace [be with you].

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

[1. Which one of the scientific subjects have you studied more, and why?]

Mostly (Islamic) jurisprudence and matters related to it. The reason is that apart from being at the top of the curriculum of the theology centers, it is needed by me and by all the others.

[2. Some of the thinkers consider contemplation to be the progression from falsehood to truth. Have you, too, passed through the stage of darkness and reached truth, or being in truth, acquired it?]

If the purpose is that every falsehood, wherever it be, ought to be studied, it is an erroneous notion as acquiring the truth nullifies falsehood, and

presenting the proof of something defeats all those who are against it—
whether we know or not.

[3. Have you ever experienced tiredness in your life?! If it is so, when?]

I do not remember.

[What must I do, not to think of anything except what I am studying and
what I have in my mind? Should I study in the seminary or the university? I
am awaiting your answers.

Masumah Asadi]

Decree

Date: June 28, 1979 [Tir 7, 1358 AHS / Shaban 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointing a judge and dispatching a representative to Miyaneh

Addressee: Ali Ahmadi Miyanji

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Ahmadi Miyanji—may his graces last:

It is necessary for you to proceed to Miyaneh in order to look into the condition of the committees from close quarters and to try to set matters right. You must also make the necessary investigations on the case of the prisoners and the Islamic guards and organize their affairs as you think best. Meanwhile, in order to ameliorate the condition of the prisoners and to attend to their affairs, you have been appointed religious law judge. You must take steps to set up courts of law, following which you must take an active part in the legal proceedings thereof and, while using utmost caution, exercise complete supervision over the verdicts issued. I asked God Almighty for your success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-Muazzam 3, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: June 28, 1979 [Tir 7, 1358 AHS / Shaban 3, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The divine path and the satanic path

Audience: A group of theology students of Faydiyyah Madrasah and religious propagators

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The human being: the subject of the prophets' knowledge

If, as you gentlemen say, if every kind of knowledge has a topic, then the subject of that of the prophets is the human being. And if there is a plan for every government, it could be said that the Noble Messenger's (s) plan was that verse which was revealed at the outset. It was that of the Apostle of God:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

1. *Read: In the name of thy Lord who createth,*
2. *Createth man from a clot.*
3. *Read: And thy Lord is the most Bounteous,*
4. *Who teacheth by the pen,*
5. *Teacheth man that which he knew not.*¹

The topic of the discourses of all the prophets, the object of their training and the subject of their knowledge is the human being. They came to train the human being. They came in order to take this natural entity from the plane of nature to the sublime, supernatural state; to one beyond the high heavens. The theme of all the prophets is man. Each one of the prophets that had been sent from the beginning was for the sake of mankind and for its training. This noble verse also, credibly and probably, established this point. It is addressed to the Noble Messenger himself, but even the addresses made by the Quran to the Noble Apostle are often general in nature: "*Read: In the name of thy Lord.*" It points out the manner of reciting at the very beginning itself: it should be "In the Name of the Lord."

¹ Surah al-Alaq 96:1-5.

Beginning everything by invoking the Name of God

All the recitations and all the words that do not begin in the Name of God are satanic. There are two aspects: one is divine; the other satanic. When a recitation begins with *"In the Name of God,"* it has begun by invoking the Lord's name. Knowledge in the Name of God, reading in the Name of God, looking in the Name of God, listening in the Name of God, speaking in the Name of God, learning lessons in the Name of God, everything in the Name of God. The world began in the Name of God. God, the Blessed and Exalted, started (creating) the world in His own Name. The creation of the world is in His Name. Man is a world; a small world but, in reality, a big one. Reading; the first thing taught to him and the first command that came to the Noble Messenger is: *"Read, in the Name of Thy Lord."* It is not that you should read just like that (without invoking His Name); learn your lessons, promote, preach or propagate just like that, study in the Name of God. This is the point. Preach, propagate, listen, and speak in the Name of the Lord, because if the Lord's Name is not associated with such things, they are in a sense nothing and nothing will become of them. Everything in the Lord's Name is something. All the calls are from God. The world began in the Name of God, and it will end in His Name. You, too, should begin in His Name, and end in His Name. The sign of God is in everything. We must have fear of His Name. The whole world is God's Name. You, too, are His Name. Everything has turned into reality in His Name. And all of you are His Name.

Man, an unknown being

We have to understand and realize that everyone is from Him, and will all return to Him. *"Verily, we are from Him and to Him we shall return."*¹ We are from Him and everything is because of Him. The others are not; they are nothing. Everything concerns Him. We have to understand this point. The prophets came to awaken us; to train us. The prophets came for the sake of mankind and to train mankind. The scriptures of the prophets are there to develop human beings. The Holy Quran is the book for mankind. The topic of the prophet's knowledge is about mankind. Whatever it has, deals with man. Man is the source of all good deeds. If he does not become a (proper) human being, he will be the source of all darkness. He is at the junctions of two paths: one being the human path; the other deviating from humanity and leading to some kind of animal that nobody knows. Teaching, learning, religious jurisprudence, philosophy, and the knowledge of monotheism are by themselves of no use unless connected with the Lord's Name. [The

¹ Surah al-Baqarah 2:156.

words,] “*Read, in the Name of thy Lord Who created,*” attribute the entire creation to being in His Name. His Name is the source of all creations. It is creation; absolute creation. “*Read, in the Name of thy Lord Who created.*” You must also study your lessons in His Name. You must discourse and debate in His Name. It is not enough to say, “*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*” at the outset. Understand what the issue is, and we must understand what it is. The prophets came to make us understand what the issues were. All of us are wandering around in a perplexed state. The whole world is bewildered. They do not know what it is all about. Those who profess knowledge of human beings and of Islam are making mere claims! What do they know of man and of Islam? When somebody has a faint knowledge, a semblance of knowledge of man and of Islam, he thinks that he knows everything about man and about Islam. Nobody knows man in the true sense of the word; in the sense of being a human being, except God and those inspired by His revelations.

The human being at the crossroads

The angels objected to this “corrupt” entity—man—being created. God said: “*You do not know.*”¹ After He taught man all the “names,” and nobody could bear the “names” and the “trust” except man,² He told man to present them to the angels that had raised objections. Everybody was helpless; the angels, too, were helpless.³ And even the esteemed angels were helpless; but not us. Man, we, are beings that are at the crossroads. Those among us who are good did not take the wrong path. They are now on the way; we have to see what will happen.

Following that, He states: “*Read: And thy Lord is the Most Bounteous.*” Read with the Lord. Perhaps this is what it means. There it was: “*Read: in the Name of the Lord Who createth.*” The discourse, of course, is lengthy.

“*Createth man from a clot.*” Man was created from this clot, from this water—such a power! Such a power that He says of man who is the whole world: “*By the time, Lo! Man is in a state of loss.*”⁴ The “time” [asr] is a perfect man; it is the Imam of the Time (a). That is the essence [usarah] of all creation. Swearing by the essence of all creation is swearing by the perfect man. “*Lo! Man is in a state of loss.*” The “man” that is being referred to here is the man with a head and two ears that we call a human being. It is

¹ Surah al-Alaq 96:32.

² Surah al-Ahzab 33:72.

³ Surah al-Baqarah 2:30.

⁴ Surah al-Asr 103:1-2.

addressed to us. We are at the junction. One way is that of humanity, which is the “straight path”. At one end of the straight path, there is nature, and at the other, divinity. The straight path begins from the “clot”. Some of them, however, are natural. But what is important is that which is voluntary. One end of it is nature and the other end is divinity. Man begins from nature in order to reach the place where “I” or “you” does not enter: “I will become that which you cannot imagine.”

The wrong and right way, the way to hell

It is up to you to adopt (one of) these two ways: either the straight path of humanity or the one deviating toward the left or right. To whichever side the deviation may be, it distances one from humanity. The further one goes, the more distant it becomes. Whoever deviated from the straight path gets more distant from the path, the further he goes—if he distances himself from the straight path of humanity. That is, the path the prophets came to introduce; they were assigned to introduce that path. In the *Surah al-Fatihah* [Chapter: The Opening], God, the Blessed and Exalted, said: “*Show us the straight path; the path of those whom Thou hast favored;*”¹ those whom You have favored, those whom You have made affluent, those to whom You have been merciful and whom You have guided. “*Not (the path) of those who earn Thine anger nor of those who go astray.*”² “*Those who earn Thine anger*” are a deviant group. “*Those who go astray*” are also (placed) on one side—they have deviated and cannot be guided. The more they stray, the more will they be bereft of guidance. No matter how much you study, you will be far from the straight path if you do not invoke God’s Name. And the more you study, the farther away will you go from it. If you become one who is most learned in the world, but it is not in the Name of God, you are then farthest away from God, the Blessed and Exalted! You will distance yourself from the straight path, at one end of which is the bridge of hell and with nature on one side and heaven on the other. The last stage is the divine epiphany [*liqa Allah*]. It is where nobody except a human being can enter; only he can enter. We are now on the bridge of hell. “Nature” is the substance of hell. “Nature” is hell in the world that will appear. We are now moving in the substance of hell. If we are able to traverse this path, then the day that the bridge of hell appears; the day that it appears in the sight of these people, the one who has traversed this path will pass over this bridge. The one, who has not, will go to hell. He will fall by the way. His path is not straight. A straight path that has

¹ *Surah al-Fatihah* 1:5-6.

² *Surah al-Fatihah* 1:7.

been described, and you have heard that it is finer than a strand of hair. The path is dark and narrow. It needs the light of guidance. May God guide us.

The light and the darkness of knowledge

You gentlemen who have made a move for Islam and in the pursuit of knowledge, who have donned the robes of Islam and the prophets, you who are clothed in the dress of the clergy should not think that studying without invoking the Name of the Lord is of use to you. It could be harmful at times. Knowledge, sometimes, gives rise to pride, throwing one off the straight path. Those who promoted the faith were, generally, learned people. Those who invite the people to what is against the truth are mostly learned people. As their knowledge was not in the Lord's Name, they had deviated from the outset itself. The further the path strays, the more the deviation there is, and the more the distance from humanity. How often it is that a person is a great philosopher in the eyes of the people and an honorable jurist in the eyes of the people. He knows everything; he is a storehouse of knowledge but because he did not invoke the Lord's Name in his readings, he has distanced himself from the straight path, and from everything. The more the store (of knowledge), the greater is the burden (of sins). The larger the store, the greater is the burden and the darkness. "*Layer upon layer of darkness.*"¹ Knowledge is darkness sometimes; it is not light. Learning that begins in God's Name is the light that guides. It is learning for the sake of acquiring knowledge. The good thing about it is that one wants to learn; otherwise, learning for the sake of attaining position, becoming a congregational prayer leader or a preacher, or for gaining public acceptance amounts to deviation. These are deviations, and they are all subtle. According to the description that has been given, the straight path is finer than a strand of hair; it is very fine.

The issue of Islamic and human studies

It may be that one has been a hypocrite all his life without having been aware of it. Whatever he had been doing during the course of his life was hypocrisy which he, himself, had never realized. It is so subtle that even the person, himself, cannot discern it! There are criteria for him to observe. The people that are men of action did not establish criteria for us to know and judge ourselves. There were criteria in the knowledge of the prophets concerning the development of human character.

¹ Surah an-Nur 24:40.

Islam cannot be understood so soon. Islam cannot be understood after a couple of wars. Islam is not a religion of war. War has nothing to do with Islam. The doctrine of Islam—that which is now being called “doctrine”—is the introduction to the school of Islam. You and we do not know that doctrine, just as we do not know man. What we know is this natural being. This is not “man.” It comes from the “clot”; a little more than that. It develops until it becomes an animal. Its “animal” state lasts for a long time. This state of “animality” is very lengthy. And it is possible for a person to remain arrested in this animality until the end of his life. Nothing avails if it is not in the Lord’s Name. Everything ought to be in His Name.

Propagating in the Lord’s Name or in the name of the “self”

According to what was said, you gentlemen are to proceed to the villages, towns and cities for purposes of propagation and guidance. Be careful that you do not act against the principles (of the religion) and against the pleasure of God, as doing so would be a crime for which you cannot easily make amends. You who are to go among the people in the name of guiding them should realize that your condition is different from that of the public; it differs from the situation of the people. You who will go to guide the people are the messengers of Islam and the Apostle of God. You must know what you have to do in this mission. Are the things that you are supposed to do, in the Lord’s Name? Will you begin to guide the people and introduce Islam to them, even if it is to the extent you know, in the Name of God? Will it begin in the Lord’s Name or will human ego, God forbid, interfere in it? Your worst enemy is this ego that is in man.¹ It is the worst of all the enemies that one has. The worst that the worldly enemies can do is to kill a person; to persecute him. But one’s egoist self is apart from those (enemies) that kill man; it kills his humanity! Even if the whole world gathers to kill your humanity, it would not be able to do so as long as that thing that is within you is not absent or does not change. The worst of all enemies is this very ego that is the self. Now that you are about to set out to guide the people, you have to see whether this will be done in the Name of the Lord or in that of the self which is the same as being in Satan’s name. You have to see how you are going to behave with the people of the places where you will go.

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 67, p. 64: “Your worst enemy is your self that confronts you.”

Islamic duty vis-à-vis the deviationists

Let us suppose that there are some deviant people in the place to which you will go. Now, the Noble Prophet (s) used to worry about them; he would worry about these deviant people. *“It may be that thou tormentest thyself (O Muhammad).”*¹ (You have worried so much because they have not become believers that it seems you want to kill yourself!) We will suppose that when you went to your assigned places, you noticed some deviations there. Do not think that you can correct deviations by means of deviation. Deviation cannot straighten out deviation. Straighten it out with the Guiding Light of God and in the Name of God. Move in His Name; guide (the people) in His Name, propagate in His Name and correct the deviations in His Name. If you feel the devil within you say that this gentleman who has been here for a long time and is a titled person, should, God forbid, be deprived of his title, you ought to realize that this is not a divine thought; it is satanic. If you want to oppose a learned person who is (living) there and, God forbid, ruin his prestige, you should realize that such behavior is neither human nor divine; it is satanic. Be good to everybody. Deviant people can be corrected through kindness better than being harsh and using force. Sometimes it cannot be done even though it often can.

Islam is not a religion of violence

The Noble Messenger was the “Prophet of Mercy” who came for the sake of mercy. In that he used to order the incorrigible deviationists to be slain was for the purpose of removing what was like a cancerous tumor from the body in order to cure it. There was no other alternative. These cancerous tumors sometimes corrupt the society. This is being merciful to society. The people who do not at all know what Islam is do not understand its basis. The Westernized ones and those that follow the West think that Islamic tenets bespeak violence. They do not know at all what these tenets are and what their purpose is. It is like telling a doctor who cuts open someone’s stomach with a knife, so as to remove a cancerous tumor, that he is being violent! Is this mercy or violence? Is the doctor who picks up a knife and cuts off one’s arm, as it could cause the body to putrefy, behaving violently? Should a hue and cry be raised that this doctor is violent or it be said that he is a merciful doctor?! He is behaving mercifully in that he removes a limb and saves a person’s life. Society is like a human being: one is sometimes punished for the sake of reforming society; a punishment that, at times, ends in killing one. A person who wants to corrupt a country or a group, and is not capable

¹ Surah ash-Shuara 26:3.

of being corrected, should be removed like a cancerous tumor from the society for the purification and protection of that society. Removing him lies in executing him. Islamic executions are like this; not like the ones in the West. The people in the West, swarm in, kill and destroy, all for the sake of opening a place for themselves. An Islamic execution is a merciful one. It is (like) a doctor who picks up his knife and saves the society from the wickedness of an entity that will corrupt society if it is not removed. Society is reformed if the punishment is to some extent of that prescribed by divine laws. There would be no more stealing if a few thieves had their hands cut off. There would be no more prostitution in the society if a few persons involved in it were lashed. Such things are cancerous tumors which the doctor is obliged to remove in order to save a person's life. He sometimes has to remove an eye with his knife. This is being merciful; this is giving protection.

Those who are unaware of the nature of man and “human rights”

The prophets came in order to protect society from evil. The legal experts do not understand the basis of this! They do not know what the basic principle of Islam is. These Westernized ones who have gathered together for the benefit of the superpowers do not know anything about the essence of humanity. They merely see this animal with one head and two ears, and the surface of this nature; not nature in depth. They see nature on surface. They demand “human rights”! What do they know what a human being is let alone knowing about human rights! Do they know what a human being is that they want to know about human rights? Do they know what society is that they want to know its right? All of them are like this. All these things that you hear are being said on that side and repeated here. It is all for the sake of plundering this nation! It is for this reason; not for the sake of reforms. The wars that are now taking place in the world, and many countries, one after another, are fighting wars, with America from this side and the Soviet Union from that side helping them, are all deviant wars that are against humanity. The supporters of human rights sit with their legs crossed and smoke as they watch, without uttering a word, the wars that occurs in these parts and all the killing that goes on in these countries. But the same ones, who, when their masters killed armies of people, thousands of them, sat cross-legged and reclining comfortably without saying a word, raise a hue and cry when Islamic sentences are carried out in the case of some people that are like tumors, cancerous tumors, in the society and destroy it if not removed. Well,

why did they execute Hoveyda or Nasiri?!¹ Or why do they execute those who killed armies of our youth?! Executing them is being merciful to the community. God's punishment is a mercy to the community. Of course, the hand that is cut off would complain if it could talk. But a limb had to be sacrificed to save a human being. Some people have to be killed for the sake of a community.

The supporters of human rights, or the protectors of the superpowers' interests

A cancerous tumor needs to be removed from society in order to protect that society's rights. They used to grieve in the same way over the departure of Muhammd Rida Khan! Even now they are praising that person who committed all these crimes! The foreign magazines and newspapers praise him even now saying that he would have instituted reforms! (They say that) he wanted to set the country right! They are sitting there on that side. No, they are not well informed, but they are there. They are not in the arena; they have not seen what has happened here. They know what took place, but it did not happen to them! So what if thousands of people are killed here; human life is not at all important to them. Right and the rights of man are not at all important in these societies that are the "supporters" of human rights. Human rights are not important at all. The rights of the superpowers are important! They believe in the rights of the superpowers. Their right lies in plundering all the countries!

Holding fast to the cable of God

You gentlemen, who will, God willing, go and attain success and will guide the people, should, first of all, invite them to (have) unity of expression. God, the Blessed and Exalted, has commanded the people to hold fast to the cable of God. Every society is not what it ought to be; the one that holds fast to the cable of God is the desirable one. It is the one that "*Reads in the Name of God.*" The Lord's Name is the same cable to which everybody ought to hold fast. Invite the people to unity; tell them not to split into groups. The devils are now busy in trying to break up this solidarity that has arisen among our people and by which they were successful, thanks to God, in attaining victory up to this stage. This is not the time for the nation to split up and form various groups; such-and-such party, such-and-such association whatever they be named: the "Islamic Society" or the "Democratic Society". All the groups, today, ought to merge into one group; and that is the Islamic

¹ Nimatullah Nasiri: the ex-head of the Security and Intelligence Organization (SAVAK).

group, just as all the groups had merged to form one group, just as all the groups had merged to form one group and all the pledges and cries had merged into one cry: the cry of death to this regime; the cry demanding Islam and an Islamic republic. It was the merger of all the groups and the attention paid to Islam that resulted in the demolition of this huge, satanic barrier, thus upsetting all the calculations of the materialists.

The materialistic calculations of the powerful countries

They used to take the natural and material world into account. They did not reckon with its divine aspect. They did not consider the power of faith. They cannot “calculate” it; they do not know what faith is. According to their calculations based on materialistic conditions, it was not possible for a number of clerics who had to study their lessons, a number of university students who had to attend classes, a number of merchants that had to ply their trade, a number of farmers who had to farm—though they (ex-regime) did not leave any farming for them to do—and a number of workers that had to work, and with none of these (groups) belonging to the armed forces, to rise and overthrow a gigantic set-up—a system which was supported by all the powers; not only the superpowers, but all the powers. Of course, based on natural and material considerations and on those of the people who have no knowledge of the supernatural and of the power of faith, it was an impossibility; and the impossible happened. They had thought it to be impossible. But according to “*Read: In the Name of thy Lord who createth,*” when the Lord’s Name was invoked to this very extent—we are not able to reach the depth of the matter—to the extent that everybody said “Islam,” and Islam being the Name of God, victory ensued thus, upsetting all the powers that were not able to keep him (on the throne). All the powers supported him. I am aware that all the powerful countries were after keeping him in power. All the claws had grouped this sinister throne and crown in order to keep him in power. But your power of faith and the might of Islam made these powers retreat and drove him out of this country, too. We will drive out the remnants as well.

The danger of the school suffering a blow

We ought to be careful about a big danger that lies ahead of us today. I am more afraid of this danger than that arising from their coming here and killing and eliminating us. And that is the danger of our going astray, of taking deviant steps and so portraying our school in a bad light and misrepresenting Islam. What is important is that the school would remain in

force even if all of us are to perish. We are the Shiah [partisans] of the Immaculate Imams, the majority of whom were either killed or poisoned. But their school remained secure. He (Imam Husayn) was killed but his school remained secure. In fact he revitalized it. He revived the school by getting killed. The Doyen of the Martyrs had seen the school being destroyed. The uprisings staged by the Doyen of the Martyrs and by the Commander of the Faithful against Muawiyah, and that of the prophets against the powerful entities and unbelievers did not concern the conquering of a country. The whole world meant nothing to them. Conquering countries was neither part of their school nor was it their purpose. Those who speak of Islam as having made conquests do not know what Islam is. They feel that Islam is also like the regime and America in thinking that the larger their country, the better. The kind of conquests of the prophets differed from that of the kings. Kings clamor for their own world. They make conquest for its sake and for their satanic power. The prophets set out to teach manners to a community; they would make the people become refined and good. Their conquests were for the purpose of making the people developed. The Doyen of the Martyrs (a) saw that Muawiyah and his son—God's curse be upon them—were ruining the school and portraying Islam in an inverted manner. Islam has come to build human character. It has not come to build up power for itself; it has come for the sake of man. This father and son and those like them were showing Islam in an inverted way. They used to imbibe wine while they were also the congregational prayer leaders! Their parties were ones of debauchery in which there was every kind of vice. And they also led the congregation; they used to act as congregational prayer leaders. The congregational prayer leaders who were gamblers! They would also lead the Friday prayers. They were preachers, too. They would also preach from the pulpit! They had risen against the Apostle of God in the name of his caliphate. Their slogan was "There is no god but God," but they had risen against divinity. Their deeds and acts were satanic, but they claimed to be the Prophet's caliphs. This weakens the faith and shows the world that this is what Islam is. I am now apprehensive about this matter.

The credibility of our school depends on our deeds

O God, please come to Islam's aid! Let our school not be portrayed today as being deviant because of our deeds and yours, or the deeds of the committees, the courts, the departments, ministries, and the like. The previous regime did not claim to be Islamic. Nobody would believe it even if it had done so. There was no danger from the previous regime. If a cleric did

something wrong in the days of the ex-regime, the people would say that he was a “SAVAKi” (a member of the Shah’s intelligence agency) or a courtier. Now that the SAVAKis are no more, and all of them have been buried, if you gentlemen did something wrong, it would be said that this is what the Islamic Republic is. Our school would become shaky. Gentlemen, your responsibility is great! Do not think that you can go and say something (wrong) and nothing will happen. No, each one of you has a responsibility; a very great responsibility. Our school today depends on our deeds. It depends on the deeds of the clergy. If, in previous times, a clergyman, God forbid, said or did something wrong, the people would taunt and curse him. And some of them would even say that the clergy were like that. The final thing they would say was that all the clergymen were like that. But then the regime was not Islamic. They would not say that the regime was Islamic. They would not say that the Islamic faith was such. Nowadays, our enemies abroad and, occasionally, within the country, pick up their pens and write against our school in order to present it in a bad light.

The greatest misfortune for Islam

Islam came in order to edify all the strata of the people and to eradicate all evil. Islam will become insecure; it will become tarnished if, God forbid, any violation or impropriety occurs because of your actions and ours, the actions of the courts, the Islamic guards, the committees and all the people who talk about Islam. All of them are professing Islam. It has now become the “fashion”—as you say—for everyone to mention Islam and the Islamic Republic. They are all talking about Islam nowadays: the ones that keep mentioning it and those who adhere to it, like yourselves who are the foremost among them. This is important; killing you or killing us is not. Islam will endure. Islam made greater progress after they had killed the Doyen of the Martyrs. Islam will be promoted by their oppressing and killing us. Well, you saw that their killing some individuals promoted Islam. But it will be a disaster if the things we do—our deeds, our words, our promises—destroy and wipe out Islam. It will turn out to be the greatest disaster. You gentlemen who are to set out should be careful. Islam, today, is tied up with your actions and ours. It is not as it was in the past.

The danger of those who claim to know Islam

Go to these villages and towns. Do not expect them to attach much importance to you. Do not do so; God gives you importance. There is no need for you to make any attempts; and you cannot even do so. You could

make matters worse sometimes! Invoke the Lord's Name and everything will turn out right. Go to these towns and villages and guide the people. This is the time to give guidance. The most important guidance is to acquaint the people with their present duties in that they should know what kind of people to appoint as deputies—people that are pious, well informed, learned and knowledgeable about Islam to the extent they are—as this concerns the determining of Islam's destiny. They should not appoint the ones that do nothing but keep writing while having nothing to do with Islam. Keep away from them. Do not appoint them as they will spoil matters. They do not at all know what Islam is for them to draft the laws of Islam! The laws of Islam and the constitution of Islam should be drawn up by the people who at least know what Islam is, who are interested in it and are not inimical toward it. They should not leave this destiny in the hands of those people that consider Islam to be basically opposed to their own ways (of life); rather, opposed to "civilization," in their own words. Of course, the civilization which they say is like that of the Shah's; his "gate of civilization"! Our people must not entrust their destiny to these persons who are intellectuals as they themselves say, nor to every other intellectual. Many intellectuals are decent people. It is evident from the previous and subsequent words and deeds of those that have no interest in Islam, as to what they are.

Corruption and indiscipline in the name of civilization and freedom

All this time that everybody was clamoring for an Islamic republic, these hopeless people did not once mention "Islamic Republic" even out of dissimulation [*taqiyyah*! They are so afraid of the name of Islam as Satan is of "In the Name of God"! They are afraid... and they are justified in being afraid because Islam checks passions. Islam does not allow people to go and swim naked in these seas; it severely punishes the ones who do it! Going there naked with women and then the women going naked into the towns! It is just like the things that would happen in the time of the *taghut*. If such a thing happens, the people will flay them. The people are Muslims. They will not allow men and women to mix and to go into the sea and frolic. This is their "civilization"! They want such a thing from civilization! They want this from freedom! They want Western-type freedom. And it is that men and women should strip and go into the sea, or go to other places and swim! This is the civilization that the gentlemen want! This is the civilization that was imposed upon our country during the former regime: the men and women would go naked into the sea after which the women would come into the town in the same naked state! And the men would not dare to say anything. If

such a thing happens now, we will settle their hash. The government has also taken action. According to what the Interior Minister said, the government has put a stop to such things. If the government does not stop them, the people will. Will the Mazandarani or the Rashtis allow such things again on the seaside as it used to be in those days? Are the people of Bandar Pahlavi¹ dead that men and women go together into same spot of the sea and indulge in revelries! Will they let them? This is their civilization. This is the freedom they want. Such freedom! To go and gamble and becoming naked, indulge in revelries...

The danger of hypocrisy and abuse of freedom

Freedom is within the bounds of the law. Islam has put a stop to corruption. It has given various freedoms short of corrupt practices. What it has put an end to is corruption. And as long as we are alive, we will not allow, to the extent we can, these freedoms' to be granted.

You gentlemen, too, are now free. You will go to the villages and districts in order to give guidance. Be sensible enough to make proper use of this freedom. Do not, God forbid, misuse it. Tell the people that they should know their deputies. The *ulama* should introduce them to the people. Those who know people should inform the public of one's background and what one used to do in that regime. He has now come—of course, he might be even holding a rosary in his hand—and is clamoring loudly about Islam. They have to see what he was in the past; what crimes he had committed or permitted. They ought to know these persons, and the local *ulama* should introduce them to the people. They should nominate the persons whose hearts beat for Islam.

May God make all of you successful. And all of you recite; take steps; preach from the pulpit. Everything should be "*In the Name of thy Lord Who createth.*"

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

¹ Bandar Anzali was referred to by this name during the Pahlavi reign.

Speech

Date: June 29, 1979 [Tir 8, 1358 AHS / Shaban 4, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to explain in foreign countries the factors that led to the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: The engineers of the Ministry of Agriculture

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

The mission to explain the Islamic Revolution

...In encountering other groups with which you want to debate about Iran, you, yourselves, know what the campaign has been, for what it has been and what the end purpose is. After (enduring) all the troubles, hardships suffocation, plunder, and such things, the people of Iran, driven to extremities, rose up. A mere uprising would not have got us anywhere. The uprising was, in fact, Islamic. Our youth strove for Islam—Islam was everybody's goal—and were prepared to lay down their lives for it. Because of this and the unity of expression and reliance on Islam, the movement advanced. It is hoped that the unity of expression and this movement will endure and it will progress to the end. You should explain to the groups you encounter there about this thing that brought about this movement—as it is even now being portrayed abroad in the newspapers, in the service of that man¹ or his supporters, that he wanted to make the country progressive—and in the name of progress; in the name of the “great civilization” and the “gate of civilization”, the Shah ruined everything in Iran, not allowing even the universities to develop the way they should have..., and completely disrupted our economy, making everything in Iran dependent on the foreigners. The people rose because everything of theirs had been destroyed and they had become fed up. It was for this reason that they revolted and staged this movement cutting off these hands from their country. Even now it is not that they have reached the goal. The goal is that a government of justice be established, a government that is not attached to any bloc, a country in which none of these blocs can interfere, on Islamic country based on Islamic tenets as justice is inherent in all Islamic tenets. Such is our desire, and if these wicked hands linked to the foreigners allow, this task will be accomplished. We are hopeful that these conspiracies, too, that are going on nowadays in

¹ The Shah.

various forms in Iran, will be neutralized by the efforts of all the youth and all the factions. In any case, you should make it known and explain to them—of course, to the extent you can—as to why the people revolted, what became the motive of their revolt and what their final goal is.

Behavior that is Islamic and peaceful

But the approach toward all groups ought to be proper. That is, Islam is just like this; it behaves peacefully even with its enemies unless they plot against the good of the country or against that of Islam. It is in a such case that it acts with severity. Islam, however, desires the welfare of the whole of humanity. It wants all human beings to fraternize properly, and behave correctly and in a friendly manner with each other. The behavior should be friendly even with the people who have no belief whatsoever in Islam.

But about your third point whether it is forbidden to sit at the table where there are prohibited drinks, like alcoholic ones, sitting at the table is forbidden according to Islam. Yes, even if one does not imbibe any liquor, sitting at a table, on one side of which there are alcoholic drinks, is forbidden. This is God's command, and of course, imbibing these is obviously so. When you go there, they will treat you respectfully, of course, and do whatever you ask. Tell them in advance to keep your table separate.

[It is said that they may look down on and be indifferent toward the delegation sent by the Islamic Republic, in spite of the Iranians thinking highly of themselves nowadays. The Imam stated:]

The Shah's servile attitude vis-à-vis the foreigners

I do not think that they will look down on you anymore. The time they used to look down upon you was when that person who considered himself as the country's leader used to be so submissive to them. I cannot forget that when the Shah had gone to meet Johnson, his picture was published in the newspaper there. I cannot forget how bad I felt that man, Johnson,¹ standing there, spectacles in hand, looking towards the left in the direction where his chair was, with Muhammad Rida standing in front of him like a schoolboy, for example, standing in front of his teacher! When they (the foreigners) would see that the condition of one who ruled over a people was like that, their view of every person in the country would also be like that (scornful). But after seeing the country clench its fists and drive out all (the opponents), their opinion of you had now changed.

¹ Lyndon Johnson (a former US President) in his meeting with Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.

The eminence of Iran abroad

You have to safeguard yourselves as so much propaganda has been done against you that they have transformed our inner selves into something different from the identity that a human being ought to have. They had made so much propaganda as to take away our individuality from us because of which we feel inferior as soon as Britain and America are mentioned. They had named all these avenues after these countries. They named the squares after them and all other things also. Now you are different people and Iran is also not what it was. According to the people who come from abroad, you are not aware what an opinion they (themselves) now have of Iran. Iran itself has not properly comprehended the grandeur of this movement. The splendor of this movement abroad is greater than these issues. It is evident from the people who come here on behalf of the Soviet Union—their ambassador comes here sometimes—that their opinion about this place is not what it formerly was. Therefore, you ought to consider yourselves as a nation that has prevailed and as people that have prevailed over others, and you must go there as victors. Do not be afraid of them at all; go there as people from a victorious nation and not from a weak one as was the case before. You are a strong nation that has put aside the Soviet Union, Britain, America and all the others as well. Therefore, they will not look down on you, unless you (do something to) belittle yourselves and do not do this (go as victors).

May God guide all of you and give you success. May you succeed in going there safely and in returning victorious, God willing.

Speech

Date: July 1, 1979 [Tir 10, 1358 AHS / Shaban 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to reconstruct the country

Audience: The representatives of Inter-city Telecommunications (Company),
Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Reconstruction through cooperation

I pray to God for the health of the gentlemen and for their success in what is to be our duty from now on. It is important for one to know one's duty when some task is to be accomplished. You know that much is to be done in this country. There is a lot of reconstruction to be carried out as the former regime had spoilt everything in Iran; it ruined the country. The strength of you the valiant youth is now needed. Serving a country lies in properly doing the service by means of those that are engaged in it. You cannot do what the army does, and neither can the army do the work you do. But both the groups can properly accomplish the tasks that have been entrusted to them. The country or any other country for that matter will prosper if each segment of the people properly does the work that has been entrusted to it. The peasant should do his work well, the ones that work in factories should do their work properly, the ones working in offices should work properly and those in the ministries should do their jobs well. It is now being heard that government employees are not working as much as they ought to. In fact, it is said that many of them are not working at all. This is against the path of a nation that has to build this country at present. When there was less or no work being done when they (the former regime) were around, well you would ask as to why work should be done for the foreigners to derive benefit. But it is not so now; the power of the foreigners has been curtailed, thanks to God; the power of those plunderers who were inside the country has been curtailed as well. The country is yours now. And just as everybody considers himself to be morally and religiously responsible for his family and for managing his own affairs which he devotedly does, you should work sincerely and with all your heart now that the country is yours and its people are of the same standing as your own family, so that all the confusion is, God willing, taken care of.

The role of faith and the spirit of cooperation in victory

And that transformation that occurred during the course of the movement, when everybody was involved and active in the revolution, was a spiritual transformation that was of great importance to all the strata of the people.

In my opinion, the spiritual transformation that the people underwent is greater than the upheaval they wrought by overthrowing the regime, because that transformation was a spiritual one. All the people were kind to one another. According to what I have been repeatedly told, whenever they demonstrate, the people would come out of their houses and accompany them. Somebody said that he saw a person divide a sandwich that he had, into pieces and give these to his friends and the people who were there. A spirit of cooperation which was viewed favorably by God had arisen among the people. God, the Blessed and Exalted, was merciful to this nation in that a people with empty hands prevailed over a power that had everything. This could only be because of the spirit of cooperation and the faith that the people had developed. It was faith that brought you victory. You should now safeguard this movement so that differences do arise among the various groups of the people—regrettably, certain differences have been gradually cropping up recently—and its Islamic aspect and the features of devotedness and faith must also remain secure so that you are able to do your work with faith and devotion. Just as you demolished this barrier with faith and devotion, you must, likewise, occupy his place and rebuild the country with faith and devotion.

I hope that God, the Blessed and Exalted, will grant all of you prosperity and make our country an independent one which nobody should or could violate. May we be granted such a kind of independence, God willing. May God protect you all, and may you be successful, God willing.

Speech

Date: Afternoon, July 1, 1979 [Tir 10, 1358 AHS / Shaban 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Learning a lesson from contemporary history

Audience: A delegation engaged in the accounting work of the Finance Ministry

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The need to learn lessons from history

History and the events that befall nations ought to serve as lessons for the people. And this includes contemporary history in that we must see what happened that such a power was destroyed. The governments ought to see why such a power was overthrown, and the government departments and offices see what happened. All this ought to be a lesson to everybody.

Such is the end of every government that is not based on the people's support and is, in fact, against the people. Even if it were to rule for a long period, its final end would be that which befell this father and son. Rida Khan did something that deprived him of the people's support. I witnessed the events that took place when the Allies came and seized Iran, putting everything of the country in danger. And when this resulted in the ouster of Rida Khan, the people rejoiced! I had told this stupid son of his¹ not to do anything that would also make the people rejoice when he left, just as his father had left amid the rejoicing of the people. But he did not listen; and you saw how they rejoiced more in his case! And rightly so; why? Because he had no base among the people. The truth is that a treacherous government cannot get on with the people. And it always fears itself because of its treachery, the plunder it does and its dependence on the foreigners. Such a government is always worried lest the people retaliate for all the treacheries it had done. Because of this, they are compelled to intimidate the people and subject them to pressure. And so it puts more and more pressure on the people everyday, and the people's hatred of them also increases. The pressure they put on the people kept increasing daily over these past fifty-odd years, and the people's hatred toward them also increased daily until things come to such a pass that, as you saw, not one group or two but the whole nation, all at once, turned away from him (the ex-Shah). And he was not able

¹ In the speech delivered in Faydiyyah Madrasah on Khordad 13, 1342 AHS.

to remain as had no base among the people. Neither was he able to remain and nor were the powerful countries able to keep him in power.

The Shah's fate: a lesson to the governments

One cannot act against a nation when it wants something. All our people collectively did not want the *taghuti* regime. As a result, the attempts of the big countries and the superpowers to keep him (on the throne) were to no avail; they were unable to keep him in power. This ought to serve as a lesson to the governments.

The governments that are in the world should see as to what happened that such a powerful entity could not be protected by all the satanic powers that, it could be said, had joined together to protect him, though he had the backing and support of all the powerful countries—not only the superpowers but also these smaller ones. This ought to serve as a lesson to the governments so that they know what their duty is, whether the government will be established later on in Iran—which, it is hoped, would be Islamic and humane ones—or whether the foreign governments. This should be an example to them as to how they should deal and behave with the people. If they (the ex-regime) had behaved properly with the nation, all the powers would have been unable to oust him, try as they might. Had the big countries wanted to oust him, the power of the people would have kept him and they would not have been able to do anything to him. The opposite was just like this: all of them (the foreign powers) wanted him but the nation rejected him; and the matter ended.

The government officials being popular among the people

Nations and governments must have rapport between them. That is, the government, the army, the police and the gendarmerie should so behave that the people have affinity with them. The people should have a feeling of kindness and friendliness toward them. It should not so happen that when a policeman comes to the bazaar, the people get afraid of him and feel hatred toward him, as it used to be in these parts. In fact, they were like this throughout the period of the monarchy. In the monarchy—I mean in the government which should not be called “monarchy”—in the government in Islam, there is no difference between the head of the government and one who happens to be in the army, in the armed forces and the offices. And all of them are not different from the rest of the nation as to be separate from one another. They all constitute one and the same nation, a part of which has become the army and some others run the government and such things. When

their head mingles with the people, he has no fear of what they might do to him because he has been good to them. As he has been good to them, the people are also good to him. You saw that Muhammad Rida could not come among the public for even a day; for even an hour! If he wanted to pass through an avenue, all the houses that were on the way would be checked—as it used to be said—before he passed that way! The Security and Intelligence Organization would send its agents who would inspect all the places (on the way), take them over and control them. Why! Because they were afraid that somebody might make an attempt on his life from one of these places. And the people called it a good intention! But when a government is for the people and the people want it, he (the head) will not be afraid to come into the bazaar or to mingle with the people and sit with them and talk with them. He will not fear them at all. It was like this in the early period of Islam that the head (of the government) would come to the mosque and preach from the pulpit, and would also sit among the people and talk with them.

The unpopular rule of Muawiyah

Yes; when Muawiyah ruled, he, too, could not mix with the people. He would come to pray for which purpose they built a box-like enclosure for him and would lock its door. He would pray inside it and the people outside follow him and pray with him! That is, the ones who had to pray together with him. He could not come among the worshippers and stand in line with them. His police force would bring him and, putting him in that hole, would lock the door! He would pray while being locked inside! His police force would later come, open the door and take him away. The reason was that he had no base among the people. But the one who ruled justly would be among the people. They would be together and were friends. They did not fear him nor did he fear them. Why should the people fear the army? Why should they fear the disciplinary forces? Should they fear the gendarmerie? Should they fear the police? Well, according to the rules, the police ought to protect the city. The people should look upon the police as their protectors and not as their enemies. The army ought to protect the country. The people should not think that the army may do something to them and trouble them.

The ideal government

The Islamic government that we want should be something in which the head of the government should also be a friend of the people. He should sit with the people and converse with them. He should not keep aloof from

them. Whoever has a request to make should tell him about it, and he should have the time to speak to the person concerned. The one who is the head of the army, the police or the gendarmerie should also behave likewise with the people. He ought to come and mix with the public; not fear it. And the people, too, should not fear him. This ought to be the rule for government and nations. When a government becomes like this, the people will support it; they will safeguard it. Just as it is the protector of the people, the people are its protectors as well. We want something like this to be set up in which the nation is the protector of the government in all respects, and the government, too, is the protector of the people's interests in all respects. If such a thing comes to pass, a calm and peaceful country will emerge which nobody will be able to seize. As long as the leaders do not commit treachery, foreign countries will not be able to violate this country. It is treachery that causes them to open the doors of the country and bring in advisors and experts and create such set-ups. Opening the way for them to come is treachery. If there is a government that is not treacherous, they will not be free to come and derive benefits from our country. Now having taken hold of it, we have to see that this country, destroyed and disordered, is set right through our combined assistance.

The duty of reconstruction, a real necessity

What is our duty from now on? It is everyone's duty to help in the reconstruction of this country. You must give assistance wherever you may be. We, too, ought to do whatever we can. The peasants, the workers and all the employees must also help.

The devastation cannot be rebuilt unless everybody helps. Assistance is necessary. Nobody should think what he, being a single person, would be able to do. Each and every person is able to do as much as one person can. He is duty-bound to do his work to the extent that he, a single person, can. All of us, all the strata of this nation, are now duty-bound to work for this country so that it could be managed by their efforts. The country is yours. You are working for yourselves.

I hope that all of us become acquainted with our duties and that you, too, whose place of assignment is important, will carry out your duties well, God willing. I also hope that this matter of working less than one should that is said to exist in the offices will no longer exist. In fact, it is said that, sometimes, no work is being done at all. Working less (than one should) these days is against the movement. All of us have to work; for our country,

for our land, that is now our own and in which there is no outside interference.

The terrified *taghuti* runaways

There are, of course, people in this country who are traitors, but their chiefs have gone. Those who were the heads have gone. And they cannot return. It is being said that so-and-so and such-and-such person are in the border regions. But they would not dare to be even in a country adjoining this one! They fled from these countries and have gone far away. Do not think that Oveysi or Palizban can be present in these border regions. They are afraid of these border regions as Satan is afraid of “In the Name of God”! They have fled. They took the money and decamped to America on that side, and are living far away. Do not ever think that what is being said will happen. They create disturbances, of course. There is trouble, no doubt, at present which is being created by a bunch of seditious elements who do not want this country to prosper. They want anarchy to exist at all times so that they may profit from it. This is the point. Of course, this, too, will be taken care of, God willing, by the efforts of the youth themselves and nation itself. May God protect all of you. May we be successful and conscious of our duty, and may everybody properly carry out the task that he is doing.

Speech

Date: July 1, 1979 [Tir 10, 1358 AHS / Shaban 6, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The oppression of the women of Iran by the Pahlavi regime

Audience: A group of women from Ahwaz

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Pahlavi dynasty oppressing the women and the clergy

I can say that during the days of this father and son, the women were oppressed more than the other strata of the people. The majority of you perhaps do not remember what they did to the women during the time of Rida Shah. How much misery they created in the name of making Iran like Europe, for example; making Iran modern and bringing half of the population into the society. You are not aware what they did to the women. In those days, they oppressed two groups more than the others: one group constituted the women, whom they oppressed so much for this reason and the other, the clergy. The two groups were mistreated more than the others in Rida Shah's time. They compelled the women to attend the kind of parties they held. They obliged the men to bring their wives and daughters to those corrupt parties. These things happened even in Qum—Qum that was the seat of the clergy—and in all the provinces.

They did not want the population of Iran to increase a half because they did not want the people to be as they should. They did not want the women to be emancipated because the men were also not free in their time. Neither were the women free nor the men. They saw freedom in other things which were full of corruption. They saw freedom in the men and women stripping by the seaside and swimming naked together, and gathering in the centers of prostitution, indulge freely—in their own words—in whatever they wanted to do. They completely did away with human training in Iran. They made the Western kind of training customary in our country; not the correct kind of Western training, but the corrupt one. Most of the spiritualities were perhaps destroyed in the time of this son. In his time, more oppression perhaps emerged and more of it was evident. They persecuted the women more. They troubled all the people more.

During their reign, they greatly destroyed the country's spirituality. They did not allow intellectual development to take place. They ruined this country

in the name of “civilization” and in the name of the “great civilization”. They ruined everything of it; especially its human resources. The treachery they did to our country in this respect was greater than what they did to its economy, or to its army, or to its education. They did not allow our workforce to develop; they did not allow education to progress; they did not allow our youth to develop. Whatever they did was against the interests of the country. Now that they have gone, they have left behind so many debts they owe the banks that it is not known whether the government will be able to clear them. They took away everything from the country, leaving behind devastation.

You ladies who took part in this movement—may God protect you—should also take part in it henceforth, and take it forward. And it is also important that you train your children well. They wanted the women to be like that so that their children would be separated from them; to drag them to the offices, not for the sake of improving the work in them, but one reason being to render the offices corrupt and another one, to separate the children from their mothers. The children, who are away from their mothers from the very outset, develop a complex. Many of the corrupt practices stem from these complexes that the children develop. Protect your children well, train them well. It is the children that save their country. Bring them up in the Islamic way. Bring them up so that they develop virtue and faith as they grow up which would enable them to serve this country. May God make all of you prosperous and make you useful to your country, God willing.

Letter

Date: July 2, 1979 [Tir 11, 1358 AHS / Shaban 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Confirming the selection of Mr. Fadil Isfahani to look into the conditions prevailing in Qain

Addressee: Fadil Isfahani

In His Most Exalted Name

I, hereby, confirm what Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Muntaziri—may his graces last—has written. May you be successful, God willing.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: July 2, 1979 [Tir 11, 1358 AHS / Shaban 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointment of the public prosecutor of the Islamic Revolutionary Court of Tehran and its suburbs

Addressee: Ahmad Azari Qummi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The honorable Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Ahmad Azari—may his graces last:

Considering the present state of Tehran's prisons and the need to expedite the investigations into the cases of the accused, you have, hereby, been chosen and appointed to the post of the public prosecutor of the Islamic Revolutionary Court of Tehran and suburbs. It is hoped that in the course of this assignment, you will attend to and expedite the matters and to exercise caution in all respects. I pray to God the Almighty for your success.

Statements

Date: July 2, 1979 [Tir 11, 1358 AHS / Shaban 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Calling on the Muslim nations to have unity and to obtain inspiration from Iran's Islamic Revolution

Audience: A Sudanese delegation consisting of Messrs Hasan Turabi (Assistant of Jafar Muhammad Nimeiri, the President of the Republic of Sudan) and Ali Nimeiri (the Ambassador of Sudan to Iran)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

[A delegation from Sudan, headed by Dr. Hasan Turabi, the vice president of that country, met and conferred with Imam Khomeini in Qum in the 11th of Tir. In this meeting, the message of Sudan's President, Mr. Jafar Nimeiri, was submitted to the Imam. The head of the Sudanese delegation stated: "In the course of implementing Islamic programs in our country, we have decided to establish an interest and usury-free Islamic bank in our country, and also to replace the English language." Thanking the nation and government of Sudan, the Imam of the *ummah* stated:]

I hope that the Islamic nations return to Islamic culture and make use of this religion as Islamic culture is progressive. We hope that this movement that has materialized in Iran for serving the people, with God in mind, will become a reality in the Islamic communities. These communities ought to sever the links of the foreigners to their countries, and the Muslims regain their lands, just like the Muslims of early Islam who, with the rich culture they had, prevailed over other countries.

[At the end of this meeting, Imam Khomeini expressed the hope that the Islamic nations eschew discord and become united so that the divine faith of Islam is realized on earth and the downtrodden overcome the arrogant ones.]

Speech

Date/Time: 5 pm, July 2, 1979 [Tir 11, 1358 AHS / Shaban 7, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The danger of forming groups and creating dissension; the need to bring up future generations in a revolutionary manner

Audience: Female students of Damavand University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The unsavory consequences of victory

Essential to every revolution, which is perhaps inevitable, is that after the people have gained victory, these personal problems come up. Personal and factional issues are not important to nation—whatever the nation—which is in the throes of a revolution. All the people are together in the pursuit of their goal, just as you saw in the Iranian Revolution when all the strata of the people had put aside their trivial, personal and factional matters and were headed toward the same goal. Even the groups that did not agree with the movement kept silent. They would not mention their opposition to it as they saw that they could not make their presence felt vis-à-vis the nation. But after victory was gained to this very extent and the people realized that they had driven the antagonist out and, that too, such a powerful and deeply-rooted antagonist as the 2,500-year old regime—and after they felt that they had triumphed, it was as if a population of 35 million had been released from jail. They suddenly came out from the repression, the pressure and the plunder they had experienced, and turned their attention to their own demands, something that is integral to a revolution and which also happened in Iran. There was absolutely no talk of housing, or who has a house and who does not, during the revolution. Even those slum-dwellers did not mention it as they showed when one of them said in an interview that every morning all of them would go together to take part in the demonstrations. There was no talk at all about having a house or not having one; or about somebody needing something, or whether one's salary was low or high. Such things, in themselves, are not important while a revolution is in progress, and as you saw, such was also the case in Iran.

An incomplete victory and unending expectations

But, unfortunately, before we could attain final victory, this partial victory caused the people and groups to think about their personal problems.

Their attention turned away from the disorder left behind by the previous regime and from all the difficulties for the people that were its legacy, and became focused in one direction which made them abandon their unity of expression and that particular consideration they had.

The other aspect, which is perhaps peculiar to our revolution, is that the groups that were not well disposed to Islam and the Islamic Republic, or were opposed to them in accordance with their deviant doctrine, or were afraid of Islam and had false notions about it, began to make their presence felt. There are very many of them, one hundred more or less, as reported in the newspapers. There are many of them that, under various names, have arisen in Iran up to now. It seems that besides some of these groups, that have emerged and are against Islam and some even afraid of it—though their doctrine is not antagonistic to it, but they are, nonetheless, afraid of it and without any reason—there are certain hidden hands at work that are setting up the various groups—and are also creating differences—the factors of which are present now in Iran. One of these is that after experiencing victory, they revert to the matter of wanting to enjoy the fruits of victory, thinking that everything will be put right as soon as victory is gained. Can a country, in which everything has been destroyed, be put right all at once?! This was one factor.

Another factor is the groupings that have been formed, and the hands that are at work. Those who want to profit from our country and are afraid that there would be no place for them if Islam were to take effect and a proper Islamic republic set up, have started creating such groups in order to sow discord. Diverse groups, whether the remnants and the scum of the former regime, or the big powers that covet Iran and do not leave it alone even now or whether these groups—each one of which has been formed for its own particular purpose or out of fear of or opposition to Islam—have all been the cause of the differences prevailing in the country. Various groups are also engaged, as they themselves say, in political activity, while there are others that are busy in carrying out sabotage. Because of this, such a problem inevitably follows every revolution. And these differences have cropped up in Iran, where a revolution took place, because of these different reasons and, perhaps, certain other ones.

Iran on the threshold of final victory, or on the brink of collapse and destruction

Now that we are at this juncture in history where we are at the crossroads, one leading to final victory and the other, God forbid, to defeat

and a return to the former situation, it is incumbent upon all of us, whether you the esteemed ladies or whether the rest of the nation—all the women, the brothers, the sisters, and all—to safeguard the movement at present as well, just as you had done with your unity of expression and unity of purpose when everybody's goal was Islam and all the people clamored together for Islam. Safeguard your congregations; fill the mosques with them. The people should congregate in the places where people should congregate in the places where people gather and in the public places and the issues kept in mind; the issues that constitute their purpose and those that call for Islamic commands to be put into effect in Iran. By having these gatherings and by keeping the movement going in this manner, they should keep it alive until the subsequent stages are gone through: This interim government must be changed to an established one; an independent one; the consultative assembly must be formed and the president made known so that the set-ups of the factions and of those that are against the Islamic government are done away with. And, God willing, you yourselves should manage your country on your own without any repression and, safeguarding its independence, make progress. These are certain things that we will need in future, of course. We should not be content with just having an Islamic republic. It should be set right in all respects, God willing.

The need to bring up future generations in a revolutionary manner

We should not be content with having had an Islamic republic realized in our own time. We now have to think of future times. That is, just as we have aims for which we carried out this movement, the following generations will also have the same aims. They will also need to have congregations and perspicacity so that they are able to retain this thing that you have achieved. And that concerns training and education, the path of which should be the same as that of this movement and should follow the same principles that you have established.

The mother's role in bringing up the child

The training and education that you and all the Muslim women impart is a matter of great pleasure. Training (the child) begins in the mother's lap. The child retains its childhood training—the training it received when small—until the very end unless some strong factors reverse the process. This (training) takes place in the mother's lap, in which the child's training begins, is the lap that trains (properly). That is, apart from bringing up the child, the training given to it must be humane and Islamic from the outset and

must aim to present a good child, a committed child, to society. And just as the mother first begins to breast-feed the baby and to nurture it physically, she should also instill Islamic teachings, religion and good morals into it just when the child first understands something and understand a word. Efforts should be made to make the family environment a good one as the child's real training begins in the family environment, the mother's lap and the home environment. And a child that turns out to be good in the home environment and the mother's lap which is the highest seat of training, will always be so. For this reason, the family environment is one of the most important for training children. The mother's lap is also one of the greatest places of training them. The child is able to accept things in the mother's lap, and from the mother, more than from anyone else: more than it accepts from the teacher, the friends that it will find later on, or from society. The child or the baby does not have so much attachment to anybody as it has for its mother. The mother's words are accepted by it and get imprinted in its mind. And from here onward if some thing, some matter, is taught to it in childish way and it is trained, such teaching and training must be done with the purpose of bring up the child properly. The child should not be left to grow up like a weed. Children grow up to be good if their mothers provide the foundation for their proper upbringing. They should so bring about a family environment that the child is automatically brought up properly in such an environment. That is the family environment ought to be one of kindness; one that is Islamic. When the child sees that its parents are following Islamic principles in the things they do, that they are good-nurtured, and are compatible and behave good-naturedly with one another, they grow up properly. On the contrary, if they see that there are fights and quarrels, and the house turns into a battlefield because of the daily quarrels between husband and wife, and that differences arise everyday, or God forbid, the environment is sinful, is the instrument of sin and has the aspects of sin, they will naturally grow up like this. Therefore, the well-being of children begins from the mother's lap.

The continuity of the Revolution is tied to the upbringing of the present generation

The prosperity of a country increases when it has good children. It may happen that a good child can make a country nice, and a good human being is able to deliver a country, just as a bad one can take it to destruction. These are issues that are of great importance to mothers. After this comes the matter of training given in schools. Because of the presence of unclean hands, our schools were not able to allow the children to develop. The environment had

become such as to cause our children to be brought up badly. There was no training and teaching in the way it ought to have been. The teaching was not right. In this respect, one of the important things is that our educational system, from primary school to university, ought to be educative. It should be such as to bring up an independent human being—one who is not affiliated to others and to the foreigners ought to be brought up; and one that is independent, self-confident and self-reliant; one who has faith in moral and Islamic principles. If these things are fulfilled, we can, in future, say that we have triumphed, God willing, and that our country will be independent to the end; a country that is no longer under the pressure of others and is our own and that we, ourselves, should manage.

The ladies who have come here have a great part and a great share in these matters. They have a share and a part in this movement. In fact, it should be said that they are the vanguard, and that the men have received their inspiration from them in this movement. I hope that God will assist all of you. May you be successful, may you be prosperous and manage your country yourselves, God willing, and train your children well.

Decree

Date: July 3, 1979 [Tir 12, 1358 AHS / Shaban 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The appointment of a representative to look into the affairs of the prisons, and (to be) the religious law judge of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts of Tabriz and Urumiyyeh

Addressee: Sayyid Husayn Musawi Tabrizi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Sayyid Husayn Musawi—may his graces last:

It is necessary for you to proceed to Tabriz and Urumiyyeh in order to look into the affairs of the prisons and the Islamic Revolutionary Courts, and while carrying out this assignment, you should also look into the conditions of the committees and make efforts to rectify them if necessary. In any case, you must carry out the tasks by getting the views of the distinguished *ulama*—may their blessings last—and must also profit by their opinions. You must also strive to safeguard the unity of expression in whatever way you can. Meanwhile, you are hereby appointed as the religious law judge in order to facilitate the investigation of the prisons. You should participate directly and take action regarding the trials and the verdicts issued, while exercising caution in all the stages. I pray to God Almighty for your success.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 8, 1399 AH

Decree

Date: July 3, 1979 [Tir 12, 1358 AHS / Shaban 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The necessity of returning to Qasr-e Shirin and engaging in religious and propagational activities

Addressee: Muhammad-Baqir Gharawi

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 8, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Baqir Gharawi—may his graces last:

Information has been received recently that you have migrated from the Qasr-e Shirin to Kermanshah and do not intend to return to that region. Considering the conditions there and the crucial situation, it is necessary that you return to that region and carry out your religious and propagational activities as before. It is hoped that the esteemed inhabitants will benefit from, and appreciate, your guidance. I pray to God Almighty for everybody's success.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Speech

Date: July 3, 1979 [Tir 12, 1358 AHS / Shaban 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The plot to portray the Islamic movement in a bad light

Audience: A Bahraini delegation; the clergy of Kurdistan; the Islamic guards of Qaimiyyeh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The danger of the school being brought into question

One of the blessings of this movement is that it has brought together various groups under one roof and in one small room. It has brought together all the brothers—Persians, Kurds, Arabs, and Ajam (non-Arabs)—in one place so that they can discuss their problems and their concerns. And in case we, too, have anything to say, we will mention it to them.

In my opinion, what is now important, and vitally so, and on which the existence of Islam depends, is what we have to do from now onward. We have to determine our present duty. What has already passed, has passed; and thanks to God that it passed off well. What do we have to do in order to ensure that everything passes off well, and for the good of Islam, from now on as well. What is threatening us at present, which is a matter of concern greater than the one we had before, during the struggle with the *taghut*, is that there are some groups nowadays; some individuals among the people who want to show this Islamic movement in a bad light, its Islamic character notwithstanding. That is, they want to show the world that our school, our Islamic school, is just like these other ones and like these corrupt regimes, but at that time the power was in the hands of a group that used to do wrong things, but now it has come into the hands of another group which is doing the same things.

If we had been defeated in our struggle with the *taghut*—a struggle in which all the youth and all the ranks of the people had joined up and made headway—and massacred by that regime, it would not have been important as it was for the sake of truth by which our school would have remained safe. We would have done our duty to our utmost, but were not strong enough to overcome them, just as many of the Saints of Truth [*awliya al-haqq*] had also met defeat. But the school was unimpaired. The Doyen of the Martyrs (*a*) and all his companions were slaughtered, but they furthered the cause of the school nonetheless. The school did not suffer a defeat; it progressed. In

other words, the slaying of the Doyen of the Martyrs (a) brought about forever the downfall of the Bani Umayyads, and put an end to their bad portrayal of Islam and to their actions that were in the name of the caliphate but contrary to all the norms of humanity. But sacrificing himself, the Doyen of the Martyrs (a) defeated that regime, that corrupt regime, though he, himself, was killed. With our school remaining safe and unimpaired, it would not have been important had we been defeated and destroyed in our struggle with the former regime as the Doyen of the Martyrs was also killed, and the Commander of the Faithful, too, was defeated' in the battle against Muawiyah.

Plotting by means of venomous pens

We are now at the fork in the road; and this is important. One way from the fork lies in the steps we must take to protect our school, and the other, the factors that could destroy it. What should you the dear and respected Islamic guards, whom all of us hold in affection, do? What should your actions be in this regime which is now Islamic, which is now an Islamic republic, and our country has now become an Islamic republic on the basis of the referendum? If we do certain things and commit acts that are against religious norms and the principles of justice—suppose, for example, that one of the youth from our side mistreats somebody, who is not of us, in contravention of the law, or a youth, by virtue of being an Islamic guard, unlawfully enters a house and commits an ugly act—such acts will nowadays not be attributed to the perpetrator. They will say that the Islamic guards are like this; that the SAVAKis would do such things in the days of the former regime, but the Islamic guards are doing likewise in the present one. It would not have mattered much if they had attributed the wrongdoing to somebody—not to Islam—and the school had remained unsullied. There are many corrupt people in the world. There are many that act contrary to principles. But, regarding ourselves to be the guards of Islam, if we who belong to this profession and are garbed in clerical attire and you the Islamic guards—may all of us always be the guards of Islam, God willing—from that group and we from this, and also the gentlemen, do something wrong today, the people wielding venomous pens, whose eyes are riveted on us in order to find an excuse and add on a thousands things to it, will attribute it to Islam; not to you and me. If I had once done a wrong thing, the people would have said that Khomeini was illogical and against Islam. This would not matter. Well, there were people who were opposed, including myself for example. But it will be dangerous if I do something (wrong) now, and they say that the

Islamic government is such. Or, a clergyman, God forbid, does something for them to say that the Islamic government is also like that.

The downfall of the school: a great disaster

If these people in Iran and abroad, who are now intending on starting a dispute, find something wrong about you, me, the gentlemen, the clergy, the Islamic guards, committees, revolutionary courts, the government... all of these, they will magnify it a thousand fold. Even then, they will not ascribe it to me and to the gentlemen; they will blame Islam. Our school is in danger at present. Our school was intact when the regime was there while we ourselves were in danger. It would not have mattered if in the days of the *taghut* we had fought them and been killed; it would have been a defeat for us. If a clergyman did something wrong in the days of the *taghut*, they would not blame Islam. They would say that the cleric was a SAVAKi; they would not ascribe the act to Islam. At present, if the guards, whether you or we, commit an impropriety, those people who intend to put an end to our school; to put the shutters on Islam, will pick up their pens and write, indirectly here and explicitly abroad, by which our school will suffer a defeat in the world one day. The downfall of the school would be a great disaster. The responsibility nowadays of the clergy, the Islamic guards, the Islamic government, the head of the council of Islamic ministers and the prime minister of Islam is not as it was before. The responsibility now is great. The responsibility lies in this that if we do something (improper); the clergy, God forbid, does something; some offenses occur in the committees and the revolutionary courts; if the Islamic guards or the people do something (wrong) and if the bazaar not be Islamic, these people, then, who are intending to take issue with us and are looking intently at us, will do something in order to destroy the very essence of our school; that is, for Islam to be buried forever. This is the tragic part of it. Otherwise, getting killed is not a disaster. Well, our young people were killed. They were killed for the sake of Islam; they were martyred. May it be auspicious for them. But the destruction forever of the school is crucial. Safeguard it.

Attributing crookedness and falsehood to Islam

O my brothers, the Islamic guards! O our dear ones! Do not do something lest it be written that Islam is like this; that these people (the guards) are also like the SAVAKis. O the clergymen! The clergy should not..., now that they have gained power, they gather some armed people around them and do something that would discredit Islam. If today a

clergyman commits an unprincipled act, the people that want to tarnish our reputation will say that the *akhunds* are like this; that it is now the dictatorship of the clergy! Do not give the people an excuse. The one who is a dictator is not a Muslim. The clergy is not dictator. The one who is a dictator is not a clergyman. But it is being written that these ones are just the same; at that time it was the SAVAK, now it is the Islamic guard. A misdeed should not, at anytime, be, God forbid, committed by us, the clergy and the committees. They are the organs of the Islamic country now. We claim that we now have an Islamic country. These people who act in the name of the Islamic courts, the Islamic committees and, I should say, the Islamic guards and the clergy should realize that the present period is unlike the former one when any wrongdoing on your part or mine would be attributed to you or to me. The present situation is such that any wrong move, God forbid, made by us would be attributed to Islam.

Our inefficiency and the humiliation of the Saints of God

So much for our enemies. The Saints of God and God, the Blessed and Exalted, are watching over us. We have an “observer”.¹ God is our Observer. The divine angels are our observers. That is, they are watching over us. Do not do something wrong for the report of your misdeed to be sent to the Imam of the Time (*a*) and for the angels who take the report there tell him that these are the kind of guards you have. This would be the cause of his humiliation considering his affection for you.

Sir, the matter is important. It is not one of killing and carnage. Our uprising; our movement is not *taghuti*. It is a humane movement; a humane uprising. It is an Islamic movement. We wish to abide by the Book and the Sunnah. Your actions should conform to them. If at any time the report of a clergyman’s deed is delivered to the Imam of the Time (*a*), and the divine angles tell him, “This is the type of clergyman you have; these are the kind of Islamic guards you have,” and he gets embarrassed, God forbid, that he lose his affection for you.

Just imagine if the son of this immaculate gentleman does something wrong how ashamed that person would be. He would feel ashamed if his servant did a wrong thing. All of us are (his) servants. There are expectations of us, and of you.

¹ Allusion to *Surah Qaf* 50:18: “He uttereth no word but there is with him an observer ready.”

The invincibility of popular governments

This is the time for you to safeguard Islam. You must safeguard it. Safeguarding Islam means that you must modify your actions, behave well with the people, treat the people in a brotherly manner and not be dismissive of them. The past regimes used to consider the people as being apart from them. They were on one side and the people on the other. They used to crush the people, and the people, too, would crush them if they could. Today, the people are not apart from the guards of Islam. The Islamic government is not separate from the people. It is one with the people; it is of these people and these masses. You, too, are of these people and these masses. Do not do anything that will make them afraid of you. Do something to attract them to yourselves, to be kind to you and support you. A government that enjoys the people's support will not collapse. If a nation supports a regime, that regime will not be dismantled. The reason that caused the former regime to be overthrown was that it had no support; it did not have the people's backing. The nation turned its back on it; in fact, the nation itself drove it out. When the Allies drove Rida Shah out, the people rejoiced though they were in danger and their lives were in peril! It was a foreign army, an alien one. The armies that invaded Iran were foreigners, but because they took Rida Khan away the people were happy. We were also aware of this happening among the people. When this man also departed, you saw how happy the people were. It was because he lacked support. Do not do something for the people to wish that the Islamic guards had never existed! We should not do something for the people to wish that the clergy had no part in the affairs of the country. The matter is important. The matter is not that I or the gentlemen be cast aside. The matter is that Islam is in danger. Our situation today is such.

The duties of keeping guard

May everybody, God willing, pay attention to Islam and the duties of safeguarding it. This profession is a very noble one and carries great responsibility. You are awake until morning in protecting the people. It is for God. You put yourselves in danger for this purpose. What is there that is greater than this. But do something for God to accept you, and these efforts of yours, God forbid, not be wasted. And that is by fulfilling your guard duties, and also by keeping watch over yourselves. Guard yourselves against this satanic army which invades a person's self. Do not allow it (to overcome you). Expel it; abandon it. Do not let the devil tempt you, and you, God

forbid, do something by which you will lose your reward. The reward God has kept for you is great. Do not lose it.

I hope that all the ranks of this nation will enjoy well-being, welfare and prosperity under the banner of Islam. If Islam materializes, such things as one being black or white, a Kurd or Lor,¹ a clergyman or something else will not exist. Piety is the criterion. If Islam takes effect, one will only have to fear himself; not the government. Nobody will be afraid of the Islamic army, the gendarmerie, the police or the Islamic guards. Everybody will have to fear himself lest his deeds are bad.

I hope that Islam will be implemented in Iran in the way we want, and God, the Blessed and Exalted, wants. There will be no difference between a border-dweller and one who resides in the central regions; between a Persian and a Turk; Arab and non-Arab; Kurd and non-Kurd. Islam does not differentiate between them. All of them will obtain their rights. I pray to God for the welfare and prosperity of everybody. May God protect all the people and grant them victory.

¹ Lor: an ethno-linguistic group inhabiting Lorestan in Iran.

Speech

Date: July 3, 1979 [Tir 12, 1358 AHS / Shaban 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Recommendation to strengthen spiritual power alongside sports

Audience: The Society of the Practitioners of the Ancient Sports, Mashhad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Strengthen spiritual power along with sporting activities

I request God the Almighty to hasten the advent of the Master of the Age (a) and brighten our eyes with his holy charm. All of us await the advent and must serve during this period of waiting. Awaiting the advent is to await the power of Islam. We must strive to have the power of Islam realized in the world and the preparations for the advent made, God willing.

I would like to thank you, the youth and the sportsmen who have come here from the Quds (holy) province.¹ I wish to tell the friends of Islam and the Muslims, and the friends of the Master of the Age (a), and also the sportsmen of Quds province that just as you strengthen yourselves physically through sports activities, you must also strengthen and prepare yourselves spiritually. Just as you make efforts to keep your bodies strong, you must also try to keep yourselves spiritually strong. At that time it was spiritual strength and the power of faith that make you overcome the satanic army and the *taghut*. That power of faith and inner strength of yours ought to make you overcome the satanic army that is within man and that leads him astray. Reform yourselves just as you strengthen your bodies.

You who are in the proximity of the Imam (a) and visit that Hadrat's shrine, perhaps have a greater duty than those that are far away. You are his intimate servants; you are close to him. And the ones that are physically close to the Imam in distance should also be close to him in spirit and dignity. You have to see what sacrifices our Imams (a) made for the sake of Islam and gave whatever they had for its cause. If we are their partisans and followers, we, too, should give whatever we have for the cause of Islam. Islam is dearer than everything and because it is so, the Noble Prophet and our Imams gave whatever they had for its cause.

¹ Quds province refers to the holy city of Mashhad, the burial site of Imam ar-Rida (a), the eight infallible Imam from the Prophet Progeny.

The Constitution: the basis of Islam and Iran

May God grant us success in maintaining this unity of expression that has brought honor to Islam. This unity of expression, power of faith and concern for Islam has brought you victory so far. You must, henceforth, go forward with this same unity of expression, this same Islamic power and might. Think less about your own worldly problems and pay attention to Islam. Consider the difficulties that also beset Islam at this time because of these groups that do not want the Islamic Republic to turn into a reality, and are trying to make it non-existent. You must endeavor to counter their efforts. And just as all the powerful countries were tied up in knots by your endeavors and were unable to retain this satanic power, we shall proceed along this path from now on as well, God willing, with the help of your power and strength of your faith, and the might of Islam. Everybody should vote for those upright, pious and committed people—the ones nominated by the *ulama* of your region—that have to be appointed to deal with the Constitution so that a constitution that meets the approval of Islam is drafted and the difficulties removed, God willing.

I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, to give you physical and spiritual strength and to the whole nation, including your friends and all the sportsmen in Quds province.

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

Speech

Date: July 3, 1979 [Tir 12, 1358 AHS / Shaban 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The enemies and the creation of obstacles in the path of the Revolution

Audience: Youth from Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Avoiding debates that give rise to dissension

This is not the time for these debates. Raising the question of who is good or who is bad is against Islam and Islamic interests. It is a part of the foreign plot to prevent this country from settling down and from creating an Islamic country. It is a plot inspired from abroad by devilish people and pursued thoughtlessly by the pious ones. You must make the people realize that this is not the time for us to use our mosques for debating whether Zayd is better or Amru.¹ Your path, your efforts, your pulpit, your bazaar—everything—ought to be attuned to this matter and for the sake of which all of you must get together so that this constitution is worked out properly. And the people whom you choose to review it ought to be upright; and pious Muslims as well. They should not be attached to the East and West. They must be honest people. You have to spend some time on this matter at present. Do not spend your time on the question of so-and-so being good or not. One is good if considered as such by God and bad if He considers him to be so. What has it got to do with you? Is it one of the essentials of Islam that Zayd is good or Amru? You must not even quarrel over the matter of Ali's succession at this time. All of you should now get together and strive to achieve the aim of having an Islamic republic.

The realization of Islam: a blessing for nations

All these things are according to a plan. They have planned to prevent this movement from coming to fruition, and so they are creating mischief on all sides. One of their vile acts is to prevent our youth from being brought up properly. Not that this youthful resource has to be used, they want to prevent it from bearing fruit. Therefore, they have to be thwarted in all respects. Each group must deal with one aspect of the problems and set it right. One group should combat drugs, another alcoholic beverages and yet another one, the

¹ It corresponds somewhat to the expression, "Peter and Paul."

other kinds of corruption. And the matter should be pursued like this until this movement bears fruit and an Islamic government comes into effect; the type that Islam ordains and not what the self desires. The realization of Islam would be a blessing for the nation and all the other ones. I request God to give you success in this crusade. Of course, anybody assisting you will have done so for a worthy cause. May God make everybody successful.

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

Speech

Date: July 3, 1979 [Tir 12, 1358 AHS / Shaban 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The heavy responsibility of the officials of the Islamic system

Audience: Personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary Committee, District 12 of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The danger to Islam and the Islamic Revolution

I would like to thank you dear brothers and youth who have been keeping guard during this period and have maintained security. I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant you health, prosperity, and to make you honored. I have to tell you something that I had also mentioned to the other Islamic guards who had met me. And it is that, at present, you and your country are being watched intently by friend and foe. The enemies want to find an excuse to tarnish this revolution. A person, sometimes, commits a misdeed on his own which is undoubtedly not right. But it does not sully the movement; it only concerns an individual. It sometimes happens that a person is connected with the movement and belongs to it like you who are its guards; who are the sentinels of the Islamic Republic. If he or some of you do anything wrong; if you commit an act that is not in conformity with Islam, and is the cause of the people that are watching intently to find an excuse, they will, then, not condemn the person—this man—for having done such a thing. They will target Islam, the Islamic Republic and Islamic movement so as to show the movement in a way that is not what it ought to be. The responsibility here is very great. All bear collective responsibility if there is any wrongdoing in the main task. However, there are some cases in which one is personally responsible and concerns the person and God Who forgives him if he repents. Besides, there is a responsibility with which the movement, Islam and such things are concerned. If today, one among you who are attired in the honorable uniform of the Islamic guards behaves, for instance, with the people like, God forbid, the members of SAVAK used to behave, it will not be said that this person has behaved like this. Those people who are enemies will say, “Well, they are now in power and the Islamic Republic has also been set up, Republic, too; they are doing the same things that the SAVAKi used to do.” They will attribute (the wrongdoings) to the Islamic Republic and Islam.

The heavy responsibility of safeguarding the school

The responsibility that now rests on us is a very great one. That is, you and I have this same responsibility of being the guards of Islam. One of the duties of guarding is to protect the nation, and another is to protect the businesses and homes of the Muslims. Furthermore, the people who want to create trouble must also be watched so that they—the agitators—are prevented from causing trouble. The thieves must not be allowed to deprive the people of security, and treacheries must be prevented. This is a kind of guard duty. Another one is safeguarding Islam. It is important that we safeguard the Islamic school and the Islamic Republic. Safeguarding these lies in our deeds being in conformity with what Islam has prescribed for us. That is, the acts of the Islamic Republic's guards should be in line with those of Islam and acceptable to God. The servants of God, and even the sinners, should be treated in a brotherly manner. Just as the Prophet of Islam (*a*) was merciful and sympathetic toward the believers, he was the same in the case of the non-believers as well. He was greatly concerned about the non-believers. That is, it used to distress him that they would remain in their state of infidelity and end up in the fire of hell. He was sympathetic toward them. His invitation (to them) was for the sake of delivering these infidels; those recalcitrant people. Addressing him, God, the Blessed and Exalted, says: "It seems as if you want to kill yourself for the sake of these people who have not become believers!" He was very distressed as to why they did not profess the faith and why they did not want to be delivered; why? According to... history, when, in a war, a group of chained unbelievers was brought to him, he stated that they should be sent, bound in chains, to heaven! They had to bring them like this and guide them.¹ He was the guiding light. Just as he was sincere and amicable with his friends, so also was he with the others, except those who were like cancerous tumors and had to be ostracized from society.

You gentlemen who are now the guards of the Revolution; that is, the "Islamic Republic" has a duty greater than that of safeguarding the Revolution. You must safeguard Islam; and that lies in guarding yourselves. Guard yourselves from your carnal desires, your passions and the desires that are present in everybody and are satanic ones in such a way that when people see you, or the ones that are waiting to find fault with you see you, they find you to be clean, honest people who, while having power and using it to deal with the corrupt, are kind and friendly toward the people.

¹ *Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal*, vol. 5, p. 249.

The satanic regimes' fear of the people

The reason why the former regime and the satanic ones used to bring misfortunes upon the nation and fill it with sorrow, persecute it, intimidate it and make it fear them in every way was that they, themselves, were traitors and feared the people. And the more they feared the people, the more they intimidate them. In order to keep themselves (in power), they saw no alternative other than persecuting and intimidating the people so that the people should fear them. As a result, they could not appear in society. This Muhammad Rida could, at no time, appear in public. Whenever they wanted to pass through an avenue they would bar entry to it. The agents of the Security Organization would keep the houses overlooking the avenue under their surveillance. They would restrict the people's movements and keep a watch on them. Those who used to shout and clap were their own agents; not the people! The people would not applaud them. He (the ex-Shah) would not dare to pass through the avenue until this was done and everything brought under control, supervision and surveillance! Why? Because the people were not well-disposed toward him. He was afraid of everybody lest he be shot at, for example, or hit by a stone at some time or other. They feared the people. The condition of our gendarmerie, our army and—I should say—our constables and police was such that, because they were not one with the people, they would intimidate them so as to safeguard their position.

The responsible authorities in the Islamic government

Islam is not like this. Its leaders used to mingle with the people. The Prophet of Islam (s) was the head of all the people. He was the chief but was in their society. He would come with them to the mosque and sit among them like everybody else. Hadrat Ali, when he was the ruler of a country that was many times bigger than the size of Iran and included Egypt, the Hijaz, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Yemen, all of which were under his control, would come with the people, sit among them and socialize with them. This was because he was not afraid of them. He did not oppress the people to be afraid of them. He had done no wrong as to fear them. He was for the people who looked upon him as their protector.

The people should regard you as their protectors. You should behave in such a way that the people regard you as their sympathetic brothers who keep awake at night and sacrifice their lives in order to protect them. If a youth among you, who, being young, disregards his responsibilities and wants to do a wrong thing and deal harshly with the people, and possessing a gun, for example, argues with the people, you must advise him that the system is

Islamic. There is no more of the *taghut* for its soldier to fight the people. He is the people's brother and is for them. When matters are such, all the people will support you, too. Kindness is mutual: when you are kind to the people, the people will also reciprocate your kindness. The day when the Iranian army had attacked the people, the people, too, fought against them with all their might. The day when army came among the people and empathized with them, the people showered them with flowers. Kindness is mutual.

Maintaining the prestige of Islam: one of the most important responsibilities

This is now the time when it is necessary for our actions, our words and our deeds to be such that our enemies do not criticize us for being those that could not do anything in those days (of the ex-regime) but can do so now, and that we had no opportunity at that time but now we are able to commit misdeeds! It should not be like this. We have to watch ourselves; we have to maintain Islam's prestige. We must protect the bazaars, the roads and such things. Those are less important than those that I had mentioned. Those ones are extremely important.

I am your supplicant and your servant. I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for your welfare, well-being, prestige, and power. I hope that with this power, you will progress and take the movement forward, God willing, and that Islam becomes a reality just as the people want. May we manage our country by ourselves, God willing, and the hands of others be severed from it. May Islam, as it actually is and as the progressive school that it is, be realized abroad with everybody's help and with the power of you valiant brothers.

Speech

Date: July 3, 1979 [Tir 12, 1358 AHS / Shaban 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The magnificent achievements of the Islamic Revolution

Audience: Women of the southern coastal regions

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The women in the arena of current political issues

I wish to apologize to all the brothers and sisters who have assembled in this cramped house and under this hot sun. As I am not able to speak to you for a long time, I will, therefore, say a few words and then entrust you to God.

It is one of the blessings of this movement that has brought you ladies of the coastal regions and all the esteemed women of Iran into the arena of current affairs and political issues. The criminal hands, of which Muhammad Rida and his father were manifestations, had sidelined all the ranks of the nation from social and current affairs. Political matters were not in the picture at all for the women, and neither were they for the brothers. If some people used to discuss them, it was in connection with that policy of plunder. If any so-called political groups would deal with political matters in those days, they (the issues) concerned the policies dictated by the West in order to plunder the Eastern countries.

This all-round transformation that occurred in Iran—transformation in thought, in spirit and in other respects—was a miracle that God, the Blessed and Exalted, did for you in this period. Today I see that your spokesperson, the spokesperson of the ladies from the coastal regions, raising matters that are the topics of the present time; the current political and social issues, just as the other women in the main cities and other places of Iran are now discussing the issues that exist and concern political and social affairs. This transformation arose by the blessings of this Islamic movement.

The fate of the country lies in the hands of the nation

I hope that this transformation will endure. You the ladies and the brothers and the rest of the brothers and sisters must make serious efforts to maintain this spiritual transformation. Get involved in your own political and social matters. In the name of involving half the population in the issues of

the day, the previous regime had sidelined the whole population from the current issues and matters concerning politics and their lives! It is today that all the strata of the people are involved in their own affairs and the issues that concern their country and the political affairs of the government. It is today that the entire nation, whether the respected ladies or the brothers have a hand in determining their own destiny; not the time when they were repressed. They (ex-regime) had claimed to have liberated half the population. In the name of freedom, they had deprived half the population—the whole population—of it! Today, you are free. All our brothers and sisters are free today, and freely criticize the government. They criticize anything that is against their path, and ask the government to address their basic problems. This movement liberated you. It freed you from those restraints that had been imposed on the nation. You have now assembled here freely and are openly raising your local political and social matters that are necessary for the nation. You are not the women you were some years ago. The brothers are not what they were some years ago. Today, you have a say in your own destiny; and political issues. You chart the course in politics and make demands of the government. This is the meaning of freedom that Islam has given you, and also the most important freedoms that you will later come by, God willing.

All together in implementing Islamic law

This is now the day for all the ladies and the brothers to join hands and, with unity of expression, take this movement toward success that lies in Islam being planned and implemented in this country as it ought to be. All the nations will turn to Islam, God willing, if it is presented and implemented as it actually is. It is your duty to take this movement to its very end in the same way that you have brought it to this stage. And as regards electing the deputies that are experts and are to review the Constitution that will determine the country's fate, you must choose individuals who are pious, well-informed, committed, who believe in the movement and are neither inclined to the East nor West but follow the straight path of humanity and Islam. Place your destiny in the hands of honest persons. Do not place it in the hands of those who are likely to commit treachery. Vote for the persons whom the *ulama*, the scholars and the pious ones of your regions nominate so that a constitution conforming to Islam and to the interests of the country is, God willing, approved, and a referendum, based on your votes, subsequently held.

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

Speech

Date: Morning, July 3, 1979 [Tir 12, 1358 AHS / Shaban 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The danger threatening Islam; Islam, the commodity the world admires

Audience: The commanders of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps from all over the country

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance of the Islamic Republic's system

We are being watched. Just as you dear guards and all the guards of the nation watch over this country in order to forestall those people who want to extinguish or weaken this movement by their satanic plots, you too are being watched by others, whether your enemies, your friends, the angels or God, the Blessed and Exalted. All of you are under surveillance. Just as you watch the offenders, you are also being watched so that you do not do wrong things. Today it is not like yesterday. In the past when our country was *taghuti*, if somebody did something wrong, it was in a *taghuti* system; and so the wrong doing was less serious. If ordinary people commit an offence, it is an offence but of less culpability. The offenses and sins committed today are greater in two respects. One is that the country is an Islamic republic on which the eyes of the world are riveted. The enemies are watching; they are observing us and have placed us under their scrutiny to see what this Islamic Republic is. They want to find out what it really is. The reality of every regime and government emerges from the officials of that regime and government, and their actions, and so comes to light. Today, if, as we claim, there is an Islamic republic and the corrupt regime is no more, having been replaced by an Islamic republic on the strength of your votes, any offense done by even the ordinary people is of greater culpability than it was in the past. Yesterday it was committed in the government of the *taghut*; today it is in that of the Apostle of God. Doing a wrong thing in the government of the Noble Messenger of God differs from what is done in a *taghuti* government. So the whole nation is being watched in this respect. The enemies are looking intently at this nation and this Islamic Republic, and so are your friends, the angels and more than anyone else, God, Himself.

The venomous pens (writing) against the school

The enemies are looking intently in order to find even small faults and contend with us, with you and the people of the nation who voted for Islamic government, the Islamic Republic, to be established. Not that they want to find individual faults in order to say that so-and-so was like this. They want to contend that the Islamic Republic is such. They are heedful of the fact that there are many who are against the Islamic Republic, including many Muslims. Many of the *taghuti* governments of Muslim countries are also opposed to the Islamic Republic, whereas there are many foreigners who do not believe in Islam but most of them, of course, respect it. That is, many of their governments are opposed to Islam and the Islamic Republic. We have many such people now in Iran as well that are opposed to the Islamic Republic. They are not opposed to Iran being a republic; they are against its being an Islamic one. They are watching us to find some flaw in us and multiply it a thousand times in the things they write in their magazines and newspapers in Iran and abroad and thereby magnify a trivial matter. These enemies of ours want to tarnish and disgrace this movement by means of their venomous pens and show the world that this is what Islam also is, now that the government has become Islamic and its supporters claim that the Islamic government and the Islamic guards observe justice. Any mistakes or any wrong, God forbid, on our part will not be like what is committed by a person. They will not blame anyone. The ones who want to tarnish our school will unjustly attribute the wrongdoing to it. An individual doing something wrong does not concern the school. Their aim, however, is to blame it for somebody's wrongdoing.

The mission of safeguarding the school at this most critical juncture

Therefore, safeguarding Islam means that we—I, that gentleman (the commanders in general) and all the strata of the people—should so protect it that no excuse be given to those that are seeking excuses to attribute your wrongdoings and ours to the faith. We have to be our own guards. We must realize that we are being watched by friend and foe, by the Saints of God and even by God. The world is God's Presence. We are now in His Presence. God is everywhere; He is present in all places. If we did something wrong, it would be in His Presence. Claiming that the country is now an Islamic Republic and the government is also Islamic, if, God forbid, we do not discharge the duties of an Islamic guard—I am also an Islamic guard, the gentleman is also a guard and you, the entire nation, are the guards of Islam; all of you are responsible and must keep this in mind: "All of you are

responsible and you will be questioned for the things that had been entrusted to you”¹—and if at this time that is the most critical juncture for the country and Islam, any mistake or offense is committed by the Islamic guards, whether the clergymen, who are also Islamic guards, or you gentlemen who are Islamic guards as well—by these two strata of the guards—it will be attributed to Islam by our enemies. Not by our friends; the enemies will blame Islam and castigate the school for our wrongdoings. This is a grave responsibility that everybody bears. It is not that you or I think that we are sinners and that the matter is between us and God, for instance. No, this is not the issue. The issue concerns the school; it concerns Islam. We are now at a stage where the prestige of Islam is in our hands.

Any mistake or wrongdoing on our part in the days of the previous regime would not be ascribed to Islam as the regime was a *taghuti* one. They would not say that the Islamic government was such, but that the wrongdoing occurred in the *taghuti* regime. The enemies would not say, “This is what the Islamic government and Islam is,” and neither would the friends. But, today, we have Islam and an Islamic government. The country’s system is an Islamic republic. You and all of us are the guards of Islam. Any offense that is done now will be different from the ones done in the past. The perceptions of our enemies in this Islamic Republic are different from what they were in the *taghuti* regime. It will be ascribed to Islam. And this is a grave responsibility that rests on us. The responsibility of this gentleman who heads the Islamic guards and of each one of you who supervise a certain number of guards is very great. It is also the responsibility of those individuals that are the Islamic guards. It is our common responsibility. I have a certain kind of responsibility; the gentleman has a certain kind of responsibility and you gentlemen have a certain kind of responsibility. All the strata of the people, the other guards and the other ranks have this responsibility, the reason being that our faults, especially those of the clergy, the police and the Islamic guards, will be attributed to Islam. That is, the enemies will record the wrongs in the name of Islam and will reflect this, explicitly abroad and implicitly in Iran, to show that this is just what the Islamic Republic is.

The danger of the school being sacrificed

Now that we have done nothing and the clergymen have not behaved like dictators, they are, nevertheless, calling us dictators! The clergymen should bear in mind that some people want to pick a quarrel with them. If a

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

clergyman does something wrong, God forbid, or speaks unreasonably to somebody, they will call all the clergymen dictators. They will say that from that time until now there was Muhammad Rida's dictatorship, and that it is now the dictatorship of the clergy! They are after such a thing. We have to be vigilant. This vigilance is more important than that exercised in the matter of thieves and traitors. This vigilance is essential as Islam is in danger; the school is in danger.

Suppose that all the plots were, God forbid, to be combined. That is, all the plots that are said to exist were to be added up—even if you do not believe that there is some truth to it despite the rumors to this effect—and they were to come and kill you Islamic guards, these gentlemen, me and all of us, we would still not be defeated if our school remained safe. We would have discharged our duty. We would not have been able to achieve our aim as we were not powerful enough to do so. Hadrat Amir (a) was not able to overcome Muawiyah; he was defeated. That is, the very people who were with him, opposed and defeated him. Nonetheless his school (Islam) remained safe.

The school of the Doyen of the Martyrs remained safe even though he, himself, was martyred. Sometimes, martyrdom leads the school to success; perhaps it is so most of the time. God forbid the school being martyred at any time and Islam being tarnished because of which they will say that the Islamic Republic is also like the former regime. In order to know the people when we look around, we notice that these ones are also doing the same things. They, too, force their way into people's homes. They should not do it even if they are justified. They should not do something that appears wrong even if there is any justification about it. Though the matter be right, the act is not.

The lobbying and clamoring of the enemies (against us)

We are being watched, and so are you because the enemy wants to show the world that we are like this. You saw what a hue and cry there was everywhere when the Islamic courts sentenced a few criminals—who like a cancerous tumor, would have corrupted the society had they remained—to death and had them executed. They likened us to Hitler! They called us dictators. They are aware of the facts, but they want to find some excuse and magnify it a thousand times. We have to be watchful. The enemies are watching us. The Saints of God, your friends, are watching. You are their friends as well, God willing. And the Holy Being, God the Almighty is watching all of us. Everybody is being watched. The spiritual sentinels, the

angels, are watching from above to see what we are doing; what we are doing while keeping guard; what we are doing with the freedom that has been attained and what you are doing with the power that has now fallen into your hands. You have become powerful now. They were more powerful; and what things they did! You now have the power in your hands. You have taken the spoils of war and their guns; these are now in your possession. And thanks to God that you are also discharging your guard duties. It is hoped that you will proceed to the very end, God willing.

The record of our deeds sent to the Imam of the Time

You should notice that you are being watched now. According to a narration, the record of our deeds is sent twice a week to the Imam of the Time (a). Claiming to be the followers and devotees of this great person, I feel that he will, God forbid, become embarrassed if he sees—and will do so as he is under God's care—the record of our misdeeds. You feel ashamed if your son commits an offense. It embarrassed you if your servant does something wrong. A person feels ashamed in society because his son, servant or follower has done such a thing. I am afraid that we may do something that would make the Imam of the Time (a) ashamed before God, (Who will say that) these are your partisans who are doing this! Do not do such things. Let it not so happen that we do some wrong, God forbid, and the matter reported by the angels that are observing us; that are our observers¹—everybody has an observer and is being watched. Even the smallest things in your heart are being observed. Our eyes, ears, tongues, and hearts are all being observed—and are watching all these things. Let no wrong, God forbid, be done by me and you, by all our friends and those of the Imam of the Time (a) that would make him disappointed. Watch yourselves; guard yourselves. If you want your act of guarding (Islam) to be included in the book of record in which the names of the guards of early Islam are entered, you too have to guard yourselves in the same manner so that your names are entered there.

Aspiring to build an Islamic country

May God, the Blessed and Exalted, place you among the guards of Islam, the Quran and the commandments of God. May He place the whole nation as the guards of Islam. May God, the Blessed and Exalted, grant you prosperity and make you your own guards. Just as you have made this country move ahead up to now and severed the hands of the traitors, may God, the Blessed and Exalted, give all of you dignity, health, greatness, and

¹ Alluding to *Surah Qaf* 50:18.

the strength to take it further from now on to be able to present an Islamic country to the world which was what we had demanded. If you are able to offer your commodity the way it is, everybody will accept it from you. Everybody accepts a good commodity. Our commodity is good unless we, ourselves, spoil it. Our commodity is the Quran; it is Islam. If there is no offense or violation on our part, and if we offer this great commodity—the Islamic Republic that we had demanded—to the world in the way it really is, and also present these ministries of ours that Islam desires, our army, gendarmerie, police and these offices, organs and our Islamic guards in the way God wants, it (Islam) would be an excellent thing to offer and everybody would demand for it. And God willing, you will see the Muslim countries, one another, following your example. There will be a time when Islam regains that power it had in its early period by which it prevailed over the two greatest empires of the world. A small number of people overcome two of the world's greatest empires.¹ And I hope that you be likewise also. May God assist you and also assist this dear brother of mine (a commander of the guards present in the audience).

¹ It refers to the two empires of Persia and Rome.

Speech

Date: July 3, 1979 [Tir 12, 1358 AHS / Shaban 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need to combat the dealers in narcotics

Audience: The employees of the Anti-Drugs Campaign Organization

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Fighting corruption

Fighting corruption per se, especially this type that is addiction, is absolutely all right. It is something that must be done. The government and the people, who can help, should assist in eliminating this evil. There is nothing wrong in this. Every mind and every sensible person will admit that such kinds of evil that lead our youth to destruction must be fought. The drug addicts should be cured of their addiction in the rehabilitation centers. And more important than this is to prevent by all means the sale, purchase and distribution of such drugs. This must be done even from the religious point of view. At present, I have no information about the circumstances... what the situation is. If the gentlemen have a program that is beneficial and will be helpful in preventing addiction and curing the addicts, it will be most proper and necessary. In this country, corruption is, of course, not limited to addiction. They (the former regime) intensified addiction and such evils; they increased them. The essential plan was to corrupt our youth.

Hundreds of years of widespread propaganda

Wherever they saw the probability of any power emerging, they clobbered it with all their might lest it arose to confront them. They thought it probable for the clergy to oppose them, and those who remember know how they treated the clergy in the days of Rida Khan. Later on it was not in that manner. It was devilishly worse during the reign of this one. They thought that the university would probably stand up to them some day, and so, through various devices, they did not allow it to be a proper university for this country. They thought it probable for the people to accomplish something if they relied on Islam and the clergy. They would try hard to separate them from the clergy and Islam, and to make them cynical about the clergy; in fact, cynical about the truth of all the monotheist schools and Islam. For this reason, the widespread propaganda—it must be said—of

hundreds of years had brought about such a situation that our youth; those who were not able to get to the bottom of the political issues, also came to believe that Islam, or any other monotheist school for that matter, was against the path of the nations and was preventing them from developing and becoming civilized. If you remember, Muhammad Rida had once stated in one of his speeches at the beginning of this movement that these clerics; the clergy wanted the country to go back to its previous state (of backwardness) and that they did not even want anybody to get into an automobile or an airplane, and that they were against such things as well. He had said that the clergy wanted the people to ride on donkeys to go here and there! He was saying this at the same time that some of the religious reference authorities¹ had gone to Mashhad by air. We said while speaking on the pulpit that just as he was saying this, some religious reference authorities were on their way to Mashhad by air. How does he say such a thing? The clergy is opposed to corruption; not to civilization. It was this regime that gave currency to corruption in the name of “civilization”. According to what is being said, there are more centers of prostitution in Tehran than bookshops! It is said that there are more liquor shops in Tehran than bookshops; but it is, God willing, not the case now, of course.

Plans well thought out to promote corruption and sow discord

They wanted to deprive, if they could, any power and any intellect that they thought would probably stand up to their masters and the foreigners, of the ability to think. How is one deprived of this? By becoming addicted to heroin and similar narcotics that rob a person of his mind and make him dull. There were centers of prostitution and corruption throughout the country. Well, these would also keep the youth occupied in lecherous activities which would completely make them devoid of ideas. This was a plan... it was a calculated plan; it was not that these things happened just like that. These things used to be done according to a precise plan. And now another matter is being pursued in accordance with a precise plan. Do not think that a hundred groups have now emerged on their own. A hundred groups have announced their existence. It is said that there are more than a hundred of them! They have all announced their presence. A hundred groups declaring their presence in a country does not happen just like that. It means differences arising among a hundred groups. It means a hundred groups opposed to Islam—most of them. It is not just by chance that groups are formed; no, there is something behind this. They either know that they are traitors—as many of

¹ It refers to Ayatullah al-Uzma Sayyid Hadi Milani.

them are—or they do not understand political issues and pay no attention to them.

At a time when all the powers have joined up and brought about the solidarity of the nation, and now that this is the time for a result to be obtained and construction carried out, various groups, various factions and various parties—everybody on every side forming his own party—have now appeared, many of which are against the movement and against Islam. Many of them do not mention it, but such is the reality. These are issues that have been considered by the foreigners; the ones who had studied our ideas, habits and our societies.

The ones who falsely claim to support the people

They want to prevent this movement from reaching fruition by every possible means, and to take advantage, if they can, of this tumult in the border regions and other places. A group of people have come here and have set fire to our crops; they are burning them. You can suppose that the bunch of people that burning our crops were the ones who, at first, would prevent sowing, and after which they would not let the harvesting be done. And now that the harvest has been stacked up, they are burning it. These are the ones who say that they support the people. They consider that supporting the people is to stop them from farming, and then to stop them from reaping the harvest, and after that to burn the crops in case they have been harvested. This is the support they give! It is like the Shah's "great civilization". Their support is to keep the people weak and poor; to separate and disperse them so that the ones who had sent them for this purpose come and take hold of everything of ours.

Narcotics: colonialism's weapon used against the young generation

In this connection, among the important things is this issue of narcotics that come here according to a plan. It is not the work of a smuggler or smugglers. No; it is all planned. They had determined how not to allow the universities and the theological schools to function. They had planned how to prevent the development of the youth and stop them from being useful to society. One part of it was to let them be addicted to heroin, opium and such things. These are matters that have been planned out. They should not be ascribed to some smugglers. These "big smugglers" and the alien hands are behind all these things. You should not attribute the corruption that is now rampant in Iran to some troublemakers, for example. No, they have had it worked out according to a definite, precise plan to destroy this country which

is to become Islamic. And if it does become Islamic, they will lose their hold on it forever and will not be able to gain access to its oil, copper and other resources.

They do not want this movement to end in success. They had all gathered to prevent, in as much as they could, Muhammad Rida from leaving. All the powers had joined up to prevent his ouster. Well, it did not work out. The nation rose and he had to leave. Subsequently, they got together to keep Bakhtiyar (in power) who was his followers and one of his servants. But, he, too, was ousted by the nation. Well, they would make attempts to keep the Shah. And after some people, even the respected ones, had tried to keep him, they tried to keep Bakhtiyar and then this Regency Council with us arranging for the elections. All of these were plans that they kept on dinning into the people. Some uninformed persons used to accept these and offer proposals. But the nation did not accept these and brushed them aside. After having been ignored and disappointed about it, they turned their attention to the elections. They would try to stop them: a group boycotted the elections; others boycotted the referendum and some others set the ballot boxes on fire! They prevented the people from voting by force of arms. Well, they were thwarted even in this and the people did vote, the results of which had no precedent in history. Such a great majority of the people voting had no precedent in the world. They lost out in this respect as well. Following that, they turned their attention to the matter of the constitution regarding which they again tried to create obstacles, demanding a constituents' assembly to be set up, and mentioning the things that would happen in the absence of such an assembly! This was to prevent the progress of the affairs; but they failed in this case also. Now they are trying to prevent even this panel from being formed. All of these things are calculated plots. It is not that the people in the border areas and others in the name of communism and such things are creating disorder. A group of them have come here and are doing all this. It is not that heroin or its used has become prevalent all over the country... on its own by chance. No, it is all according to plan.

The allocation of responsibilities in the fight against corruption

They are plotting to prevent this movement from succeeding. What should they do about it? Cause destruction everywhere. One of their destructive tactics is to stop our youth from growing up properly so that this youthful force not be used in any movement that might arise.

Therefore, it is a problem that must be tackled from all angles. Of course, all its aspects cannot be handled together. Each group must deal with one

aspect. One group should fight the use of drugs, another one must confront the problem of alcoholic beverages and yet another ought to campaign against the other kinds of corruption so that this movement is taken to a successful conclusion, and an Islamic government, as ordained by Islam, is set up; not the kind that materialism wants. If the kind that Islam has defined is, God willing, realized, it will bring prosperity to this nation and will also spread to all the other countries, God willing.

I pray to God for your success in this crusade. Whoever can help you in this will have no doubt helped a good cause. But I have no information about how your present set ups and the conditions actually are. I have just mentioned the generalities.

Speech

Date: July 3, 1979 [Tir 12, 1358 AHS / Shaban 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: General deprivation, the legacy of the Pahlavi regime

Audience: A group of students from the Fars, Kohkiluyeh, Buyer-Ahmad, and Mamasani tribes

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dwelling in huts in Tehran

The problem now is that every group thinks that it was the deprived one that did not enjoy the benefit of civilization, whereas this problem is not confined to your tribes alone. It is not that only you have been deprived of schools and roads and all the other aspects of life. According to the list that has been given to me, Tehran itself, which is the capital city, has about thirty quarters that lack all the things necessary for an individual to live. They lack water, electricity and dispensaries. There are people living in slums, tents and huts not only in the environs of Tehran, but in the city itself; in Tehran itself. According to what is said, there are about thirty areas that have these tent-dwellers who, because of the so-called "land reform", migrated to the areas around the city and in the city itself and have pitched their tents there. They have dug out a place and are leading a kind of life there that is much worse than that of the tribes. Do not think that the people in other places are living in welfare and not you. The issue has been that not only has no attention been given to the country, but it seems as if an enemy wants to gain control of a country and deter the people from leading their lives.

Ruin and backwardness, the Shah's legacy

The other problem is that the gentlemen think that such a state of affairs that has existed from before will, henceforth, not be so. The lack of electricity, water, roads, dispensaries, and all the other things are matters that had existed during the time of the former regime and have been bequeathed by it. It is now some months that the Revolution has taken place and in which we are in. It is now five months. It is now four and a half months that they have gone; that these thieves have gone taking away with them everything that Iran had. They carted away whatever they could. And what they couldn't, they borrowed from the banks. They have looted the banks and departed. And now it has fallen upon the shoulders of the government to

return all this to the banks. It is now nearly five months that we have obtained deliverance from these plunderers, and a country that has nothing, has fallen into the hands of the government and the nation. The economy is bankrupt, the educational system is backward and with the exception of some centers, the rest of the people from the cities and the very ends of the country are deprived of the vestiges of civilization. And now that freedom has been won and the force and pressures removed, some people, whether those that are religiously deviated or not, have appeared among the people and are engaged in plunder or in creating trouble. They are the remnants of that same regime and that same set-up. It is like this all over Iran now.

A long time (needed) for reconstruction

Well, you imagine that everything can be set right in Iran, a country which had all its things stolen and taken away, leaving it in a ruined state with no proper economy, no proper educational system, no proper gendarmerie, army, or anything else. Those that are now running the country are the people that are keeping order and protecting the system. Do you think that it is possible and could be done? That everything be restored to a sound state all at once? There are problems; all of us must join hands—the government and the people—and build this ruined country. The government will do it to the extent of its power. Do not think that the government does not want to do it. The government is in the process of doing it; it is busy. The construction of houses has now begun all around Iran. Highway construction has also begun. But the vast country of Iran having no means, the way it ought to have, must necessarily be reconstructed gradually. It cannot be done at once. You think that once the Revolution has taken place, everything can be set right in one or two days, one or two months or one year. It cannot be done. If there was only one region, one place or ten places, it could have been said that well, the government could construct these ten places. But it is the whole country. They have taken away everything from this large, wide country leaving behind nothing in our hands. I should tell you that they (the authorities) are doing wonders in that they have been working so well in spite of all this. They are now engaged in the various facets of repairing the damage. They have started from those distant places lest the slum-dwellers remain here itself and do not return to their farming and the trades which they used to ply there.

In any case, all these matters that you mentioned are true. We are aware of these, but they are not specific to your places. The people who come here from Khuzestan say the same things as you. And they are right. The people

coming here from all over the country mention these same issues. And what they say is correct. But they think that it is only their region that is like this. Many of them say that there is no place worse than theirs, whereas the brothers who come from other places also say the same thing! They are right; there is destruction everywhere. It is not question of being “worse than” somewhere else. The situation is bad everywhere.

The destruction wrought by Rida Khan and Muhammad Rida Shah

It is not that the government is not thinking about the matter. We now have a government that is transitional and unsettled. We do not have a permanent one; it is an interim government. We must allow sometime for it to become a permanent one, the republic to be set up, an established government to take over, and subsequently, for a proper parliament to come into existence. Then we can think of these matters which would, of course, be easy with the enterprising people we have. It would then not be so important. These matters are nothing for you who overthrow that big power.

In any case, some time must be given at present. If something had been done for this regime, you would have been justified in saying that this regime has taken over and claims to be Islamic but is doing a lot of mischief. However, you have to give some time to a government that has come and inherited a country which they have completely robbed. That father (Rida Khan) took away Iran’s jewels and its resources but fell foul of the British according to what was said. His son did the same thing. Their camp-followers filled the foreign banks with assets. And whatever they could not take there but were able to take from here, they took away. According to well informed sources, they have borrowed as much as possible from the banks and taken the money away. There remains a country that has nothing—such that it can [...] now. It is not so that the coffers are full and that they have just left them and do not want to perform the tasks. The treasury is empty in relation... to a government. You have to consider this. Therefore, some time must be allowed. And all the difficulties that you mention are real ones.

The danger of chaos and disturbances

We know that the issues are ones which you mention. The remnants of the former regime that have remained, as well as the deviant persons who are being inspired from abroad, are creating mischief. We should now join hands and make efforts for the transfer of power from this provisional government; that is, for the country to have an established government. At present, we do have neither a president, nor a parliament. We need a parliament, we need a

president. We do not have a constitution. A country's constitution, its president, its parliament, and its established government form the country's basis. We do not have any of these. Thanks to God that we have driven them out. But we do not have anything complete at present instead. Everything is in an unfinished state.

If you think that they now ought to deal with those people, for example, that you say must have their wings clipped... it would be in a situation in which disturbances could arise. These are harmful for the country at this time in which calm is needed so that the country's work is set in motion. Supposing that by their making a lot of noise and preventing them, they want to deal severely with them, the result would be nothing but disturbances because of which we will not be able to set up a permanent government that we have in mind. We have to maintain some calm. You waited for fifty-odd years. Those who preceded you suffered all this repression and oppression throughout the period of the monarchy. Everything that you remember concerns these issues; the imprisonment, the troubles and such things. You have no alternative but to endure all this. Thanks to God that you are free now. Their power has gone; there is nobody to arrest and imprison you or to persecute you. Some of their remnants remain who think that they can fish in troubled waters. If the people—not only your tribesmen, but all those all over Iran—now want to embark on crushing the ones that are creating disturbances, it would lead to differences arising everywhere in Iran. They are aggravating the differences from that side as well. They are fanning the flames of discord even in Tehran. Much is the dissension that they have created. It is so in the other cities and among the tribes. The seditionists are occupied with their mischief in the other places in order to gain an opportunity to set off disturbances so that you will not be able to set the country right. While saying that you are troublemakers who cannot run the country and need someone to come and run it, they will bring in a bully once more and, by placing him here, restore the previous set-up. Some patience is required until a permanent government is established.

Revolutionary patience in enduring difficulties

For your information, the officials of this interim government are busy day and night in making plans to carry out reforms, and are also looking into the condition of the people. But time is required. It is not that everything can be done all at once. A provincial government that is confronted with devastation on all sides cannot set everything right at short notice. It cannot. It is not that they (the officials) do not want to take corrective measures.

They very much want to do so. They pray to God to help them in solving the problems within a few days. But the issues are such that they need time. When a part of a house needs to be repaired, it will take six months to do it, granted that everything else is all right. Otherwise, nobody can say how long it would take. The condition of the country is such; not only your regions, but everywhere. You see your own place; you see it beset with difficulties. The Bakhtiyaris also look at their own region, and the case is the same with those who come from all parts of Khorasan. They have only heard of the situation in the other places. But they have actually seen their own ones; they have seen them as they are. You have to wait a bit, sir. Creating differences at this time would be the very thing they want. The people, who do not want us to have a proper government, or an Islamic republic to become a reality, are the ones that are fanning the flames of discord. If we are to aggravate these differences and with them doing the same on that side and in the border regions, the country will eventually fall into utter confusion and you will not be able to manage it. The result would be the emergence of difficulties and much misery. Some patience is called for. You lack roads no doubt; it is clear. The troublemakers are there and everywhere. I am not aware whether or not you had public baths, hospitals and such things from before. You lack these even now. We are also aware of this. Do not think that they (the officials) do not want to take care of all this. They intend to, and God willing, it will be done. But patience—some revolutionary patience, as they say—is required. Some patience and endurance is required so that these tasks are gradually accomplished, God willing.

Electing representatives that are learned and committed to Islam

I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to give us—all of us—success in the cause of Islam and our country. It should be our aim to assist in building up this country. The sundry people that have remained from before and have no base among the people are not the ones who are capable of doing it. They will disappear at some time. The essential thing is for this government to be set up. We have to pass these stages in which we are at present. Our Constitution which must be attended to is being dealt with at the present time. After that, you will have to elect the people; you must elect them yourselves. The ones you elect should be learned, Islamic and committed to Islam. They must believe in the Islamic Republic and not be inclined to the left nor to the right. You will elect such people who are, no doubt, to be found among you, and send them to review the Constitution. Your fate is tied to the Constitution. Take a look at the Constitution. After it has been

approved, the National Consultative Assembly should be set up, and after that the president [should be elected]. Then, all these tasks (of reconstruction) should be accomplished in all seriousness. They are busy now; do not imagine that they are not. They are busy. They are now engaged in building houses all over Iran and also in the purging operations which, God willing, is possible and will be carried out. They are also building roads. They are seized of all this and are busy. The task, however, is great. It concerns a whole country. It is not just a region which could be soon taken care of; it is a country which should be dealt with gradually.

May God grant success to all of you. May God assist you and may all of us strive for the sake of Islam, God willing, and carry out our tasks. And may we assist in the reconstruction of the country, and assist the government and Islam.

Speech

Date: July 3, 1979 [Tir 12, 1358 AHS / Shaban 8, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Islam's prestige depends on the deeds and words of the responsible authorities

Audience: A group of Islamic Revolutionary Guards from Mashhad

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

The prestige of Islam and functioning of the authorities of the Islamic system

Teachers must also be the teachers of morals concerning the tasks that have to be carried out. At present, our country requires that the teaching be done and also that morals be taught to those in their care. The present situation is such that we are at a fork in the road. One way is to show Islam and the Islamic Republic to the people of the world so as to make them aware of our claim of intending to establish a government of justice and a republic based on Islamic criteria. The enemies are concentrating on what we are doing. If they see any wrongdoing on our part they will severely criticize the Islamic Republic and us. In other words, Islam's prestige now lies in the nation's hands; more so in your hands and ours. If, God forbid, clergymen and you, the guards, do not act according to our Islamic duties, the enemies that are standing by and watching us in order to find some fault, will raise a hue and cry if they see anything wrong and will multiply it a thousand times. If we or you take a wrong step, these people in Iran itself—not those abroad—who are inimical toward the very idea will blame it. They will not say that a policeman, for instance, entered somebody's house and took something away. They will not say that a clergyman said or did something un-Islamic. They will say that the Islamic Republic is like this.

The necessity of safeguarding the Islamic land

Today, we stand responsible. That is, I, this gentleman here, every gentleman, cleric and Islamic guard, wherever they be, you gentlemen that are here and all the other individuals of this country have a great responsibility; that of safeguarding Islam. Safeguarding the honor of Islam now depends upon our deeds. We will not be blamed for anything wrong that we do. Our enemies will blame the Islamic Republic. They will say that the Islamic Republic is also like that former regime and does the same things.

They used to arrest the people without any reason, and these ones, also arrest the people unnecessarily. They used to enter people's houses forcibly, and these ones enter people's houses forcibly as well... Suppose that somebody is a hundred percent criminal; one hundred percent. The guards should not force their way into the house of such a criminal and frighten his wife and children. They will attribute this to the republic that we claim is Islamic and just—and this is the truth of the matter—whereas we are to blame for anything wrong that we do; not Islam. We are responsible for our actions; that is, we are responsible before God.

An unforgivable crime

Anything we do that brings disgrace to Islam in the world is the crime of crimes that will not be forgiven nor made good. It is different from our committing an offense that is “between us and God”. Well, we can repent for it, and that is the end of the matter. But portraying Islam in a way as to make the world say that this “regime” is also like that of Muhammad Rida, that this cleric is also doing the same things which that colonel then used to do and this Muslim Islamic guard is also doing what that agent of the security apparatus would do, will sully the name of our school for the sake of which the Imams sacrificed their lives in order to safeguard it. The Doyen of the Martyrs who sacrificed his life did not want to rule; he wanted justice to exist. He saw that Muawiyah and his son had projected a false image of Islam. He wanted to dispel that wrong idea about Islam which they had been portraying. All of them made sacrifices for the Islam that they had wanted to safeguard. The school remained safe though they, themselves, were killed.

We are now at a point in time when our school is in danger. The enemies are watching us to find some fault with us and blame it on the school; not on us. It would not have mattered much had they blamed us. They would have said that Khomeini is a corrupt person! But it is dangerous if we do something and they say that the school is not the right one. This is their intention.

You now see us demanding an Islamic Republic. A certain group opposed to it says that “republic” itself is enough and that there is no point in having the “Islamic” part of it. Another group says that Islam is of no use now, while yet another group questions the very rationale of Islam. All of these groups are waiting to see us doing something wrong and then blame it on the school. The responsibility of this is apart from that which only concerns me and God, or you and God. A sin which concerns me and God is forgiven by Him when I repent. But in matters relating to Islam, if, God

forbid, we perpetrate some act at this time when we are claiming that the former regime was corrupt and that we want to supplant it with a righteous one, and do something wrong as to sully the name of our government, it will not be one of those sins of which I cannot say: "I seek God's forgiveness and return to Him." You are destroying Islam! It would be like Muawiyah trying to repent. He destroyed Islam; he cannot repent. God will not accept it.

Advice and imploration

I advice and entreat you gentlemen to safeguard Islam now as it is the time to do so. Please convey my regards to all the people whom are to go and teach. Please also convey my request to them. The (important) matter now is Islam. This is not the time for such things to be said. Tell them not to abuse the power that has come into our hands now, and to use it for Islam. We will all be responsible for anything contrary that, God forbid, happens. May God protect you, and may you be successful and fine.

Speech

Date: July 4, 1979 morning [Tir 13, 1358 AHS / Shaban 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The difference between an Islamic government and other governments

Audience: Personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards of Abadeh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Man's evolution from nature to divinity

What we say and to which you have referred is that no regime can manage men and nations properly like an Islamic government. The reason is that all the non-monotheist regimes and those created by people other than the prophets function as much as their perspicacity allows, granted that they are honest and a hundred percent concerned about their nations. But it has to be seen how great the extent of man's perspicacity, needs and evolution is. Are the non-divine regimes perspicacious enough to match the orbit of man's existence and his ability to develop? Suppose that there are people who are concerned about their nations and who want to, and can, serve them. Are they limited to a certain extent in this? And if they want to serve up to this extent, are they able to do so? If we perceive this point that man's evolutionary pathway is from the natural state to the supernatural where he reaches the state of divinity and where he sees nothing but God, and that in his spiritual evolutionary stages he is able to create all the spiritualities within himself by means of proper training until he reaches a position above that of the angels, we can see that his needs are of such a kind. Man is not like an animal whose need are eating and sleeping. Man is a creature that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has so far created possessing all the peculiarities of the world within him. But these exist in the potential state; as competences. And these competences ought to be activated and realized.

The limited perception of the non-monotheist regimes

The perception of all the regimes that have come into being through sources other than the prophets is limited to this natural state. They are able to fulfill natural needs very well. In former times, travel was by means of donkeys and horses; now it is by means of aircraft. Formerly, medical practice was defective, but now it is perfect and will become even better. All such things fall within the limits of nature. All these accomplishments of man

are within the bounds of nature and also the things that he beholds and comprehends by means of his faulty understanding. Man's perception does not extend beyond the natural world. The training given by entities that are non-divine and are apart from the prophets—who train by receiving inspiration from God—is the natural kind. A doctor heals one's body. A doctor cures physical diseases very well. But spiritual ailments do not concern the doctor; not in the least. The physician has nothing to do with them, and cannot either, as he has no knowledge about them. The progress in the natural sciences enables man to gain access to whatever he requires in the natural world. But none of these sciences with which human beings are concerned can reach what is beyond nature. The regimes of man, if competent—we know that the majority of them are not—can engender man's progress in keeping with the degree of their perceptiveness. But they cannot do so in matters of which they have no knowledge.

We, therefore, see that all the non-revealed regimes; those that have no connection with the source of the revelation have nothing to do with man. In matters relating to man's inner self, the governments are not bothered about your thoughts, your beliefs and your habits. They have nothing to do with these. The extent of their concerns—that is, the people that are upright, and the governments with equitable systems—is to so organize their systems as to remain secure, their bazaars and countries to be orderly and robberies and injustices be prevented. This is the extent to which the regimes are interested. They are not concerned about what you do in your house. What have they to do with your domestic issues! You have to uphold the law when you step outside the house. But what you are inside the house concerns only you and God. These systems have no laws whatsoever in this regard and have nothing to do with the matter.

The differences between the schools of the prophets and the worldly ones

The only regimes and the only schools that are concerned about man from before this seed was sown until the very end, and they have no end, are those of the prophets. There is no school in the world, except those of the prophets, that tells you what type of woman to take for a wife or what kind of man a woman ought to choose. What is it to them; they are not concerned about it. There is nothing in their laws about the type of man or woman to choose. There is nothing in their laws that say what a woman ought to do during pregnancy and the period she nurses her baby. There is no mention about her duties during the period when the child is always with her, nor of those of the father when training the child. Worldly and natural laws and

regimes that are not of the prophets have nothing to do with these matters. Only when a person matures and enters society does he find that they have laws to prevent the type of corruption that is harmful to the system. But they are indifferent to the corruption involving drinking and unwholesome pleasures. In fact, they even make it worse. They do not bother about human development and perfection. In their view, the difference between an animal and man only lies in the fact that man as a natural being makes more progress. Animals cannot make aircraft but humans can. An animal cannot become a doctor but a person can. Nature, however, is the limiting factor. The regimes of the prophets concern themselves with everything. The aim of a person who wants to get married is that upright and proper children result from the marriage. There are instructions as to what type of woman or man one should choose. Why are there instructions about this? The reason is that just as a cultivator or a farmer inspects a plot of land before setting up a farm, and then selects a suitable plot as well as seeds of wheat or whatever he requires, and so considers all these factors before cultivating his land and benefiting from it, so also does Islam consider the type of partner one ought to choose to ensure that the marriage results in good human beings being brought up and the correct procedures being followed subsequently. It tells us the customs regarding the marriage that must be adopted and then the conditions and customs concerning insemination. It, likewise, tells us what practices to follow during pregnancy and lactation. All this is because of the fact that the monotheistic religions, of which Islam is the leading one, came for the perfection of human beings. They did come to develop a being, possessing intelligence and aims to the same animalistic extent or a bit more. They did not come for this purpose; they came for the sake of man's development. What you said about there being neither school nor regime like Islam means that it is Islam that can train man to pass from the stage of the natural world to the spiritual and beyond the spiritual. Other schools that are not monotheistic have nothing at all to do with what is beyond nature. Their understanding and knowledge does not extend to the realm of metaphysics. The ones conversant with it received the knowledge through revelation. They are the ones whose understanding is linked to revelation. They are the prophets.

The advantages of an Islamic government

An Islamic government is not like the other ones. It is not that the difference between an Islamic government and the others lies in the former being just and the others unjust. No; there are differences, one of which is

this. There are many differences between the Islamic government and Islam and among the other regimes. One of these is that the Islamic government is just. What are the attributes of a ruler? What are the attributes of the police and the soldiers? What attributes should the government employees, for instance possess? This is one of the differences, albeit small and above these (attributes) are the things that take man toward spirituality. Islam has come to draw this nature toward spirituality, and to control it. It views nature in the same way as everybody; not that it is not concerned with nature. Islam accepts civilization in its highest form and strives for its realization. The Islamic countries that had existed possessed all kinds of civilizations. But it does not mean that Islam accepts and strives for the things present in the civilized countries, whereas they attach importance to these things as such, and that is all there is to it. Islam aims to draw man toward spirituality and monotheism. In this respect, there is a difference between Islam and non-Islamic regimes; between the Islamic governments and non-Islamic ones and between the things Islam offers and those of other schools. The other schools are imperfect, but they think otherwise. The extent of these are limited to their perceptions; not more. Islam's perception is endless. Nature is referred to as the world. "World" means low in the tongue of the prophets. Therefore, the word "world" means very low. "*The lowest of the low.*"¹ What appears in the Quran is this very nature and its manifestations that are above nature; they are of the highest status.

Observing Islamic laws in public and in private

God wants man to reach the highest degree; to take him from the lowest to the highest stage. This is not at all the object of the regimes other than those of the prophets. They are not bothered about people becoming godly; what have they to do with it. They only want that there be no disorder and that nothing be done to harm the government. Everything else does not matter. The prophets thought differently. The (school of the) prophets concern themselves with your actions, even when you are in your storeroom. Nobody is there, but God's commands follow you. Their aim was to train man in such a way that his actions among the people and in private do not differ. Just as one does not behave dishonestly in public because he is careful of the people, it was the aim of the prophets to so train man that he remained the same in public and in private; a (proper) human being in both case. A (proper) human being is one whose conduct is food whether he is among people or alone. This was what they had wanted. And it is our desire, our

¹ Surah at-Tin 95:5.

wish, that such a school becomes a manifest reality. This is what the prophets had also wanted. It is everybody's wish to have a government like those of early Islam when there was justice; when justice, and even an excess of it, prevailed. We want everything that is there in Islam and the Holy Quran; all of it. As regards the Islamic Republic, this is the first step. Our government is now Islamic; it is an Islamic republic because you voted for it and so it was.

Efforts to have the essence of Islam in the system

The previous regime has gone. It has been buried forever. Your government is now Islamic in which our responsibilities are many. We have the great responsibility of safeguarding the honor of Islam. Now that the government has become Islamic, we are obliged to become Islamic ourselves. If there is to be an Islamic republic but we ourselves and the government are not to be so, then we will not be able to call it an Islamic republic. If there is to be an Islamic republic but, God forbid, its police, its courts and its ministries are not Islamic, it would be a *taghuti* government in the name of Islam; that same *taghut* but with its name changed. We do not want the name to be changed. We want the substance to be there. We must strive to have the substance.

Islam, today, depends on your actions. Our government and our "regime" can only be Islamic if we and all the strata of the nation conduct ourselves well. The country would then have "an Islamic government and an Islamic nation". Our government will only be an Islamic one if all its ministries and offices, its army, police and gendarmerie become Islamic and we as individuals, engaged in our trades and occupations and observing Islamic precepts, will constitute an Islamic nation. Otherwise, it will only be meaningless words. If I and the religious judge keep on saying "Islam" but the people's deeds are to the contrary, then neither is the government nor the nation Islamic. Make efforts so that the people and the government become Islamic.

I beseech God, the Blessed and Exalted, to preserve this unity and high morale of yours until these stages are passed. May God protect all of you.

Speech

Date: July 4, 1979 [Tir 13, 1358 AHS / Shaban 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Worrying for Islam; the offenses committed by the authorities are the cause of the school becoming vulnerable

Audience: Islamic guards and clergy of Turbat-e Haydariyeh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Warning the clergy and the Islamic guards

The Islamic guards, the *ulama* and the other classes of the people have assembled here. The matter that worries me, and will also worry the gentlemen if I mention it, is the danger that is confronting us at this time when with the support of all the ranks and classes of the people, the movement has been brought up to here, the enemy expelled from the scene and the power of the foreigners curtailed. The danger that is now causing me concern and which I repeatedly tell every group of people that come here—the clergy, the Islamic guards, of which the clergy is also a part, they too, are the guards of Islam and so are the others; in fact, the entire nation ought to function as the guards of Islam: “All of you are responsible and you will be questioned for the things that had been entrusted to you.”¹ The danger which has worried me—and I repeat, to every group that comes here I repeat it (to them)—is not one of defeat. The danger does not lie in this. Many of the Saints of God were defeated in the wars; even the Prophet, at times. Hadrat Amir also was defeated by Muawiyah. Suppose that we and you who had risen against the regime... had been defeated and even killed. It would not have mattered as it would have been for the sake of Islam. What is now causing anxiety is anything being done against (Islamic) policy by these two important groups and the other ones. These groups are: the clergy who have been the protectors of Islam now, and the Islamic guards; and in addition to these, the committees and the revolutionary courts. We claim to be the protectors of Islam—and you are also the guards of the Revolution; the whole nation must be the guards of Islam—and the country’s system to be Islamic. We consider the Republic to be Islamic. We voted for it together with the nation whereby our country is officially an Islamic republic now. If, at this time, we, you, the committees or the revolutionary courts do

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

something which would appear to the world as being against the system, our many enemies abroad and within the country who are waiting for us to make a wrong move, will magnify it a thousand times and reflect it in the newspapers and magazines abroad, and in veiled manner in Iran. They will say that the Islamic system is just this; and that these are its Islamic guards, its committees, its merchants, and all the other classes, and so discredit our school. They will say: "Islam has such Islamic guards and that there is now an Islamic republic which is not different from the previous regime. At that time, Muhammad Rida Pahlavi and the security apparatus used to commit offenses, and now the clergy, the Islamic guards, the revolutionary courts, and the committees are also committing them, so it is clear that Islam is also like the other regimes." They will not say that I, you or the gentleman has done a wrong thing. They will say: "The regime is now Islamic and there is an Islamic republic. These people say that they are the Islamic Republic guards; the clergy say that they have been the guards of Islam from the very beginning; the courts also say that they are the Islamic revolutionary courts; and committees say that they are Islamic committees. All of them say such things using the name of Islam." We have these people now who say that the Islamic Republic is also like the monarchy. "A bunch of people used to do those things (offenses) at that time, and now another bunch is doing the same. In those days, that group would force its way into people's houses and commit atrocities, and now this one is doing it. At that time, that group would do wrong things and now another group is committing aggression in the name of Islamic committees. Muhammad Rida and his followers used to do these things at that time; now the clergy are doing such things. The pawns are changed but the same problems remain!"

A calamitous danger to Islam

It is a danger; a calamity that is greater than any other. Killing the Doyen of the Martyrs did not matter as they were destroying the school. His martyrdom revived the school. He was killed but the school of Islam came alive and buried the *taghuti* regime of Muawiyah and his son... As the Doyen of the Martyrs saw that they were sullyng the name of Islam by committing crimes and oppressing the people in the name of the Islamic caliphate, and this would be portrayed to the world as the Prophet's caliphs doing these things, he considered it his duty to wipe out the very traces of Muawiyah and his son even if he was to be killed in the process. Therefore, the killing and martyrdom of the Doyen of the Martyrs was not something that was detrimental to Islam. It was useful as it brought about the revival of

Islam. If we had also been killed in this movement that we had staged, and in following this path of struggle and combat, it would not have mattered because we were pursuing our aim. We would have been killed in the way of Islam, but Islam would not have been endangered; it would have been strengthened. The affairs have now fallen into our hands. You have ousted the adversary. You have taken over the country and are running it. You are Islamic guards, and so are the gentlemen. In these conditions, if we do anything wrong, and God forbid, differences and quarrels arise among the clergy in the cities; if differences arise among the Islamic guards and they start shooting at one another, and also among the committees, and if the courts do not attend to the cases properly, it will not be said today that any of these gentlemen who does wrong is a SAVAKi. They (the enemies) will say that a clergyman is doing it; that the clergy are like this and that it is the dictatorship of the clergy! Our school will stand disgraced; not we ourselves. We are not important; the school will be tarnished. The people who are watching our actions closely, and who bear enmity to us and Islam, will reflect all that we do. They will say that so-and-so has done a wrong thing. They will say, "The regime is now an Islamic one and these people—all of them—claim to be the guards and sentinels of Islam, and the clergy as well claim to be the protectors of Islam; but this is what they are doing! So, it is clear that Islam is like this." They will reflect it in this way that such is Islam; that the clergy used to tell lies that Islam is a progressive school and that it is just this.

Devilish conduct under clerical guise

This is big danger to us. It has to be avoided. How can we prevent this? The clergy ought to fulfill their clerical duties; the duties that Islam has laid out for them. The Islamic guards should attend to their guard duties. They are the guards of the Revolution; not its disturbances, not its opponents. We are not clergymen if we commit an offense. We are devilish people that have assumed a clerical appearance and put on clerical dress. Not that you have power, if you Islamic guards do something that conflicts with your duties, you cannot be called the guardians of Islam and the Revolution. You are the guardians of your own lustful desires. You act according to them and to the teachings of Satan. If the merchants in the Islamic Republic do the same things as used to be done in the *taghuti* regime, it then cannot be claimed that the bazaar is Islamic. No, it is a *taghuti* bazaar! This fleecing of the poor that is now going on, this usury that is now prevalent; this selling of heroin and such things that is now in vogue, will all be attributed to Islam and the

Islamic Republic. Our school will suffer a defeat. Islam will be defeated and buried. And nobody will be able to resurrect it.

The wrongdoings of the officials: a blow to Islam

My dear clergymen brothers! My dear *pasdar* [Islamic guards] brothers! Help Islam! Put your differences aside. Behave like brothers with one another. Join hands and save Islam. These are dangerous days. Now that we are free, should we do whatever we like? Islam does not give such freedom to anybody. Now that we are no more under the oppressive yoke of the previous regime, should we, in turn, oppress the people?! Well... in what way are we different from them? You in the uniform of the guards and the gentlemen in clerical robes bear a great responsibility. It is now that the responsibility of everybody; all the classes, all the Muslims, in Iran is great. It is not the previous regime in which we would not be blamed for all the oppressions that used to be done; that regime would be blamed. But the regime is now Islamic. Any wrongdoing on the part of the Islamic government will stain the name of Islam. Any wrong done by a clergyman at this time will weaken the school. If our Islamic guards, God forbid, do anything wrong—such as the wrongs done in the days of the previous regime, but now in the name of the guards—it will undermine our school. And the same applies to the committees. If our courts do such things, the school will suffer a blow. These courts are not *taghuti* courts; they are Islamic ones. It is expected of the Islamic courts to put Islamic commands into effect, and the same applies to all of us. This matter is one of the vexations that disturb me. And you, too, ought to feel uneasy about it. The remedy lies in each one of us discharging the duties that God has laid down for us. The clergy should act according to the duties that Islam has given them.

God's binding order

The Glorious Quran states: "*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.*"¹ This is an order; it is a binding one. It is an order that consists of a command and a prohibition: Be united; hold fast to Islam, everybody together; let there be no discord among you. Let it not happen that the countries, the ones who are our enemies and are watching us, say that the troublemakers in every city consist of the clergymen of the place. This will bring disgrace upon us; our wrongs—I should say—will be humiliating to the Imam of the Time. When the angels take the records of our

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:103.

deeds to him and he sees that his Shiah—well, you are his partisans, and we are as well—are doing such (wrong) things, he will feel ashamed. Wake up; the matter is dangerous. The danger does not concern a person or a nation. It concerns Islam.

May God give you success in carrying out your duties. May God give all of us success in discharging our Islamic duties, and our duties as clergymen and Islamic guards. May we succeed in this campaign. And may this country belong only to you, and become an Islamic one.

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

Speech

Date: July 4, 1979 morning [Tir 13, 1358 AHS / Shaban 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Spiritual transformation, one of the blessings of the movement

Audience: The employees of the Department of Public Health and Rehabilitation of East Azerbaijan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The achievements of the Islamic Revolution

One of the blessings of this movement is that we have come to know the gentlemen who are from places far away from the center of learning, and to acquaint one another of the matters that you or we wish to discuss and to air our grievances, if any. In fact, you who are responsible for health and rehabilitation should cure us of them.

One of the blessings of this movement is the “spiritual transformation” that has been wrought in our society. I have repeatedly said that this spiritual transformation that has arisen in Iran and which this movement was able to create by the will of God, the Blessed and Exalted, is more important than this victory that has been our lot, and by which we curtailed the power of the foreigners and the traitors. This spiritual transformation cannot be achieved even by one person, let alone groups and people throughout the length and breadth of a country. You can also notice the several kinds of transformations that have taken place in these people, one of them being that which I have repeatedly mentioned and am repeating again that it is a transformation that changed the people’s fear and dread into bravery. You saw and remember that when a police constable came to the bazaars—the bazaars of Tehran and Tabriz—saying that it was the fourth of Aban¹ and that flags should be flown by the shops, the thought that one could argue with and say no even to a policeman would never occur to the people. Everyone would obey out of the fear that disobedience could entail imprisonment, persecution and torture. But within a space of two years toward the end of the Revolution, in a period of less than two years, a transformation took place among these very people that made them stand up to tanks, cannons and machineguns, saying that they

¹ It refers to the fourth of Aban, the birthday of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, when the people, particularly the shopkeepers, would be compelled to hoist flags by the entrances to their shops and homes.

did not want the (Shah's) regime at all. The ones who could not muster the courage to say that they would not put up a flag that night (the eve of 4th Aban) had found the courage to clench their fists and march forward; to swarm into the streets shouting, "Death to this monarchy," and such things. It is not easy for such a transformation to take place. Yes, it could be that one, two or ten people undergo such a change. But a whole nation was like that, as it was in Mashhad, Azerbaijan, Tehran, Shiraz, in the villages and hamlets. It was not confined to one region; the change occurred throughout the country. This was nothing else but the special favor done by God, the Blessed and Exalted, to this nation. He did the nation a spiritual favor and transformed it as if the people had become something else. The people, all over the country, became something else. They were something; they became something else. They were transformed from one type of people into another type. Another one of the changes was this sense of assisting one another in that the people that had been keeping apart and had nothing to do with one another began to help, as we saw, when the people started walking (and demonstrating). As they used to write to me, men and women used to come repeatedly from their houses in the streets and avenues with water for the people (demonstrators) to drink. A group of people would be demonstrating while another would be assisting them by giving water and such things.

An account (of these happenings), that, in my opinion, is very interesting is that one of the people told me that during the demonstrations in Tehran, he saw an old woman holding a bowl containing coins. He thought that she was a beggar, but on enquiry, she told him that as it was a holiday that day and there was a telephone booth nearby, she had the money with her for those who needed coins to make a phone call. This was a small matter, but its significance was great. It was one aspect of the transformation that had occurred. Another person related that he used to see that whenever anybody would give a sandwich to one of the people in the crowds, he would take it and dividing it into small pieces, would offer the pieces to others. These matters seem small at first sight, but they are significant. A transformation had taken place. This cooperative feeling among the people was no ordinary matter. It was again a divine happening in that the people, who had no connection or had nothing to do with one another, developed such bonds and became so united as if they were one family. And this family feared nothing.

Creating epics

A person mentioned how, during the struggle (the Revolution), a child, about ten or twelve years old, mounted what was apparently a motorcycle—

either a bicycle or a motorcycle—and rode toward an approaching tank to attack it. The child was run over and crushed by the tank. This is how the people had become, the transformation was a divine one; an Invisible Hand had so transformed the people. Without it, victory would not have been attained. The people were empty-handed; they had nothing. They have some guns now, but there was nothing of the sort before. They (the regime) were fully armed. They had tanks, cannons and machineguns. But the people had nothing except their cries of “There is no god but God” and “God is the greatest,” and also their clenched fists and a firm faith in their hearts. It was faith that took them to victory and by which all the calculations (of the regime) turned out wrong. They had reckoned that unarmed people would not be able to overpower those equipped with these modern weapons. These calculations proved to be wrong, because they had not taken spirituality into account; they had just considered the material aspect. Spiritualism triumphed over materialism, God triumphed over Satan; it is always so.

The people of the world astonished by the Iranian Revolution

This transformation is indeed a great blessing. We will have everything by maintaining this blessing that God has given us. We first have to realize that the blessing is a God-given one. We, ourselves, were weak. God strengthened us. He gave you strength by which you overcame all the foreign powers.

The people who come here from abroad; from America and other places say that the Iranians are not aware of what they have done. The people abroad do so. They understand what happened, but not the Iranians. Though they are in the arena, they do not know what has taken place. All the governments had supported Muhammad Rida. Not only America, the Soviet Union and the other superpowers, but also the less powerful countries, and the Muslim governments were his supporters. But they were not able to keep him in power in spite of the support they gave and all the power that he, himself, possessed. The nation defeated Muhammad Rida and also his supporters with its bare hands. This is not an issue that we can explain on the basis of worldly considerations. The reason is that there is the Source above all these underlying points. The reason is that there is God.

The permanence of the victory depends on unity and solidarity

We will have everything if we maintain this (unity and solidarity). We will be victorious and these rotten remnants will not be able to do anything if we appreciate this blessing and preserve this solidarity that was forged when

the various groups had collected and joined together, and a close affinity had arisen among the people who had once been apart and who, with hearts full of faith, shouted “Islamic Republic”. The important point is to maintain the unity we had. Now that we have reached a certain stage of our victory and have ousted the enemy, we should not think the matter to be over and return to such issues as not owning houses or the state of our businesses.

Did you ever think about your business in those days when you, perhaps all of you, used to surge into the roads with cries of “*Allahu akbar*”? You had suspended your businesses for more than five or six months. God created such a spirit among the people that one who was not prepared to shut his shop for even a single day, kept it shut for six months. Not to say that he was worried about it; he did it wholeheartedly. Do you consider this to be an easy thing? It was a favor, a blessing that God, the Blessed and Exalted, showered upon you. Grasp it with both hands and hold on to it. Be as brothers unto one another. Be devoted to one another; be devoted to Islam. If this spirit is maintained, if this courage is preserved—and you Azerbaijanis come from a place which is the center of bravery—and this attention to God and the unity of expression are maintained, then nobody and no power will be able to keep you back. And neither will anybody be able to grab your assets and take them away for themselves, nor commit treachery against you. The government, too, will not be able to do anything wrong. And the army, gendarmerie or anything else will be unable to obtrude on you either. You will be by yourselves with your independence. They (army and gendarmerie), too, are of you and constitute your forces.

The ideal Islamic government

The unity of expression and the Islamic character of a country lies in the people—from the president who is at the top by virtue of his legitimacy, to the one who is at the lower end (of society)—being such that neither does the person at the bottom fear the president, nor does the president expect that person to fear him. Such is Islam.

Hadrat Amir (*a*) was the caliph of the Muslims and of a country that was about ten times the size of Iran, stretching from the Hijaz to Egypt, Africa, etc. and a part of Europe. When this divine caliph used to sit among the people, it would be just like us sitting here together. He would have nothing under him except an animal skin. According to the narrations, he kept a skin on which he and Hadrat Fatimah would sleep at night, and he would put fodder on this same skin for his camel in the daytime. The Prophet had the same practice also. This is what Islam is. What we want is this. Nobody, of

course, has the power to be like him. But we want to be a bit like him. We want Iran to be Islamic. We want it to be such that when the country's head—suppose the president—or its prime minister come among the people, there should be no such privileges for them by which the people have to step aside, and fuss to be made. During the time of the previous regime, when this person (the Shah) wanted to pass through a certain avenue, the agents of security apparatus and the police would have the whole place under their surveillance from two or three days before his coming until the time he passed. They would make the people leave their houses along the route and would keep a watch on the houses because he was to pass that way. Why? Because he was a traitor, and traitors live in fear. He had been a traitor to the country and a traitor is always afraid. He fears for himself; he is afraid that someone will kill him. But was Malik al-Ashtar like that? They used to move among the people. Hadrat Amir used to be among the people, he was with them. according to the narrations, when the Noble Prophet would be seated in the mosque along with his companions, an Arab coming from outside would not be able to identify him from the others. He would ask which one of them was the Prophet. Things were such that they used to sit together. It was not that one would sit at the head (of the gathering) and another at the other lower end. They would sit together. When somebody would enter, he would not know which one of them was the Prophet. This is what the Islamic government is.

The army during the Pahlavi era

The army of Islam has never been the type that causes the people to run away from it in fright and turn their backs on it. The armies of the *taghuti* regimes are meant to initially repress the people. The Iranian army had never existed for the purpose of crushing the enemies. These armies existed to crush you. Perhaps many of you remember that, when in Rida Khan's time, the moment the Allies appeared at the border and attacked, the Iranian army fled. I witnessed this myself. We were not there in the border area, but when they launched their attack there, Tehran became empty. All the high-ranking officials went away to Isfahan. They packed up their suitcases and fled. Rida Khan was repeated to have remarked how such an army with all its accoutrements folded up in the space of three hours. They told him that it did not take three hours that "They (Allies) came and we left." They had said three hours in order to show that they were powerful enough (to withstand the attackers for three hours). But it had not taken three hours. The situation was such. This is what happened at the border. I was in Tehran when this

event occurred at the border. In Tehran, the soldiers had left their barracks and fled. They were running in the streets, trying to get away. Everything was in a mess. The Allies appeared at the border and Tehran was in a state of confusion. The senior authorities, the field-marshals and, I suppose, the generals all picked up their suitcases and getting into their cars drove away toward Isfahan so that they could find refuge, for instance, in some place.

The army was not for the purpose of confronting a foreign power. It existed in order to repress us so that others could come and plunder us without our being able to say anything. It was for this purpose. Such an army cannot offer resistance to a foreign power; in fact, it was not able to hold out against you. They, of course, joined us. Those who had some humanity left in them joined the nation as they saw that the nation's cause was just. They had even plundered the army. They themselves had even plundered them. Perhaps the (Imperial) Court used to take something from their salaries. It is said that they used to take money as well from the policemen's salaries. But I am not aware of this.

Hadrat Ali's way of running the government

If, God willing, Islam becomes a reality in practice even in a small way, it would be different from what these people think. They think that they understand Islam, but it is different. Islam is such that the very day the people pledged their allegiance to Hadrat Amir (*a*), that same day, as history tells us, they pledged allegiance to the head of a realm of the extent that I had mentioned, he took his pickaxe and shovel after receiving their allegiance and went to a well which he had been digging. He started working on it—he used to work like a laborer—and at the last stroke of the pickaxe, water gushed out of the well. Somebody there remarked that it was good and that he should give some of it to his heirs. But he bequeathed it to the people. Islam has had such leaders. He had such an army that used to fight while hungry according to history. There was no question of military equipment at their disposal. Every few of them had a sword and a camel. It should not be imagined that they possessed the implements of war in abundance. Every few of them would share single date that they would find. One of them would put the date in his mouth and as soon as he had tasted its sweetness, he would remove it from his mouth and give it to his companion to similarly taste it. And so they would pass the date on to one another to put it into their mouths to taste until the last person had tasted it. They preserved Islam in this manner. And now we have to preserve it.

The mission of guarding Islam and making sacrifices for it

Islam is dear to our hearts. Many people sacrificed themselves for its sake. The Prophet of Islam took a lot of trouble over it. He took great pains over it throughout his life. When he was in Mecca, his efforts were of a certain kind notwithstanding all the suffering and hardship he endured by being shut up for a long time. He was free but was not able to appear in public. And also at the time he came to Medina when many wars occurred against the polytheists, the bullies and the wealthy in order to make them submit to Islam. They had taken some people as prisoners and brought them bound in his presence. He said, "Look! We have to take them bound in chains, to heaven." His wars were fought to turn the people into proper human beings, and not to conquer countries. It is not the practice of Islam to take countries. His subjugation of countries was for the purpose of winning the hearts of the people, and not for taking over an extra country so that the tax revenues be augmented. It was for making good human beings; for making the people decent. Islam is held clear; it has offered many sacrifices. Islam gave a sacrifice like Imam Husayn; it has to be preserved. It is our turn now; Islam has fallen into our hands. The Islamic Republic has been established. There is no more of the *taghut*. We have to think about safeguarding Islam and preserving it. We have to make efforts to get rid of these differences that have been consistently arising of late and which the enemies, who do not want to see Islam realized, are aggravating. They are fanning the flames of discord. We must strive to safeguard this unity of expression which is God's great blessing to us so that we will be able to take this movement safely and successfully to its destination.

May God assist all of you. May you be successful, God willing. May God bestow prosperity upon you. May the country be your very own and you work for it and for yourselves, not that you toil and others reap the benefit by plundering you.

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

Speech

Date: Afternoon, July 4, 1979 [Tir 13, 1358 AHS / Shaban 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The differences between a Western university and an Islamic one

Audience: Tehran University professors

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The difference between an Islamic university and a Western one

The differences between Western and Islamic universities should lie in the programs that Islam plans for the universities. Whatever status the universities in the West attain, they only understand nature. They do not master it for the sake of spiritualities. Islam does not view the natural sciences independently. All the natural sciences, whatever their status, do not meet the requirements of Islam. Islam masters nature to make it meaningful. It leads the natural sciences toward unity and monotheism. All the sciences that you name and the foreign universities that you praise—and they do deserve praise—are just a page of the world, a page smaller than all the other ones. The world, from the time God created it up to the very end, is an entity whose natural pleasures are very insignificant. All the natural sciences together are very insignificant in comparison with the divine sciences as all the natural things that exist are trivial in relation to the divine entities. The difference between Islam and the other schools; not the monotheist ones, but between the monotheist schools of which Islam is the greatest, and the others is that in this natural world, Islam looks for a different meaning with regard to medical science, geometry, astronomy, etc.

The one who studies this point in the Holy Quran will notice that the spiritual aspect of the natural sciences *in toto*; not the natural one, is presented in it. All the wisdom that is in the Quran and the command to contemplate and reflect on the perceptible world is because of the realm of intellection being the real one whereas nature is an outward form of the world. However, we see this form and experience the trivial pleasures as we exist in the natural world.

It is mentioned in the *hadith* that “God the Almighty did not look mercifully upon the world when created it.”¹ It is not that it is not a part of His mercy; it is a view of what is beyond nature. Those who claim to know

¹ *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 3, p. 214.

the world and its most important aspects have seen only a small, insignificant part of it and are satisfied with just that. The one who say that they know the human being, know only the outward form; not the human being as such but the outward aspect of man's animality' and think that man is just this and nothing more. These people who claim to be authorities on Islam have understood it only to a small degree, and being satisfied with just this, think that they have understood it. Of all the aspects of man, his natural aspect is the most insignificant, but it is perceptible to us. And because it is perceptible to us who are natural beings living in a natural world, it suffuses us at times. It is physical, not spiritual.

Reaping the benefits of spirituality and *tawhid* [unity] from science

Islam's purpose is to take all perceptibilities and the entire world to the level of *tawhid*. Islamic teachings are not about nature or mathematics; they are about everything. They are not about medical science. They have all of it, but moored to *tawhid*. Islam takes nature in its entirety and all the dark shadows to that station of holiness which is the ultimate one of divinity. Therefore, though we, too, commend and praise all the natural and physical sciences—notwithstanding there being no sign in the West of that virtue that Islam wants them to have, and even if it is there, it is only to a small extent—what we seek in the sciences taught in our universities and the ones taught in the old *madrasahs* [schools of theology] is not that as appears outwardly now and with which our scholars are busy. Their work, though highly respected, is not what Islam is after.

What Islam wants and aims for is that all the sciences, whether the natural sciences or the other ones, be moored to the divine sciences and to move on to *tawhid*. It wants every field of science to possess the aspect of divinity. That is to say that when we observe nature, when we observe the physical world and all the things that exist, we should perceive God in them. Islam has come to take all the things that exist in nature to the position of divinity, and all the natural sciences to the divine science. And this is desired of the universities; not merely in the matter of medicine. Of course, medical science, natural science and curing physical ailments are all necessary. But the important thing is that center of gravity which is *tawhid*. All these (sciences) must proceed to that divine aspect. We should not think that if, for example, there is a science about Islam, it is like the sciences that the people or all the regimes have in their minds.

Building a *tawhidic* society from the material world

Islam desires that sublime end in everything. It views all the things created not as they are, but in the spiritual sense and on that lofty plane. It views nature as a manifestation of divinity; a wave from the Invisible World. It views man as a being out of which a divine creature can be made. The training given by Islam is divine training as the Islamic government is a divine one. The difference between the Islamic government and the other ones is that the latter aim to prevail over and dominate others. Islam is not like this; this is not its purpose. Islam does not want to conquer countries for the sake of conquest. It views conquest as a means to take the countries toward another world. Its aim is to train everybody to be human beings and not to exploit them such as the regimes—whether of the West or those of the East—that you saw and are now observing. The aim of these regimes has been to dominate others and obtain material benefits. Islam basically does not consider materialism as being important. Whoever studies the Quran will see that all the material things are in it, not as materialism but as (proceeding to) another stage; as teachings for another stage.

The Islamic government: a manifestation of divine glory

The Islamic government aims to establish God's rule over the world. That is, it wants the Muslim soldier to be different from the other soldiers; to be a soldier of God. It wants a Muslim minister to be different from the other prime ministers; to be a divine person. It wants the cry of "Allah" to be heard in every corner of the country. This is what Islam wants. By means of conquest, Islam wants to show God everywhere in the world; to give divine teaching to the whole world. It wants to train people to be human beings and to take them to that place which they cannot even imagine. Therefore, we have to allow a difference between the sciences that are viewed separately and the ones that Islam propounds. All the former ones are there in the Islamic sciences in addition to something else. The worldly sciences are just these; they lack that additional feature. The difference between Islamic sciences everywhere and the other sciences is that there is something additional in the Islamic sciences which is lacking in the others. And that additional factor in Islam is the aspects of spirituality, holiness and divinity.

The *ulama* of Islam and their mission to supervise the ruling authorities

You are aware of Khwajah Nasir¹ and others such as him. You know that Khwajah Nasir did not enter the government organizations just to manage them, but to make human beings of the people working in them. He did not join the government to be under its influence, but to control it to the extent he could. The things that Khwajah Nasir did for the religion were those that made him famous as Khwajah Nasir. It was not his knowledge of medicine, nor of mathematics. It was his service to Islam. Khwajah Nasir cultivated Hulagu,² and others like him, not out of personal ambition or to run the government, but to bring them under his sway, and to serve God and the Islamic world to the extent of his ability. The others like him such as Muhaqqiq ath-Thani,³ the late Majlisi⁴ and others of their kind [...] The late Majlisi who was in the Safavi establishment made a cleric of the Safavi king; he did not become a Safavi himself! He turned the attention of the Safavis to the *madrasahs*, to knowledge, learning, and the like to the extent he could. Therefore, we should not imitate (the passivity) of the common clergymen of that time. We have the same duty to do now; that is, if we are able to carry it out. At that time, we would have also rendered the same service as they had, if we had been able to, the reason being to build man. It will be a great accomplishment if one is able to make a human being out of Muhammad Rida. The prophets were sent for this very purpose. The Noble Apostle used to worry over the unbelievers not becoming Muslims and not heeding these matters.

*"It may be that thou tormentest thyself (O Muhammad)"*⁵...as they were disregarding his traditions.

¹ Khwajah Nasir ad-Din Tusi: one of the most outstanding of all Shiah scholars, 597 AH/1201-672 AH/1274. He wrote voluminously not only on the religious sciences, but also on philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy. He joined the entourage of the Mongol conqueror Hulagu when he was passing through Iran on his way to Baghdad, a circumstance that has led many to accuse him of complicity in the conquest. Concerning his associations with the Mongols, see A.H. Hairi, "Nasiruddin at-Tusi: His Alleged Role in the Fall of Baghdad," *Actes du Ve Congress international darabisants et d'Islamisants* (Brussels, 1971), pp. 255-266; *At-Tawhid* 8, no. 2, <http://www.al-islam.org/al-tawhid/tusi/baghdad.htm>.

² Hulagu Khan: the founder of the Mongol dynasty in Iran.

³ Ali ibn Husayn Abdul-Ali (died 940 AH), the great jurisprudent, famous as Muhaqqiq Karki.

⁴ Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (died 1110 AH) known as Majlisi the Second and one of the great Shiah *ulama* and *muhaddithin* [experts on the science of *hadith*].

⁵ *Surah ash-Shuara* 26:3.

The Book and the mission to build (proper) human beings

In every case, the prophets came for the purpose of building people to become human beings. The knowledge of the prophets concerns the building of man. The Quran, too, is a Book about building human character. It is not a text on medicine, philosophy, jurisprudence or any other discipline. If one studies the Quran carefully, one will see that whatever appears in it concerns the divine aspect. Whatever is discussed in it is within the framework of divinity. There is every thing in it, but it is in its divine framework. Islam has come to serve God. The prophets are the servants of God. They have come for His sake and for turning the attention of all the created things, and all the human beings in this world to God, the Blessed and Exalted.

The Islamic Revolution: a divine upheaval

I hope that our universities will undergo a spiritual change; a transformation, just as many things in this movement underwent a transformation. You saw that this great spiritual transformation that took place in Iran was more important than this victory itself. Nobody would allow himself to oppose the policeman; the thought of it would not even occur to him. Everybody everywhere would obey. Even when the policeman came to the university, the people there would obey him. But after a year or two, it so happened that the people poured into the avenues shouting, "We do not want the Shah"! And they triumphed. That spiritual change converted that (people's) fear of a policeman into courage because of which the people did not even fear the tanks. That same person, who once used to fear a policeman's baton, came out into the street and fell upon the tanks with his fists clenched. And though he was killed, he had attacked the tank nonetheless. Such was the transformation that had occurred in the course of this movement. The Hand of God was at work. It was not something that we, or human beings, could have done; not at all. It was God's favor done to us. It was a favor that God, the Blessed and Exalted, did to this nation and changed it in such a way that they became like the soldiers of the early period of Islam who used to say that it would be to their benefit whether they kill (the enemy) or get killed. The people came to me again and again, and do so at times even now. It was perhaps only yesterday that as I was going from here, somebody came up to me and told me to pray for him to be martyred. This transformation, because of which the people would look upon martyrdom as a great blessing, and would come into the streets in the hope of perhaps getting martyred, was one that brought about this victory. This transformation ought to be maintained.

The need to maintain the revolutionary spirit

What is essential is that you, who are in contact with the youth in the university, remind them that this transformation that was the secret of their victory and brought them up to this stage, and because of which they were able to smash this big satanic barrier, ought to be safeguarded along with this movement so that we could later have our own independent university, our own theological *madrasahs* and our own army. We have nothing. We cannot claim to have had anything. Neither did you have a university, nor did we have a theological school. All of these were in their (ex-regime's) hands. Everything was done according to their instructions. The Security Organization wanted to run everything. Our mosques were controlled by the Security Organization. It had planted a retired person in each one of them in order to supervise them. All the affairs were in their hands. By this upheaval, we curtailed and are curtailing their power, God willing. And later on, you the esteemed university professors, and I as a seminarian, each in our respective places, should safeguard this movement and this unity of expression and not split up into groups.

Various groups announcing their formation

You will have noticed that a hundred groups in Tehran have announced their formation! That is, a hundred groups opposed to Islam... although they themselves do not understand. Although they themselves say that they are doing it for Islam. But when with the solidarity of all these people we were to move ahead, all the groups had become united and were together until we reached this stage. That is, the university did not say that it is separate from the clergy, the clergy, for its part, did not say that it was separate from the university. And neither did they say that they are separate from the party, the party from the front, or the front from something else. Such matters were not raised at that time. We succeeded because there was no such talk and it was the will of God. All the people wanted Islam and all were disgusted with oppressors and their cruelty. Now that we have reached this point, this danger has arisen in that various groups are constantly declaring their existences! A certain group announces its existence under some name; another group there under another name. Groups are forming one after another and are losing that solidarity which was there. If we lose the solidarity we had and if the university and the clergy go their separate ways with both of them getting separated from the people and with the existence of the various, divergent parties that are, unfortunately, ill-disposed toward one another, then we are afraid that in such a case, our movement will not reach

the fruitful end that it should. The result will be that neither your university nor our *madrasahs* will attain what you and we have in mind.

The ideal Islamic government

The aim that we ought to pursue now and strive to that end is that you in the university, we in the *madrasahs*, the gentlemen in the cities and the others everywhere invite the people to observe unity of expression and to eschew this divergence of paths. All of us, with unity of expression, want to have a just Islamic republic and a just Islamic government; one which allows the freedom to think, to express one's opinion, to act and to have freedom in all things. We wish to set up such a government. Unless there is this unity of expression, and unless this unity that helped us smash this barrier is safeguarded, we will not be able to achieve our aim. I am now afraid of this divergence which I think has not happened haphazardly. I am afraid that hands are at work to create discord and to form groups and groups that have been constantly announcing their formation in the newspapers! A hundred groups all hostile to one another! A hundred groups without any consideration for the country. They think that they care about the country, but it is not so. That is what they think! They are against this path that the movement followed and because of which it achieved victory.

Neither can you hope to have an independent university, nor can we hope to have the freedom to preach and pray if this unity is not maintained. I hope that everything turns out well, God willing, and that all of us remain together. We should have the correct outlook and should not consider ourselves as being apart from one another. All of us are Muslims and possess Islamic beliefs. We want our country to be independent; to be our very own together with its resources, and the people to enjoy the fruits of their labor. We want the country's spiritual and material aspects to be taken care of; all those matters. If all these things are in place and we remain together, then victory is ours as it has been up to now, and will be so to the very end, God willing. You can teach the sciences with peace of mind in the university, and we, too, can continue with our theological teaching with peace of mind.

I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to give you success, and hope that we will pursue the path that He wants us to follow. I hope that we will succeed in delivering this country; rather, all the Muslim countries, God willing. May God assist you.

Speech

Date: Afternoon, July 4, 1979 [Tir 13, 1358 AHS / Shaban 9, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Imperialist plots and the domination of the tribes by Pahlavi

Audience: A group of people from Buyer-Ahmad tribe

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Repressing the tribes: an old imperialist design

The tribes of Iran were among the important pillars of the country. One of the missions given to Rida Khan was to eliminate the tribes. It was a plot in the guise of urbanizing them; to make these mountain people reside in the cities and so put an end to their traditional migrations. Such was the talk. But the real issue concerned the studies that the foreigners had been carrying out. What studies they made in our country. They studied the cities and surveyed the lands and the mineral-rich areas. These present modes of transportation did not exist at that time. The foreign experts came on camels to these deserts, which lacked even water and grass, in order to survey them and map them. They would discover the underground mineral deposits by means of the maps and the instruments at their disposal. And so they came to realize what (resources) this country had. This matter was not confined to Iran; it was the same in the other places. They studied all the Eastern countries, and, likewise, the mentality of their people. They aimed to find out what groups there were and in what manner the tribes should be held down and curbed so that they did not go against their plans and interests, or what ought to be done in the cities; what groups to be curbed, controlled and suppressed so that they could maintain calm in the country and take away whatever they wanted.

The plot to destroy the (country's) human resources

Their purpose was to purge the country of those people; to crush these people who had the power to jeopardize their interests. What they had realized in the cities was that the clergy constituted a powerful group. They had targeted the clergy before the universities had come into existence. After the number of the universities and the students increase, they, too, became the object of their attention. They suppressed them in a certain way, and the tribes as well. They had realized that once the tribes rose against them, they will not allow them (the foreigners) to secure their interests. They also

wanted to move the tribes from their own areas to other places; to move them far away from their power bases. And so they did! They made many of the tribes move from their own places to other ones. It was clear that the tribes would lose their power once they were moved out from those mountainous areas, with which they were familiar, to some distant places. The plan itself was this: to disarm the tribes that had the ability to rise in opposition to their interests, and moreover to move them far away from their own places to other spots.

The suppression by the regime and the explosive uprising of the masses

Most of you perhaps do not remember that these things occurred in the time of Rida Shah, and that they severely opposed and suppressed the clergy in places such as Tehran, Qum, Isfahan, Mashhad, etc., that were the clerical centers. We had also seen the acts of oppression that you witnessed and looked into closely, but in another way. You and every one of the people have experienced this oppression and suppression in some way. The excesses that were inflicted constituted one of the factors that resulted in your victory. An excess of repression gives rise to an explosion. Prolonged repression increases the frustration of the people who then wait for something to happen... for an uproar to occur, for them to follow suit. The reason why all the people of Iran joined together in achieving this victory and why they cried out in unison that they did not want this regime but Islam was that they had experienced only misfortunes at the hands of the regime. Whatever they had seen was oppression. The regime destroyed everything in the name of bringing prosperity. In the name of urbanizing and—according to them—civilizing the tribes, they destroyed them and just about took the country to ruination. All the strata of the people became disgruntled, but they lacked the courage to speak out until the time when the clamor gradually began in the main cities. All the pent up frustrations resulted in an explosion because of which the regime, its power notwithstanding, was unable to withstand the people who had nothing. The important point was that repression aside, the cause of this explosion was the people's attention to Islam. Their faith made them push forward together in full cry. Therefore, the factor that brought you victory, and their defeat, was that they were oppressors and you, the oppressed. The frustrations started to appear gradually followed by the attention to Islam, and all of you made headway with Islam in mind. And you triumphed though you lacked arms and they had all the means at their disposal.

The need to safeguard the secret of victory

What should we do now? What has happened is history; it has passed. We who are now seated here and have further problems, have to think of what our duty should be. It is important that we know what ought to be done. You have to safeguard that movement just as it was, and that same key to victory: faith and the unity of expression. These two factors enabled you to overcome this power. Comprehensive conspiracies are still afoot, and though they are of no great consequence, they could still cause disorder and discomfort for the government and the nation. Even at this time, it is necessary for us to safeguard this movement along with that same secret and that same key to victory in that you were united and demanded Islam. If this is maintained, it will take you to the final stage of victory. However, if you, God forbid, lose this unity of expression, or if your aim is to set up a non-Islamic government, there is the fear that you will not be able to take another step. And they, in turn, will move forward. If you become slack, if you retreat, they will take a step forward and engage in further conspiracies. They are nothing much at present, but if we retreat, they will take a step forward and engage in further conspiracies. They are nothing much at present, but any retreat on our part will make it possible for them to advance, for their plots to increase and their remnants to join forces. If we disperse, they will gather together. This is exactly opposite to that by which victory was gained and became a reality. All the various groups had collected and in unison smashed the barrier. Now that the barrier has been smashed, we have another barrier to face; some other tasks to attend to.

The danger of the enemy's victory

If we are to lose this unity we had, if the various groups and the people, one by one, turn against each other, if the attention to our purpose—that of setting up an Islamic government—is lost sight of, if this fire that had been kindled in our hearts and the light of God's guidance that had been lit in our hearts become cold and feeble, and if on that side their numbers increase and on this side, our numbers decrease, the result, then, will be that they will eventually prevail over us. And if, God forbid, they do overcome us, it will not be like that time for them to leave so that you may lead your lives, albeit in the mountains and among your tribes. No; they will totally destroy you. That is, they will totally do away with the universities, the *madrassahs*, the city-dwellers and the tribes. They will destroy us if they succeed; but, God willing, they will not. However, we have to be vigilant. We have to be careful about safeguarding that factor that has brought us success up to here.

And this factor was that you had cast your differences aside that day (the beginning of the Revolution).

Victory through unity

When the clamor arose that day and the people were shouting, “*Allahu akbar*” and “Death to this monarchy” in the towns, villages and everywhere else, they never thought about their differences. All the people were together. They had put their differences aside. And this brought you victory; a miraculous one. Nobody had ever imagined that an empty-handed nation would achieve such a victory over a power that possessed everything. You will have insured your victory if you safeguard this unity of yours, and if you also eschew personal, tribal and clannish differences and disputes over property. The second factor concerns the Islamic republic and a just, humane government that everybody had demanded. If these two matters remain secure; that is, the differences must be eschewed and not allowed to arise—in case they do arise at any time between two people, albeit from your own tribe, all of you should gather and reconcile them and also behave like brothers; all of you—and on the other hand, you must be heedful of the fact that an Islamic government is to be formed wherein there will be no further injustice and oppression, and the foreigners will no longer be able to oppress us by taking away whatever we have, with nobody saying anything about it. There should be no more of this. If we maintain our unity of expression and remain united in our aim—the realization of Islam—we will be victorious up to the very end. That is, we will completely purge the country of these elements; these devils that are here at present and are creating mischief. And we will not allow others to meddle in our country’s affairs either. We will manage the country ourselves, and only you will derive its benefits. It is a country rich in resources that are being plundered. They have also borrowed heavily from the banks and other places leaving behind debts that would take a very long time to repay, in case the money could be recovered from them and if the foreign governments allow. And this is another matter.

Differences: the root cause of defeat

In any case my brothers, you have been successful up to now because of your brotherhood, unity, friendship, and affection. You should maintain all this from now on as well. You should maintain your brotherliness and tribal fellowship so that one tribe does not develop differences with another. If differences arise, God forbid, your tribal chiefs, the tribal elders and the other respected people should gather and settle the differences. Do not allow one

youth to have differences with another youth. All the woes that befall a country are because of the differences that arise among the people. If all the people of a country say the same thing, nobody will be able to oppress them.

May God protect you and grant you health and happiness. May He protect your tribes that are the treasure of our country. May God keep you and may you be successful and triumphant.

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

Decree

Date: July 5, 1979 morning [Tir 14, 1358 AHS / Shaban 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Appointing a representative in Zanjan¹

Audience: Sayyid Hashim Musawi Zanjani

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Hashim Musawi Zanjani—may his graces last:

It is hoped that your honor has remained safe from all misfortunes and that you will succeed in discharging your divine duties. In the meantime, considering the importance of the Zanjan area and the current situation of the country that is in dire need of calm and unity of expression, it is necessary that you proceed to Zanjan as soon as possible and as before, set about guiding the people and promoting the sacred laws and exalting the *Kalimah at-Tayyibah*.² You must also rectify the religious and social affairs of the esteemed people, and arrest the development of plots and differences in any way you can. You should not give the enemies of Islam any opportunity of finding fault with us. The local inhabitants will, no doubt, appreciate your presence among them and will benefit by your guidance and counsel as before. I pray to God the Almighty for the success of all the gentlemen, especially the distinguished *ulama*—may their blessings last—in attaining the lofty goals of Islam. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-Muazzam 10, 1399 AH

¹ Zanjan: city in northwestern Iran, located on the Zanjan River near the Caspian Sea in Zanjan province, of which it is the capital.

² *Kalimah at-Tayyibah*: that is, the recital formula of monotheism, *La ilaha illallah* [There is no god but Allah].

Speech

Date: Morning, July 5, 1979 [Tir 14, 1358 AHS / Shaban 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The three hundred-year influence of the Westerners in Iran

Audience: The blind of Aba Basir School, Isfahan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Unmasking the plots of the imperialists

At the outset, I would like to say something in connection with what this gentleman states. You reminded us that somebody came here fifty years ago and established a school. Do not think that these people established schools for the sake of Christianity. These plunderers do not believe in either Christianity or Islam; or in any of the principles.

They came for the purpose of distancing our children from Islam. This plan does not exist only in the Aba Basir¹ Organization; it has existed in all the organizations. From the time that the Westerners first appeared in the East ages ago—they appeared in Iran perhaps almost three hundred years ago—they had been sending their experts to conduct studies of Iran and the East. They not only studied Iran, but also the whole of the East. Among the things they surveyed were the tracts of land, the mineral-rich areas and such things here, as well as the underground resources of these Eastern countries. These constituted one kind of the studies they made at that time when the present modes of transportation did not exist. According to history, they used to ride on camels, visiting even those waterless, grassless deserts and mapping them, no doubt. By mapping the mineral-rich areas of these countries with their scientific instruments, they would gain information about them. Once when I was in Hamedan long ago, one of my acquaintances brought me a map of Hamedan measuring more than one meter by one meter. This was the map of Hamedan that they had drawn and on which there were large number of dots of a different color. The person who brought the map said that each of these dots denotes the presence of a mineral-rich area or an underground reserve. This was one of the surveys they made in order to find out what the countries of the East possessed that could be made use of; that

¹ The Aba Basir School of Isfahan—exclusively for the blind—was constructed by a foreign Christian and placed at the disposal of the blind of that city. The Aba Basir Organization has apparently been set up to arrange for the affairs of this school.

could be plundered. There was another kind of study that concerned the beliefs of the people: how strong they were and to what extent they were able to prevent the acts of plunder. This was another one of the extensive studies they conducted in this matter. Another kind of their studies concerned the mentalities of the different groups that have existed in these countries. Talking about our own country, they studied the tribes and such groups that have been living here. They went among these tribes, spoke to them and studied their mindset so as to find out how each one of them could be dominated. These were the things—and more than these—that they studied. They studied all the Eastern countries to see in what way they could be plundered and which of the local groups were powerful enough to prevent the plunder of their countries, and in what way these groups had to be controlled and thus rendered incapable of stopping them.

Among the things they came to realize regarding the factors of power was that it was the power of Islam and Islamic beliefs in these Muslim countries that, more than any other factor, had the ability to prevent them from plundering and dominating these countries. They began to oppose the very basis of Islam. In these Muslim countries, their missionaries of all denominations engaged extensively in opposing the essentials of Islam. They tried to portray it in a way different from what it really was, and to divert the people who lived here and had Islamic beliefs, from the path of Islam and to belittle it and show it in a bad light. Unfortunately, the remnants of the people that had accepted all this blindly are still around. Even now, people are to be found who have inculcated their way of thinking without having any knowledge of Islam and its tenets and without knowing what an Islamic government or an Islamic regime really is. It is enough for these people that the Westerners are cynical toward Islam and indulge in propaganda against it. In order to show that they are enlightened, they have followed in the footsteps of the Westerners and have criticized the very basis of Islam! Even at the present time, you will find people—not all; there are many thinkers among them who are good people—among the ones who consider themselves to be intellectuals who did not want the “Islamic” part of this Islamic Republic. They used to say that it should be a “republic,” a democratic “republic”. This was the sequel to the indoctrination and the propaganda of the foreigners to whom these people, lacking in knowledge of Islam, succumbed blindly and became Westernized.

The imperialists' fear of the power of the clergy

One of the powers that they asserted should be broken up was that of the clergy. They experienced and saw in various places the clerical power that could prevent the mischief which they wanted to create, and stop them from deriving benefit from us and keeping us in a backward state. They saw that the clergy was able to do this. The issue of the Tobacco Movement in the days of the late Mirza¹ made them realize that a *fatwa* [religious edict] issued by a clergyman living in a village in Iraq, caused the setback of an empire. The king at that time was not able to safeguard the agreement, in spite of all his efforts, when the people of Iran rose and had that agreement of theirs abrogated. It was an experience for them to see that when a cleric, residing in a village, wrote that the use of tobacco at that time amounted to waging war with the Imam of the Time, how the edict inundated Iran like a wave, and how the pen of this clergyman crushed the bayonets of that period. This made them (the foreigners) realize that they had to neutralize this power (of the clergy). They knew that until such time as this power existed, it would not let them do whatever they wanted to do, nor give their governments free rein to do as they liked. Therefore, they did their utmost in making propaganda against the clergy, and in addition to that, they also perpetrated certain acts. In the days of Rida Khan—which most of you do not remember, and perhaps just a few remember the beginning period of his rule that I remember well and everything that happened from the time he came until now—they began clobbering the clergy through him. They removed the turbans of the clergymen and shut down the *madrasahs*. They had the clergymen change their dress in a manner that makes one ashamed of their behavior toward this class. All of it was done in the name of carrying out reforms; the same “reforms” that his son wanted to implement! They wanted to break the power, and they did so at that time on the pretext of instituting reforms; in the name of bringing uniformity to Iran and to make the nation this and that. With these unjustified words, they wanted to break this power. They did so at that time, and in the most severe manner. They also crushed the several uprisings staged by the clergy, one of which began in Isfahan and spread in a wide circle to most of the cities of Iran. The clergy with the late

¹ Mirza Hasan Shirazi, the religious reference authority of the Shiah world at the time of the Qajar, issues the following edict: “The use of tobacco in pipes and hookahs, or in whatever form is forbidden and amounts to waging war with the Imam of the Time (may God expedite his glorious advent).” He opposed the agreement signed between Nasiruddin Shah and the British Regié Company concerning the tobacco monopoly concession, and caused it to be abrogated.

Aqa Nurullah¹ at their head gathered in Qum and opposed Rida Khan. But they crushed this uprising as well by means of their powers and trickery, just as they crushed the uprising of Azerbaijan staged by the *ulama* of Azerbaijan, and the uprising of Khorasan and the *ulama* of Khorasan. They broke these up by means of their power. Some of the *ulama* told us at that time that the late Aqa Nurullah, who passed away in Qum, had been poisoned (by the regime)... We are not aware of this, but this is what was said by some of the people of Isfahan; the *ulama* of Isfahan, that had come here. And they also took away two of the leading *ulama* of Tabriz from there to—it is thought—Sunqur where they were in exile for a period of time. After they were permitted to leave that place, the late Haj Mirza Aqa Sadiq² who was the leading clergyman of Tabriz at that time, came and stayed in Qum and died there. He never returned to Tabriz; he could not have done anything even if he had gone there. They also arrested the *ulama* of Mashhad and brought the whole lot of them to Tehran where they were imprisoned. They used to take the late Aqazadeh,³ who was then the leading figure among the *ulama* of Khorasan, to court in order to stand trial. He used to be accompanied by a conscript to the court to stand trial! The satanic power of that time aimed to destroy this force. But they were not able to make a good job of it; God protected these people.

In the time of this one (the former Shah), when the period of that sort of bullying has passed, or when they did not think it advisable to conduct themselves in this manner, they started carrying out propaganda. They made much propaganda against the *ulama* and the clergymen. The propaganda was extensive. They started using force, but not with that severity. They did not allow meaningful sermons in the mosques. They set up preachers to oppose Islam; clergymen in appearance, but against Islam. They also made propaganda everywhere, especially in the universities. The extensive propaganda against the clergy in the universities reached a climax such that

¹ It refers to Haj Aqa Nurullah Isfahani who died in suspicious circumstances in Qum on the Dey 4, 1306 AHS. It was rumored that Rida Khan's agents had poisoned him.

² It refers to Ayatullah Mirza Sadiq Aqa Tabrizi, the religious reference authority of the people of Azerbaijan. Together with Aqa Mirza Abul-Hasan Angaji, he led the freedom movement of the *ulama* of Tabriz. He lived in exile in Qum until his death.

³ It refers to Mirza Muhammad (Aqazadeh) Najafi Khorasani (1294-1356 AH), the son of Akhund Khorasani. He supported the Constitutional Movement, and after the coming to power of Rida Khan and the occurrence of the tragedy of the Gauharshad Mosque, he continued his campaign against him for which reason he was sentenced to death. But he was saved by the mediation of the Najaf Seminary. Aqazadeh was imprisoned for a period of time, and subsequently exiled to Tehran and placed under surveillance.

they totally separated the university from the clergy. They destroyed the university as well as the clergy. I mean they wanted to.

Attempting to break the authority of the Muslims

These people whom you say had set up schools there or, subsequently, had schools everywhere, was not because of their belief in some principles. They used to say that Islam should not exist, but Christianity should. These people want neither Islam nor Christianity; they have nothing to do with these matters. They want to protect their own material interests in whatever way possible. They want to mislead our children; to turn them away from Islam. Even Christianity cannot do nothing, the reason being that the things that exist in Christianity today is that the people pray, praise God and attend church on Sundays and not have anything to do with their governments, just as this Christian organization does not bother itself about the influence of these people. In fact, it is well disposed toward them. It was Islam that was dynamic but, unfortunately, they had estranged us from it. They did not even let us study the Holy Quran properly. Whoever reads it will see that it is a book which makes mention of wars and action against the people who want to destroy the downtrodden. They made such propaganda that we, ourselves, were not able to use it to that extent to find out what is written in it and what it is about. It was the Quran that mobilized the people in the early period of Islam and enabled them to confront two great empires¹ with a limited number of Arabs, every few of them possessing just one camel and one sword to themselves, and that, too, the sword of those days. They confronted the powers that possessed Rome at that time and the powers that possessed Iran. In the war that took place between Iran and the army of Islam, their (Iran's) advance guard consisted of a detachment of 60,000 troops followed by a division of 700,000 or 800,000! One of the commanders of the army of Islam stated that it was beyond them to join battle (with such a large host). The entire army of Islam consisted of 30,000 personnel; an army of 30,000 strong lacking in the implements of war. In fact, they did not even have sufficient food to eat. They were poor but they possessed faith. The commander said that if they were to fight them in the conventional manner, they would be no match for the enemy. So he would pick thirty people and take them that night to fight the 60,000. The Muslims asked him how it was possible with thirty people. It was ultimately arranged for sixty people to accompany him so that each one of them confronts a thousand of the enemy! That is, each person with a blunt sword of that period—now if they had sharpened them, perhaps

¹ Two great empires: the Roman (Byzantium) and Persian Empires.

with the equipment the enemy had—[...] These sixty launched a surprise night attack and made the 60,000 retreat! The result was that the Roman army was utterly defeated by them.¹ The foreigners have witnessed Islamic history. They have—I should say—actually seen it in their own time and have been dealt a blow by it. They have seen what the power of Islam is; the power of faith. This power had to be neutralized. So what did they have to do in order to take it away? Should they concentrate on Islam in particular? No, on all the religions initially.

Religion is not the opium of human societies

“Religion is basically like opium”!² That is how they made propaganda against religion. And, unfortunately, it had, and has, an impact in Iran and on our youth. It has also had an effect on some of these intellectuals who belong to those same remnants. Its effect still lingers: religion is just like opium! The opium of society! It means that religion came—it was invented by the powerful entities—to “lull the people to sleep” so that they could rob them! Just as an opium addict falls asleep on taking opium and does not care about anything, these people portrayed religion as being similar to opium and invented by the powerful entities in order to make the people occupied with it. They wanted to make the people negligent like an opium addict so that they could come and plunder them; and destroy them. This is what they said about religion, and this they extended to (include) Islam which was the most powerful religion. They extended this kind of talk to Islam. They said that Islam was appropriate for the period of 1,400 years ago. This is being said by some of the people among those remnants that have remained here. They say: “All the tenets of Islam cannot be put into effect now. They belong to the past; not to the present!” Such things that these people sometimes say, and at times without realizing it, is perhaps more out of a lack of understanding; not that they have enmity. It is because of this lack of understanding as they do not know what Islam really is, let alone being aware of the period to which Islam belongs. They are not at all aware of what Islam is. They contend that the powerful ones “created” the prophets for the purpose of bringing religion so that it should protect these powerful entities. But if these people have read history, or at least Islamic history which is quite recent; if they have read it to find out who opposed whom; if they have studied the history of the prophets

¹ *Tarikh at-Tabari*, vol. 3, p. 455.

² “Religion is the opium of the masses.” One of the sayings of Lenin, the leader of Russia’s October Revolution and the founder of the communist (system) of government in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

to find out the class to which they belonged and whom they were opposed, they will see that the prophets belonged to the deprived class. They belonged to this same third class of society. And they compelled the people to fight those arrogant ones. One of the prophets was Hadrat Musa (Moses) who is a bit nearer to us (in history). Hadrat Musa was a shepherd bearing a staff. He served Hadrat Shuayb (Jethro) as a shepherd for a considerable period of time. Outwardly he was like the ordinary people. This same Hadrat Musa who rose from this class of people, mobilized them against the Pharaoh. The Pharaoh did not “create” Hadrat Musa in order to protect his throne. Musa led the people and overthrew the Pharaoh—“Religion is opium”! According to them, the Pharaoh created Moses to make the people indifferent so that he could reign over them! It is contrary to the fact that Moses had mobilized the people. He mobilized this lower class and took them to sweep away the throne and crown of the Pharaoh.

Well, regarding the history of Islam that is quite recent, did the Quraysh and the powerful people of the Quraysh create the Noble Prophet “to put the people to sleep” so that they could continue with their practice of usury, their trade, their extortion and plunder, or did the Noble Prophet confront the Quraysh? He, himself, belonged to the Quraysh, but he was a person who was of the lower class. He belonged to the nobility in the sense that he was of noble birth. But he possessed nothing. As he was not able to live in Medina because of these wealthy people and those bullies, he went into a cave in the mountains where he stayed for some time to carry out his underground activities. Subsequently, he went to Medina. Who was with the Prophet in Medina? These same powerful people? The same bullies? The same usurers? The traders? The affluent, authoritative Jews? Or did the Prophet come like one from the lower class, accompanied by some poor people. He had a house with rooms; not a room like this one, but made with the bark and branches of the date palm! There were some rooms in it for himself. His mosque was also like that. Among his companions was a group, the *ashab as-suffah* [“sitters on the platform”]¹ who lacked homes and would go there and sleep on the platforms. And this is just how they used to live. He took them with him and defeated them (the enemies in Medina). He mobilized the poor and deprived people; the ones who were of the lower class and did not even possess a house, and were so poor that when one of them would find a date fruit during battle, he would put it into his mouth and remove it, and then put it into his

¹ *Ashab as-suffah*: The sitters on the platform; a group of freed slaves and poor people who lacking a place to sleep, resided in the vicinity of the small clay-made dwelling of the Prophet of Islam.

friend's mouth who would, in turn, remove it and put it into another's mouth, and so on. The date fruit would be passed around in this manner. These were the ones that the Prophet mobilized in the wars against the Quraysh; they with all their implements of war and these people, stricken with poverty and adversity, with nothing but their faith. The reality is different from what they have been telling our youth and publicizing that the religions—Islam and all the other ones—are like opium! No; Islam and the rest of the religions have been stimulants; they awakened the people. The teachings of the prophets awakened the people. They mobilized the people against the powerful ones; against the polytheists. It could be said that the Quran is a book of war. It is a book that mobilizes the people to fight. While possessing all the human teachings, it states: “[The companions of the Prophet] are hard against the disbelievers and merciful among themselves.”¹ “And wage war on all the idolaters.”² The Quran encouraged and awakened the people. It comforted the people by telling them that the angels were with them; and the angels were with them. A small group of people would march forward and inflict defeat upon a mighty power with that same power of faith and that stimulus which the Noble Prophet and the Holy Quran had created in them. Therefore this “teaching” that has, unfortunately, had an effect on some of our youth, is the propaganda that they have been doing in order to break this power, that can withstand all these powers, and to plunder us.

Talking about the clergy, are they affiliated with the court? Did the British create them to put the people to sleep so that they could plunder the people? Who staged these uprisings of the past hundred years? How many uprisings took place during these one hundred years? Who led them? The Tobacco Movement was led by the late Mirza. The Constitutional Revolution was inspired from Najaf by the clergy of Najaf, and from Iran by the *ulama* of Iran. All of these several uprisings that we witnessed were initiated by the *ulama*. When the *ulama* of Isfahan rose, the late Haj Aqa Nurullah—may his soul rest in peace—led the uprising. The *ulama* of Tabriz, and the *ulama* of Mashhad staged uprisings. Once when I was in Tehran, the late Aqa Qummi³ set off and came to Hadrat Abdul-Azim.⁴ We went there to visit him. He had risen (against the authorities), but they imprisoned him there itself and later sent him into exile. It was because of his power. Almost

¹ *Surah al-Fath* 48:29.

² *Surah at-Tawbah* 9:36.

³ Aqa Husayn Tabatabai Qummi (may his soul rest in peace): one of the combatant *ulama* and religious reference authorities during the reign of Rida Khan

⁴ It refers to the holy shrine of Shah Abdul-Azim al-Hasani, a descendant of Imam Hasan al-Mujtaba, located in Shahr-e Rey in the southern part of Tehran.

all the uprisings of the last one hundred years were carried out by these people. One of the non-clerical figures in the Tabriz uprising was Khiyabani. And yes, they were also present in the Jungle Movement.¹ They, too, took part, but they were in a minority. These people (the clergy) constituted the majority. Therefore, it is incorrect for them (the enemies) to say that the clergy were affiliated with the court—that is, they were in the service of the court—and that they did things to make the people negligent so that the court could rob them. Wherever you go, you will see that the clergy of that place have been opposing the authorities clandestinely, though they have not been able to do so openly.

I am not saying that every single turbaned person (clergyman) is upright. We had turbaned men who were worse than the agents of the security apparatus! I am talking about the clergy. They say that all the clergymen are like this. But I say no; it is not so. I do not want to say that whoever has a turban on his head is a clergyman, and whoever has a turban on his head has opposed the regime. No, many of those with turbans have been for the regime, and very much so. But it is not right to say that all the clergymen were like this. Their aim (in saying this) was to destroy this power. By breaking this power, they, on the one hand, belittled Islam in the eyes of the people, and on the other, also belittled the clergy. They took away these two powers from us, enabling them to do whatever they wanted to do.

The plot to drive the clergy and the university apart

On the other hand, they came and alienated the universities from the clergy. They made propaganda in the universities against the clergy. Groups of clergymen made propaganda against the university in the mosques, from the pulpits and, I should say, other places. It was not for the sake of Islam that they would come and say that the university professors were, for instance, like this and like that. No, this was not the case; it was a plot. It was a well calculated matter. They wanted to separate these two powers that could work: the university was able to work and the clergymen as well. And they did separate them. You could not mention the name of the clergy in the university—at that time; not nowadays. The clergy could not be mentioned. The university could not be mentioned in the clerical circles. They drove these two powers apart. That is, two energetic powers that, if united, could have put an end to this plunder altogether and cut off foreign hands that had reached out to this spread of booty. They separated these two powers. These were the plots they hatched.

¹ It refers to the Jungle Movement in Gilan led by Mirza Kuchak Khan.

Sowing discord: the plot of the enemies of the Islamic movement

Well, thanks to God that the Muslims attained victory in this movement, with all of them awakening, and achieving solidarity and unity. Now that we have reached this stage of our victory and have curtailed their power, and the plunderers have left, plots are, unfortunately, again afoot to sow discord and split the people into groups. It is the same plot that existed previously; in the time of this former regime, whether before the month of Ramadan and before (the months of) Muharram and Safar. These were the two occasions they used to sow discord, the reason being that the month of Ramadan is the divine month and the display of the clergy's power is greater at this time. The gatherings of the Muslims are also larger. The month of Muharram is also the month of Imam Husayn, and their power—of the clergymen and preachers—is also greater at this time. They used to create some mischief before the month of Ramadan and also before Muharram. The month of Ramadan is approaching once again, and they have been up to something. Something has been done now in Isfahan, and likewise, in Mashhad. They have fallen upon one another over a trivial matter. What a lack of concern this entails. Now that the circumstances are such that Islam's destiny, its Constitution, its government, and the president of the Islamic Republic are priority issues, they have dropped all these matters. They have calculatedly created parties which have accomplished their functions according to their own aims. Many others have been set up out of a lack of awareness. They have formed a hundred groups! They have set up a hundred parties and groups in this short period. They have, unfortunately, split up into groups; in Isfahan, in Mashhad and some in Tehran.

Now that it is just before the month of Ramadan, and now that the authorities should get together and determine the country's destiny, and also make the government Islamic, they are arguing about somebody¹ being a Muslim or not! What is it to me if he is a Muslim; what is it to you if he is

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

not a Muslim! Why do you dissipate all your energies because of Zayd (some Johnny) being a Muslim or non-Muslim? You considered the matter of the late Shamsabadi¹ to be an ordinary one. This was also one of those plots that they would hatch in various ways. At times they would bring up the matter of *Shahid-e Jawid*,² from this side and that! Throughout the months of Muharram and Safar, and beyond, all the sermons from the pulpit dealt with what *Shahid Jawid* was! Some people would confirm, and others deny. Once this talk would die down a bit, they would start something else. The late Shamsabadi's case was also one of those cases. Perhaps they had done it themselves—but I am not aware of it—that is, kill somebody to raise a hue and cry, and have groups, for and against, disputing with one another. And then bring somebody else into the picture as soon as this controversy has

¹ It refers to Sayyid Abul-Hasan Shamsabadi. SAVAK had received instructions from the Shah to spread false reports about the Imam in order to make the people wary of him. In 1976 [1355 AHS], when Ayatullah Shamsabadi was killed by a group led by Sayyid Mahdi Hashimi, SAVAK blamed this death on someone who they claimed was a terrorist and a follower of Ayatullah Khomeini (see the *Ittilaat* newspaper of May 15, 1976 [Ordibehesht 25, 1355 AHS]). Similarly, in the *Kayhan* newspaper of May 15, 1976, it was announced that Ayatullah Shamsabadi's murder had been committed by someone who approved of the book *Shahid-e Jawid* and who was a supporter of Khomeini. Following this, some of those who had been deluded by the regime's propaganda created a public outcry.

² *Shahid-e Jawid* [The Eternal Martyr] is a book written by Nimatullah Salihi Nafajabadi about Imam Husayn's uprising. In this book, the author has argued that initially Imam Husayn had risen up in revolt in order to establish a government and to make reforms in society, but that later, because of the situation in Kufah the Imam had decided against continuing with the uprising and had intended to return to Mecca. However, the author continues to argue that since Yazid's troops had prevented the Imam from returning to Mecca the latter was forced to engage in battle with them and that it was at this point in time that he prepared himself for martyrdom. In the author's opinion, at the outset of his journey Imam Husayn was optimistic about establishing a government and believed that he would be supported by the people in Kufah. Shiaah *ulama* who have conducted research in this regard, however, hold that the Imam knew of the horrendous events which were to happen, prior to his having set out for Kufah, but that he nonetheless went to Karbala in order to fulfill his duty to God and to honor the pledge he had made to Him. For a long period it was issues relating to this book that were the subject of argument and discussion in religious circles rather than matters relating to the struggle against the regime in Iran. Meanwhile, at the height of the Revolution, the said author decided to publish another book which discussed the Tradition of the Cloak [*Hadith al-Kisa*]. However, Ayatullah Sayyid Hasan Tahiri, a lecturer at the theological center in Qum, was appointed from among Imam Khomeini's close associates to pass on information to the latter concerning this book so as to prevent another contentious affair from arising during the height of the struggle. Having passed on information to the Imam via Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, Ayatullah Tahiri then conveyed a message to the said author from the Imam which said that he was to refrain from publishing this book and as a result, the publication was postponed until a later time.

subsided a bit, questioning and debating over his books. One would say that he was an unbeliever; another would say that he was a Muslim. Somebody would say that he was a thorough Muslim like the prophets, for instance, while somebody else would say that he was an unbeliever, worse than Abu Jahl!¹ But there is a plot afoot! Those who are doing all these things have no belief in Islam and neither in spirituality. They do not believe in anything. They only have materialism in mind and want the Muslims to fall upon each other so that they can plunder them. Today that our need for unity of expression is greater than ever before and today that the conspiracies in the border regions and other places are afoot, we are engaged in quarrelling over a petty matter. This is nothing but ignorance on our part. We have not developed enough to know what should be said and when. Those that are plotting know what they are doing. They know when and what to print and publish, and compel some people to refute it and some to endorse it.

Today is the day when all forces must be united

We ought to be alert, sir! We ought to be attentive. It is not the time today to quarrel over individuals. It is the time for us to unite all our forces and for the groups to become one. Just as we jointly defeated this power, we should now advance together. Having defeated this power, we should not allow them now to disperse us for another power to appear and destroy us. It is now the time for unity of expression. It is now the time for all of us to combine our forces. It is now the time for all of us—I, a seminarian, you gentlemen, these distinguished *ulama* from Isfahan or the other places—to train our thoughts on what ought to be done now. Now that the Constitution is being planned, they should give their proposals and opinions. They should inform the people of the issues. They should also nominate Islamic experts for the Assembly of Experts that is to be set up in the future. It is now the time for these matters. We may see them bring some proposal at some time causing somebody to abuse somebody else and a group from this side giving its endorsement, and another group from that side (saying something else)! They would be the same matters as in the days of Muhammad Rida prior to the month of Ramadan, and occurring once again in our month of Ramadan, that, too, in such a situation. The month of Ramadan and this month of Shaban are different from the other Shabans and Ramadans. It is the month of Ramadan that determines our destiny. We have to combine our forces and attend to this distressing problem. We should not become engaged in

¹ Abu Jahl [Father of Ignorance], the nickname of Amru ibn Hisham Makhzumi, one of the bitter opponents of the Noble Messenger (s) from among his relatives.

something that has no value for Islam; no value at all. We should not go after such matters. We should dwell upon the basic issues. These were a few words concerning what he said.

The dimensions of man

But what I wish to tell these dear ones, these dear children is that man's essence is his spirit, his insight. All of us have things in common with animals such as ears, eyes, legs, and hands. But these do not constitute the basis of humanity. The thing that makes man different from all creatures—from all the natural creatures—is the heart of man; the insight of man. You are a human being if you have insight. Without insight one cannot be human as Abu Jahl had eyes but he was not a human being. Some of the prophets, too, had no eyes,¹ but they were prophets nonetheless. The criterion of being a human being is spirituality. Make efforts to develop the (spiritual) essence. Develop spirituality within yourselves. And do not worry at all that a human being has no hands, no feet, and whatever.

It is mentioned in the narrations that some prophets lacked body parts; they did not even have hands and feet. Hadrat (Prophet Muhammad) states that he observed somebody—I do not exactly remember who he was—who had no hands and feet. They were prophets; of course not in that sense, but they were prophets. Many of the *ulama* were geniuses who were blind. In our own time, we have met many people who were *ulama*, who were geniuses, who possessed vast and extensive knowledge, who were (decent) human beings. Do not worry at all about your not possessing a certain faculty. You ought to reinforce your spirituality, God willing and your morale. And many have more insight than all the people with eyes. May God protect you and make all of us be of service to Islam. And may we be able to continue up to the end along this path that we have traversed, God willing.

¹ It refers to Prophet Yaquub (Jacob) (*a*) who was blind at a certain part of his life.

Speech

Date: July 5, 1979 [Tir 14, 1358 AHS¹ / Shaban 10, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The grave duty and responsibility of the clergy and students

Audience: Students from Mashhad

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

An important duty

I had specified your duty when I was in that place. The gentlemen who were present there heard what I had to say. And I shall say a few words about what our duty is for the sake of those who were not there.

The importance of this duty concerns this class; that is, the clergy, the university professors and students. These two groups constitute the thinkers of society; they are the thinkers. You are the two groups—the university students, whether those who have passed out from university and are now lawyers, legal experts or whatever, or whether of the clerical class who are still studying, or have finished their studies and are engaged in disseminating the faith and in other activities—in society that are the thinkers. And you are the ones that are able to neutralize the plots that are about to be hatched with utmost thoroughness for the purpose of defeating this movement. You two groups have a greater duty than the others, and your responsibility, too, is very great. All the people bear a responsibility, but yours is very great. And now they intend to create discord between you, the two groups that had become united and there was no more talk of the clergy and the university being like this and like that. All of you were together and succeeded, thanks to God, and understood that unity brings success. When you (two groups) the thinkers, came together, the other strata of the people joined you. It is your duty, and also that of the clergy and the university staff, to maintain your unity.

Destroying the unity between the clergy and the students

Now the plot is to separate you from one another. They who felt that their defeat was because of the unity among the people, realized that this unity of expression that had emerged in Iran, and perhaps, brought about by

¹ The date has been given as 4/14/1358 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (new edition) and as 6/14/1358 AHS in the old one.

these two groups—the clergy and its preachers, prayer leaders, orators, speakers and such people and you with your lectures and your efforts bringing the people together—resulted in this victory. At one time they may think that “if the people gather together, we will be defeated,” though this defeat has not been experienced by them. At another time, your victory and their defeat is actually experienced and (physically) felt. They saw that this defeat and that victory were because of your unity. A plot is now afoot to separate you from one another; to set two brotherly groups against one another and to drive the two groups of thinkers apart. If you do fall apart, neither will the clergy be able to do anything, nor you. You think that the university will be able to succeed without (the help of) of this group; no, it cannot. And they think that they are everything and the university, nothing. Not at all; it is erroneous to think so. Unity must be forged between these two strata to confront their malicious propaganda of many years by which they intended to drive you apart from one another, to line you up on one side so that you be their (clergy’s) enemy, and to line them up on the other side with them being your enemies as well, and for them to come amidst you and benefit by the situation without anybody being around to question why. Now, they have come to realize that when such a power arises and such unity is formed, it results in their defeat; and they were defeated by such unity and power. The conspiracies nowadays are more and, perhaps, more precisely planned; the plot now is to separate this group from that. Plots are being implemented in Mashhad. Conspiracies have been carried out in Isfahan, and in Tehran also; they may engulf other strata as well.

What are you quarrelling over? Over somebody being very good or very bad? And a group of preachers saying from the pulpit and elsewhere that this person is an unbeliever and another group saying that he is a Muslim and descended from the Imams? What is the result of all this? The result is that you and the clergy will fall apart. You will be confronting one another and lose that unity of expression you had; and all for nothing! Losing your unity of expression for nothing and falling apart from one another will cause all the other classes to become separated from you and to develop differences, which will result in the movement not being able to accomplish its mission. What all the foreigners of East and West want is that you be divided and dispersed.

Vigilance vis-à-vis the creators of discord

The purpose of the plots is to divide you, to make enemies and to create various factions and groups, with all of them being enemies of one another so

that the outcome would be to their benefit. Should we not wake up? For how long should we be negligent? They made us negligent for many long years and duped us. Should we still not wake up? Should you of the university not wake up? You the clergy, should you not wake up? They robbed us and ruled us by means of this discord that they created. They tortured our youth to a great extent in the prisons and behaved with our clergymen in the way that you saw; and similarly with all other strata of the people. Should we still not wake up? Should we still have differences over petty matters that are nothing and fall upon one another? Should the preachers, the prayer leaders and the academicians all be at loggerheads with one another? Should we not take notice that other hands have come in and are doing all this? Should not this nation be alive to the fact that a hundred factions have announced their formation within the span of two months? This is not by chance. It is that some deliberate hands are at work to drive you of this secret of yours; the key to victory. They have realized that your unity defeated them; so they are taking it away from you by means of their acts, their propaganda and their schemes. Who are they? Such and such party; whose is it? This and that party; a hundred of them. I came across such a figure these past few weeks. A hundred groups announcing their presence! And, unfortunately, the fact is that when (many) groups are formed, they become ill-disposed to one another. It is not that all of them work for the benefit of Islam and the nation. The various groups fall out with one another and lose that unity of expression and that power because of the resulting differences. The individuals are unable to do anything; the multiple groups are unable to do anything. The nation is able to perform its tasks, but cannot do so when it breaks up into groups.

Differences: against the pleasure of God, and the poison that kills the nation

Our duty and yours is to be watchful of these plots that aim to sow discord at present. We have to neutralize them. Tell your friends when you go to Mashhad that it is now not the time for them to fall upon one another over some matter. And the gentlemen should tell the preachers and prayer leaders in the places to which they go, that they should not be influenced by the evil ones who aim to set the people against one another, defeat them and thereby benefit from the situation. They ought to give up their personal and petty differences. It is now the time to concentrate on the issue of the Constitution, the Assembly of Experts, the president of the Republic, the Majlis. These stages have to be gone through so that a permanent

government is established. Iran, at present, is not on a firm footing. The country's basis has not been established yet. Discord at this time goes against the pleasure of God and is deadly poisonous to the nation. It is my duty to tell you this and for you—I do not know—to listen or not. May God keep all of you.

Speech

Date: July 6, 1979 [Tir 15, 1358 AHS / Shaban 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The need for factory owners to change their methods in the revolutionary era

Audience: Industrialists and businessmen of Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The attention paid by factory owners to the workers

I want to tell you something by way of exhortation; something about the basic nature of the matter that you mention. What I wish to say as an admonishment is that the factory owners ought to change their methods somewhat from what they were during the time of the previous regime. The reason is that if something happened during the days of that regime—which the people considered as being un-Islamic and *taghuti*—they would say that it had happened under that regime. And if the workers had some trouble, or some incitement made them riot and go on strike, they would be suppressed by force. But the situation this time is different from that. All of us claim that the country is an Islamic one now, and should be run according to Islamic tenets. If it so happens in an Islamic country that, God forbid, disturbances break out in factories because of the workers' grievances not being addressed, the disturbances will concern a country that claims to be Islamic. Neither will the clergy be able to do anything about it, nor anybody. The reason is that at that time the clergy could do something; they could say that certain people, un-Islamic in their outlook, had done those things. But if it so happens that disturbances break out among the workers in a country that is Islamic, it will not be possible for situation to be controlled. This is a grave danger that threatens all of you and all of us. Therefore, the factory owners should be careful not to behave with workers as they did in the time of the ex-regime. They should behave with them in a brotherly and friendly manner. The workers are not the type to be extravagant in their ways. They want to be able to live (comfortably). The gentlemen should see to it that they are able to do so to the extent they want, and thereby prevent an explosion from taking place, the control of which is not possible. I said "explosion". In case there is disappointment with the Islamic government and an explosion occurs, nothing will be able to stop it; quite the opposite of an explosion occurring somewhere and the people seeking refuge in Islam. This

can be controlled. But if a country becomes Islamic with the conditions remaining the same as before but Islamic in name and *taghuti* in deed, and if an explosion were to occur, God forbid, given all the intrigues and conspiracies that, you see, are taking place, it would be an explosion against Islam. Such an explosion is one that claims to be Islamic and in which the people have become disappointment with Islam and Islamic programs. It is an explosion that nobody can prevent. The other people who are aggravating the situation are saying the same things: "Things have not change, only the name has changed; at that time it was called the Imperial Government, and today it is known as the Islamic Republic, but the reality is that the problems are the same ones, and so are the workers, the employees, the people, the usurers, and the bullies." If, God forbid, an explosion were to take place in such circumstances, it would be different from the other ones. It would not leave anything for anybody. Therefore, the gentlemen should keep this in mind and not let such a thing happen. And this lies in you making some concessions to the workers. They do not want to be on the same level as you; they just want to live (comfortably). You who have everything, thanks to God, who own factories and have many employees, should help them with your own hands for your own good, and for preventing an explosion from taking place by which everything will be ruined and everything of the country destroyed. You should do certain things for them to see that they are being taken care of in the circumstances that now have arisen. The government, of course, is attending to them, and we, too, will advise and attend to them. But the point is that they, these workers, should see that in the Islamic Republic, the people at the helm—who were known as employers at that time—have arranged to deal with them in another way. It is not what the communists and the deviated people are making propaganda about. They are to be dealt with in a better manner and their way of living and needs looked into.

Class differences

This sort of things is no more practical in this day and age, in that a group at the top (of society) and have the best of everything that they want—villas, cars and other luxuries—while another group lives in slums around Tehran looking at them (the upper class). It should not be like this. It is not logical from the viewpoint of Islam and equity; and neither is it right. And it will not be easy to quell uproar once it begins. You have to think of helping them. You ought to sit down and arrive at an understanding among yourselves in order to protect yourselves, your families, your wealth and your

prestige. I said the same things which came to my mind to the other groups—a group had come from Isfahan—that came to visit me. I told them to give some consideration to this matter so that these class differences do not exist in this manner, and that some evenness is maintained. Islam demands a balance to be maintained. It neither prevents accumulation of assets nor does it allow the assets to be such that one possesses hundreds of millions of dollars, and even a car for his dog and a chauffeur and such things, while another person has to go home at night to his children without any bread. This situation should not exist; it is not practical. Neither does Islam approve of it, nor does any human being.

Half of this problem can be solved by you; half of it. You can solve half of it, if not the whole of it. The other part rests with the government: to build houses for them and—I should say—make life for them to the extent that these poor ones want.

Do not think that the workers are saying that they want cars and villas. There is no such talk. They want to lead a life (of comfort). They want their lives to be such that, on going home, if their children tell them that they have no shoes, they should be able to buy the shoes for them. They are human beings; they get upset. You just think that you have a dear child, who wants something when you go home, but you are not in a position to get him what he wants; is it not upsetting? You want to give it to him but do not have it. Supposing that—on going home—he sees that his father has not brought bread for him. Well, think about it. It is not logical on your part to say that you have authority; full authority, and what you ought to be, to be something and the others nothing! It cannot be so. What I am now saying is from the political point of view. The political aspect necessitates that the factory owners and the employers think over the matter and solve these problems themselves. When the Isfahanis had come here, I told them to form something themselves; to form a committee and discuss the matter among themselves and arrange for some assistance to be given to these people (workers) so that they are pleased with you, and also work well for you. And so that the “explosion”—that is probable and about which I am worried—will not take place. This is the topic that I mentioned and which I am stating as an admonishment. It is a vital matter which should not be taken lightly. Perhaps you are not paying sufficient attention to the problems at present. But the time (to solve them) may pass; you may lose time and no remedial action will be possible. Neither would we be able to control the situation nor you. This has to be considered.

Islam and the establishment of legal ownership

I should talk about the topic that concerns these issues, and that concerns me. Of course, some of them concern the government—one concerns the Ministry of Labor, another concerns—I should say—others. One of these is that we will not allow a single step to be taken contrary to Islam. Islam has specified ownership on the basis of legitimacy and permits it. If those who have factories and industrial units own them legitimately, it is all right. The government does not plan to interfere with the privately owned factories. The proposal that the government has given—which I have not yet studied completely and carefully—concerns a group of people who have acquired their possessions by illegal means and have taken them away and used them up, etc. These properties belonged to others. The factories that are like this will be nationalized. And this is justifiable. There is another group that is in debt to the government to a greater extent than what they have there (abroad). There is also another group of people that are not so much; they have no debts. They, themselves, were partners. Their partners consisted of people like the Shah, for example, and those like them. Others have had private partners. They may come; their companies are safe and secure. There are also others who can run the companies themselves. They may do so.

Preventing the government from leaving the path of Islam

This is not a communist country. The government, whatever it is, is not a communist one; it is an Islamic government. The government cannot challenge ownership of the extent that Islam recognizes. It will be put aside if it does. It is not what you think in that the government wants to appropriate any and every factory; they had said the same thing concerning the lands. But this was not the issue. The lands in question were barren lands. Barren lands are those that nobody has developed. These had been sold at that time (of the ex-regime). All the sales were wrong; nobody can sell wastelands. They demarcated them and then sold them. Even that is wrong. Those barren lands will be confiscated, but consideration will be shown to those (owners) who are able to develop them. But who will confiscate a plot of land that somebody has cultivated and owns? Who can confiscate it? These matters are not debatable; they are Islamic issues; Islamic programs. I have yet to see any of their statements or plans being contrary to Islam or requiring such things. The rumors that are rife are many. Upon something being said about the confiscation of barren lands, rumors suddenly arise that they (government) intends to seize people's houses and lands! What the people, who have no official responsibility say, talk about and write in the

newspapers is immaterial. The criterion is what the government and its spokesman say. The newspapers write whatever they like and the people devoid of responsibility say what they want. This has nothing to do with the government and Islam. We have to follow the Islamic line. I will not allow the government to leave the path of Islam as long as I am alive. And I am hopeful that we, too, will not leave it (the path of Islam).

The destruction left behind by the Shah's regime

You (the factory owners) may continue with your work, but keep that matter, about which I spoke to you, firmly in mind and pay great attention to it. You must think of them as being your children. Think that you had a son who went home without any bread for his children. Think how (distressed) you would feel about it. Think a little about these people who are working for you, about these people who are slum dwellers and about these who have nothing. The government, of course, is also busy, but these unjust people went away leaving behind such destruction that cannot be repaired so soon. Wherever you point your finger, you will find destruction. They took as much as they could as loans from the banks and went away. The things that they have now left behind, such as buildings and similar things, all have to do with the loans they have taken and departed, and which must be repaid. It is not as we thought that this wealth that they had left behind would be sufficient to ameliorate the condition of the poor. We set the *Bunyad-e Mustazafin* [Foundation for the Downtrodden] with just these assets... but after the matter was investigated, what things they found! They had robbed such a lot and left. And they took loans recently; as soon as they realized that there was the possibility of them having to leave, they borrowed from the banks in every way they could, and so robbed them and took the money away. This *Bunyad-e Mustazafin* does not have much in assets. It came to light that it was not as we had thought that it would be sufficient for us. We have to extend our hand to the nation once again so as to save these deprived people, these helpless ones and these slum dwellers. We have to approach the nation, and the nation will have to accomplish this task.

Paying attention to the demands of the workers

Every one of us must join hands and make efforts together so that these people become moderately well-off, so that no injustice be done to your brothers and fellow creatures. Consider them as your own brothers. Do not consider the workers and those who turn the wheels of industry as servants; consider them as your brothers, as your children. See what their needs are. If

your children have needs, you fulfill them as much as you can. These people (workers) are not asking for much; just enough for a moderate standard of living. It should not be so that they are not able to acquire anything! This would, God forbid, result in a situation from what we think.

Making Iran prosperous with the help of the government and nation

May God protect all of you. You must think of setting this country on track. If you think that the government can do it alone, it cannot. Whether it can work by itself (or not) is not the point. If you think that one class of the people can do the job, they cannot. Every single person, wherever he may be, should get busy in serving the country so that this work is done. I, a seminarian, sitting here should advise the people to the extent my seminary profession allows. You the factory owners, who are enjoying God's favor, should carry out your work to the extent of your ability, and the cultivators, too, according to their own ability. Everybody should set matters right in his own place of work so that Iran is built up by you, yourselves, and the plunderers, in various forms and ways, do not come here to take away everything that belongs to you, or the fruits of your endeavors. This depends on the need for us to rise up and not consider the matter to be over. The task of reconstruction at the present time is more difficult than the previous task. Previously, it did not require great application to drive them away. That is, apart from application, clenched fists and clamoring were required. But now, enterprise is called for; everybody ought to be enterprising and perform (the tasks) for the sake of God. May He make all of you successful.

Speech

Date: July 6, 1979 [Tir 15, 1358 AHS / Shaban 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Faith and unity among the various strata of society as the key to victory

Audience: Various strata of the people; students of the Faculty of Law and Political Science of Tehran University

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The mementos of Islam and the Revolution

I must remind the Iranian nation of a reality, one of which I had, perhaps, already pointed out. But its importance compels me to remind the Iranian nation once again.

Great efforts were made for nearly twenty years until the various groups of the nation joined together. Efforts continued until the propaganda of the foreigners—those who wanted to plunder us and keep us in a backward state—were neutralized. And they continued until the various groups of the nation became united. The efforts united the youth of the university with the young clergymen. They united the government employees with the bazaar merchants and the clergy with the academicians. All these various classes consisting of laborers, peasants, farmers, traders, clergymen, academicians, and all the other groups joined together and became one. A lot of trouble was taken and much effort expended until these miscellaneous groups got together, until these drops formed a sea and until these drops, which were apart from one another, turned into a devastating flood that swept away the edifice of tyranny and oppression and extirpated the influence of the foreigners. And you the great nation of Iran from the provinces, villages and hamlets, the honorable ladies and the dear brothers, disregarding your own problems, univocally and jointly demolished this great human barrier.

Faith and unity of expression, the key to victory

I am afraid that at this halfway point in our task, the efforts that we have so far made will be wasted and the blood of our youth shed in vain because of the ignorance of certain people and the spitefulness of certain others. You have seen almost a hundred groups announcing their formation within the two or three months that have elapsed since your victory which you saw was achieved under the shelter of the unity of expression and the power of Islam. Faith and the unity of expression were the keys to your victory. Because of

the solidarity and unity that had emerged among the people, the foreigners felt that with the nation's unity of expression and power of faith, no power would be able to confront this power. So they started thinking of weakening this power: the Islamic power as well as the unity of expression. The enemies began to think of undoing all the trouble that had been taken for many years for the solidarity of the various groups and their unity of expression. These efforts are close to being undone by their dirty hands and the heedlessness of many people who make claims about everything. We gathered all the groups and broke this barrier, but now various groups—about a hundred of them—have announced their existence! And the formation of these groups will result in our extinction.

Warning the parties and the groups

O the various parties! O the various groups! If your heart aches for your country and your nation, you should realize that this forming of various groups is a deadly poison to the nation that will take your country back to its previous state, God forbid. This formation of factions and the splitting up of the nation into groups and groups by these persons, who are making much claim about their nationalism and their friendly feelings for the people and the deprived, will cause your nation to return to the former state. You are causing the secret of the nation's victory to be lost. You who possess good intentions are under the influence of the demons that have evil intentions. God, the Blessed and Exalted, says: "*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.*"¹ It commands the people to come together and forbids them from separating. You are disrupting the unity of the Muslims; you are creating discord. Cast your self-centeredness aside! Be in step with the nation. This nation sacrificed its youth. This university took great pains. These *madrasahs* made great efforts. This Faydiyyah Madrasah offered sacrifices. They (the Shah's agents) showed disrespect to the copies of the Quran in the Faydiyyah Madrasah. In fact, it was said that they set fire on them! We took a lot of trouble and reconciled the clergy with the university, and also neutralized the propaganda of the foreigners. And at this time when our need for unity of expression is greater, you are causing unity. Is this serving the people? Is this serving the country? Are you serving the deprived? Reflect a bit. Reconsider your actions. You are breaking up into groups with each one of them opposed to the other. If everybody's course was the same, it would not have mattered as all the groups had a single direction. But the wicked hands of the foreigners are at work to split you into

¹ Surah Al-i Imran 3:103.

groups without your being aware of it, and with all of them against one another. The people who want to plunder us, to take away our resources and subjugate us have seen with their own eyes that the two things have brought us victory, and so they have attacked these two things: one, faith in Islam, and the other, the unity of expression. By their actions, they attacked this secret of victory, which has two aspects, in both respects. They became engaged in sowing discord on a wide scale in Iran; discord on every side of Iran. Different parties, different groups, different fronts; and all of them, unfortunately, against one another. They are taking away this unity of expression from us. It was the power of faith that brought you this victory. They saw for themselves that faith was the source of their defeat; and so they are blotting it out. If those who are opposed to Islam had any sense, they would not oppose it as Islam gave them victory. As for those who are the lackeys of the foreigners, everybody knows them for what they are. I am worried that the efforts of many years of the people who sought to bring about harmony among the different classes and neutralize the propaganda of the foreigners—which, thanks to God, they did and gained victory—will be wasted and the unity will collapse, with discord setting in.

The danger of presenting a false image of Islam

Another worry of ours is that our friends, who are not well informed and disregard the problems, will be the cause of Islam being shown in a different way. We now have an Islamic Republic. All the classes of the people claim that we (the country) are an Islamic Republic and that the government is an Islamic Republic: our courts are Islamic; our committees are Islamic; our *pasdars* are Islamic; our army, gendarmerie, police and disciplinary forces are all Islamic; our government and our offices are Islamic. This is what we claim. I am afraid that because of those people who are not malicious but are uninformed, certain things will be done that will tarnish our school and present it in a bad way and that we will be defeated, in so far as our school is concerned, and Islam buried. If our committees—whether or not they have some clergy—act against Islamic principles, they will cause the downfall of our school. The responsibility of this happening is great for the clergy.

If the provinces and places where the clergy are present, there are any differences of opinion that result in open differences, our school will suffer and the clergy will be held responsible. If our courts act against Islamic principles and the norms of justice our school will be dented. If our Islamic guards who are the *pasdars* of the Islamic Republic and the Islamic Revolution do something contrary to the basic principles of their *pasdar*

duties, the school will suffer. The responsibility of this is very great. It would not have grieved or worried us had we been defeated and killed during the time of the previous regime, but our school had remained safe. Supposing we had done certain wrong things in the previous regime, it would not have concerned our school.

Our school will suffer a setback if we commit offenses nowadays. The misfortune lies in the school suffering a setback. The Doyen of the Martyrs (a) was martyred together with all his companions and clan, but the school advanced. His martyrdom advanced the cause of the school. It would have advanced had we and you been also martyred by that regime. But it will become shaky if offenses take place at this time by means of our actions, or deeds, our words, our pens, and our moves. The tragic part of it is that it will be the undoing of our school; the one for which the prophets and the Imam were killed.

O people of Iran, respected ladies and brothers, come to Islam's assistance! Islam, today, is a trust in your hands. Do not betray it. Clergyman, academician, businessman, peasant, laborer, city dweller, villager, and tribesman: Islam is in danger today; we are not. It would not have mattered had we been in danger.

Help Islam. Our wrong actions show Islam in a bad light, they will so efface Islam that nobody will care about it until the very end. Malicious pens and evil eyes plan to find fault with you and to project a bad image of your school, and say that such is the Islamic Republic, as they are doing in the factories, and as the treacherous pens are writing.

Today, we fear friends! Yesterday we used to fear the enemies. That fear was not much; it did not matter. Today we fear our friends; we are afraid that these friends, without any thought for the gravity of the problems and the situation in which we are at present, will do something by which our school will be presented to the world as a corrupt and backward one. This is what pains us and has caused us anxiety. Today it is the duty of all of us, the whole nation, the ladies, the brothers; the *ulama*, the academicians, the lawyers, the ministers, and all the strata of the nation to eschew differences and abstain from acts that go against the Islamic movement and the Islamic Republic. Put an end to your differences; do not be at odds over trivial matters. This is not the time to have differences. Desist from being self-centered! Do not, God forbid, commit offenses for the sake of heading the committees, the Islamic guards and such things. This is not the time to be selfish. It is the day when your fate, the fate of Islam and the fate of the

Quran must be determined. Be brothers unto one another. The academicians are our brothers; we are at their service.

The plot of the enemies of Islam: separating the clergy from the university

Our university brothers; be careful that they do not separate you from the clergy. Our brothers of the clergy; be careful that they do not separate you from the academicians. They (enemies) have been scheming these last few days in Isfahan, Mashhad and Tehran to lay the grounds for discord in order to drive the university and the clergy apart. Some uninformed preachers and academicians intend distancing these two groups from one another. They have made their plans at this time when the Constitution is to be proposed; at a time when results are to be obtained; at a time close to the month of Ramadan when your gatherings pose a threat to the people who wish to destroy Iran and Islam. The auspicious month of Ramadan is the month when people gather; it is the month of unity; the month of God. At this time, just before this month, and the time when the results of all these sacrifices, these troubles, and these pains are materialized, a plan has been made to create bitter discord between the clergy and the academicians. Somebody hands out pamphlets cursing someone else; another hands out pamphlets praising someone! Both of them are offenses; both of them are wrong at this time. Desist from being ignorant! Do not let these people who are the enemies of Islam incite you. Do not be treacherous to Islam! This discord today constitutes treachery to Islam, no matter under what name it is. Having differences today over the succession of the Commander of the Faithful is treachery to Islam. Do not raise these matters now. All of you should see to it that Iran's destiny, which is to be actualized, turns out to be good. Iran should not be forgotten because of your actions. It should not be buried because of your actions. Desist from discord in case your heart burns for Islam. Desist from discord in case your heart burns for the nation. And if your heart burns for your country, you desist from these differences.

Neutralize this satanic plot that has come to light in Isfahan, and also in Mashhad and Tehran. Do not knock one another's heads over a person being an unbeliever or a Muslim! Give the problems your consideration. They want you to fall upon one another so that they can profit by it.

May God awaken us from our negligence. May He preserve our unity. May the Lord guide the ones who sow discord. And may He make Islam victorious.

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

Speech

Date: July 6, 1979 [Tir 15, 1358 AHS / Shaban 11, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The duties of the clergy and the *pasdars* vis-à-vis Islam and the Islamic Republic

Audience: Clergymen; personnel of the committees and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps of Urumiyeh

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The great danger of Islam suffering a defeat

I must, in a few words, tell the respected gentlemen, the clergy, Islamic guards and all the other esteemed gentlemen seated here of the dangers facing us, the difficulties we have and our position at this time. I have mentioned this issue to other gatherings of people as it is important and I will repeat it.

Our position at present is more critical in two respects than at other times. In the days of the previous regime, when you and all the strata of the people were engaged in the struggle against it, you had risen against the *taghut* as the regime of that time was a *taghuti* regime. It would not have mattered much if we had then been defeated and killed; an Islamic army, God's army, had faced the *taghuti* army and was defeated. It was a defeat, but the Saints of God would also suffer defeat at times at the hands of the *taghut*. In that situation, no harm would be done to Islam because of the defeat. It was to Islam's benefit as the power of Islam and the rightness of our school would become further established in a way like the struggle of the Doyen of the Martyrs (*a*) against the government of the time which was *taghuti*. The martyrdom of the Doyen of the Martyrs did no harm Islam in the least; it took Islam forward. Had it not been for his martyrdom, Muawiyah and his son would have shown Islam in another way to the world in the name of being the Prophet's caliph, by going to the mosque for Friday prayers, as being the Friday prayer leader and as the leader of the congregation in the congregational prayers. The designation was the Prophet's caliphate and the government, the Islamic government. But in sum and substance, it was to the contrary; neither was the government Islamic in content, nor was the ruler Islamic. The Doyen of the Martyrs (*a*) thwarted their plan of taking Islam back to paganism and of showing it to be similar to the cults of former times. Even if we had been defeated and killed in our struggle, no harm would have

befallen Islam. In fact it would have stood to gain as Islamic crusaders had struggled against the *taghut*; a struggle between right and wrong. But the followers of the right path were martyred owing to the larger numbers of the forces of evil. But what is the situation now? At that time, the regime was *taghuti* the government was *taghuti*, and all the organizations were *taghuti*. But now that we call our government Islamic, and with all of you voting for an Islamic republic, the regime changed from a monarchy to a government of an Islamic republic, and now that we, the clergy and you the *pasdars* and all the classes of the people living in the country, are living in an Islamic system, an Islamic republic, and our government is now Islamic, the danger that we presently face is not of getting killed; or an Islamic community being defeated by the *taghut*—these are not dangers at all. The danger to us at present lies in our school suffering a setback; Islam suffering a setback. This is the greatest danger that is now menacing us. The factor that brought us up to this stage and earned us victory was the non-existence of differences among the various classes of the people. They would all clamor jointly for an Islamic republic. It was the same in the cities and the villages; the center (of population) and the country's outlying regions. All the people joined together and shouted that they wanted an Islamic republic. These were the two factors that brought you victory. One was the unity of expression, because of which most of the people were together, and the other was the aim, which was Islam. You constitute a victorious army now. But in the past, it would so happen that very often a triumphant army, after gaining victory, would end up defeated. I mentioned Hitler to another gathering as an example of one who acted and campaigned, who attacked and killed, and conquered France and other countries, who invaded the Soviet Union, and notwithstanding the power he had, seized many places. But he was not able to retain them. He was not able to maintain his grip on his conquests and victories. And as he was not able to hold them, he was defeated and, as it is said, ended up by committing suicide. It has always happened that certain factors emerge to take most victors to defeat after they have triumphed.

The fear of the factors of defeat arising

I am now worried that certain factors will emerge to defeat you, a victorious Islamic army and an Islamic nation that amazed the world by its victory, and this defeat will be of your own making and not because of the enemy. I am now worried that we, whether the clerical class or all the classes of the people, the most important ones being those that directly bear the appellation "Islamic" such as the Islamic government, the Islamic ministries,

the Islamic committees, the Islamic guards, and the Islamic courts; these (organs) that have the name and appearance of Islam—may do something wrong at this time that we claim to be *pasdars* as well, and you, who are the Islamic guards, do things at this time—when we are being closely watched by our opponents and enemies who have riveted their eyes on us—that do not conform to the essence of the Islamic Republic. It is not the defeat of a Muslim at the hands of an unbeliever; it is not the defeat of the Doyen of the Martyrs at the hands of Yazid; it is Islam's defeat. We claim to have an Islamic republic, we claim that an Islamic government is the only just government in which everybody from the president to the policeman are the subject of Islam; neither does the president behave haughty toward the subordinate, nor do they persecute the people because of their being, for example, soldiers or *pasdars*. This is what we are claiming; that the Islamic Republic is a just government. If a country is Islamic and its republic (government) is being run under the banner of Islam, then the organs of this country should be Islamic as well. If at this juncture in which we live, if at this time when we claim to have changed *taghut* to Islam—we have such a claim—if we the turbaned men and you the *pasdars* do something contrary to what the *pasdars*, the clergy who are *pasdars* and you who are *pasdars* ought to do, even if the offense is committed by somebody else and the others do not prevent it, those who are now watching us in order to fault us will magnify it a thousand times by means of their organs of propaganda in Iran and abroad; in another (indirect) way in Iran and in a clear manner abroad. They will say: "Islam is also like that! No change has taken place. Islam is basically this! Islam is also like the monarchial regime, but these people have replaced one name with another. The people voted for just one thing, but the substance of it is something else; it is a different thing. Islam is like this! At that time the agents of the Security Organization (SAVAK) used to persecute the people, and now the Islamic guards are doing it! At that time the *taghuti* authorities would violate the people's rights, and now the Islamic Republic authorities are doing it." When some of the clergymen would do something wrong in the days of the *taghut*, the people would say that the clergy are "SAVAKis." When somebody committed an offense, they would not say that the clergy are servants of Islam and they are doing such things. They would say that the clergy are part of SAVAK. But if a clergyman commits an offense today, who will say that he is a "SAVAKi"? Who will say that he has to do such a thing?... If a clergyman does a wrong thing today and the others do not object or stop him—there is no need to quarrel; just by raising objectives, advising, "forbidding evil"—those abroad who are your enemies

will reflect it as the Islamic Republic being no different from the monarchical regime, only the name has changed; otherwise the situation is the same as before. The reason for this is that they see that these Islamic guards conduct themselves just like the *taghuti* courts, so on and so forth! What is causing us anxiety and distress at present is that our school; that is, our Islam, runs the risk of the world turning its back on it and burying it because of our actions. Some thought must be given to it.

Beginning to reform society by first reforming oneself

Until we reform ourselves, we cannot say that we are people who are serving God and who want to reform the people. Until one is not pious himself, one cannot invite the people to be good. One who is not upright, God forbid, will be ridiculed if he tells the people to be honest. They would tell him to be honest himself if being honest was a good thing! You the Islamic guards claim to carry out your guard duties and serve Islam. If any of you, God forbid, does something now—such as they would do in the days of the previous regime when they would enter someone's house and take away the household effects and so put the person's wife and children in difficulty—and the others do not stop him; if they do not correct that person and forbid him, it (offense) will serve as a weapon in the hands of our enemies. They will say that the Islamic guards are also like this. They will not say that the wrongdoer is that kind of a person; they will not say that it is a clergyman attired in this dress who is like this. They will say that the clergy and the Islamic guards are like this! How is this danger to be averted? We are facing this danger now.

The duty of enjoining the good and forbidding evil

It is now our duty and responsibility; all of us. All of us are responsible, not for our own affairs but also for the affairs of others. "All of you are responsible and you will be questioned for the things that had been entrusted to you."¹ Everybody should be considerate toward everybody else; everybody toward everybody else. You have responsibility toward me as well; I have responsibility toward you. You will stand responsible in case I do something wrong and you do not question me. You must; you must ask why, and forbid me from doing it. If a clergyman, God forbid, does something wrong somewhere, all the clergymen should assail him as to why he acted against principles. The other people must also do so. Forbidding

¹ *Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal*, vol. 2, p. 54; *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 38.

what is evil is not exclusive to the clergy; everybody has a right to forbid evil. The *ummah* must forbid what is evil; it must enjoin what is good.

The necessity of making the system conform to Islamic rules

We are now claiming that the establishment is Islamic, our government is a government of justice, and so on. We have told this to the world which has also recognized our country as an Islamic republic. And most of the countries consider our establishment to be Islamic. But if the establishment is not Islamic in substance and our actions do not conform to Islamic laws; if we quarrel over petty issues, if we have enmity and fight over minor matters—all of which are contrary to Islamic rules—and if such things happen for the world to say that this is what the Islamic Republic is, this is what the “regime” is, then in such a case we are all of the same cloth. It is not that we have been defeated in a war.

The Doyen of the Martyrs (*a*) was defeated by Yazid who killed everybody. But he (the Doyen of the Martyrs) dealt Muawiyah regime such a blow as to bury it forever. Had we been killed in this campaign, we would have, perhaps, buried the regime. But now that we have triumphed and have reached this stage, if differences and personal quarrels arise among us, if we differ over trivial issues, if the courts issue verdicts that are contrary to Islam and if the committees act in violation of Islamic principles, it will then not be said that such things are happening in a *taghuti* regime, but that they are occurring in an Islamic one, in an Islamic government. And Islam will be blamed for all these things. Our enemies will attribute them to Islam, and we will suddenly see it written in the newspapers abroad that these people (the Islamic authorities) are the same and that nothing has changed. They will not dare to write such things explicitly here (in Iran); they will do so indirectly.

The enemies' dread of Islam

We now fear the enemy more than we feared Muhammad Rida. We fought against Muhammad Rida; we contented and clashed with him and, thanks to God, you chastised him and drove him out. The war is no more. It is now the war of the pens; the war of nerves. It is not an easy war. It is a war in that they are writing things against Islam in Iran and abroad. It is not against you or me or against Zayd and Bakr (Peter and Paul); it is against Islam! They fear Islam; they do not fear you or me. They are afraid of Islam. It was Islam that enabled our youth to overcome tank, cannon and everything else. It enabled our people to overcome all the powers. If after this victory, those who guard us do something that will cause Islam's downfall; it will be

a responsibility different from that of murder, different from that of sins committed. It will be an unforgivable sin.

A wrong portrayal of Islam: the defeat of Islam

If we portray Islam abroad other than it (really) is, if we present it abroad (in such a way), it would spell defeat for Islam. It does not constitute a sin; the matter is not one of committing a sin. It is a matter over which the prophets were killed; it is a matter over which the Imams were killed. The school of truth is that over which the prophets and the saints were killed. Doing harm to Islam is a greater sin than killing a prophet. The prophets were killed for the sake of Islam. Harming Islam is worse than killing prophets! It is worse than killing the Doyen of the Martyrs! The Doyen of the Martyrs gave his life for the sake of Islam; the same Islam that has fallen into our hands now and with which some of us are, unfortunately, playing games!

You have to reform; the responsibility, sir, is great! Do not think that we are not responsible. I am responsible; he is responsible; I, a cleric, am responsible and you, not of the clergy, are also responsible. The bazaar merchant, the academician and everybody is responsible. We should be careful, all of us, that this school is safeguarded. The enemies are now aiming to destroy this school because it is the thing that they fear. Our enemies do not fear you or me; they fear our school. Those who know that they have been defeated do not consider themselves to have been defeated by you or me; they consider that they have been defeated by your faith. They understood and experienced that a group of people overcame them with the power of "*Allahu akbar*". They want to deprive you of this power, but you must maintain it. And maintaining it lies in me, a cleric and all the other clergymen, not overstepping the divine limits in word and deed. You, the honorable *pasdars*—may God keep you—should not exceed the limits of your duty of protecting Islam. The merchant class, the office goers, the government and the nation are all (living) in the Islamic establishment at present; all of you are now living under the Islamic government. Do not forget the duty of the Islamic government.

The enemy of unity

Put aside—all of you—the differences you have over any matter; matters about which you should not differ at all. This game of setting up parties and forming groups, owing to which nearly one hundred groups have declared their existence over the past few weeks according to the newspapers, means that one hundred groups are doing something to disrupt the solidarity that

had arisen and was the secret of your power. You have a hundred enemy groups, but some understand this and perhaps the majority is not heedful of it. This splitting into groups has not happened just like that for you to think that they are announcing their existence by chance. You read in the newspapers every day that such and such group has also announced its formation. Many of these groups bear the name "Islam", and many of them have other names. The ones that carry the name of Islam are making a mistake, as well as those that have names other than Islam. All the people should be under the banner of "there is no god but Allah," and remain united.

Great is the danger and great is the responsibility. My responsibility and that of the gentlemen is greater than yours. Your responsibility, too, is great. We have to discharge this responsibility properly. It is actually a test; God has given you this gift, and you are being tested now.

Freedom, the greatest gift

Freedom is the greatest gift that humanity has. You lacked this freedom and could not utter a word. You were not able to gather here; was it possible for you? Was it possible for us to sit down together and talk to one another? They would not allow anybody to enter through this door. If at any time you smuggled yourself inside, you would have to go to the Security Organization once you went outside! God has given you the gift of freedom. He is testing you in this freedom to see what you are going to do with it. Will you squander this God-given gift and trouble the people with this gift of yours, or will you be thankful for it and make the best use of your freedom? I consider it my duty at this time to mention this to every group that comes here because the problem is this. The problem now is that there are many differences and many groups. They are gathering together and we are breaking up!

Preventing wrongdoing with gentleness, not harshness

Every one of us should wake up, every one of us should be attentive, and also reform ourselves so that, God forbid, we do not do anything wrong. We must also be careful about anybody doing something wrong, and stop him if he does so; not by shouting and quarrelling, but by gentle persuasion. If a person commits an offensive act and a hundred people wish him gently and speak courteously to him... what he did was not right, it will affect a person and he will not be able to commit an offense.

May God keep you Islamic guards for the sake of Islam. And may He make you Azerbaijanis, who have always been an honor to Islam, an honor to

Islam once again. May He give us success in serving Islam, the Muslims and all the deprived countries.

Message

Date: July 7, 1979 [Tir 16, 1358 AHS / Shaban 12, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Expediting the investigation into the condition of the prisoners

Addressee: Ahmad Azari Qummi

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 12, 1399 AH

The Honorable Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Ahmad Azari—may his graces last:

As per my previous message, it is necessary for you to look into the condition of the prisoners. This matter has to be expedited. Those who are culpable should be kept back and those who are not should be released on bail. Lack of judges and interrogators in your court does not constitute the grounds to keep the accused in a state of suspense.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date has been given as 4/14/1358 AHS, but according to the handwritten manuscript of Imam Khomeini, 4/16/1358 AHS, corresponding to Shaban 12, 1399 AH is the correct date.

Decree

Date: July 7, 1979 [Tir 16, 1358 AHS / Shaban 12, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Expediting the investigation into the condition of the prisoners

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Jafari Varamini

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban 12, 1399 AH

His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Aqa Haj Sayyid Muhammd Jafari Varamini—may his graces last:

Considering the present condition of Qasr Prison, it is necessary that you proceed to Tehran again and look into the condition of the prisoners at close quarters and, as before, make efforts about their welfare. You must also extend the necessary cooperation to the respected judges and interrogators in order to expedite the investigations into the allegations against them. I pray to the Almighty for the success of everybody.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, the date has been mentioned as 4/14/1358 AHS, but considering the date mentioned in the handwritten manuscript, (Shaban 12, 1399 AH) 4/16/1358 AHS, is the correct date.

Speech

Date: July 7, 1979 [Tir 16, 1358 AHS / Shaban 12, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: The grave duty of the media, the cinema and the theater

Audience: The officials and employees of *Khandaniha* magazine

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The publications in the service of Islam

The country's magazines, newspapers and the other media can serve their country by changing their contents. During the previous regime, the condition of these publications, with respect to their topics, pictures and such features, was not sound. If you wish to serve your country and Islam, you must not publish those things that lead people astray. Do not think that the lewd, vulgar pictures and the corrupting articles used to be published just like that. This was also a way that had been thought out to corrupt our youth.

The ways of leading the youth astray

They, through various ways, wanted to change our youth from what they essentially were to something else. One way was by means of drugs; well, this was also one of the ways. Drugs are commonly used even now. Another way was by means of the centers of corruption—to which they pulled our youth. The youths could not be used in the way that a young man ought to be for Islam and his country. They brought them up just like that. Those who visit the centers of corruption cannot have proper thoughts or do good deeds. This is just what they (enemies) wanted: to lure our youth into activities by which they could rob them of their essence and instill something else into them instead. The important things they used for this purpose were the publications, the cinema, theater, radio, and such things. All of these were well-calculated plans to deprive the country of worthy people; the type who would be able to stand up to somebody who intended to betray and commit aggression against his country and Islam. These things that they have brought about and have been intensifying—more than anything else during this period close to our own time; during these fifty years and still more in recent times—was for the purpose of driving away our youth from the scene. Why? One of the long branches of this matter is drugs which you think is the work

¹ The date has been given as 4/14/1358 AHS in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*.

of smugglers who are nothing but dealers. The problem is a complex one! It is likely that this is also a part of their schemes; of the people who want to plunder you and do not want Iran to stand on its own feet. Every country stands on its own feet because of its youth. By means of one of their approaches (to the matter of our youth) they made them addicted to these narcotics, because (they knew) once a person becomes addicted to heroin, he cannot be called a human being any longer! He is just a creature who breathes; he can never become anything (useful), he cannot manage an organization, he cannot reflect on matters vital to the country; and similarly in case of the centers of prostitution that they had set up. Wherever you went, you would find such a center. These people who had become accustomed to this practice used to gather (in such places). They are young. When a youth becomes accustomed to (frequenting) these centers of prostitution, he becomes totally obsessed by it. He can no longer think about the state of his country; he is not able to think about who is running the country and how. He is not concerned with it. He only wants to see whether this center pleases him more, or that one! This is just what he is interested in. They dragged a large number of our youth to these places. And it was the same in the case of the cinemas of that time. I am not aware of their present condition. The cinemas of that time were also like this in that the people who had become addicted to them used to frequent them. They were no longer able to think; to sit down and think about their country's needs and about the people cheating them. Such thoughts never occurred to them; they never reflected on these matters. Whatever they had to say concerned that cinema screen and those films. They had so made the cinema—that ought to teach, train and correct the young people—as to drag the youth into corruption. If those wise ones who invented these things did it to control us according to their own reasoning, it was done for the purpose of taking our youth from us. But if they invented them for themselves, it is possible that they had the right motives for doing so.

The mission of the mass media

But the press, cinema, television, radio, magazines—all of these—exist for the sake of serving the country. They must be of service (to the country). It is not that anybody starts publishing a magazine and post whatever he likes in it, and any picture that attracts more buyers; post provocative pictures, nauseating pictures in it so that the number of buyers increase! And it is called a “periodical”; and I should say, the person is a writer and also wants freedom (of the press)! It has to be seen what he is doing , what service he is

doing for this country, what he is doing with his pen, whether he is destroying our children by means of his pen or training them. In the days of this father and his son, the print media were based on calculated plans; not haphazardly but calculated! They were in the service of the foreigners; they were serving the foreigners though they themselves did not realize it. But they had very calculatedly arranged that the magazine definitely contain faces of such-and-such type, to have things that generate crookedness so that when our children and youngsters become accustomed to them (watching films) they should, then, not think of anything else; they should be stopped from thinking about other things. It has, hitherto, been so. Should it, henceforth, be the same? If it is to be so, we will have obtained only the word “republic” from the “Islamic Republic”; the rest will be that same *taghut*, that same situation that existed.

The criteria of an Islamic magazine

If our youth, our writers, our preachers, and our thinkers have woken up, everything should now change in form. The magazines ought to serve the country. Serving the country lies in giving training: training the young; building human beings, worthy human beings and thinkers so that they would be useful to the country. A magazine should be such that when someone reads it and sees a picture in it, the picture should be one that rouses him to confront others (enemies). If it contains a topic, it should be a topic that prepares him to safeguard his independence, his freedom and his country. If the magazine is this kind of a magazine, it is then an Islamic magazine; an Islamic Republic magazine. If a magazine has the same features as before, and though toned down a bit, is still the same; it must not be called a magazine of the Islamic Republic if it is like that. It ought to be named a *taghut* magazine that is being published in a place which is said to be the Islamic Republic! And the same applies to all other things.

The print media and the (spiritual) growth of the workforce

The nation of Iran, the Muslim people of Iran did not want the name to be changed with the content remaining the same as it was or worse than that. They wanted the country, in which everything had been destroyed and which had been devastated and ruined, to change; to return to what it was, the most important aspect of it being the people. A country is a country if its people, its inhabitants are upright. If they are not upright, the country cannot be a good one. All these treacheries done to this country occurred because we did not have proper people. They would not have occurred if we had proper

people. They made our country devoid of proper people. Mr. Bazargan¹ told me last night that no matter how much they search, they cannot find them (suitable people)! He is right. Efforts were made for fifty years to prevent proper people from emerging; efforts for fifty years, fifty-odd years! Such efforts were also made before, but most of them were in these fifty-odd years when this treacherous father and son were in this country, and all the powers made efforts and kept them in power. And they (father and son) with all the power they had emptied out this country! And the important part of it is that they deprived it of its manpower. They destroyed our youth, our youthful force under various pretexts; by means of misleading names and in various ways. "We (the ex-regime) want free men, free women!" "The whole country is now free!" "These farmers are farmers now; they are no longer peasants!" These poor farmers came into these slums, the slums around Tehran and the provinces because they had been stopped from farming. They also had nothing. And they became "farmers"! The poor people became slum-dwellers! Wherever you see, they have wrought destruction.

The growth of the workforce

What is worse than all the acts of treachery at a certain time is to keep our workforce backward and not allow it to develop. The greatest service is to help our workforce develop. The onus of this lies on the newspapers, the magazines, radio-television, the cinema, and the theater. They can strengthen our workforce and train it properly, and their service could be valuable. It could also be like what was during the time of the past regime when everything was a mess; everything was in the service of the imperialists. They, themselves, were not aware of what they were doing. Many people did not know. They did not know that a picture of a naked woman (in a periodical) works up many a youth; destroys them. A magazine appearing weekly, for example, with ten such pictures in it deprives us of several youth. They were either not aware of this, or they belonged to them (the ex-regime); we do not know. You can save your country by changing yourselves. But if you remain as you were and just change the name, you will not be able to manage it. A country cannot be managed just because of its name. A country cannot become Islamic because of the name "Islamic Republic", or by voting

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

for an Islamic republic. An Islamic country must be Islamic in essence. You who publish magazines could be of service. By means of your articles, your wholesome articles, you can turn our youth into stalwarts. You should aim to derive strength from the committed Islamic and humane writers. Write good articles; write about the problems and their solutions. Criticize everything. And you can (on the other hand) also publish those pictures and those topics, so that you lose the youth and destroy them.

May God favor all of you and all of us so that we may be of service.

Decree

Date: July 7, 1979 [Tir 16, 1358 AHS / Shaban 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The necessity of Aqa Nayyari proceeding to Miyaneh

Addressee: Hadi Nayyiri

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Hadi Nayyiri—may his blessings last:

It is hoped that your exalted honor be safe from all misfortunes and always engaged in fulfilling your divine duties. In the meantime, it is heard that you have migrated to the holy city of Qum and intend to stay there. However, considering the situation in the region, the critical times and the wish of the esteemed people of Miyaneh for you to return, it is necessary for you to proceed to that town again and, as usual, engage yourself in setting right the social and religious affairs. It is obvious that by going there, the esteemed inhabitants will be able to benefit from your guidance and counsel, and also appreciate your presence. I beseech the Almighty God to give everybody success in serving Islam and the Muslims. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-Muazzam 12, 1399 AH

Speech

Date: July 7, 1979 [Tir 16, 1358 AHS / Shaban 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Safeguarding victory more difficult than (attaining) the victory itself

Audience: Various strata of the people and the Islamic guards of Hisarak, Karaj

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance of safeguarding victory

I will say a few words about the things that have occurred and what has to be done in the future:

We have a duty regarding past events which, thanks to God, passed off well. What caused this nation to take this path and attain victory? What has to be done for this victory to endure? How often has an army or a people, attained victory over another army or people, and have even given a good account of themselves, but have not been able to safeguard their victory. Many a conqueror fought, advanced and achieved victory but was not able to safeguard it. On reaching a certain point, some factors would arise to rob them of their victory, and so they would suffer defeat. This ought to serve as a lesson to those that have triumphed in the field (of battle) but still have a lot way to go. In the wide-ranging wars that occurred, there were leaders, with large, well-equipped armies at their disposal, who seized territory and advanced like Hitler who took France and, attacking the Soviet Union, was able to seize part of it but because of the emergence of certain factors, he suffered a defeat there itself that ultimately forced him—as it is said—to take his own life. We should not become proud of this victory that we have gained though it was a great one; that is, it was a victory that was unlikely. Our actions were, perhaps, thought to be imprudent. Even toward the end when that little man¹ had gone and Bakhtiyar had taken his place, the ignorant advisors were again advising us to come to terms with them! And that the Regency Council must be confirmed and then the deputies nominated, after which the matter should be brought to an end through them. Perhaps these people did not think the pressure being applied by certain people to be right. You have now achieved a victory, thanks to God. It was a great victory in that you not only defeated a powerful entity, but also curtailed the power of the foreigners. We have to thank the nation for this. The service it rendered,

¹ It refers to Muhammad Rida Shah Pahlavi.

the unity of expression that it engendered, the efforts it made, the sacrifices it made, and the devotion it gave will be rewarded in the Presence of God, the Blessed and Exalted, and is uppermost in the mind of the Master of the Age (a). We have progressed well so far and have achieved good results as well. But our work is unfinished. We have neither a permanent government—we have an interim government, a good one but transitional nonetheless—nor a constitution which is the basis of a country. And we lack a president and a consultative assembly that are the bedrock of a government. All these (organs) have to be in place. What we have achieved so far was because of the vote and the referendum that eliminated that regime and brought the Islamic Republic in its place. Iran is now known to the world as an Islamic republic. But it is an Islamic republic for which we have merely voted; we have no Majlis, no president and no constitution. We have to carry out these tasks. Therefore, we are halfway, something like a triumphant army that has fought and captured a place but does not know if it can retain it. Following our victory, we do not know what our fate is going to be with all these plots and these dissensions that are there and these activities that are going on. We are worried. What is our duty today? If we want our victory, which has reached this stage, to last to the very end, what do we have to do so that it is preserved and does not self-destruct as happened in the case of Hitler.

The factors of defeat: apathy and attention to personal interests

We have to understand why we triumphed. Once we understand this, we must then endeavor to safeguard the factor that brought us victory. If not, it would be like a conquering army that failed to safeguard its victory after having achieved it. Many of the conquests that took place could not be maintained; the victors relinquished their hold and departed. Even Nadir Shah, who went and captured India, saw that he was unable to hold on to it; so he made an agreement and returned.

Safeguarding a system, safeguarding a victory, is more difficult than the victory itself. And the reason is this: When some people are in the process of attacking a fortress, all they have in mind is to seize that fortress. They do not think of anything else. Nobody thinks of what he is going to have for dinner when night comes. Nobody thinks of lunch. They do not think about their children being unwell. They have no such thoughts whatsoever. All the faculties of every individual are directed at capturing the fortress, taking hold of it. A number of people gather together; all of the same opinion. All the various forces collect and carry out their attack. They gather with the same aim of capturing the fortress. They reach the fortress and take hold of it.

When they are seated inside the fortress and realize that they have, thanks to God, captured it, the slackness begins to emerge. Weariness, weakness and differences may set in within the fortress itself among these individuals—who had once advanced so strongly—causing them to lose their power. They had so far had the same opinion regarding this conquest and this victory, but now that they see that they have triumphed, they revert to the grievances that have, the condition of their lives and their children, the disputes that some of them have against certain others, and the grudges they bear.

The negative effect of differences and apathy following victory

That apathy and these differences following the victory render the victor incapable of safeguarding his victory, and those who have been vanquished begin to forge unity among themselves because of being obsessed with their defeat. Many such cases have occurred. On that side, the defeated ones, because of the complex they have developed, arrange for the small groups to join together and attain unity. On this side, the victors, not being able to comprehend properly the profundity of the problems, begin to relax. They become apathetic and develop deep differences; they drift away from one another. They triumphed when they were together. But now the defeated ones join together while the victors go their separate ways. What will it result in? It will result in that secret of your victory emerging among them, and that factor which was the cause of their defeat, appearing among you. So what do we have to do?

The magnificence of the Iranian Revolution

The victory that you gained was not a small one. We do not still appreciate it adequately. The people who come from abroad; from America, Britain, the West, and the foreign countries, sometimes tell us that the Iranians are not aware of what they have accomplished! They do not know what a victory they have achieved. It was a victory that amazed the whole world as to how a people, without anything in their hands, overcame a power for whose sake all the global powers had gathered together. Do you think that there was only Muhammad Rida together with America? This was not the case! There was Muhammad Rida supported by all the governments; Muslim and non-Muslim. All of them stood behind him. Was it for no reason that they did not allow us into Kuwait? They bore no enmity toward us. The reason was that they (Kuwait) backed him. Was it for no reason that they did something so that we could not remain in Iraq? Was it for no reason that I dropped (the idea of going to) the Muslim countries and went abroad to a

country of unbelievers?! All these (occurrences) had reasons to them. I saw what Iraq was doing. And I saw what Kuwait was doing in that I was not allowed to go from one side of the city to the other side in order to board a plane and depart. They created such obstacles. I was told to return to the place from where I had come. This was because all of them were the supporters of that regime. At that time all the big powers, too, stood by him. Some countries, such as America and British, would explicitly say so, while certain others were not explicit about it, but were supporting him all the same. The reason was that they considered their interests to be tied to his remaining in power; and they were sorry when he left. While all the world powers were against 35 million people; the Iranian people, these world powers opposed to us were nevertheless unable to keep him in power. What was the cause of this victory? Were we capable of it? No! It was faith, and the favor of God. When you become tired of the oppression and turn to Islam, God, the Blessed and Exalted, helps you; the angels help you. These angels that used to help the small groups of people in the Islamic wars enabled them to overcome large groups. But the people there were not aware of this. The Prophet knew through revelation. If the Prophet were present now, he would have, perhaps, said that you gained this victory because the angels approved of you. All of you wanted Islam; you wanted the true religion, and disregarded the corrupt regime. This was the cause of your victory.

Unity is the key to victory

These two utterances: everybody together in unity of expression and everybody for Islam, were the ones that were the secret of your victory, and also your abidance by the noble verse: "*And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate.*"¹ This verse has this key in that (it says that) it wants all of you to become connected to God and not be separated from one another. The society must remain together and be heedful of God. And there must be no discord in (running) your affairs. This was the cause of a few people, lacking in the implements of war but possessing fists and faith, overcoming a large number of people and those whose interests were at stake. Their vital interests were in danger, and they were his (Shah's) supporters. Nobody was able to keep him (on the throne). We have come up to here; so we are victors that have covered half the way. What do we have to do from now onward in order to take this victory to the end and safeguard it; to preserve this victory? Let us not become like Hitler whom they drove

¹ Surah Al-i Imran 3:103.

back; whom they slapped in the face and sent back, compelling him to commit suicide! What we must do is to safeguard this key; these two utterances. One is not to get separated from one another.

Certain hands are now at work to take this key away from us. There are hands that have, unfortunately, misled our friends; not those enemies; they have even misled our friends and are sowing the seeds of discord and separation in this country—this country in which the people everywhere, from the center to the borders, used to utter one word. They would say: “Islamic Republic”. As the prelude to this they would say: “not this regime”. This was so from the center to the borders. From whichever side you went and whenever you went. You would hear this utterance. The people that wanted to plunder us understood that the secret of our victory was this unity of expression and our aim was to be united in purpose. Nobody pulled us in a certain direction. Everybody said the same thing. All of them said: “Islamic Republic”. Now that we have come up to here, the people who perceived this fact that the unity of expression and unity of purpose—all the people together, everybody together clamored for Islam—triumph, want to take away this secret from us now. They want to take away our “togetherness” and also, the “Islam” part of it. The devils are now thinking of depriving you of these two utterances that formed the basis of your victory; the key to your victory. If you do not protect it, and if the devils, God forbid, prevail over you and take your victory secret from you, our country will end up as Hitler said: when he had come half the way, he was beaten, driven back and thrown out! We have to safeguard this key.

Eschewing discord and factional tendencies

According to the newspapers, you can see that nearly one hundred groups have emerged in Tehran. They have announced their formation, groups and groups of them. Even though they are nothing—they are nothing compared to the nation—they have set the alarm bells ringing in that they want to deprive us of this key to victory which was our unity. At that time, we had brought all the groups together; the nation had cemented all the groups. In contrast, now that you have reached this stage, the bonds are coming apart and group after group is appearing. Who are they? What party; who are they? What party; who are they? What front? Many of them bear the name “Islam”. But apart from it not being right to break up at this time, splitting into groups and groups, and district by district is not the proper thing to do now. Our present situation is such that we still have to pass these stages so that we are able to claim victory. And then we have to maintain it. We

have to safeguard it constantly. But at present, it is a partial victory; not a complete one. We have moved ahead to some extent; but a further distance remains. If they now overpower us at this halfway stage and we fall apart while they gradually begin to unite from the lower levels, it would be like the case of that conqueror who captured the fortress and then saw his army beginning to slacken and separate, and vanquished inhabitants of the fortress begin to unite and combine... become one. The result would be that after some time, this victorious army will be defeated and driven out of the fortress. If we do not safeguard this secret—by “we” I mean the whole of Iran: the clergy, academicians, Islamic guards, businessmen, employees, laborers, farmers; all of us have this duty—and do not preserve this victory, if this magnificent conquest of yours is not safeguarded while we are still on the way; and while they are joining together, we are breaking up into groups, (we will then lose out). At present, there are many underground, deviated groups that are linking up and getting together. Added to them are the foreign hands. Those hands and helpers from abroad are assisting them and aggravating this matter. Moreover, people are entering from the borders and weapons are being brought into the country! Such things are happening. Inside the country itself, these kinds of connections are being established; the groups are gathering together. They are joining up; we are dispersing! Seeing yourselves victorious, we tended to becoming slack, and are now moving apart from one another. They saw themselves defeated, and developed a complex. But they have started to link up and are dispersing us. They are taking our secret from us and are acting upon it. The key to victory; that is, one of the keys which is that unity of expression and that togetherness. They are depriving us of our unity; they are breaking up the united people into groups and groups. Sir, it is not for nothing that a hundred groups have suddenly—in about a month or a little more—appeared in Tehran! It is not an ordinary matter that a group of people would want to do such things (forming parties). They want them (parties)! This is a plot; there is something behind the scene, some hand that is behind all this. Those people that are decent and well intentioned are neglectful; they must wake up. Those that are satans are acting according to a plan. If the groups of people that have love for Islam, for their country and nation, end their discord, there will be nothing much left for those people; they will not have hundred groups anymore. The people from that side are coming together, and those from this side are moving apart. The result will be that in the event of our becoming lax and negligent, God forbid, and the satans uniting, we will one day open our eyes when a coup d'état has taken place and has upset everything! All the pains you took

and sacrifices you made up to now will go to waste and your efforts will come to naught.

What is to be done? At this time, we should not trumpet our achievements. We should loudly say that we have to accomplish this task. A conquering army should not sit down and talk about its conquest. This eulogizing the victory causes them (conquerors) to become assured that the matter is, thanks to God, over, and this gives rise to apathy. On the other hand, we ought to say that we have to go forward. You must safeguard this great victory that you achieved with your cries of “*Allahu akbar*”, and succeeded with your divine power.

The need to safeguard the key to victory

The month of Ramadan is now approaching; a very noble month. It is now the month of Shaban. The Muslims must fill these mosques with people. They must fill these Islamic strongholds with people and tell them about current matters and also make their voices heard there. We, at present, need “*Allahu akbar*” (a rallying cry); we need it more than the time when that little man was here. We are in greater need of gatherings at this time. The weapon is in your hands. You will have everything if you are able to keep it; if you are able to hold on to it. You have faith; so you should keep it. You were a nation that had seen a lot of suffering. Since the time you opened your eyes and became conscious of things, (the name) “Security Organization” (SAVAK) had been falling frequently being heard. You had been in constant fear lest it do something; lest a policeman do something. You emerged victorious because of this hatred that you had developed for this regime, and that regard that you had developed for Islam.

Safeguard this unity of expression, and this faith; this faith that makes our dear youth—our very dear youth—come with a request to pray for them to attain martyrdom. These young men aged 30, 20, 25 and younger—18—come and ask us to pray for them to get martyred. This feeling, this transformation, that took place in our society was the secret of our success; retain it. Preserve this spirit, this great spirit, this divine, heavenly spirit, and abstain from this discord and divisions. I am telling everybody. I am addressing every place where my voice can be heard. In a country that has achieved a partial victory, it is meaningless to let various groups be established at the present time, and for them to do whatever they want afterward. Let us become firmly established, our economy be set right and our agriculture set straight. Let us at least not extend our hand to others to give us wheat, barley, etc., and take everything we need from others. Let

these matters be set right a little. For God's sake if you are aware of Him, for the nation's sake if you love the nation and for the country's sake if you want your country, do not be deceived by these few people that are doing things to destroy whatever we have. They tried as much as they could to prevent cultivation. And then they would not allow the harvest to be reaped. Now that the harvest has been gathered, they are setting fire to it! Do they pity the people? They are destroying the basic foodstuffs of a nation in this manner, yet they say that they are "nationalists", and that they are friends of the nation. It is not so. Our dear youth should not be deceived by those people whose aim is to serve but do not know the way of doing so. They should stop getting dispersed, and stop setting up various groups.

The topics are many but I am not able to continue any longer; I leave it to you. Today, Islam has been placed on our shoulders for us to safeguard. The responsibility for it rests with us; it rests with the nation; safeguard it. You the Islamic guards can be of service to this movement, and you can also do something for us to lose Islam, God forbid. You, the Islamic guards, if you really guard Islam and wish to protect the Islamic nation, be careful that you, yourselves, do not take a wrong step. You are now the guards of Islam. If they see any wrongdoing on your part, they will say that Islam is like this. If they see any wrongdoing on the part of the clergy, they will say that such is Islam. You must discharge your duties of guarding Islam, the Islamic Republic and the Islamic country. You who are now serving in this very noble profession and have on this very auspicious uniform; must appreciate it. You will not be blamed if you commit an offense at this time; they will blame Islam. They will say that the Islamic Republic, too, is just this. At that time the Security Organization was troubling the people, and now the Islamic guards are doing the same thing! They will bury our school, this great school of ours. If it suffers a defeat in this campaign, it will be buried and nobody will be able to disinter it. Do something so that you do not suffer a defeat. Do something so that our school is not defeated.

Discharging humanitarian and Islamic duties

You act according to your humanitarian and Islamic duties and we, too, will do the same, God willing, and all the groups as well, so that we can retain this victory which we will take to the very end. And so we will be able to offer Islam to the world, and show the world that we have such a commodity; that Islam is such a thing. Now that our nation has been blessed with this victory, if, God forbid, the committees are to commit act of aggression, if, God forbid, the Islamic guards are to carry out aggressive acts,

if the clergy, God forbid, are to act against clerical principles, the government acts in a way contrary to an Islamic government, the army acts in a way contrary to an Islamic army, and, similarly, the other organs; if such a situation is to arise, it will be reflected throughout the world. The people who intend to discredit this campaign—Islam has enemies—will make it known in Iran and abroad that the pawns have changed but the practices are the same! The pawns have changed—at that time it was Nasiri¹ and now it is Basiri.² Of what use is an act if we cannot adapt our practices to the demands of the Islamic Republic. If we the *pasdars* of (Islamic) principles and you the—*pasdars* of Islam—I hope that all of us, praise be to God, be *pasdars*—do not adapt our actions to those duties of a *pasdar* they will accuse us—they will not accuse us as such; they are not bothered about individuals any more but they will accuse the school—and say that this is the same monarchical regime with different people and a different name. They will say that at that time it was called a *shahanshahi* (imperial) regime and now it is called “Islamic Republic”; at that time they used to say *Shahanshah* [King of the Kings] and now they say somebody else; but the essence is the same, the content is the same, the difficulties are the same and the acts of aggression are the same. If you do something, they will magnify it. If somebody commits aggression, they will not say that he has done it; they will say that the guards of Islam are like that. They will attribute his action, not to him but to Islam, and say that this is what Islam is! They will say that this is the Islam for which they (the masses) used to shout: “We want Islam; we do not want the monarchy; we want an Islamic government.” They will say that this is their Islam. They will talk like this about us.

Maintaining Islam’s respect and reforming oneself

Islam needs you today; the Holy Quran needs you. Reform yourselves! You, too, reform yourselves. This class (of the people) should also reform itself. A person anywhere ruins (the name of) Islam if he appears—let us suppose—in clerical guise and with a few of these riflemen around him, acts contrary to the duties of a clergyman. They will not say today that so-and-so has committed this act; they will say that this is what the Islamic Republic is. They will make it known that the Islamic Republic is like this. Your duty is vital, your responsibility is heavy; and all of you will be held responsible if one of you does something and the others remain silent. And he is also responsible. If someone commits an offense, the others should question him.

¹ Nimatullah Nasiri: the once head of the Security Organization (SAVAK).

² Basiri: allusion to a hypothetical person, not much different from Nasiri.

There is no need to come to blows; rebuke him. If a person commits an offense and twenty of you tell him not to do so, and that it is not a proper thing to do, it will have an effect on him. If a clergyman; one who is outwardly a clergyman, does something wrong and the other clergymen crowd around him and ask him why he is doing such a thing, he will not do it again. If I commit an offense and all of you crowd around me and question me as to why I am doing it, I will desist from doing so. All of you are responsible; all of us are responsible. Our responsibility today is great. We are at the halfway stage, and I am afraid of our fate turning out like that of Hitler.

May God keep you safe. May He acquaint us with our duties and protect our country from all evil. May He turn those of us who are naïve into wise ones. May He guide those who are treacherous to the country.

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

Speech

Date: July 7, 1979 [Tir 16, 1358 AHS / Shaban 12, 1399 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: Education, Islam, freedom, and civilization

Audience: A group of women of the Wali al-Asr Maktab¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The importance of education in the advancement of the human being

I hope that the sisters, brothers, all the strata of society, and all of us be the servants of Islam and the Master of the Age (*a*). We are in a country that belongs to the Master of the Age, and the duty of those who live in his country is a grave one. We cannot say that we are under the banner of the Master of Age (*a*) in word, but are not following his path in practice, just as we cannot say that we have an Islamic republic but our deeds do not conform to it and to Islam. You who have formed an organized group in the holy name of Wali al-Asr, are occupied in striving, serving, propagating the precepts of Islam, and teaching and training.

Teaching ought to be accompanied by training; proper training, Islamic training. Teaching alone without training is of no use. In fact, it is harmful at times. Training without teaching is also ruled out; it will bear no results. The two of them should be together. Teaching and training ought to be blended together. The human being is a creature that develops with teaching and training. Man's growth is like that of a vegetable and animal, a trait he shares with plants and animals. All of them—this caravan—are moving together; and man is a part of it. He is a vegetable first and then an animal like all of the other animals and is with them to the limits of "animality", just as he is with the plants to the limits of their nature. He is an entity that is both as vegetable and an animal. He moves with all the animals to the limits of animality and from there his path proceeds further. Animals are associated with man in these material matters: eating, sleeping and procreating. All the animals are like this. If man is merely this, then he, too, is like the rest of the animals even though his food differs from theirs. Even the animals differ in what they eat. Some are carnivorous; some are herbivorous. Man is also one of those that are herbivores, but now has also become a carnivore. If a human being does not receive instruction and training—both of them together—he

¹ *Maktab*: a traditional school where basic religious teaching is imparted.

will remain at this level of animality. And without having teaching and training, he is worse than all the other animals.

The desires and passions of man

The extent of animal activity is very limited, and the extent of its aggression and encroachment is also limited. It finds a prey and eats it. And with the exception of certain animals, it does not store food; it goes after its other chores and falls asleep. The human being; that is, this animal that has not yet reached the level of humanity, this kind of an animal that we call "human being" because he might become one later on, knows no bounds. There is neither limit to his lust, nor to his desires and aspirations which ought to exist. Suppose there is a person; one of these. At first, he thinks to himself that if he had a nice house, it would be enough for him. If there was an orchard beside it, it would suffice. He acquires an orchard but sees that it is not enough. He tells himself that it would not be bad to have a farm, so he acquires one. And then he thinks that it would be good if he also owned a hamlet! He gets one. The more his acquisitions, the more it increases; his greed increases, his aspirations also increase. You may notice that those who have a country want another one; they seize countries. If a person takes the whole world, he thinks of going to the moon. When he goes and takes the moon, he begins to think of going to the planet Mars. Even after taking that, he goes after other places; there is no end to it. Man is a creature that God has created in such a way that, within the limits of animality, he has more of what the animals want. And there are no limits to what he wants. Animals become lustful at a particular time; when they need to reproduce. They are not like that at other times. But the human being is different. Man's lust has neither bounds nor limits. It also has no particular system except what the prophets regulated to some extent. Man is not concerned with such things. Even his nearest kin makes no difference to him. His daughter and a stranger make no difference to him. He is such an animal; he has no limits in anything (he does). You are creatures that have no limits. If this limitlessness is directed toward animality, the result will be an animal without bounds; an animal that differs from all other animals. The passions of animals are limited, their desires are limited; it is man that knows no limits. If he remains in this animalistic state and is only concerned with these animal activities, these passions, these animal desires and wants, all of which are related to nature—all the desires and wants that are related to natural activities are animal ones—and if he remains at this level, he will be an animal to the end. His appearance here is human. When this curtain is drawn aside and that

world emerges, his appearance will take another form. It is not that he will assemble there in a human face. If he becomes a human being here, he will be one there. If one is able to make a human being of himself here, his human state, on going there, will emerge in all perfection and in a way that the eyes of this world cannot behold; it will be realized there in all perfection. And his not being able to do so means that he has relinquished his self-control.

The truth about freedom in the West

Well, there are many who have no control (over themselves). They are liberated; they are free. This is the very freedom that the Westerners want. They are free to do whatever they want; whatever things they want to do: they are free to oppress the people; they are free to illegitimately indulge their passions and they are free to slander and write against any and everybody. They are free. This freedom, which is the same limitlessness of this kind of animal, has no bounds for the person. The freedom is unlimited. The more of anything he does, the more freedom he wants in it.

The difference between the schools brought by the prophets and other schools

If we do not have (proper) training and instruction, the training that the prophets brought for us, it is because the schools other than those of the prophets did not know the right way. We are now proceeding along a path which we ourselves do not understand. The path that they have shown us to take is the straight path that ends in a place which we are not able to comprehend. This is the path the prophets have shown us. The schools other than those of the prophets are not at all aware of what lies beyond nature. It is the school of the prophets that also deals with issues beyond the physical world. The other schools do not discuss such issues. Yes, they do say that it is a fallacy! A person who does not at all know what lies beyond nature, just sits in his house and says, "No, there is no such thing." The prophets knew the way; they knew from where to proceed and how to proceed. It is the path that leads one to his destination only by means of the prophets and the training they give. If the straight path that leads human beings to their destination is not that of the prophets, they will go astray; they will go either this way or that. It is the prophets that guide us to the straight path and show us the manner of teaching and training so that it is also useful for that world—both this world and the next—not that they are not concerned with this world. They neither condemn nor contradict this world that has all the

things that you name. They are against worldly attachments. People confuse these two issues.

Islam is against worldly attachments; not against civilization

The people who find fault with Islam say that it is against all the civilizations; that it is opposed to all of them. This is not true. Islam is not against any civilization. In fact, Islam gave rise to civilization. It civilized the world—almost all the populous places—over a period of 600 to 700 years, though it had not become firmly entrenched itself. Islam is not opposed to civilization. It is opposed to being attached to the world and limiting all our desires and aspirations to the world. It is opposed to all our efforts, like those of animals, being devoted to our needs, and our whole ambition being only to sleep well, eat well and indulging our passions well. It is against worldly attachments in that man be concerned only about his “fodder”! Islam is against this. The prophets acknowledge all the higher civilization within the constraints of spirituality. They acknowledge all the manifestations of civilization, but within limits; not absolute and unrestrained. They did not prevent passion; they prevented its overindulgence. They stopped such freedom and license. In connection with carnal matters, somebody who is our acquaintance had wittily told us in that past period that these matters had been solved in the early days of creation; the donkeys had solved them! This (matter of) freedom that you say had been solved is the same freedom that the animals had at the beginning of creation. The prophets came to stop such freedom. They are not against the matter per se; they had even invited the people to it. This call to the people to get married; this commendation of marriage to such an extent, was to encourage marriages and prevent perversion. The prophets would prevent such unrestrained passions and these centers of corruption and prostitution; not passion per se. Passion itself is natural and ought to fulfill its role, but within constraints. If the instruction and training as brought by the prophets, and given under their tutelage, takes effect, people becoming proper human beings in accordance with a system, will become a reality. And there will be no more of these devourers and devoured, these encroachments, these acts of aggression, and these class differences. And that side (the hereafter)—which is the most important—that eternal existence that has no end, will also be secured. You who are now connected to Wali al-Amr (*a*) should make efforts to give your attention to the school of Wali al-Amr whose purpose is to teach and train this human being in order to take him from the level of animality to that of humanity, and for him to develop and be trained as a human being, and for his

education to be of the right kind. May God make all of you successful, God willing.

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

Decree

Date: July 8, 1979 [Tir 17, 1358 AHS / Shaban 13, 1399 AH]¹

Place: Qum

Subject: Convening the court and looking into the condition of the prisoners

Audience: Sayyid Kiramatullah Malik Husayni, Yasuj

In His Most Exalted Name

Shaban al-Muazzam 13, 1399 AH

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Kiramatullah Malik Husayni—may his graces last:

It is hoped that your esteemed self remains safe from all troubles, and that you will be successful in discharging your Islamic duties. Meanwhile, considering the condition of the prisoners and the accused, it is necessary that you take early action to convene the court and look into their cases, and pardon and free those whose sins are minor. The others should be tried according to religious laws, and the religious verdict issued in their cases, carried out. With regard to the condition of the region, you must make adequate efforts, in whatever way you deem fit, to restore calm and security. You must also invite and guide the esteemed inhabitants to forge unity, and to eschew differences and discord. You must also neutralize the plots of the enemies of Islam and the country in a prudent manner, and remind the people of their grave duty at this sensitive time.

I pray to the Almighty for everybody's success in serving Islam and the Muslims and in severing the links of the foreigners and the enemies. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The date 4/26/1358 has been given in *Sahifeh-ye Nur*, but the date given in the handwritten manuscript is Shaban 13, 1399 AH corresponding to 4/17/1358 AHS.

Speech

Date: July 8, 1979 [Tir 17, 1358 AHS / Shaban 13, 1299 AH]

Place: Qum

Subject: The duty of the clergymen, the prayer leaders and the preachers

Audience: Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi; preachers from Tehran

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Profound belief in Islamic oration

I must say a few sentences to the clergymen, the prayer leaders and the preachers concerning their duties in general, and then mention the difficulties that exist.

The gentlemen of the clergy, particularly the prayer leaders and the orators, are the spokesmen of Islam. If the government needs Islamic spokesmen, the orators are there. These gentlemen can be the spokesmen of Islam—the Islam that has everything in it—if they make themselves Islamic, the topics of the speeches are Islamic and emanate from clean Islamic hearts. They are then competent to be the spokesmen for Islam. The spokesmen of the other governments are not at all concerned whether they believe in their own words or whether the words come from the bottom of their hearts. They have nothing to do with the sincerity of their words or otherwise. Their only concern is to speak well and to enunciate any governmental issue nicely. Whether he believes it or not from the bottom of his heart is not his concern; and nor will anything be detracted from his speech.

But Islam is not like this. It does not pay as much attention to the tongue as it pays to the heart. The heart is the center; the essence of man is the center. If all the words one speaks are Islamic, but, God forbid, do not emanate from an Islamic heart, then that person is not worthy of preaching on Islamic issues even though he speak eloquently. And if the words pour out from an Islamic heart; that is to say, a heart that believes in Islam and in the fact that Islam is everything, that the school of Islam—together with divine schools which are all Islam as well—is the school that can train human beings in all their dimensions, establish the system in all its dimensions, and take the people to that place which is the position of humanity, and possessing such belief and faith, if a preacher preaches, a *mulla* (mullah) admonishes and a clergyman acts (according to his duties), with all their words emanating from such a heart, the clergyman, then, is an Islamic

clergyman, the preacher is also an Islamic preacher and the orators who speak from the pulpit are also the spokesmen for Islam. And the clergy, too, are the spokesmen of Islam.

The heart of man: the starting point of perfection

At first, it starts from the heart. Everything begins from the human heart. Not from this heart which is an animalistic one, but the human heart. Everything springs from the human heart. If the fountainhead of light and guidance is present in the heart, the tongue, too, will become enlightened by the light from the heart; the eyes, too, will become enlightened by it, and all the faculties of man will turn divine when the heart becomes so. That is, the human being will speak divine words when talking, and hear divine words when listening. And he will also tread the divine path. These are the same considerations for which the prophets had come to train human beings. They aimed to pull this animalistic human being, which is the same as, or even worse than, the other animals, from this quagmire and make a divine person out of him, a person steeped in the knowledge of God and the Unity of God, a person who does not do anything except that which is divine. *“And thou (Muhammad) threwst not when you didst throw, but Allah threw.”*¹ It does not mean that God has shot an arrow. It is the Hand (power) of God. You (Muhammad) have had no physicality in you for this shooting that you do to be ascribed to you. You are divine; a divine creature. All the aspects of a divine creature are divine. His shooting arrows is divine, his essence is divine; everything of his is godly.

The important duty of the clergy

We, the turbaned men, we who call ourselves clergymen—whether the preachers, the prayer leaders or the other segments—must endeavor to make this establishment an Islamic one. We who have been given such power by God—the power which He has bestowed upon us—were such because of the partial attention that had been given to Islam; as everybody had demanded it. We, you, did away with such powers. All the strata of the people had a hand in it: women, men, children, elders, clergymen, academicians; everybody. Now that we have eliminated these powers and claim that our government is an Islamic one and that our republic is an Islamic republic; we should not be content with the fact that we removed a name and replace it with another, or that we overthrew a regime and installed another one instead. In this clerical establishment, in this clerical environment, that has to do with people's

¹ *Surah al-Anfal* 8:17.

hearts, that invites the people and deals with their inner selves, you whose work entails dealing with people's lives, should at least endeavor to reform yourselves and your hearts so that when you ascend the pulpit, it should be like—of course, it is not possible—the pulpits of the partisans of that true preacher, Hadrat Amir (a), all of whose utterances issued forth from a divine heart: “A blow of Ali on the day of Khandaq is superior to and greater than the worship performed by the *jinn* and men.”¹ But this does not mean that this happened because of the fact that the entire world of *kufr* [unbelief] opposed Islam. Supposing that someone other than Hadrat Amir had delivered that blow and handed out that defeat, it would not have been clear whether it would have had any virtue, let alone being greater than even the mandatory daily prayers [*namaz*] of the prophets. It was a blow that had sprung from the soul of the heart of the Commander of the Faithful. The days that he used to strike (with his sword), the virtue in the strokes was greater because his heart was a divine one, one in which nothing could find its way but God. The worth of the stroke that springs forth from that heart, the determination that springs forth from that heart, is that which, he says, is greater than everything in the world. Of course, this position is not attainable for us and those greater than us, but we should try to the extent that is possible for us. Now that it is not attainable, let nothing be! Now that we cannot be Hadrat Amir (a), should we not even be his Shiah (partisan)?! No, he, himself, has said that we cannot be like that but we should assist him by being pious, and such things.

Clergymen: the spokesmen of Islam

You ought to be the spokesmen of Islam. This is your calling and, if properly carried out, is greater than all the other professions. The reason is that the aims of Islam are realized by means of your tongue. The aims of Islam and the responsibility that your profession carries are more important than everything else. If, God forbid, one of the persons who claim to be preachers or prayer leaders, or those who ascend the pulpit or enter the altar to pray; if he who sits on the pulpit says something contrary to the principles of Islam, it will not be like an ordinary person sitting in his shop and committing an offense such as shortchanging the people. It puts the school in danger. You are the spokesmen of Islam. If an Islamic spokesman says something at some time which is against Islamic programs and purposes, the responsibility for having said so is greater than what any ordinary man says. Either you must not enter this profession and make such claims, or if you do

¹ *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 39, p. 2; *Mustadrak-e Hakim-e Neyshaburi*, vol. 3 p. 32.

so, you must stand by it; all of us, every one of us. We must undertake to fulfill the obligations that this attire of our entails, and is said to be the robes of Islam and the clergy. We must endeavor to maintain the dignity of these robes that we say mark Islam. Not safeguarding their dignity, God forbid, means that we have taken them forcibly; we are swindlers. The reason is that we have put on this dress which we have seized but which should be worn by somebody else who is Islamic. We have to think about this. The first condition for being a clergyman—whether those that are preachers and orators dealing with the spirit and spirituality, or those that are prayer leaders, scholars, jurists and the like—is to accept responsibility. This is a matter that is important, difficult and entails responsibility for everybody to a greater or lesser extent. A person—let us suppose—during something wrong can, God forbid, mislead a whole country because of his wrongdoing. One can, God forbid, mislead a city, one can, God forbid, mislead a village and also a mosque. Of course, these people are different, but all of them have a responsibility in common. And all of them have it in common to discharge this responsibility properly. The establishment is now an Islamic one based on the people's vote.

Our system is no longer a monarchy. It is an Islamic Republic. But the only thing that has happened so far is that we voted for a certain purpose and the world also recognized Iran as an Islamic republic. But a part of the substance of this Islamic Republic concerns the government and governmental organizations which is not the topic of our speech of this time. The important part of it has to do with this establishment; this clerical establishment. We have to do something for this clerical establishment to become Islamic, so that we are able to say that we live in an Islamic republic. We are free now; we are not suppressed. Previously, we were not able to speak about Islamic issues and abide by Islamic principles as we should have. We were not free; the preachers and the prayer leaders were not free. We have now become free, but not free to say and do whatever we want. No; we are free in that we were not able to abide by Islam nor mention Islamic objectives before. Now we are free to speak on Islamic objectives.

All eyes are now fixed on this country and, perhaps more so, on this establishment that, in Islam, stand on top. They are instructors; their aim is to train, and they are the spokesmen for Islam. What are they doing? Is the situation the same as before, with just a change in name, or not? Are they at present making basic changes and also changing the condition? Have they changed? Just as their government changed from a *taghuti* one to an Islamic government, has this class also changed? All eyes are now watching to see

what this clerical class—whether the Islamic religious reference authorities, the *ulama* of Islam, the preachers of Islam, and all these people who speak on Islamic issues—that are of this establishment, are doing, and what their situation is at present. Has any change occurred in their mindset and their actions? Or are their mentalities and practices the same but with one name replacing another? And, likewise, in the government, the ministries, the government offices, and the army; this matter is the same everywhere.

The enemy assailing Islam on the pretext of the *ulama*'s actions

The eyes of the enemy and of those that are not our enemies are fixed on us. There are not just a few enemy eyes in Iran, and there are many abroad, that are watching us. They are watching us to see if they can find fault in us; to censure us; to make much of our faults so that they appear big; to multiply them a thousand times and to assail us in magazines and newspapers, explicitly abroad and in an indirect and veiled manner in Iran. They will not assail you and me; they will assail the school. The point is that because of our actions, they will be given an excuse to say that our school is like this; if some aberration is found in you, they will attribute it to the school itself. The reason is that all of them are concerned with the material matters. Whatever they have to do with Islam concerns its material aspects. But you and all of us claim that we deal with the people's spirituality. We wish to nourish their spiritual aspect. As we deal with the spiritual side of Islam and the realities of Islam, in case they see something amiss about us—the prayer leaders, the high-ranking figures, the preachers—they will not say that such-and-such preacher is like this. They will say that the entire clergy and all the preachers and orators of Islam are like this. After that, they will finally attribute the wrongdoing to Islam and say that Islam is actually this; that this government is the same as the previous one but with the name changed; that certain individuals, certain oppressors, have gone and other oppressors have taken their place; and that certain perverted ones have departed and others have come instead. They will say such things against us.

The social responsibility of the clergy

Our responsibilities today are not responsibilities concerning one's own person in that I am obliged to safeguard my prestige. Everybody has this duty. It is the duty of all to protect their honor and prestige. It is not up to him to disgrace himself. It is not a question of my own or your own prestige being marred at some time and we regaining our responsibilities to the extent we had. The question is that our school stands to be wiped out by our actions.

That is, now that we have got our Islamic Republic and made it loudly known that we do not want oppression but want justice, and now that we are more responsible than anybody else in implementing this justice, and in straightening out all the irregularities, if, God forbid, we do anything against the path of justice, it will constitute deviation. In such a case, the Islamic Republic will meet with defeat.

Islam will be wiped out if this Islamic Republic is defeated. Do not think that you will be able to make amends later on; such is the responsibility involved. The responsibility is one for which the prophets and the saints sacrificed their lives so as to fulfill it. All of them, whether the previous prophets or the Noble Messenger, offered their lives in order to safeguard their schools. All of you are aware of these past occurrences. They sacrificed everything of theirs to keep their schools safe and free from irregularities. The Doyen of the Martyrs (*a*) had staged that uprising because Muawiyah and his son had distorted Islam. Muawiyah was the congregational prayer leader, the Friday *imam* and also the preacher. He was also a drunkard and everything else; the school was being destroyed. It so happens at times that one may say that he is Rida Khan Pahlavi. Whatever wrong he does, will not harm the school. The people will say that he is that sort of a person. It can also happen that one says he is the caliph of the Apostle of God. He delivers the sermon, leads the congregational prayers and holds the caliphate of God's Apostle. But he does crooked things and commits sins in spite of his being the head of the caliphate of God's Messenger. This is different from the sins of Muhammad Rida and Rida (Khan).

The peculiarity of the school of the Doyen of the Martyrs (*a*)

The sin of Yazid was not killing the Doyen of the Martyrs. This was one of his lesser sins. His great sin was that he had distorted Islam. The Doyen of the Martyrs came to Islam's rescue and saved it. Narrating the tragedy of Karbala at commemorative gatherings is for the purpose of preserving his school. They who tell us not to narrate it are not at all aware of what his school was and its significance. They do not know that all this mourning and narrating have safeguarded this school. It is now 1,400 years that these sermons, narrations of the tragedy and breast-beating have safeguarded us and brought Islam up to here. Some of these young people who are not the type that bear malice think that we ought to talk about the topics of the day! Talking about the Doyen of the Martyrs is the topic of the day; it is always so. The Doyen of the Martyrs has always been bringing the topic of the day and placing it in our hands. All this lamentation, this narration of the tragic

events, this din and noise, the breast-beating, and these flocks of people have preserved the school. If it was just a holy person sitting all by himself in a room in his house, repeatedly reading the *Ashura* prayer (the special prayer commemorating the tenth of Muharram, the day of the tragedy) and counting beads, there would have been nothing left of the episode. A vociferous commemoration is needed.

The ways of safeguarding the school

Every school demands vociferation. Much should be made of it. No school can be preserved without such manifestations as mourning and lamentation over its cause. They are mistaken; they are but children! They do not know what the role of the clergy and the preachers in Islam is. Perhaps even you are not much aware of it! It is a role that has kept Islam alive. It is a flower that has been kept through repeatedly watering it. This mourning, this narration of the tragedy, has kept alive the school of the Doyen of the Martyrs. We must hoist a flag, recite sad songs, weep and wail for a martyr whom we lose. Others cry, others wail when one of them is killed. Supposing that a person belonging to a party is killed; commemorative meetings are held and people mourn for the dead person. This is a meeting, a mourning ceremony to revive the school of the Doyen of the Martyrs. These people do not understand (the import); they do not consider the issues involved.

It is this (tradition of) mourning that has kept this school alive up to now. And it is the recital of the sad songs and such things that have kept us alive. These are the things that have brought success to this movement. It would not have succeeded had there been no Doyen of the Martyrs. He is everywhere. Every place is Karbala. Manifestations of him are everywhere. All the pulpits are manifestations of the Doyen of the Martyrs. All the altars (praying) are there because of him.

Had it not been for the Doyen of the Martyrs, Yazid, his father and their descendants would have consigned Islam to oblivion. If Islam had been forgotten, a *taghuti* regime would have shown its face to the world. Muawiyah and Yazid had been presenting an Islamic government as a *taghuti* one. And they would have strengthened it (the *taghuti* one) and so taken it back to paganism had it not been for the Doyen of the Martyrs. Even if you and we were Muslims, we would be *taghuti* Muslims! Not the Muslims of Imam Husayn. He saved Islam. Should we remain silent over one who saved Islam and was killed in the process? We ought to mourn every day. We should speak from the pulpit every day to safeguard this school and these campaigns. These movements are indebted to Imam Husayn (a). These

people do not understand; they are children but they bear no malice. Well, yes, it is possible that some of them are malicious, and that some others are working according to a plan as it was in Rida Shah's time. But he (at first) did it out of ignorance and, later, out of understanding. He stopped the preachers from preaching. He treated the prayer leaders in another manner and stopped them. We could not hold a single commemoration service. It used to be said that in the whole of Qum, to the extent it was at that time, there was only commemorative meeting, held by Aqa Saduqi,¹ which would end in the night itself before the dawn call to prayers, or before sunrise. There was something to all this. It was not just by chance that Muhammad Rida came and prevented the preachers and the prayer leaders (from performing their functions) and make the clergymen dress like the others. No, it was a plot; a plot to crush this force—this force comprising the preachers and prayer leaders that had it in them to motivate this nation in such a way as to eliminate such a monarchy—and destroy it; to deprive us of this power.

The impact of the commemorative meeting

The political figures do not know what service the pulpit and the altar have rendered to this country. In case they are nationalists—we are not bothered whether or not they have God in mind—if they be nationalists and say that they love their country and their nation, they ought to increase these mourning services because these meetings have safeguarded your nation. It is these gatherings, these recitals (of the tragedy in Karbala) and this mourning that have safeguarded your country. Yes, in case they are the people who are implementing that plot designed to neutralize the power of Islam and of the clergy and the preachers, in order to pave the way for those who are bent on profiting—and have profited—they are, then, people of a different kind with whom we cannot talk. But there are others who go to the mosque, who listen to the preachers and the sermons, but when it comes to attending a mourning ceremony, they falter and fail. The reason is that they do not understand what it is. It is the mourning ceremonies that have safeguarded the pulpit and the altar. If it was not for them, there would have been neither pulpit nor sermon. The mourning ceremonies have preserved these. We must mourn for our martyrs; we must be vociferous and awaken the people.

¹ Aqa Muhammad Saduqi.

The aim is to save the school

There is, of course, another matter that ought to concern all of us. It is that we have to make the people understand that it is not that we merely want to acquire merit. It is the progress that we have to make. The Doyen of the Martyrs did not sacrifice himself for the sake of acquiring merit. This was not very important to him. He set forth to save this school, to advance the cause of Islam and to revive it. You recite sad songs, preach and deliver sermons, and by reciting mournful verses, drive the people to tears. And they weep and wail. All these things should be aimed at safeguarding Islam. We want to safeguard it by means of such loud lamentation. Your aim should be the preservation of this school—just as it has been preserved up to now—by this public mourning, weeping, recital of mournful songs and verses, and threnodies. The people should also be told and reminded, “Sir,” this matter of narrating the mournful events is not that I say something and the others cry. The point is that the school has been safeguarded because of this; this lamentation. Even appearing as if you are crying is also meritorious. The reason for this is that it helps this school; it is of help to it. It is a mistake on their part to look at one side of the matter and not the other. Unfortunately, we—I mean Islam—has always been afflicted by this one-sided view; it has always been so.

It appears in the narrations that Islam is (like) a stranger. It has been so from the beginning and still is. The reason is that a stranger is one whom nobody knows. It is present among the people, but nobody knows it. They do not know Islam. It has never been known for what it really is.

Censuring the one-sided outlook on Islam and the Quran

We had difficulties with the mystics for a long time. Islam had difficulties with them. They did a good job, but the trouble was that they would interpret everything in that way. Whatever verse of the Quran they dealt with would be interpreted from that angle, like the commentary of Mulla Abd ar-Razzaq.¹ Well, he is a very learned person possessing many virtues. But he has interpreted the Quran from that aspect. It seems that the Quran has nothing to do with such matters. We had difficulties also with another group who used to interpret all spiritual matters from this angle (worldly aspects). They have nothing at all to do with spiritual matters; as if to say that Islam has come to seize the world. Islam is also like Hitler who had come to seize the world and conquer countries. Islam has also come to conquer countries! I say that they have interpreted whatever concerns life,

¹ Abd ar-Razzaq Kashani: one of the mystic scholars of the 8th century AH.

whatever concerns nature, whatever matter they deal with, whatever spiritual matters there are, from this angle. Some of the commentaries; some of the people who want to show their superiority, for example, have, please note, interpreted all matters from worldly angle. They have sacrificed everything for the sake of animalistic considerations. The mystics have sacrificed everything for the sake of humanity. Well, it is good of them; at least they have done something good. But these people have been negligent about it. Islam is everything, sir. Islam has come to perfect man, who is everything; who is the whole world. The one who trains man ought to be familiar with the whole world and also familiar with all the stages of man so that he is able to take man to the levels that exist for him. He must be conversant with Islam in all its aspects.

A true expert on Islam

Somebody comes along and studies a few of the Islamic wars and later becomes an expert on Islam! Well, he is an expert on warfare. As regards Islam, he must say that he knows only this part of it. A *faqih* [jurist] has no right to say that he is an expert on Islam. He ought to say that he is an expert in Islamic jurisprudence and that he is familiar with it. He who knows better than all the others is the one who knows Islamic jurisprudence. A philosopher has no right to say that he is an expert on Islam. He ought to say that he understands a part of the Islamic contemplative sciences, for instance. Even he who has made a study of the government in Islam and has come to know what its circumstances have been has no right to say that he is an expert on Islam. He ought to say that he is an expert on Islamic government. The claim of being an expert on Islam can only be made by the one who is fully conversant with all the aspects of Islam and knows all the particulars of Islamic spiritualism and materialism. Ali ibn Abi Talib was an expert on Islam. His actions were wonderful. He was a marvelous creature. We, therefore, see that the jurists consider Hadrat Amir to be one of them. And so do the preachers, the athletes and the *zurkhaneh* [traditional gymnasium] sportsmen. The *zurkhaneh* sportsmen talk only about Ali when they come here. And you, too, do the same. He was such a wonderful person that everybody considers him to be one of them. He belongs to all, but is unique. He belongs to all because of the fact that each one of his characteristics attracts the attention of one group or the other; those that are very observant in this respect. He, therefore, also belongs to you in that respect, and to another group in another respect. It was not because of his possessing only one characteristic. Who is it that is everything!

The real aim still remains

My speech has turned lengthy and has inconvenienced the gentlemen. But we have to say what we ought to act now. At present, we are beset with many difficulties. That is to say, our difficulties now are more than the ones that were there prior to the Revolution. Before the Revolution, the issue was that there were two powers—one empty handed; the other possessing everything—that confronted each other. One is the power of faith; the other, the many satanic powers. It was a struggle; a conflict. There was no other aim. Everybody was following this path (of the revolution). Some of the people, who had an aim, were proceeding in line with it while the others who lacked the intention, were being pulled into the fray. When a people are on the move, even the one who does not want to join them is, perforce, pulled in. Now, if all of you start clamoring (for something) we will also inevitably do the same. Such is the predisposition of society and the people. All of them were pulled to one side. Everybody followed everybody else, their purpose being to smash this barrier. And thanks to God that they did smash it and went their way. At that time, the only matter was to go and smash the barrier. Everybody was shouting, “*Allahu akbar*”; even the little children. Though they did not know what they were saying, they learned to say it from their fathers. Even small children, sitting on the shoulders of their fathers, would follow suit and utter something. But now it is not like that. At present, an aim, which is our basic aim, remains while various currents and troubles have arisen. At that time, there was no talk of anything happening in the border regions. There was no talk about it. There was no talk of anything (contrary to the movement) being done in the factories. There was concord among the people. The factory workers, the staff, the *ulama*, you, and all the strata of the people had joined hands, clamoring for Islam. Though we were basically not very familiar with Islam, just this extent to which we clamored for Islam, the display of sincerity and Islamism and oneness of purpose made you victorious.

The alliance of the vanquished enemies

Various groups are hatching plots of the present time, and on the other hand, we, who were united and together at that time, are now, unfortunately, disintegrating from deep inside, while the ones who were defeated are increasing and getting united. It was just today that someone sent a letter—who was it; these things happen daily—to say that such and such people have formed an alliance in such and such a place. They have united and will, perhaps, do something within the next few days. Though it is hearsay, well,

they are busy. They will not succeed; but this is another matter. The point is that they are busy. If efforts are not made, they will succeed at some time or another. The difference between this time and that is that we used to get together in those days to carry out the task; and we did so. This solidarity is now coming apart; it is disintegrating from within. They, at that time, had lost their unity and were defeated. That is, the army turned away, the gendarmerie, the—I should say—police, the offices, the workers, the staff members—everybody turned their backs on him (the ex-Shah). And the unity that existed then—all their forces had coalesced—was ruptured. There was unity on this side and disunity on that. You succeeded, but now the situation is just the reverse. Plots are afoot to dissolve the bonds of unity that these various classes had forged. And the plotters, meanwhile, are forging links among themselves. They are developing ties among themselves and we are becoming unfriendly with one another. What will be the outcome of this state of affairs in that our enemies are strengthening their ties and we are undermining ours? It will end in our defeat; it is inevitable. They have obtained the secret of our victory, and we have now acquired that factor which occasioned their defeat.

The ruses of the Shah's regime to create differences

If you look closely at these matters that have turned up, you will see at what time they appear—before the months of Ramadan and Muharram which are the consequential months of Islam. It was like this from the beginning, in the days of the Shah's regime itself. You will see a story being made up suddenly: *Shahid-e Jawid*.¹ Sir! This preacher, that preacher, that prayer leader, that prayer leader, that prayer leader; everybody throughout the country was talking about *Shahid-e Jawid*! What was he that you talk so much about him? Why? They would raise the matter of *Shahid-e Jawid* with the approach of the month of Muharram, as they would see that if these forces remain united, it should not so happen that they pay attention to their own problems. They should pay attention to the matter that had ensnared them. And we, heedless of the current affairs and the political issue, would start assailing one another. The question of *Shahid-e Jawid* kept Qum occupied the whole time until the matter died down. At another time after that, with month of Ramadan approaching closer, they raised the matter of Aqa Shamsabadi.² Perhaps they, themselves, had killed him in order to bring

¹ It refers to the controversial book on the life account of Imam Husayn (a) written by Nimatullah Salihi Najafabadi.

² It refers to Sayyid Abul-Hasan Shamsabadi.

the matter up. After this, too, had somewhat subsided, they brought up the matter of Shariati.¹ They kept on making big issues out of these matters! This side calls him an unbeliever, while the other side extols him. Both sides are unaware that they are being deceived. Both the groups are not aware of it. Both of them, the preachers and the prayer leaders, say that it was for God. He (the disputant) used to say that the contentious issue he had mentioned was for the sake of God; this is while the religion of God was in the process of getting extinguished! “The things which that young man said: He is also for God; he acquainted us with Islam.” Both of you (the disputants) have been deceived; they (the enemies) have benefited, and now they are thinking about setting off a ruckus over this. It is the duty of the preacher and prayer leader not to say a word about these problems at present. This is not the time to speak about them. It is now the time to combine your forces and select those people who have to be nominated to the Assembly of Experts, and also urge the people to elect them.

The nation’s duty to elect sympathetic experts well versed in Islam

If, at this time, a few of those crooked and deviant people enter the Assembly of Experts, it is possible for these few plotters, acquainted with foreign issues, to influence the others; many of them. You should make efforts—we and you—to ensure that the people who are elected are knowledgeable about Islam, concerned about Islam, who believe in the fact that Islam is able to safeguard our independence and freedom, that it can make us progress and protect our economy. They ought to be people who have acknowledged that Islam is a progressive school and that our country should become an Islamic one. Such people should study, review and draw up our constitution. If we are negligent from now itself, and just sit by and keep on giving proposal—and to me at that—it will delay matters. At present, I am not involved in this. They should submit their proposal to the Senate that has assembled there for the purpose. Whoever has a proposal should hand it in there.

The plot to oust the clergy from the scene of the Revolution

All of you, all of us, ought to combine our forces at this time lest they hijack our Revolution, while we waste our time over Husayn Khan’s horse being better or Hasan Khan’s horse! This is not our main concern. Do not allow them to make us stray from our path; somewhere else and then accomplish their task. There is a plot afoot at present for us to leave the scene

¹ It refers to Dr. Ali Shariati.

gladly and willingly. This pulpit, this pulpit, that pulpit; well, the people are present in these mosques in front of the pulpits. When a preacher speaks on a topic that is, for example, misleading albeit justified; it is misleading nevertheless at this juncture as the minds of the people seated in the mosque will gradually be influenced by what is being said. The devils will lead us astray from that vital issue that we are dealing with at present—laying the basis and foundation of an Islamic government of truth—and will involve themselves with those task. They will ridicule us and laugh in our face, and will set about accomplishing the tasks. You should now think about the auspicious months of Shaban and Ramadan, the weapon that God placed in your hands and which the others do not have. This weapon that is one of the blessings of Imam Husayn (a) is now in your hands. Use this weapon which is like the sword of Abu Ubaydah¹ which he himself could only use. Not everyone can use this sword which is in your hands. Do not be neglectful. Do not let them lead you astray! It is possible for certain people to come and tell you close to your ear, “See how Islam was wiped out; what happened!” Such people are spiteful. They do not have good intentions. You tell them that you want to establish Islam (in the country)! And after doing so, you will look into the question of who is a Muslim and who is not. Our course (of action) at present is this. And in your mosques and from your pulpits, you must invite the people to gather. These congregations have safeguarded Islam. These congregations, this clamoring, these cries of “*zendeḥ bad*” (Long live...), and these cries of “*mordeḥ bad*” (Down with...) are the things that brought us success.

Increasing the congregations and being present in the mosques

Increase these congregations in the mosques. Invite the people to the mosques. Make them understand the significance of crying. We do not cry just because we are in mourning. People cry for their fathers and children for two or three days and they stop. Why has this not ended? Because there is no end to the school, and this is our school. It is our school’s document. We want it to protect our school.

The other topics that he mentioned, concerning the elections and these things, are topics with which I should not involve myself at present for certain reasons. Whoever has a proposal can give it to that assembly, which is there for this purpose, to consider. The important point is that the people be elected. The gentlemen there, the gentlemen of every region, the *ulama* of every region, should elect the people and tell the preachers whom they

¹ Abu Ubaydah: one of the commanders of the Islamic army.

have nominated. And they, too, should introduce these people. And perhaps this matter will be such that they would find those who are presently under consideration. And most of them are supposedly from among the *ulama* as they know what they are going to do.

May God guide all of you. May you succeed. Continue with your noble and respectable occupation, and bring the people to tears. And you, yourselves, cry for the martyr, who revived Islam.¹

¹ It refers to Imam Husayn (a).